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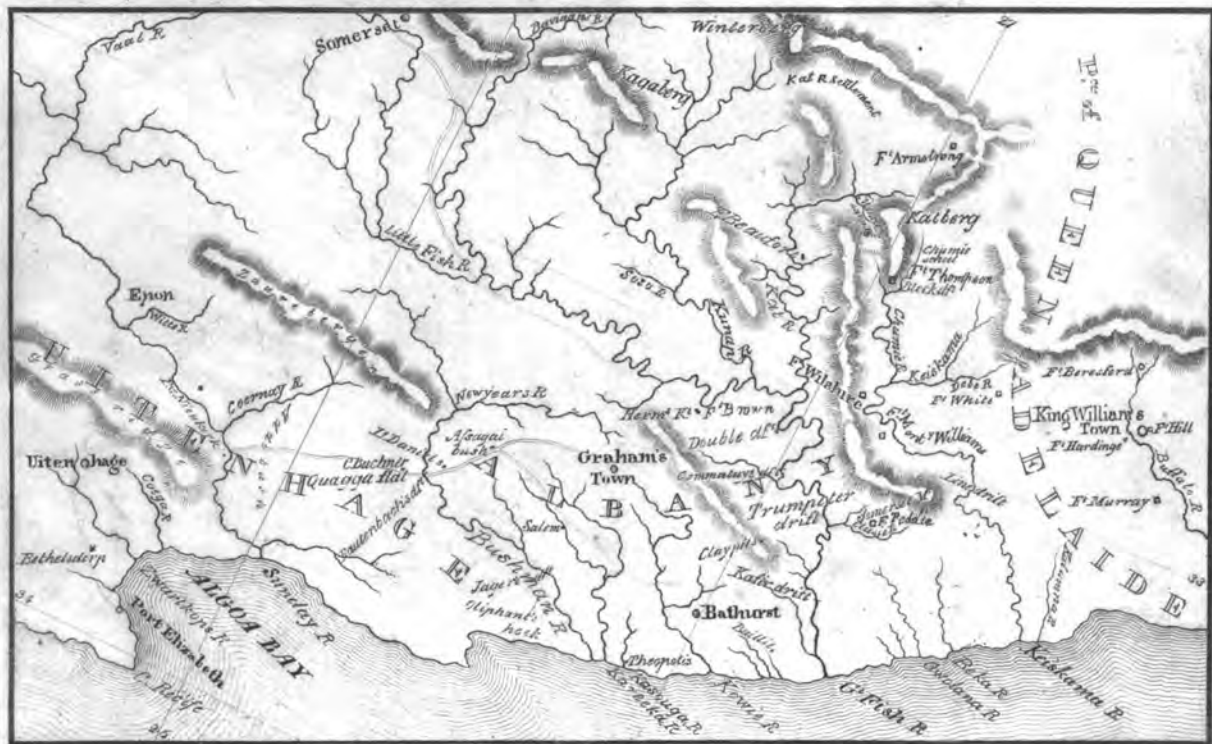
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## DISTRICT OF ALBANY

AND ADJACENT COUNTRY OVERRUN BY THE KAFIRS,—1834—35.

A  
NARRATIVE  
OF THE  
*IRRUPTION OF THE KAFIR HORDES*  
INTO THE  
EASTERN PROVINCE  
OF THE  
**CAPE OF GOOD HOPE,**  
1834—35.

COMPILED FROM OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS AND OTHER AUTHENTIC SOURCES,

BY THE EDITOR OF THE "GRAHAM'S TOWN JOURNAL."

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"Till books are written and printed in the Colonies, they will continue to be misrepresented, misunderstood, injured, and insulted."—*Commercial Advertiser*, March 10th, 1824.

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**Graham's Town:**

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY MEURANT AND GODLONTON, HIGH-STREET,  
AND SOLD BY A. S. ROBERTSON, CAPE TOWN.

1836.



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## PREFACE.

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THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, from its geographical position, must unquestionably be considered as one of the most important and valuable dependencies of the British crown. It comprehends a space of about 120,000 square miles, and contains, according to the latest census, a population of 145,000 inhabitants. Its surface is irregular, and greatly varied in respect to fertility. In many parts *the soil* is rich, and vegetation luxuriant; in others, there are large tracts of sandy desert, without moisture, and producing nothing but a few stunted shrubs, or patches of sickly verdure, of little aid to the support of animal life. A country of this character is not calculated, and never can, maintain a dense population; and hence we find the inhabitants scattered over an extent of surface which, at first view, appears extraordinary. Taking this colony, however, on the whole, it must be pronounced as extremely fertile, and possessing vast capabilities for improvement. It produces all the necessaries, and most of the luxuries, of life. It is rich in cattle and sheep. Favored also with a *climate* of equable temperature; neither exposed to the scorching rays of a tropical sun, or the piercing blasts of a more northern latitude; it is particularly favorable to the health and longevity of its inhabitants. Its *commercial* capabilities are thus summed up by one of the most intelligent writers on the Cape:—It offers “a midway station between Europe and the East Indies; one month’s sail from the Brazils and Buenos Ayres; less from Mauritius, Bourbon, Madagascar, Mozambique, and the eastern parts of Africa; it appears to be in possession of the choicest site for the trade of the eastern and western world.”\*

\* “The Cape of Good Hope in 1822,” by the late W. W. Bird, Esq.

On two sides of this extensive tract of country we have the Atlantic and the Indian oceans. On the other two it is bounded on the east by the country of the Amakosa and Abatembu Kafirs, and on the north by that occupied respectively by the Griquas or Bastards, the Corannas, the Bushmen, and the Namaquas. To defend this inland boundary, extending at least 800 miles, a system has been adopted peculiar to the colony, under the general name of the "Commando System," and which simply means a levy or muster of the inhabitants under proper officers, appointed from amongst themselves by government for mutual defence. Thus they may be considered as a sort of militia, but without that attention to discipline which is paid to such corps, both at home and in British America. Such a system is not only rational, but it is one to which the people are compelled to resort by a principle of self-preservation, inasmuch as the only military force employed for the defence of this long line of boundary has scarcely ever exceeded the amount of 800 men.

Along the greater part of the northern boundary the country is of that description as not to require or admit of military defence. Large tracts of territory beyond are very thinly inhabited, presenting little more than a succession of arid deserts. But few inhabitants are met with save the solitary hunter, or occasionally a predatory band, associated for the express purpose of plundering the colonial farmer; and who brave the perils of the wilderness to execute their bold and too often bloody enterprises. When these forays are attended by deeds of peculiar atrocity—as the murder of a family, or the destruction of a farm—and such acts have been of too frequent occurrence—the inhabitants are called out on "Commando," or, in other words, to pursue the plunderers,—to recover, if possible, the stolen property,—and to punish the guilty parties for the crimes committed. On the eastern boundary the case is widely different. Instead of being defended by extensive wastes, affording little or no sustenance for human life, the country adjoining the colony in this direction is alike beautiful and fertile. Hence it is thickly populated, and that by a bold and active people, accustomed to the use of weapons from their childhood, and who have but very faint perceptions of moral right to deter them from the commission of acts of the most flagrant dishonesty. The whole of the eastern frontier districts exhibit, at this day, the most striking

vestiges of the savage warfare which has been waged by these barbarians against the colonial farmers. Numerous ruins of farm houses, many of them very large and substantial premises, display the ferocity with which their possessors have been driven from their homes by these daring and warlike people. To defend the inhabitants against such inroads, the British government has appropriated the slender force we have stated; but as this has been found totally insufficient for the purpose, it has been customary, as on the northern frontier, whenever it has been deemed necessary to repel or punish the barbarian hordes for their daring inroads, to associate with the military a certain number of the inhabitants,—the whole force, when assembled, being called a "Commando."

The general object, as well as the term itself, having been grossly misrepresented, it appears desirable that the public should be undeceived and set right on a matter, to the Cape colonists, of considerable importance. Hitherto no record has been kept, or at least published, of the actual proceedings of a commando; and hence, when calumny on the subject has been industriously circulated through the world, it has been at best but partially contradicted and exposed. The inhabitants of this frontier have now the means at hand of obviating this: with the *PRESS* established amongst them they have the opportunity of exhibiting all their public proceedings to the full and open glare of public opinion.

In preparing this Narrative for publication, the compiler has aimed at nothing beyond a plain, unvarnished relation of facts. Most of the occurrences detailed have already appeared in the columns of the "*Graham's Town Journal*," but being interspersed with other matter, it was considered desirable that the whole should be re-published in a more convenient form for reference; that the several events, and a number of important public documents, should be arranged consecutively; and that such emendations or additions should be made as information obtained since their original publication might point out as necessary. With respect to that thread of narrative which has been used to connect the various incidents and papers, the compiler may be permitted to state that he attaches thereto no importance whatever: no attempt at effect has been aimed at, and if he be clearly understood, his object is entirely gained.

To those gentlemen who have so kindly communicated to him information on subjects which fell under their immediate observation, the compiler tenders his best thanks. To the Honorable Colonel SMITH, the Chief of the Staff, especially, he is under very great obligations for the readiness with which he furnished him, from time to time, with such particulars as prevented, at the moment, the possibility of a false impression being made on the public mind, either as to the extent of the danger to be apprehended, or of the character of the war in which the inhabitants found themselves so suddenly plunged.

On this subject it was, and still is, extremely important to the future well-being of this settlement that the public should not be deceived. While, therefore, this point is secured, this little work may be perused hereafter with interest as a faithful record of the severe and trying difficulties which the early settlers of Albany, and the inhabitants of the frontier districts in general, have had to contend with in defence of "their hearths," against the inroads of a barbarous, dishonest, and treacherous people. And the compiler cannot but indulge in the pleasing hope, that the next generation of colonists, while they peruse these pages, may have cause of abundant gratitude to God that, by the efforts of their forefathers, they are not only spared from the horrors of barbarian inroads on their peaceful homes, but also from that humiliation and wrong which are the result of cruel and unprincipled misrepresentation.

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## ERRATA.

Page 20—20th line from the bottom, for the “*fort* called Trompetter’s Drift,” read *ford*.

112—eighth line from bottom, for “whence a party of mounted galloped *sent* forward,” read, whence a party of mounted *men* galloped forward.

117—bottom line, for “*returned* from the field of slaughter,” read *retired*.

133—seventh line of second paragraph, for “the enemy *throwed* down,” read, *showered* down.

134—seventh line of second paragraph, for “Kafirs had *showed* themselves,” read, *shewn*.

135—fourth line from bottom of first paragraph, for *demonstation*, read *demonstration*.

140—seventh line from top, for “its *forests* are so precipitous,” read, its *banks*, &c. Next line, for *passible*, read *passable*.

146—twenty-first line, for “the place was *unoccupied*,” read, the place was *destroyed*.

216—fourteenth line from bottom, *diste* the word “*the*,”

221—twelfth line from bottom, for *dependent*, read *dependant*.

223—fifth line from bottom, for “obliged to *do so*,” read, obliged to *make* it.

224—sixth line, for *dependents*, read, *dependants*.

# A NARRATIVE, &c.



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## CHAPTER I.

*Events preceding the war,—Suspicious conduct of Hintza,—Affray with Ensign Sparks,—with Lieut. Sutton,—Proceedings of the Kafirs at the Chumie,—Plan of Macomo and Tyali to entrap Col. Somerset,—Murder of Traders in Kafirland,—Simultaneous inroads of the enemy along the frontier line, from the sea to the Winterberg,—Murder of Mahony and Henderson—of J. Shaw and Cramer—of A. Forbes and Kirkman,—Abandonment of Bathurst,—Gallant behaviour of the Ferreiras,—Proceedings at Oliphant's Hoek,—at Salem,—at Theopolis,—of the Farmers of the Winterberg under Greyling,—at the Kat River Settlement,—Case of the Trader Bourne,—Measures of the inhabitants for defence,—Arrival of Col. Smith.*

HISTORY does not furnish an example where a barbarous people have been more essentially benefitted by their proximity to a civilized community, than have the Kafir tribes of South Africa, by their adjacency to the colony of the Cape of Good Hope. Of course we do not go back to a later period than when it became a possession of the British crown. We have nothing to do with any mismanagement of previous governments. Captured by the British arms, and afterwards ceded to the British nation, it is sufficient to shew that we, as a people, have not abused our trust, without attempting to invalidate the title of those

from whom our right is derived,—and which right has been honorably and openly obtained, and fully recognized by every civilized power.

Whoever will take the trouble to refer to writers upon Kaffraria—on whom the slightest dependence can be placed—will find that the people of that country, up to the final cession of this colony to the British in 1806, were living in a state of great wretchedness and poverty. The sovereign power divided amongst a number of despotic chiefs, who were continually incited by their ungovernable passions to aggressions upon each other,—the country torn to pieces by its intestine commotions,—and the people bowed to the earth by a grinding, despotic, feudal system, and debased and brutalized by cruel and obscene customs and ceremonies. It may be said emphatically, that they “lived without God and without hope in the world.” Nor had any harbinger of mercy as yet proclaimed to them “peace on earth, good-will towards men.”

No sooner, however, had Great Britain gained possession of this colony, than the hand of benevolence was stretched out to benefit and raise them in the scale of humanity. In 1799, only four years after its first capture by the British arms, we find a mission entering the Kafir country, proclaiming to the barbarian tribes the truths of christianity, and introducing amongst them the arts of civilization, and the usages of social life. We have shewn in our introductory remarks the reception which the devoted men engaged in this work of benevolence met with;—that their message was despised—their lives aimed at,—and that, after suffering the greatest hardships, and being driven from place to place, they were finally compelled to seek shelter within the colonial boundary. We have also described the state of the eastern division of the colony at and immediately subsequent to its falling into the hands of the British,—that the whole, from the mountains of George to the Fish River, presented one dismal scene of anarchy and confusion: The colonists—driven from their peaceful homes, their habitations pillaged and burnt, and their cattle carried off by the savages—were wandering from place to place, associated in companies for mutual defence, reduced to the most abject wretchedness, and exposed to constant and imminent danger.

With respect to the policy towards the Kafirs of the British authorities, on assuming the government of the colony, it is admitted on all hands—even by those who have been most unsparing in their censures on the colonists—that it was at this period unquestionably characterized by a spirit of justice and benevolence. The most strenuous efforts were made to repress the disorders which existed. Mr. Barrow was sent on a mission to Kafirland, the details of which are given in his interesting, though in many points of importance apocryphal, work;\* the boundary, which had been fixed by agreement with the Kafirs by Governor van Plettenberg, as far back as 1778; was again formally announced, and a prohibition issued against a violation of the Kafir territory under any pretence whatever. But notwithstanding every endeavour to conciliate and restrain the ravages of these barbarians, they still continued their inroads within the colony, until at length these became so frequent and so formidable that, as we have seen,† Sir John Cradock was compelled, in 1811, to order out the whole disposable force of the colony, for the purpose of repelling their aggressions,—the command being given to an officer, whose head-quarters were established on the spot where we now write, and on which has sprung up, as by magic, a town which is justly entitled to the rank of the Capital of the Eastern Province, when considered either in reference to its amount of population, its trade, or the activity or enterprise of its inhabitants.

Vigorous as were the measures adopted at this period, and benevolent as were the intentions of the colonial government, yet they were attended with only a partial effect. The same daring outrages and depredations were committed on the colonists as before; and although Lord C. H. Somerset used all his ingenuity to correct this

\* The following striking fact will illustrate our argument as to the increasing prosperity of the Kafirs. In the year 1778 Mr. Barrow crossed the Colonial boundary, and had an interview with Gaika, who, he informs us, came to the place of meeting galloping upon an ox. Early in the present year, when a great meeting of the Kafirs was called at King William's Town, by Col. Smith, the Commandant of the New Province,—the sons of Gaika attended with from six to eight hundred followers, mounted on capital horses. Yet this is a nation which the good credulous people at home have been taught to believe are about to perish by murders—by massacres—or by want!

† Vide Introductory Remarks, pages 22 and 23.

state of affairs, and though he tried all the arts of persuasion, and held out the most flattering promises to the Kafirs, still it was unavailing; their predatory incursions continued equally frequent and daring. All attempts to check them only provoked retaliatory measures, until at length a combined and matured attack was made by them on the head-quarters of the military itself,—the failure of which may be reckoned more to the result of accident, than to foresight or good management. So narrow an escape could not but have the effect of awakening all the slumbering energies of the colonial government; and it was resolved on, both as a just punishment for the daring aggression, and as a measure of paramount importance to the future security of the inland boundary, that the Kafirs should be required to fall back from the fastnesses of the Fish River to the Keiskamma; thus paying a forfeiture for their temerity of a narrow strip of land, between the two rivers. Mild as was this punishment, and necessary as it was for self-defence, yet this measure has been magnified into an act of the greatest injustice and cruelty, as being, in short, the actual cause of all the evils which have since befallen the colony. They, however, who contend for all this overlook the fact, that the character of the Kafir has ever been the same; and that his inroads upon the colonists *before* the cession of this territory were equally as daring and flagitious, as they have been since.

It may indeed be proved that this measure had to a very considerable extent, the effect of allaying those disorders which had previously been so general along the whole line of frontier. In the mean time, by the arrival of the British Settlers, a friendly and mutually beneficial intercourse was established, and the circumstances of the Kafir people began rapidly to improve. Useful articles of British manufacture were introduced in exchange for raw produce—improvements in agriculture and many useful arts were suggested and taught, whilst many devoted missionaries were interspersed throughout the country, incessantly and zealously employed in raising the people in the scale of society, and in making known to them the gospel of peace.

Matters continued apparently in this favorable train until the middle of the year 1834—for although previous to this many misunderstandings had arisen, and the Kafirs were

evidently presuming on the impunity which they enjoyed in the commission of offences;\* yet nothing which could be construed into an act of open hostility was attempted, until about that period; when the Chief Hintza removed from the most fertile part of his territory, near the mission station of Butterworth, to the Amava, situated much farther to the northward, and which afforded him an opportunity of communicating with the Chiefs Macomo and Tyali—without being exposed to inconvenient observation.

Just before this removal, viz: on the 13th July, the first unequivocal outrage was committed, by the murder in open day of the trader Purcell. The circumstances attending this atrocious deed are worthy of record, inasmuch as in this case it will be seen that no provocation whatever was given,—and that this unfortunate man was butchered in cold blood, merely on the plea of refusing to violate, by trading, the sanctity of the christian Sabbath.† We are aware that it has been insidiously whispered, and even openly declared, that the bad conduct of the traders has been one cause of the late aggressions; that by overbearing conduct and dishonest practices, the Kafir people had been so highly exasperated, as to resolve upon their extermination, and that the massacre which ultimately took place, was nothing more than the penalty of their own misdoings. Sweeping charges

\* During the last two or three years the aim of the Kafra appears to have been directed most particularly to the plunder of horses. These assuredly were not required for *subsistence*—a plea which has been urged for their addiction to cattle stealing—and hence it is a strong presumptive proof of their having long meditated and been preparing for an invasion of the colony. The following fact will suffice to shew the pertinacity with which at any risk they pursued their aim. A farmer living on the N. E. boundary had *treked* in search of water and grass for his famished herds. And having taken up a position on a favorable spot—he resolved for the security of his property to watch his kraals during the night; he himself taking his turn with his servants. One night however, having been on sentry till after midnight, he retired to his wagon, which served as his bed-chamber—calling a domestic to relieve him in the duty of watching the kraals. At this time all the horses were tied fast to the wagon. Shortly after the servant had been on guard, he heard an unusual noise on the lower side of the sheep kraal, and on proceeding to the spot, he found that a large gap had been made in it, and that the sheep were escaping through the aperture. With considerable trouble he drove them back, and then secured the opening,—whilst, however, his attention was thus engaged, the wiley natives who had planned the whole affair, approached the wagon in which the farmer lay at rest,—untied all the horses, and succeeded in driving them clean off.

† Vide Introductory Remarks, page 118.

of this kind can be seldom met; without attempting, therefore, to confute an assertion—where there is nothing tangible to fix upon, but which we know to be equally cruel and unjust—we may here observe, that the murder of Purcell has never been either excused or extenuated on the ground of his previous misconduct. On the contrary, we find him forfeiting his life through a punctilious regard for a christian ordinance.

It would be tedious to cite every suspicious circumstance which transpired shortly subsequent to the murder of this trader. Suffice it to say, that numerous occurrences took place strongly indicative of that hostile feeling which ended in the Kafir tribes suddenly bursting into the colony, and laying waste a large extent of fertile territory. We have already remarked, that according to Kafir interpretation, forbearance is weakness,—and hence we find that in perfect keeping with this sentiment, the conduct of the Kafirs gradually became more offensively daring. Finding, however, that even the crime of Murder could be perpetrated with impunity, they soon began to doubt our power to chastise; and thus when a feeble attempt was made in the sequel to enforce the penalty of a daring inroad, the effort was met by determined resistance. A British officer had nearly fallen a victim to their resentment, and their plot being then nearly ripe for execution, the colony was entered in force simultaneously along the whole line from the sea to the Winterberg, and those dreadful excesses committed which form the subject matter of the following pages.

It will be necessary to detail at length the first affair referred to, many persons having formed an opinion from statements in circulation, that *this* was the cause of all the disasters which immediately followed; but for which there is not the slightest foundation. The overt acts of the case are briefly thus:—

On the 20th November, 1834, a farmer named F. Scheepers, reported to the military officer commanding at Fort Willshire, that three horses and a foal, the property of a person named Joubert, had been stolen from a farm on the Koonap, the spoor or track of which had been followed until it led to a Kafir kraal belonging to the Chief Eno. The party in pursuit inquired at this place for the captain of the kraal, but was informed none exercising that authority resided there. They then requested



to see Eno himself, and he being sent for, they informed him fully on the case,—showed him the spoor of the stolen horses leading to that identical spot, and agreed to wait patiently until he should have had sufficient time to follow up the inquiry and discover the actual robbers. Eno promised to make the search, and appeared so satisfied of the criminality of his people, that he agreed, in the event of not producing the horses, to make compensation for them in cattle. With this understanding the parties remained at his kraal five days; but finding at length that no satisfaction was intended, Scheepers, as stated, proceeded to Fort Willahire, and reported the case.

The officer, on receiving this report, dispatched next day a messenger to Eno, informing him that he should expect him to send in either the horses, or cattle of equal value, within a period of eight days,—and that in the event of his noncompliance, a patrol would be sent to take them by force of arms. This demand being equally disregarded as the former, a patrol, consisting of eleven men of the Mounted Rifles, and accompanied by four farmers—one of whom was the owner of the stolen horses—marched for Eno's kraal. This was on the 2d Dec.—just *twelve* days after the commission of the robbery. On arriving at the kraal, the chief man was questioned respecting the lost property, but nothing could be elicited from him. Two of the patrol were then ordered to dismount, and open the cattle kraal,—on which the man sullenly observed that the horses were not there. And on the officer ordering the cattle to be driven out, he further stated that Eno himself had already seized as compensation for the robbery, sixty head of cattle from that and a neighbouring kraal. On this he was told that he must request of Eno to return those cattle, they being about to take forty as restitution for the stolen property. This number was accordingly driven away—the Kafirs being permitted to select from the number all milch cattle.

After proceeding about a mile on their return, the officer was apprized by his men, that the Kafirs armed, and in considerable force, were following them. Shortly afterwards it was perceived from their movements that they intended to surround them. On this, five men of the party were ordered to check their advance. The officer subsequently rode to the rear himself, and finding the enemy numerous, and their gestures menacing, he ordered a volley to be fired over their

heads. On this, they fell back, and the men in the rear rejoined their comrades. After marching about a mile and a half further, they were overtaken by a son of Eno's, named Stock. He was on horseback, and stated that his father was sending after them twenty head of cattle intended as compensation for the stolen horses. He also remarked, that he had turned back a great number of Kafirs who were pursuing the patrole. Immediately after this conversation, the men halted for a few minutes, and on resuming their march, Stock returned with the intention, as he professed, of bringing up the cattle which he said were in the rear. The patrole proceeded quietly after this for about seven miles, when suddenly, a number of Kafirs was seen in a kloof, a few hundred yards to the right of the road. These rushed towards the cattle and endeavoured to retake them,—the soldiers were ordered to extend themselves to the right and close in on the cattle, keeping them together. One Kafir seized the bridle of the horse rode by the corporal of the patrole, and menaced him with his assagai. By great exertion the cattle were at length disengaged from the Kafirs. Two troopers, with the four farmers, were then ordered to drive the cattle forward, while the rest were faced about and formed to resist the advance of the enemy—the officer informing them through an interpreter, that if they persisted in advancing, he should be compelled to fire on them. To this, one of them called out, "It is a lie what is said, they dare not do it." The steadiness with which the party resisted the attack of the Kafirs, appeared to have the desired effect, as after following them for about two miles further, they retired. From this spot the patrole marched without interruption until they came in sight of the Fort. Here the cattle on crossing a ravine started off at full speed, and as the patrole had followed them closely, the officer was left a short distance in the rear. He had put his horse to a canter with the view of overtaking his party, when suddenly, a Kafir sprang from a clump of bushes, and hurled his assagai. The officer raised his left arm so adroitly, as to receive the assagai through it—and by this means escaped the fatal blow evidently intended. Drawing the assagai from the wounded limb, he speedily rejoined his party, and being near the fort, he succeeded in reaching it in a state of great exhaustion from loss of blood, but without further adventure.

In this affair there are several strong points which must

not be lost sight of. It must be remembered that Eno was residing in the Ceded Territory on the tenure of good behaviour; that whilst there his people had been continually making forays upon the cattle of the colonists; and that Eno himself was known to have been the instigator to the savage butchery of a whole family of colonists whilst crossing that country, under his protection, to the Missionary Institution of Wesleyville.\* In the present instance, the horses had been clearly traced by the farmers to the kraals of his people. Every means had been used to obtain their restoration: Eno had been sent for, and was made fully aware of all the circumstances, and the farmers had waited patiently for several days in hopes of obtaining redress. Finding this expectation vain, they next apply to the military authorities, who also proceed with great mildness, and who manifest, under very irritating circumstances, much praiseworthy forbearance. A period of eight days is allowed for the restoration of the stolen property, or an adequate compensation in lieu thereof; and when this is found unavailing, as a last resort the military are ordered to seize forty head of cattle by way of reprisal for the guilty act. This demand was by no means exorbitant. The value of the three horses and foal may be fairly estimated at Rds. 300, or £22 10s. whilst Kafir cattle driven promiscuously from a kraal, cannot be valued at a higher rate than twelve shillings per head—thus giving a total of £24, and leaving an overplus of 30s.; a sum by no means sufficient to repay the farmers for their loss of time—for the expense and labour of a long, dangerous, and harrassing journey in pursuit of the depredators—and for the anxiety both to themselves and to their families while engaged on a service of this nature.

In executing a duty of this description, it could not be expected that such an open demonstration of resistance would be passed unnoticed. Justice and sound policy alike forbade it. Accordingly, the Commandant of the Frontier, Col. Somerset, no sooner received the report, than he collected a force of the Mounted Rifles, with which he proceeded in person from Fort Willshire on the morning of the 4th of December, along the same line as that taken by Ensign Sparks. This visit the Kafirs had evidently anticipated—and hence

\* Vide Introduction, page 115.

had abandoned the whole of that tract of country, and passed over to the left bank of the Keiskamma. On this river the troops halted, and the Commandant despatched a messenger to Eno, requiring his attendance. This Chief, accompanied by a large force of Kafirs, made his appearance the same evening. He appeared alarmed, and endeavoured to persuade the Commandant that what had occurred was without his concurrence—declaring, that the moment he heard of the commotion among his people, he had sent his son to suppress it. Eno remained with the Commandant that night, and the next morning was officially informed by that officer that, as the attack on the patrole was most wanton and unprovoked, the permission granted to the people under the sub-chief Cassa, to reside on the right of the Keiskamma, would be immediately withdrawn. Adding, that not only had this indulgence been forfeited by the recent flagitious outrage, but that for a considerable time before, colonial cattle had been traced to and in the direction of their kraals; that no reasonable doubt could be entertained of their being the parties engaged in these forays; although they had escaped detection and punishment by driving their herds over the traces of the stolen cattle, and thus rendering it impossible to follow them *into* their kraals.

Eno was further informed by the Commandant, that he should establish himself on the Brack River, until his patroles had thoroughly cleared the country on the right bank of the Keiskamma of all Kafirs found between that point and the "Line Drift." And finally, he demanded 150 head of cattle, as restitution for those lately taken from the colonists, together with the stolen horses; acquainting him that in the event of his non-compliance, he should continue his operations until he had compelled him with all his followers to evacuate the Ceded Territory; a penalty which they had justly incurred by their own misconduct and breach of solemn engagement. No demur was made to these conditions,—on the contrary, Eno appeared so desirous to comply with them, that he directed his son Stock, with a body of Kafirs, to place himself under the command of the Commandant, and to assist him to the utmost of his power in collecting all the cattle and horses. The result of these measures was, that one hundred and thirty-seven head of cattle were obtained, together with thirteen mares and foals—all of which were sent in to the Civil Commissioner for dis-

tribution amongst the plundered farmers. It was only by considerable difficulty that this small number of cattle was collected, the Kafirs having some days previously been actively engaged in driving their herds across the Keiskamma into a place of security.

While these proceedings were going on towards the coast, the Kafirs further to the northward manifested a most turbulent and daring spirit, continuing to encroach upon the Colony with their cattle, in spite of all the remonstrances used to induce them to remain within their proper boundary. On the 11th December, the Commandant reported this to the government,—at the same time stating, that the troops under his orders were much harassed, but that when they were rested and refreshed he should resume his operations.

In accordance with this resolve, a party of the Mounted Rifles, under the command of Lieut. Sutton, of H. M. 75th Regt., was ordered to proceed on the morning of the same day, to the neighbourhood of the Umguela, and to drive from thence all Kafirs found occupying that country. On arriving at this point, he found the Kafirs collected in considerable force,—and on requesting them to move across the boundary, they manifested a very evident intention to refuse compliance. The military, however, without having recourse to actual force, rode along the ridge which forms, on the Colonial side, the banks of the Gaga. Throughout the greater part of this line, there were no inhabitants, and they proceeded to destroy some kraals and huts which had been constructed by the Kafirs in a kloof near the Kat River Post,—and to which some horses stolen from Fort Beaufort a few days before had been clearly traced. Near this spot they captured a few cattle, and observing some more at a distance issuing from a kloof,\* the officer detached a sergeant and six men to seize them; his orders being to secure a sufficient number of cattle, and then to inform the Kafirs that these would be detained until the stolen horses were restored.

At this time the Kafirs manifested a disposition to make a

\* It is said on good authority that these cattle belonged to the Chief Tyali, and that by the orders of the confederate Chiefs, they were driven out *purposely* that they might be captured by the military—and thus furnish an ostensible plea for their subsequent outrages; the seizure of a Chief's cattle being, according to Kafir usage, tantamount to a declaration of war.

determined resistance. They attempted to surround the officer and his men during the absence of the sergeant, and which was only defeated by the coolness and intrepidity with which the attacks were received.

The sergeant having at length succeeded in capturing some of those cattle he had been sent in quest of, rejoined his party; at which moment a general skirmish commenced,—the Kafirs fiercely attacking the soldiers, and taking advantage of the broken and sheltered country to assail them with their assagais. In this manner the military endeavoured to make good their retreat towards Fort Beaufort, keeping the body of Kafirs at bay by using their fire-arms. In spite, however, of every effort, the gallant little party was completely nonplused,—the cattle were driven down upon them and re-captured. The night had come on as they approached a spot where the road is flanked on both sides by woody ravines, and here the Kafirs suddenly appeared in such great numbers, that it was found impracticable to proceed; still, by a steady fire they kept off their assailants,—until, at the very crisis of their fate, the musketry was heard at the Fort, and from thence they received an immediate rescue. During this skirmish, one of the Cape Corps was wounded by an assagai,—two Kafirs were killed, and two wounded. One of the latter, named Xo Xo (pronounced Klu Klu), was a brother of Tyali's.

The proceedings immediately consequent on this affair are detailed by the Rev. Mr. Chalmers, then Missionary at the Chamie, in Tyali's territory; and from his statement it appears, that on his return from Graham's Town—whither he had been on business—on the evening of the following day, 17th December, he was surprised and alarmed to find the whole population in a state of the highest excitement. Nothing particular transpired that night, but the next morning Tyali waited on him, accompanied by his counsellors, and commanded him to write to the nearest Military Post, and to inquire why Xo Xo and his people had been killed.\* This order was obeyed; but as nothing satisfactory

\*This is not to be understood in a literal sense, as the following account given by Mr. Chalmers will sufficiently shew:—"Hearing Xo Xo was most severely wounded in the head, I thought it necessary to request my assistant, Mr. Weir, to accompany me to visit him. We were never more astonished when



was elicited, Mr. Chalmers entreated the Chief to proceed to the Post, and hold a personal interview with the military authority there. But this his counsellors, evidently prepared for mischief, dissuaded him from doing, telling him that no faith was to be placed in the white people.

● During the whole of this and following day, the people were making every preparation for their intended attack. "Messengers," says Mr. Chalmers, "were running to and fro across the country in every direction,"—whilst a deep-laid and daring scheme was planned to entrap and get into their power Lieut.-Colonel Somerset, the Commandant of the Frontier. The particulars of this transaction are detailed by Mr. C. in the following terms.—

"On the 19th December, Col. Somerset arrived at the Kat River Post, and sent down a messenger requesting me to desire the chief to wait upon him on Saturday. Accordingly I despatched a man to Tyali, but he remained so long that I could not communicate with Col. Somerset that evening. The message of the chief was, 'Col Somerset, I cannot see you nor speak with you until you explain to me why Eno's son was murdered by your men? and why Sikou was killed by the boers? and why my brother is killed in the head?' I wrote this communication expecting to send it early in the morning of the 20th. But about two o'clock in the morning, a Kafir came to my house, as sent from Tyali (I learned afterwards that he had been despatched by the confederate chiefs). I was directed by him not to transmit Tyali's former communication, but to write to the Colonel, and to inform him that Tyali would hold a conference with him at Chumie. That Tyali would only come with two attendants, and Col. Somerset must come with the same number, and they would talk over the matters in dispute,—as Chumie was a place of peace where God's word was preached, but the *post* was a place of war.'

"Judging no evil, I wrote as requested, and despatched the messenger at half-past five o'clock in the morning. Scarcely had he got out of sight when the Kafirs came pouring into the village from the direction of Tyali's kraal. In the course of a very few minutes the institution was surrounded by eight hundred or a thousand armed Kafirs, yelling and shouting as if they were triumphing over a fallen

we entered Xo Xo's hut and found him looking as healthy as usual, having no bandage round the head, nor any appearance of a wound, although his head was shaved. We asked to see the wound, and were surprised to find it a mere scratch. If any thing like shot had penetrated the skin it must have been very small indeed."

victim. I was astonished at this conduct, and proceeded to the foot of the village to ask what it all meant—and why they had broken the word of their Chief? When to my great astonishment, Tyali himself stood forth in the midst of them. I remonstrated with them on the deceitfulness of such conduct, and intreated them to go home; but they answered me only with a horrid yell, and withdrew about four hundred yards, and sat down in ambush until the messenger returned. Fortunately the Colonel did not come; and his answer being unsatisfactory, I had to write to him in the name of Tyali, challenging him 'to come and punish him, and take away his cattle.' This was about 9 A.M. and forthwith the Kafirs commenced a general slaughter of cattle and goats, which continued the whole of that day (Saturday 20th,) and during the greater part of the following Sabbath. In the meantime they had scouts sent out to watch the movements of Col. Somerset. On this Lord's day, they did what they pleased at the institution. On this day, I heard that Macoma and other chiefs had been lying behind Chumie on Saturday morning, waiting the arrival of Col. Somerset, —and in the evening of this day (21st,) Macomo sent out his men against the Colonists on the lower part of the Kat River. On the 22d, all the Kafirs round Chumie were busily engaged in making shoes. In the afternoon the chief Tyali sent a messenger to me to state that 'the country was now *broken*, but that Kafirs would do no injury to the traders or missionaries. Scarcely had an hour elapsed after this communication when intelligence was received by me that the traders Rogers and Budding were murdered. On the 23d and 24th, large bodies of armed Kafirs passed towards the colony: and a report was spread in Kafirland that Col. Somerset had been killed by his own soldiers. On the 26th, 27th, and 28th, the Kafirs returned with their booty highly elated with their success, and "speaking great swelling words of vanity." So great was their arrogance that they came and told me to take charge of their wives and children, while they proceeded to the Salt Pans, near Pct Elizabeth, where they had determined to construct their cattle kraals and erect their huts."

In addition to this statement given by Mr. Chalmers, some further light has been thrown upon the proceedings of the Kafirs, by a Gonaqua or Kafir woman, named Jacomina, formerly one of Gaika's wives, but since married to one of Macomo's warriors. From her evidence it appears that the Chief Macomo sent for her husband early on the morning of the 20th December, and informed him that the Hottentots were going to join in an attack upon the Colonists. It does not indeed appear that there were any just grounds for this report—or that it was any



thing more than a mere rumour propagated by the confederate Chiefs, to inspire their followers with confidence—still it is quite certain that it was very generally circulated amongst and believed by the Kafir people.

On Sunday the 21st December, the work of devastation and murder was commenced. The first victim was a respectable Dutch farmer, named Buys, residing on the lower part of the Kat River. Towards midnight of the date named, a party of the barbarians reached his place,—they surrounded his house,—and on his going out and asking them what they wanted there at that late hour, a ruffian seized him by the collar while another plunged an assagai into his body. Having dispatched their victim, they pillaged the house and drove off the cattle. In the mean time, while engaged in this diabolical work, his wife with her six little children escaped by the back of the premises, and lay concealed in an adjacent jungle all night,—from whence the next day she succeeded in reaching a place of comparative security.

The marauders next attacked the farm of the Provisional Field-cornet Marthinus Wessels, a short distance lower down the Kat River. Here they carried off upwards of 360 head of cattle—about 20 horses and mares,—set on fire and destroyed his house, with all its furniture, and killed one of his domestics named October. Having saved one horse from the general wreck of property, a servant was dispatched shortly after midnight to Fort Willshire, with the intelligence of their disastrous condition. This man on the way fell in with several large bodies of Kafirs on their march into the Colony. When they approached him he secreted himself until they had passed, and then, by carefully listening for the advance of the marauders—whose footsteps and the rattling of their assagais were perfectly distinct amidst the stillness of night,—he succeeded in reaching the Fort. Here, however, he found the enemy in great force on the side next the river, and it was only after the lapse of several days that he was enabled to return in quest of his unfortunate master.

On Monday the 22d December, the day following, reports reached Graham's Town of these alarming proceedings. The previous intelligence of the affairs in which Ensign

Sparks and Lieutenant Sutton were engaged, unpleasant as they were, had not excited any serious apprehensions. The daring inroads of the Kafirs, and their turbulent conduct, had been subjects of such frequent report latterly, that the affrays in question were not likely to engage any particular attention; still less were the inhabitants prepared to expect that a bold and simultaneous invasion of the colony would be made along the entire line of the Kafir boundary, from the sea to the Winterberg, a distance of ninety miles. The reports, however, now received were sufficient to excite the keenest interest, and to cause the most intense anxiety. At the first moment of alarm, several of the inhabitants, merchants and traders, met together, and they finally resolved to patrol, on horseback, the environs of the Town during the night, and thus guard against the possibility of surprise. Military sentinels were likewise posted by Lieut.-Col. England on the most commanding heights around.

The night passed, however, without any adventure, but the next day reports of the most distressing character kept pouring into Town almost every hour. Not only were the excesses on the upper part of the Albany district confirmed, but it was fully known that large bodies of the enemy were ravaging the country and murdering the defenceless inhabitants along the whole line of boundary. At the farm of Mr. J. Howse, at the ford of the Fish River, called Trumpetter's Drift, they had swept off upwards of five hundred head of cattle and 2,600 sheep; whilst the messenger, who arrived breathless with the intelligence, stated that the hill descending to the farm from Kafirland, was literally covered with the marauders.

As this farm lay on the direct route to Graham's Town, the most energetic measures were considered essential for its preservation. A public meeting of the inhabitants was, therefore, hastily announced, to be held at the Freemasons' Tavern, at which the Civil Commissioner and the military officer in command both attended, and explained minutely the exact state of affairs. From this moment decisive steps were taken. The people at once saw their danger and prepared to meet it with sternness. Measures, both offensive and defensive, were instantly adopted. The church was appropriated as a magazine and depôt for fire arms, and as an asylum for women and children. The avenues around it

were blocked up with wagons and defended by cannon; whilst night piquets of the inhabitants were despatched, well mounted and armed, to watch the main roads leading to Graham's Town from the Kafir country. Arms were issued to all who were able to use them, and, before the close of the day, the confusion had in a great degree given way to order; whilst the whole town resounded with the din of martial preparation, and the brazen note of war.

On this day some of the Kafir traders residing in Kafirland were barbarously butchered by the enemy. Amongst these may be named Robert Rogers, residing not far from the Chumie, in Tyali's country. This ill-fated man was murdered in the presence of his three children; the eldest of whom, a daughter, got between the assassins and her parent, and endeavoured by her tears and cries to soften the obdurate hearts of the savages; but they forcibly thrust her away, beating her with their kieries (or knob-sticks) while they perpetrated the wanton and savage butchery. The night previous to this Col. Somerset had passed at the Kat River post, situated on the Chumie heights, and commanding a view of the Kafir country. From this elevated height it was observed, on looking over the hills and dales below, that the numerous herds which usually graced and enlivened that neighbourhood had entirely disappeared, with the exception of a few head belonging to the missionaries at the Chumie institution. The Commandant, before his arrival, had been traversing the country in every direction, endeavouring to check the advance of the enemy; and this morning he again started—having been reinforced by a party of mounted civilians from the Kat River, under the command of Field-cornet Groepe. He proceeded in the direction of Block Drift, but the Kafirs had shifted their ground, and were only to be seen in detached bodies; and these, from the nature of the country, it was very difficult to come up with. Having bivouacked that night on the Mancanzana, Colonel Somerset resumed his march early the next morning, using the same exertions, but with the same ill-success, to stop the advancing enemy. Leaving the Field-cornet Groepe at the Mancanzana, in order to defend that pass into the colony, the Colonel himself rode to Fort Beaufort. Here he procured some fresh men, with whom he continued

his route across the country to Fort Willshire, using every endeavour on the way to intercept some of the numerous bodies of Kafirs which were pouring into the colony in that direction. It was not, however, the tact of the Kafirs to come into collision; their aim evidently was to pass the colonial boundary in force, and to avoid any engagement until their plans were matured. The nature of the country was favorable to the success of this; and though pursued with great gallantry and zeal by the Colonel's party, yet no effectual check could be given; while the officers and men were repeatedly thrown from their horses in consequence of the broken nature of the ground, and the obstructions which presented themselves to the rapid movements of cavalry.

On arriving at Fort Willshire the Colonel was informed that the enemy had that morning presented himself in great force on the hills around the Fort; but the garrison was too weak to admit of any offensive operations, except firing a few rounds from a piece of artillery, which, however, were perfectly futile, the enemy being beyond its range. At this Fort the Commandant received a despatch from Graham's Town, stating that the Kafirs were pouring into the colony on that part of the frontier in numbers quite as formidable as we have described further up. The men who rode this express stated that it was with the utmost difficulty they had made the journey, as the bush, throughout the extent of country crossed by them, was in possession of the marauders. In addition to this, intelligence was received at the Fort of the massacre of some of the traders in Kafirland, as well as of several farmers within the colony. No time was to be lost; and as nothing could be done at Fort Willshire, the Colonel resolved to return to Beaufort. Here despatches awaited him from Graham's Town of a still more pressing character; these stated that the greatest alarm prevailed there, and that the scattered farmers and their families were flocking thither from every direction. Finding affairs in this desperate state, and satisfied that no effectual blow could be struck while the force under his command continued so widely dispersed, he resolved upon concentrating it; and he ultimately issued orders that the garrison of Fort Willshire should fall back on Beaufort; that of the Chumie, or Kat River Post, within the Kat River Settlement, to a

remarkably strong position, where a post was subsequently established named "Fort Adelaide."

This day, Wednesday, the 23d December, the accounts received at Graham's Town were fearfully distressing. It was known beyond the possibility of doubt that the entire line of boundary between Kafirland and the colony had been crossed by the invading barbarians; and at the same moment conviction flashed upon the mind that the whole of the scattered farmers might possibly be utterly destroyed before any kind of assistance could be rendered them. Every thing had been done by the local authorities for the general security: expresses had been sent off to the adjoining districts of Uitenhage and Graaff-Reinet for assistance, but it was known that long before succour could arrive from those distant points the work of destruction might be completed. In looking to the military the prospect was almost equally gloomy. Colonel Somerset, who had been, as we have seen, making the most incessant exertions to stem the torrent, wrote this day from Beaufort explaining his situation, and stating that his horses and his men were both completely exhausted by their harrassing duty. He had re-captured about 200 head of colonial cattle, and had slain forty of the enemy in the several skirmishes; but that it was utterly impossible for him to afford relief to the inhabitants of Graham's Town, or to offer any serious resistance to the advance of the invaders until his men were rested, or he should receive reinforcements. He added, that no burgher force could be mustered, as every man had to shift for himself, and defend his own family in the best manner he could at the moment.

Nothing can shew more clearly than this state of affairs the absurd ideas which had been entertained by the Home Government in reference to the military defences along the land boundary of this colony. We know that the unprotected situation of the inhabitants had been forcibly described to His Majesty's Government by those well able to give decided opinions on the subject; and it is matter of notoriety that the people themselves had been praying till their patience was exhausted for the adoption of a more rational system, and more adequate security to life and property. But these representations had been received with the utmost indifference and incredulity; the most absurd

fables had been listened to in preference to sober facts; the wild dreams of speculative theorists, and the calumnious misrepresentations of artful mercenaries, had been considered of more worth than the lessons of experience, and the urgent representations of practical men. It may be desirable that this subject should not be misunderstood; and as we have before us the Parliamentary Return of the amount of military force allowed for the defence of this extensive and important frontier immediately antecedent to this period, it is inserted for general information:—

Royal Artillery, .....	27
Royal Engineers, .....	20
75th Regiment, .....	482
Mounted Rifles, .....	226
	<hr/>
	755
	<hr/>

It was this day fully ascertained that the extensive and rugged country on both banks of the Fish River from De Bruin's Drift to the sea, a distance of forty miles, was infested in every part by the barbarian tribes. Messrs. Southey, respectable and enterprising traders and farmers residing at the fort called Trompetter's Drift, finding the danger imminent, had, at an early period, applied for and obtained the assistance of a military guard, consisting of five of the Mounted Rifles, under whose protection they endeavoured to effect their escape; but in spite of every effort, the Kafirs surrounded them,—drove off their cattle, amounting to 800 head, and way-laid and murdered a young man named John Shaw, a near relative of the family, who had quitted town to their assistance on the first news of their perilous situation. Further up the river, the farm of Mr. E. Driver and the premises of Mr. Tomlinson were attacked during the night. Fortunately they both happened to have patrols there at the time, and they defended themselves so gallantly, that the assailants were forced to retire into the woody fastnesses adjacent. All this day the affrighted women and children kept pouring into town from the surrounding country. Property of every kind was abandoned,—and many had so little time for escape, that they arrived with scarce any more property than the dress in which they were clad at the moment of alarm.



From the adjoining district of Somerset, the reports were of a like description. The Acting Civil Commissioner stated that he had received an express from the Field-cornet Erasmus, informing him that the enemy in great force had attacked the farmers along the Koonap and East Riet River,—that some had fallen by their assagais, and that the whole country was in a distressing state of alarm and commotion.

The danger being so imminent, another meeting of the inhabitants was held in the afternoon of this day, in St. George's Church,—at which the following "Provisional Regulations for the protection of Graham's Town," were proposed and adopted.

1. Every man capable of bearing arms to be enrolled.
2. Ten persons to be chosen as leaders of divisions.
3. Ten alarm posts to be appointed for the divisions to assemble at.
4. If possible, four divisions of mounted men to be formed of thirty men each.
5. All officers and non-commissioned officers to report themselves as such.
6. Discharged and pensioned soldiers to report themselves, stating the rank they held when discharged, and to what corps they belonged.
7. Companies not to exceed forty, and such a proportion of discharged soldiers to be attached to each company, as the numbers reported may admit of.
8. A fine or other punishment, as may be deemed most expedient, to be inflicted on any person discharging fire-arms (unless in case of alarm) after sun-set. This fine will be rigorously enforced.
9. Each inhabitant is requested to have a light placed in the window of his house during the hours of darkness. Should the moon be brilliant, the candles may be dispensed with. All canteens to be immediately shut: any infringement to be severely punished. All Kafirs now in the town as servants, &c., to be placed under surveillance forthwith.
10. Foot patrols to mount at sun set, and if possible to be relieved every two hours. These patrols will be visited

by a military officer, and the strictest obedience to the orders of the person in charge is strongly enjoined. Any irregularity to be reported to the visiting officer.

11. Any well authenticated intelligence of the movements of the Kafirs, to be at once reported to the Commandant of the Town, Capt. Selwyn, at the Church, the place of rendezvous; or should he not be there, to the person appointed to receive such reports for his information.

12. The three Justices of the Peace to attend in rotation at the Church.

13. Three mounted men to be in attendance at the Church.

14. Five of the Inhabitants to set as a Committee for the purpose of communication with the several leaders of divisions, to receive reports, and to issue such instructions as may be deemed expedient.

Before the close of the day, information was received of the murder of a poor man named Robert Cramer. He was driving a few head of cattle along the road leading from the farm of Mahony, to that of a settler named Purcell, where he resided, when he was suddenly attacked, and quickly butchered by the savages. Two little girls, daughters of Purcell, were in his company; but in the confusion they fortunately escaped. It is supposed that the same barbarians, reeking with the blood of their victim, repaired towards the farm of Mahony at the very moment that he was endeavouring to escape to the Military Post of Kafir's Drift, accompanied by his wife and son-in-law, Mr. H. W. Henderson, a respectable merchant from Graham's Town. Observing the Kafirs emerge from the thicket,—Mahony alighted from the wagon, and, finding that flight was impossible, he accosted the Kafirs with kindness, in hope of softening their obdurate nature; but vain was the expectation! The uplifted assagai too well indicated their murderous intentions, and in the next instant he was stretched, before the eyes of his distracted wife, a lifeless and bleeding corpse. The wretches next proceeded to the wagon where Mr. Henderson with two of his infant children and Mrs. Mahony was seated, and, in spite of their cries and tears, dispatched him in the most appalling manner. While engaged in this work of blood, Mrs. Mahony escaped from the wagon with one of the children, and a female Hottentot servant with the other,



and by taking refuge in the adjacent thicket, they, almost as by miracle, escaped; but in a frame of mind which may be imagined, but which it would be in vain to describe. A day or two following these tragical occurrences, the child, an interesting boy of 3 years old, that had escaped with the servant, was brought into town by a Kafir, who was in the service of Mahony at the time he was killed, and who thus generously exerted himself to serve the grandson of his unfortunate master. The health of the poor child had, however, received such a shock from the privations it endured, while wandering through the rugged thickets towards a place of safety, that he did not long survive after being restored to the arms of his disconsolate parent; and the same grave, within a period of a few days; closed over three generations of one family.

Lower down, at a place called Waay Plaats, another barbarous and unprovoked murder was perpetrated on the person of an industrious shoemaker, named A. Forbes. The savages attacked him near his dwelling in open day, despatched him by numerous assagai wounds, and then fired his dwelling, which was speedily reduced, with all it contained, to a heap of ruins. His wife, with a family of seven young children, fortunately escaped.

On the afternoon of this day further reports were received from various quarters of the daring advance of the Kafirs, and that in such numbers, that successful resistance to their progress was utterly impracticable. The scattered inhabitants in every direction were compelled to fly from their dwellings, either to an adjacent village, or to concentrate in some spot where they might act on the defensive with some prospect of holding out for a short time against the invaders. Before night every precaution was taken at Graham's Town for a determined stand in case of attack; most of the women and children were received into the flat-roofed houses around the Church-square, or took refuge in the church; wagons were drawn across the different entrances; guards and patrols, both mounted and on foot, posted around the Town, and every man was under arms.

On Friday morning a party of twenty of the inhabitants, mounted and well armed, proceeded to the scene of the savage butchery of Messrs. Mahony and Henderson—one of the most intricate and dangerous defiles along the frontier line. No opposition was offered to this little band of volun-

teers, and they at length reached the spot where the deed had been perpetrated; but here a scene presented itself of the most appalling description. The wagon in which these unfortunate individuals were proceeding to Kafir's Drift had been overturned; the property it contained had been carefully examined—apparently for arms and ammunition—the beds and bolsters cut open and the contents scattered around; near the hind wheels lay the body of Mr. Henderson, his head apparently fractured with an axe, whilst his body was covered with assegai wounds; at a short distance in advance lay the corpse of poor Mahony, who had received a frightful wound in the neck, into which he had endeavoured to thrust a portion of his shirt, in a vain attempt to staunch the blood. The party having covered the bodies with bedding from the wagon, proceeded to the dwelling house of the deceased, Mahony, which had been completely sacked by the marauders; they then examined the scene of the murder of Cramer, the corpse of whom they interred in a wolf hole. At night the party reached Town in safety.

The next day another party proceeded from Town with a wagon, determined to bring in the dead bodies, they succeeded in their object, as also in recovering the body of a trader named Kirkman, who had been murdered near the Fish River Drift.

On Saturday a mounted patrol, consisting of 21 persons, proceeded to scour the country through Howison's Poort, along the skirts of the Kariga River. They had dismounted for the purpose of grazing their horses for a few minutes, when their attention was attracted by the cries of females proceeding from a farm house immediately below them. Observing a man galloping furiously forward, and beckoning them to follow, they instantly rode after him, and shortly came to a spot where a party of three farmers were then defending themselves against about 300 Kafirs, who had attacked them. The farmers had taken refuge in a thick clump of bush, and with the most determined gallantry were defending themselves by keeping up a fire upon the assailants. At the approach of the patrol the Kafirs scampered off to the adjoining jungle; and they found the three brave men—two brothers, named FERREIRA, and one named JACOBUS BUURMAN—in a most pitiable condition. One of them had received numerous severe wounds, particularly in the abdomen;

his brother was also dangerously wounded; whilst the third, who had no gun, was uninjured. The bush was thickly strewn with assegais—most of them new and of a very superior description—53 of which were collected and brought into town. The wounded men were placed in a wagon and arrived there in the evening. The bravery with which one of these men, who shortly afterwards died of his wounds, defended himself, is remarkable: several of the assegais which pierced him he drew from his own body, and hurled back upon his savage assailants. Information was also received from two persons of colour, wagon drivers in the employ of Messrs. Simpson and Ford, Kafir traders, of the ingress into the colony by the pass at Trompetter's Drift of large bodies of the enemy. They had been attacked at that spot: their wagons had been plundered—their oxen taken, and a young Englishman in charge of the property, named Albert Kirkman, whom we have before named, murdered. They had made their escape into the dense jungle, and having afterwards ascended an eminence overlooking the pass, they had there counted the number of Kafirs passing into the Colony. For every hundred they had made a notch on a whipstick,—and by this mode of computation, it appeared that 1,000 warriors had passed while they remained on that spot.

William Lynx, a Hottentot, who had just arrived from Kafirland, reported also that at the trading station of Mr. Southey, called Buck's Kraal, he saw an Englishman named William Hogg lying murdered, and the station plundered; he saw also a party of more than 100 Kafirs which were driving a large herd of cattle and horses on the main road from the Colony towards the Kafir territory. These cattle were drove in four divisions. He likewise saw a party of Kafirs in hot pursuit of a trader named G. Iles, who was overtaken and murdered.\* On reaching Waay Plats he saw six divisions of Kafirs, each about 100 strong, crossing the country towards Bathurst.

\* The wife of this unfortunate young man had fled about this time from her residence to Bathurst. Here she found refuge in the unfinished church, and there gave birth to her first child. Only four days afterwards, the village was abandoned, when she was compelled to undertake a journey to Graham's Town, a distance of 26 miles.

The next statement was made by John Brown, the proprietor of a farm adjoining Mahony's,—and who was in his company at the moment he fell a victim to the savages. His account of this melancholy occurrence was as follows:—That on the day in question, he was on his way towards his own farm, when, on passing the residence of Mr. Mahony, that person came out in great alarm, declaring it to be his intention to proceed with his family towards Graham's Town. He suggested that as Kafir Drift Post was nearer, it would be better to remove thither. Mahony, after some little discussion, agreed to this; but they had not proceeded far when a body of Kafirs appeared about 100 yards in advance, and whose intention it evidently was to surround them. He was a little before the wagon, and on looking back, he saw that the oxen had been cut out; and that Mr. Mahony was lying on the ground weltering in his blood. He and his son fled into the bush. Here they dismounted from their horses—threw the bridles and saddles away, and turned their horses loose. Whilst they remained concealed in the thicket, a party of about fifty Kafirs crossed towards the Colony, and returned soon afterwards with at least 400 head of cattle, which they divided into different lots; and proceeded with them towards the Kap River heights. They heard Kafirs all night around, and it appeared to him that they were in considerable force. After several hair-breadth escapes, Mr. Brown and his son, in a state of great exhaustion, fell in with the party who went out to recover the bodies of Messrs. Henderson and Mahony, and were conveyed by them to town.

From Bathurst the accounts were equally distressing. A communication from a Committee of Safety which had been appointed there, remarked, that in consequence of the alarming state of the country, the inhabitants of that part had abandoned their homes and property and fled; that the new church at Bathurst was filled with those unfortunate and destitute people; and that those who could not find shelter there were exposed in their wagons. It went on to state that on Christmas Day the Kafirs attacked the cattle in the most daring manner, and succeeded in carrying off a great number; that they were kept in a most feverish state of excitement in consequence of their very insufficient means of defence, being but few in number, whilst many had no other weapons than pitch-forks or bayonets. Those who had horses were

constantly on duty patrolling; and that many of their horses were knocked up; and that these and other exertions could not be continued unless they received assistance. This despatch concluded by stating it had been reported to them that the Kafirs were approaching in considerable numbers, and that consequently their position would be quite untenable; as their supply of water, allowing they could defend themselves in the church, might be cut off. Under these circumstances advice was requested as to the propriety of retiring on Graham's Town with their families, and sending their cattle in the direction of Algoa Bay, or elsewhere, as might be eventually decided on. They implored a reinforcement of men, which was the more necessary, as a patrol under Lieut. Forbes, which had been sent thither with ammunition, and which had been extremely active, was about to return to Graham's Town.

The reply to this communication was of the most heart-rending character. It stated the utter impossibility of affording the assistance prayed for; and it recommended them to abandon that beautiful and interesting village, and to avail themselves of the communication then open with Graham's Town. This advice was followed; the whole of that part of the British Settlement was abandoned: large herds of cattle and valuable flocks of Merino sheep were left a prey to the wolves, or to the still more savage hordes of barbarians. It was truly affecting to witness the melancholy cavalcade as it reached town. Families who a few days before were living in peace and in comfort, were suddenly plunged into a state of utter destitution,—the proceeds of fifteen years arduous and incessant exertions swept off at one fell swoop,—and they themselves cast upon the world houseless wanderers. A communication from this place, stating the determination of removal, contained the following affecting passage:—"I have much pleasure in mentioning the good feeling which exists amongst us under all these distressing circumstances. We leave behind the whole of our property and cattle, the result of 15 years hard labour and perseverance, and are reduced to mere baggage. The conveyances we have will not contain the women and children, many will have to walk, as some of the wagons are without oxen, the Kafirs having stolen them."—On their route several parties of Kafirs presented themselves on the plain, and were gallantly pursued

by the young men who formed the escort. In these skirmishes two Kafirs were killed and several wounded.

The situation of Bathurst is extremely unfavorable for defence against such an enemy as the Kafir. It is embosomed in the immense thicket which lines the banks of the Kowie River,—thus affording secure cover to the enemy until within a few yards of the dwellings of the inhabitants. Independent of this, the mode of warfare adopted by the enemy was judiciously planned—their operations were well organized—and their proceedings accurately and boldly executed. Masses of Kafirs appearing at distant points, and making demonstrations of attack, wherever there were any inhabitants to intimidate or property to seize; and then to retire into the fastnesses of the immense bushy ravines which intersect the country, was a system well calculated to tire out the patience and wear out the strength of the most persevering and enduring troops.

The following extract of a letter from Lieut. Forbes, who gallantly volunteered his services in the defence of this village, will give a good illustration of this.—“ I had scarcely sent off my note to you yesterday when I heard that the cattle we had recovered from the Kafirs the night we arrived from Graham's Town, had been again taken by them. Unfortunately I had, previously to this, been obliged to send a strong escort with wagons to Graham's Town; and as Lieut. Gilfillan's patrol, consisting of about 18 men, together with five or six of my own party, were rendered unserviceable from their horses being knocked up, it left me with only seven mounted men. These I immediately took out to reconnoitre, and we were not long before I discovered a party of 20 or 30 Kafirs, who upon seeing me approach, fled to the bush. We had no sooner driven them off than I discovered another body of Kafirs making towards a number of cattle feeding very imprudently about two miles distant, and to this point I took my patrol as soon as I possibly could. Previous to this, when I first discovered that the Kafirs were so numerous, I sent one of my party back for assistance from the foot patrol, which came up to us before I discovered the other party of Kafirs going to take the cattle. We just got up when the Kafirs were in the act of surrounding them; but as our party consisted of only six, and two of them had not come up, we did not at that moment



make an attack, but waited a few seconds until we were joined by a reinforcement of horsemen, which were seen riding to our assistance. On their arrival we immediately pursued them, killed one of the enemy, and retook a number of the cattle. At this time Kafirs were approaching from all sides, and formed a strong force to protect the cattle in their possession. Myself and Mr. C. Bailie\* rode off to attack them, and were followed by two or three more. We got up in time to kill three or four before they reached the cover of the bush. Two or three were armed and mounted, and fired on us. I had a narrow escape from one of them, and they succeeded in getting off with a great many cattle. Mr. Gillfillan's patrol also took some cattle and killed four or five of the enemy. My opinion is changed very much respecting the number of Kafirs in this neighbourhood; I now think them very numerous."

During these proceedings the Committee of safety, which had been earnestly and zealously engaged in devising expedients suitable to the emergency, and to allay in some degree, the painful suspense of the public, published the following notice:—

"The unusual course pursued by the Kafirs in their present invasion of the Colony, has not hitherto permitted the Committee of Safety to put the public in possession of sufficiently accurate information to enable them to form a correct judgment of their actual situation.

"From the despatches recently received from the Commandant of the Frontier, from the Civil Commissioner of Somerset, and from the Field-cornets who have been in communication with the Civil Commissioner, it now distinctly appears that the Kafirs are in occupation of the whole line of Frontier from Kafir Drift to the Winterberg; that hitherto they have confined themselves to carrying off the cattle belonging to the Colonists, and killing the people they find in small numbers on the high roads or in solitary habitations.

"In consequence of the Kafirs being thus dispersed over the great length of frontier already described, and to a depth

\* This enterprising and amiable young man received afterwards a commission in a Provisional Corps,—and being sent out on Patrole, was surrounded by the enemy and fell with all his men in the Forests of the Amatola. Vide subsequent Narrative

embracing nearly the whole extent of the frontier district, the Burghers of this district, as well as those of Somerset, have either been unable to leave their houses, or their services have been required in other quarters.

“The armed force collected in Graham's Town has, therefore, been almost exclusively engaged in defensive operations. A portion of the armed Burghers from Uitenhage is hourly expected, and the Civil Commissioner there has promised to send on reinforcements as they are collected in the more remote parts of his district.

“The first despatch to His Excellency the Governor may have reached Cape Town yesterday; it is, therefore, probable that the most efficient relief will speedily be afforded. In the meantime it is indispensably necessary that the armed force collected here confine themselves to defensive operations, and the Committee, in consideration of the large reinforcements which, it appears from Colonel Somerset's last despatch, the enemy is preparing in Kafirland, has recommended the inhabitants of Bathurst, and they now advise the inhabitants of the more remote parts of the district of Albany, to fall back upon Graham's Town wherever a communication is still open.

“The Committee despatched an express yesterday evening to Colonel Somerset, earnestly recommending the immediate concentration of the whole of the armed force on this frontier at Graham's Town.

“The Committee earnestly exhort all persons composing the commandos to yield a ready obedience to the orders of the officers under whose direction they have been placed, and to repose in the officers of His Majesty's regular force that confidence to which their military experience, as well as their total freedom from local prejudices and private interests, entitle them.”

On Sunday St. George's church presented a scene equally novel and affecting; instead of being used for Divine Worship, as usual, nothing was heard but the din of arms, and the noise and bustle of a guard house in a time of war. About nine at night Divine Worship was performed by the Acting District Chaplain, amidst an assembly which presented a scene that could not fail to awaken the most painful and interesting associations. The gallery was principally



filled with women and children, driven from their homes,—reduced from comfort to absolute destitution by the savage enemy, whilst the floor was occupied by men leaning on their arms. The morning lesson (Isaiah xxxvii), was singularly appropriate to their situation; and the minister, instead of sermon, made a few remarks on the several passages, pointing out their applicability, and encouraging the people to trust in HIM before whom all the nations of the earth are but as the dust of the balance.

All the despatches from the several outposts concurred in shewing the futility of the present force on the frontier attempting to offer any effectual resistance to the invaders; and it became the general opinion that the only chance of safety was to abandon the outposts and concentrate at Graham's Town. At the Gualana it was with the greatest difficulty that the troops could preserve their communication with Kafir's Drift, whilst they could afford no assistance whatever to the inhabitants, nor stop the progress of the marauders. The Kafir chiefs in that neighbourhood, Cobus, Pato, and Kama, had, however, shewn a friendly disposition, and it was supposed that they might be induced to declare in favor of the colony; if security were afforded them against the vengeance of the more powerful chiefs who were at the head of the confederacy. Under all these circumstances this post was ordered to be abandoned, and the garrison to retire upon Kafir Drift.

On Monday a communication was received from Salem, stating that on the day preceding, as several farmers who had taken a position about three miles from that village were preparing to move forward, they observed a number of Kafirs very near them; and no sooner had the wagons proceeded a short distance, than they rushed down and seized the cattle. The farmers in charge of them fled to Salem, where they were joined by some of the inhabitants, forming a party of about 20 mounted men, and these, placing themselves under the direction of an active young man named Barend Woest, started off in pursuit. They soon came up with the marauders, and succeeded in re-capturing cattle to the amount of 400 head. Four Kafirs were killed in this affair.

A short distance eastward of Salem a party of about 60 men had posted themselves at the farm of Mr. G.

Gilbert, defending themselves against all the attempts of the enemy to dislodge them. Several night attacks were made without success; but being encumbered with a herd of 800 cattle and 70 horses, the enemy at length, watching a favorable opportunity when these were in the field, poured down suddenly upon the herdsmen, whose guns they seized before they had time to defend themselves, and succeeded in driving off the whole of this valuable booty.

A similar effort was made by Mr. G. Tomlinson, residing at the junction of the Fish and Koonap Rivers—at a pass which may be pronounced as one of the most intricate and dangerous in the country; surrounded by ample cover for myriads of the enemy, and affording in every direction a retreat where it was impossible for mounted men to follow, besides many situations which are quite impracticable to any but Kafirs, or other natives accustomed to thread the mazy thicket, or climb the rocky precipice. Still, notwithstanding these disadvantages, Mr. Tomlinson bravely defended himself against the repeated night attacks of the savages; and it was not till he had lost his cattle that he abandoned his dwelling.

The intelligence received this day from the immediate frontier was distressing in the extreme, and well calculated to fill the mind with indescribable horror, as well as to rouse every latent spark of energy to the most stern and uncompromising resistance. It stated that at present all the missionaries in Kafirland were safe; but that many of the traders had been put to death in cold blood. A communication from Fort Willshire stated, that Macomo had declared that the missionaries and their families should be spared, but that all the traders must die. It went on to say that they had no accurate information of the number actually massacred, but they had heard of Edwards, at Burn's Hill; Warren, at the Rev. Mr. Kayser's station, belonging to the London Missionary Society; Rogers, at the Chumie; and several others. The poor man Warren was dragged from Mr. Kayser's house, taken a few yards off, and then murdered.

Monday night Lieut.-Col. Somerset arrived at Graham's Town from Fort Beaufort, and on Tuesday, at noon, inspected the municipal force. The intelligence communicated by this officer corresponded in every respect with that previ-

ously received; or rather it was, if possible, of a still graver character. He stated that the Kafirs were moving into the colony in such large masses that no military force then at his command was able to offer them any effectual resistance. He had no apprehensions for Graham's Town, but he urged the necessity of the greatest vigilance and exertion.

On the afternoon of Tuesday, eight wagons which were on their way from Graham's Town to Kafir Drift, under an escort consisting of twelve men, were attacked immediately after they had descended the Graham's Town hill, by a large body of Kafirs, of whom *fifty, who were in advance, were clothed, mounted, and armed with guns.* These were at first taken to be a patrol of colonists, but as they came nearer, several Kafirs on foot were observed amongst them. On this the escort halted, and was immediately fired on by the enemy, but at too great a distance to be effective. After a slight skirmish, it was observed that a large body of Kafirs on foot were running swiftly, making a *detbur*, with an evident intention to cut off the retreat by the road descending to the plain. As their existence depended upon securing this pass, the escort instantly retreated: this was no sooner done than the Kafirs rushed upon the 8 wagons, cut out the oxen to the number of 96, and drove them into the bush. An Englishman named James Jenkins, the owner of one of the wagons, fell a victim to the fury of the enemy, his body being found the next day lying on the road covered with wounds. The escort kept up a skirmish with the enemy for some time, and an express was immediately forwarded to town for assistance, on receipt of which Lieutenant Ross, and about 40 men, instantly galloped towards the scene. They, however, fell in with the escort on its retreat to town, and it being too late to engage in any general operation that day they returned to head quarters.

At the village of SALEM the inhabitants had determined to make a stand; and being reinforced by many farmers from the surrounding country, they were enabled to present a tolerable front to the enemy. The chapel (belonging to the Wesleyans), the mission house, and the school of Mr. Matthews, lying contiguous to each other, were appropriated for the reception of the inhabitants, and as a citadel for the

protection of the place Pallisadoes were hastily thrown around of such materials as were at hand, and every thing put in the best possible state of defence their circumstances would admit. Several parties of the enemy were seen adjacent to the village, and several skirmishes had taken place during the day between them and the patrols of the inhabitants. At length, however, the Kafirs collected in force and resolved on a night attack; accordingly, about nine or ten o'clock, a large body of the enemy, amongst whom were many mounted and armed with guns, suddenly poured down on the village. The people defended themselves with spirit, but from the confusion caused by the rush of the cattle, amid the darkness of night, the Kafirs succeeded in capturing five hundred cattle, and in making good their retreat with the loss of only one man. On receiving this information at Graham's Town, as also that the village was surrounded by the Kafirs, and consequently the communication with the authorities cut off, a strong mounted patrol, composed jointly of the Rifle Corps and civilians, was ordered to its relief, and to clear the country of the marauders.

An incident occurred at this village which is worthy of record. An inhabitant, named R. G\*\*\*—an excellent man, but of great eccentricity of manner, who held the notion of the unlawfulness of war even in defence of person and family, and who was so far consistent as to refuse to take up arms even at this perilous crisis,—observing a number of the enemy at no great distance off, resolved upon attempting to effect by persuasion what force had not hitherto been able to accomplish. He accordingly sallied forth, perfectly defenceless, and accosting the marauders, enquired if they knew who resided there? Whether they were aware that it was a people who had been long employed in endeavors to benefit them? That the minister who resided in that house—pointing to the mission house, and referring to the Rev. S. Young, Wesleyan missionary—had formerly lived amongst them in peace and harmony in their own country, had there taught them the "good word," and done much to benefit them and advance their interests? Was it right, he demanded, that they should requite this kindness by those outrages which they had recently committed? We are not informed of the exact tenor of the

replies to these pithy enquiries; however, we are aware that the conference ended by Mr. G\*\*\* presenting the enemy with a good supply of bread and meat and tobacco; with a parting injunction that they would immediately take their leave of that neighbourhood. Every one will perceive the rashness of this conduct: in a similar case of Mr. Brown, which occurred subsequently, although he was invited to a parley by the barbarians, yet he was no sooner in their power than they mercilessly dispatched him. Fortunately in this instance they permitted the return of the individual; and it is even said that his arguments and persuasions had a considerable effect in rendering less frequent those harrassing attacks to which they had been before exposed.

At the missionary institution of THEOPOLIS, the inhabitants had likewise maintained their ground; serving, like Salem, as a point of retreat for the neighbouring farmers. Here, however, in spite of every effort, the enemy captured a large proportion of their cattle. Still the position was maintained to the last, and the enemy's movements considerably checked by the daily patrols sent out to scour the country around the village.

Further to the westward—to a distance far beyond the limits of the Albany District,—the progress of the invaders was equally irresistible and destructive. On the 26th December a party of Burghers, as the Dutch Colonists are accustomed to style themselves, quitted Uitenhage to meet and assist in repelling the enemy. They first proceeded to the Zuurberg, where many outrages had already been committed; but not falling in with the marauders there, they turned towards the coast. On reaching the Field-cornet Buchner's, at Quagga's Vlakte, they heard that the farmers of Oliphants Hoek had been attacked in great force, and had fled from their habitations and taken refuge in the church; after having lost cattle to the amount of six thousand head. This part of the Uitenhage District is one of the most fertile sections of the colony. It contained before the irruption, about 100 farm houses,—the proprietors of which were men in prosperous circumstances. The country hereabouts presents great capabilities for grazing, whilst the soil is eminently suited to the growth of grain and other marketable produce. Possessing these advantages, most of the farmers of this division were not merely in comfortable but opulent cir-

cumstances: in one short week how changed the scene! Their houses were pillaged and burnt—their church, in which they had piled up their furniture, shared the same fate,—their stacks of corn were either fired or scattered,—and their cattle and horses swept off by the barbarians in spite of every effort to protect them. Men who on Christmas day might be considered in independent circumstances, found themselves before the year had closed its round, reduced to the absolute want of the bare necessities of life. On no part of the frontier was the destruction of property so extensive, and the ruin so complete as here. It will be imagined that this did not take place without a struggle. Skirmishes with the invaders were of daily occurrence, in which thirty or forty of the enemy fell; but their numbers were so considerable, and the woody intricate nature of the country gave them such facilities for conducting their peculiar mode of warfare, that the farmers, almost harassed to death by incessant watching, were at length compelled to abandon the country, even as far westward as the Sunday's River, to the savage invaders.

The booty which had fallen into the hands of the enemy up to this period, must have been immense, as the whole country comprised within a line drawn westward from the Winterberg to the Zuurberg, and southward from the latter to the sea, had, with the exception of Graham's Town and one or two minor positions, been completely laid waste. Notwithstanding this, the insatiable cupidity of the enemy urged them to proceed: some of their parties accordingly crossed the Sunday's River, and a few even penetrated to within a very short distance of Uitenhage; a distance of 140 miles from the Kafir boundary.

A curious circumstance occurred during a night attack on the farm house of the Field-cornet Niekerk,—situated on the right bank of the Sunday's River. This attack was made about 10 o'clock on the night of the 30th December. The enemy having approached close to the house, commenced yelling and whistling in the most terrific manner—hurling their assagais and endeavouring to intimidate the inmates from quitting the cover of the buildings,—whilst a second band of marauders was endeavouring to demolish the kraal and capture the cattle. They, however, met with so warm a reception, that they were soon glad to sheer off, leaving



two of their number killed on the spot, and three severely wounded. One of the men killed was observed standing at the kraal gate, and was fired at repeatedly before he fell. He appeared perfectly insensible to danger, calling out in his native dialect, "you may fire as long as you please, you will not hit me." The infatuated creature had been persuaded by the wizards or "rain-makers" that he was invulnerable to powder and ball, and his life was the penalty of his credulity.

On the morning of New Year's Day it was ascertained that some of the enemy had had the audacity to enter the precincts of the town, though guarded by a strong chain of piquets. In their approach they unfortunately fell in with a Hottentot in charge of a flock of sheep. This poor fellow was immediately dispatched, his body being found in the morning covered with assegai wounds. Others of the enemy were approaching the Cape barracks, but were fired on by the sentinel with such effect that one man had his thigh fractured by a musket ball, and was conveyed into town the next morning. Little information could, however, be elicited from him, and though every attention was paid him by the district surgeon, yet his wound proved fatal. Another attempt was made to pass, during the night, the line of sentinels, but it was detected by the vigilance of the men on duty, though the enemy were successful in making a precipitate retreat. After this period it does not appear that any serious intention was entertained of attacking the town.

At this stage of affairs the Committee of Safety published the following official notice:—

"Colonel Somerset has arrived in Graham's Town, leaving at Fort Beaufort a considerable force to check the advance of a large body of Kafirs who were endeavouring to enter the colony.

"The inhabitants of Bathurst and its vicinity have fallen back upon Graham's Town, it being utterly impossible to supply the consumption of ammunition consequent upon attempts to defend a variety of detached points; and there being considerable risk of supplies falling into the hands of the enemy, who appear to have some arms in their possession. The great scarcity of ammunition along the whole line of frontier, also demands the utmost possible economy in its

expenditure, to supply the Burghers from the other districts on their arrival.

“A despatch, dated Somerset, 28th December, has been received from Mr. Ryneveld; from which it appears that the Burghers of Graaff-Reinet, to the number of 50, had reached that place, and that he momentarily expected the remainder of the first levy to join him.

“A communication has also been received from Mr. O'Reilly, Justice of the Peace at Cradock, from which it appears that the inhabitants of the Winterberg must retire, unless supplies of ammunition be speedily afforded them. In that quarter the want of ammunition is severely felt.

“The Committee cannot too earnestly impress upon the armed inhabitants the necessity of yielding a ready obedience to the orders of their officers, and of patiently awaiting the proper moment for commencing offensive operations against the enemy.”

During these proceedings it was painful beyond expression for the inhabitants of Graham's Town—crowded together as they were under such melancholy circumstances—to observe as the evening closed in, the horizon for a considerable distance stretching round the British settlement in the Zuurveld, vividly gleaming from the flaming houses of the inhabitants, which had been plundered and fired by these ruthless barbarians. Many of the British immigrants had, by many years of patient industry and successful efforts, erected dwellings which would have done credit to respectable yeomanry in the old country. And in most cases these, with all their furniture, were destroyed by the firebrands of the invaders. It was likewise known that two Wesleyan Chapels—those at Port Frances and Green Fountain—had shared the fate of the farm houses in their neighbourhood.

Effectually to check the march of the invaders, or to prevent the devastation committed by them, was found to be impracticable by the small military force then on the Frontier. The inhabitants on the other hand could afford but little aid to the general defence. Spread over the country as they were in isolated situations, it was clearly apparent that nothing but the most prompt and decided measures could possibly save them from being cut off in detail and sacrificed



by the enemy. Independent of this, many of the invaders, among whom were a number of Hottentots, were armed with muskets; and the very salvation of the Colony appeared to depend upon their not obtaining any considerable addition to these or to their stock of ammunition. The latter was extremely scarce at Graham's Town,—and had part of that supply been sent away to those who applied for it, the probabilities were, that it would fall into the hands of the enemy before reaching its destination; and that the inhabitants would become a more easy prey in consequence. In this emergency, the necessity of concentration until reinforcements should arrive, was strongly felt both by the civil and military authorities. Accordingly the Military Posts at Kafir's Drift and the Gualana, were ordered to be abandoned, and the troops from thence to fall back on Graham's Town; whilst the "Committee of Safety" issued the following notice:—

"The arrival of reinforcements from distant points, and the abandonment of some positions which had been occupied by a few individuals for mutual protection, are the principal occurrences since the 30th ult., the date of the Committee's last communication to the public.

"Private property has, in many instances, been abandoned with all the alacrity which the public safety required, and which the authorities, charged with the general defence, had a right to expect from the inhabitants. In some few instances, the Committee regret to say, there has been a tardiness, at once injurious to private interests, and detrimental to the public service. Such cases have, however, been so rare, that the Committee does not feel itself called upon to notice them in any other way, than to warn the public against listening to the counsel of persons who are unavoidably ignorant of what is passing at distant points; and who are consequently unable to form a sound judgment respecting the expediency of established regulations.

"Some arms and ammunition have fallen into the hands of the enemy in consequence of injudicious attempts to protect property, under circumstances which precluded the possibility of an effectual resistance.

"Several wagons have been attacked; some of the people attached to them killed; and, in one instance, an escort of ten men repulsed.

“A dispatch from His Excellency the Governor reached Graham's Town yesterday. Colonel SMITH, Deputy-Quarter-Master-General, and Acting-Dep.-Adjt.-General, had been directed to proceed to this frontier, and it is probable that he will arrive to-morrow.

“It was His Excellency's intention to leave Cape Town for the same destination as early as circumstances would permit.”

During this period the disposable civil force at Graham's Town, was by no means inactive. Independent of the harassing duties of the infantry in standing sentinel in exposed and perilous situations around the outskirts of the town during the night, and in guarding the barricadoes and other approaches, a mounted force was organized, and the command given to Major Gregory, of H. M. 98th Regt. who happening to be on the Frontier at the moment on leave of absence, gallantly volunteered his services in the general defence. Under his orders, and headed by him in person, the country was patrolled from Graham's Town to Kafir's Drift Post—subsequently fired by the enemy—and in many other directions; and by this means a very seasonable diversion was made in favor of the Colony.

The hopes of the colonists were also excited by the certain fact that Pato, Kama, and Cobus, the chiefs of the Amagonakwabie tribe, had positively refused to join the confederacy against the colony. They had been strongly urged to take this step by numbers of their people, whose cupidity had been excited by the rich booty carried off from the colonists by their countrymen; but they had resisted these solicitations, and had expressed an unequivocal determination to continue on terms of amity with the British power. Their sincerity had been shewn by undeviating kindness to every European within their territory, and by affording protection to others who had fled thither for safety. The necessity of co-operating with these chiefs whilst in this temper was sufficiently manifest; but as this was impracticable at the moment, their proceedings were watched with considerable anxiety.

Most of the foregoing occurrences relate to the lower part of Albany—the country forming the original British settlement—and to the south-east division of Uitenhage; but higher up, amongst the old Dutch inhabitants, the outrages

were equally extensive and destructive. To relate every individual case would be a tedious repetition of like deplorable disasters, and would swell our narrative far beyond the limits which we have assigned to ourselves. Nevertheless it will be necessary to cite a few cases, in order that the reader may form a just opinion of that ruin which so suddenly overwhelmed a peaceful people, and swept the whole of this long line of frontier as with the besom of destruction.

\* In the north-west part of Albany, and adjoining district of Somerset, it appears that the barbarians were in full possession of the country as early as the 24th Dec. Accordingly on that day we find them attacking the farmers in every direction. The situation of the inhabitants may be well understood by the following statements made by the parties to the Board of Relief, when applying subsequently for some assistance under their necessitous condition.

“ Mrs. Van de Venter, from Fonteyn's Kloof, a farm on the left bank of the Fish River, states that the Kafirs attacked them suddenly after sun-set on the 24th of December. In the early part of the day they had felt a little alarm at a rumour which had reached them of the murder of Stephanus Buys; but an Englishman, whose name she does not recollect, called at their place in the course of the day, and assured them that it was all false, and that the Kafirs were perfectly quiet. When the attack was made, there were only three persons on the place capable of offering any resistance. Six of the enemy were shot, as they afterwards discovered; her husband received an assagai wound in the knee, and the Kafirs succeeded in driving off all the cattle, including those of her brother, Jan Delpport, amounting to 216 head, together with 60 horses. Three of the most valuable horses were tied up very close to the windows of the house, but the Kafirs drove down the cattle upon the house, exclaiming in Dutch, ‘let us murder them every one,’ and succeeded in the rush and confusion in cutting them all loose. When they had driven the rest of the cattle a little way, they sent a party back to fetch the calves, which were kept in a separate fold, and these called out to the women in the house, as they drove the calves away, ‘What will you do now for milk

for your children?' and added, 'when we have secured the cattle we will return and burn the houses.'

"Conceiving that the Kafirs might carry this threat into execution, and fearing that their fire arms might be getting out of order, as it was a rainy evening, the farmers advised the women to take the children and to flee. They accordingly set out in the opposite direction. The women and children, about 24 in number, went first, and the two men with guns brought up the rear. In this manner they walked about 12 miles in a dark and rainy night, and waded the Fish River, which was considerably swollen, and arrived at J. J. Lombard's place, destitute of every thing except the clothes upon their backs."

"Joachim Espag, from Buffalo Fountain, on the Fish River, states that the invaders attacked his place in the dusk of the evening of the 26th of December, he cannot say exactly in what force, but thinks there were between 70 and 80, and all mounted. They took from Mr. Espag on that occasion, 404 head of cattle, 19 horses, and upwards of 840 sheep and goats, and left him (at that time) 1 heifer, 1 ox, 18 horses, and 880 sheep and goats, which are partly his own and partly the property of his children; he has a wife and three adult daughters, and 18 slave apprentices, great and small; his house has not been burnt, but part of his furniture, including 2 beds, was destroyed. When the Kafirs attacked his place, a young man of the name of Frederick Silverhoorn, who had only been married four days, was killed in the horse-kraal; this was not ascertained till next morning, when he was found lying with a javelin through his body. The women and children had all fled into the thickets, and the man who remained in the house supposed that Silverhoorn had gone to them."\*

These examples will suffice to shew the situation of the inhabitants occupying this part of the Albany District. But while the enemy were thus desolating the country here, the very same process was going on along the more immediate boundary to the eastward. In the fine and extensive tract of country watered by the streams which flow from the magnificent Winterberg, every farm had been aban-

\*Vide Report of Board of Relief, page 51—54.

doned, and the people driven from place to place by the barbarian hordes. Their perilous situation as well as their gallant resistance to the invaders, is well detailed by Mr. Pieter Retief, one of the most intelligent men on that part of the frontier, in a statement of which the following is the substance :—

“On the 22d of December,” says the narrator, “I was informed that the Kafirs had attacked the lower part of the Kat River,—that they were entering the Colony in great numbers, and had already committed several murders. I and my son-in-law, Jan Greyling,\* hereupon made such arrangements as were deemed necessary to repel the expected attack.

“On the 24th, the Field-cornet Viljoen, wrote that the Kafirs were attacking the place of the Provisional Field-cornet W. Bear, and requested assistance. Being only 30 men strong, we could spare but a few hands; however, J. Greyling, Abraham Greyling, P. Greyling, B. Greyling, Johannes Rensburg, Jacobus Hugo, P. Potgieter, Jacobus Breed, Dolph Jonker, Johs. Jonker, and Johs. Dreyer, went off on horseback. These proceeded without obstruction to within half an hours' distance from their place of destination, when they observed a large body of Kafirs marching towards them. The enemy immediately halted, and formed into a compact body, detaching a party of about 150 men to attack them. The Kafirs rushed forward with great impetuosity, and threw their assegais, when five of the farmers fired with such steadiness and effect, that seven of the foremost men fell. The engagement continued some time, and the Kafirs endeavoured to hem them round; but they failed in the attempt, and were themselves compelled at length to fly for shelter to a large bush immediately adjacent. The farmers observing that a steep hill adjoining would command this defile, rapidly proceeded there, opening a most destructive fire upon the enemy, who finding themselves thus exposed, broke short the shafts of their assegais and attempted to storm the position. The farmers however, by a well directed fire killed at the first discharge, eleven of the foremost Kafirs,—upon which they halted—made a precipitate retreat, and tried to shelter themselves

\*This brave young man fell afterwards by the assegai of the enemy.

from the destructive fire of the farmers behind the trees and rocks in the thicket; the farmers, however, had selected so good a position, that although the main body of the Kafirs came sufficiently close to see the fight, yet they were unable to assist their comrades. From this point they kept up a steady fire on the enemy with slugs, until their whole stock of ammunition was expended. On visiting the spot some days afterwards, 75 dead bodies were observed and among the slain the karosses (cloaks) of four chiefs.

“The evening after this engagement the farmers in that neighbourhood assembled on the place of J. Greyling. Here a body of Kafirs attempted to cut off the wagons and cattle, in the rear, but were beaten off. The women and children 202 in number, were lodged in an unfinished house, and the wagons were drawn round in a circle, and formed a temporary kraal for the cattle. All the armed men were placed outside of this enclosure, awaiting in silence for attack of the enemy. The night was excessively dark and cloudy, so that objects were perceived but very indistinctly. However, about 10 o'clock the attack commenced,—but the Kafirs were repulsed; though not before they had succeeded so far as to get into the kraal among the cattle, which they endeavoured, as is their usual custom, to drive in upon the farmers, who were obliged to fire at random amongst the herd. The overwhelming force of the cattle obliged the farmers at length to retreat, and the Kafirs succeeded in carrying off 2,000 head.

“The next morning as soon as day-light enabled them to discern objects, a party of 20 men followed on the track of the cattle, and retook a part of them, but were unable to continue the pursuit from the jaded condition of their horses. At the very moment of their return to their post in the evening the Kafirs were in the act of attacking the sheep kraal, in which attempt one of them was shot by A. Greyling. That night which, like the former, was very dark, the guard, consisting of 53 men, was placed as before outside the enclosure, with orders that, for better concealment, the men on duty should lie down. During the night the Kafirs came in great force, and were allowed to approach very close, when a destructive fire of slugs was poured amongst them. Many must have been wounded, judging from the traces of blood observed the next morning. Shortly after this they attacked



the cattle guard, and were successfully repulsed four times, but on the fifth they succeeded in carrying off part of the herd; so that out of 2,600 head of cattle, they only retained 250. Eight Kafirs were left dead on the spot in these two night attacks, and the arm of another was found among the slain. On the side of the farmers one slave boy, and a bastard named P. Eckstien, were severely wounded.

“On the 27th it was reported that the Kafirs intended to attack them in greater force than ever; and as their ammunition was nearly exhausted, and the hope of succour but slender, they determined to remove to a neighbouring farm, and there to unite their force to that of another body of the inhabitants which was making a stand against the invaders. Here a difficulty presented itself; their oxen had been captured by the enemy, and hence they were unable to remove the women and children. In this distressing and perilous condition they resolved to dispatch a messenger to the adjoining district of Tarka for succour; and from thence they got sufficient assistance to enable them to move to the Field-cornet Viljoen's, who occupied a strong position below the Winterberg.

“On the following day the Field-commandant VAN WYK arrived, and made the best arrangements he could for defence against the enemy. In accordance with his advice the party removed to another position between the Tarka and Winterberg, where they might have an opportunity of saving much corn, which in some places was lying in the field in sheafs, and in others had not been reaped.

“The losses sustained by the inhabitants of this neighbourhood since the irruption of the invaders are inconceivable. All the agricultural implements and household furniture were destroyed; and the corn abandoned has been estimated at 4,000 muids. Some part of this was saved, but a great deal was utterly lost. The total number of the enemy killed by this little party amounted to one hundred and twelve.”

From the scene of these occurrences to the Kat River Settlement is from eight to twelve miles to the southward. To this, we have before stated, the garrison of the Kat River Post had retired, where, having selected an almost impregnable position to such an enemy as the Kafir, and on which the scattered inhabitants were ultimately concentrated, they



awaited in considerable anxiety the movements of the invaders. During the time of these proceedings the officer commanding the post, Capt. Armstrong, narrowly escaped from falling into an ambuscade of the enemy. Fortunately a Rifleman, who had been sent forward to reconnoitre a bush through which the road lay to the post, discovered the danger, and, by giving timely notice, that officer and his party succeeded in extricating themselves from that difficult country by taking a circuitous road leading to Fort Beaufort.

From reports received at Graham's Town about this time relative to the spirit manifested by the inhabitants of the Kat River, their proceedings were watched with considerable anxiety. It was known that amongst the Kafirs the rumour was general of their having been assured of support from the Hottentots residing here; and this report appeared to be corroborated by the fact that though immediately adjoining them, no decisive attack had been made by the enemy on this settlement. It was well known that many of its inhabitants were in the practice of frequenting Kafir-land, although strongly prohibited by the colonial authorities. It was equally well understood that many were either native born Kafirs, or had friends and relatives amongst the invading force. Further, it was notorious that the minds of a large proportion of the people had been poisoned by indiscreet or crafty men against both the English and Dutch settlers, as well as against the colonial government.\* They had been told that they were an oppressed people, and that the white inhabitants were endeavoring to reduce them to the same state of thralldom as that from which they had so recently been delivered by

\*There is good ground for believing that in this settlement politics and religion have been far too intimately blended, for either to produce any desirable result. As an instance in point the following fact will be sufficient, and which is given on the testimony of a respectable ear-witness:—After the settlement had been established two years, the Civil Commissioner was ordered, in 1832, to visit it in his annual tour for collecting the taxes. No demand whatever had been made on these people till that period, and even then the great bulk of the inhabitants were not called on to contribute for their quota beyond the sum of six or seven shillings; and when this was not paid in *no case* has the defaulter been sued for arrears. Yet in spite of all this leniency and consideration, and actually while the government authorities were on the spot, did one of their body, recognized amongst them as a preacher or lecturer, declaim before the people assembled for the ostensible purpose of listening to that gospel which inculcates so strongly the duty of loyalty, on the cruelty with which they were treated, and the injustice of the government in wresting from them their hard earnings!

the justice of the British government. Subsequent events have shewn that the fears entertained at the time referred to were perfectly well founded ; and it seems certain that to the decided measures taken by Capt. Armstrong, and the apprehension of the disaffected of the Field-cornet Groepe and a party who had acted with him—and whose steady loyalty and admirable example were beyond all praise—this colony was saved from a repetition of those sickening scenes of anarchy and blood which, in 1793, were witnessed on this frontier by a coalition of the Kafirs and Hottentots.

The country appropriated for this settlement is only separated from Kaffraria by a chain of lofty mountains, and it lies within a very short distance of the Chumie, the very focus of the existing commotions. But although, as we have seen, such an extensive division of the colony was completely in the occupation of the enemy, who had in such numbers poured out from these fastnesses—death and desolation marking their footsteps with fatal certainty—yet was not their ferocity glutted, or their avarice satisfied, by the devastation within the colony or the immense booty which had been swept off from the inhabitants. During the very time of these operations the unfortunate traders who, in a fatal hour, had thrown themselves upon their hospitality, and were residing in the Kafir country, were either murdered or hunted from their little dwellings with the savage fury of blood-hounds. From one poor man, named Joseph Bourne, formerly a soldier in H. M. 38th Regiment, and who, almost as by miracle, escaped their hands, though at the expense of living the remnant of his days a pitiable cripple, we have heard the following recital:—

“On the the 23d of December,” says he, “Foudis, alias Kasana, son of the late Dushane, and about 400 men and women, the former armed with assegais, came to my shop, situated on the Tamacha, between the Buffalo and Keiskamma. This chief came into the house and sat down. After sitting a few moments he commanded me to open my boxes ; this was done ; when he said that all the property they contained belonged to him ; then giving a whistle his men rushed into the shop, and those who could not get in at the door pulled down part of the wall to obtain ingress. After they had taken away all the property they stripped me naked, in which state Kasana himself forced me to carry part of my property

to his kraal, significantly saying he would there dispose of me. On putting down the property I succeeded in eluding the vigilance of the guard which had been sent with me, and escaped into the bush. I heard them soon after seeking for me in the thicket with a number of dogs, on which I slid down a steep rocky precipice into a thick bush, and here I lay concealed while my pursuers passed. During the night, which was very wet, I left my hiding place, and endeavoured to make for the Buffalo River. At day-light in the morning I fell in with a body of 20 Kafirs, armed with assegais; these seized me, and then forming a circle, sat down on the ground with me in the midst of them. After some talk and dispute amongst themselves they permitted me to depart. About 12 o'clock that day I met with 7 more Kafirs; these also stopped me, and one of them was about to dispatch me with an assegai, when the others said—'Stop, we will beat him to death with our kierries.' They accordingly held me out at arm's length for some time, and I expected every moment to be put to death. After being kept a few minutes in this dreadful suspense, they said they would make me walk through a pond of water adjacent; accordingly they took me to a large pool a short distance off, but when there I refused to go into the water, telling them they might murder me on its bank. After some dispute, the purport of which appeared to be whether they should kill me or leave me to die from the cold and injury I had already endured, they resolved on the latter, and departed, leaving me in a most pitiable and almost helpless condition. At length, summoning up my little remaining strength, I crawled from the spot, and wandered I scarce knew whither: I came, however, at last in sight of the missionary institution of Mount Coke. Here Mr. Dugmore, the missionary, clothed me and gave me every attention, by which my life was saved; though from the exposure naked to inclement weather, and the hardships I endured, I have lost the use of my limbs, and am now compelled to use crutches."

It will scarcely be credited, after perusing the above recital, that the case of this poor man has been adduced by the apologists of the Kafirs as a proof of their forbearance and generosity to an enemy when in their power. And it is even said that there are those who can be misled by assertions of which it is difficult to know whether the turpitude or the folly

is most to be deplored. How emphatically and how differently does the language of Holy Writ describe such a people when it declares that "The tender mercies of the wicked are cruel."

This instance will suffice, out of an innumerable number which might be adduced, to shew the desperate lengths to which persons will often proceed in support of some favorite opinion or theory. The Kafirs have been declared, by those who were superlatively ignorant of the subject, to be an injured people; and every occurrence on this frontier for many years back has been made to bend to, or subserve in some way or other, this fanciful hypothesis. We have offered some arguments already to shew the injustice and absurdity of this, and we need not repeat them; but if these be perused with attention it may excite indignation, but not surprise, when we remark that at the very moment when the whole of the frontier was threatened with destruction—when the flourishing and beautiful settlement of Albany had been completely laid desolate—when the "lamentations of the widow and the fatherless" were piercing our ears,—and when our streets were crowded with our ruined, destitute friends and neighbours,—at this fearful moment, and amidst these harrowing scenes, the post from Cape Town brought the following false and flippant comment on the state of the frontier, inserted in the "*Commercial Advertiser*" of the 27th December, 1834:—

"Colonel Somerset and the frontier authorities make this (the affair with Ensign Sparks), a *pretence* for driving all Kafirs from the neutral territory, where several of them have been permitted to graze their cattle and sow corn. This proceeding takes place, as *usual*, when the corn is nearly ripe, and the grass in Kafirland scanty."

Never had a newspaper paragraph a more powerful effect than this compound of cruel sarcasm and false inuendo. The people were looking with intense anxiety to Cape Town for succour, the arrival of the post, therefore, was an event of no ordinary importance; and then to find a leading journal fulminating to the world a statement calculated to suppress the public sympathy, and to bring odium upon the righteous cause in which they were engaged, was sufficient to arouse into the fiercest activity every latent spark of indignation, and to bring down upon the head of the offender who thus

presumed to sport with their miseries, that loud and deep burst of execration which, like the whirlwind, sweeps every thing before it with resistless effect,

At this moment of excitement—and as the first means which presented itself of counteracting the pernicious effects of the journal in question—the following “*Advertisement*” was immediately drawn up, subscribed by every male present, to the number of three hundred nearly, and published for general information:—

Graham's Town, January 1st, 1835.

“The Editor of the “*South African Commercial Advertiser*” having already misrepresented an occurrence connected with the invasion of the colony, and commented upon his own false statement, in a manner calculated to affect our hopes of succour from other quarters: and as there is an impression abroad that former misrepresentations in that paper, as well as the visit of its Editor to the frontier, are among the causes of a confederacy among the Kafir chiefs, which threatens the total ruin of a large portion of the colony, we consider it our duty to call upon all well-wishers to their country — to implore all who would not wilfully be made instrumental in stifling the cries of the widow and the fatherless for protection—to use their best endeavors to suppress the circulation of that paper during the continuance of the present awful crisis.”

It will be seen that the above document is loosely drawn up, and that former proceedings of the editor of the “*Commercial Advertiser*” are vaguely adverted to. This was unquestionably injudicious, as the public mind required no additional excitement, and the majority of those signing it were but very partially informed on the previous facts to which reference was made. But there was little time for reflection,—the enemy were at the moment around the town,—several skirmishes had already taken place in the vicinity,—and a large proportion of the signatures attached to this document was subscribed by men actually sitting on their horses with guns in their hands, ready to start off the next instant to confront the enemy, and defend all that is dear to man.

But though the terms of that document cannot be perfectly defended, still they furnish no ground for that clamour which has been made against them. It is an unquestionable fact, and one which is capable of the most indubitable proof, that the Kafir Chiefs on the Frontier have had their minds poisoned by the injudicious wispers of Europeans, with whom they have accidentally come into contact. Ignorant of

the crafty dishonest character of these people, such persons have gone amongst them and assured them they were an oppressed people, and that the punishment which has sometimes been inflicted on them for their frequent murders and continual robberies within the colonial boundary, was unjust in itself, and would be ultimately redressed by the British Government

Amongst those who have thus acted, must be classed the Editor of the *Commercial Advertiser*. He, in the company of Dr. Philip, visited this Frontier in 1830, and we have sufficient evidence, *recorded by himself*, to shew the imprudent and dangerous scope of their conversations with the Frontier Chiefs,—some of whom were subsequently at the head of the confederacy against the Colony. Their visit must not be looked at as an ordinary occurrence. The name of Dr. Philip was well-known amongst these people, whilst his power and influence had been greatly exaggerated in their estimation. The Editor of the *Advertiser*, now his son-in-law, was only second to him in this respect. He was known to be the chief organ of the Public Press of Southern Africa, and an idea prevailed that through him all their fancied grievances might be made known in a quarter from whence they expected redress. It is sufficient to say that these expectations were partly realized; at least as far as the Public Press was concerned; and hence we find that during the whole time he figured on this Frontier, the inhabitants had served up to them weekly in his Paper, such a hash of absurdity and slander as must, while it amused his enemies, have alarmed his friends for his future reputation as a public writer.\* But this is not all: there are traditions current in Kafirland of much more being said than he has chosen to publish in his Weekly Journal. Subjects of a most irritating character, such as the policy of our military system—the expulsion of the Kafir tribes from a former boundary, were freely discussed with some of the chiefs, and the conduct of the British authorities unceremoniously impugned. Such proceedings as these may not be criminal in the legal acceptance of the word; yet it will be apparent that at such a moment of excitement as we have described, it was not so very unreasonable for the parties concerned, while smarting from the effects

\* See a few extracts from the "*Commercial Advertiser*" of that day in our Introductory Remarks, pp. 115—118.



of such folly, to include "the visit of the Editor of this paper amongst the causes of the confederacy of the Kafir Chiefs.\*"

But we quit this digression and resume our narrative:— On the evening of 3d January a communication in writing was received by Col. Somerset, from the Kafirs at the Chumie. It was delivered at an outpost by Mr. Wier, the Assistant Missionary, and as its contents are curious, we insert it at length.

*Statement of the Frontier Kafirs to the Commandant and to His Excellency the Governor.*

1st. † That some time ago the soldiers were tracing stolen cattle,

\*The inconsistency of this public writer is worthy of note. On the public declaration of the inhabitants reaching Cape Town it had a very powerful effect, particularly on the mind of him to whom it referred. But all resentment was disarmed on seeing, by return of the post, an appeal made by him to those who had subscribed the document in question, in which was this very becoming and striking passage:—

*"We forgive them with our whole soul. We are now pleading their cause, and are prepared to carry it, with all the energy we possess, before the British government, the British public, and the world at large. Additional troops and pecuniary assistance from His Majesty's government,—sympathy and succour from a liberal and feeling public,—is the system we must recommend for the restoration and settlement of Albany."*

The ink, however, with which this feeling paragraph was written was scarcely dry, when accounts reached Cape Town that some abatement was manifest in the ravages of the barbarians. The first rush of the invaders had passed over, and the momentary and deceitful calm which ensued appears to have inspired him with hopes that the whole population of the frontier had been thrown into a cowardly panic without any just cause. Presuming on this false inference, he instantly put forth to the world such a tirade of abuse as at once decided those against him who had hitherto defended, or at least extenuated, his conduct on the ground of an error, not of principle, but of judgment. Since then every thing has been written and done by him to ruin our hopes, and to blight our prospects. His strictures on our affairs have deterred the Cape Trade Society from appealing to the public for assistance for the sufferers; and instead of forgiving those who signed the celebrated declaration, as he solemnly avowed—and which avowal is indelibly recorded in his own paper—he has pursued his revenge with a rancour alike unmitigated and unceasing. In the very last number of his paper, published by him on the 21st of May, he refers to that document as "the lying placard." So much for the consistency of this writer, and his christian virtue of *forgiveness of injury*.

† *The following explanations have been given on the several points above referred to.*

1.—It can be fully proved that colonial cattle, stolen by three Kafirs, were distinctly traced to this kraal, and that the Kafir who was shot at the



they came to a kraal belonging to one of Eno's sons; he was in his own house, but the soldier shot him dead; although the cattle were not found at said kraal, but were found in Slambie's country. There was no payment given by the soldier for the death of that captain.—(For explanation upon this subject, see note No 1.)

2d. That four years ago a Commando was in Kafirland. The Chief Sikou was called by said Commando to come near and lay down his assagais. He did so, and the Commando shot him dead. The Commando paid nothing for the death of that captain.

3d. That there was an officer from Fort Willshire, who, with his soldiers, traced stolen horses into the country of the Chief Eno. The horses were not found, but cattle were seized. Eno's Kafirs followed the patrol. They threw an assagai, and the officer was wounded in the arm; and afterwards a patrol came and the Kafirs had to pay 200 head of cattle as the price.

4th. That lately the patrol seized Tyali's own cattle, and immediately his brother Xo Xo sent and asked the reason. There were six Kafirs with Tyali's brother; but he ordered them to stand at a distance until he should endeavour to get an answer from the patrol. The answer from the patrol was, "Go home." He asked, Why? The patrol replied,—"This is the Government ground," and then they fired twice. Xo Xo told the soldiers, these cattle are Tyali's cattle,—the Chief's cattle are great things, and you say yourselves, that Tyali is like a Military Post. That Xo Xo said, "If I had people to day I would fall in battle, for Tyali's cattle have committed no crime. That the soldiers fired six times before they threw their assagais. That the soldiers came on the cattle when they were grazing between the Mankanzana and the Gaga Rivers.

5th. That Capt. Armstrong said "it was not my people, it was

entrance to the kraal (and not at his own house) opposed the patrol, and was in the act of stabbing one of them when the soldier shot the said Kafir in self-defence. If the cattle were afterwards found in Slambie's country, that does not acquit the kraal of Kafirs in question of having been accessory to the theft. [The above is proved by affidavit, which it is unnecessary to insert.—Ed.]

2.—Proved totally false on the evidence, on oath, of many eye-witnesses.

3.—See full account of this transaction, page 8.

4.—Tyali had been repeatedly told by the Commandant of the frontier, and more frequently by Capt. Armstrong, that he could not be permitted to occupy the country immediately opposite Fort Beaufort, and in rear of our advanced posts. Daily patrols were employed on this duty, and conducted themselves with great mildness and consideration.

5.—Capt. Armstrong did tell Tyali that the patrol in question was not

the people of Fort Beaufort who did so." That Col. Somerset called Tyali to the New Post; but Tyali replied, "No, I cannot come there, the Colonel must come to the Chumie Missionary Institution." That Col. Somerset answered, "I cannot come; but my ear is still open to hear any communication you have to make." That Tyali wrote to the Colonel again; but the Colonel replied, "I have no communication to make now." That two days after the Colonel called Tyali to Block drift; but Tyali replied, "I cannot come to the Block Drift,—come to the Institution and I shall meet with you there."

6th. That the Kafir Chiefs and people waited anxiously until Col. Somerset came from England. During the Colonel's absence, though their officers did many bad things against the Kafirs,—that they, the Kafirs were quiet, and said nothing. That they were anxious to see the Colonel; but when he came from England he fixed the boundary line at the Chumie, and drove us back towards the Fetcani, and then he spoke to us with guns; the effect was, our beasts have become poor and have died.

sent from his post. It can be fully proved that Tyali had an immense body of Kafirs at the Chumie, awaiting the arrival of Col. Somerset and Capt. Armstrong, with the intention of murdering them. On a former occasion Tyali agreed to meet Capt. Armstrong at the Chumie school with two men only. Mr. Chalmers and Mr. Weir can testify that, instead of two Kafirs, Tyali was accompanied by several hundred, armed with assegais; and that after Capt. A.'s conference with Tyali had taken place, and Capt. A. was returning to a small party of his men, who were at some distance, this large body of Kafirs, at the instigation of one of their body, jumped up with one accord, declaring their intention of putting Capt. A. to death. After warm debating amongst the Kafirs, an influential Kafir succeeded in overruling this murderous intention. Capt. A. was accompanied to the school by only two of his men.

The latter part of this statement is false. Tyali did not send to Colonel Somerset to go from Block Drift to Chumie; but Tyali declined meeting the Colonel at Block Drift; and on the very day that Tyali states he wanted the Colonel to go to him at Chumie, Rogers, the trader, was barbarously murdered at the Chumie school, and Buys, the farmer, the day previously at his farm.

6.—From the repeated depredations of the Kafirs the permission for their grazing their cattle in the ceded territory was withdrawn; and at that time Tyali acknowledged to Colonel England, the Commandant, in the presence of two witnesses, that he was perfectly aware his occupying that part of the country was a *favor*, [as he was present when his father had given up all right to it to Lord C. Somerset. The measure of expelling the Kafirs from the colony was completed some time before the arrival of Colonel Somerset from leave of absence in England. Tyali represented to Colonel Somerset the scarcity of grass from a long and unusual drought, and Colonel Somerset obtained permission from His Excellency for the Kafirs to graze their cattle within certain limits on the colonial side, until the grass should be more plentiful. The Kafirs continually transgressed the conditions on which this was granted.

7th. That Col. Somerset always said, "the Governor shall come and make things right;" but the Kafirs have not yet seen the Governor, and therefore we become tired.

8th. That the country beyond the Fish River, was the country of Palo:—Palo was the father of Karabi:—Karabi was the grandfather of our late King Gaika.

9th. That the Amakosa Chiefs have become themselves the friends of the Colonists. When they could find a thief, they brought him to the military, to shew they had no fellowship with thieves; and afterwards gave cattle to the Colonists for the bad work of the Chief.

10th. That when officers and soldiers come into Kafferland, they come with guns; but when the Kafirs entered into the Colony, or came to the Military Posts, they must lay aside their assagais; when they wished to enter into the Colony to see their friends, then they were seized and placed in the black-hole.

11th. That sometimes when stolen cattle were not brought, but the trace left behind, the patrols seized the cattle of the nearest kraal.

7.—The Kafirs were distinctly informed that the Governor would visit the frontier as soon as circumstances would permit. It appears pretty certain that the Kafirs had long ago resolved on war, and that the delay of the Governor is urged only as a plea.

8.—It is well known that the country as far as the Kei formerly belonged to the Hottentots, and not to the Kafirs.

9.—They rarely gave up *thieves*; but there have been instances of their giving up, as *thieves*, persons who were a burden to them, and whom they wished to get rid of. These, however, there is every reason to believe, were innocent. A destitute person, of weak intellect, was singled out as a sacrifice; and to give a coloring to this assertion, with a view to screen the real culprit. At Fort Willshire, in 1830, a Kafir who was totally guiltless was given up by Macomo as one concerned in murdering some servants at Pringle's farm. This man was nearly an idiot. The humanity of the officer commanding at Fort Willshire led him to take much pains to investigate the case. Macomo was totally indifferent what became of this man so that he screened the real perpetrators of the murder, who, up to this day, have never been given up.

10.—Soldiers never entered Kafirland for the purpose of *stealing* cattle; whereas the Kafir nation has proved itself to be a nation of thieves; and common sense admits that such a precaution was and will be necessary while they continue in their present barbarous state. If Kafirs were not apprehended when found roaming about the colony, thefts were sure to follow.

11.—Restitution for stolen cattle was never enforced unless the spoor was traced direct to a particular kraal, and the inhabitants thereof did not satisfactorily account for a transaction which they could not fail to be aware of. If they could not shew that the cattle were taken out of their kraal, what other mode *could* be adopted? It is well known by those conversant with Kafir customs, that almost every Kafir tries to aid and abet Kafir thieves,

At all these things the counsel of our hearts have been broken, and now we have no counsel to give to our people; when our hearts were so broken, we said to our people, "Go to the Colony and get payment for the offences done us: they have gone and they have done evil."

12. That the Chiefs thought they were under the English Government, and they never imagined that they would have been forced to take up assagais against that brave nation, now they would no longer bear with such things. The time when Gaika assisted the English, and Slambie's people had weapons, and were the enemies of the English, but we were friends to the English; that was a most difficult thing.

13. That there are three things which are great in Kafirland,—1st. It is a great thing to kill a chief or wound him.—2d. It is a great thing to take land from the Kafirs.—3d. It is a great thing to seize the real cattle of a Chief. That the Kafirs cannot say that their Chief's cattle were beyond the boundary line, as they consider that the boundary line is the Great Fish River.

14.—That they request payment for the killing and wounding of their chief in the same way as Colonel Somerset made Eno to pay 200 head of cattle for the wounding of a British officer. That the chiefs have ordered all their people to desist from hostilities against the colonists until they hear from Col. Somerset and the Governor.

and every artifice is used to obliterate the spoor, by driving large herds of cattle about the kraals, so that the stolen cattle may be sent to some of their fastnesses without detection; from whence they are sent farther to the interior to be exchanged.

12.—It was the English who saved Gaika from being destroyed, and who protected him to his death.

13.—The cattle were driven by Tyali's order into the colony on purpose that they might be seized by that patrol in order to have an excuse for commencing the war. The plan of tracing the spoor of cattle to particular kraals, and the general mode pursued, has been frequently recommended to the higher British authorities by the Kafir chiefs themselves; and if young chiefs oppose the soldiers in the execution of their duties, as agreed to by the elder chiefs, it is the fault of the young men. If a chief is concerned in, or connives at, robberies, why should he not suffer by being compelled to restore stolen property? They knew perfectly well that the Great Fish River was not the boundary; and they likewise knew that they were allowed to graze their cattle in the ceded territory on sufferance.

14.—No payment was ever demanded for the wounding the officer. The cattle were sent out on this occasion by the Kafirs themselves as restitution for large thefts of horses Eno's people had been guilty of, and which they could not deny. Instead of being at peace, the Kafirs were at this moment throughout the Fish River Bush and New Year's River, and continued pouring into the colony, committing murder, and destroying by fire and spear.

To-day is now peace, and they all wish to live in peace with the English; they shall now hold up from fighting until they obtain an answer.

To Col. SOMERSET and His Excellency Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN, Governor of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.

*To the foregoing curious document is subjoined the following certificate:—*

This is to certify that the Rev. Mr. Chalmers was called to the church at Chumie, and in presence of a large concourse of armed Kafirs was reluctantly made to write the above to Col. Somerset and His Excellency the Governor; and that Mr. James Weir was, as reluctantly, obliged to promise to become the bearer thereof to the nearest British officer. This we did, knowing the dreadful consequence of a refusal.

(Signed)

W. CHALMERS.  
J. WEIR.

It is a little curious to observe that on the very day this communication was received instead of the Kafirs being at peace, as stated, they were not only within the line of frontier, but they made an open determined attack upon the military post of Hermanus Kraal, situated 18 miles N. E. of Graham's Town. This station was defended by a small detachment of the 75th Regt. and about twenty farmers, who, with their families, had taken refuge there with their flocks and herds. It appears that early in the morning the enemy shewed himself in considerable force, and commenced the attack on the post by a discharge of fire-arms. Many of the invaders were mounted on good horses, and from the activity and determination displayed by them, it was at one period generally imagined that the post would have been carried: this was, however, averted by the timely appearance of a party of about 30 men, who were on their way from Fort Beaufort to Graham's Town. They immediately attacked the enemy's flank, and succeeded in forcing him to retire. One of the most conspicuous men in the ranks of the invaders was a man of color, formerly in the service of Mr. Howse, of Graham's Town. He was well mounted, and armed with a double-barrelled gun, and appeared to exercise considerable authority; as on his horse being shot under him, he was observed immediately to seize another, rode by a Kafir at

his side, whom he unceremoniously unhorsed, and then instantly resumed his former position. Two Kafirs were killed in this affair, and it is supposed that several were wounded and conveyed into the bush. On our part one farmer was slightly wounded by a musket ball in the hand, and a soldier of the Mounted Rifles in the thigh by an assegai. The enemy succeeded, however, in carrying off the cattle and sheep: the greater part of which were afterwards re-captured.

On the evening of this day Lieut.-Col. SMITH arrived from Cape Town, having made the journey in the short period of six days. It was soon known that this officer came with full power to adopt any measures which he might consider expedient to meet the public exigency: and also that the 72d Regt. had embarked, and might be expected on the frontier within a very few days, together with such supplies as would enable the colonial forces to assume offensive operations against the invaders.



## CHAPTER II.

*Proceedings of Col. Smith—Appointment of "Graham's Town Volunteers"—Murder of Messrs. Turner, Newman, Blakeway, and Liebergeld—Arrival of Reinforcements—Proceedings of Graaff-Reinet Burghers—Murders in the Zuurberg—Proceedings of Major Cox—Attack on and destruction of Eno's Kraal—Proceedings of Col. Somerset—Affair on the Bushman's River—Massacre of J. Brown and P. Whittaker—Re-occupation of Bathurst—Escape of the Rev. Mr. Chalmers and Mr. Weir from the Chumie—Gallant conduct of the Groepes—State of Kut River Settlement—Delicate position of the friendly Kafir Chiefs—Generous and patriotic conduct of the inhabitants of Cape Town—Appointment of Provisional Government at the Cape—Arrival of His Excellency Sir B. D'Urban at Port Elizabeth—Plan of Campaign.*

ON the morning succeeding the arrival of Col. Smith, the scene at Graham's Town was animating and cheerful. It was soon understood that this officer was armed with full authority from the Governor to adopt any measures which it might appear to him the public security rendered necessary. This persuasion, and the soldier-like bearing of the Colonel, as he rapidly examined the defences of the town, at once inspired the people with confidence, and with an ardent desire to meet, in fair field, their savage assailants.

The first step taken by Colonel Smith was the promulgation



of a proclamation, (\*I.) placing the districts of Albany and Somerset under Martial Law; the next authorizing all military or municipal officers to put any building, whether public or private, in a state of defence; and the third, notifying that any persons raising false reports, or repeating unfounded intelligence calculated to alarm and distress the inhabitants, were guilty of an offence cognizable by military law, and would be dealt with accordingly. The municipal force of Graham's Town was also remodelled and formed into a corps, consisting of four companies of infantry and one troop of cavalry, and was styled "the Graham's Town Volunteers."

This day information reached town of the murder of several of the defenceless and unresisting inhabitants. A poor man named Turner was found lying in a house on the Bathurst road with his head nearly severed from his body, besides numerous other wounds in different parts of his person. The corpse of another Englishman named Newman was mutilated in the same savage manner at the farm of Woodlands, on the Kariega, in which neighbourhood every dwelling had been plundered and nearly all destroyed. Their next victim was a respectable farmer near Fort Beaufort named Blake-way; and the fourth was a Dutch settler named Liebergeld. The latter was proceeding with his wife from the Orange River to Graham's Town: they had proceeded safely till within about seven miles of their destination, when they observed the barbarians pouring down upon them from the adjacent heights; on this they, with their servants, fled to a thicket for concealment, but here the unfortunate man was soon overtaken and murdered: but while thus wreaking their vengeance on this poor man, his wife and servants succeeded in eluding detection, and eventually in finding a shelter at the neighbouring farm of the late Mr. T. C. White.

The information of these sickening atrocities was, however, somewhat relieved by the first arrival of reinforcements from the neighbouring districts. A small body of Hottentots had arrived from Port Elizabeth, having marched through a country occupied by the enemy in force, but without meeting with any adventure beyond a slight skirmish in the Bushman's River pass, and in which one man was wounded in the arm by a musket ball. From Graaff-Reinet the Civil Commissioner, Van Ryneveld, in command of a party of 100 inha-

\*The numerals refer to the official documents inserted in the Appendix.

bitants of that district, arrived at Graham's Town on the 10th January. This detachment had been particularly active on the route to head quarters. Instead of taking the direct road they had struck off to the eastward, scouring in their progress the country along the Kaga, Mankanzana, and Koonap Rivers. All this part of the colony was described as being in the most deplorable condition;—houses destroyed and pillaged, and the whole country swept of its flocks and herds. In the forest which stretches up the sides, and crowns the summit of the lofty Kaga Berg, several parties of the enemy were discovered, and also a large herd of cattle, which had been secreted by the enemy in a chasm amongst the precipitous crags of the mountain, so difficult of approach that it was found utterly impracticable to dislodge them that night. On the following morning, having obtained a reinforcement, they marched to the same point through the almost impervious and tangled thicket; and on gaining it found that during the night the enemy had decamped with their booty. The cattle had been placed in a situation so surrounded by perpendicular and rugged masses of rock, that the farmers had found it utterly impossible to dislodge them. But the Kafirs, even amid the darkness of night, had succeeded better; their method under such circumstances is to goad cattle with their assegais, by which means, accompanied by shouting and whistling in a peculiarly shrill and vehement manner, they excite them to such a pitch of desperate frenzy that they will rush forward even upon certain destruction. Thus in this instance a large number of the herd had been forced over the rocky precipices, at the foot of which the poor animals were found lying in a heap, maimed and dead, or dying.

At the moment of these operations at the Kaga the enemy were ravaging the country far in the rear. At the Zuurberg several farms were destroyed and the inhabitants killed. The occurrences which took place in this neighbourhood cannot be stated better than in the artless and affecting narrations given by the surviving sufferers:—

“On the 24th December,” says the widow of Carel Matthys, “I and my husband were at Somerset to receive the Sacrament, when we heard that the Kafirs had entered the colony and committed murder, &c. We returned immediately to the farm, and my husband was called upon by the Field-cornet a few days after to go out on commando. He

went to the Field-cornet, but returned the same day, and told us that the neighbours were preparing their houses against fire, in case the Kafirs should come. We remained quietly on our farm, and heard nothing of them until the 6th of January, when the two sons of L. Van der Linde called, and informed us that their father had left his place some days ago; the young men had returned the preceding day to see if all was undisturbed, had stayed all night at the place, and shot a few birds, but had neither seen nor heard of any Kafirs. Their farm is in a deep ravine, about 7 or 8 miles from ours; that night they remained with us.

“After supper and family worship, my husband went out as usual, leaving the door open. I was sitting in my bedroom waiting for him, when a pane of glass was smashed in the window close to me, and immediately a knob-kierrie flew into the bed-room through another pane; turning toward the window, in alarm, I saw a musket pointed through it directly at my breast, but it did not go off. I put the candle out as quickly as possible, and stood a little on one side of the window. There was another candle still burning in the front room, and I saw a Kafir come and light a bundle of straw at it, and apply it to the thatch.

“Proceeding into the front room, I saw my eldest son Charles with his gun, he asked me if he should fire on the Kafirs, I told him not to do so, but to go to prayer, which he did. After this my youngest son, 13 years of age, who was asleep in bed, being roused by the noise, went towards the door, and immediately received an assegai in his right side, and fell into the house. L. Van der Linden took him up and brought him to me in the bed-room. The Kafirs then set the house on fire a second time on the opposite side, and I got part of my property conveyed to the door, ready to be taken out in case the Kafirs should retire, and the house be consumed. While I was in the front room with the children and the two Van der Lindens, a ball was fired in at the door, and lodged in a partition wall, but did not touch any body. The house was now full of smoke. I desired the two Van der Lindens to take some of my goods outside the house, but they were afraid. Cornelius put his head out at the door to see if the Kafirs were gone, but an assegai was immediately hurled at him, and stuck in the door. Immediately after this the Kafirs set up a hideous noise, and drove all the cattle

out of the fold, which was only about 100 yards from the house. All this time my second son was asleep; I now awoke him to assist in bringing my property out of the house. It was soon discovered, however, that the fire might probably be extinguished. While they were fetching water for this purpose, I went out to see what was doing, and perceived a man coming towards the house; it proved to be Samuel Prince, a bastard, from Enon, who formerly had lived for some time on our farm, cutting wood, and owed my late husband about 400 dollars. He stated that himself and three Hottentots from Enon, who were out on patrol, had been taken prisoners by the Kafirs in the course of the day. The Kafirs having surrounded them took their arms from them, and asked whether there were any farmers remaining in the Zuurberg, and being told that Carel Matthys was still there, the Kafirs ordered the prisoners to conduct them thither. I asked him if he had seen my husband? he said 'No.' I then requested him to assist in putting out the fire, which he did. When the fire was extinguished, and the property carried into the house again, as my husband did not make his appearance, my eldest son again enquired of Prince if he had not seen him; Prince replied that he had seen something lying in the kraal, but did not know what it was. Being informed of this I questioned him again, and sent the children with him to see what it was; it proved to be the corpse of their father. They brought him into the house, and then I sent for my mother from an adjoining house, where she and my father were living, both of them helpless from age. My father is 86 years of age, and my mother is 76. They were not further molested than by the noise. When we had washed my husband we found he had received no less than 13 assegai wounds. The following day, with the assistance of my children, and the two Van der Lindens, I buried my husband, and sent Jeremias, a baptised Kafir servant, to inform Mr. Hart, of Somerset, what had happened, and to solicit assistance.

"On the 9th of January, the Field-cornet Johan Van der Vyfer came, with some burghers and a span of oxen, to my assistance. I put a few things into the wagon as quickly as possible, and proceeded towards Brack River, and after we had travelled about four hours, my son William died of the wound he had received."

"Cornelis Joh. Engelbrecht was killed under the Zuurberg

on the 12th of January; he was on patrol with eight others, when a body of Kafirs came unexpectedly upon them about sun-set; (he was riding an English mare which knocked up), seeing the enemy advancing in great numbers, his companions made off, and suffered the Kafirs to surround him; and though he called to them for help, and implored them not to leave him, yet they went on. Engelbrecht after receiving an assegai in the leg, which he pulled out with his own hands, dismounted; and tried to lead his horse, but it would not move; he then strove to escape on foot, but while running received another assegai in the back of the loins, and fell, and the Kafirs dispatched him with 14 assegai wounds, and took his horse, saddle, bridle, and his gun, &c. He was not quite twenty-two years of age, and has left a widow and one young child.

“On the occasion referred to, the patrol of eight men had divided themselves into two parties, and had also left a party of four men to protect P. R. Botha's house, where they were stationed; the Kafirs were apparently making an attempt to surround them, and cut off their retreat to the house in question, and at the same time another party of Kafirs surrounded the house and set fire to it; of the four burghers left in charge three got away, and one of the name of Nieuwerk remained alone, until he found the house beset with Kafirs all around and in flames above his head; when he came to the front door and reconnoitered he found it beset, and when he tried the back door it was the same; he therefore returned to the front door, and setting it slightly ajar, stood inside with his gun cocked, ready to shoot the first person who should attempt to murder him. In this predicament he stood until the burning roof fell in about his ears, when the wind blew the smoke in such dense masses out at the door that he passed in the cloud quite through the Kafirs unperceived, and got into the jungle, where he remained all night. Early next morning he re-visited the smoking ruins, and sought among the ashes until he found his bridle, bit, &c.; he then proceeded on foot to join the rest of the party at Brak River, and when he told them the story of his extraordinary escape they could not believe it, or that he had re-visited the ruins, until he took off his hat and produced the bit of his bridle.”\*

\* Vide Report of Board of Relief, p. p. 63-66.

At Mooimeisjes Fontein, about 20 miles to the S. E. of this, a large party of farmers had assembled, resolved to make a determined stand against the invaders. Their wagons were drawn around the buildings, so as to form a strong barricado, and sentries were posted at night outside of these. In spite, however, of every precaution the enemy succeeded in capturing their cattle; and continued to make such determined night attacks upon them, that at length, harrassed and worn out by incessant watching and fatigue, they were compelled to abandon their position and take shelter at Graham's Town.

While these proceedings were going on at distant points, the military authorities were acting with the greatest energy and activity at head quarters. Colonel Somerset, with a detachment of the Cape Rifles, was likewise so successful as to fall in with and route a considerable force of the enemy near Roode Draai, sixteen of whom were killed.

It was also resolved to make a diversion in favor of the colonists by a sudden inroad into the enemy's territory, and thus carry the horrors of war to their own doors. This had been suggested some time before, not only by sound policy, but also by that part of the Kafir nation which had maintained its alliance with the colony. Accordingly a force of 400 men, conjointly civilians and military, well mounted, was ordered to make a rapid march into Eno's territory to surprise his kraal, if possible, and from thence to proceed to Tyali's with the same object. The proceedings of this commando are well described by an individual employed on this service, and from whose account we make the following extract:—

“On the morning of the 10th Jan, by 4 o'clock we marched off in the direction of Kafirland, our party consisting of 76 English, 90 from Uitenhage, and 40 of the Cape Corps, the whole under the direction of Major Cox of the 75th Regiment, assisted by Capt. Hallifax. Much speculation was afloat as to what point or object the expedition was directed, until we reached Mr Driver's farm, distant 12 miles, on the road to Commetjes Drift, on the Fish River; here we were informed that the kraals of Eno and Tyali were our destination. Having breakfasted we moved forwards, and presently saw a body of about 10 Ka-



firs making their way to the colony, who, on perceiving us, ran off to the bush adjacent. Our journey continued through a country replete with bush, intersected by passes, along which the feet marks of our deadly foe, and the thousands of beasts he had driven before him, were to be seen. We crossed the river about mid-day, and ascended a more pleasant country, but still bushy,—here we discovered the fresh traces of sheep, and obtained permission for 12 men to push forward in hopes of overtaking them, as we only supplied ourselves with biscuit previous to our marching. Our road being steep and narrow, the day was far advanced before we reached the level ground; at length we came up with about a dozen Kafirs, having in their possession about 300 sheep and 40 horses, which we recaptured. It was now nearly sun-set, and we prepared to dine on Mr. Tomlinson's mutton, which had been taken the day before from Hermanus' Kraal. Having received orders to proceed onward at 11 o'clock that night, we snatched a short repose, and at the appointed hour all were in readiness. Our march now lay through kloofs and ravines,—at length we reached the open plain, and shaped our course direct to Eno's. Not a sound was heard but the tramping of horses' hoofs, and a veil of dark clouds obscured the moon, so that we were in a manner obliged to feel our way. At length the first glimmering of morning appeared, and before the sun had risen we came in view of Eno's kraals, still pushing forward to a central position, and the Chief's own residence. The Kafirs fled to the bushes. Eno himself, it is reported, fled in the disguise of his daughter. The enemy threw some assegais and fired a few shots, but without effect;—about 30 of them fell; they were Eno's Counsellors and picked men, and kept near his person; among them were two of his brothers and a son. The object of the expedition being thus far accomplished, and ourselves and horses requiring rest and refreshment, we saddled off in the midst of this scene of action, while the enemy's spies, stationed on distant eminences, continued to watch our motions. About mid-day we retraced our steps, inclining to Fort Willshire, which place we reached about sun set the same evening (Sunday.) Here we hoped to recruit our supplies in all things necessary, as we had started with only three days biscuit; but our mortification was extreme on discovering that the enemy had removed



every thing edible; every object bore marks of their savage brutality;—nearly one-fourth of the buildings were destroyed; fire having been applied to the bottoms of the rafters, which giving way brought down the roof; but this proving a tedious process they appear to have abandoned it. We had, however, the consolation of finding plenty of forage corn for our horses, or our stay here would not have been of any duration from the want of pasture and the density of bush. The morning after our arrival a party of about 20 Kafirs came within pistol shot of the fort, as is believed, for the purpose of plunder. These proved to be Macomo's people, who, in a short parley, demanded what business we had in Macomo's territory; prudential reasons prevented us from firing upon them, and they sheered off to the bush in time to defeat our plans of circumvention. We resumed our march at 3 o'clock on Wednesday morning, and at sun-rise found ourselves among the mimosa groves of this charming portion of the neutral territory. The lofty Chumie, and its still loftier neighbours, lay before us, and every turn discovered new beauties for our contemplation. About mid-day we rested at Block Drift, on the Chumie River, and about 10 miles from the kraal of Tyali. At night we formed a hollow square with our horses, and slept at their heads, to be in readiness for any emergency. At four the following morning we commenced our last march in advance; the rain continued, and the thick mist which enveloped us seemed well to conceal our movements; while, notwithstanding the weather and the want of provisions, our people cheerfully pushed forward in hopes of chastising the prime mover in this sanguinary drama. Through a lane of thickly studded mimosas and other evergreens, we came to an open space, and at this moment, as if by magic, the vapours ascended, and disclosed as fine a nook as ever the imagination formed of fairy-land. Surrounded by huts of greater magnitude, and better construction than any we had yet seen, that of Tyali's rose superior, and bespoke its master the chief of chiefs. Its interior was ornamented by a double row of pillars of straight smooth wood, carefully selected, which supported the spherical roof; this being composed of compact materials bid defiance to the rain, and the whole being plastered, conveyed an idea of neatness which we did not expect to find among Kafirs. This spot, so late the scene of activity and clamour, where the great spoliator

issued his mandates to his myrmidons, was now become the abode of solitude: its inhabitants had long fled, and it now remained for us to extinguish the last hope that Tyali could have of re-possessing himself of this retreat. Columns of smoke soon indicated that the whole had been fired. We then climbed the Chumie to the New Post, where we joined a party of Hottentots and the Cape Rifles, under Major Burney, amounting to 140 men. The post had been destroyed, and the weather continuing unfavorable, we found no shelter from the cold of those high regions. Here we passed the night of Thursday, but the next day, shortly after sun-rise, we descended to the valleys on our return home, where we arrived on the morning of the 18th inst.

“ It is but just to observe that if the regularity and discipline which are observable in regular troops were not conspicuous in the body that formed this expedition, yet the alacrity to act, and the submission to obey, were features strongly prominent during the whole of this harrassing duty.”

During these operations in the enemy's territory, Col. Somerset was no less usefully employed within the colony. He had been directed to proceed to the Bushman's River, where the enemy had presented himself in considerable force. Here he was to be joined by a burgher force from Graaff-Reinet and George, under the Civil Commissioner Ryneveld and Field-commandant Rademeyer. The Colonel having accordingly taken up a position in the Commadagga, detached patrols in every direction around, and these very soon brought him certain intelligence that a large body of the enemy, both horse and foot, had passed through the Bushman's River poort; at the extremity of which it had separated, moving in two divisions, one part in the direction of the Zuurberg, and the other towards the neighbourhood of “Vaderlands Wilge Boom.” In the course of the day a smart skirmish took place between his patrols and the enemy, in which the latter lost 12 men, and had 400 head of cattle and 130 horses captured. On the 15th January the enemy shewed himself in some force on the skirts of the bushy ravines which line the banks of the Bushman's River. An attack was immediately commenced by the Colonel, and a smart fire was kept up on both sides for about three hours. At length the enemy was dislodged from his position with the loss of 40 killed and several wounded. The colonial force did not consist of more than

100 men, whilst that of the enemy was estimated at from 1,000 to 1,500, of whom about 100 were mounted. In this affair Ensign O'Reilly was severely wounded, a musket ball passing through both thighs.

The day previous to this affair a distressing occurrence took place at Mahony's farm, a spot which has already been referred to as the scene of several fatal disasters. Here an inhabitant, named John Brown, whom the reader will remember as being with Mahony at the time of his murder, had taken up a position with a mounted patrol of 25 men, consisting, with the exception of one man, of Hottentots and persons of color. He had been selected for this duty in consequence of his accurate knowledge of the intricate fastnesses which are met with in that direction; and he had very judiciously established his quarters in a double-storied, flat-roofed building, formerly belonging to the deceased Mahony. Here they were not long before the enemy emerged from the surrounding thicket in considerable force: but soon perceiving that this post could not be carried without inevitably sustaining loss from the muskets of the patrol, the wily natives endeavoured to accomplish by stratagem that which could not be effected by force without incurring such imminent risk. Accordingly they signified their desire to hold a parley with the little garrison; and after some deliberation, an Englishman named Whittaker, who had volunteered to accompany Brown on this service, agreed to venture himself amidst the throng of barbarians. With great intrepidity he, in view of his comrades, approached the savages; who, on finding he was not the commander of the patrol, requested him to return and inform Brown that he must himself receive their communication, and that it could not be made to any other person. This unfortunate man had for many years been intimately acquainted with the Kafirs. Living on the borders of their country, and being the owner of the Kafir Clay-pits—from whence was obtained the red earth, or ochre, so much in request amongst that people—numerous opportunities had been afforded him of becoming acquainted with their true character,—of appreciating fully their duplicity, their cruelty, and their utter want of honest principle,—and yet, strange to say, he labored under so much infatuation as to resolve to risk his life, and trust to the tender mercies of the barbarians before him; and that at a moment when, flushed with

success, they were revelling in the desolation they had caused and the blood they had spilled;—sallying out, therefore, in company with Whittaker, he approached the savages, who stood ready—like the ravenous beast of the forest—to seize on their defenceless prey. Though within view of the patrol the distance was too great, and the enemy too numerous, to afford the two unfortunate men any assistance. Hence they were seized and forced to a conspicuous height, beyond the range of the musketry at the house; and here, amidst fiendish shouts and vociferations, were both mercilessly butchered. On witnessing this horrid occurrence, two Hottentots succeeded in escaping from the back of the premises, and having gained the forest, they soon arrived at Graham's Town with the fatal intelligence. Major Lowen, at the head of a detachment of the Rifle Corps, immediately proceeded to the scene of this tragic occurrence. Here the bodies were still found lying, covered with innumerable wounds and bruises; the enemy had, however, moved off in the direction of the Kap River, by a route in which it was not possible for cavalry to follow them. After the murder of Brown and Whittaker the command of the patrol had devolved on a Hottentot, formerly a soldier in the Cape Corps, named Piet Lowe. This man had adopted such prudent precautions for the safety of his party, and had shewn so much determination at a most critical moment, that, on his return to town, he was promoted by the Chief of the Staff to the rank of Ensign in the newly raised levies.

Besides the position taken up at the deserted farm of Mahony by Brown, several other small posts of observation were established at the same time. At Manley's Flat, a point of communication between the Kap and Kowie kloofs, a detachment of volunteers was placed under the command of Capt. R. W. Bagot, who had sustained great loss in the immediate neighbourhood: lower down, at Waay Plaats, a second post was established under Mr. Bailie, who had suffered still more severely, having been stripped of every thing—reduced from respectable circumstances to absolute poverty by the desolating ravages of the marauders. About eight miles further to the south a third post was formed at a farm called Lower Kafir's Drift, under the command of Lieut. Moultrie, 75th Regt. This chain of posts was productive of considerable benefit; patrols from thence scoured the sur-

rounding country, harrassing the enemy, and cutting off many of their number, as well as intercepting several herds of colonial cattle on their way to the Kafir boundary.

To guard, however, against the recurrence of such fatal disasters as in the case of Brown, a military order was published containing the following passage:—

“The Officer commanding the forces regrets to be under the necessity of animadverting on the conduct of Mr. John Brown, who was entrusted with the command of a patrol in the vicinity of the Clay Pits. Mr. Brown, with his party, were in the occupation of a defensible building on the property of the late T. Mahony; he nevertheless thought proper to quit his post to hold a parley with the enemy; the consequence of his indiscretion was the loss of his own life, of that of another Englishman named Whittaker, of several stands of arms, and of some ammunition, and the whole party must have fallen a sacrifice, had it not been for the good and valiant conduct of Piet Lowe and his Hottentots in maintaining their position. To prevent a repetition of such unmilitary conduct, the officer commanding the forces peremptorily forbids any parleys or intercourse whatever with the enemy, except in pursuance of his express instructions.”

At Bathurst, which had been re-occupied by a party of volunteers under the command of Captain Forbes, several skirmishes had taken place. Scouring parties had been sent out into the adjacent country, and had considerably harrassed the enemy. Here also the scattered cattle belonging to the surrounding inhabitants, to the amount of 1,340 head, were collected. To gain this tempting prize the enemy had recourse to numerous expedients; the grass around the village was fired and destroyed—consequently they were necessarily obliged to drive them a considerable distance for pasturage—but still the enemy did not succeed. In their night attacks they were equally unfortunate; the little garrison was too vigilant to be surprised; and though they attacked the kraals several successive nights, yet they were beaten off at every attempt, and some of the assailants wounded. At Theopolis the inhabitants had also defended themselves with great bravery, but the enemy had nevertheless

succeeded in capturing the greater proportion of their cattle, and they were suffering much for want of provisions. From the neighbouring district of Uitenhage intelligence was received of the murder of a youth named Webber; his father, who resides on the Sunday's River, had sent him a short distance from the house to fetch up some horses; in his way he fell into the hands of the savages, and was instantly dispatched by them.

During the time of these operations and occurrences several missionaries still resided in the Kafir territory, where their lives were every moment in jeopardy from the caprice and natural cruelty of the enraged barbarians. There is, indeed, every reason to believe that they were spared, not from any special regard to their persons, but solely from policy, in the event of it being necessary ultimately to negotiate with the colonial authorities; to which purpose they had, as we have already seen, been made subservient. The enemy had sufficient sagacity to argue that should they be ultimately defeated, a virtue might be made of necessity, and a forbearance, arising from expediency, might be tortured into an act of gratuitous clemency and moderation towards British subjects when absolutely at their mercy. It will easily be imagined that the situation of the individuals so circumstanced was most distressing. Major Cox, when in the neighbourhood of the Chumie on the occasion of the destruction of Tyali's kraal, had contrived to convey a message to Messrs. Chalmers and Weir suggesting the necessity of their making an effort to escape from their perilous situation. But they were then undecided; danger threatened them on either hand; by staying they were liable to be sacrificed by the enemy every moment,—in attempting to escape they must run an imminent risk of detection; and if the suspicions of the confederate chiefs were once aroused they well knew the fearful vengeance which would inevitably follow. In this state of anxious suspense they remained till the 19th January, when they determined, at every risk, upon endeavouring to elude the vigilance of the enemy by whom they were surrounded. Accordingly after the close of the day they succeeded in crossing the mountains, and in reaching the encampment at Fort Adelaide, where they solicited the assistance of the officer commanding in rescuing their families. This was promptly afforded, and sixty troopers were ordered upon this duty. At midnight



they departed and at day-break the families of these missionaries were safe in the encampment at Fort Adelaide.

This post, as already stated, had been established in the heart of the Kat River Settlement, where, for some little time after the commencement of hostilities, the inhabitants had been left unmolested. Previous, however, to the date at which we have now arrived the Kafirs, whatever their former hopes, had abandoned all expectation of coalition with the Hottentots, and had commenced a series of vigorous inroads into the settlement, burning the crops and houses, and sweeping off the cattle in large numbers. These attacks had been met on the part of the colonists with great energy and bravery. In a few instances, several of the inhabitants particularly distinguished themselves; amongst whom may be named a son of the Field-cornet Groepe. He and his uncle were the advanced guard of a herd of cattle, and had off-saddled their horses for refreshment; but the weather being cold, with drizzling rain, they had selected a bushy avenue on account of the shelter. This thicket, however, at that very moment afforded concealment to a party of eighteen Kafirs, and who, at the instant the others were about to proceed, started up and instantly encircled them. The two Groepes, with admirable presence of mind, snatched up their guns, placed themselves back to back, and levelling their pieces, prepared to discharge them on the first assailant. The enemy recoiled for a moment; at length one of them sprang from the circle and instantly stabbed the younger Groepe severely; the assegai entering below the right shoulder blade, and passing out in front under the right nipple. Finding himself wounded he called out "fire now!" at the same moment discharging his own piece, and bringing down the man in front. With the assegai still sheathed in his body he sprang through the opening thus made, retreating with his face to the enemy, who recoiled whenever he presented his gun, although it was unloaded. In this manner the attack was continued, one part of the Kafirs pursuing the uncle, and the other part—and by far the greater number—the youth. During his retreat he attempted to re-load his gun; but on lifting the powder-horn for this purpose he received an assegai through the left fore arm, which quite disabled him from using it. Another assegai passed through his hat,



but this he pulled out, threatening his pursuers with it whenever they approached him. Thus he retreated for the distance of a mile, till, faint with loss of blood, he sank down in an open ravine; but still had sufficient presence of mind to lean his back against an abrupt bank. At this critical moment the other cattle guards came up, upon seeing whom the enemy speedily retreated. On the arrival of the guards, the assegai was still sheathed in the body of the youth, and they extracted it by grasping the iron end and drawing the entire length of the haft through the breast. The uncle escaped without a single wound; and the lad, under the care of Dr. Caw, the military staff surgeon at Fort Adelaide, eventually recovered.\*

At the period to which we now refer the season was particularly unfavorable to the success of military operations. An unusual quantity of rain had fallen; the rivers were swollen and difficult to ford; and the mountainous region of the Kat River was almost daily enveloped in a thick mist, which rendered it impossible to watch the enemy's movements or to guard against surprise. The people, consisting not alone of the young and vigorous, but also of the aged and infirm, had been driven from their homes, and were huddled together at the encampment without shelter from the weather, and with a very slender supply of food. At the moment of quitting their homes the harvest was just ready for the sickle, and hence there was every reason to fear the loss of the preceding year's labor, and the actual deprivation of necessaries for the year on which they had just entered. Every effort was made to save the harvest; foraging parties were daily out; and as often were they engaged in skirmishes with the enemy. In these affairs several Kafirs fell; but still, in spite

\* When the nature of this wound was stated his recovery was deemed impossible; and as death did not immediately ensue, the fact was sneered at and discredited. The writer of this, however, remembers a case which happened in the neighbourhood where he himself resided, of a gentleman who, by a horse taking fright, had the shaft of a chaise forced completely through his body. The shock was so violent that the shaft broke off, and was with considerable difficulty drawn out. It was deemed impossible that the sufferer could live beyond a few minutes; and yet, under the treatment of the eminent Sir W. Blizard, he partially recovered, and survived the injury many years.

His Excellency the Governor has recently (April, 1836), presented young Groepe, for his distinguished bravery, a handsome Dutch Bible, in 4to. mounted with massy silver clasps, and an excellent gun.

of every disadvantage, a considerable portion of the crops was saved; and ultimately the government, with the most humane consideration, adopted such measures as dissipated all apprehensions of want, inspired the people with hope and confidence, and stimulated them to exertion against the common enemy.

Within the Kafir territory Pato and his two brothers, Umkai, and Tzatzoe, still professed fidelity to the British cause, and their entire freedom from participation in any of those murders, robberies and burnings which had been perpetrated within the colony. Considerable doubts were entertained as to the sincerity of these professions; and it does indeed appear that many of their people were amongst the marauders, and that the chiefs actually received and applied to their own use some of the stolen property; but still great allowance must be made for the previous habits of these people, and the peculiar circumstances in which they were placed. That they were really sincere in their professions of attachment will hardly admit of doubt if their proceedings are fairly considered, either in reference to their origin or their probable results. At the first appearance of the commotion these chiefs had sent a message to the military authorities expressive of their firm adherence to the English cause; afterwards they reinforced the Gualana with two hundred men; besides which they exerted themselves to the utmost in sending messages to every part of Kafirland to stay hostilities. They patrolled their own boundary day and night, to keep out the marauders; and afforded, as before stated, succour and relief to every European who threw themselves on their protection. These are facts which cannot be disputed, and ought to be a sufficient answer to those who have charged the colonists with injustice and cruelty towards the aboriginal inhabitants of the countries bordering the colony. Pato, when urged by the rapacity of some of his people to join in the indiscriminate pillage, at once put the clamorers to silence by remarking that he wanted a plea for war: that he had nothing to complain of, and therefore could not take up arms against those who had not injured him. His word was—“*I fight not*;” and on that point he would hear no discussion. Such traits of character as this relieve the gloomy picture, and may well constrain us to overlook, or at least to attribute any minor delinquences to that force of

habit which it is so difficult entirely to eradicate from the savage mind.

During this state of affairs at the immediate scene of action, the inhabitants and the public authorities at the extreme opposite point of the colony were no less energetic in adopting measures for the general defence. No sooner did the intelligence of the invasion reach Cape Town than the whole population, with some few lamentable exceptions, manifested its sympathy for the sufferers, and its indignation against the authors of their distresses. A memorial was immediately prepared and transmitted to the Executive, praying that all the disposable force there might be immediately ordered to the frontier; the memorialists volunteering to do the necessary garrison duty in their absence. Nothing could exceed the sympathy which was manifested by this body of their fellow colonists, and indeed throughout the settlement; and which was no less warmly expressed than gratefully felt by those to whom it referred.

On the 3d of January His Excellency Sir Benjamin D'Urban issued a proclamation of the following tenor:—

“Whereas the state of the Eastern Division of this colony renders my presence there indispensably necessary, and it is expedient to make due provision for the administration of public affairs at the seat of government during my absence, and the officer next in command has already proceeded thither on military service: I do, therefore, hereby nominate and appoint Colonel the Honorable JOHN BELL, C. B., to carry on the usual business of the government of this colony, by and with the advice and consent of the Executive Council, and under the style of the ‘*Provisional Government*,’ hereby created, with full power to assemble the Legislative Council and preside therein under the 11th clause of the Royal Instructions, and to propose to, and pass therein, all such enactments as to such Provisional Government shall seem expedient and necessary; and to propose and pass, in like manner, all necessary rules for giving effect, throughout this colony, to an act passed in the 3 and 4 year of his present Majesty King WILLIAM THE FOURTH, for the abolition of Slavery in the British colonies: provided always, that the said Provisional Government shall have no power or authority to direct the execution of any sentence of death, banishment, or transportation, or to issue its own warrants on His Majesty’s Treasurer and Accountant-General for the issue of any public monies from the Colonial Treasury.

“ And all persons and inhabitants of this colony are hereby called upon to yield obedience to the said Provisional Government accordingly.”

A second proclamation, of the same date as the above, declared Martial Law to be in force in every district of the Eastern Province; this was extended on the 8th of January, when, by a proclamation of the Provisional Government, Martial Law was declared to be in force throughout the colony.

Having thus provided for the due administration of the government, and ordered the 72d Regiment and a large supply of ordnance stores to the scene of commotion, His Excellency embarked on board H. M. ship “Trinculo,” in Simon’s Bay on the 8th January, and landed at Port Elizabeth on the 14th.

Previous, however, to this event, Colonel Smith had been exerting all the powers of an active and ardent mind to protect the colony from further aggressions, and to punish the daring invaders. As fast as reinforcements of burghers arrived they were organized and usefully employed; and the most minute details, as well as the more important operations, alike sedulously attended to. The Committee of Safety being no longer required, it was dissolved with the following very handsome testimonial:—

Head Quarters, Graham’s Town, 13th Jan., 1836.

GENTLEMEN,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th inst. transmitting to me a statement of your proceedings up to the moment of my arrival in Graham’s Town.

The objects of your appointment having been fully attained, it is, therefore, unnecessary any longer to occupy your time in meeting as a Committee.

The zeal and unwearied attention which you have given to the various subjects that have been referred to you, demand my warmest acknowledgements, and I beg to assure you that I shall feel much gratification in making His Excellency the Governor acquainted with the extent of your services to the public.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

H. G. SMITH, Lieut.-Col.  
Commanding the Forces.

The multifarious duties which claimed the attention of the authorities at this period are well detailed in a "Notice," published at the time for general information (2). A plan of the intended campaign was also prepared and recorded in the military orders of the 16th January, as follows;—

Head Quarters, Graham's Town,  
10th January, 1835.

As it is the intention of the Lieutenant-Colonel commanding the forces on the frontier to take the field for the expulsion of the Kafirs, and in order to make reprisals until due restitution be obtained for the losses sustained and atrocities committed by the Kafirs in their invasion, and as such intention will be carried into immediate effect as soon as Colonel Cuyler's burghers and His Majesty's 72d Regt. may arrive, the force on the eastern boundary will, for such purpose, be formed into three Columns, as follows:—

The Left Column will be composed of the whole of the burgher force of the district of Graaff-Reinet, as well as of the districts of Somerset and of Albany north of the Fish River, and of the armed inhabitants of the Kat River Settlement, under Captain Armstrong, as well as a detachment of the Cape Mounted Riflemen.

The Centre or Head-Quarter Column will be composed of the burgher mounted force of the district of George and Uitenhage.

A detachment of the Royal Artillery, with 2 light guns.

100 men dismounted of His Majesty's 72d Regiment.

100 men do. of His Majesty's 75th Regiment.

2 troops of the Cape Mounted Riflemen.

50 men of the enrolled Auxiliary Hottentot Infantry.

The Right Column will be composed of the burgher mounted force of the districts of Albany and Somerset south of the Fish River.

A detachment of the Royal Artillery, with 2 light guns.

A detachment of mounted Hottentots.

100 men dismounted of His Majesty's 72d Regiment.

100 men ditto of His Majesty's 75th Regiment.

50 men of the enrolled Auxiliary Hottentot Infantry.

50 mounted men of the 75th Regiment.

1 troop Cape Mounted Riflemen.

Lieut. Williams, R. E., will be attached to Head-Quarters. W. C. Van Ryneveld, Esq. jun., son of the Civil Commissioner for Graaff-Reinet, is requested to act as Aide-de-Camp to the Officer commanding the troops.

The Medical and Commissariat Officers are attached as follows :—

*To the Right Column,*

Dr. Caw, 75th Regiment,  
Assistant Commissary Trotter.

*To the Centre Column.*

Assistant Surgeon Ford,  
Dr. Chiappini,  
Dep.-Asst.-Com.-Gen. Sandford.

*To the Left Column.*

Assistant Staff Surgeons Minto and Morgan,  
Deputy Assistant Commissary Spencer.

The Officer commanding the troops being most anxious to effect and complete this force with the utmost expedition, he will most readily attend to the suggestion of any person under his command, at Head-Quarters, between the hours of 10 and 2 o'clock every day.

H. G. SMITH, Lieut.-Colonel.



## CHAPTER III.

*Arrival of His Excellency Sir B. D'Urban at Graham's Town—Of H. M. 72d Regiment—Benevolent and active exertions of the Governor to relieve the immediate wants of the Sufferers—Establishment of the Board of Relief—Mission of Messrs. Fynn and Shepstone to the Friendly Chiefs—Rescue of Missionaries and Traders from Burn's Hill—Injurious mis-statements of the "Commercial Advertiser"—Dignified reproof given in an Official Notice published by the Hon. Colonel Bell—Destruction of Mount Coke—Meeting of the frontier Traders and Agriculturists—Proceedings consequent thereon—Successful attack of the enemy on Cattle-guards at Fort Willshire—Proceedings of Lieut.-Col. England—Falls in with the enemy in great force in the forests of the Fish River—Is joined by Col. Smith—Proceedings of Col. Somerset's division—Complete defeat of the enemy.*

ON Tuesday, the 20th January, His Excellency the Governor arrived at Graham's Town, having previously made such dispositions at Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage as were calculated to meet and counteract any attempt of the enemy to overrun and waste that part of the colony. Sir Benjamin had been preceded by that remarkably fine body of men, the 72d Regiment, and the scene on his arrival at head quarters was extremely animating and cheerful. The next day an order was issued, in which a brief recapitulation was given of preceding occurrences; and His Excellency's entire approbation of the efforts which had been made in every department for the general security (3).



But not only was the immediate attention of His Excellency directed to the military arrangements, but an intense anxiety was displayed by him to afford immediate relief to those sufferers—many of them destitute women and children and infirm persons—who had been driven from their homes, and who were cast upon the world in a state of almost utter destitution. To meet this emergency commissioners were immediately appointed, under the style of “the Board of Relief;” a measure which was announced to the public in terms of the following notice:—

## BOARD OF RELIEF FOR THE DESTITUTE.

“The following Clergymen and Laymen are appointed as a *Board*, with authority to receive and investigate all applications for food, clothing, lodging, medical aid, &c., and to issue requisitions on the Assistant Commissary General for the necessary supplies, which the exigency of circumstances may require, with a view to alleviate existing distress. All communications on this subject to be addressed to the Chairman of the Board.

Rev. John Heavyside, Chairman; Revds. James Barrow, R. Haddy, J. Monro; Miles Bowker, sen. Esq., Daniel Wainwright, Esq. Secretaries—Rev. J. Barrow (English), Daniel Wainwright, Esq. (Dutch). (Signed,) B. D'URBAN,

Governor and Commander-in-Chief.

Head Quarters, Graham's Town,  
27th January, 1835.”

Independent of the exertions of this Board, the Civil Authorities exerted themselves zealously in procuring lodgings for the destitute as fast they flocked into town, and in making such other arrangements as might mitigate the prevailing distress and conduce to the comfort of those thus thrown upon their attention by circumstances equally unforeseen and uncontrollable.

At this time nearly two thousand persons had sought refuge at Graham's Town from the invaders. Many of these were in extreme destitution. But beside this number, the remainder of the population of the surrounding districts was in a still worse condition. Having assembled at certain points for mutual defence, as already described, the people were exposed to the inclemency of the weather, without the means of obtaining an adequate supply of food of any kind. Sickness began to make its inroads upon those thus situated,

and it was quite evident that the Government would not, with every disposition to attend to the numerous calls for relief, be able to meet these numerous cases, or afford any effectual assistance to the deep and extensive distress which prevailed in every direction. The Board, under these circumstances, was induced to make the following appeal to the public:—

“The destitute situation to which many of the inhabitants of this Frontier have been so suddenly reduced by the unexpected irruption of the Kafir Tribes, constituting a strong claim upon the benevolence of all persons whom Providence has placed in a situation to afford them assistance,—the Board of Relief for the Destitute are induced to offer their services to the Public, by undertaking to apply, to the best of their judgment, such contributions as may be entrusted to them, for the purpose of alleviating the most urgent cases of suffering to which the bounty of Government cannot be extended.

“By order of the Board,

“J. HEAVYSIDE, Chairman.”

This appeal was immediately responded to by the public.\* Committees were immediately formed at Cape Town, Stellenbosch, and Graaff-Reinet,—and their examples were again followed in various other parts of the Colony. Independent of which, subscriptions were made by the Sister Colonies of the Mauritius and St. Helena,—and also in India, and the proceeds remitted with all dispatch in aid of the general object.

The duties which devolved upon the Board were of no ordinary difficulty:—as besides relieving the wants of the necessitous, they were required to listen to and record a detail of each separate case, to enumerate the losses sustained by those who applied for relief, and to keep up an extensive correspondence with every part of the Colony; and it is just to say, that these duties, though harrassing and complicated, have been discharged with a fidelity and an effect that cannot be too highly appreciated. We need not, however, dwell upon this part of our subject, the Board of Relief having published a report of its proceedings, to

\* The Governor, Sir B. D'Urban, with that noble generosity which so peculiarly distinguishes him, immediately contributed £150 from his own pocket, besides making other donations to a considerable amount, in the course of the year.

which we refer our readers for the necessary details, and also for a narration of facts which cannot fail to make a powerful impression on the mind of all who peruse them; and to awaken that sympathy which the benevolent must ever feel towards those who, from causes beyond their control, are suddenly hurled from a situation of comfort, to the depths of suffering and of want (4).

Just previous to the formation of this Board, the attention of the Commander of the Forces had been especially directed to the situation of those Kafir Tribes which had remained in alliance with the Colony. Their equivocal situation with reference to the confederate Chiefs, has already been shewn; and also, that till further reinforcements should arrive, no assistance could be afforded them. Within their territory there were a number of British subjects, who depended entirely on their protection, and whose situation appeared the more precarious from the known fact, that the hostile Chiefs were offering great inducements to this part of their countrymen to join them in their work of destruction. All these circumstances pointed out strongly the necessity of adopting some strong measure for ensuring their fidelity to the British cause. Accordingly it was resolved by Col. Smith to dispatch a mission to this part of Kaffraria, demanding that a suitable pledge should be given for their faithful adherence to the colonial interests. This message was entrusted to Messrs. H. Fynn (many years resident amongst the Zoolas of Port Natal) and T. Shepstone, both of whom spoke the Kafir tongue fluently, and they departed, accompanied by a strong escort of civilians from Port Elizabeth, commanded by Capt. Harries. The difficulty and danger to which this party was exposed, were by no means slight. The Fish River was considerably swollen by heavy rains and was very hazardous to ford,—whilst the narrow and rugged defiles through which they must necessarily pass, were known to be infested by the enemy in considerable force. In spite, however, of these difficulties, the mission reached its destination, and succeeded in its object so effectually, that the Chief Cobus agreed to place himself in the hands of the British as a hostage for the fidelity of the tribes over whom he and his brothers exercised power. During its stay at the Missionary Institution of Wesleyville, the escort was not inactive.

The surrounding country was scoured, and facilities afforded to the colonists at the neighbouring station of Mount Coke to join those who were assembled at the former village. Before starting on the return it was, however, discovered that the enemy had made dispositions for an attack in the intricate passes of the Fish River. To counteract this the party proceeded to the mouth of this River, where the country is much more open, but where the stream is both wide and deep. Notwithstanding this difficulty the party succeeded in making the passage without accident,—and finally in reaching Graham's Town, accompanied by the chief named, and who resided there for several months afterwards, receiving marked attention from the inhabitants in general.

During the period of these proceedings the safety of the missionaries and traders, who were in a still more perilous situation to the northward, had been equally provided for. At Burn's Hill and Lovedale, stations of the Glasgow Missionary Society, it had been found impracticable to elude the vigilance of the crafty foe, and it was quite evident that the existence of the whole depended on the capricious will of the barbarians who surrounded them. Several traders, as we have had occasion to remark, had already been murdered here,—the deed being perpetrated in the most cold-blooded and merciless manner: and it appeared to the commander of the forces most certain that the ultimate safety of the survivors depended on a rapid and vigorous movement. It was more than probable that should the enemy even guess at an intention of a rescue from the colony, the aim would be defeated by the instant massacre of all the prisoners.

Their exact situation was, however, no sooner made known at head-quarters than measures were adopted suited to the emergency. On the 20th January this intelligence was received by Col. Smith. One hour afterwards Major Cox, 75th Regt., was on his way to this point of danger, accompanied by a few men merely as an escort, with orders to collect a sufficient force from Forts Adelaide, Beaufort, and Willshire for the service in question. By the 25th two hundred and fifty men had been collected; and on the next day, at day-break, this force moved forward on the direct

route to Burn's Hill, where they arrived the same evening. Heavy rains had set in, and there was danger of the rivers speedily becoming impassable; hence, although the troops were jaded by a long march, it was determined not to halt but to set off on the return. By this vigorous movement thirty-five British subjects were extricated from their perilous situation. This number included the missionaries Kayser, MacDermid, Laing, and Bennie, three traders, and several females.

The only missionaries now left in the Kafir country were one belonging to the London and six to the Wesleyan Society. Two of the latter were, however, in no immediate danger, the former being among the Amapondas, and the latter among the Abatembu, both of which people had steadily maintained their fidelity to the colonial interests. The others were in situations of extreme peril. Hintza, it is true, had not openly declared himself, and still endeavoured to preserve appearances, but the disguise was too transparent to conceal his real motives from the eyes of the most careless observer. The colonial cattle were pouring into his country in immense numbers: and it was well known that his people were engaged amongst the hostile bands which invaded the colony. Still, in the face of this strong proof, and although, according to Kafir usage, the war could not have been commenced without his knowledge and concurrence, yet did this wily chief endeavour to cajole the missionaries that he was innocent, not only of originating the war, but also of any of the excesses committed subsequently. We shall see in the sequel the craft and cruelty of this chief displayed in its true colors.

Hintza was not, however, the only one who, at this time, endeavoured to mislead the public as to the extent of the danger, and the true character of the war in which the colony found itself so suddenly involved. At Cape Town—and by an individual connected with the sufferers by the ties of country—were their severe losses, and the power of the enemy, most flagrantly mis-stated. The "Commercial Advertiser" of the day had the audacity to publish to the world what the editor called a "correct view of the state of frontier affairs," in which he asserted that—

"The whole population of Kafirland at the best—but evidently

an excessive calculation—including old men, women, and children, does not exceed 100,000 souls; of these 15,000 men may be capable of bearing arms. But the state of Kafirland is such that the cattle, their sole wealth, require to be tended by armed men. Of these 15,000 men they dared for no cause whatever to send more at any time out of the country than two-thirds. And in the absence of these a commando of 200 armed boers or Hottentots, who possess both animal and moral courage, could sweep Kafirland from the Keiskamma to the Kei: therefore, the moment they entered that country the invaders must hurry back to protect their cows and calves, to say nothing of their wives and children. But on the present occasion it *was known* that Hintza, by far the most powerful of all the chiefs, was quiet; that Pato, Cobus Congo, and William Kama were not only quiet but friendly; that *Botma, Eno, and Macomo were not engaged*; neither was Kei nor Tzatzoe. In short it was only known that Tyali was enraged at the recent treatment he had received, that he had sent a written despatch to Col. Somerset requesting an explanation, that no explanation had been given, and that *his people had entered the colony*. Now who and what is Tyali? He is the second son of Gaika, Macomo being his senior. Between him and his brother there is no confidence. He has caused Macomo much annoyance for some time back—by his rashness, and by his *inability to control his own people*. He is the last man on earth whom their chiefs would follow in any enterprise; and taking all the available men amongst his own people, with all the blackguards whom he could induce to desert their own chiefs and join *him* in an attack on the colony, he could not possibly muster more than a *thousand men*. When we say a *thousand men*, we give those who may wish to sift our calculations a free gift of four hundred. For we believe in our conscience that Tyali, relying on his own character and native forces alone, could not bring into the field more than six or seven hundred men!

“And what kind of soldiers would these six hundred, or this thousand be? Tomlinson, an inn-keeper, defended his house *against their whole force and skill and “admirable tactics”* for two days, and only left at the earnest entreaties of the “*Commandant of Kaffraria.*”

It must be obvious to every one that such misrepresentations as these, industriously and widely circulated, must have a most injurious effect at such a crisis. The future safety and well-being of the colony depended upon the British public and government forming correct and decided opinions on the power and character of the native tribes on our border. To misapprehension on this point might be attributed all the



existing disorders, and which could not be effectually corrected without the adoption of the most energetic measures, and the countenance and support of His Majesty's Government.

The temerity which was displayed in giving publicity, and that within the colony, to such barefaced fabrications, excited equally the surprise and indignation both of the people and of the local government. The mischief, however, which might have resulted from such a wanton deviation from truth and justice was effectually counteracted by the following official statement, published in the "Government Gazette" of the 23d January, and which must be viewed as a dignified reproof to the author of the flippant and cruel mis-statements above recorded :—

"Colonial Office, 22d January, 1835.

"The favorable anticipations of last week have not been altogether realised by this day's intelligence from the frontiers. The enemy appear as numerous and as widely dispersed as ever, shewing themselves in small bodies, but in every direction from the Keiskamma to the Sunday Rivers, and from the sea coast to the Stormbergen. They have been attacked wherever met with; and their loss, as already reported, exceeds 400 killed. In the Zuurberg a considerable body gave battle to a detachment under Lieut.-Col. Somerset, who defeated them with the loss of 40 men on their side. Twelve posts are occupied on the lines of the enemy's communication with Kafirland. A force of 400 men quitted Graham's Town on the 9th, under Major Cox. Eno's kraal was attacked and destroyed on the 12th. This column, joined by another under Major Burney, from Fort Beaufort, was in full march on Tyali's and Macomo's kraals, the destruction of which will be the almost certain result.

"The Hon. Col. Smith has, with surpassing activity and minuteness of arrangement that leaves nothing to chance, made every disposition, as well for attack as defence, not only carrying the war into the heart of the enemy's own country, but employing a large portion of his force in clearing the most dangerous parts of the invaded country from the presence of the Kafirs, whose numbers have as yet undergone no sensible diminution.

"The character of this invasion having been variously represented, and the invading force, which is now known to consist of numerous Kafirs from almost every tribe, much underrated, it is fit that its effects, at least, should not be misunderstood. These are forcibly described by the gallant commander himself :—



“Already are seven thousand persons dependent upon the government for the necessaries of life. The land is filled with the lamentations of the widow and the fatherless. The indelible impressions already made upon myself by the horrors of an irruption of savages upon a scattered population, almost exclusively engaged in the peaceful occupation of husbandry, are such as to make me look on those I have witnessed in a service of thirty years, ten of which in the most eventful period of war, as trifles to what I have now witnessed; and compel me to bring under consideration, as forcibly as I am able, the heart-rending position in which a very large portion of the inhabitants of this frontier are at present placed, as well as their intense anxiety respecting their future condition.’

“His Excellency the Governor, after making dispositions for the security of Port Elizabeth, as a *place d’armes*, proceeded to Uitenhage, and thence to Graham’s Town, where he would arrive on the 18th.

“The civil force of Swellendam is again called out, and will march without delay. (Signed) JOHN BELL.”

The intelligence received from Kafirland at the period at which we have arrived, was by no means calculated to relieve the mind from apprehensions respecting the safety of the missionaries beyond the colonial boundary. At the institution of Mount Coke the chief Umkai had shewn an unswerving regard to the British cause; but his power and influence were comparatively inconsiderable, and it was evident that without aid from the colony he must be overwhelmed by superior numbers. Mr. Dugmore, the missionary, at length resolved upon removing to Wesleyville; and after his departure the chief directed a guard of four men to occupy the mission house; but this was of little avail, as the next day the whole village was in flames, and the mission property, consisting of a large mission house, a chapel, a school, schoolmaster’s dwelling, and workshop, entirely consumed. The incendiaries in this case were Kafirs of Slambie’s tribe, then residing on the Debe, a stream in that neighbourhood. From Hintza’s territory the information received was to the effect that the colonial cattle were there in great numbers, but that the chief having heard of the attack on Eno’s kraal, and of the number of Kafirs killed in the colony, began to manifest great uneasiness, and an anxiety to make it appear that he was unconnected with the confederacy against the colony; and this although it was well known that besides receiving the stolen cattle, a large force of his people was in the ranks of the invaders.

From the details already given, the intelligent reader will have inferred that the trade and agriculture of the frontier must have received an alarming and a powerful shock. An important branch of trade, with the Kafirs, had been completely annihilated, and the persons engaged in it, having lost all their property in Kafirland, had declared their inability to meet the demands upon them. In other mercantile branches the losses were severe. A lucrative trade had been conducted with the farmers of the frontiers; a considerable amount in the aggregate was owing by them, and this it was quite impossible to liquidate. Under these circumstances it was resolved to apply by memorial to the Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, for some relief; or at least for the adoption of such measures as might, in some degree, restore the public confidence and encourage the inhabitants to resume, as early as practicable, their ordinary occupations. A public meeting of the frontier agriculturists was accordingly held at Graham's Town on the 3d of February, Mr. Simon Biddulph, an aged and respectable inhabitant of Bathurst, and one of the British immigrants of 1820, in the chair,—when a series of resolutions were unanimously passed, which were subsequently embodied in a memorial to government, as follows:

*To His Excellency Major General Sir B. D'URBAN, K. C. B.  
Governor of the Cape of Good Hope.*

1. The memorial of the Frontier Agriculturists who have suffered from the present irruption of the Kafir Tribes into the colony, convened together in public meeting held at Graham's Town this day (9th Feb.) respectfully sheweth:

2.—That ever since the arrival of the British settlers in 1819, the Kafirs have been engaged in predatory incursions of greater or less extent in the frontier districts, harrassing the farmers, and despoiling them at different times of portions of their property, and that they have now murdered many of the inhabitants—burned their houses—swept off their cattle and other stock; and in fact, reduced nearly the whole of the frontier population to a state of utter destitution.

3.—The memorialists beg leave to represent to your Excellency that the extent to which property has been destroyed is so great, that unless full compensation be made to the sufferers, their re-establishment upon their farms is totally impracticable; and that,

even were such compensation made to them, it would be absolutely indispensable, if the re-occupation of the soil by its former inhabitants be desired, that an assurance of future protection should be afforded to them.

4.—Memorialists therefore most respectfully pray that your Excellency may be pleased to remove that feeling of deep despondency which the insufficiency of former frontier regulations has occasioned, and to dispel that intense anxiety which the inhabitants of the frontier districts feel respecting their future fate, as soon as it shall be consistent with the public service for your Excellency to do so; and they further pray that as many of them have been reduced from comparative affluence to a state of great destitution, your Excellency will be pleased to grant them an advance on that compensation to which they conceive they will be entitled, and which they confidently expect to receive from a paternal government.

And memorialists as in duty bound will ever pray.

On behalf of the memorialists,

(Signed)

T. C. WHITE,  
H. A. CRAUSE,  
W. R. THOMPSON,  
R. GODLONTON.

Deputed on behalf of the memorialists.

Graham's Town, Feb. 3d, 1835.

Nothing could exceed the kindness with which the deputation was received by his Excellency, or the sympathy which he manifestly felt on behalf of the sufferers. An immediate answer was not, however, returned to this petition; but still as it will be desirable that the reply should be inserted in this place, we now give it at the risk of involving ourselves in an anachronism. It was as follows:—

#### APPOINTMENT.

That I deeply deplore the calamities which have recently befallen the frontier districts, I trust it must be unnecessary for me to say—and, it is my intention to pursue such measures, as will, I trust, effectually provide for their future security against a recurrence of them

The general question of compensation shall not fail of being duly submitted to, and earnestly recommended to the favorable consideration of His Majesty's government, which can alone decide upon so great an exigency.

In the meanwhile, however, I am anxious to give immediate

attention to such cases as may come within the power of the colonial government to alleviate: especially those where the sufferers are desirous of returning to their farms, and where assistance in the furnishing seed corn, agricultural implements, a certain quantity of cattle, &c., and such sort of aid, may enable them to do so. The means which I can take the responsibility of appropriating to such purposes, are not, it is true, extensive; yet they may, I think, in some instances afford considerable relief; and I request that applications may be addressed, where such relief may be considered available, and is desired, to the Civil Commissioner of the district, who will have my instructions thereon.

25th Feb. 1835.

(Signed)

B. D'URBAN.

This document does not call for comment, for it must be apparent to all who have perused the foregoing pages, that if any thing could have allayed that poignancy of feeling which must have been experienced by the sufferers at the ruin around them, it would have been produced by the truly benevolent attention paid to them by the government of the country, and by the incessant exertions which had been made to relieve their present distresses, and to promote their future welfare.

The circumstances and wants of the trading part of the community, are extremely well set forth in the following memorial, which was presented to his Excellency simultaneously with those of the agriculturists:—

*To His Excellency Major General Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN.*

The memorial of the Committee of Merchants and others connected with the trade of Graham's Town,

HUMBLY SHEWETH—

1.—That at the moment of the present most calamitous invasion of the colony by the Kafirs, the trade of Graham's Town embraced the towns and districts of Somerset, Cradock, Beaufort, and Graaff-Reinet, and extended far into the interior of the continent through the various native tribes,

2.—That the increased direct imports of British manufactures at Port Elizabeth, from Great Britain, have in a great measure superseded the transhipment of goods from Cape Town,—have effected a material reduction on imports, and also enabled the exporter of colonial produce to give large prices to the grower.

3.—That the amount of exports and imports during the year

1834, cannot without a reference to the Custom House returns be very accurately stated, but your memorialists beg leave to observe, that both have materially increased upon the return of the preceding year. That the sales in the public markets averaged £2,100 per month, and the amount of private sales in the same period to itinerant traders, may be estimated at three times that sum.

5.—That the facilities offered for improving that valuable branch of frontier business, the Kafir trade, by the establishment of fairs at Fort Willshire, by the removal of prohibitions against passing the colonial boundary, and by the guarantee of protection, which the exaction of a licence duty afforded, had created a considerable demand for British manufactures, particularly woollens; and consequently caused a large quantity of the merchants' capital to be directed into that channel.

6.—That a very large capital is embarked in the trade of Graham's Town; £100,000 of which, or thereabouts, are now outstanding, and due to the principal houses.

7.—That the whole of this extensive trade has been entirely destroyed by the irruption of Kafirs, and the farmers of Albany and Somerset generally having been plundered of all their property, they are incapable at present of meeting their engagements, and your memorialists are consequently exposed to embarrassments in making remittances to their foreign and other distant connections, which can only be removed by the interference and assistance of the government.

8.—The present aid which your Memorialists solicit, may be afforded (they beg with great deference to suggest) by loans upon real property, and by advances upon the compensation which may be eventually made for losses sustained through the invasion of the colony, where the landed property of the sufferers is already mortgaged, or where it shall appear that their property consisted exclusively of merchandize.

9.—Your Memorialists therefore humbly and earnestly entreat your Excellency's consideration to a state of affairs from which they feel their total inability to extricate themselves without the prompt interposition and assistance of the government.

And your Excellency's Memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

(Signed) CHARLES MAYNARD,                      W. R. THOMPSON,  
                   WILLIAM COCK,                              JAMES BLACK.  
                   EDWARD NORTON,

On a perusal of this document it will appear evident that it involves matters of weighty consideration, and which it

was not very probable the Governor of the colony would incur the responsibility of replying to in the affirmative without the most careful and deliberate consideration. This memorial was, therefore, referred by him to the Executive Council at Cape Town; and having obtained the opinion of that body, an answer thereto was transmitted in the following terms; and which, although at variance with chronological order, we now insert that the whole subject may come before the reader at one view:—

“ On a Memorial of a Committee of Merchants and others connected with the trade at Graham’s Town, dated the 9th Feb., 1835.

“ This was a subject upon which (as I had the honor to apprise the gentlemen who presented the memorial to me at the time), it was indispensable that I should consult the Executive Council of government, which I proceeded to do accordingly, deeply impressed with the distress and embarrassment therein set forth, and anxious to avail myself of any possible means for its relief.

“ The Council have been of opinion that government would not be justified, even if it had, which it has not, the means, in assisting the frontier commercial body in the manner proposed; but that every provision had been made from the first of these disasters for the extension of bank accommodation, and for granting indulgence in point of time in particular cases, when established to the satisfaction of the bank.

“ With reference to an observation in the memorial on the “ Kafir trade,” the Council have thought it necessary to remark, that the extension of that trade was an act of the government, and not a right of the trader. Government, it appears, had thought fit to establish certain regulations under which the trade might be entered into, and these were devised, not for the protection of the traders, but of those nations with whom they were to trade.

“ With reference to this view of the subject the above is all that I can be warranted to say generally thereon. But I will readily suggest for the favorable consideration of the Executive Council, and of the bank, any individual case requiring assistance, as standing upon its own merits.”

(Signed)

B. D’URBAN.

(Signed)

G. DE LA POER BERESFORD,  
Aide-de-Camp.

24th March, 1835.



Having already given our opinion on this document,\* we need not repeat our arguments here; and hence we resume the thread of our narrative.

At the period to which we have now brought our relation, nearly all the cattle on the frontier had been swept off by the enemy. A few thousand head had been driven to Graham's Town for security, and which were depastured under the protection of a strong guard from the civil force in its environs: but these were fast decreasing in number; grass and water became scarce; and the cattle could not, without kraals, be kept together at night. Numbers of them died, others strayed, and were either captured by the enemy or lost; and thus those who had saved their cattle in the first instance, were ultimately in nearly as bad a condition as those who had been plundered at the first rush of the invaders.

There being so little temptation for further incursions, the enemy was fast retreating within his own boundary, intent either in preparing for the anticipated struggle, or in securing, by driving into the fastnesses of the interior, the immense booty of which he had possessed himself. At this time Fort Willshire had been re-occupied by a detachment of the 72d Regiment and the Mounted Rifles, and on these the Kafirs determined to make an attack; not, however, by attempting the Fort, but by cutting off the supplies, an undertaking equally mischievous and far more practicable. Accordingly, a corporal and three privates of the 72d Regiment, together with two armed Hottentots, having been sent out on duty, as usual, had proceeded about a thousand yards from the Fort, when a body of Kafirs, about 300 strong, and partly mounted and armed with guns, rushed down from a neighbouring hill. The guard fired eight or ten shots, but were soon overpowered by numbers and killed. The affair was witnessed by the troops in the Fort, and immediate assistance was afforded, but the enemy succeeded, notwithstanding, in making good their retreat, driving off the sheep which had been in charge of the men whom they had slain. Having so far succeeded, they assembled in a vaunting manner on the side of a hill in view of the Fort, but were quickly

\*Vide Introductory Remarks, pp. 145-148.



driven from this position by a few shots fired from a nine-pounder. The Fort was extremely weak from the number of men absent on commando, and an effective pursuit was thereby rendered utterly impracticable.

This audacious attack of the enemy was, however, very speedily punished;—and, indeed, at this very moment of time the operations had been commenced which led to the loss on their part of many men, and of a very large number of cattle.

It has been already mentioned that in consequence of Capt. Harries having received certain information that the enemy had occupied the drifts and bushy defiles of the Fish River, he had been induced to make a *détour* by the mouth of the stream, where he had successfully crossed, and from thence over the flat country to Graham's Town. This being communicated at head-quarters, Lieut.-Col. England, 75th Regt., and Major Gregory, 98th Regt., with a detachment of 300 men, were directed to proceed to that neighbourhood, to examine carefully the rugged kloofs on the Committee's and Trompetter's Drifts—at which points the main roads from the colony to the Kafir country cross the Fish River—and report accordingly.

On reaching the river it was found considerably swollen by the heavy rains which had fallen in the upper country. There were no boats or rafts, and the current at such seasons is extremely rapid. The duty, however, on which this force was employed was important, and Col. England determined to cross the river at all hazards. Fortunately it was accomplished with no other mishap than that of several horses and men being swept down the stream; but these were rescued ultimately from their dangerous situation. On reaching the left bank of the river, the troops were halted from 10 till 2 o'clock,—during which interval dogs were heard to bark, and cattle to bellow to the right of the road, plainly indicating that the enemy had taken up a position in that direction. The force remounted at 2 and halted again at 4 o'clock, in consequence of seeing a column of smoke issuing from a large kloof. To this point Lieut. Sutton, 75th Regt. with a party of Hottentots was ordered.

He returned shortly after, accompanied by several Kafir

women and children whom he had captured. The men who were with these women escaped into an immense thicket adjoining, where it was evident the enemy had established themselves in considerable force. These women, on being interrogated, stated, that they belonged to Dushanie's tribe; but they were recognized by several Kafir traders present as belonging to Eno. The women were released unhurt. On receiving this information, Col. England immediately arranged his plan of attack, and at 6 o'clock the next morning the column moved down the kloofs. At this time cattle were seen in the wooded ravines in countless numbers, spread so completely amongst the bushes, as to give to the whole the appearance of a living mass; but scarcely any of the enemy allowed themselves to be seen during the advance. It was indeed very evident that they had determined not to expose themselves to the attack of our force, and in furtherance of this, the difficulties and general features of the country afforded them every advantage. The column, however, succeeded in capturing a considerable number of cattle, with which they returned to their position: a small body of the enemy keeping up a fire upon the rear guard, but at too great a distance to be effective. The next evening the troops again marched, but to a different part of the kloof occupied by the enemy. At sun-rise an attack was commenced on our part; but the Kafirs still refused to shew themselves, and the position chosen by them was of that character, that it was impossible for the small force employed to bring them to action. A desultory fire was kept up on both sides for some time, in the course of which, we had one Hottentot killed and another wounded. The result of this day's operations was several of the enemy's huts destroyed, and the capture of 135 cattle.

Although, however, no material advantage had been gained by us during these operations, yet it will be seen that the primary object in detaching this force had been fully attained; that of ascertaining the exact position of the enemy. Accordingly, Col. England having given the necessary orders for observing the enemy's movements, returned himself to headquarters, and having communicated to the Commander in Chief the particulars above detailed, and his conviction that to carry on a successful series of military operations in such a situation, would require a considerable force, it was deter-

mined that all the disposable force should be immediately marched to that point, and that Col. Smith, the Chief of the Staff, should assume the command when assembled at the point of rendezvous.

The absolute necessity of clearing this tract of country of the enemy was apparent. A plan of offensive operations within the his territory had been matured, and was about to be acted on; but it was impossible to move forward, leaving a large hostile force in the rear, and within a day's march, of Graham's Town. It was not only desirable, but absolutely necessary, therefore, that this country should be effectually cleared, and that without delay, so as not materially to impede the main operations previously organized.

On Friday, the 6th February, Lieut.-Col. England reached town with the intelligence already mentioned respecting the position and apparent strength of the enemy; and on the next day at noon, Col. Smith quitted Graham's Town for the field of action. At day-light of that day, considerable reinforcements of men and the necessary supplies had been moved forward towards the same point. The enemy's intentions were also further developed by intelligence received from Kafirland, and which was to the effect—that the confederated Chiefs, aware of the extensive preparations making in the colony to enter their territory and punish them for their wanton aggressions, had sent messages throughout Kafirland, naming the intricate defiles of the Fish River as a place of rendezvous. It was further stated to be their intention to lie there concealed until the British force had passed, and then either to pour into the colony, or to act upon the rear of our troops according to circumstances. Nothing perhaps, considering their situation, could have been conceived better, nor any position selected more suitable for this purpose,—it being equally calculated for concealment and for defence. Its impervious thickets—terrific precipices, and deep and rugged defiles, presented insurmountable impediments to the approach of cavalry or artillery, whilst the enemy's accurate knowledge of the different passes rendered his retreat at any time a matter of no very serious difficulty.

To those at a distance, unacquainted with the localities of

the country—the importance of a contest with such a people as the Kafirs may not be apparent. Accustomed only to the details of warfare between civilized countries and disciplined armies,—the opposition which can be afforded by a people who are nearly without fire-arms, and who are not restrained or governed by military organization, is held by them extremely cheap. But such persons do not in reference to the Kafir nation sufficiently consider the severe difficulties presented by the country, and the desultory mode of warfare adopted by that people when opposed to European troops ; and which has an inevitable tendency to wear out the most exemplary patience.

In illustration of these remarks, we shall now recur to the proceedings of Lieut.-Col. Somerset, whom we left actively engaged in clearing the country along the Bushman's River and Oliphant Hoek of that part of the enemy's force which had laid waste that neighbourhood.—On the morning of Col. Smith's departure, Col. Somerset arrived at Graham's Town, where he received instructions to move with the force under his command with the utmost celerity along the lower country—parallel to the coast, to cross the Fish River at Kafir's Drift, and then by a sudden *détour* to the left, to place himself in the rear of the enemy's position ; and thus, should the movements of Col. Smith be crowned with the anticipated success, and the enemy be routed from his fastnesses, to cut off his retreat from the direct route into his own territories.

The proceedings of Col. Somerset's detachment cannot be better described than in the following extract from a communication now before us, written by an officer employed on the occasion :—"On the 7th," says the writer, "the Colonel left for Head-quarters, directing us to march on Bathurst, and from thence to Kafir's Drift, where he was again to join us. At 5 o'clock P.M. we arrived at the former village, and encamped in front of the Drostdy House for the night. On the following morning at 10 o'clock we resumed our march towards Kafirs Drift. During our march we passed several locations burnt and depopulated, and over a country that a few weeks before was studded with almost innumerable flocks of sheep, and herds of cattle, but which now did not possess a single head of either to enliven the scene or to graze its plains ; nor was the vestige of a footstep of its former

possessors to be seen along its well beaten roads. About 2 we arrived at Cawood's house, now occupied by a party of the 75th Regt., and a small detachment of the Cape Corps under the command of Lieut. Moultrie. Here we encamped and waited all night. The same evening we were joined by Lieut.-Col. Somerset, who immediately on his arrival despatched the howitzer and 40 men to Trompetters Drift (Col. Smith's camp,) under the command of Mr. F. Campbell. At 2 o'clock on the morning of the 9th, we commenced our march for Kafirs Drift Post, the Colonel being determined to effect a passage across the river at that pass. We forced our way down the mountain pass with the greatest difficulty, the gun being frequently driven over the precipitous parts of the road, and only kept from being dashed to pieces by the ropes attached to it, and held by the hands of dismounted men appointed to that duty. After an hour or more of incessant toil, it was ascertained that the river was impassable in consequence of the heavy falls of rain in the country above, and we had to retrace our steps up again. With no little toil and trouble we regained the top about 7 o'clock, and the weather, which had for some time threatened rain, now became very tempestuous, the wind and rain beating with great violence, which continued during the whole of our march back to Cawood's, completely drenching us to the skin. About 9 o'clock the weather cleared up, and the Colonel determined to endeavour to effect a passage across the mouth of the river (about 8 miles lower down) by means of Cawood's float. About noon we commenced our march to that part of the river, and bivouacked a short distance from the intended place of passage. Early on the morning of the 10th, a party with ropes and tools to repair the float, and prepare for the passage, was sent forward, the Colonel himself shortly following them. The float was found sunk in the mud, from which it was raised with great difficulty, and we were anticipating a favorable result, when our hopes were dashed by the announcement that the timbers were rotten, and that it would be useless to proceed with the repairs. No other resource was left but to retrace our steps, and again to try Kafirs Drift. Dispositions were accordingly made for that purpose. The wagons were ordered to proceed by Trompetters Drift; the gun and light baggage on horses being the only things that could be, by any possibility, transported by this route. At 3 P.M. we moved for-

ward so as to reach the drift at the time of low water. While preparing our noon repast the firing of cannon was distinctly heard, from which we inferred that Col. Smith had commenced his operations. We shortly afterwards saddled up, and leaving our tents and baggage to the care of the wagoners and guards, started by Richardson's to the Kafir Drift Post, and from thence down the pass to the river. The passage of the gun was as before attended with great difficulty, but we succeeded at length in reaching the bank of the river in safety about an hour before sun-set. The river was running down rapidly, but was yet very full from the rains. The ford was at all hazards to be attempted, and a small party pushed their horses forward and committed themselves to the stream; after struggling with a powerful current and having to swim for some distance they were enabled to reach the opposite bank. This success inspired the other troops with fresh spirits, and a party under Lieuts. Moultrie and Brummel, with pick-axes and spades, were ordered forward to cross and prepare the path for the ascent of the gun up the opposite bank of the river. These also were successful, and we soon had the satisfaction of hearing the sound of the axes among the trees of the opposite ascent. As the river was running down fast, and the moon near the full, the Colonel was induced to delay the passage of the gun and the rest of the troops for some time; but about sun-set, as no perceptible fall of the water could be perceived—though the current still rapidly made its way to the ocean—the order was given to bring up the gun, and a man on horseback with a long riem attached to the fore oxen entered the stream. The ammunition had been taken out of the boxes, and committed to the care of strong, good swimmers. The stream was breasted by the oxen strenuously, and across they got; the gun and carriage being for a great distance completely overwhelmed by the water. The Colonel followed with the Cape Rifles and mounted Hottentots, and succeeded in reaching the opposite bank in safety. At this time it was nearly dark, and the thicket of the bush shut out the faint twilight and rendered it completely so; but as the place resounded with the noise of the axe, the crush of falling trees, and the rolling of stones, mingled with the shouts of the men as they made the passage of the River, it was any thing but a solitude. Thus we proceeded by inches, until having succeeded in passing the gun, we arrived at a flat



open shelf about two thirds of the way up the ascent. Here we halted, occasionally sending to ascertain the progress made in the ascent of the gun. The moon at this time shone brightly, and the air still resounded with the noise of those who were still crossing the River, broken in upon by Whoa! Whoa! and Track! Track! vociferated by the conductors of the gun as they met with and surmounted the intricacies and difficulties of the road. Whilst waiting at the place for the transit of the cannon, an accident occurred that caused no small consternation among the few persons that formed the Colonel's escort. They had all dismounted and were sitting on the ground by the side of the horses. The Colonel had been standing at the shoulder of his horse, from which he had just moved and sat down on the other side, when one of the men in moving his gun which lay across his thigh pulled the trigger and the piece went off. The horse reeled a few yards and fell; the ball entered his left shoulder—passed through the body—over the Colonel's head, and close to the face of another person immediately behind him. The horse died in a few minutes. The man that held the gun was slightly wounded by the ball above the elbow. Soon after this the gun joined us, and the rest of the ascent was made in the same persevering manner as before. The whole ascent from the River occupied three hours. The top of the Bush was cleared at half past 10 at night, and we moved on; by 2 the whole had gained the height, and had emerged from the bush, without the loss of a single man. We marched during the night, occasionally resting for a short time, and off-saddled at day light, at about 3 miles west of the Gualana Post, completely fatigued and exhausted by this trying and bold movement,—for such every one that has been up this pass, and who considers the difficulty of effecting a passage for a piece of Artillery into Kafirland, by this hitherto considered impracticable ascent, must acknowledge it to be. We remained here some hours sending out parties to reconnoitre, and about 6 in the afternoon upsaddled, having heard that the Centre Division was on its march. We passed the Division under Major Gregory, at the Chusie River, about 8 o'clock, and formed our camp at Somerset Mount about 10 at night, remaining under saddle all night. About half-past 2 a.m. on the 12th, Col. Smith's Division passed us, from Trompetters Drift to take up the position as had been previously arranged, and here that officer and Col. Somerset had a conference respecting their future movements."



We now return to the proceedings of Col. Smith, whom we stated had quitted Graham's Town on the 7th February to assume the command of the force assembled in the neighbourhood of Committy's Drift. On the evening of that day he arrived on the banks of the Fish River, which was greatly swollen by the rains, and continued to rise until the 12th. On reconnoitering the enemy's position, the commander of the forces perceived that the ground the enemy occupied was a ridge of high hills intersected by deep ravines, covered with dense and frequently thorny and impenetrable bush, extending from Committy's Drift to about four miles below Trompetter's Drift, everywhere affording the wily Kafir the means of concealing himself and the numerous herds of which he had recently plundered the colonists. The Kafirs in the occupation of this line of country belong to the tribes of Eno, Botma, Dushani, and some inferior chiefs.

To make any impression upon the enemy in such a position, it was necessary to attack him at various points in front, whilst the heights and heads of ravines in his rear were so occupied as to prevent his escape with the cattle over the Keiskamma River, only 6 miles distant from the scene of action.

On the 11th, the river having sufficiently subsided to be fordable for cavalry, Col. Somerset, as we have seen, crossed it at Kafir's Drift, and occupied Mount Somerset with the mounted force under his command.

At 12 o'clock on the same day Major Gregory also crossed the river with a regular and mounted force, a six pounder, and a howitzer, to occupy a position on the Chusie River, at a point equi-distant from Kafir Drift and Somerset Mount.

At 7 o'clock in the evening the infantry also crossed the river; it consisted of 2 companies of the 72d Regt., 80 of the Hottentot Sharpshooters, under Major McLean, and a second corps under the command of Capt. Hallifax, consisting of 2 companies of the 72d, 80 of the Hottentot Sharpshooters, and 50 mounted Hottentots under Lieut. Sutton; these were conducted by able guides to their position at the foot of the mountains occupied by the enemy.

The corps under Lieut.-Col. England crossed at Com-

mitti's Drift, and occupied a position on its eastern bank. The infantry having crossed the river, Col. Smith himself joined the division under the command of Major Gregory, and proceeded at 12 o'clock at night to the position occupied by Col. Somerset, where the chiefs Pato and Kama had previously arrived.

Col. Somerset's corps soon afterwards occupied the ground extending from Breakfast Vlei to Trompetter's Poort, on which Col. Smith, led Major Gregory's corps to the rising ground in rear of the enemy's position, where it was supposed the enemy would retreat with his cattle.

When day dawned on the 12th, the enemy were perceived in numerous small parties, with great numbers of cattle, which they immediately drove out of their kraals, evidently ignorant of the position of the infantry upon that side; a fire was then opened upon them with a six pounder and howitzer. The troops under Lieut.-Col. England, Major McLean, and Capt. Hallifax having the guns in the rear of the enemy, pushed forward up the steep, rugged, and bushy hills, with the wonted vigour and determination of British soldiers; the Hottentot Shapshooters, both foot and mounted, boldly aided their advance, and skilfully scoured the thicket upon their flanks. As the troops ascended the cattle poured forth from the ravines and passes, the Kafirs bravely using their utmost endeavours to prevent their being driven into the open country above, but being fired upon both front and rear, they soon retreated into their holds and fastnesses.

In this operation the enemy is supposed to have had 100 men killed, and a considerable number wounded. About 2,500 head of cattle, and large flocks of goats and sheep were captured.

On the 14th the infantry under the command of Major McLean, Capt. Hallifax, and Major Bagot crossed the Fish River at Trompetter's Drift, and inclining to the left, moved much farther to the enemy's right than on the 12th, and at day-break commenced their attack. The cavalry made the passage higher up, at a narrow and rugged pass called Sheffield's pass. A six-pounder, and the force at Committy's Drift, also crossed at that point, and concentrated with the

other division somewhat to the right and to the rear of that part of the bush which had not yet been scoured.

After a long night's march the troops moved with much accuracy on the points to which they were ordered, and a six-pounder gave the signal of a general advance. It was soon obvious that the result of the action on the 12th was more decisive than had been supposed, as but few of the enemy were visible; and such was the rapidity of their retreat that they had left a considerable number of their cattle behind them in charge of a few herdsmen, who attempted to retreat with them on our approach.

The troops pursued through deep and bushy ravines, and ascending a ridge of hills scarcely accessible, succeeded in capturing about 1,200 head of cattle, and 2 large flocks of goats. Upwards of 30 women and children, of Dushani's tribe also fell into our hands. Several of the enemy were killed and wounded in this affair.

While this struggle was going on in the kloofs and rugged banks of the Fish River, Col. Somerset was no less actively engaged on the heights in rear of the position; of which a good detail is given by the writer from whom we have already quoted:—"At day-light," says he, "parties from our division moved off to the head of the Fish River kloof; at 6, the sound of firing of great guns indicated the attack had commenced by the advancing columns up the kloofs, and our division marched, (a strong party being left in position) to the westward, along a tongue of land that enabled them to bring the Artillery to bear with good effect on the enemy in the bush; while the troops, except those detained for covering the gun, were detached into the bush, to attack and dislodge the enemy. The attack was briskly performed, and continued for 3 or four hours, during which the enemy, notwithstanding a most determined resistance, was driven from position to position, until they fled, leaving their cattle to be brought out by the victors. This was effected on our side without any loss, but the enemy sustained much both in lives and cattle; 750, chiefly milch cows and calves fell to our lot. The centre division, under Col. Smith, had a more arduous contest, the enemy being stronger, though with a severe loss in killed and wounded, chiefly from guns. This was a most fatiguing day for the

troops, all up hill and bush work. When collected together we changed our position a little to the Guanga, for the benefit of water and shelter from a cold and strong wind then blowing. Pato and Kama came to the reserve while the attack was going on: they had with them about 30 mounted men with guns, and about 400 others armed with assegais. They sat all the time of the attack, only uttering a slight exclamation, when they heard the report of the distant cannonade. They remained with us all night, during which Col. Somerset went over to the camp of the Commander of the Forces."

Although it was clear that, notwithstanding every precaution, the enemy had made good his retreat, still the primary object of the expedition had been accomplished—his expulsion from a position which had been deemed almost impracticable. It embraced numerous intricate fastnesses, from which it required considerable exertion and perseverance in the troops to drive him, and our loss, although trifling to what usually occurs in European warfare, was consequently severe. Part of the troops had been either marching or in action from 7 o'clock on the 11th, until half past 8 on the evening of the 12th; and although a good deal fatigued, were in high spirits, and energetic in the pursuit of the enemy; who displayed, during these four days' operations, considerable activity, bravery, and stubbornness. A part of his force kept up a smart but desultory fire of musketry; amidst which was clearly distinguished the loud crack of an elephant gun of large calibre,—and which it was subsequently ascertained was in the possession of a Hottentot deserter. Our loss amounted to twelve killed, of whom eleven were either Europeans, or of European lineage; and the same number wounded (5).

Amongst the former were two volunteers, named Goodwin and Bland. The first an enterprising, brave young man from Beaufort, who had only arrived as the troops were about to take the field, and who had joined them with enthusiasm. In an attack on the enemy in the bottom of a deep and tangled thicket, he and Bland, and one or two others, had pushed forward in advance of their companions, until they suddenly found themselves surrounded

by the enemy. Goodwin prepared to defend himself with intrepidity, when a shot struck his gun, and knocked off the stock; and he and Bland almost immediately after fell into the hands of the savages, and, though unresisting, were despatched by them.\* Bland left a widow and several young children to deplore the loss of a husband and parent.

Amongst the killed four men of the 72d Regt. unfortunately fell by the fire of their own comrades. It appears that a detachment of this regiment had been placed in position for the night, and were lying under arms in momentary expectation of an attack by the enemy. During the night one man, either from hearing a noise in the bush, or from the working of the imagination whilst half asleep, suddenly became alarmed, called out "Kafirs!" and instantly fired his piece. The consequence was that general consternation for the moment seized the men near him; their muskets were discharged, and with the fatal result above mentioned. We have not heard the name of the man who caused this commotion; but if he be a *young* soldier, the circumstance may be easily accounted for. This fine body of men had just arrived on the frontier, and the scene in which they found themselves so suddenly placed was calculated to have a powerful effect on the imagination. None can form any conception of a night bivouac in the kloofs of the Fish River, but those who have actually been in such a situation. The gloomy and profound thickets—the rugged and frowning precipices—and the lofty heights which bound the view on every hand,—the natural gloom, heightened by the shadows of night, and that restless watchfulness which must necessarily be induced from a knowledge that a treacherous-cruel enemy was lurking around, watching for an opportunity to spring upon his victim;—all these circumstances in combination are sufficiently powerful to account for the fatal accident described, without attaching undue blame to him by whom it was inadvertently caused.

Another incident which occurred during this commando is worthy of being recorded. Col. Smith, Major Cox, and several other officers, had assembled one evening round

\* These barbarians now make a boast of the manner in which they slaughtered their prisoners. They say, it is true that they had many killed, but then they put the British to death so pleasantly! and at their leisure.

their night fires, when some of the enemy's marksmen stole quietly under cover of the thicket, to within a very short distance of the spot, and fired upon the party; the balls whistled past their heads, but fortunately missed them. A detachment on the spot was instantly formed into line, and rushed to the point whence the firing had proceeded, but the enemy had retired into the intricate bush, and every attempt to discover them was fruitless.

Immediately before the troops commenced their march homeward from the Fish River Bush two deserters from the enemy, armed with firelocks, came into the camp. One of them was a Bechuana who had formerly been in the employ of a shopkeeper at Graham's Town, and the other was a Bastard Hottentot who likewise belonged to the colony. These men stated that they had been forced to join the enemy after having been taken prisoners at the attack on Mr. Howse's farm, and had not till that time been able to effect their escape.

A shocking instance of the ferocity of the invading savages was exhibited in the case of Corporal Robinson, of the 75th Regt., who was among the slain. His comrades had consigned his remains to the earth; but the spot had been afterwards discovered by the savages—the body torn from the grave; and it was found with the head greatly disfigured, apparently by beating it either with bludgeons or stones.

We have detailed these operations at some length, it being the first general engagement between the opposing forces, and, as it will give a correct idea of the character of this warfare, and of the difficulties presented by the country to the movements of European troops. If these points are considered in connection with the due concentration of the troops at the time calculated, although the extremities of the ground occupied comprised a distance of about 50 miles; the rapidity of the movements, and the boldness, energy, and perseverance with which they were executed;—it will readily be conceded that the plan of operation, and also its successful result, are alike honorable to those engaged, and important to the country (6).

## CHAPTER IV.

*Treacherous conduct of Hintza—Cruel treatment of the Traders in his territory—Fidelity of the Fingoes and the Tambookies—Escape of the Rev. Mr. Brownlee—Abandonment and destruction of Wesleyville—Gallant defence at the Kat River—Excellent arrangements of the Commissariat—Field Commandant Linde—Fatal encounter at Comitty's Drift—Gallant conduct of the Field Commandant Rademeyer—Proceedings of Col. Smith—Arrangements for Campaign—Inroad into the enemy's territory by detachment under Col. Smith—Mission of Field Commandant Van Wyk to Hintza—Situation of the Missionaries and Traders in the Tambookie country—Attack of the Fetcani—Death of R. Rawlins—Mission to the Amaponda chief, Faku—Attack on cattle-guard at Fort Beaufort—Departure from Graham's Town of His Excellency the Governor.*

It has been shewn that the conduct of the chief Hintza, although extremely suspicious, had not manifested itself by openly expressed hostility. About this period he, however, appears to have thrown off disguise: the only two traders then in his territory, unconnected with the missionary institution, named Eccles and Horton, were seized by order of the chief, and their trading station plundered of all its property. Their lives were spared, it is true, but they were stripped naked, deprived of every article of clothing except their shirt, and in this deplorable state were driven into an out-house, where, during thirty-six days, they were subjected to every kind of indignity which savage barbarity could suggest; with no other food but one quart of milk daily, which was



doled out to them more, as it would seem, for the purpose of prolonging their misery, and thus affording more gratification to their fiendish tormentors, than from any feeling of compassion. Fortunately these two men at length succeeded in eluding the vigilance of their keepers, and in escaping to the Wesleyan missionary institution of Butterworth, where they arrived in a most pitiable condition. Here, although the inhabitants were in the greatest danger and alarm, they found an asylum, together with such assistance as they then especially needed.

Besides this, the colonial cattle were entering that country in such large numbers that concealment was out of the question. They were driven openly along the high road, and in view of the missionary station, by Hintza's own people. It was also communicated to the missionary, the Rev. J. Ayliff, that the destruction of the institution had been a matter of discussion by Hintza and his counsellors, or *amapakati*; and that this question had not been finally settled, as some of the captains were averse to the measure. A formal message, however, was sent to the Kafirs residing in that neighbourhood to remove and join the chief in the upper country, in order to make room for the *Amararobe*—the national appellation of the frontier tribes—when driven before the British forces.

Fortunately for the missionary and those with him, the Fingoes residing on the missionary station displayed, at this crisis, considerable firmness and courage; expressing their determination not to abandon their teacher, and that if he were slain he should die "behind their shields." It was impossible, however, to reside here in this state of anxiety; and as, in spite of the utmost vigilance day and night, it was found impossible to preserve their cattle, it was resolved to attempt an escape to the institution at Clarkebury, a distance of 45 miles to the north; and in this they were ultimately successful.

This station is situated amongst the Abatembu tribe of Kafirs, usually called Tambookies. At this period the people were governed by Vadanna, a brother of the late chief Vusani, to whose son, then a minor, he was the guardian.\* This chief manifested, at the period to which we

\* Vide Introductory Remarks, pp. 255—257.

have now arrived, an unshaken attachment to the British cause, and regard for the missionaries and other British subjects who were so fortuitously thrown upon his protection. This good feeling was displayed throughout the whole of the struggle which ensued, and its sincerity tested by his decided rejection alike of the promises and threatenings of the more powerful tribes in his neighbourhood, then actively engaged in hostilities.

Nearer the colonial frontier the situation of the missionaries was no less precarious. At the station on the Buffalo River the Rev. Mr. Brownlee, of the London Missionary Society, with his wife and family, was compelled to fly for his life, and to abandon all his property. It appears that before he could determine upon quitting, the most hostile feeling was displayed towards him by some of the people on the institution—by those who had witnessed his unwearied exertions to promote their best interests, and that of their children; and a great portion of whose life had been spent in endeavours to raise them in the scale of humanity. These people succeeded at length in driving from the institution Jan Tzatzoe, the son of the chief, and with him those who were still willing to render him assistance. Having so far accomplished their purpose, they proceeded without further ceremony to plunder the institution. Mr. Brownlee, finding himself deserted by his friends and menaced by the barbarians who were committing the spoliation of the mission property, was compelled at length to escape on foot, with his wife and children, towards the institution of Wesleyville. One night was spent in the bush; but on the following day he succeeded in reaching that station in safety. Here all was confusion. An order had been received by Pato from the Governor to convey the missionary and the traders who were there assembled, on their way towards the colony; and hasty preparations were making for their immediate departure. But few wagons could be had, and these were quite insufficient to remove the whole of the property, together with the families which required a conveyance. Little or no assistance was to be procured from any one, as each was too intent on his own preservation to give any effectual help to his fellow sufferers. In the midst of all this a Kafir village a little above the institution was fired by the enemy, and Mr. Brownlee and his helpless family were again left to shift for themselves. Not-

withstanding all these untoward circumstances, Mr. B. succeeded in gaining a place of safety on the Beka ; but no sooner was Mr. Brownlee's escape known, than his dwelling was plundered, and the next day destroyed by the firebrand of the barbarians.

At Wesleyville the chapel and houses shared the same fate—together with considerable property left in them, and which was unavoidably abandoned for want of conveyance.

In the Kat River Settlement, the inhabitants had sustained daily attacks, in which they had defended themselves with great judgment and bravery. At length the enemy appeared determined by a desperate assault to endeavour to carry off the cattle which they still possessed, and which were so essential for the subsistence of the people. The 19th February was chosen for this attack. A day or two prior to this, two Kafir women had visited the settlement, and in the course of conversation with their acquaintances had stated, that the chief Tyali, with his own and some of Hintza's men, was preparing to make a descent on that neighbourhood. Much importance was not at first attached to this statement, as similar communications had been made before and never fulfilled ; however, Capt. Armstrong deemed the few hints which he gathered of consequence enough to induce him to send out at day-break on the 19th instant, strong patrols of observation, which were ordered to be prepared to cover and protect the cattle.

These patrols soon sent in reports purporting that a large force of Kafirs, supposed to be Tyali's commando which had been mustered and stationed on the Amatoli River, were in sight ; and that large bodies of the enemy were descending from the several kloofs around the settlement. Demands were at the same moment made for reinforcements from so many different points, that at one period not more than thirty men were left to protect the camp and the women and children.

The enemy attacked the colonial force with much determination, and were as bravely repulsed at every point. The most strenuous efforts were made to capture the cattle ; but in spite of all their attempts the people of the settlement succeeded ultimately in saving the whole of them. In the

various skirmishes sixty-seven Kafirs were killed in the course of the day, besides many wounded. The loss on our side was two killed, and one man and a woman severely wounded.

During the engagement the Field-commandant Van Wyk arrived at the settlement with a small party of men, and finding that a determined attack was making on it he returned to his encampment at the close of the day, and before day-light the following morning appeared with a reinforcement of 240 mounted burghers; but the enemy had retired, having been defeated in all his attacks. This force was, however, dispatched forward immediately for the purpose, if possible, of intercepting him; and hence it was to proceed in a certain direction, with the view of gaining unperceived a place of concealment; towards which point all the cattle of the settlement were driven under the protection of a strong mounted force. It was hoped that the Kafirs would be lured by this stratagem to attempt the capture of the cattle, and thus fall into the hands of the force which had just placed themselves in position in their rear; but this expectation was not realised, as the enemy did not make any further demonstration than by his night fires, which were seen in so many different directions, as to lead to the opinion that there were large bodies of Kafirs around the British force. On the night after this engagement, before the moon rose, an attempt was made by the enemy to break into one of the kraals; several shots were fired, and the assailants were driven back with the loss of one man who was shot dead. An attack was also made by the Kafirs the same day upon 14 wagons which were on their way from Fort Beaufort to the settlement for barley. The enemy attempted to surround them, but a brisk fire was kept up by the escort, which was distinctly heard at the camp, whence a party of mounted galloped sent forward to their relief, and by whose assistance, the whole succeeded in reaching their place of destination in safety. On all these occasions the conduct of the officers and men of the Beaufort Levy, under Major Blakeway, and of the Kat River force, under the Field-cornet Groepe, was spoken of in the highest terms for their gallant exertions (7).

During the period occupied by these various events, every

exertion was making to bring up reinforcements from the lower districts, and to provide for the effective equipment of the army when actually in the field. The state of warfare in which the colony found itself so unexpectedly thrown, rendered this a matter of no little difficulty; and it is to the prudent and energetic measures adopted at an early stage of the proceedings, that we may attribute the inhabitants not having been in a state of actual want. Too much praise cannot be awarded to the Commissariat Department on this severe and trying exigency: the demands upon government were sudden and extraordinary. Not alone the military, but the whole population of the frontier found itself within the space of a few days absolutely dependant upon the government supplies for subsistence; and looking to this quarter, their expectations were fully realised. Under the prudent, systematic, active, and persevering management of the officer then at the head of the Commissariat on the frontier, the resources of the country and the wants of the people were soon ascertained—a rigid economy enforced, and every contingency provided for in a manner that reflects the highest credit upon this branch of the public service.

With the reinforcements which arrived at this period, was the Field-commandant Linde. He had marched with his burghers from Swellendam; and although in consequence of his great age, near 80 years, permission had been given him to retire from the active duties of the field and remain at home, yet he declined to avail himself of the indulgence. His venerable appearance, his zeal and activity, and his anxiety to meet and repel the barbarian invaders of the country, were the theme of general remark on his arrival at headquarters.

It is but justice also to state that in several other instances the conduct of the Dutch-African colonists was beyond all praise. Several of the most gallant affairs which took place during the war were those in which the Dutch farmers particularly distinguished themselves. It is as pleasing as it is just to accord this meed of praise. Much has been done to excite between the English and Dutch inhabitants a suspicious jealousy; but we are happy to say that late events have discovered the injustice of the attempt; and it may be confidently expected that the only rivalry between them in

future will be a generous emulation as to who shall most efficiently advance the true interests of this land of their joint adoption.

We have already noticed the gallant conduct of the Ferreiras, the Winterberg farmers, and those of Oliphant's Hoek; and we have now to record another affair which, for gallantry, is fully equal to any recorded during this unsettled period.—On the 6th March a patrol of farmers under Field-cornet Nel, employed in the ceded territory, came upon the spoor of Kafirs leading into the colony by Committy's Bush, and, from the beaten appearance of their track, it was estimated that their numbers could not be far short of 3,000. The next day Capt. Jervis, 72d Regiment, joined the Field-cornet, and, with a strong party of burghers, proceeded in search of the enemy. A party was sent forward at the same time to Field-commandant Rademeyer, requesting that he would send them a reinforcement. In the direction of Committy's Drift the smoke of several fires was observed, and parties of Kafirs were seen on the clear spaces on the top of the hills. These were charged at full speed with the intention of cutting them off from the bush, but they succeeded in gaining it. Cattle were observed in the bush, and shots were continually fired at the patrol from two or three individuals, but without effect. On Rademeyer's arrival the patrol entered the bush (the artillery firing an occasional shot over their heads from a three-pounder), and cleared it at once, the enemy retreating in the direction of Trompetter's and Committy's Bush. Three Kafirs were killed, and 5 horses and 83 head of cattle taken. The number of Kafirs appeared to be about 700.

The enemy after being thus defeated, moved lower down the Fish River Bush, to the same point from whence they had been dislodged with so much difficulty by the colonial forces a few weeks before.

In this neighbourhood a party of 40 men of the civil force from Port Elizabeth, under Capt. Harries, had taken up a position, being placed there as a post of observation. At an early hour on the morning of the 7th inst. an alarm was given to this party that a body of Kafirs, about one hundred strong, had just seized the draught oxen, feeding on the opposite bank of the river. The horses were immediately



called in, and a patrol of twenty men ordered out to endeavour to re-capture the cattle. Just as the patrol had saddled up for this purpose, and in less than half an hour from their first appearance, the enemy was seen issuing in considerable force from all the paths and defiles on the opposite side of the river, and, descending rapidly from the heights, began to cross the river at various points. The number at this moment in sight might amount to from one thousand to fifteen hundred, but as they still continued to pour forth from the bush, it was impossible to judge of the force which might still be in the rear. The patrol proceeded with promptitude in the direction where the enemy were crossing the river in greatest force, but after firing a few rounds, they deemed it prudent to fall back upon the encampment.

Capt. Harries suspecting that the enemy's object was to surround the camp, detached a small party to observe their movements in the rear, who immediately reported that his suspicions were well founded. This movement, which was evidently preconcerted, was executed with indescribable rapidity. From the moment that the enemy first issued from the bush, until they all but succeeded in hemming in the party, occupied a space of only ten minutes. Capt. Harries having ascertained from personal observation that the report of his scouts was correct, and being satisfied that the post, which afforded no cover, was not tenable, then withdrew the remainder of his men from the camp. They had to make their way with considerable difficulty through bodies of the enemy, who were fast closing in, under cover of a dry ravine, lined with detached clumps of bush; and in doing so, nine Kafirs were killed, and eight colonists, viz:—

Thomas Titterton, }  
 Francis Clark, } Burgbers of Port Elizabeth,  
 Serjeant Thomas Bilston, formerly of the Royal Horse  
 Guards (blue). This was an industrious deserving  
 man, and much esteemed by his fellow townsmen. He  
 received a shot through the leg while charging the  
 enemy at Waterloo.  
 R. Shaw, of Graham's Town, wagon owner.  
 Four Hottentots.

The two men, Titterton and Clark, owed their fate to



accidents with their horses. The saddle of the former turned with him, and his horse made its escape. The latter had a severe fall, and his horse also got away from him. In both instances their companions rendered them every assistance in their power, but Titterton was struck in the back with an assegai immediately after his accident; and Clark was so disabled by his fall that he made several ineffectual attempts to mount behind his companions. Jan Tys, a Hottentot, had a most narrow escape;—having been hotly pursued, he jumped into a porcupine hole, where he lay ensconced while his pursuers actually passed over the spot, treading the dust into his face.

The tents, four wagons, and the baggage and supplies unavoidably fell into the hands of the enemy.

Several of this party are highly spoken of for their gallant conduct, particularly Messrs. Bance and Van der Kemp; the latter was made instrumental in saving the life of a young Englishman named Randall, who was in charge of a wagon; he was in the rear, and was on the point of being overtaken by three Kafirs, when Van der Kemp (a son of the late Dr. V. K.), levelled his gun and brought down the foremost man, thus effectually ridding him of one enemy, and deterring the other two from further pursuit. The enemy, after burning the wagons, retired towards their own territory, in the direction of the Keiskamma.

On receipt of the foregoing intelligence at head-quarters, Lieut.-Col. Somerset, who happened to be in town, immediately proceeded to the scene of action, together with as many men as could be hastily collected together at the moment to accompany him. Major Bagot, with the Hottentot Provisional Infantry, was also directed to move towards the lower part of the district, and to occupy the defiles leading out of the Kap River Bush, in the direction of Bathurst. The supplies for the army, which were at the point of being sent forward, were ordered to remain in town, and all the movements connected with the commando to be delayed until further orders.

No certain information was gained of the further movements of the enemy, although Col. Somerset was using every exertion to overtake him, until the afternoon of the

9th March, when, as the Field-commandant Rademeyer was returning from Trompetter's Drift to his camp on "Moordeleyke Kop," he observed a column of smoke to issue from a rocky kloof: he proceeded there with 40 men, and had no sooner entered the thicket than he found himself in the midst of a large body of the enemy. The gallant defence made on this occasion, and in particular the intrepidity of the leader of the colonial force, is well described in a letter addressed to the author by an officer serving at the time in the immediate neighbourhood of the scene of action, and of which the following is an extract:—"Early on the day mentioned, Rademeyer, not hearing from the Chief of the Staff, proceeded with 175 men towards Trompetter's Poort, patrolling the heads of the great kloof of the river. Here he fell in with the spoor of cattle and horses, followed by some Kafirs, who had entered the defiles to the right of the scene of action on the 12th February. Observing a fire in the bush, he, with a party of 40 men, descended into the kloof by a track which he followed until the pass became exceedingly narrow, the rocks on each side nearly touching each other, and the bush so impervious as to present an almost impassable barrier to further progress. On reaching this point he was suddenly attacked by the enemy in force; in fact he was completely surrounded before he had any intimation of the presence of an enemy. A fire of musketry was poured from the rocks around them, and the enemy rushed boldly on and among them, assegai in hand, from the bush, stabbing and bearing down every thing before them. The little band of colonists, gathering together and sustaining each other, poured a steady and continued fire upon their assailants; and with such deadly effect, that the bodies of those who fell on our side were covered by those of the slaughtered enemy. In one instance three of the enemy met their death whilst endeavouring to drag away their slain. Poor Bernard, the first who fell, was literally covered with the bodies of the opposing Kafirs. The main body of the patrol, hearing from the open country above the firing and shouting of the battle, dispatched a reinforcement to the aid of their comrades. Twenty men accordingly descended the kloof, and attacking the Kafirs with spirit, succeeded in joining or being joined by the rest; on which the enemy, daunted by this bold resistance, returned from the field of slaughter—as it might justly be

called—for our slain lay on the ground covered by more than fifty of the enemy.

The following are the names of the brave men who fell in this affair :—

Adam Boshoff,	Andries Van Zyl,
Jan Bernard,	Johannes Roelstaff,
Jan Meyer,	Hermanus Wessels.

Those wounded were—

Frederick Keyser, his arm broke very severely with a gun shot.

Petrus Swart, gun shot through the thigh, very dangerously.  
Marthinus Bernard, shot above the heel.

William Botha, assegai wound in the thigh.

Henry Pienaar, gun shot in the thigh.

Several had assegais and gun shots through their clothes, and among them the Commandant Rademeyer. Others had their apparel clotted with the blood of the enemy, some of whom met their death at the muzzle of the gun, fired in the very act of pushing them away from the attack. It was indeed a most desperate affair, every one having to fight for his life, being encompassed by a host of infuriated enemies."

Such is the account furnished to us of this sanguinary affair, and which reflects so much credit upon the Commandant Rademeyer, and upon those who so ably seconded him in this gallant defence; and by which they extricated themselves from a situation where, to all human probability, the destruction of the whole party appeared inevitable.

While these proceedings were going on Col. Smith, having quitted Graham's Town on the evening of the 7th March, had established himself at Fort Willshire, for the purpose of forming a central camp, and superintending the various operations in progress along the ridge of the Keiskamma, with a view of intercepting the enemy who was known to have entered the Fish River Bush. The determined repulse met with from the Field-commandant Rademeyer had dispersed a large part of that force, which had returned towards the Amatoli, whither they were pursued by Col. Smith, with a mounted patrol. Several of the enemy's stragglers were shot by this patrol, and some of their huts destroyed, but

the main body escaped owing to the tired state of the horses, which rendered further pursuit impracticable. It was quite evident at this time that the enemy was not in any force within the colony; patrols of his stragglers were occasionally seen, and some mischief done by them. A farmer named Andries De Lange had been killed by them while seeking his horses on the Fish River, and a mill just below Bathurst had been fired and destroyed; but still it was apparent that the main body of the enemy had retired into his own territory, and that his skirmishers were following as fast as possible.

The colonial forces being nearly in a state of readiness to take the field, and the majority having already marched to their respective places of rendezvous, the following notice, which it will be perceived differs somewhat from that previously issued, was published in the military orders of the day:—

“The army to be distributed into four divisions, instead of three, as at first proposed. Col. Smith, C. B. to be second in command, continuing at the same time in the performance of the duties of Chief of the Staff to the united regular and burgher forces.

“The 1st division, with which will be the head-quarters of the Commander-in-Chief, will be commanded by Lieut.-Col. Peddie, K. H., 72d Highlanders.

“The 2d, by Lieut.-Col. Somerset, K. H.

“The 3d, by Major Cox, 75th Regiment.

“The 4th, by Field-commandant Van Wyk.

“The forces which will then remain on the eastern frontier and within the districts of Somerset and Albany, as well regulars as burghers, will be under the command of Lieut.-Col. England, who will take charge of the first line of defence of that frontier, and fix his head-quarters at Grahn's Town.

“This line is defined as extending from the Winterberg, including the Kat River Settlement, Camp Adelaide, and the Chusie and Keiskamma Rivers, with the Forts Beaufort and Willshire, to the sea.

“The means and resources of the above two districts for all purposes of military defence, arrangements and communications, are placed at the disposal of Lieut.-Col. England, and he will put himself in communication with the Civil Commissioners of those dis-

tricts, and with those of Uitenhage and Graaff-Reinet, respectively. He will also place himself in communication with Col. Cuyler, commanding the burgher force, and posts of defence of the district of Uitenhage,—forming the 2d line of frontier defence,—and those officers will mutually assist and co-operate with each other.

“Col. Cuyler will accordingly take upon himself the charge of all the local force of defence, including those of Zuurberg, within the district of Uitenhage,—excepting Port Elizabeth, which is a fortress under an especial Commandant, with whom, however, he will be in communication, each affording to the other reciprocal assistance in all that may be necessary.

“The Colonels England and Cuyler will respectively act upon their own judgment and discretion during the absence of the Commander in Chief, observing the heads of general instructions, which will be duly communicated to them as far as these may be applicable to the existing circumstances of this period.”

During the time necessarily occupied in completing these arrangements, Col. Smith, at the head of a strong patrol, had made some spirited incursions into the Kafir territory, penetrating to the foot of the Amatoli, where the enemy was known to have taken up a position in considerable force. The following is a brief account of their proceedings:—

On Monday, March 23d, Col. Smith, accompanied by the Field-cornets Greyling and Nel, and ten other burghers, proceeded from Fort Willshire towards Block Drift, where they forded the Chusie River. From thence they took the direction of the Chumie Institution to Lovedale—a station formerly belonging to the Glasgow Missionary Society—and which they found had been fired by the enemy. Here an athletic Kafir, fully armed, was observed to run into the ruins of a house, which was immediately surrounded; and he was called upon through the medium of a Kafir guide to lay down his arms and surrender; but no inducement could prevail on him to comply: on the contrary, he threw an assegai which nearly proved fatal to one of the patrol. The infatuated savage was ultimately fired upon from a height above the Lovedale institution, and killed. Col. Smith then proceeded to reconnoitre the position occupied on the Amatoli by the enemy under Tyali.

Two days after the above Col. Smith received informa-

tion from Field-commandant Rademeyer, that it had been reported to him by the chief Pato, that the enemy intended to attack the latter, and also one of Rademeyer's posts on the line of the Keiskamma, and then to re-occupy his old position in the Fish River bush. Although this information was considered extravagant, yet as a party of Kafirs had been observed prowling about the camp, and another in the neighbourhood of Fort Willshire, of whom one was shot, the Chief of the Staff thought it proper to take such precautionary measures as might check such a movement should it be attempted. Accordingly a strong patrol was marched direct to the line across which the enemy must necessarily pass from his position on the Amatoli should he make the attack in question. This patrol was further directed, in the event of falling in with the spoor of the enemy, to follow it wherever it might lead. Col. Smith himself took the command of this party, which consisted of 200 of the Swellendam Burghers, under the veteran and gallant old Field-commandant Linde, 100 Albany Burghers, under Field-commandant Dreyer, a detachment of the Cape Mounted Rifles under Ensign Lowen, and 30 of the Corps of Guides, under Messrs. Bowker, Driver, and Southey.

At 2 o'clock on the morning of Friday (27th March) this force moved forward, crossed the Keiskamma at the Willshire Drift, and marched direct upon the Umdesina, a distance from the camp of 30 miles. No trace of the enemy being discovered, the troops moved on with great rapidity and attacked him in his strong position in the difficult and extensive kloof of the Umdesina. The colonial force was formed into three divisions, each of which penetrated at different points into the enemy's fastnesses. The result was perfectly successful; several of the enemy being slain, 1,200 cattle, many horses, and considerable flocks of goats captured, 150 women taken prisoners, and upwards of 500 huts destroyed. The Kafirs were in great force, but from the nature of the country, the bush being very thick and favorable for escape, comparatively few of them were slain; no loss of life was sustained on our side, and only one man wounded, viz., an Albany burgher named Potgieter, who received an assegai near the hip and through the thigh. After completing

this arduous duty, the troops returned to Fort Willshire with the cattle, the rear guard arriving at 1 o'clock A. M. of the following morning, having made a march which, in European warfare, would scarcely be credited (9).

The intelligence which reached the colony at this period from the interior to the N. E. was of a suspicious character, and such as to induce His Excellency the Governor to use every effort to bring Hintza to an unequivocal declaration, before commencing operations in the enemy's territory. Accordingly, about the middle of March the Field-commandant Van Wyk, a man of distinguished steadiness and bravery, was dispatched, by way of the Tambookie country, on a mission to him. This officer was instructed to state, in the name of the Governor, that he would be treated as an enemy to the colony unless he "should unequivocally cease to countenance the hostile chiefs; neither affording them harbour, residence, or protection; and should send back all the colonial horses and other plunder which had been received into his country."\* Hintza declined the proposed interview, contenting himself with sending his principal chief, Klabaklaba, who, in answer to the demands of the Field-commandant, stated that before Hintza could give up the colonial cattle he must confer with his chiefs on the subject. Throughout this conference nothing decisive or satisfactory could be elicited. It was evident that the crafty and dishonest chief was exercising the utmost duplicity; and that whilst he was secretly inciting the other chiefs to hostility—receiving the plunder and furnishing them with reinforcements of men—he himself had not the courage to expose his own person, or to declare openly his hostility to the colony. From the moment of this interview the Governor appears to have been decided as to the course to be pursued, viz. that of viewing this chief as combined in the confederacy, and his people actually engaged in hostilities against the colony.

As a necessary precaution against any treachery from this quarter, and also to inspire the Tambookies residing on the colonial frontier with some degree of confidence—they being in a state of great alarm, caused by the threatening demon-

\* Vide communication from the Governor to Hintza, inserted in Introductory Remarks, pp. 121—128.



strations of Hintza's people who were crowding in force immediately in their rear—the Field-commandant Van Wyk was directed to move with a strong commando of burghers to the neighbourhood of Os Kraal River, a position between Hintza and the Moravian institution of Klip Plaat in the Tambookie country. This movement was of great importance, inasmuch as while it effectually covered this station—affording a secure rallying point to the Tambookies under the chief Mapasa—it at the same moment secured their neutrality, intimidated Hintza, and effectually checked the advance of his people in any force on that part of the colonial frontier.

Farther in the interior of the Abatembu country the aspect of affairs was still more unfavorable. It has already been seen that the missionaries and traders who were in Hintza's country had fled from thence to the Clarkebury institution among the Tambookies. Here they were received with distinguished kindness by the chief Vadanna; but still their situation was exceedingly precarious. Food was scarce; they were surrounded by difficulties: on two sides of them an impracticable desert; on the other two their progress to the colony was barred by large bodies of merciless infuriated savages. While in this anxious state of suspense, the alarming intelligence was received by them that a large force of natives was marching upon them from the eastward, evidently with the intention of attacking them. Vadanna prepared to defend himself, and applied to the traders to assist him;—to which, it appears, they were pledged, on being received by him, in the event of attack. The required aid was given with alacrity, the traders proceeding forward to a distance of several miles to meet the assailants; who, however, poured down with such impetuosity as to sweep away all resistance. Unfortunately one English trader, named Rawlins, an intelligent and active young man, was killed. In the hurry of retreat his horse came upon a shelving ledge of rock, which it would not descend: here the barbarians overtook and dispatched him. The wife of this unfortunate man was at the institution adjacent, she having fled with her husband a short time before from the missionary station in Hintza's country; and she now found herself suddenly bereaved of her protector; far from home; surrounded by difficulties and danger; and with several young children depending upon her for support.

The result of this attack was the entire destruction or dispersion of the tribes under the chiefs Fooboo and Diko; all their huts burnt, and 2,000 cattle carried off. A tract of country, in extent 20 by 10 miles, was completely devastated. It does not appear that this body of marauders were acting in concert with the confederate chiefs. They were supposed at the time to be a people who had joined a notorious character named Capaai, a renegade Zoola, who, having become disaffected to the sway of the ruling chief, had fled to this part of the country, where he had firmly established himself in a difficult and mountainous position to the N. E. of Amapondaland. It turned out, upon better information being obtained afterwards, that a large proportion of these marauders were Amapondas; nor was Faku, their chief, altogether free from suspicion of being concerned in the affair.

This chief was known to possess great power and extensive influence in that part of Africa. On a visit made to him by some Wesleyan missionaries a very short time before the breaking out of the war; they had witnessed upwards of 30,000 warriors assembled by him; and hence it was not likely that the Governor of the colony would overlook the important step of securing his neutrality at least, if not his co-operation, during the operations about to be commenced. In the then disturbed state of the country no communication overland could be made to him; and it was therefore resolved to dispatch a messenger to him by sea, there being at that particular juncture a small coaster, the *Circe*, then lying in Algoa Bay. Accordingly Mr. H. Fynn was immediately despatched on this service. Proceeding with all possible speed to Port Elizabeth, he there embarked; was landed at Port Natal; and travelling from thence along the coast westward he soon reached the country of the Amapondas. The success of this measure was complete. Not only was all apprehension of attack from this quarter removed, but had it been necessary the Amaponda chief would have marched his warriors into Hintza's territory, and the annihilation of his tribes would have been the almost certain result. Humanity would not permit Sir Benjamin D'Urban to have recourse to this extreme measure. Whilst he felt the stern necessity of punishing them, he was still anxious that no unnecessary severity should be exercised,

and no penalty enforced beyond that which the offence committed imperatively demanded.

It is a remarkable circumstance that within a few days after the death of Rawlins in the Tambookie country, his brother was slain by the Kafirs at Fort Beaufort under the following circumstances:—At this post the farmers of the surrounding country had assembled for protection; their cattle and sheep being sent out for pasture in charge of four or five armed men. On the day of the fatal occurrence the cattle had been placed, as usual, under charge of two young Englishmen named Rawlins and Carpenter, and two Hottentots. They had proceeded a few hundred yards from the post so as to be hid from observation by an intervening hill, when a party of Kafirs rushed down upon them, speedily killed two of the party, wounded the third, and drove off the cattle. One man succeeded in escaping to the camp, where a party was ordered to follow the marauders; the pursuit, however, was ineffectual. One hundred head of cattle were carried successfully off, and the plunderers escaped. The bodies of the men killed were found pierced with innumerable assegai wounds, and conveyed into Fort Beaufort; the wounded man was found lying in a state of insensibility at the bottom of a ravine to which he had fled from his pursurers, and where he had sunk down perfectly exhausted.

About this period several other skirmishes had taken place in the neighbourhood. In the Kat River settlement, which is situated on the opposite side of the mountains; the inhabitants still continued to be harrassed by small parties of the enemy—several of whom were shot; still, notwithstanding these incursions, it was apparent that the enemy was not in any force within the colonial boundary, and every matter connected with the due equipment of the colonial force having been arranged, His Excellency the Governor quitted Graham's Town on the 26th March, taking his route to the southward, by Kafirs Drift, where he forded the Fish River, and thence passing upwards he inspected the several detachments which were encamped in that neighbourhood, and ultimately fixed his head-quarters at Fort Willshire, on the right bank of the Keiskamma.



## CHAPTER V.

*The Amatoli Mountains—March of the Troops into the enemy's territory—Operations of the several divisions—Inursions of the enemy into the Colony—Gallant affair at the Buffalo Poorts—Movement of the troops—Inclemency of the weather—Arrival of the army on the Kei—Cross the river and encamp near Butterworth Institution—The Fingoes—Arrival of Col. Somerset's division—The difficulties of its march—Dubious conduct of Hintza—Murder of J. Armstrong—Rescue of the Missionaries and Traders from their perilous situation at Clarkebury—Their testimony respecting the chief Vadanna—Liberation of the Fingoes—Gallant and successful proceedings of Col. Smith—Arrival at the British camp of Hintza—Ratification of treaty with him—Suspension of hostilities—Return of the army to the Kei—That River proclaimed as the boundary of the Colony.*

THE Amatoli mountains where the enemy was known to have taken a position in considerable force, form a part of that mountain chain which rising at Bruintjes Hoogte, stretches across this part of Africa in an easterly direction, parallel with the coast, until it gradually declines in altitude on the eastern side of the Bashee or St. John's River. The general features of these mountains are their vastness, their extreme steepness and ruggedness, and the immense bushy ravines which clothe their sides and occupy the profound gorges which are met with in every direction, and which afford such facilities for shelter and concealment to an enemy like the Kafir; and especially in conducting that peculiar warfare to which he is accustomed.

The forests of the Amatoli in which the enemy had established himself are of vast extent, clothing the kloofs and face of the mountain chain at that particular point from whence issue the Keiskamma and Buffalo, and other lesser streams which water this division of the Kafir territory. The sides and summits of these mountains afford abundance of pasturage, and in the summer season when the low country is parched by drought, and vegetation partly disappears, these higher regions afford ample support for the cattle of the inhabitants.\* In the winter months the cold is severe,—snow lying on the highest peaks often for weeks together: at this period the grass becomes dry and wiry, and cattle kept on it soon fall into low condition, in which state they are not able to endure the cold and storms of this elevated country.

It was towards this point that the colonial forces commenced their march on the 31st March, the particulars of which are well described by an eye-witness in the following terms:—"The troops having broke up their encampments moved forward and entered Kafirland by the drift over the Keiskamma, which is nearly opposite to Fort Willshire. The hills on both sides of the river are of considerable elevation, and from the obstruction created by the steepness of the road,—the badness of the ford,—and the long and toilsome ascent on the Kafir side,—the motley assemblage of men of every hue, and in costumes infinitely varied, with chargers in every possible variety of comparison, intermingled with an interminable train of wagons, produced a scene which nothing but a theatrical exhibition can afford in other countries.

"The 1st division of the invading army consists of artillery, regulars, mounted burghers, and Hottentots of the Mounted Rifles and of the 1st Provisional Battalion; and its whole strength, exclusive of leaders and drivers for the wagons, is about 1,200 men.

"The first night was passed at a kraal which is distant

\* Capt. Aitchison, in his evidence before the Commons' Committee, speaks of the Kafir country being, at a period when some of these people were driven over the colonial boundary, *as bare as a parade*. But he must here allude to the low country, as in the mountain range there is in summer seasons always an abundance of excellent pasturage.

from Willshire about 7 miles, where Mr. Driver formerly established a trading station, and where poor Kent was murdered at the commencement of hostilities. The stone-built gable of the building was all that remained. Some Kafir huts were standing, and in the crops of millet, of which there was a considerable breadth nearly ripe, the dead bodies of two Kafirs, supposed to have been wounded in Col. Smith's attack upon them in the Kaleka, were discovered.

“On the following morning the troops, diverging from the road that leads to Tzatzoe's kraal, which is Mr. Brownlee's station, advanced in the direction of Slambie's Kop (a high point visible from the heights near Graham's Town), and halted for the night on the Debie River, at a distance of about four miles from its base. At this place the troops remained during the following day, and were joined in the night by Major Cox, with an escort of the 3d division, which he commands. Col. Somerset had arrived a few hours earlier with the whole of his division. On the 2d, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief reconnoitered the enemy's position in the direction of the Amatoli, and at 12 o'clock of the same day he again left the camp, escorted by a party of the Albany burghers, with the intention of ascending an eminence which commands the Umdesini and Intagesina; some Kafirs were observed on this height, but Col. Smith advancing with a party of the escort drove them off, and His Excellency was enabled to make his reconnoissance.

“On the 2d and 3d a few Kafirs were observed on the high ridge which branches off to the westward from Slambie's Kop, and their fires were visible during both days. This height is a remarkable feature in the lowest ridge of the mountainous tract which extends from the Debie to the elevated range in which Gaika's Berg and the Amatoli mountain are prominent objects. The bush in this tract is not extensive, compared with the celebrated jungle of the Fish River, but the precipitous character of the country affords the savage great facilities for retreat. The country from the Keiskamma to the Debie is finely diversified with hill and dale, neither rising to the height of the hills in the vicinity of Graham's Town, nor sinking to the tiresome uniformity which usually characterizes the country at the base of mountain ranges. Every where the mimosa embellishes the scene, but is seldom sufficiently thick to afford a hiding place to the enemy.

“The numerous kraals and huts, and the extent of the cultivation, every where indicate a dense population, and it was to every one a matter of wonder that the proprietors of a country to which nature had been so bountiful, and for which a civilized nation had done so much, should covet the comparatively worthless possessions of their neighbours.

“On the evening of the 2d, the whole of the troops in camp were ordered to be in readiness to move at midnight. At that hour the main body, under the immediate command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, commenced their march in the direction of a mountain pass to the right of Slambie's Kop; Major Cox moved towards the Chumie; Col. Somerset towards the source of the Buffalo; and Capt. Warden, with 100 of the Swellendam burghers and a company of Provisionals, advanced to that part of the mountains which is to the left of Slambie's Kop, and immediately opposite to the camp. The whole of the troops had arrived at their respective points of attack before day break, and moved forwards as soon as there was sufficient light to commence their operations. Capt. Warden's party was joined in the course of the day by a party of the 1st division; it fell in with a party of the enemy, killed some of them, and captured 40 horses, and upwards of 100 head of cattle.

“From the result of these particulars it is evident that the main body of the Kafirs have withdrawn farther into the mountains, taking with them all the cattle not immediately required for the use of the small parties left in their rear. The Indian corn and millet are now ripening, and they feel, no doubt, the importance of gathering them, to provide against the scarcity which must ensue should a large portion of their cattle be captured by the colonists. In the same degree that they are anxious to preserve it, it might be supposed we should be anxious to destroy it; but hitherto the crops have sustained no injury but what the supplies which the Hottentots have drawn from them may have occasioned.

“The destruction of their corn, of their huts, and of their kraals, which they have latterly constructed with considerable pains, would convince them that there will hereafter be something to apprehend from a wanton aggression upon their white neighbours, besides the loss of the cattle which they had obtained by theft.



“Straggling Kafirs have occasionally approached the camp in the night time; on one occasion a number of shots were fired in Col. Somerset’s camp, and a Hottentot of the Mounted Rifles was so severely wounded that he died soon afterwards.”

At 3 o’clock *A. M.* on the 3d April the troops moved forward to their respective positions; the 1st and 3d divisions ascending the mountains, the 2d and 4th making a flank movement along the northern and southern bases of the hills. From an account, furnished us at the time, of the proceedings of the 2d division, under Col. Somerset, we make the following extract:—

“At first appearance of day-light (on the morning of the 3d April) we halted, and separated into 3 divisions, the centre proceeding up the gorge of the mountain with the three-pounder and howitzer, and the other two round the hills to the right and left. On reaching the heights we had before us an extensive view of deep woody ravines, but not the least appearance of any inhabitants. The whole country was deserted; though, from the innumerable kraals and patches of cultivated ground, it was evident it had recently been thickly populated. Here the right division joined us, having found it impracticable to proceed by the route proposed in consequence of the impervious character of the thicket. We shortly afterwards reached the missionary station of Pirrie, which we found totally destroyed. While here we distinctly heard the firing of guns in the direction of the sources of the Keiskamma; we, therefore, resumed our march, proceeding to the extremity of the mountain range in view, and beyond which the main sprouts of the Buffalo have their rise, being separated by high mountains from those which, falling to the west, form the Keiskamma River. From the position we had taken it was calculated that if the enemy should be pressed on the sprouts of the Keiskamma, he must descend into those of the Buffalo, in which case we were in a situation to intercept him, as well as any cattle that might pass in the same direction. Having proceeded some distance, we observed a strong body of the enemy assembled on the summit of a mountain which bounded our view in that direction. On a nearer approach this mountain was found to present a sort of natural bulwark, and was joined by a small low neck of forest country to another range a little in the rear, proceeding to the eastward, and describing a large nook, from whence

issue the several springs which form the source of the Buffalo. From this lofty position the enemy continued watching our progress, and he must from thence have had a view also of the whole of the country subject to the simultaneous attack of the several divisions. Suspecting that the enemy might be concealed in the adjacent kloofs, the howitzer was moved to a commanding ridge, and several shots and shells were fired, but without effect. In the meantime several parties were detached to endeavour to bring the enemy to action, but these only succeeded so far as to capture a few cattle. In the afternoon we returned to Pirrie, remained there half an hour, and then continued our march, in thick misty rain, to the camp, which we reached about 9 p. m. excessively hungry and fatigued, having been on horseback nearly eighteen hours."

During these operations, the 4th division, under Field-commandant Van Wyk, had been extremely active and successful: 2,400 head of cattle had been captured, and several Kafirs killed. A considerable force of the enemy had taken shelter in a kloof, and, in expectation of surrounding them, the 3d division, under Major Cox, was immediately ordered to move to the same point. In the course of these proceedings Van Wyk was stabbed in the hand with an assegai, and a farmer severely wounded in the thigh by a musket ball. In spite, however, of the utmost vigilance on our part, the enemy effected his retreat; and it being probable that he might retire towards the colony, Major Cox was directed to connect his division with that under the Field-commandant at a given point towards the head of the Chusie.

During the night of the 5th April two Kafir spies entered the camp of the 1st and 2d divisions, but they were detected, and one of them was shot by a sentry of the Mounted Rifles. At day-light on the 6th the camp was broken up, the whole of the troops moving in one column as far as Pirrie; here the two divisions again separated, the 2d, under Col. Somerset, moving towards the Buffalo; the 1st continuing along the base of the mountains, taking the direction of the Buffalo Poort, an opening in the mountains within seven or eight miles of the sources of the river. The troops bivouacked on its eastern bank. The mountains, which were kept close upon the left hand during the whole of this day's march, are thickly clothed with large trees, and rise to a considerable elevation. The country immediately at the foot of the moun-

tains is perfectly open, and was at that time clothed with the most luxuriant vegetation. The huts were more numerous than during the first day's march, and the patches of Indian corn and millet were more frequent than between the Keiskamma and the Debe. At the distance of seven or eight miles towards the coast the mimosa again appears thinly scattered over the face of the country, but there is no bush visible in that direction capable of affording shelter to marauders. The streamlets from the mountains are numerous, perfectly sweet, clear as crystal; and the principal bank of the Buffalo, on which the troops encamped, presented a scene which all agreed was particularly beautiful.

On the 7th, three hours before day-break, Col Smith moved with one company of the 72d Regt., three companies of the 1st Provisional Battalion, comprising 280 men, and 100 Swellendam burghers, by the back of the lowest ridge of the Buffalo mountains, with the view of intercepting any of the enemy or cattle which might be retiring before the 3d and 4th divisions, then on their march higher up the mountains. On arriving at an elevated point he observed, on a distant mountain, a large number of cattle and many Kafirs emerging from the bush; and to this point he immediately detached the three companies of Provisionals, under the command of Capt. Crause. The range of mountains on which the enemy was posted extends from the Buffalo Poort about nine miles in a north-easterly direction, and is, for the greater part, covered with a dense forest, broken near its edge by occasional green patches of pasturage, and every where intercepted with deep ravines, presenting in many places inaccessible precipices; the mountain ridge being in every respect adapted to the peculiar warfare of the wily Kafir, and for the concealment of the only wealth he possesses—his flocks and herds. The course lay through a deep valley, at the bottom of which the force was divided; Captain Crause and his company ascending one side of the mountain, which was almost inaccessible, and Captains Cowderoy and Bailie the other. They arrived at the summit, after hard toil, and approached nigh to the entrance of the forest containing the booty. At this instant, on the right of an opening in the forest, a party of Kafirs appeared nearly within shot, when an officer and 30 men were directed to enter the bush on that side, so as to intercept any cattle which the enemy might

attempt to drive further into the thicket. In their progress this detachment fell in with the enemy's parties; some skirmishing took place; in which several Kafirs were killed, and on our side a Serjeant named Cobus fell by a shot fired by the enemy. The remainder of the two companies boldly penetrated the bush, and here, being joined by Capt. Crause, they drove the enemy, who were numerous, before them, and succeeded ultimately in capturing and bringing out 5,000 head of cattle, besides goats, &c.

While these movements were executing on the enemy's flank, the rest of the division had moved up the mountain direct towards the enemy's position, and which was found to be perfectly inaccessible on the side by which they had approached it. Capt. Murray, of the 72d Regt., advanced with his company to the assault with the utmost gallantry. The enemy threw down assegais and immense stones upon their assailants, and that with such effect as to repulse them; Capt. Murray and four of his men being severely wounded in the assault (10). Finding this side of the rock so perfectly impregnable, the troops were withdrawn and directed to assault it in a different direction. To do this it was necessary to make a considerable circuit, during which a reinforcement of men arrived from the camp. Still the enemy defended the rock with great determination, frequently cheering, and throwing down large stones and assegais. At this moment the three companies of the Provisionals, with the cattle they had captured, approached the rock by the only accessible point, and finding what was going forward, immediately attacked the enemy with spirit; about 100 women, and a considerable number of men, rushed forward and endeavoured to escape, but many of the men were killed. The rest kept up a constant but ineffectual fire for some time; at length their courage failed them, and they fled with precipitation, leaping over the rocks and precipices in every direction. So difficult of access was this rock, even at the point where most accessible, that the assailants were obliged to pull each other up by their muskets. It was defended by the chief Teyolo, son of Dushanie, and nearly 600 of his chosen warriors. Thirty-seven of the enemy were killed and many wounded. In the forest the enemy were headed by the chief Eno in person. The result of this spirited affair was the capture of 4,000 head of cattle and

goats innumerable, all of which were driven into the open ground on the side of the mountain, and taken possession of by a force stationed there to receive them. A Hottentot deserter, named Louis Arnoldus, who had served many years in the Cape Regiment, was taken prisoner: he was surrounded in a cleft of the rock, where he had sought concealment; and his gun having received a disabling shot on the trigger-guard, he surrendered. He was clad in a Scotch 42d plaid by way of kaross, and was taken to the camp to be hanged; but having been in Eno's confidence, his life was spared on his promising to point out the enemy's exact position, and give such other information as might be required of him on future occasions. The gun which this man was provided with was of the largest description of elephant gun, and its loud report marked it to be the same as that distinguished in the affair on the Fish River, as before mentioned.

During the time occupied by these proceedings the enemy had been actively employed in driving the great proportion of his flocks and herds far into the interior of the country; and he had also made several incursions within the colony, apparently with the object of diverting the attention of the colonial force from penetrating further into the Kafir territory. Accordingly small bodies of Kafirs had shewed themselves in various directions, and succeeded in capturing and carrying off several hundred head of cattle. At Mr. Collett's, on the Koonap, where, during the whole of this arduous struggle he had maintained his ground, though repeatedly threatened and attacked, they succeeded in driving off his cattle and in killing his herdsman, a Hottentot who had distinguished himself by his bravery and fidelity, and who fell while defending his master's property against the attacks of the marauders. At the Kaga the enemy had attacked a party of farmers with great intrepidity, and had carried off upwards of 100 head of cattle; and even as far within the boundary as Assegai Bush river they had made their appearance, wounded two servants of Mr. W. R. Thompson there, and escaped with 60 head of cattle. Every endeavour was made by Col. England, commanding the 1st line of defence, to check these inroads, but it was impossible, with every exertion, to guard effectually against these sudden attacks, or to capture the marauders in a country which afforded so many facilities for escape and concealment.

From the Kat River an excellently planned and well executed incursion was made into the enemy's territory by Capt. Armstrong, and a party of the burgher force under his command. Information having reached that officer that the enemy was in some force in the Chumie Hoek, he resolved on an immediate attack. Accordingly, on the 10th April he marched from the fort with 100 men of the Kat River burgher force and a small field piece. He gained the brow of the mountain above the Chumie Hoek before day-break of the 11th, and as soon as day dawned, and before the cattle were driven out of the kraals into their hiding places and fastnesses adjacent, descended into the plain. The attack was perfectly successful; the enemy were completely surprised; and the result was six of them killed, and nearly 800 head of cattle, 30 horses, and many goats captured. The Kafirs made a faint demonstration to intercept his retreat, but a reserve of men had been posted on a commanding height with the piece of cannon, a few shots from which effectually checked their advance.

The day following this affair His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief moved forward with the 1st division upon the Kye, by the high road over the Buffalo and Gonube Rivers. The 2d division had been directed the day previous to march towards the coast and then turn eastward to the Kye, parallel with the 1st division, scouring the country and capturing all the cattle which might be met with in that direction. This line of march presented many formidable difficulties. Towards the coast several streams which are inconsiderable rivulets higher up, become serious obstructions, particularly to wheel-carriages and cavalry. The thickets are far more extensive—the kloofs much more impracticable, and the rivers from paltry streams accumulate until near their mouths their passage cannot be made without hazard and difficulty.

The 1st division having, as above stated, moved from their camp on the Buffalo on the 11th April, at the distance of about 10 miles entered the high road from Tzatzoe's or Brownlee's station, at the spot called the yellow wood trees; continuing along this road about 8 miles they reached the streamlet called the Nomegba, where they bivouacked for the night. Previously to their arrival at this place, the guides had captured 20 oxen and 15 sheep; some women who



were tending the sheep said, the colonial cattle and the Kafir men were on the coast. On the following day (the 12th,) the troops halted on the Goonah, a branch of the Gonube, and after resting an hour, continued their march past the ruins of a trader's station over the Gonube hill, to the distance of about 6 miles, where they halted for the night. During the night the Kafirs approached the camp so near that their conversation was overheard. This night some rain fell; and on the following day, which was a day of rest, a thunder storm burst over the camp, and for the moment silenced the loquacious Hottentots, the rain continuing to fall till 11 at night.

During this day His Excellency the Governor issued an official notice detailing the various operations of the troops between the 28th March and that date.—Vide Appendix No. 11.

In the mean time the 2d division under the command of Colonel Somerset had struck off towards the sea coast as directed; and for a succinct detail of his proceedings, we make the following extract from an account by an officer serving, and with which we have been favored:—

“Commenced our march E. by N. along the high land above the ravines entering the Kakoon River; halted at 7 A.M. at a spot from whence we had a very extensive view of the country, and of the opposite banks of the Gonube River. From thence we proceeded by a wagon track formed by the traders, who formerly traversed this part of the country; descended to the Gonube River, which we forded at a very rocky drift surrounded by precipitous cliffs. Except at the present pass, there appeared no place of passage above or below its source. The land is very high on the east of the Gonube, and the road was soon a continued series of ridges, each rising somewhat higher than the other, until the vallies that descend into the Onaleka River came in our track, and into these we descended and arrived on its banks. From the heights above the Onaleka River, extensive vallies and plains appeared to lay under us, cultivated and containing several large kraals. There was not, however, any appearance of men or cattle, but some women were seen in the gardens and about some of the huts, and some goats were browsing on the side of the hill. The



whole country after passing the Gonube had the appearance of having been depastured by very great numbers of cattle, the grass being in most places entirely eaten up, and their track indicating that they had not long been driven off the land. One part of them appeared to have been driven towards the bush, about the Buffalo mouth, and another in the direction of the Kye River to the eastward. The vallies on both sides were patrolled, and some women questioned, but nothing that could be depended on could be elicited from them. We sent out parties continually from both flanks. At 1 o'clock we entered a rather extensive plain on the west side of the Onaleka River, and here we halted. Our horses were much fatigued from this day's journey, being very long, and without water. Some of the scouring parties came in and brought some goats, with intelligence that a body of Kafirs with cattle were in a kloof to the north; a party was sent out against them, the enemy fled, but 70 head of cattle were captured. Towards sun-set the detached and flanking parties came in, and the result of this day's advance was 343 head of cattle, and one Kafir killed. One of the enemy on horseback, armed with a gun, was pursued for some time, and on gaining the top of the hill he dismounted and deliberately fired a shot at his pursuers; he then re-mounted and resumed his flight, and soon distanced our party, whose horses were jaded by a long day's march.

“On Sunday the 12th, a little before sunset, the party dispatched yesterday to act upon the Kakoon to the south returned, having followed the tract of the retreating enemy and captured above 1,500 head of cattle and 10 horses. The enemy shewed no spirit, but quickly abandoned their cattle when pressed; four of them were killed. About 10 o'clock P. M. some Kafirs approached the cattle kraal, but they were observed and fired on by the guard, though without effect, as they made off; the whole of the camp was turned out, and remained for some time under arms. The next day, at about 4 o'clock A. M. prepared to march, which was commenced at day-break; and after proceeding for about two hours, halted on the heights above the Gonube River. At 9 o'clock we resumed the march; and at 10 an express was dispatched with letters to head-quarters, which were supposed to have moved to the top of the Gonube hills; a

great gun having been heard in that direction during the previous night."

On the 14th the 1st division, with His Excellency the Governór, moved forward; and on the 15th arrived on the banks of the Kye, which river forms, on the western side, the boundary of Hintza's territory. Here His Excellency published the following—

GENERAL ORDERS.

"Head-Quarters, upon the Kye, 15th April, 1835.

"1. Upon crossing the River Kye the troops will enter a country which, unless express orders be given to that effect, is not to be treated as an enemy's. Commanding Officers of corps will therefore explain very clearly to their men respectively this difference between the country they are now entering and that which they have quitted; and that unless hostilities are committed first by the inhabitants upon *them*, or that they receive due orders for their guidance for that purpose, they are upon no account to commit an act of hostility, collectively or individually, upon the people or their property; no kraals must be burned or pillaged, nor gardens, woods, or corn-fields meddled with, but by regular parties under officers appointed for the duty, to get the requisite supplies of vegetables, corn, &c., for the regulation of which orders will be issued through the Chief of the Staff. Commanding Officers of corps are held responsible for these orders being rigidly observed, and any person belonging to their corps infringing them, will be tried by a court-martial and punished with the utmost rigour of military law. If it be judged necessary or expedient to resort to measures of hostility, due notice will be given of it. In this state of affairs Commanding Officers will, however, not fail to perceive the necessity of observing the most careful discipline in their marches, camps, &c.; keeping their people well together, and ready for any occurrence which may demand their acting with effect.

"2. Whenever divisions and corps are halted upon their march, and upon their arrival on their ground of encampment, Officers Commanding will pay the most particular attention that safeguards and sentries are posted upon all the gardens, and that vegetables are taken from them with great care—not to commit any damage or injury,—by regular parties under an officer; that no more are taken than are absolutely required for the use of their troops, and whenever any arrangement can be made for remuneration it will be invariably done. Upon the return of the foraging parties, the vegetables will be regularly served out to the men."

(Signed) .

H. G. SMITH, Colonel,  
Chief of the Staff.

On the arrival of the head of the column at the drift a single Kafir was observed on the hill side, who signified a wish to hold a parley; one of our Kafir guides crossed the river and went a few hundred yards up the hill unarmed to meet him; the Kafir, however, was determined not to come near him, until he had shewn to his satisfaction that he had no arms with him; he then came down to the drift and stood at the water's edge, when Col. Smith and Mr. T. Shepstone, His Excellency's interpreter, went and spoke to him from the opposite side of the water. He said he was one of Bokoo's *Amapakati* (counsellors), and had come to ask them "what the name of the river was?" they answered "the Neiba (Kye), and we are going to cross it." The Colonel then assured him that the army was going through Hintza's country with a peaceable intention, if Hintza answered satisfactorily the questions which were put to him in the middle of last month by Van Wyk; the Kafir said that Bokoo and his cattle were *in the bush*, and would remain there until such a formidable commando was out of his country. The Governor told him to tell Bokoo and Hintza to come to him, and assured him that nothing should be done by his troops to injure either man or beast until Hintza himself had been to the camp, or should refuse to comply with such demands as the Governor would make. On arriving at Shaw's Fountain (about 10 miles beyond the Kye and 15 on this side Butterworth, the place where Purcell was murdered), numbers of Kafirs made their appearance, who proved to be the *Amapakati* from Hintza and Bokoo. The Chief of the Staff who was with the advanced guard, beckoned them to approach. They did so, and stated that Hintza was in the Amava or White Kei, and Bokoo, his brother, within one day's journey of them. By these people a message was dispatched to Hintza requesting him to meet the Governor, it being his intention to move on until he granted him the required interview; intimating also that it would depend on his own will whether he should be treated as the friend or enemy of the British nation.

The troops having halted on the eastern heights of the Kei, remained in camp during the 16th waiting for a reply to the message sent to Hintza. This interval afforded an opportunity to examine attentively this river, in reference to its capabilities as a defensive boundary against such an

enemy as the Kafir. His Excellency had fully made up his mind as to the unfitness of the Fish River Bush for this purpose. The Buffalo terminating in precipitous mountains and extensive forests, was equally objectionable; whilst the Kye was not only free from these disadvantages, but it presented a natural barrier more formidable than is met with in any other part of the country. Its forests are so precipitous and rugged as to be passible only at very distant intervals, even for cattle, and the country on both sides affords no shelter for marauders; being either quite bare or only producing the mimosa, and that so thinly scattered as to be quite useless for the purposes of concealment. From the point at which the descent to the river commences, to the edge at which the opposite side terminates, is at least eight miles; and the immediate banks of the river are inaccessible precipices, varying from 100 to 300 feet in elevation. From the Buffalo to the Kye there is no bush of sufficient extent to admit of its being used by the Kafir for the purpose of concealment in his approaches to the colonial frontier. All these advantages could not pass unnoticed by so keen an observer as the Commander of the Forces; and they led him, as we shall see in the sequel, to adopt a measure of great political importance.

On the 17th, no communication having been received from Hintza, the troops moved forward and reached the Missionary Institution of Butterworth, where the Mission House and Chapel were found in ruins. The Kafirs had knocked in all the doors and windows, and pulled down the bell and broke it on a stone. On the arrival of the troops, a great many Fingoes visited the camp, among whom were three chiefs, who stated their determination not to remain in the country after the departure of the colonial forces, and that they were resolved to throw off their subjection to Hintza. They offered to place themselves and their followers to the number of 970 men at the disposal of the Governor. The history and condition of these people excited very great interest, and much information having been obtained at the time, and since, on these points, we now place a brief outline of it upon record for the information of the reader. Their appearance, when equipped in their war dresses, is thus described by an officer present:—

“ I witnessed this evening a beautiful scene: at a drift we

met 47 Fingoes in their complete war equipments, with ornamented head dresses, shields, bundles of assegais, &c., singing in chorus a war song, the most harmonious thing I ever heard. When they came though the drift they held their shields over their heads, so as to cover and protect the whole person from any thing thrown down upon them while crossing it. They first quivered an assegai in their right hand; then collected in a dense mass; formed in a line two deep; then into three divisions; collected again; danced; whistled, from a faint soft strain, until it ended in a roar; shook their shields and assegais in such a manner that at first it seemed like the wind rustling a few leaves, until it rose to the deafening noise of a storm raging amidst the dense foliage of a large forest."

From information since derived respecting the history of this people, it appears that the term "Fingo" is not their national appellation, but a reproachful epithet, denoting extreme poverty and misery,—a person having no claim to justice, mercy, or even to life; hence the British trader Eccles, who resided in the tribe of Hintza at the time of the irruption, having endured the greatest possible suffering, being repeatedly threatened with death, and that nearly caused by excessive fatigue and hunger, was at length subjected to the degradation of being treated as a Fingo, being compelled to stand at the door of the calf-kraal, with no other clothing than a shirt, to turn out the calves at the call of the *Kafir boys*, while they were milking the cows just brought from the colony—and known to be from the colony by the brand-mark. This man, while thus employed, was called by the people of the place the "*white Fingo*;" so that while the poor trader was thus degraded, he was subject to the mortification of hearing the people call to passengers, saying, "*See our white Fingo!*"

They are the remnants of eight powerful nations, which have been destroyed or driven out of their country by the destructive wars carried on amongst the natives of the interior. Five of these nations were destroyed by the cruel *Matiwana*,\* and the rest by the notorious Zoola chief *Chaka*, or some of the tribes tributary to him. The names of these nations were—

\* Vide Introductory Remarks, pp. 52—27.

1st. The *Amahubi*, signifying in the native dialect, a people who tear or pull off.

2d. The *Amazizi*, or people who bring. These people are the remains of a very powerful nation which, thirteen or fourteen years ago, inhabited the country on the N. E. of Natal.

3d. The *Amabele*, or people of mercy.

4th. The *Amayabizembi*, or axe-benders.

5th. The *Abasekunene*, or right-hand people.

6th. The *Amantozakwe*, or people whose things are their own.

7th. The *Amarelidwani*. There appears to be no definite meaning for this appellation.

8th. The *Abashwawo*, or people that revile or reproach.

These nations being broken up and dispersed in the surrounding country, many of the people who escaped fled from time to time to the westward, and thus came into collision with the Amakosa Kafirs, but principally with the tribes of the late Hintza. Here they were received by that chief and his people as entirely dependant on their mercy and generosity; and they were suffered to exist on the tenure of the most abject slavery. Their general employments were herding cattle, hewing wood, and drawing water. They were also compelled to cultivate the ground for their cruel taskmasters. But this did not satisfy them, for when, by extraordinary exertion, they had obtained, by the sale of any little surplus produce beyond that required for their own use, a few head of cattle, they were either forcibly taken from them, or they were charged with the crime of witchcraft, their bodies put to the torture, and their little property confiscated. From their poverty and utter friendlessness, they were also made very frequently the victims of the cruel superstitions of the land. Thus, when sickness prevailed,—at a time of universal drought,—when wolves or other beasts of prey visited the kraals,—and even when the gardens and fields of their masters were plundered by baboons and monkeys,—they were charged with causing the evil by some occult skill which, it was pretended, they believed them to possess; and they were ultimately tortured, and sometimes



murdered, by their tormentors.\* In short, their lives and property were held on the same precarious tenure—the mere will of their capricious, cruel, and avaricious task-masters. Even their children were forcibly taken from them, especially females, who were often forced from their parents at a very tender age for the most odious purpose.†

This state of bondage had at last become utterly intolerable, and its victims had been long looking, and that with the greatest interest, for an opportunity to throw off the yoke. Their attention had been anxiously turned towards the colony, and communications had actually been made to the frontier authorities long before the irruption, urgently praying for an asylum within our boundary. This application had been kept a profound secret by those to whom it was made, from a full conviction that were their intention known to the Kafirs, their indiscriminate massacre would be the immediate and inevitable consequence. Such being the situation of these poor people, we may well imagine their feelings of exultation when by the arrival of His Excellency the Governor and the British force in Hintza's territories, an opportunity was afforded them of regaining their liberty, and of throwing themselves on the humanity of the British nation.

But here we must quit this part of our narration, in order to revert to the proceedings of the 2d division under Colonel Somerset, which we left on the 13th April, on the heights above the Gonube River:—Descending from this high ridge, the troops forming this division halted on a small stream called the Kassarve, where a camp was formed, and where from the tired state of their horses, they remained the whole of the next day.

“On the 15th,” says a journal of proceedings before us. “The Colonel with 250 men left the camp at half-past 4 A.M. and marched towards the kloofs of the Buffalo. From this patrol, in a most difficult country, he did not return till about 9 o'clock at night. There had been much rain

\* When the British trader Purcell was murdered, near Hintza's residence, that chief, to appease the colonial government, subsequently caused a Fingo to be slain, charging him with the crime; although there is every reason to believe him to have been entirely innocent.

† For the above particulars we are indebted to the Rev. J. Ayliff, who resided for five years as a missionary in Hintza's country. See also Rev. S. Kay's “Kaffrarian Researches,” page 285.



and wind during the afternoon, and part of the force was left behind on the road, the horses having knocked up. The gun was overturned and trail broken; it, however, came up afterwards with troops under Capt. Ross. The detachment of burgher force was ordered to act on the mouth of the Buffalo River along the coast. The day following several horses that were quite worn out and unable to move were shot.

“At sun rise on the 17th, the wagons commenced moving off the ground, and the troops soon afterwards; proceeding N. by W. along the ridge. At 9 o'clock we came to a beautiful valley formed by the tops of kloofs opening into the Gonube. During this part of our march several Kafirs were observed on the height to our left at the top of a large valley that falls into the Gua Koon. A party was dispatched in pursuit, but they availed themselves of the rugged and precipitous descent in their rear, and effected a safe retreat into the kloof. Resuming the march, we soon came into the main Kafirland trading road, originally formed by the passage of the troops in the Fetcani command. Along this road we proceeded eastward, crossed the Gonube, and commenced to ascend the opposite bank. This is very steep and long, but it was effected with great cheerfulness, the summit being gained about half-past one. From this point our route lay over an extensive plain country, enriched by gentle declivities that are formed by the tops of valleys that all trend northward and southward, and which serve as channels to convey the water which falls into them in rains and storms, into the immense kloofs that open into the channel of the Kei River. The division soon afterwards halted on the site of an old Kafir kraal; verdure had, however, again covered the ground, and it was only the altered appearance of the grass, and here and there a corn slate and flat stone, formerly used for grinding corn, that pointed out the place. Time, the universal leveller, had completed his work of renovation; the hut, as well as the palace and the temple, falls before his sweeping scythe, and its site resumes its native clothing! At day dawn on the 18th, the wagons commenced to move from the ground, and we immediately followed, proceeding along the road until we came to the Komka. The traders huts on this station had shared the fate of those in other parts, and were a heap of ruins. At 10 A.M. we

halted, it not being possible to effect the passage of the Kei this evening, and as after leaving this station, there was no other which afforded a sufficiency of water for our consumption. Here we expected to remain one day, but an express from the Governor at 10 P.M. altered the arrangement, and we were ordered to move the next morning.

“Early the next day the wagons moved off, and at half-past 10 we halted on a place called “Simpson’s Hollow,” a very pleasant and rich valley, formed by one of the Kye ravines. Here were many Kafir gardens. At this spot a general order, dated 15th inst., was promulgated, to the effect that on crossing the Kye we should enter the territories of a friendly Kafir chief, and that no hostile act was to be committed against any Kafir. No hut was to be destroyed,—no garden entered,—no fence broken down. A division order was issued, commanding these instructions to be rigidly obeyed, under pain of punishment on the spot. We upsaddled at noon, and continued our descent, which soon became very steep, with occasional interruptions of level, along small ridges of thickly-wooded country. At half-past one we crossed the river. The drift is long, and over small rolling stones, well meriting a designation I heard given to it of “Lap-stone drift.” We ascended the first steep ascent, and halted on a flat woody ridge on the side of a deep ravine. Here we off-saddled until the wagons had come some distance up the height. From this place we observed three droves of cattle, very numerous, ascending out of the ravines of the Kye, on the west side, and they continued to issue from them as long as the tops of the kloofs were visible to the eye. They had been secreted in these places by the cunning enemy until we had effected our passage, when they were driven out to graze on the heights even in our sight; he well knowing that even if we were to send out a party to capture them, he could observe our movements, and drive them into other places before we could reach the spot they then occupied, for, so difficult was the country, that with fresh horses I think it would have required twelve hours to come up with them. At 4 o’clock we surmounted the highest ridge, and began to descend the country to the east of the Kye. At 5 we came to the place recently occupied by the trader Neate, but not a vestige of his house, garden, or even bush that sheltered the dwelling remained.

We formed our camp for the night about a mile below the station near which the head-quarter division had halted on its march. At half-past three we again marched. The morning was excessively cold with driving showers of rain. The wind occasionally very strong and impregnated with moisture. We halted at 7 o'clock on a large woodless, shrubless, and comfortless expanse of country: the cold had penetrated every part of us, and the fire obtained was so scanty as to be barely sufficient to boil our kettle, and make us feel the absence of that renovating element more severely. We gladly upsaddled at half-past eight, at which time very few wagons had reached us, and but few of the burgher force,—which at all times irregular in its movements, was now particularly so. The Dutch farmers cannot stand cold, but yield to it, and become from its effects inactive and spiritless. The inclemency of the weather had in fact completely broken us up, and our march towards head-quarters resembled more the state of fatigued (and this indeed we were) disheartened and defeated troops, than that of a conquering division. At 10 we arrived at the missionary station of Butterworth, the head-quarters of the 1st division. The place was unoccupied, but nothing burnt. Our camp was formed on a height to the east of head-quarters, exposed to the cold, and very high wind coming from the N. W.,—small comfort for dispirited and starving troops, after a fortnight's fatigue and labour to punish the invaders of our country! We have certainly not been so successful as we anticipated, but that was not our fault. We were constant in following a flying Kafir enemy,—driving them from place to place,—and their means of evading pursuit is well known, whilst the quickness of their movements far exceed that of our troops, on whose actions they keep a constant watch, conveying intelligence of every movement with the greatest celerity along the whole line of country, while the kloofs and jungle become hiding places both for themselves and their flocks, of which not a vestige is left to their pursuers.

“Friday 21st.—All the forces marched out about a quarter of a mile in front of the camp, to be inspected by the General. We were cold and spiritless; rumours of various kinds had been afloat in the camp during yesterday afternoon, to the effect that we were censured,—not praised,—for what we had done,—and we felt it severely. This afternoon a general

order was promulgated, in which the manner of the approach of the 2d division to head-quarters yesterday was censured. This is rather more than we expected. Though our success has not equalled our own expectations, yet we have not been entirely unsuccessful. In the course of the last ten days we have defeated various parties of the enemy,—scoured the country to the sea,—killed 29 of the enemy, and took 2,255 oxen,—above 100 of them *out of the sea itself*, and 10 horses. It must also be taken into account the peculiar difficulties of the country along the coast, where every ravine and rivulet is of such magnitude as to present a most formidable obstacle to the progress of troops, and more particularly of cavalry, encumbered with wagons:—when these difficulties are duly weighed, in connection with the state of the weather, it will be seen that we had obstacles to contend with of no ordinary character.”

We cannot withhold our sympathy from the gallant commander of this division, and the brave men with him, at this result of their active exertions. His Excellency the Governor had been accustomed to witness the movements of perhaps the best disciplined army in the world, viz. the British army in the Peninsula of Spain, added to which, his own habits are peculiarly systematic and regular. Hence but small allowance was made for the difficulties of the country,—the unusual severity of the weather,—or for the character of a great proportion of the force composing this division. The African farmer can endure fatigue and hunger; but his limbs become inert by excessive cold, and when sunk into this state, it requires a very strong effort to rouse him to his wonted exertion. The weather during the march of this division had been peculiarly severe, and the men, especially the irregular troops, were so exhausted by fatigue and exposure,—their horses being knocked up and useless,—that they at length sought refuge in the wagons, in spite of all remonstrance and entreaty to the contrary. Before the division was known in the colony to have crossed the Kye, the Field-cornet Lombard, a most intelligent man, on his return from the camp in command of a party of farmers, charged with the care of 2,000 cattle which had been captured on the march forward, described the sufferings of the farmers from inclemency of the weather, as particularly severe. Much rain and snow had fallen; the country between the Kye and the Buffalo is

elevated and open, and at night the only means of guarding the cattle was to encircle them by a chain of sentinels. Watched by a vigilant enemy they dared not quit their charge, and thus while in this part of the country, they were often compelled to stand the whole night exposed to piercing blasts from the adjacent mountains, and to driving storms of rain and sleet. He added that it was matter of surprise that many of the farmers had not perished by this severe weather. This fact, coupled with the difficult nature of the country, will account for the irregular march of this division on reaching the camp at Butterworth as above described.

A few days before the period to which we have now brought our narration, Major Cox and the Field-commandant Van Wyk, whose divisions were left in position on the Debe, had made several successful attacks upon the enemy in the Amatoli mountains. Strong parties had been out incessantly patrolling that difficult country, by whom many of the enemy had been slain and cattle captured. By this guerrilla kind of warfare, the enemy was greatly harrassed, and kept in a continual state of motion and alarm. On the 17th April an extensive movement was made in hopes of surrounding the confederate chiefs, several of whom were known to be in that neighbourhood. Accordingly Major Cox marched on the afternoon of that day with the whole of his disposable force. At dusk a halt was made at the foot of the mountains enclosing the Buffalo Poorts, and at midnight the whole moved forward amongst the precipitous and woody ravines which distinguish that tract of country. At daylight on the 18th several kraals were surprised, and the result was the capture of 2,000 head of cattle, numbers of goats, and with a loss to the enemy of six killed and several wounded. Still the enemy continued to elude, to a great degree, the utmost vigilance of the British troops, whose movements were narrowly watched from the mountainous region where they had sought shelter, and whose attacks were avoided whenever they presented themselves in any considerable force (12).

During the period of these operations, His Excellency the Governor remained encamped near Butterworth, waiting for a reply to the message he had dispatched to Hintza. Here several chiefs waited upon him, but as they were not charged with any particular message, it appeared most probable that

their aim in visiting the camp was to ascertain by personal inspection the number and condition of the British force. Socha, a *pakati*, Umsuolo, a nephew of Hintza's, and Kubu, a chief, were amongst the visitors. The former presented a bullock to the Governor in token of friendship, and promised to communicate with Hintza. Two days afterwards he stated, that his messenger had returned with directions to assemble the whole of the council, and with an intimation that Hintza himself was coming. This turned out, however, to be false. Hintza never made his appearance, and it has since been ascertained that the Kafirs employed this interval in driving the stolen cattle farther into the interior, and out of the reach of the British force.

But though pacific, His Excellency was not inactive. Knowing the imminent danger of the missionaries and traders in the Tambookie country, Capt. Warden with a small force of 50 Mounted Riflemen and a party of Fingoes as guides, and to act as auxiliaries, were dispatched to their relief, and under whose escort they subsequently, to the number of 100 British subjects, reached the camp in safety. The entreaties of the Fingoes to be recognized as British subjects had also been carefully considered, and a favorable answer returned to them, with an intimation that the "ceded" territory should be allotted for their future residence.

Matters were in this state when on the 21st April, a party of 30 men were sent with despatches to the colony in charge of a British settler named Armstrong, then serving with the colonial force as Ensign in the Beaufort levy. This person very imprudently loitered behind his party on the road, which being perceived by some of Hintza's Kafirs, they way-laid and barbarously murdered him. Information of this atrocious and cruel deed was speedily conveyed to the camp, from whence a party of men was dispatched in quest of the body; and which was found lying by the road side, pierced with five assegai wounds, two of which were through the heart.

His Excellency the Governor finding that all his overtures were not only treated with studied neglect, but that hostilities had thus actually been commenced by Hintza's people, called before him on the 24th April, a counsellor and captain



of Hintza's, named Kubu, (or Coubu) to whom he carefully recapitulated the causes of quarrel, and which had been reduced to writing, in order that no possible misapprehension might occur hereafter on a matter of so much importance. These causes were stated in the following terms :

1st.—For the causes already set forth by the Commandant Van Wyk,\* no satisfaction thereon having been given.

2d.—Because in the month of July last, a subject of his Britannic Majesty, (William Purcell) living within the territory of the chief Hintza, (indeed not far from the chief's residence at the time) under the chief's sanction and permission to trade with his people, and under the security of his good faith—was deliberately murdered at his own door by a Kafir of the tribe of Hintza, or by a Fingoe servant suborned by one of his tribe, for which no atonement has yet been made; and although this atrocious and unwarrantable act was then duly made known to Hintza, no effectual steps have ever been taken for the punishment of the murderer, and for giving satisfaction for the matter to His Majesty the King of England for this unprovoked murder of one of His subjects.

3d.—For the recent murder of Armstrong, a British subject, by which also Hintza's people broke the conditions of my truce, and commenced hostilities.

4th.—For the violence, rapine, and ill-treatment practised against the British missionaries at Butterworth, living there by Hintza's sanction, which had forced them to fly to the Tambookie tribe of Vossanie, to save their lives.

5th.—For the violence, rapine, and outrages committed also upon the British traders, who had thereby been alike forced to fly to the same tribe for refuge.

It was further stated by His Excellency, that for the reasons above set forth, he should forthwith commence hostilities upon Hintza, and seize and carry off all the cattle he could find; at the same time announcing that the Fingoes had been taken under his especial protection, and had become the allies and subjects of the King of England, and that any violence committed upon them by the people of Hintza, should meet with severe retaliation.

Having stated all this distinctly to Kubu, through the

\* These causes were his coalition with the hostile chiefs, and his being the actual receiver of a large share of the cattle plundered from the colony.



medium of an interpreter, and he declaring that he understood it perfectly, and would duly communicate it immediately to Hintza,—His Excellency formally declared war,—dismissed the chief,—and instantly issued orders to commence hostilities. This circumstance was announced by the discharge of a field-piece; and the war-song of the Fingoes declared their readiness to co-operate with their protectors in chastising their late oppressors. At 10 o'clock the tents were struck, and two hours afterwards Colonel Smith, with a detachment of 300 cavalry, was in full pursuit of the enemy, towards the Karregha mountain. Before sun-set he was in possession of 14,000 head of cattle in the most beautiful condition. Twenty Kafirs were killed and several wounded; the uncle of the chief Maguay was taken prisoner by Lieut. Balfour, with a small party of the Mounted Rifles. The judicious and dexterous manner in which this capture was effected, excited universal admiration. Early on the following morning the pursuit was resumed, and after crossing the Karregha, a few more Kafirs were shot, and 1,200 head of cattle captured.

The cattle were immediately sent to the vicinity of Butterworth, where Col. Somerset remained with the 2d division after the removal of the head-quarters. During these operations the head-quarters had moved to the Izolo, a small stream about 20 miles to the N. W. of Butterworth.

At 5 o'clock on the morning of the 26th, Col. Smith again started in pursuit of the enemy, with about 60 mounted men of the Cape Corps and Burgher force, and two companies of the 72d Highlanders, three do. of the 1st Provisional Battalion, and about 300 Fingoes. After crossing the Tsomo, at a point nearly N. W. from the Camp, which had moved to the Izolo, and distant from it about 10 miles, he proceeded with the cavalry in the direction of the Gongolobo, a small rivulet on which Hintza had a kraal, and at which he was said to be then residing. The troops pushed forward with great rapidity, in the expectation of taking Hintza by surprise; but on their arrival they found the kraal deserted, though it bore evident marks of having been very recently abandoned. The troops then turned in the direction of a high mountain range which divides the Tsomo from the Kye, on which herds of cattle had been previously observed.

The infantry under the command of Capt. Murray, of the 72d Highlanders, were directed on crossing the Tsomo, to follow its course, in order to intercept the enemy should he attempt to shelter himself from the cavalry in its precipitous and rocky banks.

The cavalry came up with the enemy at the head of a deep ravine which descends into the Kye, called the Accalomba. Two prisoners were taken, and 1,200 head of cattle fell into their hands. They then, after moving for about two hours after dark with the captured cattle towards that part of the Tsomo on which the infantry had bivouacked, halted for the night, and proceeded to head-quarters on the following morning. Col. Smith had reached the infantry bivouack on the Tsomo, by 7 o'clock the same morning, and putting the troops immediately into motion, reached the Kye at a point, where his prisoners informed him, a considerable number of cattle was collected, about two hours before sun-set. The heat of the weather was excessive, but the troops, nevertheless, crossed the high mountain which separates the Tsomo from the Kye, descended the rocky course of the Accalomba, and ascended the stony bed of the river for several miles, halting only for about 20 minutes, though the distance marched was at least 25 miles. About 3,000 head of cattle, of which about 1,200 were colonial, fell into our hands; some horses were also captured, two of which died from fatigue immediately after coming into our possession.

The troops bivouacked on the Kye, and on the following morning commenced their march towards the Camp, which still remained on the Isolo, and arrived there on the following day, (the 29th) at 4 o'clock.

The steady determination displayed by the troops throughout this most trying expedition, can be fully appreciated only by those who have traversed the region of stone and precipice which separates the Tsomo from the Kye; and the performance of the service performed by Col. Smith and the troops under his command will be fully comprehended only by an attentive consideration of the effect produced by thus vigorously pursuing an enemy who deemed his mountains inaccessible to British soldiers, almost before the shot which announced hostilities had ceased to reverberate amongst them.

The rapidity with which these movements were executed,

and the intrepidity displayed by the British troops, appear to have excited in the mind of Hintza the utmost surprise and consternation. Some of the cattle captured belonged to the chief himself; whilst so unexpected was the attack, that his principal wife, the mother to the heir apparent to his authority, with difficulty effected her escape, leaving some of her most valuable personal ornaments behind her;—a fact sufficient to shew that, in the opinion of the enemy, the rugged and impervious defiles in which he had taken refuge were inaccessible to the British force. Under this impression the conciliatory messages which had been sent to the chief were utterly disregarded, while the forbearance manifested for the long period of nine days, when waiting for a reply to those communications, had been construed into inability on our part to visit him with that punishment which had been threatened in the event of his continued contumacy. This delusion was, however, now completely dispelled; for no sooner had Col. Smith returned from his successful attack, than four messengers from him arrived at head-quarters with proposals. These overtures were, however, unhesitatingly rejected, and the bearers of them dismissed with an intimation that none would be treated with but Hintza himself, who was, however, assured of safe conduct should he be disposed to wait upon the Governor as proposed.

What had been refused to clemency was extorted by apprehension, and accordingly the ungrateful Hintza, who had refused an audience to our messenger,—who had disdained to appear personally at the head-quarters of the British army, or even to send there an accredited agent,—entered the camp as a humble supplicant for peace, within a few hours after Colonel Smith had returned there to dispose of the captured cattle. He was attended by a retinue of fifty followers, and was received with a courtesy which he little merited by the Commander-in-Chief; it being, however, understood that he came prepared to transact business, His Excellency immediately entered into an explanation of the grounds of his dissatisfaction, and of the nature of the required reparation.

That no point might admit of misapprehension, all which the Governor desired to communicate had been reduced to writing, and was read to Hintza by His Excellency himself, in presence of his staff, and translated to the chief, sentence

by sentence, *seriatim*, into the Kafir tongue by the Kafir interpreter, Mr. Shepstone; at the conclusion of which the chief expressed his perfect understanding of the whole. The following were the conditions proposed:—

1st.—I demand from the Chief Hintza the restoration of 50,000 head of cattle, and of 1,000 horses, to be approved of by Commissioners whom I shall appoint to receive and examine them, 25,000 head of cattle and 500 horses immediately, as hostilities will continue till they are delivered, and 25,000 head of cattle and 500 horses in one year from this day.

2d.—I demand that Hintza, as the acknowledged Chief of Western Kafirland, shall lay *his imperative commands*, and cause them *to be obeyed*, upon the chiefs of the tribes, Tyali, Macomo, Eno, Bothma, Dushani, T'Slambie, Umhala, and their dependants, instantly to cease hostilities, and send in, and give up to me, or to one of the divisions of my forces, all the fire-arms which they may possess.

3d.—I demand that the murderer of William Purcell, (or if a Fingo servant acting under subornation, the suborner to the deed,) be immediately brought to the condign punishment of death by the Kafir authorities, and in presence of Commissioners, whom I shall appoint to witness the execution, and to whom the chief Hintza will cause to be delivered 300 head of good cattle, (to be approved of by the said Commissioners,) for the benefit of the widow and family of the murdered man.

4.—I demand, that the same atonement be made for the murder of Armstrong, as that demanded for the murder of Purcell.

5.—I demand that for the due and full execution of the above conditions, the chief Hintza shall deliver into my hands here, on the spot, and immediately, two hostages, to be chosen by me from among the chief persons about him.

All this well and duly complied with, I will cause hostilities to cease as soon as 25,000 head of cattle and 500 horses shall have been delivered to the Commissioners, and enter into a treaty of peace between the Colony and Hintza.

(Signed) B. U'RBAN,

Governor of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope,  
Commander-in-Chief.

Done in my Camp on the Isolo, 29th April, 1835.\*

\* The reader will find this important document at length on reference to the introductory remarks, pp. 121—128.

The following day (30th April) the chief again waited upon His Excellency, and formally expressed his acceptance of the conditions proposed, and his conclusion of peace accordingly.

By these conditions hostilities were to continue until the first instalment of the cattle demanded should be paid. The temporising and unprincipled conduct of Hintza strongly pointed out the necessity of this peremptory condition, but still it was desirable to cease hostilities if a sufficient plea could be found for so doing. This was furnished by Hintza himself, who offered to remain in the British camp as a hostage until the conditions imposed should be fulfilled, and the required number of cattle delivered,—a proposal which was acceded to with great readiness and cheerfulness by His Excellency, and the discharge of a piece of artillery announced to the British camp the termination of hostilities with the Kafirs to the eastward of the Kye. (14.)

Matters having been so far arranged to the satisfaction of His Excellency the Governor, the Chief and his attendants were treated with a degree of regard and attention to which both their previous and their subsequent conduct shew they were undeserving. The Chief had sent for his son Kreili and his brother Bookoo, and they were now with him,—none of them under any sort of control. Hintza was the constant guest of Col. Smith, the Chief of the Staff, for whom he expressed the warmest regard; whilst the Governor presented him with so many presents\* that it was remarked at the time by the Kafirs and Fingoes who witnessed the munificence displayed on the occasion, that “the white people were buying the cattle from Hintza.”

Orders were also given for the immediate evacuation of Hintza's territory. Accordingly on the 2d May the head-quarter division broke up its camp, moving towards the Kye. Colonel Somerset's division being left in position on a sprout of the Gona, with orders to remain until the Fingoes had abandoned their kraals, when it was to follow as the rear-guard on the line of march. No sooner, however, was the departure of His Excellency the Governor known, than Hintza's and Bookoo's people commenced a general massacre

\* A statement published at the time states —“Hintza has received as presents from the Governor 10 new saddles and bridles, 12 spears, 2 bags of beads, and other articles.”

of all the Fingoes around them. Several families, to the amount of 30 individuals, were slaughtered in cold blood close to Col. Somerset's camp; and had it not been for the immediate interference of that officer, and the presence of the troops, the whole of those who had not reached the shelter of the British camp would have been sacrificed.

An account of this proceeding on the part of Hintza's people, in express contravention of the treaty just made with him, was immediately forwarded to the Governor by express, and perhaps nothing could have so keenly aroused his indignation as the contents of this despatch. The very feelings which had actuated Sir Benjamin in deciding upon the important step of rescuing, at their earnest entreaties, this degraded people from their cruel state of bondage, were outraged by this wanton massacre. Throughout this trying war benevolence had been the peculiar trait in all His Excellency's measures, and hence the duplicity of Hintza, which was now conspicuous, his utter faithlessness, and the ferocity of the Kafir character, appeared to burst upon him with resistless effect. Hintza and Bookoo were immediately summoned to his presence, and the purport of the express communicated to them. The answer of the chief was characteristic—"Well," said he, "and what then, are they not my dogs?" The scene which ensued is thus described by an eye-witness: "This was beyond all bearance. His Excellency gave immediate orders that Hintza, Kreili, and Bookoo, and all the people with them, amounting to about 150, should be guarded; and told them that he should keep them as hostages for the safety of the Fingoes. He desired them instantly to dispatch messengers to stop the carnage; and said that if this infamous proceeding of their people continued after three hours had elapsed, he would shoot two of their suite for every Fingoe that was killed; adding, that if he found any subterfuge in the message they sent—as he had discovered to be the case in some of their former messages—he would hang Hintza, Kreili, and Bookoo themselves to the tree under which they were sitting.

"The Chiefs saw they were in jeopardy, and in less than ten minutes their most astute messengers were seen scampering off at full speed in different directions, with orders which were evidently given *this time* without subterfuge; for within



the limited period, it was officially announced by Colonel Somerset that the Kafirs had ceased to attack the Fingoes.

“His Excellency, however, well aware of the sort of people he had to deal with, deemed it unsafe to release them till he had got the Fingoes fairly across the Kye, and it was on getting there that he decided on keeping Kreili and Bookoo as hostages for the fulfilment of the treaty in regard to the cattle, as Hintza evaded giving the two Counsellors asked for as Hostages, and wanted to substitute two common men in their stead.”

Much of the bitterness of feeling displayed by the Kafirs towards the Fingoes was doubtless caused by the active part which that people had taken against their old task-masters. They had joined the British forces with alacrity, and had shewn an uncommon zeal in seizing and driving off all the cattle they could lay their hands on. These and other circumstances of an irritating character which occurred at the same time, were well calculated to inspire the most intense desire for revenge in the breast of a barbarous people, amongst whom mercy and forgiveness had never been included in their catalogue of virtues. This is well explained in an account given by an officer present, and which was published at the time. It is dated May 5th, and contains the following passage:—“The Fingoes and their families have begun to break-up from their kraals, and to move towards the Kye; and it is now said that we shall certainly commence our march for the colony to-morrow by day-light. We have a great charge, and our march will be in consequence slow, yet fatiguing. How the poor Fingoes, with their flocks, wives, and children, will accomplish it, is painful to think of. To see them pass with their cattle, their wives loaded with their little property,—mats, bags of corn, cooking utensils, together with their children; their pack-oxen loaded with skins, &c., puts one in mind of the desertion of a country by a people flying from the rage of an invading enemy,—and so it is with these poor creatures. Their staying and throwing themselves upon the protection of the British,—their ill-judged manifestation of joy, and gestures of contempt in which they indulged themselves when they saw their old oppressor, Hintza, compelled to appear before their new protectors, have made the Kafir their cruel and relentless foes. Scarce a day or night has passed since but they have



been flying to our camp, bringing the intelligence that some of their kraals have been attacked by their oppressors, their people murdered, and their cattle taken off. Last night one fled from a kraal not above two miles from our encampment, stating that the people were attacked; a party was sent out, and we learned on their return that the Fingoes having opposed the Kafirs, the latter had returned without carrying into effect their murderous intentions.

Amidst all these interruptions, the necessary preparations for the march, and the evacuation of Hintza's country, were made with all possible expedition. The weather, however, had been extremely unfavorable; much rain had fallen, rendering it impossible for oxen to travel; and the cold was severe and piercing. However, on the 9th the whole cavalcade had reached the heights which form the eastern or left banks of the Kye, and the liberated Fingoes prepared to cross this stream, which, like Jordan to the Israelites, formed the boundary of the land of their captivity. "Their departure," says one who accompanied them, "was one of the most imposing sights possible: 2,000 men,—5,600 women,—9,200 children, and 22,000 head of cattle. This moving multitude covered at least 8 miles in length and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile in width. The men were engaged in bearing shields and assagais and driving the cattle, which were divided into small portions. The boys carried a few old worn-out assagais and pointed sticks. These were engaged in driving the goats and calves. The women and girls bore burdens. The women were loaded with baskets of corn, sleeping mats, milking buckets, and cooking pots; these were piled in two and three stories upon their heads; at their back they carried one, and sometimes two children; in one hand calabasses with milk for the children, and in the other a long staff to help them forward under their huge burdens. These moved in companies, under the protection of a few men, and kept as near as they could to the cattle driven by the men of their families. Not a murmur nor complaint was to be heard; but "Siyaya Ebulungweni," (i. e. "We go to the place of the right or good people") was to be heard amidst the little companies, while each one did his utmost to keep up with the troops and wagons."

Another actor in this busy scene, an officer serving with Col. Somerset's division, writes—"We have under our care

and protection an immense number of persons, consisting of missionaries, traders, and Fingoes, with all the captured cattle. We left our encampment, on the east side of the Kye (on the first height), and came to the river yesterday about 4 P. M. At 7 A. M. this morning (the 9th), the cavalcade began to move off, and in an hour the first wagons began to cross the ford. The previous three days had been very wet, and the 8th was only a sort of clearing-up day—sun-shine and rain; and in the evening driving mist came over us, with a dark gloomy horizon, making us fear an uncomfortable night. We had made a long march, and coming in late, were huddled up in a very bushy and confined space on the summit of a ridge, declining, steep, and abrupt into the river, having deep ravines on each side. This, together with the noise of above 10,000 cattle encircled by wagons, made us far from comfortable. Every precaution had been made to repel any attack the Kafirs might be tempted to make, and our situation made us as secure as possible. As the night set in the atmosphere cleared up, and we had the satisfaction to see the moon sailing in splendour against fine masses of driving clouds, which hourly lessened in number, and left her about midnight sole mistress of the sky. A dew fell, and every thing indicated a fine day on the morrow. The next morning early the whole began to move, and after watching the descent of the cavalcade, as it moved along the steep and still slippery descent to the ford of the Kye, I left about 9 o'clock, and soon reached the edge of the ridge. Below me lay the stream and the multitude passing its bed, a long and continued line of wagons marked the winding of the path by their white sails, overtopping the stunted shrubs and trees that covered the whole of the ridge to the water's edge, accompanied by hosts, I may say, of Fingoes on each side, driving herds of cattle and goats through the bush towards the same point, their wives and children threading the intricate paths of the ascent loaded with their all,—mats, baskets, skins, bags of corn, and often in addition to this head-load, a child slung on their back, its little head only visible from the folds of the mother's *kaross*,—the bush along the banks and the side channels, now dry, full of cattle,—the whole of this seen through a slight veil of mist, which covered the water-course, now thick enough to obscure the view, and shut it up as with a sheet, then breaking, thinning, and becoming assi-

milated with the pure air, and again becoming dense. This alteration gave an effect that was surprisingly grand, and beyond any thing which art could produce. The group passing the stream feeling their way with their sticks, as well as keeping their balance against the power of the current; the wading of children; the slow motion of the wagons; the plunges in driving the cattle; the timid bounds and rests of the sheep; and the slipping and falling of the goats as they passed the drift, was truly a picture worth beholding. The scene was bounded on the opposite height by the white clouds that hung over the valley of the Kye, from which were seen issuing forth the advanced guard and the first of the wagons. The latter began to arrive at 12 at noon, and it was only with the close of the day that the last finished the journey. The Fingoes and poor children are still coming in with their flocks; and I think there are now on this spot above 120 wagons, 9,000 captured cattle, and, some say, as many as 20,000 head of cattle and goats, the property of the Fingoes. The 1st division came down to the drift at 2 p. m., just as the last wagon was crossing, and remained there for the night."

The liberation of the Fingoes having been so far successfully accomplished, the durance under which Hintza had been kept was immediately relaxed; and he might, had he so pleased, have returned to his home in safety, leaving the hostages agreed for the due fulfilment of the treaty. He had, however, during the period he had been the guest of Col. Smith, made a proposal to accompany him towards the Bashee, where it was said the cattle had been driven, for the purpose of delivering up the number agreed upon. With his usual cunning he had proposed that a small guard of British troops should be sent; merely, as he observed, to enable him to enforce his orders, offering to remain as the Colonel's hostage. Col. Smith, confiding in the sincerity of these protestations, represented his suggestion in the most favorable light to the Governor; and he, after considerable hesitation, at length agreed to the arrangement; but suspecting some lurking deceit, instead of sending a small guard, he ordered the party to consist of 500 chosen men, telling Hintza that if he sent 20,000 head of cattle across the Kye at that time, he would dispense with the other 5,000.

Before this expedition started, His Excellency proceeded

formally to announce a measure, of the justice and expediency of which all the events of this war had fully convinced him, viz.—the extension of the colonial boundary as far eastward as the Kye River. Accordingly, in the presence of Hintza and that of his people, and of the assembled troops, this event was proclaimed (vide Appendix 15 and 16), with a ceremony which is thus described by an eye-witness:—

“ On the 10th the troops were all drawn up in two columns, with the artillery on the right, and at 8 o'clock Hintza, with his son Krieli, Booko, and all his counsellors, marched up between the lines attended by a strong guard. The General with Col. Smith and the staff, then took their place in the centre of the troops, on the right of Hintza. Colonel Smith first read aloud the proclamation of His Excellency, after which the General himself read his declaration, taking over the land extending east from the source of the Kye in the Stormberg to the sea. A royal salute of 21 guns was then fired, and had a great effect on Hintza and his suite. Hintza was in a profuse perspiration the whole of the time, either from terror or anxiety, and most of his followers were in the same state; this is not at all to be wondered at, for the report (loud enough at any time to stun the ear unaccustomed to such sounds), was immensely increased by the precipitous cliffs that surrounded us on all sides. Each shot was like a tremendous clap of thunder, whilst the echo reverberating from craig to craig till it was lost in the distant windings of the river, had exactly the same effect as distinct discharges; the wind too blew gently from the guns along the ranks, so that in a few minutes Hintza was concealed in a cloud of smoke. The loud hurrahs and cheers for King William, with the waving of hats, finished the ceremony. The wildness of the scenery gave additional effect to the whole scene. The enormous masses of rock, piled fragment upon fragment for many hundred feet, with the tall and stately euphorbium on the verge, dwindled away “in dizziness of distance;” and the long red aloe peeping here and there over the projecting rocks, and the huge baboons (now colonial subjects), clambering over them, presented an assemblage of objects which, in connexion with the proceedings described, had an effect upon the mind which is indescribable, and will never be erased.”



## CHAPTER VI.

*Communication made to Hintza by His Excellency the Governor—Departure with Colonel Smith—His duplicity—Attempt to escape—His death—Alleged mutilation of his corpse—Death of Major T. C. White—His character—Proceedings of Colonel Somerset's division—Location of the Fingoes—Occupation of the new Province—Interview between Major Cox and the widow of the late Gaika—With Macomo and Tyali—Treaty with Kreili—Establishment of King William's Town—Inroads of the enemy into the Colony—Public Meeting at Graham's Town—Return of His Excellency the Governor—Reception by the Inhabitants—The Albany Address—His Excellency's reply—The Petition to the King.*

Immediately after the ceremony of proclaiming the new boundary, Hintza returned to the tent of the Commander-in-Chief, where, in the presence of Colonel Smith and the other officers of the Staff, His Excellency read to him the following admonitory communication:—

*His Britannic Majesty's Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Forces in South Africa, to HINTZA, Chief of the Country between the Kye and the Bashee.*

1.—Twelve days ago Hintza, the heart of his country being occupied by the troops of the King my master,—his personal residence in danger—and his farther resistance useless,—came into my camp and sued for peace.

2.—I there set forth and prescribed to him the terms upon which peace could alone be granted.

3.—And on the following day, having duly considered them, he accepted them all, and solemnly ratified them, remaining himself with his son and heir, by his own choice and free-will, as hostages for the fulfilment of the treaty which he had then ratified.

4.—This deportment, on the part of the Chief appeared so frank and honorable, that I was induced to abstain from using a power, reserved to me by the concluding article of the treaty, that “of continuing hostilities until the first instalment of cattle should have been paid;” and to save his people from the scourge of war in the mean time; I accordingly caused hostilities to cease on the part of my troops, thereby foregoing the additional advantages which the then following up those already gained, could not have failed to secure.

5.—What return has Hintza made for all this forbearance? He has deceived me throughout.

6.—He has, it is true, (very reluctantly) complied with the 2d stipulation of the treaty; but the 1st, 3d, and 4th, the most important of all, are still unexecuted; and although their fulfilment has been repeatedly urged to him, no effectual steps have yet been taken for that end.

7.—In these circumstances I have a full and just right to consider and treat him as a prisoner of war, and to send him to Cape Town; but as I am still disposed to believe his asseveration, that his presence in the midst of his people may give him the power of fulfilling his solemn agreement, I will abstain from doing so, and will not, for the present, send him out of his own country; but it is upon the condition, *proposed by himself*, that he accompanies a division of my troops through such parts of the country, as its commanding officer, Colonel Smith, may select, and exert his full power as chief of it, to collect the cattle and horses due, and to apprehend the murderers of the two British subjects, and to supply the 300 head of cattle demanded for each of the widows of the murdered men.

8.—Meanwhile I retain as hostages, according to the 5th demand of my treaty, Hintza's son *Neili*, and his relation *Bookoo*, making the latter especially responsible for the two murdered Englishmen, who were murdered in the district under his government, and near his residence, and whose murderers it was his duty at the time to have apprehended, and caused to have been duly punished; and considering the breach of the solemn treaty which has been committed as above, I will also retain in my hands the other followers of Hintza, now in my camp, with the exception of *Umtini* and two others whom the Chief may select.

(Signed) B. D'URBAN, Governor of the Cape of  
Good Hope, Commander-in-Chief.

Done at my Head-Quarters on the Kye, 10th May, 1835.



Read to Hintza sentence by sentence, *seriatim*, by the Governor and Commander-in-Chief, on the left bank of the Kye, immediately after the Proclamation of this morning, and translated to him into the Kafir tongue by Mr. Shepstone, Kafir Interpreter.

In presence of us,

H. G. SMITH, Col., Chief of the Staff,  
 JOHN PEDDIE, Lieut.-Col., Commanding 1st division,  
 J. MURRAY, M.D., Principal Medical Officer,  
 C. C. MICHELL, Surveyor-General.

I certify that I faithfully translated this communication to the Chief Hintza, in the hearing of his son, Bookoo, and his councillors, and that he declared his perfect understanding of the same.

(Signed) THEOPHILUS SHEPSTONE, Kafir Interpreter.

Nothing can contrast more strongly than the plain soldier-like conduct of the Governor in this, and other instances, and the duplicity and utter want of principle on the part of Hintza. His insincerity was conspicuous on every point on which he was trusted; and it was evident that he had some evil design in proposing to lead Colonel Smith into the heart of his country, and even beyond its boundary, in search of the cattle, which by the terms of his treaty, were due to the colony. Anticipating his infamous designs, the Governor took this opportunity of making him acquainted with his exact position, at the same time, adopting such precautionary measures as should effectually guard the detachment employed on this duty from the treachery and hostility of the crafty and exasperated barbarians.

Every thing being in readiness, the troops employed on this service, marched from the encampment at the ford of the Kye. This force consisted of

50 of the Cape Mounted Rifles under Captain Ross,  
 2 Companies 72d Regt. under Captain Murray,  
 3 ditto 1st Provisional Battalion under Captain Crause,  
 15 Men of the Corps of Guides under Mr. G. Southey.

Colonel Smith, the Commanding Officer, had been directed to view the Chief as a hostage, but to treat him with the utmost respect and kindness, an injunction which appeared scarcely necessary, he having been a guest of the Colonel's for nine days:—he had been loaded with presents, and appeared so sensible of the distinguished kindness with which he had



been treated, that he was accustomed to speak of the Colonel as his father. During the march he rode by his side with every mark of confidence, and instead of being treated as a prisoner, he was allowed, as well as his attendants, to carry their assagais; and indeed were treated in every respect as friends and companions.

On gaining the summit of the mountain from the Kye, Hintza requested, through the interpreter, to know in what position he stood, both as regarded himself and his subjects. The answer of the Colonel was distinct and candid: "Hintza, you have lived with me now nine days; you call yourself my son, and you say you are sensible of my kindness; now I am responsible to my King and to my Governor for your safe custody. Clearly understand that you have requested that the troops under my command should accompany you to enable you to fulfil the treaty of peace you have entered into. You voluntarily placed yourself in our hands as a hostage; you are, however, to look upon me as having full power over you, and if you attempt to escape, you will assuredly be shot. I consider my nation at peace with yours, and I shall not molest your subjects; provided they are peaceable. When they bring in the cattle according to your commands, I shall select the bullocks, and return the cows and calves to them." To this, Hintza replied, "He came out to fulfil his treaty of peace, and with no intention to escape; and that the fact of his son being in our hands, was a sufficient guarantee of his sincerity." The Colonel then added, "Very well Hintza, act up to this and I am your friend; again I tell you, *if you attempt to escape, you will be shot.*"

Notwithstanding these specious professions, the Colonel soon had his suspicions aroused by the following circumstances:—In the afternoon about 4 o'clock, the troops reached a streamlet running into the Gona, when one of the Corps of Guides reported that two Kafirs, with five head of cattle, were near the camp, and that Hintza on the plea of their being afraid to approach, had sent one of his people to bring them in. In place, however, of these Kafirs coming into the camp, they went off, taking with them a horse which had been sent to them by Hintza, and who declined to give any explanation on the subject. The suspicion excited by this circumstance was increased by the evasive answers given to the Colonel's repeated inquiry as to the point on

which he desired the troops to move. On this subject nothing more could be elicited than, "we are going right."

Early the next morning the troops were in motion,—passed the Guadan hills, and bivouacked on the Guanga late in the afternoon. Here Hintza was again requested by the Colonel to state explicitly where he wished them to proceed. On this occasion he was much more communicative than before, and desired that they would march towards the mouth of the Bashee, by a route which he would point out; and he further requested that they would move at midnight. This request was the more readily acceded to, it being evident that all the cattle from the kraals in the neighbourhood had been driven in the direction pointed out. Accordingly at 12 o'clock the troops resumed their march, and continued to move forward until 8 o'clock in the morning. At this time the spoor of numerous cattle driven in that direction was quite recent; but as the men had been marching for eight hours, it was necessary for them to halt and take some refreshment.

At breakfast the chief appeared particularly uneasy; he evidently felt disappointed at the vigilance with which all his actions had been watched, and he observed peevishly,—“What have the cattle done that you want them? or why must I see my subjects deprived of them?” Colonel Smith observed in reply to him, that he need not ask those questions; he well knew the outrages committed on the colony by his people, and that it was in redress of those wrongs the cattle were demanded. At 10 o'clock the troops were again on the march. At this time Hintza appeared in high spirits, observing rather sarcastically—“You see how my subjects treat me, they drive their cattle from me in spite of me.” “Hintza,” replied the Colonel, “I do not want your subjects' cattle; I am sent for the *colonial* cattle which have been stolen, and which I will have.” “Then said” the chief, “allow me to send Umtini, my principal counsellor, forward to tell my people I am here, that they must not drive away their cattle, and that the cattle of your nation will be alone selected.” This proposal was immediately agreed to, it appearing to hold out a chance of success; although it was quite evident that Hintza was meditating some mischief, and that the utmost caution was imperatively necessary. On the departure of Umtini, he was particularly

enjoined to return that night, and which was faithfully promised. He quitted the camp at full speed, accompanied by one of Hintza's attendants, the chief exclaiming in high spirits,—“ Now you need not go to the Bashee, you will have more cattle than you can drive on the Xabecca !”

On the approach of the troops to this stream, it was found that the great spoor of the cattle branched off in two directions ; one track going to the left, up a high mountain ; the other to the right, up a very high, abrupt, steep, and wooded hill upon the banks of the Xabecca, below which its bed is rugged, precipitous, and covered with brushwood. Hintza here said they must follow the track to the right, the cattle up the mountain being lost to them.

It had been remarked that this day Hintza rode a remarkably strong horse, and which he appeared particularly anxious to spare from fatigue, leading him up every ascent. The path they were now in up the hill from the bed of the Xabecca was merely a narrow cattle track, winding up the hill side, through the tangled brushwood, and occasionally passing between a cleft in the rock. Up this steep ascent the troops were leading their horses ; Col. Smith, who was at the head of the column, being the only person mounted : behind him came Hintza and his followers leading their horses, the Corps of Guides following in the same order. On arriving near the summit of the hill, Hintza and his attendants silently mounted and rode quickly up to the Colonel, whom they passed on one side through the bushes. The Guides observing this immediately called out to the Colonel, who instantly exclaimed,—“ Hintza, stop !” At this moment the chief, having moved on one side of the beaten track, found himself entangled by the thicket, with no other resource but to descend into the only path by which it could be cleared. The Colonel on the first alarm had drawn a pistol, on observing which the chief smiled with so much apparent ingenuousness, that the Colonel felt regret at his suspicions, and he permitted the chief to move on in front of him, preceded by three of the Guides, who had mounted and pushed forward on witnessing the suspicious circumstances above detailed. On reaching the top of this steep ascent the country was perfectly open, with a considerable tongue of land running parallel with the rugged bed of the Xabecca, gradually descending for about two miles, and

terminating at a bend of the river, where were several Kafir huts. On reaching this tongue of land, the Colonel had turned round to view the troops in the rear toiling up the steep ascent, when the Chief instantly set off at full speed, passing the guides in front, towards the huts in the distance.

The guides (viz: Messrs. G. and W. Southey, and W. Shaw) uttering an exclamation of alarm, pursued, but without the most distant hope of overtaking the fugitive. Col. Smith was, however, better mounted, and spurring his horse with violence, he succeeded after a smart run, and with the most desperate exertion, in overtaking him—he called to him to stop; but he only urged his horse to greater exertion, stabbing at the Colonel with his assagais. The Colonel drew a pistol, but it snapped—a second was used with the like ill success. The pursuit was continued for some distance further,—the troops following in the rear as they best could. At length the Colonel by a desperate effort, again reached the Chief and struck him with the butt-end of his pistol, which he then dropped. The Chief smiled in derision. The second pistol was hurled at him, striking him again on the back part of the head; but with no other effect than causing him to redouble his efforts to escape. They were now within about half a mile of the Kafir huts. The Colonel had no weapon whatever, while the Chief was armed with assagais,—the case was desperate, and there was not a moment for reflection. Urging, therefore, his horse to its utmost energy, the Colonel again got within reach of the athletic Chieftain, and seizing him by the collar of the kaross or cloak, by a violent effort he hurled him to the ground. At this moment their horses were at their utmost speed; and on Hintza being thrown, the Colonel's horse refused to obey the rein, carrying his rider forward in spite of every endeavour to stop him. The Chief though thrown heavily, was instantly on his feet, and drawing an assagai, threw it after his assailant with so much steadiness and accuracy, that it only missed him by a few inches; he then instantly turned off at a right angle, and fled down the steep bank of the Xabecca. The momentary delay caused by the incidents detailed, enabled the foremost of the guides to approach to within gun-shot distance; and their leader, Mr. G. Southey, instantly called out to the Chief in the Kafir tongue to stop; no heed was

given to this, and he fired, wounding him in the left leg. Hintza fell, but in an instant regained his feet, and continued his flight swiftly down the hill. Southey discharged his second barrel, and the Chief again pitched forward; but once more recovered himself, and ultimately succeeded in gaining the cover of the thicket which lines the banks of the river. Southey and Lieut. Balfour followed, leaping down the shelving bank; the former keeping up, the latter down, the stream. They had thus proceeded in opposite directions for some distance, when Southey was suddenly startled by an assagai striking the stone or cliff on which he was climbing; turning quickly round at the noise, he perceived a Kafir, his head and an uplifted assagai being only visible, so near him, that it was only by his recoil that he had room for the length of his gun. At the impulse of the moment he raised his piece and fired; and Hintza, the paramount Chief of Kafirland, ceased to live. The upper part of the scalp had been completely shattered and carried away by the discharge. Southey hastily divested the body of a brass girdle, and snatching up the bundle of assagais, which the Chief had retained during the whole of this arduous struggle, quitted the spot and rejoined the troops, reporting the occurrences to the officer commanding.\*

On receiving this information, Lieut. Poulestone, 75th Regt., was directed by Col. Smith to proceed with a party of men to the fatal spot in the ravine where the chief had fallen, and to convey the corpse from thence to the Kafir huts which we have before mentioned. This duty was punctually performed. The body was found by this officer lying in the situation pointed out; and being carefully wrapped in the chief's cloak or kaross, was borne out of the thicket by the men, and deposited near the huts stated, in view of numerous Kafirs, who were observing the proceedings from the surrounding heights.

From a *post mortem* examination of the body, taken by Assistant Surgeon Ford, 75th Regt., soon after it had been deposited by Lieut. Poulestone, the following appear-

\* The whole of the above details are given, nearly in the very terms, of the official report made by Col. Smith at the time, and from a statement published by Mr. G. Southey.

ances were observed :—The top of the head was completely shattered, and the brains gone ; there was a laceration on the chin, and a fracture of the lower jaw ; a ball had entered the back part of the left side, and another wound in the calf of one leg.

Nothing perhaps can be considered more untoward or more to be deplored than all the circumstances connected with the death of this chief ; who never ought for one moment to have been trusted. Perfidy was the distinguishing mark of his character ; and his intention in proposing the expedition evidently was, not to fulfil his treaty, as he proposed, but to lead Col. Smith into the midst of danger, and if possible sacrifice him to his revenge and disappointment. This aim was defeated by the description and strength of the force employed, and by the extreme caution with which the expedition was conducted ; and hence the chief had recourse to every subterfuge to get the cattle out of reach, and when he had accomplished this, to escape himself. In this attempt he fell, and that with a credit which by no means comports with the baseness of his character, and the inglorious career which had marked his conduct through life. Uncivilized and barbarous, we do not expect the Kafir to attain a high point in the scale of humanity ; but still it is confessed by those who knew him, that the chief Hintza possessed in an inveterate degree all the most odious vices of the savage. Ingratitude, insatiable avarice, cunning, cowardice, and cruelty were the prominent features of his character,—were conspicuous in his government of his people,—in his treatment of the missionaries and traders,—in his machinations with the border chiefs to incite them to plunder and destroy the colony,—in the avidity with which he received the stolen cattle,—in the studious care with which he kept aloof from personal danger,—and in the cool and artful manner with which he planned and proposed to an officer who had treated him with distinguished kindness a measure calculated to lead him into a situation of such difficulty and embarrassment as should ensure his destruction. In the latter particular he had grasped at that which was beyond his reach, and he fell the victim of his own perfidy.

At the time of his death numerous Kafirs were observed on the heights around the scene of the fatal encounter, and



among them was Umtini, the chief's confidential counsellor, with Hintza's servant, who had been despatched forward, as the reader will remember, under pretence of ordering the cattle to be given up, but who had evidently been employed in secreting them, and in preparing for the escape of the chief. Leaving, therefore, the remains of the chief to the care of these people, who must have been aware of the proceedings, the troops were collected and resumed their march.

The route now taken was on the cattle spoor which led towards the Bashee. None of the party were acquainted with the country, and they were without any Kafir guide. Late in the afternoon the waters of the Bashee were seen, and on its further bank a great number of cattle. At this time the troops had been marching fourteen hours, nevertheless Col. Smith resolved on an immediate attack; pushing forward, therefore, with the cavalry, which led their horses down the precipitous banks of the river, they forded the beautiful and widely-flowing stream in an oblique direction, and ascended the rugged and steep banks of the opposite shore by a cleft in a rock which admitted of only one horseman at a time. After gaining the heights they succeeded in capturing upwards of 3,000 fine cattle, some of which were colonial. Night coming on, rendered further operations impracticable, and the troops encamped on the left bank of the Bashee, this being the third day after their march from the bed of the Kye, a distance of eighty-four miles.

A considerable number of cattle had been seen passing over the mountains in the direction of the Umtata, and in pursuit of these Col. Smith started at 3 o'clock the next morning, leaving his least effective men, jaded horses, and captured cattle in charge of Captain Ross, of the Mounted Rifles. It was here, during the Colonel's absence, that the lamented and gallant Mr. T.C. White, Major of the Graham's Town Volunteers, and Acting Dep. Qr.-Mr.-General to the burgher force, met his death by the hand of the barbarians. This public-spirited officer had been actively employed during the whole period of the campaign in making an accurate topographical survey of the Kafir territory, and in prosecution of this his favorite object he had ascended an eminence near the encampment for the purpose of sketching the surrounding country. Four men of the Cape Corps had been ordered to accompany him, and these were posted at different points of



the hill to guard against surprise. In spite, however, of this precaution, the wily Kafirs, crouching stealthily in the long grass, succeeded in approaching the spot unobserved; and suddenly springing upon the Major and the Corporal, despatched them with their assegais before the other men could afford them the slightest assistance, or even apprise them of their danger. On the first alarm a party proceeded from the camp to the spot, where the body of the Major was lying pierced with many wounds on the head, loins, and back. His remains received a soldier's grave, dug under the shade of a bush, with no other implements than the bayonets of his companions.

There can be no doubt but the death of this distinguished man must be viewed as retaliation for the death of Hintza. His deportment and his attendants marked him as a person of consideration, and his death was resolved on as a sacrifice to the manes of the departed chief. The death of this officer has been justly considered as a public loss. He was no ordinary man. To talents of a high order he possessed the nicest sense of honor, perfect independency of mind, and inflexible integrity. With an intellect of uncommon grasp, he displayed on all occasions an indomitable spirit, which no opposition could subdue, no difficulties discourage. As a practical farmer, and as the grand promoter of every undertaking which could add to the comfort of the inhabitants, and promote their general prosperity, the eastern province of this colony has lost in him one of its most valuable members.

The deceased came to this settlement among the emigrants of 1820, but shortly afterwards returned to England, where he afforded the government much valuable information on the state of affairs on the eastern frontier, and on the subject of emigration in general. He was examined at considerable length by the parliamentary committee, the information afforded by him being recorded among the public documents of that day. Previous to his return to this colony he visited the continent of Europe, and whilst there was indefatigable in his enquiries on subjects of importance to his future pursuits as an emigrant to a new country. At this time he collected those various species of wheat, which were afterwards so successfully cultivated by the farmers of the eastern frontier, and which have since been distinguished by the appellation of "White's wheat."

On his return he became the proprietor of an extensive farm a few miles N. W. of Graham's Town, and which, from an arid desert, he soon raised to the condition of one of the most valuable and fertile spots on the frontiers of the colony. He was an officer of considerable merit in the army, having received his education at the military college at Marlo, and having at a very early period distinguished himself as a mathematician, an acute reasoner, and an able draftsman. In 1816 he was employed by the home government in a military survey of the island of Guadalupe, which he completed in the first style of excellence. But he had quitted the army for more peaceful occupations, until called again into the field by the daring inroad of the barbarians into the British settlement. It appears that on several occasions during the campaign he had been expostulated with for the temerity with which he exposed himself to the attacks of the enemy; these warnings were, however, disregarded; and he at length closed a life of active usefulness to his country, in a noble endeavour to repel and punish the plunderers of his neighbours and the murderers of his friends, and to uphold the interests of the land of his adoption.\*

During the time occupied by these fatal occurrences at the camp, Col. Smith had detached Capt. Bailie, with 60 men of the 1st Provisional Battalion, down the left bank of the Bashee, with orders to move round to the eastward, from a given point near its mouth, and re-unite with the main body on the Kakka River; thereby ensuring the capture of whatever cattle might be within the two rivers. From the mountainous banks of the Bashee, through a beautiful, though strongly undulating, country, rich in pasturage, over which innumerable traces of cattle were visible, the troops pushed forward with vigor until they arrived at a point from whence the bed of the Umtata could be distinctly seen. Here the enemy began to collect on the tops of the hills in every direction, but still continued to evade every attempt to bring him to action. One Kafir was, however, taken prisoner, and from him, as well as from two Fingoes who came into the camp, it was learned that forty-eight hours previously the cattle had been

\* Many passages in the part of this Narrative are given verbatim from communications addressed by this deeply lamented officer to the author: as an example we refer to the account of the march of the troops from Fort Willshire, page 127.

driven over the Umtata by Hintza's orders,—at the very moment he was pretending to lead Col. Smith to the place of their concealment. From the state of the troops further pursuit was deemed fruitless, and they returned to the camp on the Bashee, which they reached at a moment when it was surrounded by Kafirs, indicating their intention of attacking it for the captured cattle.

Every precaution that military experience dictated was immediately adopted to guard against surprise: and scarcely was it dark when the enemy in considerable numbers, creeping up a narrow and wooded ravine, made the expected attempt; but such was the vigilance of the picquet under Captain Lacy, 72d Regt., and the acuteness of vision of the Hottentots of the Provisional Battalion, that their design was anticipated, and the assailants driven back with considerable loss.

Many circumstances continued to shew that the enemy was both numerous and daring. Capt. Bailie, who had reached the camp after having marched from 3 o'clock in the morning till 11 o'clock at night, reported that he had been so closely pursued, that several of the enemy's scouts had been shot during his progress; and that some of his men, who understood the Kafir tongue, had heard the enemy boasting of their next day's intended achievements, in recapturing the cattle, and obstructing the troops in their passage of the Bashee River. This movement was one of considerable difficulty, as the men could only pass in single file down the rugged footpath of its mountainous banks. Upon a computation of the number of hills around, and of the men on them, it was ascertained that the Kafirs actually visible amounted to between 3 and 4,000 men, prepared to take every advantage which might present itself for the destruction of the colonial force. The river was, however, forded in safety, and all the cattle brought off. The enemy made several attempts on the rear guard, under the command of Capt. Bailie, but were repulsed with loss.

Continuing the route, the troops re-crossed the Kye on the 17th May, and rejoined the main body of the army, under the command of His Excellency the Governor, the day following, having completed a march of 218 miles in seven days and a half, over a rugged and mountainous country, bringing in all the captured cattle and 1,000 Fingoes, who

had joined them in the course of their march; without the loss of a single individual, except him whose fate we have recorded, and which was lamented, not less by those with whom he served, than by the public at large.\*

During the time occupied by these occurrences, Col. Somerset and the division under his command were escorting the Fingoes to the promised land within the colonial boundary. Nothing very important occurred on this march, and the following extract from a journal of proceedings, will give a tolerable idea of the whole subject:—"Monday, 11th May. The oxen quitted the encampment at day-light, and the Fingoes began to pass, and continued passing for hours. At 9 o'clock the troops moved off the ground, leaving a guard to bring up the rear of the people. On arriving at the heights of the Gonube, the scene was novel and picturesque in the highest degree. Such multitudes of people, and groups of laden women and children,—so many moving masses of cattle, guarded and driven on by the armed Fingoes, extending as far as the eye could reach, was a scene not less interesting than imposing. Whilst gazing on this scene, the word was brought that some of the groups farthest in the rear were attacked by the Kafirs; some troops and about 100 burghers from the centre guard immediately went off to their assistance, it being plainly seen that several herds of cattle had been turned; and were making for the country from whence they came. They were, however, all recovered, and the enemy retired.

"At the Gonube ford we again encamped. We had made this day but a short march, but the poor women and children, halting along the road, were the anxious care of the Colonel, and he halted to give them time to rest and recover from their previous fatigue, and to come up and collect together, so as to prevent the possibility of a successful attack being made upon them by their pursuers, who were hovering about to drive off and murder the stragglers who could not keep up with the main body. The afternoon is very fine, and the poor children are dancing, alike forgetful of past danger, and indifferent to their future destiny. About 7 o'clock a great noise came from the Fingoe encampment,

\*The detail of these proceedings is given, nearly verbatim, from the official report made by Col. Smith to head-quarters.

accompanied with the shouts of women and children. Every thing indicated that some of their parties were attacked by Kafirs. The night was beautifully moon-light, and along the sides of the valley running down to the Gonube were seen their blazing fires, shining through a light mist that lay on the surface of the ground at the bottom of the dell.

“The noise continuing to increase, and from time to time great shouting, a serious attack was apprehended, and under this impression the bugles were sounded and the camp got under arms. Colonel Somerset rode off to the spot with a party of mounted men, but it turned out that the uproar was occasioned by the acclamations of the people at their having driven off a party of Kafirs which were descending the Gonube hill; and who, on being attacked by the Fingo guards, were successfully repulsed with the loss of four men killed. The Fingoes had two killed and one wounded.

“The next evening the encampment was formed in the Kamega valley. About two hours before day-light the next morning shots were heard, and great shouting in the direction of the Fingo encampment. It was afterwards ascertained that this was caused by another attack by the Kafirs, who had been again beaten off, leaving two dead on the spot. One Fingo was badly wounded by an assegai in three places.

“On the 14th May the troops re-crossed the Keiskamma, and the next day the Colonel commenced *locating* the Fingoes on the ceded territory. On the troops beginning to move towards the colony the Fingoes began to display great uneasiness. On the departure of the captured cattle, several parties of them went with them, and although sent for back by their chiefs, some of them proceeded on, having engaged themselves to the farmers as servants. Owing to the large droves of captured cattle that accompanied us on this march, and the crowding of the Fingoes with theirs, it was found impossible to keep the respective herds altogether separate. Many of the captured cattle were in this way seized by the Fingoes, who appeared to make no distinction in this respect between the colonists and their old task-masters the Kafirs. Drove of the captured cattle were daily driven off by them, and though it was seen and well known, yet it was impossible to prevent it. Every close bushy part of the country afforded them a harvest, for by driving their cattle right and left of

those captured, every stray or tired beast was in an instant among theirs, when their drovers and guards whistled them on among their own with the greatest coolness imaginable. The body of Fingoes were finally left in the ceded territory, the field-commandant being stationed there for their protection; and the Rev. J. Ayliff, Wesleyan missionary, remaining with them for the purpose of advising and assisting them in forming their several locations.

“ On the 17th May the division reached the farm of Mr. Driver, where it encamped. The next day a party of burghers arrived from Graham's Town to take charge of the cattle. On counting them the number was found to be 6,130 head. On the march about 1,000 had been consumed for food, or used for transport, still leaving a deficiency of 2,200; and which could only be accounted for, partly on the score of losses by death on the road, and partly by the *borrowing* of our new Fingo acquaintances as before mentioned. In the afternoon of this day an express arrived from Col. Somerset, who had gone forward to town, for the cattle to be driven to Cawoods, or Kafir Drift, where they were to be delivered over to the Commissioner Currie; and the troops were ordered to move to Cypher Fontein, a government farm two miles N. W. of Graham's Town, where the head-quarters of the Mounted Rifles was to be established.”\*

During the time of these proceedings, the 2d and 3d divisions, under Major Cox and Field-commandant Van Wyk, had been zealously engaged with the enemy's patrols in the Amatoli; and there is no doubt but that hostilities would have altogether terminated, had it not been for the treachery of Hintza, who, instead of laying an injunction on the confederate chiefs to desist from aggressive measures, as he was pledged by his treaty, and as he professed to have done, transmitted a message calculated to induce them to continue the war with redoubled vigour, and with increased virulence. On this subject the following particulars were given and published at the time of their occurrence:—

“ In consequence of the message the Kafirs received from Hintza, that he had accepted the terms of peace offered by His Excellency the Governor the Commander-in-Chief, and

\* See General Orders, No. 20, in Appendix.



“that war was to cease ;” Sutu, the widow of Gaika, informed the Commanding Officer of the 3d division, by means of a female Kafir who could speak the Dutch language, that she was anxious to have an interview with him respecting her “children;” (signifying the tribes who had been subject to her late husband) her request was immediately complied with, and she arrived in the afternoon with 11 of her attendants. Suitable accommodation was accordingly provided, and after some conversation with her respecting the occurrences of the present war, it appeared the object of her visit was influenced more from a desire to ascertain whether the Governor was really at the Kye, or not, which evidently had been doubted.

“The following day, (the 12th) from the nature of the communications made to her by Major Cox, she despatched messengers to Macomo, urging an immediate interview, in order that the chiefs might hear from him,—as she expressed herself, “the words of the great man,” (our Governor). A red flag was given, in order to secure the bearers of this message from danger in meeting the patrols to and from the camp.

“In the mean time Sutu seemed perfectly satisfied with our hospitality. In appearance she is of Hottentot extraction,—very corpulent, and about 50 years of age; the features of her countenance are small, and her *tout ensemble* was considered by old GAIKA, beautiful in 1819.

“Early this morning, (the 13th) the intelligence arrived in camp, that the chiefs were ready for the desired interview, at the Tapin-dodo, a small hill in the vicinity of our camp, usually called T'Slambies Kop.

“Lieut. Granet, of the 98th Regt., with two dragoons, was immediately despatched, in order to escort the chiefs with their *pakati* to the camp. On arriving at the base of the hill, he was informed by some of the Kafirs who were watching at the edge of the bush, that the chiefs were on the summit of the slope, which is covered with almost impenetrable bush. Though unarmed, he intrepidly passed on with the interpreter, and in a few minutes he was in the midst of some hundred Kafirs. His defenceless appearance among them rather excited their astonishment, and it was



evident by their endeavouring to conceal their fire-arms and assegais, they admired his courage. Macomo advanced and welcomed him with the usual Kafir salutation, and after some inquiries respecting several officers whom he knew—the circumstances attending the war—and their own condition, he informed Lieut. G. that he should not accompany him previous to seeing his mother Sutu, and requested she might be sent to them. As soon as the information reached the camp, Sutu left us, and some time elapsed before any decision arising from her visit was known.

“Major Cox being fully aware of the importance of the opportunity, proceeded with Lieut. Granet and two dragons *unarmed*, in order to urge Macomo to accept the terms of peace the Governor offered. By this time the chiefs, with hundreds of warriors, were then at the base of the Tapin-dodo, close to the garden of Nenonto, Macomo's mother; and with our glasses we could distinctly observe them from the camp. For what purpose they had ventured out of the bush, and now presented such a formidable appearance, was not ascertained.

“The Major, who is personally known to Macomo, was, however, received with every demonstration of respect by the chiefs. The former appeared dejected; but in Tyali there was no visible alteration. Xo Xo was also present with most of the *pakati*, including some of Gaika's old counsellors. The whole number, amounting to several hundreds, formed a semi-circle. This phalanx standing erect with their assegais ready for use, and under such circumstances, would have been sufficient to induce a man with less nerve and knowledge of the Kafirs than Major Cox, to abandon a parley where there was so much risk; but he felt he was maintaining that character which had placed him in the very honorable and conspicuous post assigned him in the invading army, and he fearlessly conveyed to the chiefs, in presence of their warriors, the commands of His Excellency the Governor. Little doubt was at first entertained, but that from the influence of Sutu, and the miserable condition the chiefs were in, the terms would be accepted, in order to stop further bloodshed and devastation, of which Macomo seemed heartily tired. Unfortunately, however, between the time of the first interview with Lieut. Granet, and the arrival of Sutu, Hintza had sent messengers to *inform the*

*chiefs that he was a prisoner with the English, and warned them to take care of themselves.* This unfortunate occurrence dispelled any intentions they had of coming to the camp, and they positively declined any further discussion of the subject.

"The meeting accordingly broke up, and the same evening hostilities, which had been suspended three days, were resumed. Strong infantry patrols were thrown out, and the chiefs narrowly escaped the vigilance of the Hottentots, who got up with the rear of Macomo's guard. Five horses were taken, one of which was recognized as Macomo's charger, a very fine animal in good condition."

To return, however, to the Head-quarter division, which it has already been observed, was rejoined by Colonel Smith, after his expedition to the Bashee, on the Impotshana on the 18th of May. Here His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief on hearing the unfortunate particulars of the death of Hintza, immediately sent for the young chief, Krieli, his son and successor, with whom he entered into the following—

#### TREATY.

1.—There shall be peace between His Majesty the King of England, His Majesty's subjects and colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and Krieli, son of Hintza and Nomse, chief of the country between the Kye and the Bashee.

2.—The King of England's colonial dominions now extend to the line running along the right bank of the River Kye, from its source in the Stormberg mountains, into the white Kye, thence along its course to the great Kye, and thence along the course of the latter to the sea, which boundary line is hereby acknowledged by Krieli as that of the colony.

3.—The British forces will correspondingly respect the opposite or left bank as the border of Krieli's country, and will not cross it for any hostile purpose, without due cause and just provocation thereto given; Krieli, on his part, respecting that of the King of England, and not making inroads to the right or western bank of the Kye.

4.—There shall be good faith and amity between Krieli, and the Governor of the Colony, (in the name of the King of England) who will not object to Krieli's receiving Tyali, Macomo, Eno, Bothma, T'Slambie, Dushani, and their people into his territory, provided he forbids their coming thither with colonial plunder; and

that he does not allow them to re-cross the Kye to its westward bank, collectively or individually, without permission to do so from the Governor of the Colony, or from the British Officer commanding on the Frontier.

5.—Krieli here farther solemnly promises and undertakes for himself and his nation, that he will neither directly or indirectly, commit, join in, permit, or countenance, any hostility to be carried on by, through, or from, his country against Vadanna, chief of the Vossanie Tambookies, or his people, for any part of the conduct of the latter in the late war, these Tambookies being the sworn allies of the King of England; and if they sustain hostilities or any wrong at the hands of Krieli and his country, it will be considered a declaration of war against the colony, and acted upon accordingly.

6.—And Krieli moreover engages and promises, (under the same penalty of the colony's going to war with him in case of failure), that he will allow free and safe passage to Vadanna and the tribe of Vossanie, if they should at any time require it at his hands, through his country, to cross the Kye and come into the colony.

Done at my camp on the Impotshana, in the Province of Queen Adelaide, in the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, the 19th May, 1835.

(Signed)

B. D'URBAN, Major-General,  
Governor and Commander-in-Chief.

Read to Kreili and his relatives, Booko and Fadanna, and the counsellors (heemraden) Suta, Nontso, and Kinki, by the Governor, and translated into the Kafir tongue, sentence by sentence, *seriatim*, by Mr. Shepstone, Kafir interpreter. The chief Krieli, after its conclusion—

1st.—Having expressed his perfect understanding thereof,

2d.—Having declared that he agreed to, and would perform, the terms of the treaty.

19th May, 1835.

In presence of us:—

(Signed)

H. G. SMITH, Chief of the Staff,  
J. PEDDIE, Lieut.-Col. Commanding 1st division.  
J. MURRAY, M. D. Chief of the Medical Staff.  
CHAS. MICHELL, Surveyor-General.

I certify that I faithfully translated to the chief Krieli the contents of the above paper, and that he expressed his understanding of it, and his promise to accept and perform the terms of the treaty.

19th May, 1835.

(Signed)

HEOPHILUS SHEPSTONE,  
Kafir Interpreter.

This treaty having been solemnly concluded and ratified, the young chief Krieli was dismissed, together with his father's relative Fadana, and his counsellors Sonta and Nontso, with presents from the Commander-in-Chief for himself and his mother Nomso, and returned to his country, escorted to the ford of the Kye by a guard of honor commanded by Capt. Warden, of the Cape Mounted Rifle Corps, to whom he expressed his great satisfaction at the arrangement just concluded, and at the kindness and attention with which he had been treated during his residence at head-quarters.

His Excellency's views at this period, and his ulterior arrangements resulting therefrom, were explained by himself at the time in the following terms:—

The Commander-in-Chief, however, in thus dismissing Krieli to take possession of his inheritance, and concluding with him the above treaty of peace, judged it necessary to detain his uncle Booko, with the counsellor of the latter, Kinki, as hostages for the fulfilment of the treaty of the 30th April last, and according to the 5th stipulation of the 16th article of it:—

This absence of Booko will also probably facilitate a better course of proceeding towards the colony, on the part of Krieli, in the outset of his government, than that which had been pursued by Hintza; since Booko had been of great influence in the councils of the father, and might well have been expected to exert it for the same mischievous purpose in those of the son.

This chief was immediately sent forward to Graham's Town under a sufficient escort, commanded by Lieut. Beresford, who was also charged with dispatches to the home government, and with which he continued his route to Europe. Booko, on arriving at Graham's Town, was placed in the care of the civil authorities, who were instructed to provide for his safe custody, and by whom he was treated with great kindness and attention. After having been kept in confinement there for a period of two months, he was liberated and escorted back to his own country, although at the time no part of the treaties made with Hintza and Krieli had been fulfilled.

These important arrangements having been made, the Commander-in-Chief continued to move slowly towards the colony, examining the country carefully,—establishing posts of observation in the most commanding situations,—and naming the most conspicuous or remarkable places along the line of march. (Vide Appendix, Nos. 18, 19, 21). The proceedings of His Excellency, as well as the establishment of KING

WILLIAM'S TOWN, are well described in a general order issued on the banks of the Buffalo, on the 20th May, 1835, of which the following is an extract :—

On the 20th inst., the entrenched camp on the Impotshana, for the reception of the first post of occupation of the New Province, having been completed, a detachment of artillery, cavalry, and infantry were placed in it, under the command of Captain Warden, of the Cape Mounted Rifle Corps; and the Commander-in-Chief moved westward, with the head-quarters and 1st division, and encamped under the heights on the eastern side of the Gonube: where he remained on the 21st, during which a work was constructed for the reception of a post of communication with that of occupation on the Impotshana, which having been placed therein, on the 22d and 23d, by successive movements, he arrived on the Buffalo.

This river, from its source in the mountains of its name, to the sea, will be the central line of occupation of the Province of Queen Adelaide; and here, on the fertile banks of this clear, rapid, and beautiful stream, and upon ground admirably fitted by nature for the purpose of a provincial town, the Commander-in-Chief has fixed the site of one, and named it by a general order of this day, "King William's Town," in honor of His Most Gracious Majesty. An entrenched camp has been already marked out here, and is in good progress, to receive a strong central corps of occupation, with which two flanking posts (placed higher up, and lower down the stream, where the high roads of the country from east to west respectively cross it), correspond; while it will be connected, westward, by an immediate post of communication with Fort Willshire, on the old border, the depôt of supplies for the troops of occupation.

While these measures were in progress on the part of His Excellency, the Kafirs were by no means in a state of inactivity. Several incursions had been made into the colony, and to a considerable distance beyond the boundary, and with loss, both of life and property, on the part of the colonists. At Mr. Price's farm, on Manley's Flats, 9 miles S. of Graham's Town, they carried off his cattle and wounded severely his herd; the cattle were, however, recovered subsequently, by a party of Burghers in the Fish River Bush. At Mr. P. C. Daniel's, at Grobbelaar's Kloof, they attacked his kraal two successive nights, and in both instances escaped with booty. At Mr. Leech's, on the Karega, 8 miles west of Graham's Town, they made a similar attack with the like result. At Mr. Collett's, on the Koonap, a desperate attack was made, which has been described by Mr.

Collett in a communication, of which the following is an extract:—

“ May the 19th, 1835.—About half-past 6 on the evening of Wednesday, the 13th inst., and just before the moon rose, one of my people ran in to inform me a body of Kafirs were coming on. I immediately took up my gun, and ran towards the kraal, (not anticipating an attack on my house,) but not finding them there, I collected my people, whose apartments are at some distance from my own, and flew immediately back to my own dwelling, in which the Kafirs had by this time entered; but it would appear that three of the Kafirs, who remained outside at one of my windows, informed those within of our approach. Those rushed out, and ran instantly off. I, however, took the precaution to divide my people; so that whichever door they came out of, we might be ready to receive them; on approaching the front of my house, they came out from the kitchen, just as my men were coming up, and who immediately fired four charges of heavy shot among them; although not one of them was shot dead. We then pursued them into a small inclosure; but the moon not being quite up, we could not well see them under the fence; but as they were heard to say when in the house, they came to put us to death, we challenged them in their own tongue to come on, which they, however, declined, and ran off with inconceivable swiftness across the enclosed field. On returning to the house, I found to my inexpressible grief, they had severely stabbed Mrs. Jacob Trollip in the right side, who with her husband were living with me, wounding also her infant which she held in her arms, slightly in the leg. On examination I soon perceived Mrs. Trollip's wound was of a serious nature, and at day-break in the morning I sent to Beaufort for medical assistance. I bled her mean time myself, but it soon became evident her recovery was hopeless, the assegai having pierced nearly through her body. She expired the following day about one o'clock P.M., and before any medical aid could be procured, leaving her husband and one child about 14 months old to lament her loss.

“ The following night the Kafirs again attacked my kraal, and in spite of every effort, got off with 16 oxen and cows, so that I have now been compelled to send away my remaining track-oxen, although requiring them for immediate use, and



also the one cow which we had in milk ; nor have I now a single beast on my farm."

About the time of the above fatal occurrence, two young men, named Chipperfield and Bentley, were proceeding towards the Nottingham party, when they were way-laid and murdered. Not making their appearance, a party of volunteers was sent in search of them, and the body of Bentley was found pierced with numerous assegai wounds. The remains of the other was not found until a considerable time afterwards. Another youth named Jubber, was sent out at Bathurst in search of horses, and when only a few yards from the village, over the brow of the hill on its eastern side, he was assegaid. The corpse was found the following day full of wounds.

Perhaps, however, the best idea of the state of the country may be formed by the perusal of an account, written by Mr. M. Bowker and published at the time, to the following effect :—

"About the 18th of this month, the Kafirs carried off four of our best horses and three spans of good oxen. A few days after they attacked Philip Hobb's place (about three miles S. E. of Bathurst), threw an assegai at his wife's head, which cut through part of her cap; and carried off his cattle. On the 23d, as two of my sons were returning in the evening from their duty of inspecting the captured cattle in this quarter, they observed the spoor of seven Kafirs on the sand before them, at the mouth of the Klienemond, whom they presently perceived ascending an adjacent hill, where they sat down. My two sons rode up to them, and they ran down the hill, and just before they got into the bush, one of them fired a long shot, which was returned by the marauders, who then plunged into the bush. We gave notice of this to our only two neighbours, Williams and G. Smith; the former immediately set off for Bathurst, and the latter came with his family, people, and cattle under our protection, and we all removed to my son Miles's place, with our cattle and sheep, as less encumbered by bush, and where we could better protect them. The second day after our removal the Kafirs, to the number of 25 or 30 men, attacked us at half-past six o'clock, being Sunday evening. About half of them had got over the rail of the cattle kraal, when one was shot by a spring gun placed at the



kraal gate; and though he had a broken thigh, and was wholly unable to move, he threw his assegais at every body that approached him, and called out to his comrades not to mind, as there were few to contend with. The Kafirs, however, made off, and were fired at from one side of the kraal by my four sons, and from the other by six of our black people and two boys, all of whom behaved well, with considerable effect, being very near. One Kafir was observed, during the firing, creeping on his hands and knees to the nearest kloof with a broken leg. The Kafirs that had got into the kraal, finding themselves so warmly assailed, poured out, throwing their assegais on every side, wounding two of the black people. My sons had very narrow escapes, the assegais passing them close in every direction, whilst they were firing with good effect; so that the whole were driven off without getting a single head of cattle, though several broke out during the affray. The first that was shot was naked, and another must have gone off in a sad plight, as a kaross was taken up at a distance covered with blood, and many were severely wounded. In the morning my sons, following their spoors, found they had separated, and gone off in four different parties. They had previously attacked the three separate divisions of captured cattle in small parties, and been repulsed, without driving off any of them. My sons again this morning on going on their inspection, met the principal officer coming to report that they had been again attacked with some success on the part of the Kafirs, who had got off with some cattle. All this, and official orders being issued that all were to repair to close protection, have induced us most reluctantly to take refuge at Bathurst, but which we purpose leaving again soon as possible."

Within the new province, Col. Smith, with strong detachments, proceeded, on the 29th May, 1st and 4th of June, to scour the whole line of country on both banks of the Buffalo; destroying the enemy's huts and corn, and compelling him to move towards the Kye. In these several proceedings—executed with a rapidity which must have been astounding to the enemy—1,500 head of cattle, a few horses, and a flock of 2,000 goats were captured. Many women and children were taken prisoners, but they were treated with great kindness, and dismissed with an injunction from the commanding officer to acquaint the men of their respective families that

their only security would be in their removal beyond the Kye.\*

At the period at which we have now arrived, it was impossible for the most cursory observer to be insensible of the momentous crisis at which the colony had arrived. A most important measure—that of the extension of the colonial boundary—had been adopted by the Governor, with the view of filling up the newly acquired territory with the Fingoes and more friendly tribes of Kafirs, who might thus, by being dependent on the colony, act as an effectual barrier against those formidable bands of plunderers, whose continual forays upon the herds of the border farmers had been the cause of so much deep and general distress. His Excellency had only resolved upon this step after the most careful consideration of the subject in all its bearings, and from a firm conviction that it would not only tend to tranquilize the colonial frontier, but also essentially lead to the civilization of the barbarian tribes which would thus be placed within our jurisdiction. Still there was an influential party in the colony, though not a numerous one, which opposed the measure with considerable effect and determination. Distant from the scene of commotion, their persons and property perfectly secure against the remotest chance of damage by the predatory incursions of the native hordes, it was easy to sit down and form an ingenious theory upon the subject of our frontier policy,—sacrificing under the guise of philanthropy the most vital interests of the inhabitants, to their impracticable and absurd dogmas.

The necessity, therefore, of counteracting any such efforts by a public expression of opinion, was at once seen in the public meetings which took place in various parts of the colony, and in the several addresses to His Excellency the Governor, which emanated from these assemblies. On the 6th and 9th of June, very numerous meetings of the frontier inhabitants were held at the Freemasons' Tavern, at Graham's Town; when, after an animated discussion, the meeting unanimously passed the following—

#### ADDRESS.

The Inhabitants of Albany, convened in Public Meeting, beg respectfully to offer to your Excellency their sincere and ardent

\*Vide Appendix, numbered 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, and 28.

expression of gratitude for that anxious solicitude which has been manifested for their welfare, and for those efficient measures adopted by your Excellency to alleviate the prevailing and deep distress occasioned by the late irruption of the Kafir hordes. They sensibly feel, whilst they convey this sentiment, that it is to your Excellency's paternal care and benevolence, that many of them have been provided with a shelter from the inclemency of the weather, and with a refuge from that more intolerable evil, the Kafir barbarians.

That in adverting to the late calamities which have befallen this once flourishing community, they feel it to be a duty which they owe to their country, to themselves, and to their children, to state unequivocally to your Excellency their firm conviction, that the frequent murders and continual plunders which have been committed on the farmers along this frontier during a series of late years by the Kafir tribes contiguous, may be mainly attributed to an inefficient policy hitherto pursued in our relations with that people, and hence in their opinion an entire change of measures is necessary for the future security of the lives and property of the inhabitants.

That without presuming to suggest to your Excellency the nature of those relations, or the basis on which they should be founded, they nevertheless cannot refrain from observing that one principal cause of those lamentable commotions which have prevailed so extensively along this frontier, and which have at length ended in the ruin of the British settlement of Albany, and in the annihilation of a flourishing lucrative inland trade, may be distinctly traced to the indefensible character of the boundary hitherto maintained between the Kafir tribes and the colony; and that it is their deliberate opinion, founded on the result of experience, that the only line of demarcation capable of being protected against a people of such inveterate predatory habits as the Kafirs, is that formed by the bold precipitous and open banks of the river Kye.

That the Kafir tribes by their late unprovoked and atrocious aggressions in over-running this frontier,—wasting the country by fire and plunder, and barbarously murdering the exposed and defenceless inhabitants, have forcibly and indisputably shewn that it is essential to the very existence of those occupying this part of the colony that such treacherous enemies should be removed to a safer distance; and that as they have justly forfeited by their late crimes all legitimate claim to the territory comprised between the Keiskamma and the Kye Rivers, the inhabitants of Albany, convened at this meeting, are of opinion that your Excellency's determination to annex that tract of country to the colony will be attended with the most beneficial consequences to the inhabitants at large, and that it is the only means which offers a reasonable chance of future

safety, and the maintenance of tranquility between the natives and the frontier colonists.

Under all these circumstances they, therefore, again most respectfully tender this expression of their gratitude to your Excellency for those measures which, under the late difficult and trying circumstances, have been so wisely adopted and so energetically pursued. Their treacherous and barbarous enemies have been punished,—their immediate sufferings and most urgent wants have been alleviated and relieved,—their future security and comfort have been provided for, whilst your Excellency has been made, in the hands of Providence, the honored liberator of a whole people from a state of the most galling and degrading bondage. Your Excellency has been placed in circumstances alike difficult and important; but if any thing can add to that inward satisfaction which arises from a consciousness of having been actuated by the noblest principle of our common humanity,—a desire to relieve the necessitous, and “to save from death those who were ready to perish;” it will be that your Excellency has the grateful and fervent prayers of the destitute, the widow, and the orphan, for your temporal and eternal happiness.

His Excellency the Governor having arrived at Graham's Town on the 12th June, the deputation of the inhabitants appointed at the public meeting, consisting of Messrs. C. Maynard, E. Norton, W. Cock, W. R. Thompson, and R. Godlonton, waited on him with the address on the 15th of that month; to which His Excellency was pleased to make the following—

#### REPLY.

I am profoundly sensible, gentlemen, of the gratifying terms in which the inhabitants of Albany, whom you represent, have been pleased to address me.

They have done me no more than justice in attributing to me an “anxious solicitude for their welfare, and for the alleviation of the deep distress” which has befallen them in these times of exceeding calamity.

This solicitude, and an unceasing endeavour to act accordingly, have been, and are, at once my bounden duty and my sincere desire; and I can only regret when my power in their fulfilment may be unequal to my will.

It cannot but be a source of the highest satisfaction to me, that my recent measure of extending the colonial boundary, has met with the approving opinion of a body of gentlemen so well qualified

to estimate its justice and necessity, by the humane and enlightened views which they individually and collectively possess, and by the sound judgment resulting from local and practical experience.

Of this measure, I will only here say, that I adopted it after the most mature and careful consideration, and with a full sense of its responsibility, trusting as I firmly do, to the gracious approval of the King; because I felt it to be my imperative duty as a faithful servant of His Majesty, and as a conscientious Governor, to whom had been confided the interests of such a colony, not to let slip the occasion of doing, now that it could be done with the most rigid adherence to the principles of public justice, that which sound policy, and the future security and prosperity, nay, I may truly add, the very existence of the colony alike demanded.

I beg of you to convey to the inhabitants by whom you have been deputed, my sincere acknowledgements for the kind feeling towards me which has dictated their address, and to assure them, as you may securely do, of my fervent wishes and my unwearied care, for the reviving and continued prosperity of Albany.

To you, gentlemen, for the gratifying manner in which you have done me the favor to communicate it to me, and which would have enhanced its value, had that been possible, my especial thanks are due, and I request you to accept of them.

On Wednesday, the 17th June, a public meeting of the inhabitants was again called to receive the report of the deputation, and to consider the draft of a petition to the KING in Council which had been prepared in the interim. Accordingly, the following petition was unanimously approved and passed; and after having been subscribed by upwards of seven hundred of the inhabitants, was subsequently forwarded to His Most Gracious Majesty.

#### PETITION TO THE KING IN COUNCIL.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY—

The humble and dutiful petition of the undersigned inhabitants of the district of Albany, in the Eastern Province of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, most humbly sheweth,—

That your Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects are residents in that portion of your Majesty's dominions, which, in the year 1819, was appropriated for the reception of five thousand British-born subjects, who were induced to quit the shores of their native soil,

pursuant to an invitation made to them by the then existing Administration of Government, and whose expenses of transport hither were defrayed by a Parliamentary grant of fifty thousand pounds of British money.

That on the arrival of the British settlers, the following year, in this part of your Majesty's possessions, they found themselves in immediate contact with, and exposed to, the harrassing inroads of a treacherous, dishonest, and warlike race of barbarians, whose predatory incursions within the colonial boundary were marked by the ruined farm-houses, and by the general desolation spread over this part of your Majesty's dominions. That, but a few months previous to their arrival, these warlike clans had attacked the military headquarters at Graham's Town, and were not repulsed until several hundreds of them had been slain on the field of action by the bravery of your Majesty's troops.

That, notwithstanding all these unfavorable circumstances, the British settlers, amongst whom were numerous of your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the petitioners, succeeded, after many years of privation, of toil, of difficulty, and of danger, in establishing themselves on the soil allotted for their residence; and, although several of their numbers fell, from time to time, victims to the barbarians adjacent, being cruelly murdered within the colonial boundary, yet your Majesty's petitioners were unceasing in their efforts to establish and maintain friendly relations with that restless, dishonest, and faithless people.

That, at a period (viz: in the year 1823,) when many of your Majesty's petitioners were struggling with those trials and sufferings, a memorial was addressed by them to the then Secretary of State for the colonies, humbly praying for relief and protection; on which occasion it was set forth that, "the most insupportable of their grievances arose from the constant depredations of the Kafirs, who had, within a few months, committed several murders, and deprived the settlement of the greater part of its cattle;" and which the memorialists went on to shew might be attributed to inertness in the repression of inroads, and to the withdrawal of part of that military force which had previously been stationed along the frontier for their protection.

That your Majesty's petitioners most humbly state to your Majesty, that the prayer of that memorial has not been granted, and that the consequence has been the frequent murder of your Majesty's subjects, and the continual plunder of their property. That your Majesty's petitioners did not, however, suffer themselves to be depressed by these unfortunate circumstances; but exerted themselves unceasingly and assiduously to improve, in every possible



way, the natural resources of the colony,—to promote the moral advancement of their children, and of the colored classes, mixed amongst and living adjacent to them, and by opening new channels of trade into the interior, by which British manufactured articles, to the amount of £150,000, were absorbed annually in exchange for the valuable raw staple produce of the country.

That your Majesty's petitioners are fully warranted in stating, that these efforts were crowned with complete success. The trade and agriculture of the country were alike flourishing; and at the close of the past year, after fifteen years arduous toil, the British settlement of Albany might justly be deemed to vie, in importance and promise, with any colony of equal duration and extent in any part of your Majesty's dominions. But your Majesty's petitioners, and most loyal and dutiful subjects, have now the melancholy and heart-rending task of humbly stating to your Majesty, that all their reasonable hopes have been blighted—their settlement, recently so smiling, and which by the hand of industry, had been reclaimed from a wilderness to the condition of a fertile province, has, by an irruption of the barbarian hordes, been laid waste by fire and plunder,—the inhabitants on the line of frontier from the sea upwards, for a distance of ninety miles, have been driven from their homes to wander as houseless fugitives,—many of their friends and relatives have been barbarously murdered,—they have been reduced from comfort and affluence to want and poverty,—their trade has been annihilated,—many of the defenceless and unresisting traders have been mercilessly slain, whilst unsuspectingly engaged in their peaceful avocations,—and their property, to a very great amount, has been plundered and destroyed by the barbarian tribes.

That Your Majesty's most humble and dutiful subjects, the Petitioners, deem it their bounden duty to Your Majesty, and to themselves, to state explicitly their deep conviction that their present calamitous situation may be directly traced to that disregard which has been shewn to their repeated and urgent Petitions for protection and redress of existing grievances, and which disregard they cannot hesitate to attribute in part to those calumnies on their characters, as loyal British subjects, and to those misrepresentations of their actual conduct, situation, and circumstances, and of the dispositions, habits, and character, of the tribes beyond the colonial boundary, which have been published to the world by mistaken or designing writers, and so widely disseminated to their prejudice in every part of Your Majesty's dominions.

That many of Your Majesty's Petitioners have been reduced from comfort and affluence to such extreme destitution, that they must have perished from want of food, or from exposure to the inclemency



of the weather, had it not been for the prompt, efficient, and truly benevolent exertions of Your Majesty's Governor of this colony, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, aided by the munificent contributions of those of their fellow-colonists in more prosperous circumstances, both here and in Your Majesty's Islands of the Mauritius and St. Helena adjacent. And to such an extent is the prevailing distress, that it is shewn by an official record made by a "Board of Relief," appointed by Your Majesty's Governor on the spot, of which the Acting District Chaplain is the President, that the number of persons reduced to absolute destitution, and whose most urgent necessities have been relieved, amounts to three thousand two hundred and twenty-seven persons, who, during this irruption, have had 239 farm houses destroyed by fire, and 262 pillaged of all their furniture and property: they have been plundered of 30,140 head of cattle, 964 horses, and 55,554 sheep and goats, besides having had most of their crops of corn and stacks destroyed and scattered over the face of the country. The foregoing details do not include any of the residents in the Kat River Settlement, to 1,500 of whom important relief has been afforded by the Board; nor do they refer to those sufferers who, although plundered of property to a large amount, have not been reduced to utter want and penury.

That Your Majesty's Petitioners most humbly beg permission to convey to Your Majesty their deep conviction, that one cause of their continual sufferings from the plundering incursions of the Kafirs, is the indefensible character of the boundary hitherto maintained between that people and the colony; and that hence they are firmly and unanimously of opinion that unless another boundary be fixed, the settlement of Albany, and a considerable part of the frontier from the sea upwards, must continue depopulated; and thus a large portion of Your Majesty's dominions must become unproductive and desert. Divine Providence having, however, crowned Your Majesty's arms with success in the expulsion of the barbarian hordes from your Majesty's dominions, and as their late unprovoked and wanton irruption has been followed by a conquest of their territory,—the present time appears to be a most favorable opportunity—and which, if lost, can never again recur except by a repetition of the same calamitous causes—of fixing a boundary more suitable to the colony; one which offers greater difficulties to escape with plunder; which is more capable of defence; and which may render the inhabitants more secure against the future inroads of the native tribes. Hence, Your Majesty's Petitioners most humbly and fervently pray, that as the River Kye possesses all the advantages which can be desired, that the annexure to the colony of the country comprised between the Keiskamma and that river—as proclaimed by Your Majesty's Governor of the colony, and which country the Kafir tribes had unjustly

usurped from the rightful possessors, may meet your Majesty's most gracious approval and confirmation.

That your Majesty's petitioners beg also must humbly to state to your Majesty, that another grievous disadvantage under which they manifestly labor, is their great distance from the seat of government; a circumstance which has been forcibly set forth by the Commissioners of Inquiry, appointed by his late revered Majesty, in their report, under date 6th Sept. 1826.

Your Majesty's petitioners are fully impressed with the conviction, that were the recommendation of the commission in that particular adopted, and "a chief magistrate appointed for the Eastern Province of this colony, uniting in his own hands, and directing the civil and military authority, and were some consistent principles applied to the intercourse of the colonists with the Kafirs and other tribes, their collision would be prevented, and the desultory warfare that has prevailed so extensively along a considerable portion of the frontier would cease;" your Majesty's petitioners and others of your Majesty's subjects would enjoy in safety the fruits of their industry; trade and agriculture would be stimulated and extended so as greatly to benefit, not themselves alone, but also the mother country, and this division of the colony would become ere long one of the most valuable and prosperous of your Majesty's possessions.

That your Majesty's petitioners and most dutiful and loyal subjects, beg leave most humbly to approach your Majesty, and to submit this their case to your gracious consideration, and should your Majesty, as they confidently hope from the justice of the case, deign to regard them with favor and to entertain their requests; they would then most humbly pray, that as their calamities have befallen them from causes over which they could have no control; and as they have been left exposed thereto, notwithstanding the danger has been foreseen, and the remedy pointed out and prayed for, both by the Commissioners of Inquiry and by your Majesty's petitioners themselves; your Majesty will be graciously pleased to cause inquiry to be made into their conduct and circumstances, in order that the opprobrium and obloquy under which they have so long and so unjustly labored by the misstatements of dishonest or mistaken persons, may be removed; that reasonable protection to life and property may be afforded; that just and well defined relations may be entered into with the native tribes adjacent; and that the sufferers by the late irruption of the Kafirs may receive compensation for their severe and ruinous losses; and to which they have a confident hope that your Majesty's paternal care and benevolence, and the justice and humanity of the British nation will deem them entitled.

And your Majesty's most humble, dutiful, and loyal subjects will ever pray.

## CHAPTER VII.

*Skirmishes between the Fingoes and Kafirs—And the latter and Colonial forces—Progress of improvement at King William's Town—Fate of Lieutenant C. Bailie—His character—Public Meeting at Cape Town—Address of the Inhabitants to the Governor—Journey of His Excellency along the Frontier—Public Meeting at Graaff-Reinet—Address to the Governor—His Excellency's Reply—Narrow escape of Capt. Ross—Public Meeting at Port Elizabeth—Massacre of part of the crew of the "James," near the Buffalo River—Attack of the Kafirs on Fort Wellington—Incursion within the Colony—Affair between Kafirs and Fingoes—Major M'Lean's Patrole—Successful operations of Major Cox—Capt. Alexander's rencontre—Conference of Major Cox with the Chiefs Macomo and Tyali—Cessation of Hostilities—Faithless conduct of the Kafirs—Gallant conduct of the Field-commandant Piet Uys—Treaty of Peace—Concluding Remarks.*

It could not be expected that the Fingoes, situated as they were in the immediate neighbourhood of the hostile Kafirs, would remain long without an attack from their former task-masters. Skirmishes between them were almost of daily occurrence; but the Fingoes defended themselves with great perseverance and bravery; and though they lost several of their number by the bullets or the assegais of their opponents, yet they maintained their ground, and succeeded in repelling their assailants in every attack.

The exertions of the Colonial troops were incessant. Patroles were constantly out in every direction, harrassing the enemy and in capturing their cattle, wherever they chanced

to meet with them. Still, no disposition was manifested by him to submit to the British power. Secure in his strong holds of the wooded mountains, he continued his desultory warfare with obstinacy, and at times, with partial success.

In the mean time Col. Smith had established himself firmly at King William's Town, which, under his indefatigable exertions, soon began to assume an appearance of civilization. Amidst his active military duties, time was found to attend to the peaceful pursuits of agriculture. Ploughs were seen busily at work,—gardens were laid out and planted,—and the scene soon began to wear an appearance of cheerful prosperity.

The following account from the published proceedings of the day, will give a good idea of the nature of the struggle maintained at this period within the New Province.

“ At 2 o'clock on the morning of 18th June, Lieuts. Bailie and Biddulph, with 30 of the Provisional Battalion each, were directed to march again to penetrate the deep recesses of the ravines, near the Line Drift road over the Keiskamma and the woody heights of the Umdezzeni, extending towards the *poorts* of the Buffalo, and to return to King William's Town. On this day five Kafirs were killed, many wounded; one gun and many assegais taken; 4 horses, 35 head of cattle, and great numbers of goats. The Kafirs appeared so numerous, that Lieut. Bailie conceiving it advisable to penetrate the woody kloofs of the Umdezzeni with a more efficient force, detached Lieut. Biddulph to head-quarters for a reinforcement. Col. Smith immediately directed Capts. Craven, of the 1st, and Rawstorne of the 2d, to march at 3 o'clock, when the moon was up. Lieut. Biddulph proceeding as the guide. In two days' operations, most judiciously and spiritedly conducted by these officers and their soldiers, the Kafirs had 12 killed and many wounded; two guns, and many assegais were taken; together with 11 horses, 45 head of cattle, and upwards of 1,000 goats; a great quantity of corn was also destroyed. Our loss was one lieutenant, 1st Provisional Battalion, slightly wounded in the hand, and one Fingoe shot through the thigh. The Fingoes behaved well, and several had bullets through their karosses. On the 18th Lieut. Biddulph's party had a very severe skirmish with the enemy, who were well armed. On the arrival of Lieut. Biddulph, orders were sent to Capt. Jarvis to detach Lieuts.

Sutton and Granet, 10 mounted and 50 dismounted men, to act in the rear of the heights of the Umdezzeni; and to cut off any fugitives which might be driven over the Deba flats. This patrol, as was anticipated, fell in with the enemy, killed three,—took many assegais,—wounded several, and brought out of the dense bush 20 head of cattle, many goats, 1 Hottentot man, 4 women, (one the wife of the celebrated Baba, captain of the Kafir-Hottentot company) and 16 children; the Hottentot states that Eno's white son was in the party attacked; that the Kafirs are reduced to great extremity for want of provisions; and harrassed and distressed beyond measure.

“The same day a patrol of 20 men, with Lieuts. Kelso and Puleston, succeeded in taking from T'Slambie's people, near the Kye, 157 oxen (50 of their own cattle and the rest colonial) and four horses. The enemy were daring and numerous, attempting to retake the cattle, in which attempt several were wounded; ten were armed with guns; but as they never fired a shot, it is presumed their ammunition had been expended. Seven hundred head of captured cattle have this day arrived at the district head-quarters from Forts Warden and Wellington: and 1,400 head of captured cattle marched yesterday for Tambookie Vlei (Kat River Settlement).

“On the 25th June, Lieuts. Bailie and Biddulph, 1st Provisional Battalion, with thirty men each, again marched for the woods of the Umdezzeni. Lieut. Biddulph has, however, since returned to King William's Town; but Lieut. Bailie is still out; his firing was heard this day near the Tabendoda Mountains.”

This gallant young officer never had the good fortune to return. For some considerable time his fate, and that of the men with him, was enveloped in considerable mystery. It appeared improbable that the whole party should be cut off, and not even one escape to tell the fate of his companions; equally unlikely did it appear that the enemy, if he were so successful as to destroy the whole, would not vaunt of the exploit, and be encouraged to make his sallies from his fastnesses in the mountains with greater audacity. Subsequent events, however, sufficiently cleared up all the circumstances of this fatal occurrence, and which were as follows:—

The whole of this detachment marched from head-quarters at 4 o'clock P. M. of the 25th June, and on approaching the kloofs, Lieut. Bailie directed Lieut. Biddulph to march upon them, to bivouac for the night, and penetrate them at daylight; whilst he (Lieut. Bailie) would march by the Tabendoda mountains, enter the bush there, and intercept any of the enemy who might fly from the Umdezzeni in his direction: both to concentrate the following day under the Tabendoda mountains, from whence they were to return to the camp together. Whilst at the place of rendezvous, early on the evening of the 26th June, eleven shots were distinctly heard by Lieut. Biddulph's party in the direction of the thorny wooded country which skirts the base of the Tabendoda hill. This was answered by five guns, as agreed upon for a signal. To the surprise of Lieut. Biddulph the party did not join him that evening. The next morning they again heard firing in the direction of a ridge which divides the streams that fall into the Keiskamma on one side, and into the Buffalo on the other. During the whole of this day the firing was heard at short intervals, and Lieut. Biddulph waited for some time, expecting Lieut. Bailie to join him. Finally, two scattered volleys were heard, and no report afterwards. Lieut. Biddulph having waited the time they were ordered to continue out, then marched to head-quarters, and reported his proceedings to the Commanding Officer.

It appears that Lieut. Bailie on separating from this officer, soon entered the woody country which surrounds the Tabendoda. Here he was observed by the enemy, who was in great force in that immediate neighbourhood. On the afternoon of the 26th June, the Kafirs gave him "a fresh spoor;" or in other words, they walked before him, for the purpose of leading him into a difficult and rugged part of the mountains, where they had assembled in great numbers with the intention of attacking him. In the ardour of his pursuit he crossed the Tabendoda, and descended the valley of the Kieskamma; coming so close upon the enemy by the evening as to wound some of them. After the close of the day, he commenced his retreat towards the place appointed for rendezvous; but was unable to reach it, and slept on the top of a ridge, sheltered by the ruins of a dwelling, in which a trader named Kent, on the breaking out of the war, was barbarously murdered. At dawn of the following day, the



Kafirs attacked the little party with great impetuosity, killing one man; but were repulsed with determined bravery and with considerable loss. The chiefs, however, succeeded in rallying their followers, and in again leading them on to the attack. During this time Lieut. Bailie and his men were endeavouring to force their way through the wooded broken country down the face of the mountains, direct for the camp. At every step they were fiercely assailed by the barbarian foe; who, however, paid dearly for his temerity. On reaching the base of the mountain, seven of this gallant little band had fallen by the assagai of the enemy.

Still the remainder made progress, and a part of them at least, would, there is every reason to believe, have escaped, having nearly reached the open country; but on reaching the valley of the Maleendee, (about two miles south of the Missionary Institution of Perrie) the enemy received a considerable reinforcement. This enabled them completely to surround their victims, and at the moment they were in the act of crossing a small stream, called the Umxesha, a large body of the enemy sprang up from the long grass in which they had concealed themselves, and made a desperate rush upon them. This was met by two volleys. But being at the moment compelled, from the nature of the ground, to separate into two parties, the whole, with the exception of their gallant officer fell, pierced with innumerable wounds. He did not fire with his men on their making their final effort, but sprang into a small thicket near the spot, where with matchless heroism he met his fate. Three of the enemy rushed upon him, two of whom were shot dead by a discharge from both barrels of his gun. One of these was a chief named Tchalecsay; but he then, having no further means of defence, was instantly overpowered and slain.\*

The fate of Lieut. Bailie was not only deplored by his brother officers and by the men with whom he served, but by all who knew him. The high esteem in which he was held by the Commander of the Province, may be gathered from the following extract from a "District Order" published on

\*The spot was subsequently visited by the father of this gallant and amiable young man, who collected the remains of the brave men who fell, and consigned them to one common grave on the spot, which is now marked by a heap of stones. The Rev. Mr. Chalmers was present on this occasion, and offered up, with the little party who had assembled, a most impressive prayer.



the occasion. Although his death had been then fully ascertained; the particulars we have narrated above were not known for some time afterwards, and which will account for the phraseology made use of.

“ Lieut. Bailie was an officer of the most cautious, though enterprising character, bold and undaunted, discreet and judicious, possessing every qualification to render him hereafter one of the brightest ornaments of his profession; he had more experience in this desultory warfare than almost any other officer; had frequently distinguished himself in his rencontres with the enemy; and such was the unlimited confidence placed in him by the officer commanding the Province, that whatever was the number of men given him to command, complete success was anticipated. Some disaster of no ordinary cast, over which human foresight has no control, must have occurred to this officer and his gallant band; and whatever it may have been, most assuredly he fell as he had lived—a soldier and a CHRISTIAN: affording a bright example of both.

“ Although it is not permitted a soldier to lament the loss of his comrade, yet the feeling of the man will sometimes predominate over the iron heart of the soldier; and if deep grief in such cases can be pardoned, all who knew this meritorious officer may be unfeignedly forgiven for indulging in it.

“ That he and his gallant band fell in the service of their country as became men, cannot be doubted; and while the mystery of their fate augments the affliction of their friends and relatives, it ensures them the deep and universal sympathy of their comrades in arms.

“ A nominal list of the men who composed this party, specifying whether married or single, to be immediately furnished, in order that provision may be made for their wives and children.”

That his premature fate may be considered as a public loss, will be gathered from the following sketch of his history. At the time of his arrival in this colony in 1820, he was ten years of age, and at that early period was distinguished for intelligence and steadiness of deportment. Accustomed, from his arrival in this colony, to the use of a gun, he soon acquired such skill as a marksman, that even amongst the youth of Albany, where precision in firing is general, he was considered to have arrived at extraordinary excellence. In the neighbourhood where he resided—viz. the S. E. angle of the Albany district, he was universally beloved for his benevolence of heart. As he grew up towards manhood, he manifested great intrepidity and skill as

a hunter; frequently would his ardor in the pursuit of the wild animals which are peculiar to this part of Africa, such as the elephant, hippopotami, buffalo, tiger, wolf, &c. lead him deep into the recesses of the forest, where he would wander for days, sometimes without a companion, and with no other dependance, either for food or self-defence, but his trusty firelock. When successful in the pursuit of game, he would often proceed to the cottage of a poor family and present them with the spoil of his gun, or direct them to the spot where they might find it. As he advanced still further in life, this romantic fondness for adventure was materially diminished. Possessing naturally a highly reflective mind—and which had been improved by reading and the converse of a small circle of intelligent friends—he began to look with feelings of considerable commiseration on the neighbourhood around him. He saw that from the scattered state of the population, the children were growing up in ignorance; that there was no public worship; and that every thing manifested considerable moral declension: and he not only had the sagacity to devise a plan to meet the difficulty, but the benevolence and the courage to execute it. With his own hands he fitted up a place for Divine Worship, and here he assembled the people for the public service of God, officiating himself with the utmost solemnity and considerable ability as the minister,—an office for which his decided piety peculiarly fitted him. In this little building he organized a Sunday school, in which the children were trained to reverence the Sabbath, and taught the rudiments of learning. Besides these works of charity, there was no family for miles round but what he visited, advising, encouraging, and assisting them to the utmost of his power. About 18 months before the Kafir irruption, he had united himself in marriage to a suitable partner,—one of congenial habits with his own; and they had commenced, conjointly, a boarding school, with the most flattering prospect of success. Their most trying difficulties had been surmounted,—the Christmas recess had arrived, and their scholars had just quitted school for the respective residences of their parents,—when the Kafirs burst into the colony. His dwelling and all his property were swept off or destroyed by the fire-brand of the invaders, and he was at once hurled from a situation of enviable comfort, to absolute des-

titution. Called to take up arms in defence of the common cause, he at once distinguished himself for his conduct and bravery in the field, as he had for his gentleness and benevolence in the walks of private life. In the defence of his country, at the early age of 25 years—a period when hope decks the path of life with the brightest flowers—he fell, and fell with an honor which must ever reflect lustre on the name of a British Settler of Albany.\*

But to resume our narrative :—On the 30th June, a public meeting of the inhabitants of Cape Town was held in the Commercial Hall, at which Col. Bird, late Colonial Secretary, presided. On this occasion a discussion took place which was conducted with great ability; and the result was, the transmission to His Excellency the Governor of the following—

#### ADDRESS.

*To His Excellency Major-General Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN,  
Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, &c. &c.*

“We, the undersigned freeholders, merchants, and others, inhabitants of Cape Town and its vicinity, have, in conformity with the resolutions of a public meeting, held this day in the Commercial Exchange, the honor to render to your Excellency our warm thanks for the prompt and energetic measures directed and pursued by you for the repulsion of those tribes of Kafirs, which, without any previous notice, or just provocation, simultaneously broke into and devastated the whole line of the Eastern Frontier; and also for the active benevolence displayed by your Excellency in relieving the extreme distress and privation into which the inhabitants of those districts were plunged by the atrocities committed by the invaders. Our admiration and gratitude have been excited by the combination of vigor, temper, forbearance, and justice which has marked the whole course of your Excellency's proceedings throughout the war; and we feel assured, that the terms of peace which the continued hostility and treachery of the invading tribes and their abettors justified your Excellency in directing to them, and the occupation of the territory from which those tribes have been necessarily and justly expelled, are well calculated to provide for the future safety of the colony. We view the release of so large a body as from ten thousand to fifteen thousand Fingoes from the

\*The high opinion entertained of this gallant young officer by His Excellency the Governor, is well expressed in the “General Orders” of the day Vide Appendix, No. 29.

oppressive thralldom they had so long endured under the dominion of Hintza, their location in the territory vacated by the hostile tribes, and the placing of them, and such of the Kafir tribes as have continued faithful to the colony, under the protection of His Majesty, within the pale of civilization, and subject to the general laws of the colony, as measures embracing the soundest policy, with enlarged views of philanthropy and humanity.

“ Deeply impressed with these sentiments, and convinced that an attitude of firmness and determination towards the uncivilized tribes on our border can alone inspire confidence, and lead to the prosperity of our fellow colonists in that division of the settlement, whose prospects and lives are involved in the issue, we earnestly hope and confidently trust, that the whole of your Excellency’s proceedings, and especially the provision made for the future security of the colony, will receive the full approval and confirmation of His Majesty.”

On the 8th July His Excellency the Governor again quitted Graham’s Town for the frontier, taking his route to the southward, and visiting Bathurst; from thence, crossing the Fiver, at Kafir’s Drift, he proceeded along the ceded territory up to the Kat River. In the course of this journey, the most careful attention was paid to the situation and wants of the Fingoes; and also to the inhabitants of the Kat River settlement, whose statements he listened to with the greatest attention, assuring them that if they continued to evince, by their good conduct and their undeviating adherence to the laws, they were deserving of countenance and support, he would do every thing in his power to ensure them future comfort and happiness.

On the 3d of July a public meeting of the inhabitants of Graaff-Reinet was held in the public School Room, to take under consideration the measures adopted by His Excellency for the expulsion of the Kafir hordes and the future security of the frontier against their aggressions. This meeting was adjourned to the 17th July, when the following address to the Governor was unanimously approved of and passed.

#### THE GRAAFF-REINET ADDRESS.

*To His Excellency Major-General Sir B. D’URBAN, K. C. B., K. C. H., and K. T. S., Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, &c. &c. &c.*

“ We, the undersigned, inhabitants of Graaff-Reinet, would not do justice to our feelings were we to delay conveying to your Ex-

cellency some feeble expression of the sentiments of gratitude and respectful attachment which the whole course of the measures pursued with a view to the righteous chastisement of the public enemy, and to the ensuring the future tranquility of the eastern frontier, have excited in our minds, in common with those of our fellow colonists, in a degree and with a unanimity of which there have been few examples in the history of the colony.

“Your Excellency found some of the most prosperous and improving districts of this colony overrun and desolated by savages, upon whom the forbearance of the government, and every effort towards their civilisation and conversion, had, to all appearance, been thrown away; who evidently ascribed lenity to fear and favor; and indulgence to weakness and credulity.

“Your Excellency speedily perceived in the habits of the predatory tribes, the utter impossibility of exacting from them, except at a most disproportionable cost of blood and treasure, any sufficient indemnification for the ruinous losses they had inflicted upon His Majesty's subjects, or any satisfactory guarantee against recurrences of these disasters, so frequent as to endanger the very existence of this colony as the residence of civilized man; and finding at the same time, that an extension of the colonial boundary which might operate as an intelligible punishment upon the guilty, was the only mode by which they could be sensibly visited with a just penalty for their unprovoked and treacherous invasion, your Excellency most justly decided upon driving the guilty tribes back to a safer distance; where, still in possession of sufficient provision against absolute want, they have abundant space to maintain themselves without endangering their neighbours or the peace of the colony.

“Your Excellency found this portion of the British territories limited by a boundary infinitely less defensible than an imaginary line over an open country would have been, inasmuch as the Fish River is an extensive forest, with deep and wooded ravines, extending far and wide into the district of Albany to the west, and into the ceded territory to the east, and where, from a period long previous to the establishment of Albany, the Kafirs had been enabled and accustomed to secret their plunder, and to defy the weak attempts which could, at that time, be made to punish or dislodge them, and which has ever facilitated those partial or general incursions which have for so many years laid the property of the colonists at the mercy of the savages, and which gave to them for some time entire possession of a large portion of the colonial territory. In exacting a territorial forfeiture for the late unprovoked irruption, your Excellency assumed as a boundary line not liable to those objections; a line alike recommended by sound policy, and denoted by nature; the just

maintainance of which may, we trust, materially contribute to the effectual protection of the colonists, and to a more peaceful state of relations with even the expelled tribes, than has hitherto existed, or can possibly exist, while the only boundary between ungoverned tribes of habitual robbers, and the herds of the colonists, is an almost pathless forest.

“ But it is to the sound and beneficent policy of your Excellency in locating, within the new boundary, and under British laws, the oppressed Fingoes, and the more peaceably disposed of the Kafir tribes, that we chiefly look for future protection and consequent prosperity, and which justly entitles your Excellency to the gratitude of the colonists, and to the earnest support of every true friend of rational humanity. It has been the misfortune of all the measures hitherto adopted for the protection of this colony from savages, that the great principle of national justice, which combines protection of the innocent, with punishment of the guilty, could not be invariably or successfully observed. It has been our good fortune that your Excellency's wisdom has devised a mode of removing this stigma from our intercourse with savage men, and exhibited in a form which even the most savage must understand, such a striking contrast between the justice and mercy of a christian state and the exterminating wars of the native tribes, as will teach a lesson, which must speedily induce more distant hordes, instead of crowding upon our boundary for the advantages of plunder and the security of impunity, to court only the benefits to be derived from our institutions and our friendship, and to respect our justice as much as they have been taught to dread our power.

“ We cannot, Sir, suffer ourselves for a moment to doubt, that a just and generous policy, calculated at once to confine punishment to the guilty, to defend our present possessions, and to elevate and civilize the nations favored with the protection of our laws, will meet the entire approbation of His most gracious Majesty.

“ It is with deep humiliation that we perceive, that this colony contains a small number of mistaken or factious persons capable of misrepresenting the objects and tendency of these beneficent measures, or incapable of justly appreciating them; but when we observe that the opinions of these persons receive no countenance among the judicious and well informed colonists, but owe the degree of credit they may have acquired with a portion of the British public, chiefly to their own partial and fallacious statements, we cannot doubt that the sound information will be sought from better and more authentic sources; that the full inquiry prayed for by the frontier colonists will at length be granted; when such of our fellow subjects in Great Britain as have been hitherto incorrectly informed



regarding our affairs, will, however tardily, be led to acknowledge, that the colonists, and in particular the inhabitants of the Kafir frontier, are actuated by a feeling very remote from that spirit of aggression and hostility which has been so unjustly attributed to them; and where it will be discovered that those measures which are most likely to advance the general interests of humanity and civilization, and to redound to the advantage and to the honor of England, are also those which are most consonant to the wishes and the interests of the colonists.

“ We would not, Sir, dwell so long upon this topic were it not painfully evident that the same spirit of partial philanthropy, which seeks gratification in untrue statements of the colonial and of the savage character, has a direct tendency to give an undue stimulus to the desires or the pretensions of the savages, and has been actively and successfully exerted in rendering nugatory, the imperfect means of defence against external enemies afforded by arraying the armed inhabitants on commando.

“ Your Excellency must have seen with what cost and sacrifice to the colonists these compulsory arrays are attended, and how the peaceful occupations of the husbandman or the trader are thereby interrupted, while at the same time their best endeavours at the proper fulfilment of this onerous duty would appear to have deprived them of the applause and the sympathy of many of their fellow subjects.

“ We, therefore, pray your Excellency, to take into favorable consideration the claims of the inhabitants, while the circumstances of the colony will not admit of their being relieved at once from the burden and from the opprobrium of serving on commando, to an equitable remuneration by a temporary remission of taxes, or otherwise for the services they have rendered to the colony during the late commando, either personally, or by furnishing wagons, teams, or horses for His Majesty's service.

“ We would further desire most respectfully, but most earnestly, to implore your Excellency to impress upon His Majesty's Government the importance, the necessity, and the justice of compensating our unfortunate fellow colonists to the full amount of all the losses they have sustained by the late calamitous invasion; of making some public provision for the widows and orphans of those colonists, of all classes, who have either been murdered by the enemy, or have fallen, or been disabled by wounds, in repulsing or punishing the savage invaders. We would also beg to offer this expression of our sincere gratitude to your Excellency, for the generous and necessary measures adopted for the immediate relief of the sufferers by the



Kafir invasion, until their lamentable situation, and their powerful claims upon national justice, can be fully brought before His Majesty's Government.

"We conclude, by expressing our fervent hopes that your Excellency may long enjoy the gratitude of the colonists, the approval of a satisfied conscience, and the well-merited favor of our most gracious Sovereign, for a line of policy which we most sincerely believe is calculated to shed around the British name a lustre more enduring than mere conquest can ever bestow.

(Signed) C. G. OSCHÉ, Chairman,"

And *Two Hundred and Sixty* other persons.

The reply of Sir Benjamin D'Urban to this address, is characteristic of the writer. While it displays his benevolent sympathy for the unfortunate sufferers by this invasion; it animadverts in a tone of becoming indignation on the conduct of those who at such a moment of distress had endeavoured to sacrifice the cause of their countrymen, to a spirit of party, or to a much baser motive. The following is a copy of this important document.

*Reply of His Excellency Sir B. D'URBAN, to the Graaff-Reinet Address.*

"SIR,\*—I have read, with great satisfaction, the address which you have done me the favor to present to me from the inhabitants of Graaff-Reinet.

"Their expressions of unanimous approbation and of attachment, have gratified me deeply; and I request you to return to them my sincere and cordial thanks.

"The favorable opinion of a body of gentlemen, at once so numerous, so enlightened, and of such matured experience, in all the circumstances and bearings of the subject upon which it has been given, cannot fail to be very pleasing and acceptable to me.

"The views and motives which they have attributed to me, as the ground of the measures which I have recently adopted, are justly and accurately stated. These measures I have felt it my paramount duty, alike to the King and to the colony, to pursue; and I humbly trust that His Majesty may be graciously pleased to approve and confirm them.

"I, too, have observed with a regret corresponding to that expressed in the address, and, I acknowledge, not without painful astonish-

\*The address was presented to His Excellency by Capt. Campbell, the Civil Commissioner for Albany and Somerset.

ment, the dangerous efforts of some (I would fain hope but a very few) persons within the colony, to sacrifice the cause, and to degrade the character, of their fellow-countrymen, in defence of those of a savage and treacherous enemy; nor do they scruple even to pass over unnoticed, or to hold as trifling, the almost unequalled sufferings of the former in the barbarous invasion which laid the frontier districts in blood and ashes; while they earnestly invite all commiseration for the case of the latter.

“Whatever may be the real and ultimate object of this perversion of facts and inferences, its manifest and immediate tendency is,—at home, to deceive and mislead His Majesty’s government and the people of England, by making the “worse appear the better cause;” and so to shut the sources of sympathy and assistance there against the sufferers; here,—in the colony, to paralyze the operations, and impede the success of a war, not of choice, but of stern necessity, and waged (if ever war were waged) “*Pro aris et focis.*”

“These misrepresentations have not failed to produce all the pernicious present effects, which the address imputes to them; and I may not, here, conceal my conviction that the support thus extended to the cause of the enemy, and the reprobation lavished upon that of the colonists,—as recklessly maintained,—as industriously disseminated,—having been communicated to the savage chiefs, have supplied an encouragement which has acted as an incentive to reanimate among them a spirit of resistance which had been well nigh extinguished; has prevented the submission which they had been about to make; and has consequently been a main cause of their recently-renewed and obstinate hostilities on the side of the mountains; and of the continued bloodshed by which it has been necessarily attended.

“Hence, too, has in a great degree arisen the necessity which has compelled me, unwillingly, again to call out a portion of the burgher force; for which, however, (as will have been seen) I have provided an equivalent remuneration, by daily pay and rations, during this temporary service.

“Assuredly I will not fail to use my most earnest solicitations with the government that compensation may be made to His Majesty’s faithful subjects who have been thus visited with calamities rarely paralleled, as unexpected and unavoidable, as they were undeserved by any act of the sufferers; and which neither prudence nor foresight on their part could have controlled or averted.

“I beg of you, Sir, in conveying these my sentiments to the inhabitants of Graaff-Reinet, to repeat to them my acknowledgments for the gratifying expression of kind feeling towards me which prevades

their address, and with which especially it concludes; and to assure them of my sincere and fervent wishes for their welfare, collectively and individually, and for the prosperity of Graaff-Reinet.

I have the honor to be, Sir,  
Your most obedient and most humble servant,

(Signed)

B. D'URBAN.\*

On the 4th and 5th July, very extensive operations were directed by Col. Smith from the mouth of the Kye to the mouth of the Kahoona. These movements were not made without considerable resistance; and in one instance, a detachment of the Colonial force had a most narrow escape from being cut off by the enemy. This party, under the command of Capt. Ross, of the Mounted Rifle Corps, having entered the Gonube bush, suddenly found themselves in the presence of a very superior force of the enemy, who attacked them furiously. At the first onset, Capt. Ross's horse was wounded under him, and several others belonging to his men captured. The defence, however, was no less determined than the attack: a steady well directed fire was kept up, which being heard by other parties in the same neighbourhood, reinforcements arrived just as Capt. Ross, hard pressed by the enemy, had made good his retreat to the edge of the bush. With this addition to his force, the enemy was attacked in turn, and with so much success, that six horses were re-captured, and a considerable number of cattle taken. In this affair, two of the colonial force were wounded, whilst many of the enemy were slain.

On the 13th and 16th July, public meetings were held at Port Elizabeth, when the following address to His Excellency the Governor was unanimously passed.

#### ADDRESS,

*To His Excellency Major-General Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN,  
Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, &c. &c. &c.*

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—

“We, the undersigned, landholders, merchants, traders, and other inhabitants of the residency of Port Elizabeth, beg leave to offer

\*A petition from the inhabitants of this district to the King, on the affairs of this frontier, was subsequently transmitted home; for which see Appendix.

our unfeigned congratulations upon your Excellency's safe return from the Kafir war.

"Much as we have to deplore the great sacrifice of life and property which has been the consequence of the unprovoked aggressions, and devastating inroads, of our savage invaders, we cannot be too grateful to that Providence which directed your Excellency to the helm, at a crisis the most awful which ever impended over this colony, and which it required the utmost wisdom in council, and prudence in the field, to avert.

"While we tender our humble but just tribute of admiration of your Excellency's skilful military combinations, and energetic measures, by which the late contest has been brought to assume so favorable an aspect, we must, at the same time, bear testimony to the merciful forbearance which has characterized your Excellency's proceedings, and to the solicitude evinced by your Excellency for the alleviation of the sufferings of the distressed.

"Above all we desire to congratulate your Excellency upon that great act of philanthropy, which cannot fail to confer lasting honor on your Excellency's name—the release of 15,000 of our fellow creatures, comprising the whole Fingo tribe, from a state of the most degrading bondage; thus completing in one stroke of humane and enlightened policy, the great work which our mother country commenced, and which gained for her the applause of the christian world.

"The indefensible character of the late boundary having been incontestibly established, we cannot sufficiently testify our gratitude for your Excellency's prudent and salutary determination to extend the frontier line to the river Kye, and for the occupation of a territory in His Majesty's name, which has been so justly forfeited by the treacherous and barbarous irruption of its late possessors; and we look forward with confidence to a confirmation of this act on the part of the British legislature, as being the only means whereby the future security of the eastern division of this colony can be ensured.

"We beg to express our cordial concurrence with our fellow-colonists of Albany in their address to our gracious Sovereign in Council, and we respectfully solicit that your Excellency will cause our sentiments to be conveyed to the proper quarter.

"We offer up our fervent prayers that the same Providence which has protected your Excellency throughout the war, may restore you in safety to the bosom of your family, and to the enjoyment of that proud satisfaction, arising from the consciousness of having been a benefactor to your fellow men."

Signed by *One Hundred and Sixty* inhabitants of Port Elizabeth.

A few days subsequent to this meeting at Port Elizabeth the following fatal occurrence happened on the coast, about 100 miles further to the eastward.

The *James*, a small coaster, newly-built in Table Bay, sailed thence on the 9th July, on a coasting voyage. On the 19th they lay to off the Kowie, and a boat was sent on shore for wood and water; but finding the village abandoned, they returned on board without either. The next day they hove to abreast of Red Hill River, and the boat was again sent ashore for a similar purpose. While engaged in procuring a supply, a party of about fifty Kafirs came suddenly out of the bush, but seemed at first very friendly, shaking hands, and shewing other demonstrations of kindness. The head of the party, however, an old man with very white hair, seeing some arms in the boat, proceeded to seize them, and immediately a scene of disorder commenced. The master uttering an exclamation of alarm, jumped into the boat; but instead of being followed by the others, they fled along the beach. One of them, the steward, being soon exhausted, was overtaken and dispatched it is supposed by the savages, a fate which also happened to the master, who was seen by the survivors lying on the beach, his body pierced by the assegais of the barbarians. The two men who escaped swam the river, keeping along the coast until abreast of the schooner, when they plunged into the surf and succeeded in gaining the vessel, which shortly afterwards returned to Table Bay with the intelligence of the disaster.

During the time of these occurrences, the enemy was pursuing his plan of operations with varied success. On several occasions he suffered severely for his temerity; but still the troops and the inhabitants were greatly harassed, and in several instances sustained considerable loss. Some stragglers from the army, and in one instance a foraging party of seven young men, were cut off, and this so far emboldened the enemy as to tempt him to attack one of the newly established posts, named Fort Wellington. The assault was made with great spirit, but it was met with no less determination, and with much greater success, the enemy being repulsed with the loss of several of his bravest men.

Within the colony they were more successful. At Blue Krans, 14 miles S. of town, an attack was made on the cattle herds of Mr. Carlisle. They had just been kraaled

for the night, and the herdsmen were seated on the ground, when they were fired on by the marauders, and one of them killed on the spot. A party of the enemy then rushed forward, and wounded another man with their assagais. The cattle to the amount of 200 head were surrounded and driven off, first taking the precaution to post men in the public roads to prevent, if possible, the transmission to town of the intelligence. The men, however, who escaped, contrived, by taking bye paths and scrambling over the rocks, to reach their master's dwelling with the report of the disaster.

But not only was the enemy particularly active, by means of numerous marauding parties, in making sudden incursions upon the colonists, but he also displayed considerable activity in his movements within the New Province,—plainly shewing that the British forces would have much more work to perform in fully subduing him, than had been calculated upon. On the night of the 5th August, a body of about 200 vigorously attacked the Fingo location near King William's Town. Two of these people were killed in their huts at the first onset, and a third severely wounded. The Fingoes, however, turned out in a moment, and the fight was furious on both sides. The shouts and yells of the combatants being heard by Col. Smith, a company of the Provisional Battalion, under Capt. Bailie, was ordered out to their support; whilst a nine-pounder was fired amongst the assailants, which, if it had no other effect, inspired the Fingoes with confidence, and they attacked the Kafirs with so much bravery, that they at length succeeded in driving them over the ford of the Buffalo. Here, however, they again rallied, and disputed the passage; but on the approach of Capt. Bailie, they precipitately fled,—leaving 14 of their warriors dead on the field, amongst whom was a son of the chief Dushanie.

The next evening a strong patrol, under Capt. Bailie, marched to scour the ravines of the Keiskamma at the Tamegha, and from thence through the Umdezzini, to which point Capt. Jervis with another detachment moved on the 8th to co-operate. These parties not falling in with the enemy as was expected, they returned to head-quarters, which they had scarcely reached, when reports arrived that the enemy had attacked the Fingoes in the ceded territory, and with so much success as to capture all their cattle.



The marauders had been followed until they were found to have entered with their booty certain kloofs between the Keiskamma and the Debe flats. The party in pursuit were, however, too weak to attack them, and hence, on making this report, a detachment of fifty 72d Regt., and one hundred of the Provisional Corps, under Major M'Lean, were directed to march immediately to the spot, and, in the event of the enemy having quitted it, they were to follow in pursuit. It was soon discovered that the Kafirs had moved forward during the night in the direction of the Tabendodo range, where it was also ascertained the cattle had been divided, and driven in various directions. On proceeding some little distance further, the enemy shewed himself in some force, maintaining a desultory but inefficient fire, amidst great shouting and cheering. It was in vain, however, that every effort was tried to bring him to action; and after much skirmishing and many manœuvres on the part of the enemy to detach and cut off some portion of the British force, Major M'Lean marched down the Keiskamma to Fort Cox without being able to strike a blow, or to re-capture the cattle which had been carried off.

With respect to the exact position of the enemy at this particular juncture, we are enabled to afford the following particulars on the authority of a statement written at the time by an officer stationed at Fort Cox:—

“For many weeks past the Kafirs have been unusually vigilant, and no movement of the troops from this station escapes their notice; numbers have been seen in the vicinity of it, and, in some instances, our patrols have been followed to the precincts of the camp. This determination has not been evinced since the commencement of the war, and may be attributed to the temporary advantages they have lately gained, owing to the carelessness of our men straggling from their quarters. It is, however, evident that all the warriors of Macomo and Tyali have, during the last six weeks, assembled in the Keiskamma hoek, extending themselves in strong parties from the sources of the Caubosie River, along the base of the Amatoli mountain, to the Chumie forest, and were ready to act at the discretion of their chiefs. Tyali was stationed at a very conspicuous point at the head of the Amatoli valley, while Macomo's forces occupied the forest between the sources of the Keiskamma and Caubosie Rivers;



and whenever our patrols appeared, the usual Kafir signals were made on the most commanding points, which enabled them, with the knowledge they had of the different paths intersecting the forests with which this part of the country abounds, to meet at any particular point. On the 9th inst., early in the morning, a pillar of smoke was observed from this post rising out of the Buffalo forest, and about one o'clock volleys of musketry were heard above the confluence of the Senouka and Keiskamma rivers. With the aid of a telescope the combatants were seen on a remarkable hill, about four miles east of Fort Cox; and, as it was known that the burghers from Balfour had marched upon that point, the natural conclusion was that they were then engaged. The firing continued for some hours, and it was late in the evening before any correct information respecting the cause of it was known. It was then learned that a strong patrol of one hundred and seventy men had been ordered from King William's Town to scour the ravines north of the Debe, and as soon as they appeared upon the Tabendodo heights, which was early in the morning, they were observed by the Kafir scouts, and which accounts for the signals alluded to. In a short time the Kafirs assembled in considerable force, and one mounted on a fine white charger was particularly conspicuous in directing their movements, by frequently waving his hand, indicating the direction in which the patrol moved. Parties of about a hundred were occasionally observed hovering on our flanks. Major M'Lean, 72d Regt., who commanded the party, halted for refreshment about eleven o'clock. The enemy availing himself of this circumstance, advanced and fired upon our troops from an adjacent bush. They were at their arms and ready for an attack in an instant; but the enemy retained possession of the thicket, and a promiscuous fire was kept up the whole afternoon, without much effect on either side, and only terminated within two miles of our camp, where this patrol arrived and halted for the night.

"The following morning Major M'Lean returned to King William's Town; and, in consequence of his report, strong detachments were ordered from thence, with orders to cooperate with the Kat River Legion, under the command of Major Cox, and to scour the whole of the Keiskamma and Amatoli valleys."

Perhaps at no period since the commencement of hostilities

did affairs wear a more unsettled and unsatisfactory character than at this particular juncture. The enemy, though beaten, was not subdued. From his mountain fastnesses he watched all the movements of the colonial forces, and was thus enabled to take advantage of every circumstance to harrass and cut off stragglers. Some loss was experienced in this way, independent of which, as already seen, several successful forays were made far within the colonial boundary; and which could not fail to keep the inhabitants in a state of continual alarm and excitement. In the pursuit of these marauders the want of cavalry was severely felt. The horses belonging to the force in the field were nearly worn out, and it was absolutely necessary that, in order to act with effect, the cavalry should be reinforced. It was further understood that the enemy was encouraged to a protracted and obstinate resistance by a knowledge that a party in the colony, whom he had been led to believe possessed considerable influence, supported his pretensions, and condemned the proceedings of His Excellency the Governor as cruel and unjust.\* To meet this emergency, therefore, the Commander-in-Chief was induced to call out new levies of the burgher force; stating that from the day the different contingencies should reach the points upon which they would be respectively directed to rendezvous, until they should be again dismissed, each of the Field-commandants should receive a daily pay of 2s., the Field-cornets of 1s. 6d., and the Burghers each of 1s.; together with regular rations for themselves and for their agter ryders.

But besides taking this necessary precautionary measure, His Excellency was endeavoring, by every means, to open a negotiation with the confederate chiefs, and by this means, if possible, to bring this painful warfare to a conclusion before he quitted the frontier for the seat of government at Cape Town, where his presence was required by urgent

\*The following extract from a "circular," addressed by the Governor to the respective Civil Commissioners of the frontier districts, refers to this painful subject:—"But the great diminution of my cavalry, resulting from the discharge of the burgher horse, of which it had almost entirely consisted, unavoidably deprived me of those means for more general and extended offensive movements, which were necessary for the expulsion of the savages from several widely separated parts of the new province, in which their scattered hordes (encouraged, as it would seem, to an obstinate and persevering resistance by the opinions in their favor and support, so dangerously maintained and promulgated within the colony, and speedily communicated to them), have since re-assembled; and, consequently, this concluding and necessary portion of my important task is, to a certain degree, still to be performed."

public business. So anxious was His Excellency on this subject, that he was induced so far to relax in his original determination as to agree to the confederate chiefs' retaining, under certain conditions, and subject to British jurisdiction, their several territories. Capt. Warden, who was charged with this confidential communication, reached Major Cox's camp on the 9th August. Affairs were in this state when, fortunately, by a vigorous and well-conducted operation, the merciful designs of the Commander-in-Chief were completely answered.

It has already been stated that immediately on Major M'Lean's return to head-quarters, strong detachments were ordered to march upon the Amatoli mountains, which they were to scour, as well as the vallies of the Keiskamma. In performance of these instructions, Capt. Alexander, of the Beaufort Levy, marched from Fort Armstrong on the night of the 9th August with 160 of the Kat River Legion, and 25 of the Beaufort Levy, and halted that night at the Chumie. The next day he was reinforced by a party of 70 Fingos, and having divided his force, he entered the Amatoli bush in two directions. Early the next morning the enemy was fallen in with in considerable strength, but on the approach of the colonial force, he fled rapidly with his cattle, stabbing many of them to avoid their being captured. Finding that the enemy declined an engagement, Captain Alexander resolved upon concentrating his men, and of sending forward a party of Fingoes and a few of the Kat River people as a decoy, and by this stratagem to bring them to action. In this he perfectly succeeded. The weakness of the party in advance was quickly observed, and the result was an impetuous attack by a numerous body of the enemy, Macomo at the same moment, with a strong party of men, making a disposition to surround them. On being assailed the decoy party, as agreed, made a precipitate retreat, the Kafirs following with great impetuosity, keeping up a smart fire of musketry, about 150 being armed with guns. Macomo was conspicuous in this affair mounted on a white horse. No sooner, however, had the enemy fairly emerged from the bush into the open plain, than the colonial force, which had been in reserve, rushed upon him, killing 20 of his number, besides wounding a considerable number. The remainder fled in every direction. The next day this force reached Fort Cox, without further adventure.

On the 13th August Major Cox moved from the fort in three columns; the left\* column, under the command of Capt. Alexander, was ordered to march by the head of the Amatoli towards the valley of the Tamegha; the Major himself crossing the eastern heights of the Amatoli; whilst Major M'Lean moved down towards the missionary institution, to the point where the Tamegha has its confluence with the Keiskamma River. The next morning the troops proceeded to scour the ravines in the vicinity of the Amatoli, Senoka, and Keiskamma. These several operations were executed with equal skill and spirit,—Capt. Alexander's column being again particularly successful. At about three o'clock on the afternoon of this day he overtook a considerable body of the enemy, of whom, in the skirmish which ensued, eleven were killed and several wounded. The enemy then made a speedy retreat into the Tamegha, followed closely by the colonial troops, who were finally so successful "as completely to hem in an immense body of the enemy in such a position, from the nature of a precipitous range of rocky ledge, that they could not retreat further."\*

At this critical moment a Kafir messenger was sent forward, expressing a wish to hold a parley. This circumstance being communicated to Major Cox, Serjeant Jesta and Corporal Dirk, of the Mounted Rifles, were sent to them with the merciful proposals of His Excellency the Governor. The result of this negotiation we give in the words of a communication addressed to us at the time from an officer near the spot:—

"At first," says our informant, "the Kafirs hesitated receiving their message, but were at length prevailed on to do so; on parting with our messengers they observed—'This is the second flag you have brought, Dirk, you must not bring a third.' About 9 o'clock in the evening old Geanyaa, the faithful counsellor of the late chief Gaika, with Pietoo Bakalaa, arrived at our bivouac, and, having received the message for Macomo and Tyali, immediately departed. The following morning they returned, and stated—'That the chiefs would meet Major Cox as soon as Captain Warden

\* For the "General Orders" detailing these operations, see Appendix, No. 30.

should arrive,' and who had been previously sent for from Mount Cox, where he had remained, expecting a message. During the morning the Kafirs were observed assembling in the vicinity of our bivouac, and at 12 o'clock it was announced that every thing was ready for the proposed interview. Accordingly Major Cox, accompanied by Captain Warden, and four attendants, proceeded to the Kafir force, estimated at least at 800, well armed with more than 300 guns. The interpreter, on beholding such a formidable host, endeavoured to dissuade the Major from advancing. It was, however, too late to recede, even had he been inclined to do so, as Macomo and Tyali, attended by all the chiefs of eastern Kaffraria, with a numerous train of followers, approached him in the form of a crescent. Macomo was in the centre, dressed in military trousers and coat. Tyali was on his left, enrobed in a superb tiger-skin kaross. Their principal counsellors were behind them. The parties closed and shook hands. Macomo immediately observed,—'I see you are sincere, otherwise you would not come in such a defenceless state to us;' and Major Cox answered,—'Come let us sit down and talk.' The confidence thus inspired was visible. Macomo stated to the Major, he had received the Governor's message:—'Gaika was dead, and they had now no father; it was, therefore, their desire to be called the children of the Governor; particularly as he had heard the Governor was as well disposed to colored, as to white men; and in token of his and Tyali's desire to have him for their father, they begged Capt. Warden to present two assegais as a mark of their submission.' Tyali commenced making observations upon the events which led to the irruption of the colony; but Major Cox stopt him, and said it was not his order to recur to the events to which he alluded, at which they all appeared very much pleased; and it was soon determined that war should cease until the decision of the Governor respecting them should be known. The happy result of this meeting was soon published, and our encampment was shortly after filled with Kafirs, all testifying their joy that matters had been brought to such an amicable conclusion."

Immediately after the close of this conference, Captain Warden returned to Graham's Town for the purpose of reporting to His Excellency this favorable state of affairs,

and to receive his further instructions. On the 21st August this officer again departed from head-quarters for Major Cox's camp, accompanied by Captain Alexander, 42d Highlanders, Aide-de-camp to the Commander-in-Chief. On their arrival there a conference was demanded with the confederate chiefs, which being acceded to, Major Cox, Captains Warden and Alexander, and one or two others, proceeded to the place appointed, near the base of the Amatoli mountains. On this occasion there was an evident attempt at display, and it was by no means ineffective. The little party of British officers, who were entirely unarmed, soon found themselves confronted by a body of 4,000 Kafirs, of whom about 400 were armed with muskets. This large body of men marched to the spot assigned them, and took up their ground with a precision that greatly surprised those who witnessed it, and were acquainted with their irregular movements in general. They had evidently, during this protracted struggle, made considerable progress in the art of warfare; they were also not only much better disciplined, but had also better weapons. A considerable part of this force consisted of cavalry, and these moved to the place allotted them with quickness and order. The general deportment and tone of the chiefs was much more confident than at the former meeting, and the terms insisted on far less moderate. Under these circumstances it was quite evident that this conference would not terminate definitively, and equally certain was it that the enemy, instead of being humbled and subdued, as was generally expected, appeared to be by no means indisposed to a renewal of the contest.

On a report of these proceedings to His Excellency the Governor, despatches were immediately forwarded by him to Col. Smith, the commander of the new province, containing instructions for resuming the negotiations with the chiefs, who were to be invited to meet him and Captain Warden at Fort Willshire for this purpose. In the mean time, while the negotiations were pending, and although a cessation of hostilities had been faithfully agreed on, the Kafirs had been making their inroads on the colonists with an audacity which had never been surpassed. During this truce they must have carried off at least 2,000 head of cattle. The following, from the published statements of the current events of the day, will give a tolerably correct idea of the



faithless and dishonest character of the people from whom the colonists have suffered so many and such severe injuries:—"We have had," says the local Journal, "during the past week a fair specimen of the kind of faith which is to be placed in the Kafir people. On the part of the colonists the most scrupulous regard has been paid to the engagement to refrain from hostilities until the pending negotiations should be terminated. But not so the Kafirs. Our quiescence has been mis-construed, and has only operated with them as an incentive to spread themselves along the frontier, and to make the most daring attacks upon the herds of the colonists. On Saturday night, about 8 o'clock, a party of about 20 attacked the place of Mr. Stanley, situated 12 miles S. E. of Graham's Town, and succeeded in carrying off the greater part of his cattle, and wounding severely four of his Fingo servants. The following day they carried off a herd of cattle from Collingham, still nearer town. In this affair the marauders were unfortunate, for being quickly followed by a party of the Mounted Rifles, under Lieut. Wade, 72d Regt., they were at length intercepted in a kloof of the ceded territory, from whence they barely succeeded in effecting their escape, leaving the plunder in the hands of the pursuers. They also carried off about 300 head of cattle from the Fingo location in that neighbourhood, and with nearly as bad success, being shortly overtaken by Lieut. Moultrie and Mr. M. Bowker, with a small party of men, and the result was one of the enemy shot, another wounded, and two hundred of the cattle re-captured. Numerous depredations have also been committed near the Kat River, and in the northern part of the Albany district." In the next publication it is stated,—

"Perhaps in no one week, since the commencement of hostilities—if we except a few of the first days—has there been more depredations committed by the Kafirs than within the last seven days. They appear to have spread themselves out in small parties from the sea nearly to the Winterberg, and have, with various success, carried off a considerable number of cattle from the frontier farmers. One herd was carried off from Eland's Kloof, a farm situated within three miles of Graham's Town. On Manley's Flat, about ten miles south of the town, the enemy succeeded in capturing and carrying off about 400 head of cattle; but being



speedily followed by a patrol, of the Graham's Town Mounted Volunteers, guided by Messrs. Driver and Manley, the owners of the stolen cattle, succeeded in overtaking a part of them in the Kooms bush, near the residence of the unfortunate Mahoney, and in retaking about 75 head. In this thicket they fell in with another patrol of the Provisional Corps from Waay Plaats, which, having observed the spoor of the enemy, had followed on it until they came up with a few horses and cattle, also driven by the marauders, two of whom were killed in the rencontre which ensued, and the cattle and horses were re-captured. The Kowie Bush, up to within four or five miles of Graham's Town, is supposed, from the foot-marks, to be infested by the enemy in scattered parties; and although several patrols have been out in quest of them, yet they have succeeded in eluding their utmost vigilance. In the upper part of the district the enemy have been less fortunate. A party of them having captured some horses from the Koonap, were followed so successfully by a few farmers, that at length, after a most intricate pursuit, during which the Kafirs had made an abrupt double and returned into the colony, they were overtaken near De Bruin's Poort, and four of them shot dead in the affray which followed; a fifth was severely wounded."

On Tuesday, the 8th Sept., His Excellency the Governor again arrived at Fort Willshire, and on the evening of the Friday following the chiefs arrived at the fort to meet him. The party consisted of Macomo, Tyali, Kluklu, and two other of the late Gaika's sons; Eno, and his two sons; the eldest son of Botma; together with several other of the connexions and dependents of the Gaika family. They were accompanied by Captain Warden and the interpreter Klaas Dirk. The next morning His Excellency received them with much ceremony, accompanied by Colonel Smith, and other officers of his personal staff. He stated to them that in consequence of their expressed desire for peace, he had invited them to Fort Willshire; and that he then was ready to listen to any statement or proposal which they might have to make. After some discussion, he further informed them that although it had been his intention to expel them from that country beyond the Kye, yet, as the tribe of Gaika had expressed a desire to become the subjects of the King of England, he

would allot them the territory where they had always resided, subject to such reservations as it might be necessary to make. They also engaged to deliver up the fire-arms in their possession, and to make other concessions required of them.

Upon the basis of these terms, treaties were to have been ratified on the 13th September; but in the mean time so many various reports reached His Excellency of bands of Kafirs having, in breach of the truce, made inroads within the old boundary, plundering it of cattle, and in one or two instances murdering the cattle herds, that he called the chiefs before him, and informed them that their treaties must be declared void unless these atrocities were promptly put a stop to. That he should, therefore, dismiss them to return to their tribes, and would allow them three days for the purpose of recalling their people from these inroads.

At this very period hostilities, on the part of the Kafirs, were carrying on with as much activity and fury as had been experienced since their commencement. Amongst other exploits, they succeeded in capturing near 200 head of cattle belonging to the government contractor, on the way from Cradock to the Kat River Settlement. Emboldened by this success, they made a similar attempt on a second herd proceeding to the same place. The situation selected for this enterprise was in a most favorable situation, called Bush Neck, an acclivitous bushy defile near the Winterberg; but they were nevertheless repulsed after a smart skirmish, with the loss of four killed and several wounded. In the same neighbourhood they fired and consumed two stacks of corn, which had been saved at great risk and labor by a farmer named Klopper, murdered three or four herdsmen in the field, and swept off several small herds of cattle and many horses. Below Bathurst they again attacked the kraal of Mr. Bowker. The marauders had entered the enclosure, and were in the act of forcing open the gate, when a spring gun, which was attached to it, was discharged, wounding one man mortally, and alarming the others so much that they instantly fled. From Lieut. Griffith's, near Graham's Town, a flock of about 1,000 Merino sheep were carried off, but being quickly pursued, the great part was re-taken in the bushy country near De Bruin's Poort.

In the course of these proceedings a large body of marauders had been traced to an intricate rocky defile near the

mouth of the Guanga, a small stream of the ceded territory. The Field-commandant, P. Uys, being stationed in that neighbourhood, immediately proceeded to the spot at the head of a party of farmers, guided by the petty chief Tzatzoe. On reaching the edge of the rocky kloof where the enemy had taken up his position, Tzatzoe and Uys descended its sides until within sight and hearing of the Kafirs, to whom they called out requesting them to lay down their arms and surrender. The reply to this demand was that they were men, and were resolved to fight; and in the next instant they commenced a furious attack upon the farmers, many of them breaking their assegais short for the convenience of stabbing at close quarters. The farmers, however, by a steady, well-directed fire, succeeded in repelling the advance of the enemy, who was ultimately compelled to fly to the bushy ravines for shelter, leaving eighteen of their number dead on the field.

On the afternoon of the 17th September, the very day on which the treaty of peace was finally ratified at Fort Willshire, a party of the enemy, computed at 40 strong, suddenly poured down from the woody heights above Grobbelaar's Kloof about 10 miles S. E. of Graham's Town, and succeeded in carrying off 200 cattle belonging to several English settlers, who had formed themselves into a party for mutual protection. At the time of their capture there were no less than seven herdsmen, some armed with guns and others with assegais, in the field with them; one of these was severely wounded. Pursuit was instantly made by the persons on the spot, but night coming on, they were compelled to desist without overtaking the marauders. The next day the pursuit was resumed, and at night, whilst most of the men were thus employed, the enemy made a most furious attack upon the kraals in which were contained the remainder of the cattle, and that with so much success as to capture them, killing two Fingo herdsmen before the door. So audacious were these marauders, that they even knocked out the windows and doors of the farmhouse, calling upon the inmates to come out; who were, however, too few in number to think of resistance, except obliged to do so in self-defence. Some of these cattle were afterwards captured by a party which followed in pursuit, between whom and the enemy were some skirmishing, in which two or three of the latter were shot.

The foregoing cases will sufficiently prove the little faith

that can be placed in the Kafirs in respect to any engagement which does not manifestly and directly accord with their own interest. His Excellency the Governor, however, being satisfied, at the expiration of the three days allowed them, that the chiefs had used their best endeavours to repress the incursions of their dependents, proceeded finally to ratify the Treaties of Peace with them, as had been agreed upon, and of which the following is a copy :—

*Articles of a Treaty of Peace, granted to the Kafir family of GAIKA, and its Connexions and Dependants, in the name of the King of England, by His Britannic Majesty's Governor of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.*

“The above tribe, and its different branches and connexions, being therein personally represented by

MACOMO,	}	For themselves;
TYALI, and		
ENO,		
KUSIA (SON OF GUANYA) for SUTA, and her son		
SANDILI;		
FADANI, for BOTMA;		

“And these chiefs, for the whole collectively, and each individually, and independently for himself, and his own immediate family, or for that which he represents, having supplicated for mercy and peace at the hands of the Governor, and prayed to be admitted and received as subjects of the King of England, and to live henceforth under the protection and authority of the English laws, within His Majesty's aforesaid colony; and His Majesty's Governor having, in the name of the King his master, granted the said prayer: These Articles of Treaty are hereby mutually agreed on between the aforesaid contracting parties, and are concluded and ratified accordingly, in the manner and terms following:—

“1.—The aforesaid chiefs and representatives—

MACOMO,  
TYALIE,  
KUSIE,  
ENO, and  
FADANI,

all of them, in the name of the whole tribe, its connexions and dependents, and each for himself, and the branch or family of it which he individually represents, separately and solemnly promise and engage to bear true allegiance to, and to be faithful subjects of, His

Majesty the King of England; to be friends to His Majesty's friends, and enemies to his enemies; to obey the commands of His Majesty's Governor, and the duly constituted colonial authorities, and to live in submission to the general laws of the colony. The Governor and the laws, at the same time extending to them, the same protection and security as to the other subjects of His Majesty.

"2.—To the penalties of these laws, the above chiefs and representatives, as aforesaid, their tribe and families, hereby alike become amenable if they break them; and they must be aware that these laws inflict severe punishments, and even death itself, upon those who commit the crimes of—

Treason, viz.: Rebellion, or taking up arms against the King, or the government of the colony;  
 Murder,  
 Rape,  
 Setting houses or property on fire,  
 Theft, whether of horses, cattle, sheep, goats, or other property.

And such penalties will be equally incurred, if they be committed by any members of the above tribes or families, against each other, as if committed against other inhabitants of the colony.

"And they will also especially take notice, and be aware, that the Fingo nation having already become subjects of the King of England, any offence against the persons or property of the Fingoes will incur the penalties of the laws, and be severely visited upon all such offenders.

"And the aforesaid chiefs and representatives are also made aware, that any proceedings on their part, or on the part of any of their tribe or families, as aforesaid, against any one, whether within or without their tribe, for the pretended offence of *Witchcraft*, are peremptorily forbidden by the above-cited laws, and will be severely punished accordingly.

"At the same time the aforesaid chiefs and representatives understand, and it is a part of this treaty, that the said English laws do not apply, and will not be applied to, or interfere with, the domestic and internal regulations of their tribe and families, nor with their customs, in so far as these do not involve a breach of the above-cited laws.

"3.—And the aforesaid chiefs and representatives hereby promise and engage to send out immediately positive orders—and to cause them to be instantly and duly obeyed—for the recall of all parties of

their respective families and dependents, now employed in predatory inroads upon the colony, and to prevent all such predatory incursions for the future.

“4.—And the aforesaid chiefs and representatives hereby promise and engage to deliver up, without delay, into the hands of Colonel Smith, commanding His Britannic Majesty's troops in the province of Queen Adelaide, or to any officers whom he may appoint to receive them, all the Musquets which may be in their possession.

“5.—All the above well understood and performed, the Governor, upon his part, in the name of His Majesty, promises to afford, in favor of the aforesaid chiefs and representatives, their tribe and families, all due protection and support for the maintenance of their rights, their property, their security and welfare, equally with the other subjects of His Majesty.

“6.—And the Governor, yielding to the earnest supplications of the aforesaid chiefs and representatives—‘that they may not be expelled from their native country,’ and in the hope that they may for the future—as they have solemnly promised—keep peace and good order within, and abstain from all inroads and robberies without, their allotted boundary; hereby assigns to each of them, and their respective families, a fair and adequate proportion, according to the amount of population of each family, to be determined by the commissioners hereinafter set forth, for their location, establishment, and regulation, of a tract of country, bounded as follows:—

“On the west, from the Enweleni to the Iqirikazi, and thence along the mountain to the source of the Chumie River; thence down the left bank of the Chumie to its confluence with the Keiskamma; thence up the right bank of the Keiskamma to its confluence with the Deba; thence up the right bank of the latter to the Deba Neck; thence within (to the north of) the road to the mission station of Pirrie; thence to the summit of the hill called Isidenge; thence down the left bank of the Kabousie River to the Kye; with the reservation of such spots and lines for roads, out-span places, places of public worship, schools, magistracies, military stations, and other public services, as the Governor may, from time to time, find it necessary to occupy, as well for the general benefit of the colony, and for the particular benefit of the aforesaid chiefs, their tribe and families.

“And reserving also a due and proper location, with adequate lands, to be determined by the aforesaid commissioners, at and about Burn's Hill, for Suta and Sandili, and their family, and also a similar location and lands at and about the Chumie mission station, for Matua and Tinta, and their families.

"7.—And each of the above chiefs shall, in token of fealty to the King of England, and of acknowledgment of holding his lands under His Majesty's Sovereignty, cause to be delivered to such officer or officers as the Governor shall appoint on behalf of His Majesty, *one fat Ox*, in the course of the first month of every year; in the failure of which condition he will forfeit his said lands, unless they be granted anew by the Governor in the name of His Majesty.

"8.—Ministers of the Gospel, schoolmasters, and, where necessary, English magistrates or residents, will be duly appointed within the above locations. And it is hereby concluded and agreed on, by the said chiefs and representatives, that they and the heads of families shall act as magistrates of the colony, each in his location, if required to do so by the Governor, and under such titles, and to obey such instructions, as shall by him be determined,—and that they shall not harbour, nor suffer to be harboured, within their respective locations, any person or persons, whether of their own tribe or of others, whether English, Hottentots, Boers, or of any other nation, suspected, or known, to have been guilty of any crime or offence against the colony, but shall immediately secure and deliver up any such person or persons to the nearest colonial authorities.

"9.—And it is hereby further concluded and agreed on by the aforesaid chiefs and representatives, and they alike promise and engage, that they shall, without delay, communicate to the colonial authorities, any overtures made, or which may hereafter at any time be made to them, from any person or persons, whether within or without the colony, tending to its prejudice or danger, and shall equally communicate, in like manner, any intelligence which may at any time come to their knowledge, of danger threatening the colony, from whatever quarter.

"10.—And it is hereby further concluded and agreed on, by the aforesaid chiefs and representatives, that they and the heads of families in their respective locations, shall all and each of them prevent, by every means within their power, inroads into the colony of robbers to steal cattle, or other property; and shall, moreover, in the case of any cattle or property so stolen, being brought into their respective locations, secure and deliver it to the nearest colonial authorities; well understood, that the Governor will justly hold that chief responsible for restoring colonial cattle or other property, into whose location it shall have been traced.

"11.—The Governor having appointed a commission consisting of

1. The Hon. Colonel Smith, C. B., Chief Commissioner,
2. Lieut.-Colonel England, 75th Regiment,
3. The Rev. W. Chalmers, Glasgow Mission, and
4. Captain Stretch, Provisional Companies, 75th Regiment,



for the location, establishment, and regulation, of the aforesaid chiefs, tribe, and families,—the said commissioners (or a majority of them) are hereby duly authorised, so soon as they shall be reasonably satisfied that the 3d and 4th conditions of this treaty have been fairly complied with,—to conclude and ratify it finally by their signatures, and to receive and record by endorsement upon this document, the accession and agreement of the aforesaid chiefs and representatives, thereto; and thereafter to locate and place each in possession of his allotted location, and within his appropriate boundary, accordingly.

“ 12.—When all the above arrangements shall have been duly carried into effect, the Governor will appoint an agent for the government, to reside among, or near to, the locations; with whom the chiefs will communicate whenever they may desire it, for the information of the Governor, of whose communications to *them* he will also be the accredited organ.

“ 13.—For the present, and until the Governor may judge it safe and beneficial, as well for the old colonists, as for these His Majesty's new subjects, hereby admitted under the protection of His Majesty's government—none of these last, whether of the family of Gaika, or its connexions or dependents as aforesaid, can be allowed to cross the Chumie, or the Keiskamma River *below* its confluence with the former, or by any other way to enter the old colonial border, without a pass signed by one of the above commissioners, or by the agent, when he shall have been appointed; and even in that case all persons so passing the boundary must be *unarmed*; a departure from this condition will expose the individuals infringing it to be shot, and its observance is, therefore, very strictly and earnestly enjoined.

Given under my hand and seal, at Fort Willshire,  
this 17th day of September, 1835.

(Signed) B. D'URBAN, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.”

Treaties of similar import to the above were also made with the tribe of T'Slambie, and subsequently with that of Pato and his brothers.

Thus, after a most harrassing and destructive warfare during the long period of nine months was this painful contest brought to a close. Painful indeed was it in a variety of ways; whether it be considered in reference to the loss of human life,—the waste of property,—the heavy expenditure,—the suspension to a considerable extent of the ordinary pursuits of the inhabitants, or in that humiliating spectacle which was presented in the busy efforts of a faction to sup-

port the pretensions of a murderous and unprincipled foe, in opposition to the sacred cause of those connected with them by the ties of blood and of country. Refer to the partial and false statements which have been published and sent abroad to the world for no other purpose than to excite its hostility against the suffering colonists, and in these it will be found that the relative characters of the Kafirs and Colonists have been shamefully misrepresented. Invariably have the former been depicted as an oppressed people; while the plundered colonists have been held up in a light which, if true, would render them undeserving of the smallest sympathy. Even during the progress of this arduous struggle for their very existence have their proceedings been perverted, and the most pertinacious endeavours made use of to blind the eyes of the public to their actual situation, and to the real merits of the warfare in which they were so suddenly plunged. The most unfounded statements have been transmitted home,—published in the leading periodicals of the day, and widely circulated to their great prejudice throughout the British Empire. Not that we contend, for a moment, that there was nothing to blame or deplore throughout this trying period; on the contrary, we believe some few acts were committed, as in all cases of this nature, which are deserving of the severest reprehension. The principal of these, and to which the public attention has been since especially directed, was the treatment of Hintza's body after his death. We refer to the fact of some person or persons having been weak or wicked enough to separate from the shattered head the ears of the fallen chief, with the absurd intention of preserving them as relics of a man so notorious in border history. Whilst, however, we express our abhorrence of such an instance of barbarism, we are bound, at the same time, strenuously to contend that no warfare ever was conducted in all its details with more forbearance and humanity than this;—in short, we cannot conclude more appropriately than in the words of the benevolent Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN, that it was a war of necessity, and not of choice; and waged—if ever war were waged—*PRO ARIS ET FOCIS.*”



## APPENDIX.

(No. 1).

*By the Honorable Lieut.-Col. HENRY GEORGE SMITH, Companion of the Bath, Second in Command of His Majesty's Forces in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and Commanding on the Frontier Districts.*

WHEREAS the districts of Albany and Somerset are at this present time invaded by the neighbouring tribes of Kafirs, who are every where murdering the inhabitants and devastating the country, — and whereas it is highly necessary, in order that the most prompt and vigorous measures may be adopted for the security of life and property therein, and that every facility may be afforded for collecting the inhabitants, and applying the resources of the colony in the general defence, — that MARTIAL LAW be proclaimed in the districts aforesaid, — I, therefore, by virtue of the power and authority in me vested by His Excellency the Governor, do accordingly proclaim MARTIAL LAW from the date hereof, in the districts of Albany and Somerset.

And whereas it is expedient that the whole force of the aforesaid districts be assembled without any delay, I hereby direct that all the male inhabitants, thereof, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, excepting only those who by their professions, or from infirmities, are exempt from military service, do forthwith enrol themselves under their respective field-cornets, or provisional field-cornets, on pain of being considered deserters, and treated accordingly.

And I hereby further make known, that agreeably to the provisions of the Government Notice of the 18th September, 1812, “all Commandos of every description now stationed or to be stationed hereafter on the Frontier line, and co-operating with His Majesty's Forces in the general defence of His Majesty's Territories, are to place themselves at the disposal and to obey the orders of such Military Officer as may be in command of His Majesty's Forces.”

And I hereby proclaim the Chiefs and Tribes of Kafirs who have invaded the colony, implacable and treacherous enemies, and as such to be dealt with in all respects according to the usages of war.

**GOD SAVE THE KING!**

Given under my hand and seal, at Graham's Town, this 7th day of Jan., 1835.

(Signed,)

H. G. SMITH

By Command,

W. SUTTON, Acting Sec.

(No. 2.)

## GOVERNMENT NOTICE.

Head-quarters, Graham's Town, Jan. 12, 1835.

Martial Law has been proclaimed, and a Corps of Volunteers, styled the "Graham's Town Volunteers," has been established. It consists of four companies of Infantry, one strong company of Sharpshooters, and one troop of Cavalry. Through the zeal and exertion of Lieut.-Colonel Sparks, and his officers, this corps is already fit for any duty that may be required of it.

The Cape Cavalry has been considerably augmented, and a very efficient corps of Mounted Hottentots has been organised.

Mr. van der Riet has been strongly recommended to organise a corps of Volunteers at Uitenhage; and Capt. Evatt, to form another at Port Elizabeth. The half-pay officers in the neighbourhood of those places have been directed to assist in their organization.

The village of Bathurst has been re-occupied by its inhabitants, and a Military Post established there, under Lieut. Forbes, of H. M. 75th Regt. Patrols from this place have already re-captured a considerable number of the cattle, and killed several of the enemy.

The post at Kafir's Drift has been re-established.

Considerable patrols have marched from Graham's Town, Bathurst, and Tambooki Vly, through Eno's Kraal; they will concentrate in Tyali's Kraal under the command of Major Cox, who has informed Tyali of the abhorrence with which the atrocities of his people have inspired the officer commanding the troops. Major Cox is directed to carry on operations in Tyali's country, according to the instructions he has received, and to the actual circumstances of the country in which he is engaged.

A strong patrol, under Lieut.-Colonel Somerset, fell in with a body of Kafirs in the neighbourhood of Roode Draai; 16 of the enemy were left dead on the field.

Congo, Pato, and Kama, have been required to prove the sincerity of their friendship by delivering up to the officer in command of the Gualana Post, the inferior chiefs Gwashu, Lolo, Mama, Nuby, and Delima,\* they having incited their people to commit outrages on our traders.

A patrol under Major Gregory has marched to collect all the armed Burghers of Assegai Bush, Quagga Flat, and Bosjesman's River, with a view to offensive operations in the Oliphants Hoek; and the Burgher Forces of Uitenhage and George, are directed to scour the Sunday River, and afterwards to incline to their right towards Oliphants Hoek Church. Col. Somerset will this day proceed to direct the operations in this quarter. Field-cornet Rademeyer is on his way to the Zuur Berg, and the instant the horses of Mr. Van Ryneveld's Graaff-Reinet burghers are shod, this corps will also patrol the Zuur Berg.

The burgher force, under W. C. Van Ryneveld, Esq., Civil Commissioner of Graaff-Reinet, has arrived at head-quarters, after having scoured the Mancanzana, Kowie River, and Kaga Berg; they there caused considerable loss to the enemy, and re-captured many head of cattle, affording an example of what vigour, energy, and expedition can effect.

\*These chiefs were never delivered up; but Congo himself came to Graham's Town and placed himself in the hands of the British commander as a hostage for the fidelity of his brothers.

Posts have been established at Governor's Kop, Waay Plaats, and Manley's Flat, by which it is expected the retreat of the enemy will be prevented.

A patrol has been sent to Theopolis ; the defences of this place will be improved.

100 additional Burghers from the Graaff-Reinet district will arrive this evening or to-morrow morning.

From the reports the commanding officer has received, it appears that the number of Kafirs killed within the last seven days is about 300.

H. M. ship "*Wolfs*" has arrived in Algoa Bay with arms, stores, and ammunition, and other ships are reported to be in sight.

Martial Law was this day proclaimed in that part of the Uitenhage district which is to the eastward of the Sunday's River.

Major Michell, Quarter-Master-General to the forces on this frontier, and Lieut. Wade, of the 72d Regt., have just reported that H. M. 72d Regt., with stores, arms, and ammunition, will be in bivouac this night at Quagga's Flat.

This day Major Cox surprised Eno's kraal, which he destroyed; Eno himself escaped with great difficulty to the bush. Two of his brothers, one of his sons, and thirty of his men were killed. Some of them were armed with guns. One burgher was wounded severely. Several horses and sheep were re-taken. Major Cox is advancing upon Tyali's kraal, where he will be joined by parties from Beaufort and Tambookie Vly.

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(No. 3).

Head-Quarters, Graham's Town, 21st Jan., 1835.

1.—The Commander-in-Chief desires to offer to Lieut.-Col. Smith the expression at once of his unqualified approbation, and of his warmest thanks for the important services which he has rendered to the King and the colony during the period of his commanding the forces in the frontier districts.

The unparalleled rapidity with which he rode night and day from Cape Town to Graham's Town—a distance of 600 miles—accomplishing it in less than six days; his indefatigable and most able exertions from the moment of his arrival to expel the savage enemy from the ground their unexpected and treacherous invasion had gained; to afford protection and support to the inhabitants; to restore confidence; and to organize the armed population, and combine the resources of the country, have been beyond all praise; and justly entitle him to the grateful acknowledgments of the colony, and of the Commander-in-Chief.

2.—Colonel Smith will, for the present, resume his duties as Deputy-Quarter-Master-General, and Acting-Deputy-Adjutant-General of the Forces; and in this capacity, as Chief of the Staff, will take charge of the organization of a force to be prepared for active operations; for carrying which into effect he is hereby authorized to make requisitions upon the competent departments, and to approve all requisitions and contracts; which approves



will be their sufficient warrant for the corresponding issues and purchases: and he will be so good as to make a daily report of the progress of this service to the Commander-in-Chief.

3.—The Commander-in-Chief desires to express his best thanks to Lieut.-Col. Somerset, Commandant of Kaffraria, for his active and incessant exertions for the protection of the district, and of the frontier posts, upon the invasion of the barbarians.

4.—To Lieut.-Colonel England, 75th Regt., and Captain Selwyn, Royal Engineers, also, the Commander-in-Chief desires to offer his thanks for their able and unremitting exertions in placing Graham's Town in a state of defence, and for omitting no practicable measure which that important object demanded.

5.—To Captain Armstrong, Cape Mounted Rifles, the acknowledgments of the Commander-in-Chief are especially due, for the firmness and judgment with which, under very trying circumstances, he preserved and maintained the settlement of Tambookie Vly.

6.—To Major Burney, Major Lowen, and the whole active and excellent corps of the Cape Mounted Rifles, the Commander-in-Chief returns his especial thanks.

7.—The Commander-in-Chief acknowledges the services of Major Cox, and the corps of regular troops and burghers under his order, in the recent enterprise on the Kafir chiefs Eno and Tyali, which was conducted with great judgment, perseverance, and effect.

8.—Mr. Palmer, and the Commissariat Department, have also merited the thanks of the Commander-in-Chief, for the performance of the arduous and laborious duties of their department.

9.—The Commander-in-Chief has learned with great satisfaction the excellent spirit which has animated the authorities and the local burgher force—Lieut.-Colonel Sparks, and the Volunteers of Graham's Town and Albany; and the alacrity with which all have hastened to combine in the general defence.

10.—To Mr. Van Ryneveld, and the burgher force of Graaff-Reinet, for the prompt and spirited manner in which he advanced on a portion of the district; and also for his active and useful operations on his march, the Commander-in-Chief desires to express his acknowledgments, as well as to the burgher force of part of the district of Uitenhage.

11.—All reports heretofore made to Lieut.-Colonel Smith, to be addressed to the Deputy-Quarter-Master-General and Chief of the Staff, for the information of the Commander-in-Chief.

H. G. SMITH, Lieut.-Col., Chief of the Staff.



(No. 4).

*Abstract from the Register of Statements made by Applicants for Relief, to the Board of Relief in Graham's Town, up to the 31st of December, 1835.*

Number of Statements of Applicants for Relief, recorded in the Register.	Number of Individuals included in these statements.	Number of Houses.		Live-stock lost by Applicants.				Live-stock saved by Applicants.			
		Burnt.	Pillaged.	Cattle.	Trained Oxen.	Horses	Sheep & Goats.	Cattle.	Oxen.	Horses	Sheep & Goats.
1,239	5,697	325	261	42,615	5,115	1,772	112,735	6,860	3,144	1,119	99,878

This Summary can give but an imperfect idea of what has been lost or saved even by Applicants, as many of the statements are defective—and there are many severe Sufferers who have not applied to the Board.

*Abstract from the Record Book of the Local Committee at Kat River, connected with the Board of Relief at Graham's Town, up to the 14th of December, 1835.*

Number of Statements recorded at Kat River.	Number of Individuals included in these statements.	Number of Houses.		Live-stock lost by Applicants.				Live-stock saved by Applicants.			
		Burnt.		Cows & Calves.	Oxen.	Horses	Sheep & Goats.	Cows & Calves.	Oxen.	Horses	Sheep & Goats.
578	2,673	44		2,488	1,504	557	5,460	892	522	67	2,465
Total, 1,817	8,370	369	261	45,103	6,619	2,329	118,195	7,752	3,666	1,186	102,343

NOTE.—Out of these 1,817 applications, 857 are by persons of Dutch extraction; 259 British Settlers; 701 by Hottentots and other persons of color.

(No 5).

*Return of Killed and Wounded at the Action at Comitty's Drift, between the 11th and 14th January.*

## KILLED.

John Robinson, Corporal 75th Regiment.

Gardiner,	} 72d Regiment,
Pat McGarigal,	
Alexander Watt,	
William Brown,	

John Francis Goodwin, Volunteer.

Richard Bland, 2 Troop of Albany Sharpshooters.

W. Western, inhabitant of Port Elizabeth.

Frederick Van der Schyff, Dutch Burgher.

Pieter Van Rooyen, do.

Helligert Van Rooyen, do.

Casper Loetz, do.

William Hans, Hottentot.



## WOUNDED.

Jas. Howell; Timothy Thomas; James Thackwray; David Essing; Stoffel Cobus; Hendrik Bartman; Hans Van der Vent; Michael Hans; Cobus Van Koppen; John Robertson; William Smith, 72d Regt. (badly, leg amputated above the knee); D. Christie, of the 72d Regt.

(No. 6.)

Head-Quarters, Graham's Town, 18th February, 1835.

## GENERAL ORDERS.

*Consisting of detachments of the*

Royal Artillery,  
Royal Engineers,  
72d Highlanders,  
75th Regiment,  
Cape Mounted Rifle Corps,  
Albany Sharpshooters,  
Hottentot Sharpshooters,  
Burghers of Uitenhage,  
George,  
Graaff-Reinet,

Provisional Companies of  
Cape Cavalry attached to  
the Cape Corps,  
Port Elizabeth Yeomanry.

1.—The Commander-in-Chief congratulates Colonel Smith, and the officers and troops under his orders—consisting of detachments from the corps named in the margin—upon the complete success which has crowned their recent operations, and by which the necessary and important object has been attained of driving the hostile tribes from the woods and fastnesses of the Great Fish River.

2.—This enterprise was one of no ordinary difficulty. The enemy was numerous, well armed with muskets, and determined to hold his ground; which, from the rugged and thickly wooded ravines, was singularly favorable to his peculiar mode of fighting. The heat of the climate was suffocating in the woods; the unavoidable scarcity of water distressing; and the movements necessarily laborious and fatiguing: nevertheless, the able dispositions of the officer commanding, the prompt and exact execution of his orders, by those who led the different columns, and the unswerving and persevering energy of the officers and troops, triumphed over all obstacles, and the enemy were routed everywhere, and driven from their strongholds and over the

Keiskamma, with a great loss in killed and wounded; and of all their possessions in cattle, of which 4,000 head, with large quantities of sheep, goats, and some horses, fell into our hands.

3.—It is very gratifying to the Commander-in-Chief to have learned from Col. Smith's report of his proceedings, that "every officer and man employed in the achievement of this important service, has, throughout it, well and cheerfully done his duty."

4.—The Commander-in-Chief desires to offer the expression of his full approbation, and of his thanks, to Colonel Smith for his able dispositions, and for the active and successful energy with which he carried them into effect. To the Colonels Somerset and England, who so well and efficiently conducted the flanking columns; to the Majors Gregory, of the 98th, M<sup>r</sup>Lean, of the 72d, and Cox, of the 75th; to Captain Hallifax, of the 75th; to the Lieutenants Levinge, of the Royal Artillery, Montgomery Williams, of the Royal Engineers, and Sutton, of the 75th Regt.; to Captain Bagot, late of the 47th Regt.; Lieutenant Ross, of the Cape Mounted Rifles; the Field-commandants Rademeyer and Pienaar, (the 1st of the George, the 2d of the Graaff-Reinet burghers); to Mr. Howell, of the Port Elizabeth burghers; to Assistant Surgeon Ford, of the 72d Regt., and all the officers and troops engaged, regulars, burghers, and Hottentot levies; all of whom have behaved admirably—the Commander-in-Chief gives his thanks, and the assurance of his high sense of their services.

H. G. SMITH, Colonel, Chief of the Staff.

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(No. 7).

#### GENERAL ORDERS.

Head-Quarters, Graham's Town, 26th February, 1835.

1.—The Commander-in-Chief requests to thank Captain Armstrong, of the Cape Mounted Rifles, commanding on the Kat River, for his gallant defence of his post against the numerous hordes of Kafirs, who attacked it on all sides on the 19th instant., who were everywhere defeated, and fled, leaving many dead and wounded.

2.—The foresight with which Captain Armstrong anticipated this attack—his able dispositions to meet it, and the cool determination with which he carried them into successful execution, have been alike conspicuous, and are most honorable to him.

3.—Captain Armstrong praises all the troops under his orders, not only the Cape Mounted Rifle Corps (whose courage and firmness have been so often proved), but also to the Kat River local force, under Field-cornet Groepe, and the New Beaufort Levy, under Major Blakeway, who all behaved steadily and bravely, and to whom the Commander-in-Chief desires to return his thanks.

4.—His Excellency also desires to express to Field-commandant Van Wyk, the high sense which he entertains of his ready promptness in bringing up, at the first alarm, the valuable aid of his mounted burghers to the support of Captain Armstrong.

H. G. SMITH, Colonel, Chief of the Staff.

(No. 8).

## NOTICE.

Head-Quarters, Graham's Town, 13th March, 1835.

On the 6th instant one of the patrols belonging to the line of posts established on the right bank of the Keiskamma—from the Ebb-and-flow Drift to Fort Willshire—discovered the track of a considerable number of Kafirs, who had contrived to pass in unperceived between the posts during the preceding night, and had apparently taken the direction of the Comitty's and Trumpetter's Drifts, on the Fish River.

In the middle of the 7th Capt. Jervis, of the 72d, commanding at Fort Willshire, combined with Field-commandant Rademeyer, who, with a part of his burgher force and a three-pounder gun, had joined him from his camp at Mount Somerset, moved down from the Keiskamma ridge in the direction which the entering Kafirs had taken, and found a considerable number of them in a woody ravine towards Comitty's Drift; these they attacked, drove them out of it, and dispersed them, capturing about 100 head of cattle, which the Kafirs had brought with them; with some loss in killed and wounded to the enemy, and none on the part of our troops, whose conduct was excellent in this movement, and alike did great credit to Capt. Jervis and Field-commandant Rademeyer. In the mean time the advanced parties of the Kafirs, (of which that attacked seems to have been the rear) had passed on to the Comitty's and Trompeter's Drift's woods of the Fish River, and had succeeded in surprising a part of Port Elizabeth Burghers, placed on the right bank of the Fish River, at Trumpeter's Drift, for the protection of a punt building there for the convenience of a passage to the Commissariat. In this surprise the Burghers lost four killed, with four Hottentot wagon-drivers who had been allowed to take over the wagon-oxen to graze on the left bank of the river, and who had there fallen a prey, in the first instance, to the Kafirs.

In the afternoon of the 7th, the reports of these events having been received at head-quarters, Colonel Somerset (who had been for some days previously occupied there in re-organizing the cavalry for the operations about to take place in advance) proceeded to his corps on the Fish River, which was reinforced by a six-pounder gun of the Royal Artillery, and the 2d battalion of Provisional Colonial Infantry of Major Stockenstrom, while, to guard against the possibility of the Kafirs penetrating from the Fish River through the woods of the Kapinto the country westward of that river, (which was very likely to be their object for the recovery of the cattle lately taken from them, and now at pasture near Salem), the first battalion of Provisional Colonial Infantry of Major Bagot, supported by a force of Graaff-Reinet burghers, under Captain Forbes, of the Cape Mounted Rifle Corps, marched to Waay Plaats for the protection of the line above the Kap.

Meanwhile Colonel Smith, the Deputy-Quarter-Master-General, and Chief of the Staff (who was proceeding to the neighbourhood of Fort Willshire to prepare a central camp of assembly for the troops about to advance), was directed to superintend such operations as might become necessary from Fort Willshire down the ridge of the Keiskamma, during those carrying on from the Fish River thither.

In the course of the 8th and 9th, the fastnesses between these rivers were accordingly scoured by several bodies of the troops under Colonel Somerset and the different parties of the enemy who had lodged themselves therein,

were driven out, so that the patrols of the 11th and of yesterday have not discovered any remaining between the Fish and Keiskamma Kivers or upon the Kap; and their tracks appear to have been all directed over the Keiskamma into Kafirland.

In the course of the 9th, the Field-commandant Rademeyer, with the George and Uitenhage burgher force, retiring to his camp on the Chusie from scouring the line between it and Trompetter's Drift, had entered, with a small detached party, a closely-wooded ravine to examine a fire, and was surrounded by an immensely superior number of Kafirs, who were lying there, and who attacked him with the utmost determination. The intrepidity, able conduct, and personal prowess of the Field-commandant, and the corresponding gallantry of his people on this occasion, were beyond all praise; he fought his way through the enemy without flinching, and the rest of his force coming to his support, defeated them with a loss of 70 killed and many wounded, and resumed his march to his camp. In this unequal combat, however, he lost 5 killed, and 8 wounded; the latter being all brought in, and receiving immediately the able medical aid of Dr. Morgan, Staff-Assistant Surgeon, attached to that corps.

On the 9th Colonel Smith, from the river Keiskamma, in the neighbourhood of Fort Willshire, had pursued a retreating horde of the Kafirs some miles into Kafirland, in the direction of Amatoli, of whom he killed some; but could not overtake the body of them, on account of the fatigue of his horses: he, however, destroyed a great number of their dwellings and establishments, and then returned to Fort Willshire. On the 9th also, as had been anticipated, several parties of Kafirs penetrated to the banks of the Kap, from whence they retired over the Fish River, probably on seeing the troops on the Waay Plaats ridge.

The Kafirs having brought cattle with them, had probably reckoned upon remaining some time in the fastnesses of the Fish River as before, and one of their main objects (as before suggested) was, perhaps, to penetrate to the neighbourhood of Salem, and recover the captured cattle.

The loss of the enemy in these days has been about 150.

Ours has amounted to 9 killed and 13 wounded.

The troops employed in these operations have done their duty to the satisfaction of the Commander-in-Chief.

By Command of His Excellency,

W. H. DUTTON, Major, Military Secretary.

(No. 9).

#### GENERAL ORDERS.

Head-Quarters, Camp on the Keiskamma, 29th March, 1835.

1.—The Commander-in-Chief has again the satisfaction to record his approbation of the able conduct of Colonel Smith.

2.—The well-directed inroad which he led into the enemy's country on the 26th inst., penetrating to the Umdesina, was as judiciously planned as it was determinedly and successfully executed.

3.—The rapidity with which this march of 30 miles was performed, the gallantry with which the enemy was attacked in his own settlement, under the Amatoli, upon the strong woody ground of which he was collected in great numbers, and from which he was driven; the complete success of the enterprise, and well-ordered return to the camp after a march of nearly 60 miles in 23 hours, exclusive of the operations in the field, alike demand the praise of the Commander-in-Chief.

4.—It is gratifying that this was achieved without loss on our part, and with only one man wounded.

5.—The enemy's settlement was destroyed.

6.—The troops employed consisted of detachments of the Cape Mounted Rifles, under Ensign Lowen; of the Swellendam burgher force, under Field-commandant Linde; of the Albany burgher force, under Field-commandant Dreyer; and of the Corps of Guides.

7.—Of all these Col. Smith speaks in the highest terms of their gallantry, perseverance, and activity, in very inclement weather, and patiently enduring great fatigue; and especially notices the veteran Field-commandant Linde (this being his 6th campaign against the Kafir enemy), Field-commandant Dreyer, whose conduct upon this as well as former occasions of the present war has been conspicuously good; and he also mentions Lieut. Balfour, 72d Highlanders, his acting Aide-de-Camp, for his conduct upon this and previous occasions, and speaks highly of Ensign Lowen, of the Cape Mounted Rifles, and of Messrs. Bowker, Southey, and Driver, of the Corps of Guides.

8.—To Col. Smith, and all these officers and troops, the Commander-in-Chief returns his thanks.

H. G. SMITH, Colonel, Chief of the Staff.

(No. 10).

#### GENERAL ORDERS.

Camp, Poorts of the Buffalo, 10th April, 1835.

The Commander-in-Chief was much gratified by the well-directed movements, and very gallant conduct, of the troops who composed the patrols under Colonel Smith, in the Buffalo mountains, on the 7th instant.

Being detachments of  
The 72d Highlanders,  
Cape Mounted Rifles,  
Corps of Guides,  
1st Provisional Battalion,  
Swellendam Burghers.

In this brilliant affair the Captains Murray, of the 72d Regiment,—Crause, Bailie, Gilfillan, and Cowderoy, of the 1st Provisional Battalion, were distinguished; and Colonel Smith acknowledges the assistance he received from Lieutenant Balfour, his acting Aide-de-Camp, and from Field-commandant Linde, of the Swellendam burghers.

But the intrepid and determined perseverance of Captain Murray, of the 72d (who, although severely wounded, continued his exertions to the end of the day), and of his company of the 72d, were of the highest order, and deserve the especial praise of the Commander-in-Chief.

H. G. SMITH, Colonel, Chief of the Staff.

(No. 11.)

## NOTICE.

Head-Quarters, Camp between the Gonube and the Kye, April 13, 1835.

On the 28th March, the Commander-in-Chief having completed his arrangements for the 1st and 3d lines of Frontier defence, and inspected the former of these lines, (as far as it embraced the country of the Bothas Hill and Waay Plaats range, and of the Great Fish and Keiskamma Rivers, from the sea to Fort Willshire,) arrived in the central camp of the troops assembled for the invasion of Kafirland, which had been placed for that purpose as follows:

*Officers Commanding Divisions:—*

1st. Col. Peddie, K. H.

2d. Col. Somerset, K. H.

3d. Major Cox.

4th. Commandant Van Wyk.

The 1st Division (with the head-quarters), opposite the Fort Willshire Drift Ford of the Keiskamma.

The 2d near Mount Somerset, opposite the Ling Drift Ford.

The 3d at Fort Beaufort, opposite the Block Drift Ford on the Chumie.

The 4th on the Klipplaat River, near the Moravian missionary station "Shiloh."

Of these the 2d and 4th divisions were all Cavalry. Each division had with it a months' supplies, and the depôts for renewing them had been formed at Fort Willshire and Fort Beaufort.

By this disposition the troops at once preserved a strong defensive attitude on the Frontier, to the last, and were placed in the best relative position for offensive operations afterwards,—since, under any circumstances, the centre of the advancing force would have been directed, in the first instance, on the Debs, and the high-road to Kafirland, the flanking divisions moving correspondingly.

At this time, it appeared, that the hostile tribes of the chiefs Tyall, Macomo, Eno, Bothma, T'Slambie, Dushanie, &c., who had devastated the districts of the colonial border in December and January last, had (since their last unsuccessful attempt to penetrate into the colony by the Fish River and the Waay Plaats, early in March, and the severe chastisement which they had then incurred) thrown themselves into the mountain chain from the Chumie eastward, embracing the Amatola, the Tabin-doda, and their dependencies, and extending to, and connecting with, the Buffalo mountains, above the sources of the Keiskamma and Buffalo, closing in the basin of woody ravines called the "Poorts of the Buffalo;" where they possessed the advantage of a ready communication with the chief Hintza, who had, some months before, moved for that purpose to the country of the Amava, on the Upper Kye; and who, it was well known, had all along covertly countenanced their proceedings against the colony, and received into his country large quantities of the plundered cattle, horses, sheep, &c.

On the 30th and 31st of March the three right divisions broke up from their respective camps, and moved, the 1st (and Head-Quarters) to the Deba, where it encamped under the southern base of the Tabin-doda, on the 1st of April; the 2d division along the country up the left bank of the Keiskamma, clearing in its course of all straggling parties of the enemy, and joining the Head-Quarters and 1st division, encamped also on the Deba on the 1st.

The 3d to the Block Drift Ford of the Chumie, and the 4th moving from the Klipplaat River by the Bontebok Flats, was directed upon the northern side of the Keiskamma and Buffalo mountains.



In the course of the 1st and 2d April, it had been ascertained that the chief Tyali was in his usual retreat, the lesser Amatoli; and that the other chiefs were also in connection with him, and in the chain of mountains above described, which was corroborated by their fires along the Amatoli and Tabin-doda.

In consequence of this, on the night of the 2d and the morning of the 3d of April, a series of concentric operations commenced, and continued—all the divisions co-operating—the 1st and 3d acting in the mountains, the 2d and 4th flanking their movements along the northern and southern bases of the hills respectively,—by which corresponding portions of the range were successively encircled, and thoroughly beaten and cleared of the Kafirs, who retired eastward, until the chiefs mentioned above, with their followers, were all congregated in the fastnesses of the Poorts of the Buffalo; where—the troops having been well drawn round them, and placed at their respective points of attack on the evening of the 8th—they were attacked early in the morning of the 9th, and these operations concluded early in the morning of the 10th, by the assembled chiefs being every where driven from their ground, and dispersed through the woods and mountains, each seeking separate shelter as they could find it—disheartened and dismayed, as was known by their women and deserters; and none having escaped into the valley of the Buffalo, or in the direction of the Kye, which had been watched by the cavalry of the 2d and 4th divisions. A considerable number of the Hottentots who had been carried off in December, now deserted the Kafirs, and came in with their guns.

These operations, from the 1st of April to the 12th inclusive, cost the enemy great loss in killed and wounded,—several of their minor chiefs (one a son of Eno)—altogether about 15,000 head of cattle taken and sent into the colony; and above all other advantages the Kafirs have been taught—which they had not been in any former war—(when besides they had no guns) that, no matter what may be their strength, and impervious nature of the plains and mountains in which they may harbour, they will be closed with unhesitatingly by the troops, penetrating to them in all directions, and as certainly defeated in the hand-to-hand combats resulting from this mode of attack.

This done, the Commander-in-Chief, on the evening of the 10th, directed the 3d division, under Major Cox, to continue upon the theatre of the recent operations, and incessantly to pursue, attack, and harass, all the straggling parties of the enemy, allowing them no repose; and by this means preventing them from banding together for any mischievous purpose to the colonial border during the farther advance of the invading force, (which arrangement also protects the communications with it by the road over the Deba,) and to render this security to the frontier more effectual, the 4th division, under Field-commandant Van Wyk, was at the same time sent to take post in the country of the Chumie, for the present, where he will be disposable, not only as an immediate reinforcement to the defences of that portion of the border, but be enabled to detach parties of his cavalry to sweep the country towards the Chalumna, and the left bank of the lower Keiskamma, and to drive into the colony the cattle collected by the enemy in that direction. Having made these arrangements, the Commander-in-Chief moved, on the 11th, with the 1st division upon the Kye, by the high road over the Buffalo and Gonube rivers (according to his original plan of operations) sending, on the morning of the 10th, the 2d division along the country down the banks of those rivers, towards the sea,—with orders to attack and vigorously follow up all bodies of Kafirs which might fall in its way (that country having been their resort for securing their cattle), and then rejoin his head-quarters on the Gonube, on his onwards route to enter the territories of Hintza, —with

whom there is an account to settle. Colonel Somerset has reported his having killed a chief, and about 30 of the enemy, and taken nearly 3,000 head of cattle.

It is quite impossible to speak too highly of the troops employed in these operations. Their excellent discipline—the correct precision with which they have executed the various combinations for flanking and hemming in the enemy,—the patient perseverance with which they have endured extraordinary fatigue, and penetrated the fastnesses of the mountains,—and the brilliant gallantry with which, forcing their way into the woody ravines to reach the enemy, they have closed with and defeated them wherever they were to be found,—have been alike beyond all praise. The new Hottentot levies have behaved admirably well, deserving equal mention with the old soldiers; and the annexed General Orders will attest the Commander-in-Chief's appreciation of the merits of all.

Meanwhile, it is most gratifying that the killed and wounded in all these affairs have only amounted to the numbers in the following list (the two marked \* having been the result of accidents),—that the latter have all (with two exceptions) done well,—and that there is scarcely a sick man to be found in any of the divisions.

By command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief,  
W. H. DUTTON, Major, Military Secretary

Head-Quarters, Camp in Kafirland.

*Return of the Killed and Wounded in the Invading Army, from the 30th March to the 13th April, 1835.*

3 Killed. { \*1 Serjeant, 1st Provisional Hottentot Battalion,  
          \*1 Private, Cape Mounted Rifles,  
          1 do., 2d Provisional Hottentot Battalion.

\*These two were killed by accident, and one only by the enemy.

11 Wounded. { 1 Field-commandant, slightly.  
                  1 Captain, 72d Regt. severely.  
                  4 Privates, do., 1 severely, 3 slightly.  
                  1 Burgher Force, 3d division, severely.  
                  2 Privates, 2d Provisional Hottentot Battalion, 1 severely, 1 slightly.  
                  1 of the Corps of Guides, dangerously.  
                  1 Camp Follower, severely.

The wounded are doing well, with the exception of the man of the Guides, and one of the 2d Provisional Hottentot Battalion.

The troops have been uncommonly healthy since entering Kafirland.

JOHN MURRAY, Principal Medical Officer.

(No. 12).

GENERAL ORDERS.

Head-Quarters, Camp on the Dabakazi, 3d May, 1835.

1.—While the 1st and 2d divisions have been employed on this side of the Kye, the 3d and 4th divisions, under Major Cox and Commandant Van Wyk, have ably and efficiently executed the instructions with which these officers were charged, when they remained on the other side of the Buffalo, to harass and pursue, through the mountains and glens, the beaten and dispersed tribes of the frontier chiefs; they have accordingly scoured the moun-

tains of the Chumie, Amatoli, Keiskamma, and Buffalo, allowing the enemy no repose or resting-place; and especially from the 19th to the 20th of the last month, when they caused the Kafirs a great loss in men, and captured and sent into the colony 5,000 head of their cattle.

2.—In these active and continued operations, carried on in a country of mountains very difficult to penetrate, the troops have evinced a patient endurance of fatigue, and a determined perseverance which cannot be praised too highly.

3.—The frontier chiefs and their scattered followers are now reaping in consternation and dismay the just fruits of their treachery, bad faith, and unprovoked atrocities towards the colony; and, disappointed at the support which they had expected from Hintza, of which the recent operations of the troops here have deprived them—they are wandering through the mountains seeking individual safety.

4.—Meanwhile the colonial border has been so perfectly protected by the movements of the four divisions of the forces in Kafirland, that no Kafirs have crossed it since the day these forces took the field.

5.—On the 27th ult. Captain Warden, Cape Mounted Rifles, with a detachment of the Cape Mounted Rifles, Kat River Legion, and Fingoes, joined by the Tambookie tribe of Voosanie, under the chief Vadanna, attacked the parties of Hintza, beyond the river Bashee, caused them considerable loss, and captured 4,000 head of cattle.

6.—The Commander-in-Chief desires to offer his thanks for these important services to all the officers and troops employed in them, and for the discipline, perseverance, and gallantry with which they have been performed; and especially to the Commandant Van Wyk; to Major Cox; to Major Stockenstrom and Captain Stretch, of the 2d Provisional Battalion; to Captain Jervis, of the 72d Highlanders; to Lieutenant Granatt, Cape Mounted Rifles; to Lieutenant Sutton, 75th Regt., Field-Adjutant to the 3d division; and Captain Warden, of the Cape Mounted Rifles.

7.—Captain Armstrong, on the 10th and 11th ult., in the neighbourhood of Camp Adelaide, from the herds of which post some cattle had been stolen, executed a very skillful night march, surprised the kraals of the Kafir robbers, of whom some were killed, the cattle re-taken, with others in addition, to the amount of 700 head, and securely driven back to the post.

This service was performed with Captain Armstrong's usual ability and judgment, and the Commander-in-Chief desires to offer him his thanks for it.

H. G. SMITH, Colonel, Chief of the Staff.

(No. 13).

#### GENERAL ORDERS.

Head-Quarters, Camp on the Izolo, May 2d, 1835.

1.—With reference to the General Order of the 30th ult., announcing the cessation of Hostilities with the chief Hintza, who had then accepted the conditions prescribed to him,—the Commander-in-Chief now desires to record his opinion of the achievements of those detachments of this force whose duty it was to be more immediately instrumental in these successful results.

2.—They will be best set forth in the reports of the distinguished officer who conducted them, which follow; and the Commander-in-Chief the rather publishes them entire, for the information of the troops, because they afford a striking example of the true manner in which such services should be led (alike in a plain or mountain country, both of which they embrace), and how the leader should be seconded and obeyed by his troops.

Head-Quarters, 30th April, 1835, Bivouac on the Izolo.

SIR,—I have the honor to report to your Excellency that immediately after the proclamation of hostilities against the chief Hintza, on the morning of the 24th inst. I proceeded, in conformity with your instructions, with a patrol of thirty of the Cape Mounted Rifles, two hundred and ten of the Mounted Burgher Force, of the 1st and 2d divisions, and thirty of the Corps of Guides, for the purpose of reconnoitering the enemy, and to intercept some of the numerous herds of cattle which were said to be passing rapidly over the Tsomo.

After leaving Butterworth I crossed the Kamegha, and marched in the direction of the Gons, until the dust of the retreating enemy became perceptible. A Fingo at this time came in to report that the uncle of the chief Maguay was near us, and might, if great expedition were used, be captured. I despatched my Aide-de-Camp, Lient. Balfour, 72d Regt., with a detachment of the Cape Corps, to pursue him, and to take him, if possible. This service he effected in the most dextrous and judicious manner, bringing him in a prisoner, together with one of his followers, and 80 head of cattle.

In order to follow up the retreating enemy with the greatest possible expedition, I ordered to the front of the column the Field-cornets Nel and Greyling, of the Albany burghers, being the best mounted of my patrol; with Field-cornet Greyling I pursued the enemy, Field-cornet Nel making a flank movement to the right; and the body of the detachment following with the utmost rapidity to support the meditated attack. After a gallop at full speed of *an hour and-a-half*, the advance succeeded in coming up with the enemy at the foot of the Kamegha Berg, about an hour before dark, and captured 4,000 head of the most beautiful cattle; twenty Kafirs were killed, several wounded, and the brother of the chief Chopo was taken prisoner.

At about 2 o'clock on the following morning the pursuit of the enemy was resumed, and after crossing the Kamegha Berg some Kafirs were shot, and 12,000 head of cattle captured.

In these operations I derived the greatest assistance from Captain Doyle, Asst.-Qr.-Mr.-General; and of the gallant and intrepid conduct of the Field-cornets Nel and Greyling I cannot speak too highly; both these individuals have suffered severely from the Kafir invasion, and I beg to call your Excellency's attention to the meritorious services they have so frequently rendered whilst under my command, as deserving of any mark of approbation which you may be pleased to bestow on them.

To Lient. Balfour I am highly indebted for the boldness and activity which he displayed in executing the important service with which he was entrusted.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) H. G. SMITH, Colonel, Chief of the Staff.

His Excellency Sir B. D'URBAN, K. C. B.,  
Governor, and Commander-in-Chief.

Head-Quarters, 30th April, 1835,  
Bivouac on the Izolo.

SIR,—Your Excellency having been pleased to place under my command a detachment of the Cape Cors, forty of the Burgher Force, of the 1st division, two companies of the 72d Regt., three companies of the 1st Provisional Battalion, and three hundred Fingoes, for the purpose of crossing the Tsomo, and proceeding, according to circumstances, either down its right bank, or in the direction of the Kye;—I have the honor to report that I marched from

this camp at 5 o'clock on the morning of the 26th inst., and having ascertained, on my arrival at the Tsomo, that the chief Hintza was at his kraal on the Gongolocho, a small rivulet about seven miles distant from the Tsomo, I pushed forward with the greatest rapidity possible in the hope of taking him by surprise; but one of his mounted patrols, whom we observed in our front, gave him timely notice to elude our pursuit. The kraal on our arrival bore evident marks of having been recently inhabited.

I then proceeded in the direction of a mountainous range between the Tsomo and the Kye, upon which a considerable number of cattle had been observed. The infantry were directed to follow the course of the Tsomo, if practicable, whilst I moved with the mounted force directly on that part of the mountain where the cattle had been seen. Upon our approach the enemy fled with the utmost rapidity, driving off his flocks and herds in every direction into the deep ravines with which the mountain is intersected. About 4,000 head of cattle fell into the hands of the infantry; and by pursuing the enemy with the utmost vigour and rapidity, the cavalry succeeded in coming up with him at the head of a very deep ravine called the Accalomba, which descends into the Kye. I dismounted all the burghers, and directed them to enter the kloof and to descend to its lower extremity, there to turn and drive the cattle out before them. Two prisoners were taken, and 1,200 head of cattle fell into our hands.

At this time I was about 20 miles distant from my infantry; I, therefore, drove the cattle towards them for two hours after dark, and then bivouacked for the night; from one of the prisoners I ascertained that a considerable number of the enemy, with a large herd of cattle, were in the bed of the Kye. I, therefore, lost no time in proceeding to put myself in command of the infantry, which I found bivouacked on the left bank of the Tsomo; and after sending off the cattle already captured, I proceeded with the greatest possible rapidity to the Accalomba, and pursued its course till I arrived at the Kye. The heat during this day's march was excessive, and the route most mountainous and difficult; yet, about two hours before dark, after an uninterrupted march of 25 miles, I succeeded in coming up with the enemy in the pass described by the Kafir; he fled with such rapidity that two of his horses died from fatigue the moment they came into our possession. About 3,000 head of magnificent cattle (of which about 1,200 were colonial), and several horses fell into our hands. I bivouacked on the Kye, and the next morning proceeded on my return, and arrived here on the second day at 2 P.M.

I assure your Excellency that the difficulties of the road, the distance marched, and the extreme heat of the weather, required the most unremitting exertion in the troops; and the energy and perseverance of the officers and men merit your Excellency's marked approbation.

The result of the five days' operations of the troops under my command has been most satisfactory; nearly 15,000 head of cattle have fallen into our hands, many of the enemy have been shot, whilst our loss has been trifling; and the savages have again been taught that neither woods, ravines, nor mountains can secure them from the pursuit of British troops.

In the course of these operations I felt much indebted to Major White, the Asst.-Qr.-Mr. General to the Burgher force, for the great judgment and ability he displayed, and the valuable assistance I derived from him. I also beg to acknowledge my sense of the services of Captains Murray and Craven, 72d Highlanders; of Captains Crause, Cowderoy, and Gilfillan, of the 1st Provisional Battalion; of Lieut. Wade, of the Cape Mounted Rifles; and also of my Aide-de-Camp, Lieut. Balfour; and of the officers and troops generally.

I am particularly indebted to Mr. Driver, of the Corps of Guides, for the

spirited manner in which he descended into this ravine —though full of Kafirs —setting a bright example to the burghers whom I had dismounted for that purpose.

More difficult and fatiguing marches no troops ever encountered, and these happy results could not have been obtained without extraordinary exertions.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) H. G. SMITH, Colonel, Chief of the Staff.

His Excellency Sir B. D'URBAN, K. C. B., K. C. H.,  
Governor and Commander in Chief.

3.—The Commander-in-Chief most fully concurs in the well-merited eulogium which Colonel Smith has passed upon the officers and soldiers under his command during these arduous and eminent services. For these he offers his thanks to them all, and especially to Col. Smith himself; to Capt. Doyle, 72d Regt., Asst.-Qr.-Mr.-General; to the Field-Cornets Greyling and Nel, of the Albany Burghers; to Lient.-Balfour, 72d Regt., Aide-de-Camp to Colonel Smith; to Major White, Asst.-Qr.-Mr.-Gen. of the Burgher Force; to the Captains Murray and Craven, of the 73d Highlanders; Crause, Cowderoy, and Gilfillan, of the 1st Provisional Battalion; to Lieut. Wade, of the Cape Mounted Rifles; and to Mr. Driver, of the Corps of Guides.

(No. 14).

#### NOTICE.

Head-quarters, Camp on the Dabakazi, 3d May, 1835.

Since the notice of the 13th of April last, "from the Camp between the Goube and the Kye" (and with reference to it), the following movements and events have taken place:—

On the 15th of April, the Commander-in-Chief crossed the Kye with the 1st division, and entered the country of Hintza, duly announcing to that chief the cause of this measure, namely, to demand from him a "satisfactory answer, hitherto withheld, to the official communications made to him in February and March last, respectively, through the Commandant Van Wyk; and, if necessary, to enforce the fulfilment of the conditions therein proposed;" and inviting and requiring the chief to meet him in person to settle this question, without resorting to hostilities; from which, he was informed, that the British troops would abstain, awaiting a reasonable period for his answer: proved that His people committed no hostile act upon *them*. The adherence on our part to this promise, was secured before crossing the Kye, by the General Order annexed, and was faithfully observed.

On the 17th the Commander-in-Chief encamped with the 1st division on the Gona (near the late station of the Wesleyan mission), the ordinary residence of Hintza, before his recent removal to the Upper Kye, for the purpose of carrying on more readily his communications with the chiefs of the frontier, then in arms against the colony (with whom he had evidently coalesced), and of receiving his share of the colonial plunder.

On the 20th the 2d division joined the head-quarters on the Gona, its earlier junction having met with some delay, the horses being much fatigued.

On the 22d the Commander-in-Chief, who, as soon as he had arrived at the Gona, had taken measures to open a communication with the English missionaries beyond the Bashee (including the missionary formerly on the Gona, who had fled thither for refuge from the violence and rapine of Hintza), having been made aware, by their answer, of the danger of their present situation, and of their earnest desire to come away, detached an officer, with



a sufficient escort, to bring them in security to his camp, in order to their afterward proceeding to the colony, their further stay in these countries being, for the present, at once utterly useless to the cause of religion, and very perilous to themselves.

Meanwhile the time appointed for the coming of Hintza to a conference had elapsed; it had been fixed at five days from the original communication made to him on the 15th of April, which was ample time for the purpose, since he was known then to be no more than a day's distance from the headquarters. The Commander-in-Chief, however, waited four additional days, and then, (on the ninth day,) when it had become manifest that the chief was studiously and evasively practising delay; and when, besides, his people had themselves broken the condition of the suspension of hostilities, by the murder of a British messenger—Armstrong—on the high-road between the camp and the Kye;—he, on the 24th April, called before him Coubou, a councillor and captain of Hintza's, and known to be such in his confidence, (who had come into the camp as a spy), recapitulated to him the cause of the quarrel, proclaimed war with Hintza, in his presence, and dismissed him to inform Hintza of it.

On the arrival of the Commander in Chief on the Gona, he has found in the surrounding country a race of people called "Fingoes," the remnant of a tribe (with their descendants) who, as it appears, had formerly inhabited a district farther eastward, but had been since nearly exterminated by Chaka, the Zoola chief; and having fled into Hintza's country for refuge, they were converted into slaves, and held in the most degraded state of bondage, the Kafirs exercising the power of life and death over them at will and without appeal, and regarding them in little higher estimation than beasts; Hintza himself, in a recent conference, having said that they were *his dogs*, and expressed his surprise that he should be forbidden to kill them at his pleasure.

Nevertheless, they are represented as an industrious, gentle, and well-disposed tribe; good herdsmen, good agriculturists, and useful servants; (withal, well armed with shields and assegais, and practised in their use.) They are extremely well spoken of by all the Missionaries who have lived among them, whose ministry they regularly attended; and, indeed, they had contributed mainly to save the lives and property of the last missionary, Mr. Ayliffe and his family, upon a recent occasion, and enabled them to escape to the Bashee.

The eight chiefs (Macalina, Umkusukaba, Mabackala, Tacmenie, Macklaabiso, Matomela, Umsutu, and Tama,) of their tribe, (which amounts perhaps to 6,000 souls,) had come to the Commander-in-Chief in a body soon after his arrival on the Gona, and earnestly besought him, in the name and behalf of their people, to receive them under British protection, as subjects of the King of England, and that they might return to the colony with the troops, and be settled in or near it. They added, that the oppression of the Kafirs of Hintza was so intolerable, and their apprehension of future danger from them so great, in consequence of the assistance they afforded to the British Missionaries, that they were determined at any rate, to migrate, and seek some other country.

The Commander-in-Chief having well weighed this question in all its bearings, came to the conclusion, that a compliance with their entreaty would be at once an act of the greatest beneficence in itself, as effecting the emancipation of 6,000 human beings from the very lowest and worst state of slavery, and in the true spirit of the sweeping emancipation so recently made by the mother country; while, at the same time, it would obviously assist his measures in the present war, and render ultimately a most important



benefit to the colony; and, with regard to Hintza and his people, this privation would be but an act of justice, as well on account of the cruel oppression which they have exercised towards these Fingoes, as of their treachery and ungrateful conduct towards the colony, which had well merited this addition to the other chastisements prepared for them. He therefore, acceded to their wishes, received them as free British subjects, and will bring them back to the colony; where, if they be settled in the present uninhabited, and worse than useless, district, between the Fish River and Lower Keiskamma, they will soon convert it into a country abounding in cattle and corn,—will furnish the best of all barriers against the entrance of the Kafirs into the Fish River bush, (so long a source of mortal apprehension and injury to the colony,) and will, besides, afford to the colonists a plentiful supply of excellent hired servants. In the meanwhile, they are of essential use here, as guides and cattle-drivers, and are, moreover, well-disposed to fight against the Kafirs.

On the 24th and 25th April, after declaring war and dismissing the counsellor of Hintza, the Commander-in-Chief moved with the 1st division towards the Tsomo, leaving the 2d division on the Gona, to renovate its horses, to secure the depots, and communications by the ford of the Kei, and with the Bashee, and to receive and guard the captured cattle, which the commencing operations could not fail to produce.

On the 25th he encamped on the Izolo, (a tributary stream to the Tsomo, into which it falls a little above the confluence of the latter with the Kye,) a convenient position for his present objects, being in the heart of Hintza's territory, and in the immediate neighbourhood of his residence; while it was, at the same time, a central point of communication from all the necessary quarters, and especially approximated more nearly to the 3d division on the upper Buffalo.

During the 24th and 25th April, Col. Smith, with a patrol of cavalry, moved to the right of the line of march, by the head of the Gona, and succeeded with a handful of men, by an extraordinary rapidity, and by the exercise of that prompt and resolute decision which marks his character, in capturing and securing nearly 6,000 head of cattle, making two chiefs of Hintza's (Maguay and a brother of Chopo) prisoners, and occasioning the enemy some loss in men, with no loss to his own party.

It was an enterprise which has demanded the commendation of the Commander-in-Chief; and Col. Smith speaks very highly of the conduct of Capt. Doyle, of the 72d Regt., Asst.-Qr.-Mr.-General; of Lieut. Balfour, his Aide-de-Camp; and praises especially the intrepid conduct of the Field-cornets Nel and Greyling, of the Albany Burghers. These Field-cornets have been often distinguished during the present war, and are of great merit. Col. Smith having rejoined the head-quarters on the 25th April, again moved on the morning of the 26, with a small detachment of the burgher force, 2 companies of the 72d Regt., 3 of the 1st Provisional Battalion, and some of the Corps of Guides, crossed the Tsomo, penetrated into the mountains to the residence of Hintza, whom he very nearly surprised, beat up the whole of the surrounding glens, and, after an arduous and most fatiguing duty, continuing through the 26th, 27th, and 28th April (during the whole of which time men and officers slept in the woods), brought in altogether from 9 to 10,000 head of beautiful cattle (some hundreds of which were colonial) and part of them the personal property of Hintza.

The admirable manner in which this enterprising officer's design was seconded by the resolute determination, and indomitable perseverance, of the troops through all the difficulties of a rugged and precipitous mountain coun-

try, has well merited the warmest approbation of the Commander-in-Chief; Colonel Smith speaks in the highest terms of Major White, Asst.-Qr.-Mr.-General to the burgher force; Captains Murray and Craven, of the 72d Regt.; Crause, Cowderoy, and Gilfillan, of the 1st Provisional Battalion; of Lieut. Wade, of the Cape Mounted Rifles; of his Aide-de-Camp, Lieut. Balfour; and of Mr. Driver, of the Corps of Guides.

Meanwhile these movements, and their results, had a due effect upon Hintza. The presence of this force in the heart of his country, and in the immediate neighbourhood of his residence,—the narrow personal escape which he had himself experienced, together with the rapidly extending capture of cattle, had probably convinced him of the reality of the danger which his ingratitude and bad faith to the colony had provoked; and that the English power, upon the distance of which he had presumed for impunity when he had insulted it, had reached him at last.

Under this impression, upon the Commander-in-Chief's assurance of safe conduct for himself, and also that no other person would be admitted to treat for him, he came into the camp on the 29th April, with his ordinary retinue of 50 followers, and had an immediate conference with the Commander-in-Chief, which, with its results, will be found in the annexed document, No. 2.

On the 30th April, hostilities were accordingly suspended; and it is gratifying that the loss in the operations which have secured these results, is only to the amount returned in the annexed list, No. 3; and the troops have no sick.

The Commander-in-Chief on the 2d inst. moved with the 1st division to this camp, by which movement it has rejoined the 2d division; and being on the high road between the Gona and the ford of the Kye, is in a convenient position for sending off the captured cattle to the colony,—for awaiting the fulfilment of the treaty which Hintza has made; and for such ulterior measures as may become expedient.

The chief Hintza, and his principal son Krieli, who has since joined together with his uncle Bookoo, continue, by his own desire, to reside in, and move with, the camp of the Commander-in-Chief; and he has dispatched his orders for the immediate collection of his first instalment of 25,000 head of cattle and 500 horses.

In the meanwhile the Commander-in-Chief, who had some time ago entered into an agreement of friendship and alliance with Vadanna, chief of the Voosanie Tambookies, on the Bashee, had sent to that chief a small detachment of cavalry with some Fingoes, under Captain Warden, of the Cape Mounted Rifles; and this officer, in conjunction with a body of Vadanna's warriors, had, on the 27th April, attacked Hintza's posts near the Bashee, defeated them, and taken 4,000 head of cattle. Captain Warden's conduct on this occasion has especially merited the approbation of the Commander-in-Chief.

“At the same time Faku, chief of the Amapondas, who had also been previously treated with, had announced his readiness to co-operate with the British troops on the south-eastern boundary of the country of Hintza, who being now aware of all this,—also knowing that his concession alone will have saved him and his country from the utter destruction which the letting loose upon him the tribes beyond the Bashee, in conjunction with us, will infallibly have brought upon him.

The position into which he has thus fallen may prove a salutary lesson to him, how he engages in schemes against the colony. And in that case it is better that he should remain the single and responsible chief of the country on the left bank of the Kye.

While these events were passing here, the 3d and 4th divisions, under

Major Cox and Commandant Van Wyk, have ably and efficiently executed the instructions with which those officers were charged, when they remained on the other side of the Buffalo, to harass and disperse the beaten and dispirited tribes of the frontier chiefs.

They have accordingly scoured the mountains and glens of the Chumie, Amatoli, Keiskamma, and Buffalo, allowing the enemy no repose or resting-place, and especially from the 17th to the 20th of last month,—when they caused the Kafirs a great loss in men, and captured and sent into the colony 5,000 head of cattle. In the Amatoli and Chumie there are now no Kafirs remaining.

In these active and continued operations, carried on in a country of mountains very difficult to penetrate, the troops have evinced a patient endurance of fatigue, and a determined perseverance which cannot be praised too highly. The frontier chiefs and their scattered followers are now reaping the just fruits of their treachery, bad faith, and unprovoked atrocities towards the colony; and disappointed of the support which they had expected from Hintza, of which the operations of the troops here have deprived them, they are wandering through the mountains seeking individual safety.

Meanwhile the colonial border has been so perfectly protected by the movements of the four divisions of the force in Kafirland, that no Kafirs (excepting here and there one or two straggling robbers), have crossed it since the day the troops took the field.

The following officers of the 3d and 4th divisions have especially merited the praise of the Commander-in-Chief:—the Field-commandant Van Wyk; Major Cox; Major Stockenstrom and Captain Stretch, 2d Provisional Battalion; Capt. Jervis, 72d Regt.; Lieut. Granatt, Cape Mounted Rifles; and Lieut. Sutton, 75th Regt. Field-Adjutant to the 3d division, as have assuredly the whole of the troops in Kafirland. In truth, considering the amount of their aggregate force,—the extent of the operations which they have carried on,—the marches which they have made,—the difficult country with which they often had to contend,—and the brilliant gallantry which they have never failed to shew, whenever there has been occasion for its exercise, together with the results which have been already obtained between the 1st and 30th April,—the Commander-in-Chief feels it an act of justice here to record his great obligations to them all, for their good services, and the expression of his warmest approbation and regard.

By command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief,

W. H. DUTTON, Major, Military Secretary.

(No. 15).

#### DECLARATION,

*In the name of His Most Gracious Majesty WILLIAM THE FOURTH, King of the United Kingdom of England, Ireland, &c. &c., of Possession taken of a Country conquered by His Majesty's Arms.*

I, SIR BENJAMIN D'URBAN, Knight, Commander of the Bath and of Hanover; Major-General in His Majesty's Army; Governor of His Majesty's Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and its Dependencies; Vice-Admiral of the same; and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Forces in South Africa,—for divers weighty reasons set forth in my Proclamation thereon of this date (10th May, 1835) do, here, and hereby, take possession of all the country heretofore lying between the eastern boundary of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and the Kye River,—as well the White Kye as the Great Kye,—

from its source in the Stormberg mountains to the sea,—and the aforesaid country, in all its extent, shall henceforth be added to, and form a part of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope; and shall belong to His Britannic Majesty's colonial dominions.

This done, and personally delivered, on the Kye River, and in presence of the officers and soldiers of His Majesty's forces there assembled, and of Hintza, chief of the country between the Kye and the Bashee, his son and heir Kreili, his relation Bokoo, and his counsellors (heemraden); and hereto I set my hand and seal, this 10th day of May, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Thirty-five, at my head-quarters on the Kye.

GOD SAVE THE KING!

(Signed) B. D'URBAN, Major-General, Governor  
of the Cape of Good Hope, Commander-in-Chief, &c.

A true Copy,

G. DE LA POER BERESFORD, Aide-de-Camp.

No. 16).

PROCLAMATION,

*By His Excellency Major-General Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN, Knight, Commander of the Bath, of Hanover, &c., Major-General in His Majesty's Army, Governor of the Cape of Good Hope and its Dependencies, and Vice-Admiral of the same, and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Forces in South Africa.*

(Signed)

B. D'URBAN, Major-General,  
Governor, and Commander-in-Chief.

Whereas in the months of December and January last past, the Kafr chiefs and their tribes inhabiting the country along the eastern frontier of His Britannic Majesty's colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and between that line and the River Kye, viz.: Tyali, Macomo, Eno, Botma, T'Slambie, Dushani and others their connections and dependents, with the concurrence and countenance of Hintza, chief of the country between the Kye and the Bashee, and paramount chief of Kafirland, during a period of established peace and amity between the colony and these chiefs,—without provocation or declaration of war, suddenly and unexpectedly broke into the colonial frontier along its whole extent; at the same time laid waste all the country with fire and sword; savagely murdered the unprepared inhabitants of the farms; plundered and burned their houses; carried off horses, cattle, sheep, &c., leaving these districts a desert.

And whereas, with the troops of the King, my master, I have defeated, chastised, and dispersed these chiefs and their tribes, and overrun and conquered their country, and thence penetrated into that of Hintza, compelling him to sue for peace and to accept the terms of it, which I had offered, and which he has ratified. And whereas it is absolutely necessary to provide for the future security of the colony against such unprovoked aggressions, which can only be done by removing these treacherous and irreclaimable savages to a safer distance.

I now, therefore, in the name and behalf of His Britannic Majesty, and by virtue of the power vested in me as His Majesty's representative,—

Do hereby proclaim and declare, that the eastern boundary of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope is, henceforward, extended eastward to the right bank of the Kye River; its new boundary, effected by this extension, being henceforth a line commencing at the source of the Kye River in the Stormberg mountains, thence following its course along the right (or western) bank

through the White Kye into the Great Kye, and thence to the mouth of the latter.

From the aforesaid country,—which they have lost by the operations of the war which they had so wantonly provoked, and which they have justly forfeited,—the above-mentioned chiefs, namely, Tyali, Macomo, Eno, Botma, T'Slambie, Dushanie, &c., with their tribes, are for ever expelled, and will be treated as enemies if they be found therein.

**GOD SAVE THE KING!**

By His Excellency's command,

(Signed) H. G. SMITH, Col., Chief of the Staff.

Head-Quarters on the Kye,

Given under my hand and seal, this 10th day of May, 1835.

A true Copy,

G. DE LA POER BERESFORD, Aide-de-Camp.

(No. 17.)

**NOTICE.**

Head Quarters, Camp on the Imposhana, in the Province of Queen Adelaide, 15th May, 1835.

With reference to the last "Notice" of the 3d inst., "from the Camp on the Debakazi,"

The missionaries and traders therein adverted to, and their families, (about one hundred British subjects of all sexes and ages) with all their effects (consisting of 19 wagon loads, and some hundreds of cattle and sheep,) and many native inhabitants to the number of 500, who, from their attachment to the missionaries, or dread of the Kafirs, had accompanied them, were all brought safely into that camp on the 5th inst., across the whole breadth of the enemy's country, by the escort which had been sent for them from the camp on the Gona, under Capt. Warden of the Cape Mounted Rifles, and have since been forwarded on to the colony, together with the Fingoe race, about 6,000, and some 20,000 cattle captured in the country of Hintza, under the charge and protection of Col. Somerset and the 2d division; by the last advices from whom of the 12th instant, they were well on their way beyond the Buffalo and in good order.

The Commander-in-Chief has had good reason to be well pleased with the able arrangements of Captain Warden in the execution of this service, and the families rescued praise his humanity and care of them.

These essential matters disposed of, the Commander-in-Chief, on the 8th and 9th instant, broke up from the camp on the Debakazi, with the Head-quarters and 1st divisions, (following the 2d division) and moved down to the bank of the Kei, which he crossed on the 10th, and where, for reasons which he had long maturely weighed and considered, he proclaimed the following proclamation and declaration under a royal salute of 21 guns; in the presence of the British forces, and of Hintza, his son, two of his relatives, and several of his councillors, assembled for the purpose. The troops then re-crossed the Kye, to occupy the territory thus added to His Majesty's colonial dominions, and this new district of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, very beautiful, abundantly watered, and fertile, and containing more than 7,000 square miles, has, by a general order of the Commander-in-Chief, been honored by bearing the name of Her Most Gracious Majesty, and has been accordingly designated "the Province of Queen Adelaide."

An entrenched camp has been since prepared here, to receive the 1st post

of occupation (several of which will be placed in this new province of the colony), and is nearly ready for their reception.

Meanwhile Colonel Smith, with a strong detachment, has, at the request of Hintza, who has set up the plea of "want of power to fulfil his engagement," remained with him on the other side the Kye, to assist him in collecting the cattle for the fulfilment of that part of his treaty which stipulates an immediate payment, his son and two relatives, with some of his counsellors, remaining as securities in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief. Nevertheless the conduct of Hintza has been suspiciously evasive upon every point of the treaty, and doubtless very little faith can be placed in him, so that the Commander-in-Chief judged it necessary, before leaving him, to make to him the following admonitory communication.\*

On the side of the Deba, Major Cox reports several overtures having been made by the hostile frontier and mountain tribes, suing for peace; and one at length through Gaika's widow, Suta, whereupon the Commander-in-Chief has sent to Major Cox the terms upon which he will accord a suspension of hostilities. These tribes are represented by Suta to have suffered exceedingly by the consequences of the atrocious conduct of their chiefs towards the colony, and to be now to the last degree dismayed, and desirous of peace.

The troops are in the highest health, and the achievement of the main object of these operations has (according to the original design of the Commander-in-Chief), thus received its concluding impulse in the country of Hintza, where the combined hostilities of the savage tribes against the colony were first projected and arranged.

By command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief,  
W. H. DUTTON, Major, Military Secretary.

(No. 18).

#### GENERAL ORDERS.

Head-Quarters, Camp under the eastern heights of the Gonube,  
Province of Queen Adelaide, 21st May, 1835.

1.—The lofty and commanding hill, eastward of the river Gonube, on the left of, and close to, the high-road leading from that river to the Kye, called by the natives "Gonube," is henceforth named "Wellington;" the range of heights of which it is the summit, are named "The heights of Wellington;" and the work constructing here for a post of occupation, is named "Fort Wellington."

2.—The Commander-in-Chief has again the gratification of recording the military skill and indefatigable activity of Colonel Smith, and the admirable

<p>Detachments of— 72d Highlanders, 1st Provisional Battalion, Cape Mounted Rifles, Kat River Legion, and Corps of Guides.</p>	}	<p>discipline, zeal, and determined spirit of the troops under his orders in the recent expedition beyond the mouth of the Bashee. Upon no former occasion—and there have been many during this campaign where they have well earned praise for these high qualities—have they displayed them in a more eminent degree. They marched in seven days 218 miles; overcame all opposition, notwithstanding that this was obstinately attempted by several thousands of armed and determined savages; crossed and re-crossed a large river of very difficult banks, and brought off from its further side three thousand head of cattle, which had been plundered from the colony. They have also achieved a still more important service in the course of this bold and rapid inroad: they</p>
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\*Vide page 162.



have rescued from destruction, and safely brought in, 1,000 of the Fingo race, who, from their remote situation, had been before unable to join their countrymen, now under British protection, and who would inevitably have been sacrificed to the fury of the savages as soon as they should have had leisure to think of them.

3.—For these services—effected too without loss from the ranks—the Commander-in-Chief returns his thanks to all the troops employed, officers and soldiers; and he especially offers them to Col. Smith; to the Captains Murray and Lacy, of the 72d; Crause, Bailie, and Gilfillan, of the 1st Provisional Battalion; and Ross, of the Cape Mounted Rifles; to Lieut. Oliver, Asst.-Qr.-Mr.-General; to Lieut. Bailie, of the 1st Provisional Battalion; to Lieut. Balfour, of the 72d Regt., Aide-de-Camp to Col. Smith; to Mr. Cæsar Andrews, his Secretary and Interpreter; to Assistant Surgeon Ford, of the 72d; to Field-commandant Groepe, of the Kat River Legion; and to Mr. Southey, of the Corps of Guides.

4.—The Commander-in-Chief could well wish that his task were here ended in recording this success, and the talent and spirit which secured it; but this cannot be: and he has to announce with infinite sorrow the death of Major White, Asst.-Qr.-Mr.-General to the Burgher Forces. This lamented gentleman (an old officer of His Majesty's Royal Borderers), had been long settled in the colonial district of Albany, where he was a most valuable member of society, alike distinguished for public utility and for private worth. He had voluntarily attached himself to Col. Smith's staff, to conduct a branch of the topographical department (in which science he was a proficient), and he fell a sacrifice to his zeal in the execution of the duty which he had undertaken; this had unhappily led him to separate himself to too great a distance from the protection of his escort, and he was in consequence surprised and slain by some of the lurking savages who had watched his movements.

The Commander-in-Chief most deeply laments the loss of Major White, as well on public as on private grounds, in both of which he severely feels it.

H. G. SMITH, Col., Chief of the Staff.

(No. 19).

#### GENERAL ORDERS.

Head-Quarters, Camp on the Kemeka, in the Province of Queen Adelaide, 22d May, 1835.

1.—The richly-wooded and beautiful glen, on either side the high-road leading from the Buffalo to the Kye, in which are the sources of the Kahoon (where the troops halted for breakfast yesterday), is henceforth named "Glen Aberdeen."

2.—The fertile and extensive valley on the high-road from the Buffalo to the Kye (in which is the source of the Kameka and the ground of this camp), is henceforth named "The valley of Peel."

H. G. SMITH, Col., Chief of the Staff.

(No. 20.)

#### GENERAL ORDERS.

Head-Quarters, Camp on the Buffalo, 23d May, 1836.

1.—Colonel Somerset, with the 2d division, has accomplished, without loss and without accident, the difficult and laborious service of conducting



the English missionaries and traders, with their families and effects, (previously brought in from the Bashee by Captain Warden;) the Pingoe nation, amounting to more than 10,000 souls, and about 25,000 head of cattle, from the eastern side of the Kei, into the old colonial border, where he has distributed and disposed of the whole according to his instructions, and their respective destinations.

2.—This arduous duty has required great arrangement, humanity, patience, and attention, and has been very ably fulfilled by Colonel Somerset, to whom the Commander-in-Chief desires to express his approbation and his thanks.

3.—The Commander-in-Chief also thanks the 2d division, officers and soldiers, for the unwearied care which they have taken to fulfil Colonel Somerset's orders in the execution of this service, and the assistance which they have afforded him, of which the Colonel speaks very highly, attributing to that assistance mainly its successful accomplishment; and especially these thanks are due to Capt. Forbes, who had the laborious charge of the rear guard, during the whole march—

To the Field-commandants Linde, Rademeyer, Van Rooyen, and Dreyer, of the Burgher Forces; to Dep. Asst. Com. Gen. Trotter, and to Dr. Morgan.

4.—All who have been employed in the careful and effectual performance of this duty may feel conscious that they have rendered a great and acceptable service to the colony and to humanity.

5.—The 2d division being now no longer required for the invasion of Kafirland, the object which had occasioned its formation by the General Order of the 16th and 29th March, 1835, it is henceforward discontinued; the officers employed in it, as a Division, returning to the duties which they had been previously fulfilling, and the Burgher Corps of Swellendam, Albany, Uitenhage, and George, hitherto belonging to this division, to their respective homes for the present.

The Commander-in-Chief thanks these Burgher Corps, and the Field-commandants Linde, Dreyer, Van Rooyen, and Rademeyer, for their zeal, gallantry, and good service.

The George Town Burghers, under Capt. Van der Riet, at the Double Drift, and the detachment of the Swellendam Burghers under Field-commandant Linde, jun., now attached to the 3d division, must, however, remain in the execution of their present duties until further orders.

6.—In conformity with the foregoing paragraph, Colonel Somerset will resume the command of all the troops in the districts of Albany and Somerset, from which he was called to command the 2d division in the field, — and Col. England, that of the 75th Regt.

7.—The Commander-in-Chief desires to express to Colonel England his thanks for the great care and attention with which he has performed the duty of commanding the 1st line of defence during the absence of the invading force.

H. G. SMITH, Col., Chief of the Staff.

(No. 21.)

#### GENERAL ORDERS.

Head-Quarters, Camp on the Buffalo, 24th May, 1835.

1.—The River Buffalo, from its source in the mountains of its name to the sea, is established as the central line of occupation of the Province of Queen Adelaide, and the ground on both banks of this clear, rapid, and beautiful river, along an arc crossed by four fords, to which corresponding roads

from all parts of the country converge, (near the former Mission House destroyed by the savages) is hereby appropriated and set apart to such an extent as may hereafter be judged expedient, as well up and down the stream as on each of its banks respectively, to the purpose of building a town, which, with the site now selected for it, is named, "King William's Town."

H. G. SMITH, Col. Chief of the Staff.

(No. 22.)

### GENERAL ORDERS.

Head-Quarters, King William's Town, 10th June, 1835.

1.—The Commander-in-Chief publishes three reports made to him on the 1st, 3d, and 7th instant, by Col. Smith, at length, because they are full of valuable instruction for young officers, (whose attention, therefore, is earnestly invited to them,) setting forth in the clearest and most impressive manner how such duties should be performed, as well with regard to arrangement of plan, as to activity and energy of execution; and above all, they furnish a practical illustration of that great military principle which should be foremost in the mind of every soldier, and which so strikingly characterises this distinguished officer,—"*nil actum reputans, si quid superesset agendum.*"

Head-Quarters, King William's Town, 1st June, 1835.

SIR,—I have the honor to report to your Excellency, that upon the morning of the 21st ultimo, I proceeded with a patrol consisting of 300 hundred of the Somerset and Cradock burghers, under the command of Field-cornet Piet Erasmus,—2 companies of the 1st Provisional Battalion, and one of the 79d Regt., under Major Maclean, to dislodge from both banks of the Buffalo, the enemy, who, it was stated, were there concentrated in rather considerable numbers.

I marched from hence by the right bank, and upon my arrival at Mount Coke, I came upon the track of a large number of Kafirs; I pushed forward with the cavalry in pursuit of this spoor, and at 4 o'clock in the afternoon a larger body of Kafirs than I had ever seen assembled in one spot, was discovered in an open country descending to the Buffalo. I attacked at a gallop, but upon my close approach, observing that they stood in amazement, it was evident they were people of no hostile intention, and I was fortunate enough in being able to halt my men before any act of aggression had been committed; the supposed enemy turned out to be the chiefs Pato, Kama, and Umkye, with their warriors, upwards of 1,000, and 500 Fingoes, and a detachment of nearly 100 of the newly raised Hottentot Levy, under Capt. Halifax, 75th Regt. This most unexpected addition to my force, enabled me to decide upon sweeping both banks of the Buffalo by a simultaneous movement; and as it was now late in the evening, and the troops had made a long march, I bivouacked. I directed Capt. Halifax and the chief Pato to cross the Buffalo at day-light in the morning, to bring up their left shoulders and descend towards the sea; while with the force under my immediate command, I would descend by the right bank, and crossing near the mouth of the river, the troops, their work being finished, should re-assemble on the left bank. At dusk, the chief Pato reporting to me that his scouts had seen a thousand Kafirs assembled in one spot opposite the ford, and on the left bank that as many more were rapidly joining

the enemy in every direction. I changed my plan, and I desired Captain Halifax and the Chief Pato to descend the right bank, and that I would take in hand these numerous Kafirs, the report of the number being also corroborated by Captain Halifax. At day-light I crossed the Buffalo by the ford called the Jakon's Drift, and in two columns marched between the Cahoon and the Buffalo towards the sea. The enemy had fled in every direction, carrying off with him his corn, women, cattle, &c; the left column under my command, consisting principally of horse, soon came upon the spoor of the enemy, cattle, &c. which I pursued with the utmost vigour, crossing the Cahoon and following the route to the Gonube. At this time the rain began to fall in torrents, and the ground was so excessively slippery, the horses could hardly stand, and on my arrival at a very deep and wooded ravine, at the bottom of which flows a small stream into the Cahoon, called the Kemeka, finding that the enemy had succeeded in crossing it, the only spot I had any chance of coming up with him, having marched rapidly for six hours, and the roads from the rain almost impassable, I deemed further pursuit hopeless, and I halted, cooked, and marched to the mouth of the Buffalo, where I found Captain Halifax and the chiefs, as I had directed, the enemy having abandoned the right bank of the river upon the first appearance of the chief's scouts. On the afternoon of the 28th ult. the troops under my command made a march of 36 miles, over roads in dry weather most excellent, but in rain they become so peculiarly alippery, it is almost incredible; it poured all day, yet every one struggled against this difficulty with cheerfulness and vigour.

Although the force under my command was unable to come up with the flying enemy, I am happy in being able to report to your Excellency, that the object in view has been most fully accomplished, viz.: that of expelling him from the Keiskamma and the banks of the Buffalo, and his country has been laid waste,—seven or eight hundred of his huts destroyed,—and himself unable to seek refuge elsewhere.

The troops returned to camp yesterday, at 2 o'clock, having swept the right bank of the Cahoon, which, near the sea, becomes a large river; and the chief Pato, with his warriors, is prepared to co-operate in every measure your Excellency may propose to direct for the expulsion of the enemy beyond the Kye.

If I may be permitted to offer an opinion, I cannot but view the circumstance of the friendly chiefs having taken the field as a most fortunate event towards the completion of the war. The enemy appears to be more alarmed at their approach in conjunction with our troops than I can describe; they are acquainted with every footpath in the country, and if they are as brave as they appear willing, they will be formidable friends. A few cattle and goats fell into our hands, and four Kafirs were killed.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed)

H. G. SMITH, Colonel, Chief of the Staff.

His Excellency Sir B. D'URBAN, K. C. B.,  
Governor and Commander-in-Chief.

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(No. 23).

Head-Quarters, King William's Town, 3d June, 1835.

STR.—In obedience to your Excellency's commands, I proceeded on the morning of the 1st instant to the camp of the 3d division, on the Deba Flats, followed by a detachment of the 1st division, consisting of 150 of the burgher horse of Cradock and Somerset, under Field-cornet Erasmus,—200 of

the 1st Provisional Battalion,—and one company of the 72d Regiment,—with the chiefs Pato, Kama, about 1,200 of their warriors, and 300 Fingoes, for the purpose of carrying on the operations directed by your Excellency's memorandum of arrangement for effectually clearing the mountain range from the Chumie to the Buffalo, of the savages who still infest it, and from thence commit robberies and murders on the inner colonial border.

Upon my arrival at the Deba, Major Cox informed me that the day previous he had directed Capt. Jervis, 72d Regt., attached to his division, to march with the force I had intended to have placed under his own orders, and by the precise route laid down in your Excellency's arrangement; no time was, therefore to be lost, or the general movement must be a failure. I, therefore, desired Major Cox, with the remainder of the 3d division, to be at the foot of the Tomendodo mountain by day-light on the following day, the 2d inst.; that I would attach 300 Fingoes to him; and that the wagons, camp, &c., were to march into bivouac under the poorts of the Buffalo: and immediately rode to the meet the troops of the 1st division and the warriors of the friendly tribes; and I halted them on ground opposite to the operations.

Two Hottentots had this day deserted from the Buffalo mountain from the service of the chief Eno. From them I ascertained that the enemy were again in considerable numbers in the Poorts of the Buffalo, and had with them cattle and horses. This information induced me to make some alteration in the proposed plan of operations; and, while Major Cox was to ascend the heights of Tabendodo, taking a circuitous route with one of the Hottentot deserters as a guide, I directed the chief's Pato and Kama's warriors, and 100 of the 1st Provisional Battalion, under Lieut. Bailie, to ascend a kloof to the eastward of the Tabendoda, thereby enabling them to act immediately upon the sources of the Buffalo, which they were to descend; whilst, with the troops of the 1st division, I marched under this mountain range to attract the enemy's attention, until they arrived opposite the celebrated haunt of the chief Eno, and his favourite position of defence, which he now occupied, although been driven from it; I then, with the companies of Captain Murray, 72d Regt., and Captain Gilfillan, 1st Provisional Battalion, assaulted this strong and almost inaccessible range, while with the cavalry I made a considerable detour to the right, so as to place them behind the mountain range, and intercept the retreat of the enemy, or force him to move so as to come in contact with the detachment under Capt. Jervis, which ought to be in sight of the mountain, I had ascertained, by two o'clock this day. The numerous enemy anticipated my movement through the means of his scouts, and fled in every direction in the greatest disorder, driving before him his cattle and horses.

I was fortunate enough to get upon the great track of his retreat, which I pursued with the utmost vigour with the cavalry, until I perceived his march was intercepted by the advance of Capt. Jervis's column, and his cattle had fallen into their hands. I therefore withdrew all the troops under my immediate control to the place of general rendezvous, on the ground below the Poorts of the Buffalo.

At two o'clock in the morning of the 3d inst., I again ascended the intricate passes of the Buffalo range with 200 of the 1st Provisional Battalion, Capt. Murray's company, 72d Regt., and found the enemy had entirely abandoned his strong hold.

The detachments of the 3d division, under Major Cox and Capt. Jervis, joined me at 10 o'clock, not having been able to reach my bivouac the night previous. It is highly satisfactory to be enabled to report to your Excellency, that the result of these combined movements has been most fortunate,

and that each division so arrived at its point of destination, as to perfect the general combination most thoroughly. The chief Eno's brother, Louw, and Koff, the son of Casa, another brother, were killed amongst others, and their fire arms secured; 1,300 head of cattle, 30 horses, and a considerable quantity of goats have fallen into our hands. The whole range of country, upon which your Excellency directed these operations, has been completely cleared of these savages,—their cattle taken,—their huts and corn, of which they had a great store, destroyed, and in the distance each column observed the women in immense numbers withdrawing in the direction of the Kye.

Operations of this extended nature, in a most difficult and mountainous country, cannot be carried on without great exertion and fatigue; and the troops, both officers and men, endured them as heretofore with the cheerfulness and perseverance which characterizes good soldiers.

The officers in command of the different columns and detachments—Major Capt. Jervis, Capt. Murray, 72d Regt., Gilfillan, 1st Provisional Battalion, Cox, Lieut. Baillie, who had the command of the Kafir warriors, and the Field-cornet Piet Erasmus, equally did their duty: and I beg to call your Excellency's marked attention to Lieut. Grannet, 96th Regt., attached to the Cape Mounted Rifles, whose enterprising and energetic conduct caused the enemy his principal loss in cattle and horses; he is a most gallant and promising officer, and upon every occasion distinguishes himself; Lieut. Oliver, Dep.-Asst.-Qr.-Mr.-General, and Lieut. Balfour, were upon this occasion, as they invariably are, of the greatest use and assistance to me.

I cannot conclude the detail of these operations without observing to your Excellency that such is the terror of the enemy at the sight of a British soldier, that he flies with the utmost rapidity; if, therefore, small patrols are kept constantly moving through his holds and fastnesses in every direction, his cattle captured and his corn destroyed, he must abandon the country his treachery and defeat have lost him. Upon this principle the slight inroads—or rather midnight robberies—which have lately occurred in the interior colonial boundary, would be thoroughly checked, and speedily entirely prevented, if the officer in command of each post was daily to patrol in small parties of 10 or 12, accompanied by the inhabitants, when any depredation has been committed; and if they come upon the traces of the Kafir, to follow it up; the savage finding himself limited in every direction, and his own mode of warfare adopted, he would speedily fly the country, and leave the christian inhabitants in a state of security which they have not known for years, but which their own exertions, with the assistance of the troops, can alone procure them.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed)

H. G. SMITH, Colonel, Chief of the Staff.

His Excellency Sir B. D'URBAN, K. C. B., &c. &c. &c.

(No. 24).

Head-Quarters, King William's Town, 7th June, 1855.

SIR,—Upon my arrival in camp on the afternoon of the 3d inst., having effected the clearing the mountain range of the Chumie, Keiskamma, and Buffalo, your Excellency having received information that a considerable number of the enemy were concentrated in the peculiarly strong ground, on the left bank of the Keiskamma, on either side of the Line Drift road, and that they were committing murders and robberies upon the Fingoes lately located on the right bank of this river, you were pleased to direct me to march the following force, viz. one hundred burgher horse, two companies 1st

Provisional Battalion, one company 72d Regt., and one six-pounder gun at day-light on the 4th inst., to expel them from their holds and fastnesses. I have the gratification to report that this service has been most thoroughly perfected. Upon my arrival immediately above the Line Drift, and at the commencement of the deep and densely-wooded ravines descending into the Keiskamma, I perceived the recent spoor of many Kafirs, as also the field of their attack upon the Fingoes,—four dead bodies lying there; I, therefore, sent a detachment of the 1st Provisional Battalion into each ravine, with orders to pursue it down to the Keiskamma, there to join me at a given point on the river, to which I proceeded by the ridge of heights which extend towards the sea, between the ——— and Keiskamma; in crossing the Choa Choa River, I immediately fell in with a party of the enemy, and took from him his goats, and some cattle, and caused him some loss. About an hour after dark the several detachments re-assembled, as directed, on a rivulet called the Rota, when, upon receiving the reports of the different officers in command, upon whose judgment I could rely, I found although much had been effected through a most difficult country of rocks, precipices, and woods, almost impassable to any but the Kafirs, still much more could be done. At day-light I arranged my force as to ensure the completion of the expulsion of the enemy from his strong-holds and fastnesses in every direction; and I detached a body of burgher force, under Ensign Campbell, of the Cape Mounted Rifles, to sweep both banks of the Chamlungo from Wesleyville to its source; and the troops were to concentrate, their operations effected, on the main road on the heights above the Line Drift,—the country through which I proceeded with fifty burgher horse, the six-pounder, and a company of the 72d Regiment, being less difficult than that which descended into the deep ravines running into the Keiskamma; I arrived at the place of rendezvous in time to enable me to continue my operations upon the northward of the Line Drift road; I descended the Tamagha and cleared the woody banks and ravines, and concentrating the whole of my force upon the Tamagha, I bivouacked for the night, and at day-light proceeded to sweep the whole of the country to the northward of the Line Drift road, particularly a very woody range of hills, called the Hikyeburg, extending nearly north and south from the Buffalo Poorts to the ravines on the Keiskamma, a route much traversed by the enemy.

During these three days' operations, so extended were my movements that it is impossible to detail each to your Excellency; I trust it may, therefore, suffice to say that I have most thoroughly cleared the whole of the difficult country from Wesleyville up both banks of the Chalunger, from the mouths of the small rivers and deep and densely wooded ravines falling into the Keiskamma, called the Kota, the Umtomba, the Shunga, and the Choa Choa, at the southward of the Line Drift road, and from the Tamagha, the Icani, the Umtata, to the Integnisini upon the north side, and particularly the woody range of hills called Ilikeye.

The enemy, although his traces were numerous, fled so rapidly, that few were killed and only three shots fired at the troops; the whole of the country has been most thoroughly traversed; upwards of 1,200 huts, new and old, have been burnt; *immense stores of corn in every direction* destroyed; 215 head of cattle of all sorts captured; several horses, and nearly 2,000 goats, have fallen into our hands. The women were very numerous, and I, therefore, caused them to be amply supplied with beef and biscuit, and dismissed them with the assurance that the atrocities of their husbands had made them forfeit their homes, and that they must move over the Kye: they all stated that they were anxious to do so.

It is most gratifying to know that the savages being the unprovoked ag-



gressors, have brought down all the misery with which they are now visited upon the heads of themselves and families; and that the great day of retribution, and the punishment of the unprovoked atrocities committed by these murderous savages upon our colonists has arrived, and now is the period when they must learn that the British nation not only possesses the power but the determination to avenge herself upon the perpetrators of the murder of her subjects, and to prevent the recurrence in future.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

(Signed)

H. G. SMITH, Colonel, Chief of the Staff.

His Excellency Sir B. D'URBAN, K. C. B., &c. &c. &c.

2.—The Commander-in-Chief desires to return his thanks to Colonel Smith, and to all the officers and troops employed in the operations which these reports embrace; and he especially offers them to Major Cox, commanding the 3d division; to the Captains Murray and Jervis, of the 72d Regiment; to Captains Hallifax, of the 75th, and Giffillan, of the 1st Provisional Battalion; to the Lieutenants Balfour, Aide-de-Camp to Colonel Smith; Oliver, Dep.-Asst.-Qr.-Mr.-General; Granet, of the Cape Mounted Rifles; and to Field-commandant Piet Erasmus, of the Somerset and Cradock burghers.

3.—The mountain summit over the central part of the Buffalo, called by the natives "Isidenge, by which the 3d division bivouacked on the morning of the 3d of April last, is henceforth named "Kempt's Mountain."

4.—The summit of the lofty hill to the northward of King William's Town, on the right of, and close to, the road leading thence to the Line Drift ford of the Keiskamma, which discovers the whole country between the Buffalo and the Kye, is henceforth named "Mount Barnard."

5.—The presence of the Commander-in-Chief having become indispensable at Graham's Town, for the due ordering of His Majesty's service, he is compelled, however reluctantly, to separate for a time from the troops in this province, whose conduct, since they have been under his personal command, has given him unqualified satisfaction, and of whom he takes leave with every sentiment of approbation and regard.

6.—It has been his gratifying duty to thank them all so frequently during the short but active campaign of the last two months, that he can now have little to add to those acknowledgments beyond this record of his deliberate opinion (as an old soldier who has seen some varied service), that they have admirably upheld the character of British soldiers, and faithfully done their duty to their king and country; an opinion which, they may rest assured, he will not fail humbly to place at the feet of His Majesty our most gracious King.

7.—It diminishes, withal, the regret of the Commander-in-Chief at quitting their personal command, that he leaves them in charge of Colonel Smith, an officer in whom they must all have the fullest confidence, as well on account of those high military qualities which they have witnessed, and which have made him a main cause of the recent successes, because they know from experience that he is a soldier's friend, and will always have a watchful care of all that can contribute to their health, comfort, and convenience.

8.—The Commander-in-chief again thanks Colonel Peddie, and the officers and soldiers of the 1st division; Major Cox, and those of the 3d; and Capt. Southey, and the Guides, a corps which has throughout the campaign rendered very active and valuable service, and deserves high commendation.

9.—He requests to offer his thanks to Colonel Smith, and the officers of the Colonel's personal, as well as of the general staff: to Lieut. Balfour, of the 72d, Aide-de-Camp, whom he has so frequently had occasion to praise;



To Lieut. Oliver, Dep.-Asst.-Qr.-Mr.-General; to Col. Thomson, commanding Royal Engineers, for his able suggestions and valuable assistance; to Dr. Murray, whose able and ever-active services, performing many additional duties to those belonging to his rank, and whose judicious suggestions in all that regards the health of the troops, have been in the highest degree beneficial; and to the Medical Staff, especially the Assistant Surgeons Ford and Caw.

To Dep.-Asst.-Com.-Gen. Spencer, and the officers of the Commissariat; and to Mr. Philpot, Act.-Dep. Ordnance Storekeeper.

10.—To the officers of his personal staff, the Commander-in-Chief desires to return his best acknowledgments, for the efficiency with which their respective duties have been conducted, and for the assistance which they have rendered him.

To Major Dutton, his Military Secretary.

To Lieut. Beresford, his Aide-de-Camp, whose clear intelligence and ready activity in the field has often attracted his notice.

To Major Michell, Surveyor-General, for the unwearied labor with which he has devoted his eminent topographical science, to sketching and recording the hitherto unknown country through which the troops have passed.

To Capt. Alexander, 42d Regt., extra Aide-de-Camp, (whose professional experience and scientific acquirements, have made his active and ready services especially valuable).

To Mr. Charles Somerset, Acting Aide-de-Camp.

To Lieut. Wade, Cape Mounted Rifles, commanding his personal field escort, whose readiness and intelligence in the able execution of very active duties in the field, he has had frequent cause to approve.

To Mr. Shepstone, Kafir Interpreter.

11.—The Commander-in-Chief returns his thanks also to Majors Lowen, of the Cape Mounted Rifles, M'Lean, of the 72d Regt., and Bagot of the 1st Provisional Battalion.

To the Lieutenants Williams, Royal Engineers; Levinge, Royal Artillery; Adair, 72d Regt., Adjutant to the 1st division; and Sutton, 75th, Field Adjutant to the 3d division.

To Capt. Halifax, 75th Regt. for his able arrangements at Fort Willshire, by which the convoys for this force have been so effectually expedited,—and to Dep. Asst. Com. Gen. Sandford, whose able and indefatigable exertions and judicious arrangements have been highly advantageous to the service.

13.—To Asst. Com. Gen. Palmer, (Chief of the District Commissariat Staff on the Frontier) the Commander-in-Chief desires to offer his best acknowledgments, for the unwearied zeal, ability, and careful exertions, by which he has efficiently, and in the face of so many difficulties, provided for the Commissariat supplies of the invading force.

He acknowledges the useful services of Mr. Oxholm, of the Commissariat, at Port Elizabeth, and his thanks are also justly due to Mr. Grayson, Deputy Ordnance Storekeeper, at Graham's Town, for his active and effectual measures to ensure the supply of Ordnance Stores.

14.—The Commander-in-Chief requests to express to Colonel Brandreth, commanding the Royal Artillery, and to Mr. Lawson, Ordnance Storekeeper at Cape Town, his high sense of their indefatigable and able arrangements for supplying the frontier force with artillery and ordnance stores, all which, notwithstanding the difficulties and the distance, have been abundantly furnished.

15.—The especial thanks of the Commander-in-Chief are due to Dep. Com. Gen. Petrie, Chief of the Commissariat in the Colony, for the signal ability

and energy with which, overcoming difficulties that had appeared almost insuperable, he succeeded in sending to the frontier districts (a distance of 700 miles) such ample supplies of provisions, and of all things necessary, not only for the troops within and without the colony, but for the subsistence, during many weeks, of some thousands of His Majesty's subjects, who had no resource but the Commissariat Stores, and must otherwise have perished of hunger and destitution.

He also desires to thank Dep. Asst. Com. Watt, for his active and laborious exertions in the same service.

16.—Colonel Smith, C. B. is appointed to the command of the district of the Province of Queen Adelaide, and all the troops therein, until His Majesty's pleasure be known.

Lieut. Oliver, 72d Regt. (attached to the Cape Mounted Rifles) is appointed Brigade Major to the troops in this district, with the usual pay and allowances until His Majesty's pleasure be known.

17.—With reference to the General Orders of the 16th and 29th March last, the establishment of the 1st and 3d divisions are discontinued from the 16th of the present month, and the officers employed in them as Divisions, will respectively return to the duties which they had previously fulfilled.

(Signed) H. G. SMITH, Colonel,

Commanding in the district of the Province of Queen Adelaide.

(No. 25).

#### NOTICE.

Head-quarters, Graham's Town, 19th June, 1835.

Since the last "Notice," issued from King William's Town on the 24th of May, satisfactory communications have been received from the chief Criel, who had established himself firmly in his government; his mother Nomsa, having, as had been anticipated, considerable influence, which is favorable to the observance of good faith with the colony, as she had, even in Hiatza's time, frequently shewn herself, as far as her power extended, friendly to the English. Criel has sent in to Warden's Post on the Impotshana, together with some hundreds of cattle, a *white ox*,\* with expressions of his grateful feelings towards the Commander-in-Chief for the countenance and support which he has received in establishing him in his inheritance; his assurance of every effort to fulfil his engagements; and of his determination to adhere to his treaty of amity and good understanding with the colony.

The entrenched camp at King William's Town, and the flanking posts higher up and lower down the Buffalo, at the "Poorts," and near Mount Coke, respectively, have been occupied; and the whole central line of defence settled and established upon the permanent footing which it is to retain until His Majesty's pleasure be known. The roads are so excellent throughout the Province of Queen Adelaide, that not only the troops, but even the convoys of wagons from King William's Town, can reach the post at Fort Wellington, in an easy day's march, and Warden's Post in four hours afterwards. Troops, if necessary, can perform the whole in one day. By a reference to the former notice of the 15th of May, it will be seen, that the Commander-in-Chief had then transmitted to Major Cox (conducting the operations against the dispersed tribes on the border) the terms upon which

\*A very solemn testimonial of good will.

he might treat with them; these were as in the document annexed, and they were at the same time sent to the Rev. Mr. Dugmore, Wesleyan Missionary, on the Beka, that they might be made known to Nonube, great widow of Dushani, who, with her son Siwana, has been long residing in the colony under the protection of the Governor, and in the immediate care of Mr. Dugmore.

Both Nonube and Suta have received these propositions with much satisfaction, and expressed their grateful sense of them, and their desire to accept and abide by them; and these will accordingly be the basis of the ultimate arrangements in that matter.

Nonube, and her son Siwana—Suta, and her son Sandili, are respectively, the remaining heads of the families of T'Slambie and of Gaika, the former chiefs, in fact, of the whole country between the Keiskamma and the Kye, inasmuch as they are (according to the Kaïr laws and customs) the only legitimate representatives of those chiefs who conquered that country from the Hottentots (the only right by which they were established in it), and this arrangement (which will also have regard to the interests of Matwa and Tinta, sons of Gaika, now with the Governor), will doubtless be the most appropriate, just, and lenient that can be adopted.

There is every reason to believe, that the hostile chiefs to whom these terms were offered, would have closed with them at the time but for the inveterate duplicity and treachery of Hintza, who, it is since known—when he ostensibly fulfilled the 2d article of his treaty of the 30th of April—had, by the same messengers, sent to them a private intimation not to obey them; and they have acted accordingly, thereby necessarily suffering themselves, and bringing down upon their followers the continued consequences of their obstinacy.

By the 4th article of the terms, a door was thrown open for the emigration of these tribes, collectively or individually, over the Kye, which arrangements (as will have been seen in the "Notice of the 24th of May), was provided for in the treaty with Criell, and this had been advisedly prepared and proposed, as at once the most merciful and the most expedient course; inasmuch as after the chastisement already inflicted upon these barbarians for their deeds of blood and rapine in the colony, it permitted such of them as could not, with any regard to justice be allowed to remain in the new colonial territory, to emigrate to a kindred country, where there is abundantly sufficient room for them, and where Hintza himself had expressed to the Commander-in-Chief his desire and his ability to receive and locate them.

While the Commander-in-Chief awaited at King William's Town the completion of the works along the central line of occupation, and of the arrangements for the due management of the province, he had the mortification to learn that a few straggling savages, flying from the operations of the troops in the Amatoli, not generally exceeding five or six together, had been suffered to commit some robberies, and, in one or two instances, murders within the old colonial border of Albany; and that ill-disposed persons, by whatever motives influenced, had endeavoured to excite panic by exaggerating these evils where they had occurred, and inventing their existence where they had not.

He, therefore, ordered a succession of combined operations by Col. Smith and Major Cox, for the sweeping of the whole country immediately without the border, from the mouths of the Chalumna and Keiskamma upwards to the Chumie mountains, and thence to the "Poorts of the Buffalo,"—to clear out the lurking places in which these savages had still continued to harbour, and from which they had stolen into the colonial border. This was executed, continuing without intermission from the 28th May to the 7th inst., and most effectually performed.

This measure, which had now become unavoidable, at length convinced the Kafirs that it was in vain for them to attempt remaining any longer in the country, which they had been required to evacuate; and they are now leaving it in large bodies, and going beyond the Kye (according to the proposition cited in the accompanying memorandum), in which proceeding, it is gratifying to announce, that their wives and children have been, in many instances, well supplied with provisions by Col. Smith, and the other officers employed in these movements; protected by their patrols from the Fingoes, whom they had just cause to dread—and safely escorted beyond the Buffalo, upon their journey to the Kye; and so confident have the women been of this protection, that they have unhesitatingly thrown themselves upon it, by coming into our posts to seek it. In these ably-conducted and rapid operations, the Commander-in-Chief has had again to record the unparalleled activity of Col. Smith, who has alternately directed their execution along the whole of their wide extent, and of the troops under him: especially noticing the following officers:—

Colonel Smith; Major Cox, commanding 3d division; Captains Halifax, 75th Regt., and Gilfillan, 1st Provisional Battalion; Lieutenants Balfour, Aide-de-Camp to Col. Smith; Oliver, Cape Mounted Rifles, Dep.-Asst.-Qr.-Mr.-General; Granet, Cape Mounted Rifles; Field-commandant P. Erasmus, Somerset and Cradock burghers.

From the middle of May to the 1st week in June inclusive, the Commander-in-Chief had been enabled to dispense with the further services of the burghers; of this he availed himself with great satisfaction, and they accordingly all returned to their farms, where they would have arrived in time for the sowing season of the year.

All these arrangements concluded, the Commander-in-Chief, whose presence within the colony, for affairs of the government, had become pressingly necessary, and whose farther stay in the new province was no longer of equal importance,—placed the command of it in the able hands of Colonel Smith, and leaving the camp at King William's Town, proceeded on the 11th inst. to Fort Willshire, having on the way established a fortified post of communication between the former and the latter.

At Fort Willshire he had a conference with Suta, who had there awaited his coming, and who then returned to her family for the purposes previously adverted to, and on the 12th inst. he arrived in Graham's Town.

The health report, in the document annexed, is a gratifying exposition of the very little loss which these operations have incurred, and of the health which the troops have preserved.

Upon the Governor's arrival at Graham's Town, he had the satisfaction of feeling himself warranted, without compromising the public safety, to cause the law martial to cease by a proclamation to that effect, in the districts of George, Graaff-Reinet, Beaufort, and the greater part of Uitenhage; and he has confident hopes of very speedily doing the same in the remainder of Uitenhage, and in Albany and Somerset, where, for the present, however, it is necessary and expedient to continue it.

By command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief,  
W. H. DUTTON, Major, Military Secretary.

(No. 27).

*Memorandum for the guidance of Major Cox, as to the general basis of terms which he is authorized to hold forth to the Kafir tribes suing for peace.*

1.—By my "Proclamation" and "Declaration," issued and made respectively on the 10th of May, 1835, on the bank of the Kye, in presence of

Hintza, chief of the country between the Kye and the Bashee, and styled and acknowledged by the Kafirs, who have inhabited the country between the latter river and the colony, "paramount chief of Kafirland,"—the whole of the country between the former colonial boundary line, viz.—running from the sea up the Keiskamma and Chumie Rivers, to the Winterberg and the Kye River, from its source in the Stormberg Mountains to the sea, has become the territory of His Britannic Majesty, and now forms a part of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and of His Majesty's colonial dominions; and the chiefs, Tyali, Macomo, Eno, Botma, Dushanie, Slambie, &c., and their tribes, who have been in arms against the colony, and whose acts towards it have been so unprovoked and atrocious, are for ever expelled from the aforesaid territory, and will be treated as enemies if they be found therein.

2.—By a paramount order sent by Hintza to these chiefs and their tribes, they have been commanded to cease hostilities, and to deliver their fire-arms to me, or to the officers commanding the respective divisions of His Majesty's forces under my command.

3.—By corresponding instructions sent at the same time to Major Cox, commanding the 3d division, on the side of the Amatoli, Keiskamma, and Buffalo mountains, all of those tribes, who should come in to the quarters of the troops, and lay down their arms, were promised present safety and protection, and the possession of the cattle and effects then belonging to them, and that the chiefs themselves, if they should come in and deliver themselves up unconditionally, should be secure of their lives, and await the ultimate commands of His Majesty the King of England for their future disposal.

4.—Now, therefore, if the terms in the 2d and 3d foregoing paragraphs be fulfilled and complied with—if Suta, the great widow of Gaika, and her son Sandili place themselves under my protection—and if the chiefs above-mentioned either surrender themselves to the officers of any of my divisions, or transport themselves beyond the Kye, hostilities shall cease against them on the part of the English troops.

5.—Thereafter I will only require the expulsion, from the aforesaid territory of the chiefs aforesaid, and those Kafirs who were engaged in the inroads into the colony, or in the murders of British subjects, all of whom must transport themselves beyond the line of the Kye, and if they re-cross it, they will be treated as enemies.

6.—And in consideration of the excellent conduct of Suta, the great widow of Gaika, in endeavouring to dissuade the tribe from acts of hostility towards the colony, and her good treatment of several English subjects in their danger, I will acknowledge and uphold Sandili, her son, as the chief of the family of Gaika, and will appoint them ample lands to reside upon, under the charge of Suta, during his nonage; and those of the tribe whom Suta shall recommend, and who shall not have joined in the inroads into the colony, shall be permitted to remain in the new territory also, under Sandili's authority, and under the colonial government and laws; and I will also make ample provision for Matwa and Tinti, of the tribe of Gaika, whose conduct has been good and peaceable.

7.—And farther in consideration of the excellent disposition and conduct of Nonube, great widow of the chief Dushani, of the tribe of Slambie, I will acknowledge and uphold her son as chief of that tribe, under his mother's tutelage, during his nonage; will appoint ample lands for their reception and support, in like manner as with Suta and Sandili, and will receive under the protection of the colonial government and laws such of the tribe as Nonube shall recommend, and who shall not have been engaged in invading the colony.

In all these arrangements it must be well understood that these Kafirs will be all British subjects, living under the protection of government, and under the colonial laws generally; but retaining their own particular rules and customs in their internal regulations of the tribe, so long as they shall desire to do so.

8.—This is the basis of the measure which I shall adopt in regard to these tribes, the details to be more fully settled hereafter by commissioners, whom I will appoint. But to these principles I will adhere, and all Kafirs of all the above tribes whom these do not embrace, shall be required and forced to leave the colonial territory, as now extended, according to the terms of the proclamation of the 10th May, above cited.

(Signed)

B. D'URBAN,  
Governor of the Cape of Good Hope.

Head-Quarters, Camp on Impotshana, May 12, 1835.

(No. 28).

Head-Quarters, Camp King William's Town, 8th June, 1835.

*Return of the Killed and Wounded of the Invading Army, from the 1st April to the 7th June, 1835, inclusive.*

9 Killed,	{	1 Officer (Major White) Dep.-Qr.-Mr.-Gen. Burgher Force.	
		1 Sub-adjutant (Armstrong) Beaufort Levy.	
		1 Burgher of Van Wyk's division.	
		3 Non-Com. Officers,	{ 1 Cape Mounted Rifles.
			{ 2 Provisional Hottentots.
		{ 1 Cape Mounted Rifles.	
		{ 2 Provisional Hottentots.	

Of these 6 were by the enemy, and 3 by accident.

17 Wounded,	{	1 Field-commandant (Van Wyk)	slightly.
		1 Captain (Murray, 72d Regt.)	severely.
		4 Burghers of Van Wyk's division,	do.
		1 Serjeant Provisional Hottentots,	do.
		7 Privates,	{ 4 72d Regiment, } 3 do.
			{ 3 Prov. Hottentots } 4 slightly.
		1 of the Corps of Guides,	dangerously.
		2 Camp Followers,	{ 1 severely.
			{ 1 slightly.

Of these 12 were by the enemy, and 5 by accident.

The wounded have done well, with the exception of three cases, which, I am sorry to say, proved fatal.

The general health of the troops has been extraordinarily good, considering the great exertions and hardships to which they have been exposed. The only diseases of importance that have occurred were amongst the burghers and newly levied men, and these were mostly owing to their not having been inured to a military life, for not a single officer or soldier of the regular army has died or required to leave the field on account of sickness during the whole campaign; which I ascribe partly to the judicious and perfect manner in which the army was organised and equipped in the first instance,—and partly, perhaps I should say chiefly, to the salubrity of the climate, in which respect I do not think that this country is surpassed (and I question if it be equalled) by any in the world.



(No. 29).

## GENERAL ORDERS.

Head-Quarters, Graham's Town, Aug. 7, 1835.

3.—With reference to the General Orders of the 1st July, when the Commander-in-Chief had last the satisfaction of thanking the troops in the province of Queen Adelaide, he now desires to record his approbation of their continued gallant and excellent services, as reported by Col. Smith, during the latter part of June, and the whole of the month of July. These have been hardily and brilliantly achieved, with great loss to the enemy, and the capture of 5,000 head of cattle; and for these the Commander-in-Chief desires to express to the officers and soldiers his approbation and his thanks, which are especially due to Col. Smith.

Major Cox,		The Lieuts	Lealie,	
The Capts. Murray,	} of the 72d.		" Fisher,	} of the 72d.
" Jervis,			" Stuart,	
" Lacey,	} C. M. Rifles.		" Bowker,	} 1st Pro.
" Ross,			" Biddulph,	
" Warden,			" Crowe,	
" Crause,	} 1st Pro.		" Crause,	
" Gilfillan,		} Battalion.	Ensigns	Campbell,
" Cowderoy,			" Thomson,	
" Bailie,	} 2d Pro.		" Rubidge,	} 1st Pro.
" Rawstorne,			" Thom,	
" Stretch,	} Battalion.		" Ryneveld,	} 2d Pro.
" Crowe,			" Shield,	

And that very meritorious officer of the burgher force, the Field-commandant Christian Groepe, of the Kat River Legion.

4.—The Commander-in-Chief laments deeply and sincerely the loss of Lieut. Bailie, of the 1st Provisional Battalion (with his detachment) who was as good and gallant an officer as ever served His Majesty; and who, from the commencement of the war until his death, had never ceased to merit approbation and thanks. It is now known that, with his small party of 28 men, he protracted his most gallant and unflinching resistance for four days against many hundreds of the savages, who had hemmed him in, in one of the deep, woody, ravines of the Tabendoda Mountains; nor did that resistance cease until his ammunition was exhausted, and he was borne down and overwhelmed by the surrounding numbers of the enemy, who, in gaining that advantage (the first which they have gained during the war) suffered an immense loss.

For the benefit of the afflicted widow of this most amiable and excellent young officer, and for that of those of his gallant followers, the Commander-in-Chief will not fail to use every effort in his power, and he unfeignedly sympathises in their distress.

5.—The Commander-in-Chief trusts that the officers and troops will not fail to let the corresponding good be drawn from this misfortune, namely, that they will bear in mind the lesson which, from the beginning of the war, he has used his utmost efforts to circulate—never to adventure with small detachments, and especially in a country of thicket, mountain, and ravines, out of the reach of corresponding and sufficient support; for in neglecting this, if they gain an advantage they are unequal to pursue it; and if they meet with a check, it may end in fatal disaster.

6.—The officers and troops of the forces in the new province should never



forget that they must, in all situations, act warily and obediently, as well as boldly, holding firmly the main posts of occupation which have been assigned to them, and carrying into effect such offensive operations as may at any time be directed by the officers commanding, vigorously but with the caution necessary to counteract the crafty, although savage enemy, who naturally still infest several parts of the country, and who must be expected to do so until the reinforcements are up, and the time ripe for the final operations, which shall complete their submission or expulsion.

A. A. O'REILLY, Major, A. D. A. G.

(No. 30.)

### GENERAL ORDERS.

Head-Quarters, Graham's Town, 24th August, 1836.

1.—The Commander-in-Chief rejoices in announcing to the troops, the progress and results of a very brilliant and successful series of operations under the command of Major Cox, in the mountains of the Chumie, Amatola, and Kieskamma; the skilful ordering of these,—the high discipline and judgment with which they were carried through, and the merciful forbearance towards the enemy, which marked their conclusion, are alike excellent, and deserve the highest praise.

2.—Towards the end of the last, and beginning of the present month, the mountain Kafirs of the Chiefs Tyalie, Macomo, and their immediate adherents, emboldened probably by some partial advantages over one or two small detachments of the colonial troops (not at all gained by any prowess on the part of the enemy, but solely arising from some unforeseen and unfortunate contingencies) and excited, as there is but too much reason to suppose, to a renewed and obstinate struggle, by a knowledge of the dangerous doctrines in their favor recently disseminated within the colony, had assembled in considerable force, and even ventured upon inroads on the old colonial border, carrying off some cattle from the Fingoes on one side, and from the farmers of the Kat River on the other.

3.—At once to chastise the presumption of these savages, and to clear the border line from their annoyance, Colonel Smith had, on the 11th inst, reinforced Major Cox on the upper Keiskamma, transmitting to him very judicious instructions for his guidance in the general object of movement, but leaving the details to his own well proved soldiery;—while on the 9th inst. Captain Armstrong commanding the northern sub-district of Albany and Somerset, had, with corresponding views, sent out from Camp Adelaide, a detachment of Provincial troops under Captain Alexander of the Beaufort Levy, who, having penetrated into the Chumie Glens, was ultimately directed to join Major Cox's division.

4.—Hence proceeded the operations and results detailed in the following interesting reports from Major Cox and Captain Alexander respectively, with such clearness and precision, that the events they record, can be in no other words so well related; and they are therefore here transcribed for the information and example of the officers and soldiers of this army.

Fort Cox, August 15, 1835.

SIR,—I have the honor to inform you that I could not move the force placed under me, by your order of the 11th instant, until the night of the 13th, in consequence of the Kat River people and Beaufort Levy not ar-

riving here until the evening of the 12th inst. ; and who, from being out four days, required one day's rest.

Captain Alexander, who commanded this force of two hundred men, had the good fortune to bring the enemy partially to action on his way to my camp at the head of the Amatola, and killed thirteen of them, and wounded several others badly, eight of whom died that night.

I moved in three columns from this place, on the night of the 13th ; the left column, under Captain Alexander, I sent by the head of the Amatola to move down into the valley of the Temaka : I moved with the centre column myself over the eastern heights of the Amatola, while I detached Major M'Lean, 72d Regt., down by the missionary school to move up by the Temaka River at its confluence with the Keiskamma.

These operations were so far successful, that nineteen of the enemy were killed before he could escape from us ; this loss was principally inflicted by Captain Alexander's column, who, with the Beaufort Levy and Kat River people, behaved in the most spirited and gallant manner, causing a loss of 40 killed, and several wounded to the enemy.

I had received a confidential communication from His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, by Captain Warden, Cape Mounted Rifles, on the 9th inst., the objects of which I was principally enabled to carry into effect by our success on the 14th, on the evening of which day one of Tyali's oldest Heemraden came into my camp on the Goolo ; this circumstance led to an interview between the chiefs Macomo and Tyali, with 100 of their principal men, and Captain Warden and myself, attended by one interpreter and two orderlies ; the result of which being in accordance with His Excellency's desires, I ceased hostilities, and returned to my camp this day, having directed the remainder of the troops to march to the different posts at Fort Beresford and King William's Town.

Captain Warden leaves this to-morrow morning for Graham's Town, and will make His Excellency acquainted with every thing connected with these recent operations, and the results attending them.

And I have the honor to be, &c.

WILLIAM COX, Major, 75th Regt.

To the Honorable Colonel Smith, C. B., Commanding the Province of Queen Adelaide.

Fort Armstrong, August 17, 1835-

SIR,—I have the honor to report, in pursuance of your instructions, I marched from Fort Armstrong the night of the 9th instant, with 160 of the Kat River people, and 25 of the Beaufort Levy, and halted the same night at Chumie. Having sent out a party of observation, and having ascertained that there were many fires of the enemy in the direction of the Chumie Hoek and the Amatola, I divided my force, directing Field-cornet Piet Camphor to proceed by Elands River ; while, with the other half of my patrol, I entered the following morning at 4 o'clock A. M., Chumie Hoek, when I joined Piet Camphor's patrol ; we killed one Kafir, captured a few goats, one horse, and burnt many huts.

This day I was joined by 70 Fingoes, whom you had ordered to my assistance, from Block Drift. I then made a similar division of my force, and entered the Amatola bush in two directions. At 3 o'clock A. M. on the morning of the 11th instant, we found the enemy in large bodies ; but on our approach they fled rapidly with their cattle, and being closely pursued, they stabbed a considerable number of them, at least 80 head.

In consequence of the intricacy of the bush, and the craftiness of the

enemy, I found great difficulty in coming within musket shot of them. Having driven the enemy before me in every direction, and having concentrated my force, I sent on a decoy party of Fingoes, and a few of the Kat River people; they were immediately attacked by a strong force of the enemy, and Macomo, with a strong body, made a disposition to surround them. The main body of my force was at this time concealed, and I had given orders to the decoy party, when attacked, to make a precipitate retreat, which they did; by this means the enemy were deceived; they followed the Fingoes vigorously, and there were at least 150 of the enemy with fire-arms; they kept up a heavy fire, but, fortunately, none of them took effect. Macomo was distinctly seen mounted upon a white horse. Having got the enemy out of the bush, and upon an open plain, I rushed upon them with my whole force; and upon this occasion killed 20, besides wounding a very considerable number; they again fled in every direction. Major Cox having heard our firing, sent an express to order me to join him, which I did on the following morning the 12th instant; my men being fatigued I was obliged to halt the 13th at Fort Cox. On the 14th, at 1 o'clock A. M., I marched with my whole force, and, by Major Cox's orders, again entered the Amatola. At 3 o'clock, A. M., I came upon the fires of the enemy, and killed 11 of them, besides wounding several. They again made a speedy retreat into the Temaka, and I was so fortunate as completely to hem in an immense body of the enemy, in such a position, from the nature of a precipitous range of rocky ledge, that they could not retreat further.

The situation of the enemy was hopeless, and they appeared totally dismayed. A Kafir was sent to me to endeavour to hold a parley with me. I ceased hostilities, having been instructed by Major Cox to listen to any overture on the part of the enemy; and having confronted the Kafir messenger, was happy to find he was instructed by the Kafir chiefs to sue for mercy and peace.

The messenger was one of Tyali's Heemraaden. I brought him to Major Cox's encampment, and, having, I trust, performed my duty to the satisfaction of Major Cox and yourself, I returned to Fort Armstrong the morning of the 16th instant. I captured altogether 50 head of cattle, 10 horses, and 60 goats.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM ALEXANDER, Capt. Beaufort Levy.

To Captain ARMSTRONG, Commanding N. S. District, Beaufort.

5.—The Commander-in-Chief returns his thanks to Major Cox, for this new and excellent good service, in addition to his many former ones; to Major M'Lean; to Capt. Alexander, whose dispositions and movements were strikingly able; and to all the officers and soldiers employed in this successful enterprise, in which arrangements of admirable professional skill have happily combined with an execution of determined and irresistible energy, and have concluded in results of the greatest importance.

6.—A provisional cessation of hostilities, with the Kafir tribes above described having ensued, that cessation will be carefully observed by all the troops who are, or may be, in their neighbourhood; but officers commanding corps, posts, and detachments, will see the necessity of observing the most careful discipline; nor will they permit any Kafirs to approach them; so that while they carefully abstain from any breach of the truce themselves, they will be vigilantly guarded against any aggressions upon the part of the enemy, and unceasingly prepared to defend it.

A. A. O'REILLY, Major, Act.-Dep.-Adj.-Gen.

## PETITION

*Of the Inhabitants of Graaff-Reinet, to the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

The humble and dutiful petition of your Majesty's loyal subjects, the inhabitants of the district of Graaff-Reinet, in the Eastern Province of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, most humbly sheweth:—

That shortly before the period when this colony first fell by conquest under the beneficent rule of your Majesty's revered predecessor, certain warlike tribes of savages, called Kafirs, emigrated from the eastward, and crossing the river called the Great Kye, exterminated the tribes of native Hottentots who had formerly occupied the country between that river and the Fish River, which latter stream was, by agreement with the Kafir chiefs, constituted the colonial boundary in the year 1778.

That the early colonists upon the Kafir frontier suffered the most ruinous losses from the aggressions and depredations of those savage tribes, being neither effectually protected by the Batavian government, nor permitted to adopt efficient measures for their own protection.

That the inhabitants residing in the present district of Graaff-Reinet, long the sole seat of magistracy for the country now forming nearly the whole Eastern Province of the colony, were, for many years, ceaselessly occupied in defending themselves against the more destructive tribes called Bushmen Hottentots, who had never, like the Kafirs, possessed property in domestic cattle, and did not endeavour to preserve their plunder, but unsparingly destroyed whole herds of cattle, sheep, and horses.—That the Kafir tribes, not being equally destructive in their habits, acquired for a time, notwithstanding their ceaseless depredations and aggressions, the character of a comparatively peaceful race of savages, and the complaints of the inhabitants of the districts affected by the aggressions of the Kafirs, as well as their constant requests for the assistance of their fellow colonists, who were engaged in defending themselves against the Bushmen, were naturally listened to with reluctance, or pretended incredulity, at a seat of magistracy, where an opposite interest prevailed, and through which channel alone the government of necessity drew their information of the affairs of the Kafir frontier.

That the inaccurate notions regarding the character and relative interests of the Colonists and Kafirs, thus acquired by the government of the period in question, from sources necessarily prejudiced and partial, however widely and confidentially they have been disseminated by ill-informed writers, have never received countenance from the Colonial Government, excepting at the period during which their means of information were from these causes altogether defective.

That until the Colonial Government possessed the means of procuring correct information, and until the interest of the inhabitants bordering on the Kafirs were, in some degree, represented by the establishment of a seat of magistracy in their vicinity, these inhabitants were suffered in vain to petition for the means of due protection, for permission to hold a friendly intercourse with such of the Kafirs as were peaceably disposed, or to attempt to defend their flocks and herds by the hired assistance of friendly Kafirs, as the only expedients they could discover which would, in some degree, supply the want of that protection which was denied to them.

That the earlier inhabitants of the Kafir frontier fruitlessly urged upon their government the same just complaints and the same reasonable requests, which were subsequently preferred by the British Settlers, and were partially redressed or acceded to by the British government; the requests of the earlier colonists were, however, only met by the repetition of the sternest

prohibitions of all intercourse with the savages, by the refusal of due protection against their depredations and territorial encroachments, and by the enactment of laws, the impolicy of which has been universally admitted, the repeal of which laws perhaps sufficiently disproves those allegations of general colonial aggression against the Kafirs, upon which they were unjustly founded; which allegations rest upon no authentic and impartial testimony, nor upon any other foundation in official information, than such as is supplied by the mistaken enactments in question.

That the causes which for a short time induced the Colonial Government to lend its countenance to the mistaken opinions then entertained regarding the affairs of the Kafir frontier, may be most distinctly traced in the unavoidable want of information and partiality of a magistracy residing at a distance from the country affected by the aggressions of the Kafirs, and many of the subsequent misfortunes and disorders upon the frontier are solely attributable to the impolicy of the measures recommended to the adoption of the government, or directly authorized by a magistracy thus unfavorably situated.

That while the Kafir hordes were either openly desolating the country, and murdering the inhabitants, or without general or open hostility, but with ceaseless petty depredations, seizing the lands of the colonists, and possessing themselves of district after district of the colonial territory, every new complaint of the inhabitants only produced new injunctions to preserve the peace, and orders for additional presents to the chiefs, with humble and useless entreaties that they would quit the colonial territory; all of which measures only produced in their turn fresh aggressions and renewed pretensions on the part of the savages.

That your Majesty's petitioners would humbly state, as instances of the inevitable consequence of this unfortunate policy, which divided and weakened the colonists, and shook their obedience to their magistrates, and their attachment to the government, while it directly rewarded and encouraged foreign aggression, that when it was officially reported that the Kafir chief Langa had united his tribe with a hostile Bushman horde within the colony, and help was earnestly implored from the seat of magistracy, 200 miles distant, assistance was denied on the ground, "that whenever the inhabitants of Zuurveld had been ordered to assist Graaff-Reinet against the ceaseless incursions of the Bushmen, they had pleaded the hostilities of the Kafirs as a pretext for remaining at home."

That even long after the colony was subject to Great Britain, the aggressions of the Kafir tribes continued unrepressed, and their depredations unpunished, and though Earl Macartney authorized in 1797 an "endeavour to remove by friendly means the Kafirs who," in the words of his Lordship, "were crowding upon the inhabitants," yet the savages were long suffered to remain in full possession of lands held by legal titles under the British crown, and the unfortunate inhabitants being ordered by their magistrate to "persevere in peaceful measures," to "unite in small parties for mutual defence, but to avoid any show of hostility," "as their blood would be on their own heads," or "to wink at the aggressions of the Kafirs, lest they should draw upon the colony another enemy while the unconquered Bushmen demand all our efforts," were reduced by the unchecked ravages of the Kafirs to destitution and despair.

That your Majesty's petitioners presume humbly to submit the above circumstances to your Majesty's gracious consideration, because the period adverted to precisely corresponds with that at which they observe that their fellow subjects at a distance are taught to believe, by ignorant or calumnious writers, whose uncontradicted statements have attained some degree of credit, where the truth can be but partially known, that "the relations existing be-

tween the colonists and the Kafirs, were plunder on one side, and extermination on the other; and that the expeditions ordered against the Bushmen-Hottentots by Governors and Magistrates of the most approved humanity, and upon which dangerous expeditions it, at times, required the heaviest penalties and the highest encouragements to induce the inhabitants to serve, were undertaken,—not for the necessary defence of the lives and property of the colonists, as stated by Lord Macartney, by Sir James Craig, by Mr. Manier, by Capt. Stockenstrom, and by others, who most reluctantly authorised those hostile measures,—but “in order to reduce this race to servitude or slavery.”

That with respect to the proclamations issued during the time when the Government were totally misled regarding the affairs of the Kafir frontier, every successive enactment and other publication of every Governor entrusted by your Majesty's predecessors, or by your Majesty with the government of this colony, and the testimony of every local magistrate and military commander, of every person whatever, who, from enjoying proper opportunities for observation, has been enabled to offer impartial and trustworthy evidence, have united in declaring the unprovoked aggression of these savage enemies, and the patient suffering of your Majesty's colonial subjects in general under very grievous provocation.

That it was the recorded opinion of Capt. A. Stockenstrom—an officer of great experience and acknowledged humanity, and long in offices of high trust under your Majesty upon the Kafir frontier—that “none of the chiefs of these savages could be relied on,” and that “to expect that the colonists could tamely submit to be plundered day after day, and to see their lives, and those of their families, in constant danger from savages, whose existence depends upon their forbearance, without one single effort to save themselves from beggary and destitution, would be exacting too great a sacrifice of natural feeling.”

That notwithstanding the most satisfactory official testimony regarding the true nature of the relations existing between your Majesty's faithful subjects in this colony and the lawless and predatory savages, which information is rarely accessible to the public, ignorance or enthusiasm have from an early period found occupation in imposing upon the credulity of a generous nation, with the most partial and fallacious statements, justifying or palliating the offences of the savages, where they could not be denied, exaggerating the offences of the colonists where such did exist, or inventing for them offences or motives which existed only in the warm imaginations of the enthusiastic and partial writers.

That many of your Majesty's petitioners have thus most unjustly and severely suffered under the consequences of a belief that the faults of individuals, which in this as in all other societies, the community are strongly interested in punishing and repressing, are justly attributable to national feeling, and that they are actuated, as a people, by an inherent and hostile antipathy to the savage races.

That your Majesty's petitioners most firmly believe that it has been in a great measure owing to this unjust prepossession that the same course of mistaken lenity and forbearance, encouraging to the savages but ruinous to your Majesty's subjects, was, with little variation, continued down to the year 1812, when the savages were at length forcibly expelled from the colonial territories, a large extent of which, consisting of the greater portion of the present districts of Albany and Uitenhage, they had been suffered to desolate and to occupy.

That independently of the ruinous Kafir invasion of 1818, when the savages laid waste a large portion of the frontier districts, and which was justly punished by a forfeiture of territory, your Majesty's faithful subjects have never ceased to suffer by numerous partial depredations, which the chiefs of



these lawless hordes have in general neither the disposition nor the power to prevent or to punish.

That your Majesty's petitioners have had long experience of the fatal effects of the want of laws or other restraining power among the Kafir tribes, and of their inclination, rather than resort to the boundless tracts of unoccupied pasturage in their vicinity, to "crowd" upon the borders of this colony for the advantages of plundering the colonists with an impunity they could never expect were their incursions directed against other native tribes; and, also, of the unsatisfactory and irritating consequences of those imperfect measures for the recovery of plundered property, which the government, for the want of power in the savage chiefs, have been induced with their concurrence, to adopt; and it was, therefore, not without serious alarm that they saw the most predatory of those tribes, such as those of "Maosmo," "Botma," and "Euo," suffered for a time, with no other restraints than their own mischievous customs could supply, to occupy the country they had so justly forfeited, and to have immediate access to the forests of the Fish River, which from an early period had enabled these tribes to plunder the colonists with safety to themselves.

That, considering the injurious consequences to the prosperity of the colonists, which had resulted from a belief that they were actuated by a hostile disposition towards the Kafirs, and were opposed to their just improvement, it was with infinite satisfaction that your Majesty's petitioners saw a portion of the country which had been recently ravaged by the savages, peopled in 1820 by emigrants from Great Britain, of whom it could not be alleged that (whatever their prepossessions regarding the colonists may have been), they had inherited from their fathers any undue prejudices against the Kafirs, or entertained against them hereditary feelings of hostility.

That the new emigrant speedily perceived and felt the same inconveniences in the colonial relations with those tribes which had been felt before their arrival; they complained, though possessing means of military defence previously denied, of the same inadequacy of the means of protection,—of the same prohibition of friendly intercourse,—and of the same tendency of lenient or mistaken measures to tempt and provoke, rather than to overawe and to pacify.

The new emigrants made in 1823 the same complaints which in 1798 had been viewed as unreasonable or as founded in a desire to oppress or impose upon the savages; and your Majesty's petitioners saw with satisfaction that one portion of their requests was favorably received,—they rejoiced in the benefits promised to the colony, and to the Kafirs, by the opening of a friendly traffic with the regions beyond the boundary, and by the peaceful exertions of such christian missionaries, as by abstaining from an irritating and dangerous political interference, could justly look forward to the ultimate blessings of divine providence upon their useful labors.

That the British emigrants actively availed themselves of the sanction of the laws to improve and convert the savage tribes, and were thus enabled to draw from a lucrative traffic advantages so considerable, as to compensate in some degree for their exposure to the inconveniences attendant upon their vicinity to those lawless people; advantages which had not been enjoyed by the former colonists; but notwithstanding these peaceful and beneficial measures, and in spite of the conciliatory spirit towards the savages, which was their natural result, the British emigrants speedily experienced the same treachery, and the same rapacity at the hands of these savages, which had been vainly complained of by the former colonists.

That the tardy and reluctant admission of these evils in the savage character which experience wrung from the British settlers, and which (mistaken as the public has been), nothing short of actual experience could have ex-



torted, speedily exposed them to the same systematic misrepresentation which had been previously directed against your Majesty's Dutch-African subjects.

That the same mistaken enthusiasm which induced an advocate of the savages during a most sanguinary war in 1802 to allege, that the unprotected farmers were flying, not from real danger, but from the effects "of a troubled conscience," and because "the wicked fleeth when no man pursueth," is as distinctly perceptible in the public language of their advocates at the present day, who declare to the world that there did not exist in the recent calamitous invasion "any danger worth the name," and who describe the outcries of thousands of their ruined country as the "clamour raised by conscious guilt to conceal its terrors and mislead the official avenger."

That the same doctrines of non-resistance or forbearance which were advanced at the former period, are with little change urged at the present day, the enthusiastic denunciation of all commandos or arrays of the armed inhabitants, even for self defence, by the missionary Van der Kemp, being conceived in the same spirit which has dictated all the more recent condemnations of the defensive measures of the government, and which is seen in the present political doctrines of the Missionary Philip, when he would inculcate that the recent irruption ought not in sound policy to be visited upon the persons, the herds, or the territory of the savages; but that they should in future be pacified mainly by means of instruction, to enable them to learn from political treaties the extent of that power which they would thus be suffered to deny with impunity.

That your Majesty's petitioners would not presume to solicit the attention of your Majesty's government to opinions so unworthy of serious consideration, where it not for the lamentable truth, that the opinions in question had already attained sufficient influence to induce your Majesty's government to disallow the only law by which, on a frontier the greater part of which is exposed to the depredations of savages, and destitute of military protection, the inhabitants can be forced to array themselves for the recovery or defence of their property; and that apparently encouraged by this proof of their influence, and by the success of the means they have adopted for the purpose of misleading public opinion, the present advocates of the savage invaders have not scrupled publicly to declare, that there no longer exists even a chance of your Majesty's government adopting those measures, which, in the deliberate judgment of your Majesty's representative, and in the unanimous opinion of your Majesty's faithful subjects in this colony, are equally calculated to confer lasting peace and solid prosperity upon the colonists, and upon the native tribes.

That while your Majesty's petitioners, in common with their fellow colonists, rejoiced and participated in the increasing prosperity of this colony, from the exertions and the example of the British emigrants, they trembled under the conviction that there did not exist, either in the disposition of the savages, in the restraining power of the chiefs, or in the means of military defence, any effectual barrier against the torrent of desolation which they feared would burst upon the colony as soon as the temptations to plunder should, in the eyes of the savages, seem to outweigh the advantages of peace.

That these apprehensions were increased when your Majesty's petitioners observed, that in more recent, as in former times, your Majesty's subjects, and your Majesty's arms, upon the Kafir frontier, were subjected to losses and indignities from the Kafir tribes, which the British nation would not have borne with equal patience, and which would not have been suffered with equal impunity, had they been inflicted in other portions of your Majesty's dominions, by the subjects of any civilized power.

That your Majesty's petitioners now beg most humbly to represent to your

Majesty, that the destructive irruption which from the circumstances detailed in this their humble petition, and from their experience of the savage character, they had long been prepared to expect, has at length burst over the frontier districts of this devoted colony, with a force proportioned to the period during which it has been incidentally restrained, and to the amount of booty offered to the grasp of the savages, in the plunder of a most flourishing settlement; and that this destruction has not fallen upon the old colonists alone, but also upon the recently formed settlement of colored inhabitants, and upon that British population, who from situation, from the permission of the laws, and from their friendly feeling towards the savages, had always been engaged in heaping upon them the most substantial benefits.

That the ruin consequently brought upon the frontier districts of this colony, has been of so general a character, that your Majesty's petitioners cannot but express their fear, that unless the national justice of Great Britain shall speedily indemnify the colonists for their undeserved and ruinous losses, and unless measures are devised in the wisdom of your Majesty's government to ensure future security, that many thousands of your Majesty's subjects will be reduced to poverty, or forced to fly from the colony; that a large portion of your Majesty's dominions may remain a desert, and that the opening prospects of extending civilization and religion in this quarter of Africa, to the advantage and to the honor of the British empire, may be entirely obscured.

That your Majesty's petitioners deem it their bounden duty as loyal subjects whose most vital interests are now at stake, and whose future prosperity as colonists chiefly depends upon the measures which may be hereafter pursued upon the eastern frontier of this colony, to state that it is their humble but confirmed opinion, that all the measures adopted by your Majesty's Governor of this colony, Sir B. D'Urban, for repressing and punishing the late irruption of the Kafirs, are just and necessary, more particularly the removal of the hostile tribes beyond the "Great Kye," and the assumption of that river as the future boundary of the colony; and that the settlement within that boundary and under British laws of the more peaceable and improvable of the Kafir tribes, is (in the humble opinion of your Majesty's petitioners) better calculated than any measure hitherto devised to ensure the future security of the colony, and to promote the solid improvement of the Kafirs.

That your Majesty's petitioners confidently believe that these measures, if duly supported and improved by the adoption of adequate measures for the diffusion of knowledge, in connection with the prompt and rigid administration of internal as well as national justice upon the Kafir frontier, will confer great benefits upon this colony, and upon all the native tribes both within and beyond the British territory; will redound to the advantage of England in the solid extension of trade, and to the honor of your Majesty's government,—and will directly contribute to the substantial good of civilization and religion; while from long experience of the evils attendant upon the location of a civilized people in immediate contact with lawless savages. Your Majesty's petitioners would beg most humbly but most solemnly to assure your Majesty, that the most opposite effects would inevitably result, should the defensible line of boundary now fortunately adopted be relinquished, and the predatory tribes be again allowed access to the wooded and intricate country which they have so justly forfeited.

That your Majesty's petitioners would beg to express their firm conviction, that the momentous affairs of the eastern frontier of this colony can be no longer properly directed otherwise than by "A Chief Magistrate resident upon the Kafir frontier, and uniting in his own hands, and directing the civil and military authority," as recommended in 1826 by Commissioners of Inquiry appointed by your Majesty's revered predecessor.

That it is the humble but most confident belief of your Majesty's petitioners, that the mischievous customs and predatory habits of the Kafir tribes have never been, nor can ever be, duly restrained by the power of their chiefs; and that until they are at once coerced and protected by just laws, and the enjoyment of legal rights, no people who are subject to the restraints imposed by civilized society, can be secure in their immediate vicinity, and that they can never be reclaimed from their savage habits, until the means which may be employed towards their civilization, are sustained and assisted by the rigid administration of justice. Your Majesty's petitioners would further beg most humbly to assure your Majesty, that rational and practical measures for the improvement of the native races will derive their best support from the hearty co-operation of your Majesty's faithful subjects in this colony, who have a more immediate interest in their success than any other of their fellow subjects.

That your Majesty's petitioners entertain the strongest conviction, that all the allegations set forth in this their humble petition, would prove, upon due inquiry, to be founded in truth, and their humble requests to be based upon justice, sound policy, and the dictates of substantial and practical humanity; and that they would prove upon due examination to be no more than such reasonable and moderate prayers, as it is the duty of loyal and attached subjects, in a remote but important point of your Majesty's dominions, to address to your most gracious Majesty, in full confidence that the wisdom of your Majesty's Councils, and the justice of the British nation, will not refuse their prayers, until full and dispassionate enquiry has proved to your Majesty's satisfaction, that they ought not to be complied with.

That your Majesty's petitioners, therefore, most humbly pray, that your Majesty will graciously condescend to command that due enquiry be made into the causes, whether proximate or remote, of the late Kafir irruption, and into the relative circumstances of the eastern province of this colony, and the adjacent independent tribes; and that your Majesty will thereafter be graciously pleased to adopt such measures as may seem to the wisdom of your Majesty's government best calculated to pacify and improve the native tribes, and to ensure the future security and prosperity of this settlement.

And your Majesty's most humble petitioners, and loyal and dutiful subjects, will, as in duty bound, ever pray. (Signed by 364 individuals).

*Return of estimated amount of Losses sustained by the inhabitants on the Eastern Frontier, by the late Kafir Irruption, according to Documents in possession of the Civil Commissioner for Albany and Somerset.*

Horses,	5,715,	at	£ 5	0	0	£ 28,575	0	0
Cattle,	11,930,		1	5	0	143,662	10	0
Sheep and Goats,	161,930,		0	4	6	36,434	0	0
Houses Burnt,	200,		200	0	0	40,000	0	0
	256,		100	0	0	25,600	0	0
Household Goods, Cloth- ing, &c. in Houses Burnt,	200,		40	0	0	8,000	0	0
	256,		30	0	0	7,680	0	0
Houses Pillaged,	300,		30	0	0	9,000	0	0
Wagons,	58,		25	0	0	1,450	0	0

£300,401 10 0\*

\*A return has been made by the Commissioner appointed by government, for the express purpose of investigating the several cases, in which the total amount of loss is estimated at £288,625 4 9; but as this return was made prior to that drawn up by the Civil Commissioner; and as the latter possesses much greater local knowledge of the circumstances of the frontier inhabitants before the war, than the latter, we give the foregoing statement the decided preference.—Ed.

## LIST OF PERSONS

*Not belonging to the Army, who have lost their Lives during  
the late Kafir War.*

NAME.	OCCUPATION.	PLACE.
Albert Kirkman,	Trader,	Trompeter's drift, 22 Dec. 1834.
Stephen Buys,	Farmer,	Kat River, 22 "
— Cramer,	Laborer,	Near the Clay Pits, 23d "
H. W. Henderson,	Merchant,	Clay Pits, 24th "
Thomas Mahony,	Builder,	Clay Pits, 24th "
John Shaw,	Clerk,	Kap River, 24th "
Alexander Forbes,	Farmer,	Irish Party
F. Silverhoorne,	"	Espag's, Fish River.
P. De Jager,	"	New Year's River.
J. Blakeway,	"	Koroemo.
N. Van der Meulen,	Schoolmaster,	New Year's River,
J. T. Ferreira,	Farmer,	Kowie Bush,
John Brown,	Agent,	Clay Pits,
Philip Whittaker,	Mason,	" "
Samuel Webber, jun.		Sunday's River,
— Liebergeld,	From Orange River,	Near White's Farm.
Carel Matthys,	Farmer,	Zuurberg,
Willem Matthys,	"	"
Cornelis Engelbrecht,	"	"
A. H. De Lange,	"	Koonap,
— Newman,	Laborer,	Woodlands.
(A Deserter,)	Soldier, 75th Regt.	"
James Warren,	Kafir Trader,	Mission Station, Dec. 23, 1834.
F. Dougal,	Mason,	Zuurberg.
— Kent,	Trader,	Near Chumie.
— Budding,	"	"
John Stamford,	"	Near King William's Town.
Robert Hodges,	"	Eno's Country.
George Iles,	"	"
Robert Rogers,	"	Tyali's Country.
Tobias Tharratt,	Messenger,	Botha's Hill.
James Jubber, jun.,		Bathurst.
— Faber,	Laborer,	Klip Plaats.
— Chipperfield,	Farmers,	Near Bathurst.
John Bentley,		Collett's Farm,
Mrs. Trollip,		Howard's Party.
James Jenkins,	Laborer,	Tambookie Land,
Robert Rawlins,	Trader,	Trompeter's Drift.
— Titterton,	Carpenter,	"
J. Bilson,	"	Lushington Valley,
S. Turner,	Farmer,	Trompeter's Drift,
Robert Shaw,	"	Kafirland.
— Cane,		Yellow-wood Trees.
John Greyling,	Farmer,	





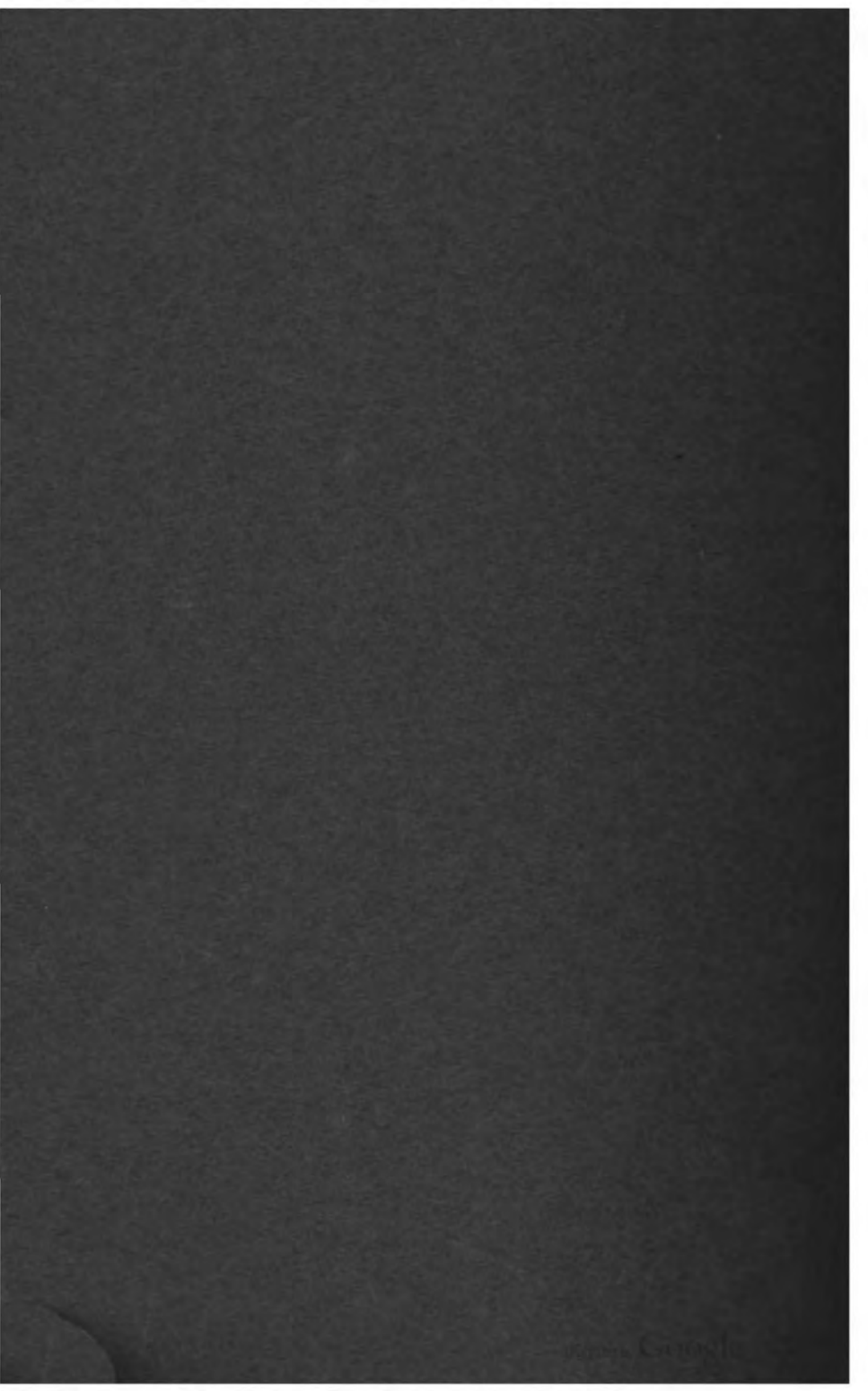


















































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