

Journal
of the
Rev. George Champion

Edited by ALAN R. BOOTH



JOURNAL OF THE
REV. GEORGE CHAMPION



George Champion

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American Missionary in Zululand

1835-9

EDITED AND ANNOTATED BY
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CAPE TOWN

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PREFACE

The original manuscript of the Champion Journal is to be found in the papers of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABC 15.1.1 and ABC 15.4.1), deposited in the Houghton Library, Harvard University. Abbreviated sections of the journal may also be found at the Natal Archives Depot, Pietermaritzburg. The Board papers at Harvard are in fragile condition, but they are in process of being microfilmed.

The initial portion of the journal, dating from February 5 to December 20, 1835, is not included here. It deals with daily life in Cape Town and in outlying mission stations, and is of value more to the antiquarian than the historian. The journal is taken up on December 22, as Champion arrives at Port Natal on his first journey to Dingane.

Several personal notes and subheadings are omitted, and there have been made several corrections of punctuation which might otherwise have impeded comprehension; aside from these, the journal printed here is faithful to the original.

I am fortunate to have been able to draw on the knowledge of two leading authorities of this period, Mr. H. C. Lugg of Durban and Mr. R. F. M. Immelman of the University of Cape Town, in the editing. Miss Mary Walker, Librarian of The United Church Board for World Ministries, was very helpful as well. In addition, I am grateful for generous grants from the American Philosophical Society, African Studies Program, Boston University, and the Ohio University Fund which facilitated the work.

Roma, Lesotho
April 1966

A.R.B.

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INTRODUCTION

George Champion was born the son of Henry and Ruth Champion at Westchester, Connecticut, on June 3, 1810. The details of his early childhood are few, but it is known that his father died in 1823, leaving a youthful widow along with George and two younger daughters. The young family was taken in by Henry's father, General George Champion. Almost immediately George became the pride and delight of his grandfather, for he was now the only son of his only son. The General had a generous income, so that George was brought up in an atmosphere free from want, and one of substantial refinement.

By the time George entered the sophomore class at Yale in the fall of 1828 he had already become a very pious young man, and while at the university he became dedicated to the service of God. When he graduated from Yale in 1831, therefore, Champion went on to the Andover Theological Seminary, from which he graduated in 1834. He had already offered his services to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and received his appointment to go to Zululand. In November of that year Champion married Susanna Larned at her father's house in Webster, Massachusetts, and on December 3, 1834, the young couple sailed from Boston for South Africa aboard the ship *Burlington* along with five other missionaries and their families.

The story of the American Mission in South Africa is a long one.^a Its inception was inspired by Dr. John Philip, the prominent London Missionary Society (L.M.S.) superintendent at Cape Town. In 1831 a young student at the Princeton Theological Seminary, John B. Purney, had written to Philip concerning the suitability of South Africa as a possible field for American missionary enterprise. Philip's reply to the Purney letter was long, detailed and enthusiastic as to the prospect of

American missionary work there. The letter was duly printed in the *Missionary Herald*, the official newspaper of the American Board, and by 1834 the Board took action. In December of that year six missionaries and their families embarked aboard the ship *Burlington* in Boston harbor to make the long voyage to South Africa. They were the Reverends Daniel Lindley,^b Alexander Wilson, M.D., Henry I. Venable, Aldin Grout, George Champion, and Dr. Newton Adams (who would later be ordained in South Africa). The vessel anchored in Table Bay on February 6, 1835. Champion, incidentally, had been thoughtful enough to take along a goat, so that the group could have milk in their afternoon tea!

The Prudential Committee (the Board's executive body) had taken the advice of Dr. Philip and split the missionaries into groups of three. One group (Lindley, Wilson and Venable) was to proceed to the 'Interior Zoolahs', under Mzilikazi, who were located across the Vaal River. The others would commence a mission among the 'Maritime Zoolahs', under Dingane, near Port Natal. All missionaries had been directed by the Committee to keep daily journals of their experiences and submit them periodically so that the Board could keep close touch on their lives. Some were relatively faithful to this task; others refused. One of the latter was Daniel Lindley, who announced his refusal during his trip into the interior. Journeying in Africa, he wrote, was 'monotony, monotony, wearisome monotony'. Of the sights, Lindley wrote that his only sensations were of 'a clumsy, dead waggon drawn by jaded, creeping oxen, panting under an almost vertical sun . . .' and it was pointless to write of it. Fortunately, George Champion felt differently.

The history of the Interior Mission was an unhappy one. Although their way to Mzilikazi had been cleared by Robert Moffat, the famed L.M.S. missionary and a

friend of the chief, his opposition to the Americans' preaching to his people became obvious shortly after their arrival. Nor was this the only problem. The missionaries also unfortunately lacked knowledge in the techniques of South African architecture. Having built their mission house, they finished off the floors with a mixture of clay and cow dung, and then moved into the structure before they were dry. By September 1836, the effects of the clammy atmosphere of the house, the cold west winds by day and the frosty nights had taken their toll. One by one the missionaries, their wives and children were prostrated with fevers and rheumatic afflictions. Only Dr. Wilson escaped, and for four months he was forced to be physician, cook and minister to the group. On September 18, 1836, his wife died. Racked with fever, weakened by despair (they were hardly able to bury Jane Wilson), the pathetic little band was hardly able to withstand the next blow that fell. On the morning of January 17, 1837, the station at Mosega was laid waste by a troop of trekking Boers. The ambush was in retribution for an attack made by Mzilikazi against them during the preceding October, and it succeeded in decimating the entire settlement at Mosega. The Americans were in the thick of the fighting, and were completely demoralized—so much so that they retreated from their mission station with the attacking Boers and travelled to join their brethren at the Maritime Mission in Natal.

The second group of missionaries, Messrs. Grout, Champion and Adams, were delayed in their overland journey from Cape Town to Natal by one of the series of Frontier Wars which took place during the early nineteenth century. They spent their time in and around Cape Town, preaching at various outlying mission stations and at the churches of the Cape itself, and engaged in learning the Zulu tongue. Finally, in June

1835, news of the end of the war encouraged them to take passage with their families to Bethelsdorp where it was felt that they could more easily learn the language and more readily ascertain the right moment for their advance to Natal and Dingane. (Champion also mentions as a reason for the move the high cost of living at the Cape.) There they stayed as guests of Reverend James Kitchingman, superintendent of the London Missionary Society station, continuing their studies and occasionally officiating at church services.

In December, the group dispatched Dr. Adams to Grahamstown and the Kat River to take further soundings. Adams returned with the welcome news that it was safe to go on and—even more welcome—with an interpreter (none of the group being as yet proficient enough to converse or preach fluently in Zulu). He was Charles Brownlee, son of the L.M.S. missionary John Brownlee. The land route was not yet deemed safe, so instead they embarked on a vessel bound for Port Natal, and arrived after a somewhat hazardous journey on December 21, 1835.

Here we begin with Champion's journal, so that only a brief summary of the ensuing events is necessary. The Americans had learned that a British naval officer turned Anglican missionary, Captain Allen Gardiner, had preceded them to Dingane, and after an initial rebuff had finally been allowed to establish a mission station there. Hoping to follow his example the Americans (who had left their families behind in Bethelsdorp) hastily prepared for the journey. It took them less than two weeks to assemble and arrange their equipment, and within another fortnight they were at Umgungundhlovu, where they were cordially received by the chief. But it was quickly apparent that he was somewhat suspicious of them. He refused to allow them to set up a mission near the capital; instead, he proposed that they establish a

school in the outlying district of Hlomodlini. If it were successful, he would allow another at Umgungundhlovu. The missionaries, unable to do any better, accepted his terms and withdrew. Brothers Grout and Adams returned to Bethelsdorp to gather up the women and children, while Champion stayed behind to look for a suitable site for still another new station and school. He picked one on the Umlazi River, about eight miles from the sea. There, on March 7, 1836, he opened the first school sponsored by an American mission in Africa, using the ground as an ABC book.

Upon the return of the others in June, Champion relinquished the Umlazi station to Dr. Adams while he, his family and Aldin Grout (whose wife had died at Bethelsdorp during their absence) made a second trip to Umgungundhlovu. There Dingane gave them a choice piece of land on the Umsunduzi River where they established a station named Ginani ('I am with you').^c In September 1837, they were joined by Brothers Wilson and Venable, newly arrived from Mosega, who occupied a new station at Hlangezwa. But within a month it became evident that Dingane's mood had changed. Unknown to the Americans, Dingane was becoming suspicious of them—with some justification. Years before, the chief had been told by a Zulu soothsayer to beware of the white man; that he would come under the guise of a missionary, who would be the forerunner of many who would steal the country. Now it appeared that the prophecy was true. Dingane had heard of the Americans coming to Mosega, followed by the Boer ambush. Now here again were the Americans, and the chief heard reports that spring of a large group of Voortrekkers massed across the Drakensberg, ready to pour into Natal and take away his land. By the end of October, the congregation at Ginani had dropped from one hundred to four, and all trade with the station had stopped.

On the 6th of that month, a column of wagons under Piet Retief had set out from Thaba Nchu directly for Port Natal, thence to Dingane's kraal where he was to negotiate for the cession of some land for the Boers. It was Retief in November who gave Dingane notice of the final defeat of Mzilikazi and his expulsion deep into present-day Rhodesia. By December the king learned that the commando which had decimated his arch-enemy had turned south and invaded Natal over the route that Retief had taken. That was enough for Dingane, who at the beginning of the month had been willing to cede Retief the land he asked for if he would recover some cattle stolen from him by Sikonyela. Now he was plotting to kill him.

The signs were becoming plain to the Americans. Besides the fall-off in congregation and lack of trade, by the end of January 1838 the schools no longer had children to teach. Then there was the ominous warning from Captain Gardiner at Port Natal that Sigwebana, Dingane's *induna* at Khangela, had fled rather than take part in the king's planned massacre of the whites. Champion passed it off as a fabrication, but was concerned enough about the state of Dingane's humor to warn Retief (who stopped at Ginani on the way back from his first visit to Dingane) not to go near the chief with armed men. Retief paid him no heed, and two months later he and his men were dead.

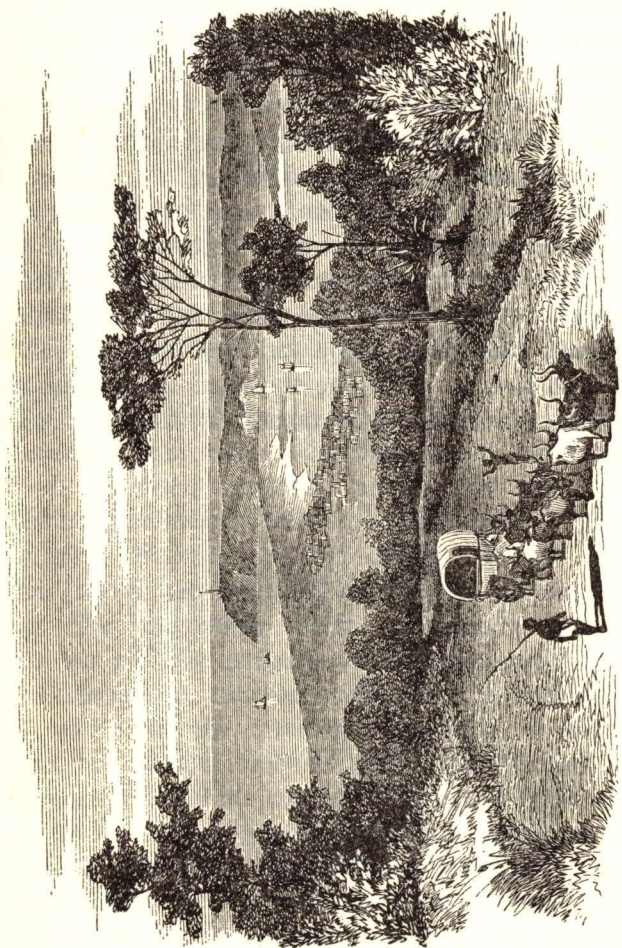
There was no question after the massacre of Retief's band on February 6 that the Americans would have to leave. Dingane assured them all that they were safe, but their experiences with him showed that this was no guarantee. Dingane had sent an army to surprise the main Boer encampment, and a bloody war was inevitable. In case of actual danger there could be no assurance of escape. Only George Champion decided to stay on a while to 'see a little more the result of events', but the emotional

condition of his wife soon drove him out also. One by one, the missionaries visited Dingane and were given permission to go. By March 9, all the brethren had gathered at the Umlazi station, and then all moved up to Port Natal where they boarded the coaster *Mary*. She sailed on the 25th for Port Elizabeth, with Captain Gardiner and the American missionaries on board, leaving behind Daniel Lindley along with Messrs. Owen and Hewetson of the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) to observe the events of the incipient war with an eye to returning to the field. They stayed until May 11, leaving only when it appeared that the Zulu were about to overrun Port Natal. Fortunately the brig *Comet* appeared in the bay during the attack and the missionaries clambered aboard.

At Port Elizabeth the Americans were understandably discouraged. For some, the destruction of the second mission following so closely on the first was too much to endure. Alexander Wilson was the first to depart for the United States, followed closely by the Venables (Aldin Grout had returned to Boston before the massacre). The remaining three missionaries decided to remain for a while in the hope that they could return to Natal. Champion, anxious to go back to the Zulu, was finally forced by the emotional condition of his wife to embark for Boston early in 1839. Adams and Lindley did return to Natal by July of that year after the war was over. Dr. Adams reoccupied the station at Umlazi. Daniel Lindley, believing that the ultimate salvation of the Zulu now lay in the establishment of Christian principles among the Boers, became the *predikant* of the Dutch Reformed Church in Natal. He returned to the Zulu field in 1846, however, and pursued a distinguished career in the American mission there until his retirement in 1873.

George and Sarah Champion with their two sons

arrived in Boston on April 11, 1839. George, hoping once again to return to the South African field, preached in the meantime for two years as pastor of the Congregational Church at Dover, Massachusetts. It was there that he was seized with hemorrhaging of the lungs, and was forced to resign in June 1841. The Champions moved to Troy, New York, where his widowed mother still lived, but his condition further deteriorated. Leaving their two sons with their grandmother, the Champions sailed from New York for Santa Cruz to enable him to recuperate in November, but after three weeks of great suffering and repeated hemorrhages Champion died on December 17, 1841, at the age of 31. He was buried at Santa Cruz. Mrs. Champion on her return took up residence in Boston until she too died of consumption on July 8, 1846. She was buried at Oxford, Massachusetts.



Port Natal and town of Durban

THE JOURNAL

[*December 22, 1835*] Today have we been introduced to the land & country which we hope it will please God to make the scene of our future labors. Thus far in the disposition of the people & appearance of the country we are all happily disappointed.¹ We had taken a bullock wagon & appurtenances in the vessel. This afternoon it was landed. Twenty or thirty naked Kaffers (as the people of Port Natal are called, Zulus properly) sat on the beach with assagay in hand which they always carry using it in peace for the purposes of a knife, & presented quite a warlike appearance. We proceeded to the house of the late Mr B.,² a Polish gentleman who had fled the troubles of his country, & with considerable property sought this corner for the purpose of retirement, but who just after having erected his house, & cleared a little of his farm was lost at sea. Our path was for some distance along the shore of the bay. We then emerged upon a beautiful meadow, the grass up to the knees of our bullocks, & after passing thro' a thick bush half a mile reached Mr B's. A few natives living in huts nearby came out to greet us, entirely naked excepting a few beads or skins about the loins. The house of Mr B. is the best one in Port Natal, constructed of wattle & daub, thatched with grass & reeds, & surrounded with a virandah. It stands in the midst of a garden which is surrounded by a fence of posts set upright in the ground, & in which are growing potatoes, beans, peas, water-melons, calabashes &c. (Thermom. at 80° tonight.)

23. When this morning opened upon us the wood around was [full] with many a songster, but in none of them could I discover much harmony or sweetness of tone. Our house commands a full view of the Bay, & its island to the East. It stands on a small elevation, where tho' it has been lately cleared of its thick wood the largest trees, (some 50 or 60 ft. high) remain for the sake of adding coolness to the situation. Some of the mimosas are very picturesque in their shape. A large tree is standing in front of the house which Capt. Gardiner used for a church on the first Sabbath after his arrival, when several hundreds were his hearers.

Already have our friends the white men done us no little kindness by the small favors which it is in their power to grant, & which to strangers landing on a new shore are very refreshing. Tasted today some Cape Gooseberries a subacid fruit covered with a pod & yellow when ripe which we found in the vicinity. This is the rainy season for this region. But it has been much retarded this year. Today however we enjoyed a regular American thundershower. Thermom. at 80° most of the day. This evening I heard the grunting of a tiger (a species of leopard) not far off. These animals have been the terror of the people here, breaking into their houses destroying calves, goats, poultry, & well nigh the people.

24. This morning we took our first walk to the westward along the side of the Bay. After emerging from the wood which surrounds us, we came upon the flat which borders the Bay. Flowers & trees to which our eyes were unaccustomed every where met our view. All along the grass rose to a sufficient height for mowing & thus it continues all months of the year. Passed some women collecting grass for thatch, then a brick kiln. Then we met two white men attended by two or three natives. To the question why the whites live no nearer together,

one answered, each of us is a sort of petty magistrate having a number of people under him, & we agree better if we live a few miles apart; then we are glad to see each other when we meet. At the end of a beautiful common stood some native huts. We came to the first. A white man greeted us, & invited us to seats in his house on some clean leopard skins. Our friend³ had travelled extensively in Dingaan's country, & gave us some pleasing instances of the freedom from theft which exists among the natives of this region. Often had he left parcels of beads the currency of the country exposed whole nights, & not a single one had been pilfered. If a white man should drop the most worthless thing in travelling it would not be long ere he would have a native running after him to bring it.

The house of the carpenter was near.⁴ The building, is a perfect square with roof & walls & only one room. Here stools were offered us in place of chairs. The common drink of the country, sour milk, proved very refreshing after half an hour's walk. Kind offers of assistance in various ways were today repeated, & we have reason to rejoice in finding such well disposed friends in the white people of Natal. As we left, a native was sent to carry us over a creek beyond Mr W's. Here we found a boat the construction of which adds not a little credit to the carpenter's ingenuity.

Passed the huts of a few Hottentots evidently bewildered thro' drink. This evil, we are sorry to see has found its way to this fine country, but is not yet brought in sufficient quantities to be much introduced among the natives. There are here 20 or 30 Hottentots who have come up at different times as wagon drivers & servants to the traders who have come over land from the colony. But generally their character is not such as to do honor to the little civilization they have bro^t with them. We now came to the residence of the late J. Collis Esq.⁵ He

with the greater part of the Englishmen now on Natal came here from the colony a little more than two years ago. He found but two or three of Lt. Farewell's⁶ company remaining who came up 7 or 8 yrs ago, & began an establishment. Mr C. was the agent of the commercial company trading between the colony & this place. The principal articles of export are the tusks of the elephant & sea cow for ivory with the hides of the buffalo, & of import, beads & blankets for the natives, & supplies & necessaries for the whites. Mr C. had built upon a pleasant situation & planted a garden & was doubtless looking forward to many days of prosperity. But how is the scripture verified, 'In the midst of life, we are in death.' He was one day trying a gun which had been sold not knowing that it was loaded when it discharged, & lodged its contents in a cask of powder which at once exploded & several hundred lbs. with it, throwing the body of Mr C & two or three others piecemeal in every direction. The sad news reached the colony just before we left it, & to a certain class of minds was but another evidence that Port Natal was an ill fated spot. Mr N.⁷ who accompanied us, & to whom we feel ourselves much indebted has charge of the business of the company, & has arrived with the kind of article for which the king is very anxious—the umgazi beads. These are a largish scarlet bead which it is death for any but the royal family to wear. Mr N. expects to visit the king, & offers us all the assistance in his power in regard to means of journeying crossing the river Toghlah,⁸ & an introduction to the King. There is another favorable circumstance. We were the bearers of a letter from the Governor of the colony of the Cape to Dingaan informing him of the probability of the appointment of a Governor for the settlement at Natal. For this also Dingaan has long been anxious that he may have some responsible head to whom to apply in case of mis-

demeanors. A petition has been forwarded thro' Capt Gardiner who has left for this purpose to the King of England praying that this country may be taken under the protection of the British crown.⁹

This afternoon held rather a long catechism with some natives to whom we explained our character & object, with some account of the Redeemer. But they listened with such a stare of wonder that every look seemed to say, O! no it cannot be. They can hardly conceive of a kind of doing good where tobacco or snuff, food or clothes is not a part. They say that Dingaan can never die. No disease can kill him. Why? He is King! They seemed to be much pleased, & left us at evening with a hlala kuhle (the usual word of adieu) 'May you rest well.'¹⁰

25. Have had today a good view of the majority of the people on Natal, the whites assembled to witness & the blacks to perform a dance at the slaughter of two oxen by our friend Mr N. On our way we met a messenger for us with a letter in a forked stick or reed, the usual mode of carrying messages, informing that soon a dispatch would proceed by land to the colony & affording an opportunity of sending to our friends. A messenger with a piece of paper to carry generally considers himself the bearer of important news, & goes at twice his usual speed. Thus was our post boy coming towards us. Letters have been conveyed thro' Kafferland in 14 days but there was a regular series of posts thro' the mission stations. But to our dance. Troops of Zulus with assagay or kirrie¹¹ (a club with a knob at the end) smeared with fat, & some of them fantastically decorated with beads were hastening onward to the dancing place. Those from one man's kraals were driving 3 or 4 oxen before them with an accompaniment of yells & cries of unearthly sound. Arrived near the place, [and] many were sitting without the scenes, i.e. within a few minutes

walk of Mr N's in groups here & there arranging their beads & preparing for the merriment. The first part of the dance began with an assault on the whites, spear & shield in hand as if to destroy us all. A good hearted sailor took up a stick & was about to give battle supposing them in earnest. The dance consisted of stamping on the ground with various motions of their hands & spears, but with very little grace of movement or position. They were quite precise in keeping time but were scattered here & there without much order or regularity. It was accompanied by a jargon of sounds, now the repetition of a word or sentence & now by a violent clapping of hands. Each one was decked out with his best beads strung across the forehead, breast, neck & hips. Around the loins the women wear a small skin caross.¹² While with the men the bits of leather, goat skin, monkey's tails as the case may be hang in abundance behind, but in front are not sufficient for what nature herself might teach them. Feathers of different colors were tastefully arrayed in the ring upon the heads of the men. Probably 500 natives were present. The scene wound up by the murder of the 2 oxen, & then what hacking & scrambling & debate each for his piece of meat. The whole ox flesh, skin, blood & entrails fell a prey to their hungry appetites. They then came in a body to present a loud hurrah of thanks to their benefactor, & returned home to eat their meat in silence.

27. This morning our walk led us to the spot selected for a town to be called D'Urban in honor of his excellency of the colony. We inquired of a native for the spot, & he from mere good will came to show us. We followed a path which led us thro' grass much above our heads & into a thick wood on the side of a hill not far distant from the west extreme of the Bay. One peculiar kind of tree we noticed. Its trunk seemed composed of trunks &

roots of small trees. Here & there roots were dangling as if expecting soon to reach the ground. Imaginations would fancy it to have been planted in the air, & to have shot its roots thence to the ground. The trunk was 18 ft in circum., & under its wide shade a thousand might stand. The leaf is of a deep green & oval shaped. On making an incision a milky substance exudes from the bark. Flowers were abundant. A creeper (the morning glory perhaps) in many places threw its vines & flowers over the bushes in such order that they seemed trained by hands. Some large acacias were around us. Ants' nests as large as a hat crown we observed on the branches of trees very high from the ground. Thus interested we wandered from our path, & had well nigh lost ourselves, but our Zulu found us & set us right. Only a small place is yet cleared in the bush for the streets of the proposed village. Returning we noticed an elephant's track recently made. But the animals do not very often show themselves now around Natal.

28. This first Sabbath on heathen ground deserves a passing notice. May this small one become a strong nation. The Lord hasten it. At 12^oclock a service was held in English. About 12 of the whites attended. Br G.[Grout] preached, 'If thou be wise thou shall be wise for thyself, but if thou scornest thou alone shall bear it.' For seats mats were placed in front of the house under the virandah. A 3 P.M. 20 or 30 naked natives came. Two or three had by their diligence procured a blanket. I never had more attentive listeners to the story of Christ crucified, a story in its particulars new to them all. To speak of Jesus to those who have never heard of him affords a satisfaction infinitely more than sufficient to repay for all the toil & anxieties attendant upon perils, by sea & land encountered in reaching this land. And when at closing one of them in the name of his

companions said in a chastened tone 'siyakukumbula'— 'we will remember,'¹³ it told me of the worth of the gospel & of the pressing need that Zion should awake & put on strength in the matter of sending it to the millions of perishing souls in Africa. Here is ready access to numbers in this vicinity. They respect the white man, & no doubt by visits to their kraals might be induced to attend religious instruction. With the increasing prosperity of the place there is undoubtedly a wide opening here for effort, & to supply adequately instruction for all this people would demand the constant exertions of several laborers. So extensively scattered are the people that one station or two even would not be sufficient for this purpose. Moved by such as these facts we have in contemplation a station here even should Dingaan grant us a footing in Zulu land.

Dec. 28. Went to see the mission church of Capt. G. On our way we crossed a part of the Bay which at low water is entirely dry, & where tracks of the sea cow, boar, & elephant are often seen. Met Mrs W.¹⁴ the only white married woman on Natal who had been walking 4 ms in the scorching sun. The only modes of travelling here are by bullocks or on foot. It is remarkable that out of 20 or 40 horses lately possessed by the people only two have escaped a sickness which has prevailed. Our path led us into a large field of corn a sure sign of habitations near. The corn is not planted in hills but sowed on the ground, among the grass & sod before it is dug¹⁵ over with their hoes. The Kaffer hoe is rather like a pick, & with it only the top of the ground is loosened. Yet with this sort of cultivation large crops of millice¹⁶ (the name for the Ind. corn) in a favorable season are gathered. We came at length to a dense jungle with tall trees interspersed. The Kraal was surrounded by an abbatis of brush for the sake of defence.¹⁷ For this

reason all the villages of natives on Natal are in the bush. Thro' one gate we followed the fence a short dist. & another gate led us upon the huts. They were 8 or 10 quite large arranged around the pen or kraal for the cattle. The huts were superior to any we had seen. We left, & followed a path in the wood, in some places completely arched over by the climbing plants & limbs of trees, form'g a most refreshing walk in the warm day. A boy followed voluntarily to show us the path. He pointed very significantly to the high hill before us, put us in the right path & left us. We were half an hour in following the winding path thro fields of corn in all its stages, some just sown, & some bearing fruit, when we reached the spot selected by Capt G. for a station, & called by him in reference to his repulse by Dingaan, & reception at Natal, Berea.¹⁸ And here the view which burst on us was delightful. A fine meadow land scattered over with clumps of trees bordering the still waters of the bay lay at our feet. Beyond rose the high dark ground of Pt. Natal & the foaming waters of the ocean. To the right the height stretched off to the West covered here & there on the bare spots among the bushes, with patches of corn. Behind us in the distance the ground rose into some high mountains. The view richly repaid us for the toil & sweat of the ascent. We were here amid some Kaffer huts. But such swarms of fleas came upon us as literally to blacken our clothing, & we were glad to make good our retreat. But the natives seemed not at all troubled being wholly absorbed in taking from the ashes & devouring the entrails of an ox. The fleas, I believe, sometimes become so abundant that the people are obliged to desert their kraal. The building intended by Capt G. for a chapel is in the course of erection. It is long, with a virandah around & capable of holding perhaps 300 hearers. The end for the pulpit is concave for the purpose of ease to the missionary in preaching.

The station of Capt G. is between 4 & 5 ms from our present abode. There are several kraals in the vicinity but at present it is at a dist. from the majority of people. Such has been the fear of Dingaana that they have retired to the S. & West of the Bay.

29. Started early this morning to reach the residence of our friend Mr P.¹⁹ 7 or 8 miles to the West of us. A gentle breeze (as usual) fanned the air or the weather would have been oppressive as the Thermom. was at 82° most of the day, higher than upon any day since our arrival. We crossed two African rivers, the above & the Umhlatus,²⁰ which flow down to appearance thro' a very feeble country. The Basin in which the Bay is situated is surrounded by high land except on the West. Here it extends itself for 5 or 6 miles in a perfectly level flat to the valley of reeds through which the winding Umlaazi flows into the sea. Kraals of natives are situated on the high ground on either side of this flat, among patches of Indian corn which occupy almost the only openings in the thick bush. Thro' this valley passes the wagon road to the Amapondas, & along it also our guide led us till we arrived at Mr P.'s, who is situated on a point of land around which winds the Umlaazi, in full view of a small Lake which he calls Lake Washington in honor of the Hero of America, & of the sea at the mouth of the river. His house which very creditably to his industry he has constructed of reeds with his own hands stands in the midst of large & fine fields of corn. Mr P. is neither hunter nor trader, in this differing from all the whites on Natal. He devotes himself to cultivating the ground, & has considering his circumstances a very fine garden planted with turnips, radishes, potatoes, melons, cabbages, beets, carrots &c &c. Mr P. offers us freely anything we wish from his garden, & in various other ways expresses his friendship. Returned by a kraal at

which we saw 6 or 7 whites. It was not difficult to see that a charmer had been among them & that our vessel had in respect done no good.

30. The mercury today rose to 84°. There is something sublime in what I see & hear around me this evening. All is dark abroad excepting as now & then the gleams of the lightning make it light as day. The ocean is heard as if laboring with very heavy waves to sweep away its barrier. While ever & anon even above its deafening roar the loud thunder rumbles in the heavens.

Today our peace was disturbed by the intrusion of a long green snake thro' the window of one of our number while he was busy writing. Then ensued a scene of confusion, but he was at last killed & his skin preserved.

31. This forenoon was occupied in a walk to the sea shore at distance of at least 5 ms. along the Bay's beach. At high water goods can be discharged at almost any part of the Bay, but at low water three fourths of it are left dry. The waters in this region are full of fine fish. Large shoals of them are seen as you walk along the beach. The surf today was high & we could distinctly see the width of the bar by noticing the foam upon it. It seemed so wide that it must be difficult to remove it as some have supposed. Should Natal receive an accession of inhabitants & especially should the Point near the anchorage become settled it would not be difficult for large vessels to anchor in the Roads, & with dispatch land quite a quantity of supplies in a very short time. There is said to be no fear in anchoring there except from the Easterly winds. And I am informed by those best acquainted with the subject that these winds always come on gently, & do not begin to blow hard under four or five hours, so that with a decent caution even in these cases a vessel might be got out to sea. Returned & began to prepare for our journey to Dingaana. The making of

reims is always one important article of preparation. For these a raw hide is cut round & wound into one continuous string & then stretched & twisted & beaten by means of a cart wheel & pole until it becomes pliable. These are used for fastening the oxen, tying different parts of the wagon, & in all cases instead of strings.

And here ends my first year since embarking on this mission. It has known less of trial & suffering than I expected, but more of struggling with inward appetites & propensities. It has known more, much more of enjoyment in God's service than was anticipated & less, far less of aught like sorrow or regret in view of mercies or comforts or friends left behind when I embarked for the heathen. The Lord's name be praised.

Jan^y 1, 1836. Principally occupied with the language today. The present I conceive to be the best time for acquiring it. Now I can employ the vigor in the work which perhaps I shall not possess in a few mos. Now my interest is fresh in the subject, & therefore memory more quick & retentive. An interpreter is but a poor medium of conveying the true language of a man's heart. He may translate the words into the strange language, but the interest, the feeling, the unction especially if he be a man of no piety is lost. The interesting story of Jesus' love falls from his lips as an unmeaning & idle tale. The individuality of the thing is also wanting. It is as different as to hear another give an account of a man's sermon, & to hear the man preach the sermon himself. As to our Interpreters they labor under a disadvantage in not understanding the peculiar dialect of the Zulus. As far as we learn, the ground work of the language, (by which I mean the principles on which it is constructed) is the same as that of the Kaffer language,²¹ but a great many things have different names & the same words have different significations from what they possess in

the Kaffer tongue. Some words have had a singular origin. The name of a cannon from a native's mouth is Baianbai. Lt. Farewell brought the first one they had seen, & when solicited by them to shoot it, answered, By & by. Thence it acquired the name. Chakka the former king of the Zulus had a wife who happened to have the name which the people give to anything fine, or excellent. But she in his eyes was anything the reverse of this, & to consign her to disgrace, he ordered his people not to use that word umnandi any more, but instead of it gave them one umtot, which has got into universal use.²²

2. Today our 10 bullocks came valued at 40 rix dollars each or £3. Ten are counted sufficient for a span in this country tho' 12 or 14 are the number in the colony. We also obtained our articles for bartering with the natives to purchase provisions &c on the way, consisting of yellow, white, blue, red, & black beads of different sizes to the amount of 80 or 90 lbs together with some cloth. A part of these a description of white & yellow are the king's beads which it is death for the people to wear, these are designed as the customary present to the chief.

Monday 4th Jan^y. At half past 10, after much ado of arranging boxes, bags &c & getting articles in readiness, we started. A Hottentot driver & leader came to take charge of the oxen. The Driver must have his Kaffer to accompany him in the capacity of servant or servants to his brethren, & we were obliged to consent. Weeks perhaps months were before us of an abode among the beasts of the wilderness & savage men. We left our pleasant habitation not without fears but that we should return to it disappointed in respect to the object of our journey, such have been the influences exerted on the mind of the chief, but on the whole trusting in that

Being who overturns, & overturns, perhaps in answer to the prayers of his people this day ascending, & will soon arrange it that all these tribes shall be given to his Son. We ascended the high ground which surrounds the harbor, & passing the station Berea, proceeded in a North direction towards a peculiarly notched mountain in the distance which joins a very long Table land on the left. The country presented everywhere the same beautiful appearance as before described only much improved by the pleasure of travelling & being so near as to see minutely the objects spread over the given fields. Everywhere the tall grass waved with the breeze. New trees, & some of them very picturesque at a distance met our view. Great variety was observed in the undulations of the ground presenting every sort of hill & valley. In about 6 miles' distance we came upon the high ground which overlooks the Umgeni. This is a river which flows some distance from the interior to the sea, & at times is so much flooded as to be impassable. Where you first obtain a view of it, it is seen winding its way thro' a very wide valley even to the ocean whose surf is seen on the shore at a dist. of 5 or 6 miles. After crossing the river here about 60 ft. wide, & 3 or 4 ft deep, & ascending some rising ground we came upon the wagon of our friend Mr. N. also on his journey to the King at outspan (unyoked). The natives from a kraal in the vicinity soon flocked around our wagon to indulge their curiosity. After partaking of the sour milk brot us by the natives, & allowing our oxen to rest an hour, we started for another stage before we stopped for the night. It was much cooler at about 3^oclock & therefore pleasanter travelling. Our bullocks took us forward at the rate of three miles an hour in much the same direction as before thro' an interesting country. Patches of mimosa bush were quite frequent. The aspect of the country was continually varying. The grass in some spots had grown very

much to weeds, & in other places was covered with patches of dark green grass evidently the sites of old huts & kraals whose people have probably been swept away by the tyranny of Chakka. The country is evidently capable of supporting a large population, & once doubtless did contain many people. But the love of war & self aggrandizement has left a vast region around Natal desolate. Thus have thousands gone to eternity unblessed with the light of the gospel, & doubtless from these same causes many more will speedily go down to death unless they who have the knowledge of salvation awake & send it to these shores. As I have been wandering over this desolate land, (we shall see no more people for 70 miles till we reach Dingaan's dominions), I could not but lift up my heart much to him who has the power, that he would quicken his people on this the day of their intercessions, & greatly arouse them to care for a dying world.

A tree was very frequent today denominated the milk tree. It consists simply of leafless shoots & branches very brittle, of a rectangular shape, & covered with prickles. On making an incision a milky substance exudes. No loose rocks have we as yet discovered in the land, but today in the beds of streamlets we noticed strata of bluish slate much affected by the weather. The soil appeared very rich having upon it the black mould of the decayed grass for centuries. The passage of the streamlets mentioned occasioned us much trouble at the Drifts, as they are called.²³ Just before reaching their beds which were now generally dry, there is a steep descent of some few feet sometimes almost perpendicular, which is very trying to the wagons. Saving these the road was very good. Just as we arrived at our stopping place for the night having accomplished 15 ms. a powerful rain set in which continued most of the night. The wagon was drawn to the side of a bush, & the oxen

dismissed to roam at their leisure. The grass is so good that they usually fill themselves, & then come & lie down by the wagon. A fire was kindled tho' with difficulty, & our tea proved a very refreshing beverage at such a time. As soon as the fire succeeded the Hottentots & Kaffers around us, (the other wagon was near) were in good spirits. They encircled the fire, & tho' drenched completely with the rain continued to chat now in Kaffer, & now in Dutch till very late when they found a berth some with, & some without a blanket under the wagon. On our part the body of the wagon above the trunks, boxes &c was just sufficient to accomodate our number (four) with close quarters, & as the rain poured down in torrents on the outside of our cloth-covering we thought ourselves in much better circumstances than African Missionaries can generally expect.

5. This morning we were awaked at 5. & our oxen quickly inspanned (yoked in) & on the way. The construction of the yoke is so simple that if the oxen are docile the work of inspanning occupies but a short time. The yoke is a straight piece of wood, with two wooden bolts or scheis,²⁴ as they are called, passing thro' it on each side of the bullock's neck, & these again are fastened underneath with a strap. It is true it is indeed illy constructed for a heavy draught up an ascent for in that case the strap is drawn fast against the animal's neck so that he can hardly breathe. A bullock well trained knows his name, & comes or goes at bidding. I have seen an ox steering for a field of corn turned away just by the calling of his name with no other means. We soon crossed the Umhlote²⁵ a river in the reeds, & infested as all the rivers are in this region with alligators,²⁶ except when very low. This was the case at present, & we entertained no fears. The tall reeds were considerably above the top of our wagon. In about four miles after a

long ascent & then descent we reached the Umhlute another river in the reeds with sandy bottom, & outspanned for breakfast.

6. We have outspanned by the side of the Umhlali, & I take my writing materials to record the incidents of yesterday. After waiting a long time for our bullocks (for they had followed the track of the other wagon), they were at length brought, & we started. The heat was very oppressive. But a cool breeze springing up before noon, as is said to be usually the case afforded us much relief. We proceeded over a fine road in many places perfectly level, and free from stones & drifts. We saw two or three large trees the only ones on our journey that might suffice for planks & boards. The timber for these purposes is said to be found at a greater distance from the coast. Several very delicate flowers have been in our way. Tracks of elephants & other animals numerous. At about 6^ocl. P.M. we crossed the Um-Tongati²⁷ another stream or brook sometimes swollen so as to be impassable, & after ascending out of the flat land of the river, a thing very essential in order to avoid the mosquitoes, we outspanned under shelter of a cluster of bushes. Fires were at once lighted all around us, as well for cooking as to preserve from the attacks of elephants, & after enjoying an interesting season of religious worship in the open air, where were 6 white men, 3 Hottentots, & 6 or 8 Zulus, we retired to rest under much pleasanter circumstances than those of last evening.

This morning we started early, & have been continuous[ly at a] pace of 3 ms. an hour over flats & plain covered with but very few trees, & giving me nothing new to notice. Generally on ascending each rise of ground a fine champaign would stretch out before us fringed in the distance by woody hills. A plant very much resembling the banana abounds. The true banana is also

found. The descent to this as to all the rivers is very gentle, sloping here & there around hills, until just as you arrive at the bank where often it is almost perpendicular. The bullocks cannot keep back the wagon nor get away from it, but it wins on among them, & throws them into confusion. This river when full abounds with alligators. Into it Chakka once sent a band of men to catch one which of course was done, but not without the loss of lives. We are now in the vicinity of what was once the tyrant's capitol (40 or 50 ms. from Natal). The kraal of his murderer was just behind us. He was lately destroyed by Dingaan doubtless from the idea that a tyrant killer is rather a dangerous member of [the] community.²⁸ It is but a short time since, that Dingaan ordered all the people from the section of country, & fixed their boundary at the great river, or the Togelah.²⁹

P.M. just arrived at the last named river. After leaving the Umhlali we passed thro' a country of fine rolling land, with scarcely a bush on it, & covered with high grass. Passed the sites of several kraals some of these evidently once containing several hundreds of houses. We had a pleasant view of the Umvoti flowing down from a distance among the woody hills on one of which was the notable tree under which Chakka was sitting when he was murdered.

This morning early at our place of outspan for the previous night, the honey birds were chattering & attracting the men away in all directions. The nests are often large, & tho' full of bees the natives contrive to bring away all the spoil giving perhaps their conductor none of it without being injured at all by the stings of the bees & killing only a few of them. After travelling thro' a region of thorn bushes, some of them covered with a beautiful globular flower & diffusing a very sweet fragrance for some distance, we ascended some rising ground & the Um-Togelah³⁰ came upon us, winding

thro' its wide & beautiful flat to the sea here distant 8 or 10 miles. Beyond, the bare ground rose high covered with a sunburnt verdure interrupted by no trees or rocks, but having kraals, (or native villages) & cultivated patches in abundance. Here was the land of Dingaan. In a moral view a land of darkness & the shadow of death. Here no preacher's voice was heard. No messenger found announcing the glad tidings of salvation. And every person & thing in the country must yield to the nod of a Pagan King. But it was our consolation that we came with nothing but good designs toward his people, & that thus far the Lord had greatly prospered us. On descending to the river we were happy to find ourselves again in an inhabited country. Our friends who had preceded us were here, & the naked Zulus came bringing us milk, & bread, & sweet cane.

The bread being made of new Indian corn we relished very much. This is made by grinding the corn between two stones, & rolling the loaf in leaves when it is baked either on the coals, or boiled with other vegetables in a pot.

As a company of 15 or 20 Zulus were collected around me this evening, I attempted to tell them something about God's word which had now come to their land. They had never seen a book, & had no idea of thoughts being communicated on paper. We showed them by an experiment with which they were highly amused. When asked if they would like to have teachers come to their land, they replied, 'yes if the King said so.'

The people here as at Natal exhibit a great variety in feature & complexion. Some are quite red in color while others are found almost jet black. And it is astonishing how many remnants of subdued nations the traveller meets with;³¹ as well as astonishing that such a man as Chakka or Dingaan could keep them together under one

government. It can be certain by only by the exercise of supreme arbitrary power.

8. Last night the wolves³² devoured a good part of the skin boat in which goods are taken across the river when it is high, & much of our time was consumed this morning in mending it. The river had not been crossed before with a wagon for some time, but during the night it had fallen so considerably that we judged it expedient to cross. However early in the morning it began to rise, & in an hour as we afterward learned rose three feet.

And now for another scene in African travelling. All the goods, trunks &c were out of the wagon in a trice, & the bullocks with the empty wagon were descending the steep pitches into the river. They were immediately in the channel, & it was over their heads, so much had the river risen in the space of half an hour. Of course they were obliged to swim. This they did well while the strong current took them fast down stream, & the wagon stood almost upright. The place of egress on the opposite bank was nearly half a mile below. I expected several times to see the bloody water, & the bullocks struggling with the voracious alligators, having heard accounts of whole teams being here well nigh devoured by these animals.

But the wagon held on its way; the driver maintaining his stand on the top of his seat, while the boat with a man to lead the bullocks, & two to row the same kept them in the midst of the wide river. After watching them anxiously for some time we saw all go out safely at the opposite bank, & were ready to fall down on our knees, & erect another 'stone of help' on our way to the field of our labors.

Jan^y. 9. Last evening we started & rode out a few miles to obtain better pasturage for our cattle. Crossed a

sort of natural bridge thrown across a deep ravine, the bridge composed of a slate hard & compact, & on one side perpendicular for several feet. We then ascended a high hill, & passed a kraal. The huts were large & well built, but the entrance exceedingly small as is the case every where. The huts as usual encircled the yard for the cattle. These, it being evening, were just collected & appeared in fine order.

This morn. early we inspanned & soon found ourselves in the high grass as destitute of a road as in the sea. There is not travelling enough with wagons over the same spot to beat a path. Soon there came a messenger running after us from a captain of one of the King's regiments saying, that we had passed his kraal & asking for a present.

We reached the summit of the highest ground in the vicinity from whence for a long distance to the N.E. there is a gradual descent. Far to the left stretched a long range of mts. exhibiting much the appearance of land in the colony excepting being covered with more verdure. This range we were ere long to cross.³³ Scarce a bush or tree have we seen since leaving the Great River. (This is called on the maps, Fisher's River.)³⁴ People however & cattle in abundance with wild animals have made our journey thus far pleasant.

1^oclock. P.M. The weather is excessively hot. Thermometer at 96 in the shade, 107 in the sun. We have crossed a small river the Matimkulu, the first since leaving the Um-Togelah & outspanned. The bullocks seek the shade rather than food. We have found a clump of thorn-bushes as the country begins to possess these, & under them made our fire, while the natives flocking around our wagon are highly amused with various curiosities. From what little we have seen the country strikes us as an interesting one for miss^y efforts. Villages are to be seen

in every direction. The people seem very well disposed. The soil appears good & well watered.

The people this morning with whom we stopped were very hospitable. We make it our object to stop always near a kraal for the sake of our food which comes to us in abundance for a few beads. The kraal of this morning was simply one of Dingaan's cattle places. Several hundreds of the chief's oxen were feeding on the opposite hill. The kraal had four or five huts, & was possessed by two men with 5 wives. The cattle are very small in size, but neat in their proportions, & in good condition. The people are extravagantly fond of them. Their conversation when by themselves is almost wholly about their cattle. There is a great variety in the shape of their horns, color & features. The ears are often very much mangled with slits. Marks in some cases well nigh cut-off in others very curiously notched around.

Two of the natives came to see us today, & were much amused with various things. The spectacles always occupy a prominent place. We showed them a flower thro' a magnifying glass, a looking glass, a burning glass. They wondered & wondered. The saw was quite a source of amusement. We followed them to their kraal which was nearby. The master of it looked on us at first with distrust. The kraal had about 15 huts very large & well built. The doors face all the same way, & around each is a circular spot which with the clay floor of the hut is always kept clean with cow dung & water. Here & there some pumpkins or gourds were boiling. Here was a load of firewood & corn & small pumpkins that some woman had just brought home. This evening floods of milk have poured in upon us till we were obliged to say, no more. We have attempted some explanation of our object in coming to this land, but so dark are their minds & so difficult our medium of communication that it is extremely easy for them to misapprehend us.

10. A Sabbath in the midst of heathen. We have been much interrupted by the curious natives. Had we been disposed to talk with them they would have listened long. But we fear somewhat from attempts to explain our object till we reach Dingaan. Prayer for them is our only means of blessing them. Sweet would it be to join our voices with those of God's people, but all things considered it is as sweet to lift up hearts alone in this new province of Christ's inheritance.

Monday 11^ocl. A.M. We have outspanned in the vicinity of a very large kraal. The circle on whose circumference the huts are built contains probably 3 or 4 acres. The huts may be 2 or 300 in number. This is the headquarters of one of the king's regiments, the Intoutilo.³⁵ The people collected at the entrance to look at us as we passed. The chief & a few others only have blankets. A blanket in this land it is said will purchase an ox. This morning we passed several kraals & many fields of corn. The country is cultivated even to the tops of the hills. We are now approaching near the long range of mts. mentioned, & have left the plain in which we were travelling on Saturday. The people of Fimfimkwanni,³⁶ the kraal where we rested on the Sabbath had become quite interested in us & familiar. They came very early this morning bringing milk, sour & sweet, corn, & sweet cane, & were very conversational till we started, when they took charge of one of our tame oxen, till our return. The captain had laid aside his suspicions & appeared our friend.

Evening. This P.M. as we approached the Namdubo Mt. range it exhibited before us a great variety of view, & change of surface.³⁷ Patches of corn were here & there upon it. Scarce a bush was to be seen. In fact we saw them at a kraal we passed at the foot burning cow dung for fuel. A small stream winds along at the base, this

we crossed, & at once began to ascend. We have ascended a short distance, & stopped in the rain for the night. Some of the mountaineers have spied us, & are coming to supply our wants. The first are three women. They are afraid to come near & stand at a distance to make their request. It is that we give them a few beads for travelling thro' their gardens. The gardens are often made on the ridges of the hills, & these are the only feasible places at present for wagons to pass so that very often in our journey we find no other alternative than to proceed immediately thro' the tall Indian corn. Generally a few beads satisfies for all damages, & often the simple reply, we are going to the King, is quite sufficient. We were obliged at this as in several other places to purchase our fuel. Either from the mouldy calabashes or some peculiarity in the grass the milk possessed such a mouldy taste we could not drink it.

12. This morning as we left our stopping place, quite a discussion took place among the natives about a fowl which was brought to be sold to the white men. The Zulus never eat their poultry, keeping them only for the feathers. It seems the rule is that the fowls must not be killed in the time of green corn. We then began the ascent where it seemed impossible we could ever reach the top. At one time we were riding on a narrow ridge, just wide enough for our wagon, at another on a resting place where we were constantly in danger of upsetting. At one place the road was so steep that our bullocks could not at first draw the wagon, & we were obliged to unyoke them to gain a fresh recruit of strength by feeding. When we reached the height the whole eastern vale with the ocean in the distance stretched out beautifully in our rear. But to the N.W. (our course) still hills on hills & alps on alps were before us. From the height we had reached we noticed several kraals in the nooks of the

mts. and learnt their names with those of several mountains. The kraal of Mazwe³⁸ lay to the right of Aziazana.³⁹ Then that of Penduzas⁴⁰ on the banks of the Umkukuza, & to the left under our feet that of Ijoba. The Iduba mts.,⁴¹ the Induindi,⁴² the Magula, the Ulabeka & the Ozoyo⁴³ were in their respective places. After descending a very steep hill we outspanned in a valley shut in on all sides by hills & filled with people. Again we ascended and descended & ascended & descended till we reached the rocky Umlalass.⁴⁴ This is a beautiful African river. It winds about among the steep hills which here and there hang over it with their black cliffs, pursuing a N.E. course to the sea. Another of our bullocks was disabled in descending these steep hills, & we were obliged to leave him on the banks of this river. Then again we ascended to a greater height than at any time previous, & enjoyed an extensive view of the country to the east, while far in the distance to the west a chain of blue mountains told us that we had done with level plains & easy travelling. Here we soon came in sight of the Kongela⁴⁵ a large kraal which the King visits yearly. We outspanned at the distance of a mile or two to save ourselves the disturbance & begging incident to such a place.

13. We were quite alone at our place of outspan till this morning. Soon after we started the natives on a hill near by spied us. Then we heard a sound which to us seemed like Zulu music & dancing. At first we suspected it to be the usual song of a company coming to meet us. But it was not. It was a band of soldiers under a leader engaged in killing the locusts by beating them on the ground with their kirrie or club.⁴⁶ These had no wings & were so numerous that by a single stroke of their club they would destroy perhaps hundreds. We came near the kraal, & stopped for a while. It exceeded anything we had as yet seen. The walk around it occupied me one

quarter of an hour. I counted at least 500 huts. The village is built on an eminence, & the huts are large. Some be even on the highest ground for the royal family are as large as a small house in America.

The personage who is styled the king's mother contrary to truth as it is said, came out to see us fat to a proverb, tall & very stately, wearing a cloth petticoat, and a very dirty handkerchief over her breast.⁴⁷ One of the chief men of the place with a brass collar around his neck, & on his arm a heavy brass bangle reaching from wrist to elbow, says, 'the great woman has come to see you, why don't you give her something?' The present was brought. Then says he 'what have you got for me,' claiming at the same time the silk handkerchief of one of our number. The Queen saw that he had obtained something a little different from herself, & instantly suited for something like it. She must have a knife, a snuff box, & the greedy captain mounted our wagon & begged for everything he saw. In short he afterwards told us that if we would not give it, he would take all that we had, wagon not excepted, & send us home on foot. Then came another great man & he must have some beads & a handkerchief. This illustrates the begging spirit which we everywhere met with from the great of the country. After obtaining some milk we yoked in our bullocks & hasted away from a place where we feared lest we should lose all our articles of barter for provisions & necessaries.

The country around the Kongela was very parched & dry. That to the North is full of thorn bushes, & has furnished us with no very comfortable road. Here it lay over the bed of deep streamlets, now thro' a thick jungle where the ax must be our pioneer & the bushes will nigh tear our top from the wagon, & there an eminence among thorns & rocks & crags innumerable. Meanwhile it is a favor to be acknowledged that the Queen has sent

us on a messenger with brass collar, & beads denoting his rank to carry news of us to the king, & another to be our guide. We crossed the Umhlatus⁴⁸ a river not far from the Kongela & rested a while among the thorn trees with the temperature at 85°.

We are now at outspan at the foot of the Umisychanga, or Mts. of the Sun. Before us the hills rise gradually for 5 or 6 miles clad with fine green grass, the kloofs lined with bushes, & patches of corn here & there, while behind is the valley of the Kongela bounded on the S. by the range, that we yesterday crossed. About in its centre stands a prominent peak, its top surrounded by rocky columns like a fortress. Umandaue its name. Every peak & hill has its name. We are to ascend the Godusa which means, Go home. We passed a spot today where on the night before 50 elephants, it is said were seen. The King usually visits the Kongela at the time of eating the first green corn, & I believe no man is permitted to eat this until the King has done it. At this time he has a grand dance.⁴⁹ This year however the corn is so poor that he says every man must do his own dancing, & he has no public dance.

14. 9°cl. N.W. at outspan near the top of the Godusa our bullocks declared that they would pull no more among the large rocks & up the very steep ascent where we now find ourselves, & we are obliged to release them. We are in a spot where should the forward bullocks take a few wrong steps we are hopelessly plunged down several hundred feet. We have here a delightful view of the extensive valley of the Umhlatus. 16 or 17 kraals can be counted & probably as many more are not discernible. One nearly under our feet presents a very picturesque appearance. It stands in an amphitheater of hills & the cows are just now coming up to be milked. The houses stand around the cattle fold as usual, & are themselves

surrounded by a very neat fence thus placing them between two circles. A pretty tree stands in the centre of the cattle kraal. Outside the ground is covered with patches of green millice,⁵⁰ the name for Indian corn which obtains in all this region. O! what an interesting field is before us for labors like ours. Lord when shall the light shine on these benighted men.

12^ocl. A.M. We are perhaps half a mile from the top of the Godusa which we struggled over, & still on the ascent, but fast against another high & steep hill, & our bullocks again unyoked to feed.

Evening. After resting about 2 hrs. our team was inspanned, & every voice & shoulder put in requisition to urge the tired bullocks up the steep, but in vain. At length the goods were taken out, few in number indeed & carried forward while the empty wagon was with difficulty taken up the ascent. Again we ascended, & again, & then began our course downward. We are now at a kraal where the Capt. says we must not want when so near the great King; & have perhaps progressed today 8 or 9 miles. As we pass the kraals the men & women come out & follow us for some distance admiring now the painted wagon, now the gentle bullocks, & now our persons. At least 50 or 60 have followed us today much of the time. The children are usually very much afraid, & run to hide or if suddenly overtaken by a white man stand as if petrified & cry out with terror. So also the dogs.

This eve. our messenger arrived from the King. He was very particular in rehearsing all that he had met with since he left us. From a mountain he saw us crossing the Umhlatus. He hastened on. Saw the King at the time of cow milking in the morning. This is quite an era in the affairs of the day, about 8^oclock. He told the king that we were three men, all equal. Our names Ugaloti (Grout) Tadamooosi (Adams) & Umbasilo. That we were Tea-

chers from a country three moons over the great water. The King asked what was in our wagon, & sent him to bring us on our way. Our messenger guides are evidently superior men & respect is shown to us on their account. In these we see some evidences of a sort of superstition. One will eat no bread because [it was] baked on the coals, no milk because he is away from home, & nothing that is cooked with fat because he is one of the King's men.

15. The country still continues woodless. The hills everywhere seem verdant & fruitful, & the vallies parched & barren. Today we saw a tree whose appearance at a distance made us think that we were in a tropical country. It was a species of fern apparently growing on a trunk a foot in diameter, & 8 ft high with the top spreading out like an umbrella. Its native name umpanga.⁵¹

We rested at midday at the kraal of an old man who wished for some of the white man's medicine. This is the first application of this nature. But poor man he has not long to live. His disease is not easily reached by human means. We crossed a river where is a fall of 15 or 20 ft., the first thing of the kind we have seen. The bed of the stream was Sandstone. As to rocks we have noticed but very few. Rude blocks of granite are scattered about among the hills, & some places where iron ore might perhaps be obtained have we seen upon the path. The King's messenger has been very pleasant & communicative today, & has learnt of me the English of various things while I have been his pupil in Zulu. He is a victim of one of the brass collars with which Dingaan binds the necks of his officers. When once put on they are not taken off unless the chief grants a special release. The brass becomes cankered within, & being very tight it keeps the neck continually sore. The heavy bangles on

the arms have been known so to injure them as to cause them to rot off. Our mes. wears not a particle of clothing unless the dangling appendage around the loin receive that name.

18. At Gungunhlovu⁵² Dingaan's capital.

We arrived on Saturday at about 3 P.M. Just before reaching this we had the pleasure of meeting our friend Mr N.⁵³ thus on his return. He spoke well of the disposition of the King, & s^d that he was expecting us that day. Of Mr N. & those with him we ought to say no less than that they had very kindly prepared our way. As the fruits of his journey he was accompanied by 150 of the king's soldiers all quite young men, each with one or two elephant's tusks upon their shoulders. Some of them were 7 or 8 ft. long, & a heavy load for 2 men. We were already on rising ground having ascended gradually from our place of outspan the previous evening. We now began to descend, & soon could overlook the extensive valley in which the chief resided. But its perfectly dry & parched appearance did not well correspond with our ideas of the wisdom of so great a king in selecting this for his place of abode. But doubtless it is his policy for the purpose of leading those who are with him to think of nothing but war. Our road turned quite to our left before reaching the great place. With the exception of our being loudly importuned at a large kraal by the King's sisters, as they styled themselves, several lusty women heavily laden with brass & beads who paraded themselves before our wagon, & hindered our proceeding till they had obtained something, nothing special occurred till we reached the lower part of the town. Here we outspanned at some sacred trees covering the grave of the King's grandfather, & sent our messenger to inform the chief of our arrival. He was busy distributing blankets to his men, & the air was constantly filled with

his praises, so that we did not see him as we very much wished on that day. However he sent us a large calabash containing perhaps a gallon of sour milk, one or two of sweet milk, & a quantity of flour, the seed of a plant called Poko,⁵⁴ rations which were continued daily during our stay. The calabash was a curious piece of workmanship cut out with an assagay of a single block perfectly round with two rims or handles passing around it one at top & bottom. The milk possessed a richness as of cream beyond anything we had tasted. The Poko meal when boiled with milk is a very pleasant dish. The plant is about the size & shape of buckwheat, & bears on its head thousands of seeds which are ground into very fine meal by the women between their rude mill stones. The youth began to crowd around us, but were kept at a distance by the captains, here a numerous body of brass collared men, it being unlawful for any to have intercourse with strangers till they have first seen the king.

Gungunhlovu is situated on slightly descending ground by the side of a rocky streamlet, a branch of the great Umvolosi.⁵⁵ & to the eye of an African traveller presents a very grand appearance. The place in shape is an oval, & the outward fence made of straight bushes crossing each other in the shape of an X must surround quite a number of acres. The houses large & regular & admirably constructed, in some places 6 & 8 deep, surround the inside of this fence. According to another's account there are 1000 in the whole village. Inside of the huts a certain space is devoted to cattle kraals, these are also oval in shape, & occupy much ground, but still a large green is left in the centre for the parading of troops, dances &c. In the circle of the houses at different distances stand houses erected on a basement level with the tops of the others for the sake of preserving the shields from ants & other insects.⁵⁶ These are all the king's

property & are delivered to each soldier on going out to war. The king's houses, larger, & more perfect than any of the others stand on the eminence, & overlook the whole town. These are separate from the rest & form quite a village. We were struck with the beauty & regularity of this the chief's residence as we came in full view of it from a neighboring hill & were glad to have reached at length the abode of him to whom our wishes & prayers for at least 24 mos. had had regard. We could not but feel that in the pride of his greatness, & desire for gain he might easily despise the servants of Him who was meek & lowly, & who came with but a despicable present in their hands when compared with the gifts he had just received. But we came encouraged by the fact that the King's heart is in the hands of the Lord, & that we were conscious of none but good designs towards him & his people.

The Sabbath passed much more pleasantly than we anticipated. We wished to devote it to holy rest & prayer, but supposed that duty would call us before the king. He sent for us early. Of course our present must go with us as an introduction. Providence had highly favored us in that we had been able to secure the services of the only white man in the country who can speak Dingaans language well, & with whom the chief is well acquainted.⁵⁷ Of course we were informed of all the minutiae of introduction & formality on which often so much depends. Dingaans was sitting just outside of his cattle kraal in a large old-fashioned arm chair just brot him by Mr N. He wore a cloak of red plush with two rows of buttons extending in front from head to foot. A strip of the same was tied around his forehead. This is the place where he sits every morning for the purpose of attending to business. Some fifty or eighty men were sitting on either side of him on the ground in a semi-circle. During some minutes after we had approached

near him all was silence; at length the chief sent his compliments to us, & wished to converse. He examined minutely the articles brot, the razor, umbrella, the pictures & the lock of a tin trunk given him. A few beads, also, a knife, tea cannister, & some handkerchiefs were among them. He appeared much pleased, & s^d that he should like to see our wagon. This he inspected narrowly. He found a piece of green baize which he fancied, & we gave it him. We mentioned to him that it was the Sabbath, & that we rested from all secular business. He seemed satisfied, & excused us till tomorrow. In the afternoon he sent us a goat for slaughter, & thro' his means probably the people were kept away from our wagon so that our day of rest has not been so much interrupted as we anticipated. A shower of rain also gave us a reason of quiet in which we lifted up our hearts to the God of heaven that he would have mercy on us, & we trust that in accordance with the promise, 'Lo! I am with you,' he was with us to bless & succour us.

19. We had brot with us a small turning lathe supposing that it would give the chief a better idea of some things than any explanation of ours. Some rosewood upon the wagon yesterday attracted his notice, & an inquiry of his brought the lathe on the carpet. He must have it with us today in his palace, & see its operation in the turning of a snuff box. He sent for us early to what may be called his hall of audience. This is an apartment somewhat in the shape of a triangle of curved lines surrounded by a fence of wattled sticks very ingeniously woven together, & seven or eight ft. high. It has 3 or 4 gates, each one being surmounted by the sticks passing over the gateway parallel to each other in the shape of a semicircle, & continued down its side to the ground. The king's house stands in the centre well constructed, & very large,

perhaps 20 ft. high but after all only a Kaffer hut. The king's great chair or throne stands in this room. Beside it there is nothing but a mound of clay on which the monarch often stands to survey his town & land no doubt with some of the pride of the Babylonish king as recorded in Dan. 4:30. The king took us to different parts of his abode. It consists of apartments resembling the first, but usually containing three houses. He led us from one place to another till absolutely we were tired, & tho' that if left to ourselves it would be difficult to escape out [of] the labyrinth. In one large room 60 or 70 of his girls were dancing & singing & that not without some harmony and precision. And here it must be noticed that we saw in different parts of his palace some 200 girls of whom a few were apparently in the station of servants, but the others evidently filled a different sphere. Fleshy beyond all account, their hips & neck loaded with beads of various sorts, & no other clothing on most, except a short coat around the loins, they present in toto, as they drag their load over the ground, & in this warm weather are covered with drops of sweat, an appearance which excites in a stranger both ridicule & disgust.

We crept into one of the houses at the king's request. The dark earthen floor bore a fine polish, & was as smooth as marble. It is smeared every morning I am informed with fat. The fireplace in the centre was constructed with much neat taste, & also the roof so wattled or woven in the inside as to appear like some well braided basket.

Returning to the lathe we found it surrounded by a host of the royal family admiring greatly every part & parcel of the instrument at length. The box was finished greatly to the satisfaction of the owner. But he must try his hand, & to his credit it should be said, succeeded very well for a beginner. He has a very inquisitive mind,

and often starts questions which show him to be superior to the generality of his people. Every part of the lathe underwent the strictest scrutiny, & nothing was left unexplained. But he is very proud & excessively fond of flattery. His subjects approach him in a bending posture, or on the ground. No man comes into his palace except by express permit. His smith however was admitted today to witness the curious machine.⁵⁸ This man is of great service in fastening the rings & bangles upon his captains, & appears to be on very familiar terms. His language to the king is nothing else but adulation as that of all his subjects, 'Yes, Father, O. Father, Mighty chief,' being appended to every sentence. He received a gift of a file or two from Br. G.⁵⁹ whereat his eyes almost started out of his head for joy. At dark we came to our wagon wondering at the good hand of our God toward us.

19. This afternoon the king sent again for the lathe, another box was made, & again he tried his skill. But he was dressed out in royal style i.e. beads of various colors & sizes depending from all his limbs, & different parts of his body, the various colors arranged in good taste, & the monkeys tails dangling around his loins. His dress shaking about the machine was somewhat of an impediment to his success. This evening in the rain & darkness he sent for our interpreter. The lantern which he took we saw no more. The king sent us word that he wished to keep it as he found it so much superior to the rush-lights which they use. He sent us word also that he could not give us an answer till he had consulted with his two chief amadunas⁶⁰ or counsellors who were now absent. This message gave us some trouble but the event was good.

20. This morning early the King sent for us. He was sitting in the presence of his people. The doctor's⁶¹ skill was for some time the topic. He asked him if he could

heal all diseases, & if he went by any spirit in his art, & whether he could cure a man who was affected with paralysis in an arm & leg. When told that the man might be cured, he told his own complaint, but said that he would wait & see if the paralytic were cured. He wished to see some money, asked us what we thought of his dress of yesterday, informed us now & then that the people were praising him, & as we left asked us if we could perform feats at leaping as some white men had once done. He asked us if we could get a bead maker to live with him. When God's name happened to be mentioned, he asked how we knew of him, & then childishly turned at once to something else.

Took a walk around the town. It would occupy a half hour's constant walking. On the upper side we found the smith's shop. His work is wholly in brass. A very hot fire is made from the dried leaves of the aloe. Here the small brass wire is melted down into plates which again are fluted by sharp hammers on wide anvils of stone, & bent so as to form the broad covering for the fore arm, given by Dingaan to none but the greatest of his captains. The principal work now going forward here is the making of shields. These are made out of large ox-hides oval in shape, & are given the black to the boys, the red to the men. In fact Gungunhlovu seems to be little else than a camp of soldiers. The chief is always talking of some warlike expedition, & inspiring them with a desire for plunder & blood. They live as it were at the king's table, & not upon the fruits of their own labour. No ground is cultivated in the vicinity. The Tyalua,⁶² or common beer of the country made from indian corn or Kaffer corn fermented in water, is bro^t daily to the king in large calabashes by 20 or 30 beer wagons, perhaps more, as the servt^s are called who always pass our wagon with their vessels on the head in Indian file singing over one song. This is both food &

drink, & is divided among the people. Sometimes we have a share also of this bounty. When just made it is of an agreeable acid, but the king's beer is too near the strong beer of other countries for any man to drink much of it. The king had 3 or 4 very large dogs to which he has a great partiality. Some snakes also are favorites who live unmolested in the fence of the palace. Two very large dead ones, Boa constrictors, are hanging on the fence outside 10 or 15 ft. long proving that those in the field share a different fate.⁶³

21. Again at the king's this morning. He improves in his skill at the lathe, & his fondness for it led him to ask it of us. This we had to refuse. The girls were at work. Some receiving their calabash of morning's milk. Some engaged in fastening the brass around another's neck. The person operated on was lying down with her neck across a block, while the rings were made to meet by pounding with a hammer. Ever afterwards the victim finds it difficult to bend his neck any way. The king sat in a chair much like a European one, but carved with an assagay out of a single block of wood. He wished us to write an order to Mr N. for some brass dancing rods.⁶⁴ The subject of our visit was mentioned, & he said that this afternoon he would see us about it.

22. 'Hitherto hath the Lord helped us.' Well may we raise a stone of remembrance at this stage of our missionary work. The Lord has disposed the heart of a haughty king to grant all that in present circumstances we could expect. Thus have the fears of friends & hopes of foes been disappointed. Is not God answering the prayers of his church, & about to give these wide nations to his Son?

The king had appointed yesterday for our conference. But a true African shower prevented. The thunder was very loud, lightning exceedingly vivid, & hailstones as

large as good sized bullets, & in such profusion as to whiten the ground, pelted our cloth habitation roundly.

Early this morning the king's messenger came for us. He⁶⁵ was sitting in his usual morning seat with his amabutu⁶⁶ or young soldiers in a half moon in front of him at 30 or 40 yds. distance. He invited us near him & also the three captains left in the place of the two indunas in their absence. Our business came at once on the carpet without form, or ceremony. Some short account of God's word was given, & our object briefly stated. A Testament was shown as a part of God's word. He wished to know how many leaves it contained, & was surprised to hear us tell without counting them. He asked to hear some of it read. He then inquired about the creation. A short account of the Savior was given. They all seemed interested. One asked if God was not displeased with their treatment of his Son, & what he did to the people? We were asked if men knew anything of God before Christ came. One query was if God was so powerful why not pray to him to take away all disease & misery?

Dingaan wished to know our relation to the Government of our country, & then said, 'Here now are my three counsellors in place of the two great men. They must decide for you. I am favorable.' The result was, for the counsellors echoed but the voice of their chief, that they fear evils from the introduction of white men into the country, & wish the home of the whites to be beyond the Umtogetelah. That they can hardly believe that we can teach the people what we profess, to read & write, but that they wish the experiment to be tried in their country when we return with our wives. For this purpose we may begin in the district of Hlominthleni⁶⁷ containing several thousands, & then said the King, 'if you succeed I will bring the school right into the heart of my dominions, I will learn myself, & set an example to my people.'

We were mutually pleased. In present circumstances we can ask no more. Such is the gross darkness that reigns here even in the mind of Dingaan that the work must be gradual. When speaking of God to any of these people they have usually either stared about the heavens in wonder, or listened to our words as an unmeaning story, & perhaps interrupted us by begging for something that caught their eye.

We left the king feeling that the Lord was here prospering us so that we might return by the *Dove*. The three captains called to bid us good bye saying that we knew what that meant. We gave them a little checked cloth & they left us full of thanks.

Soon we called upon the king for the last time. He was eating, & it was given us in very strict charge not to cough or hem or spit in his presence. He was in his 'hut'. We were obliged absolutely to crawl in on our hands & knees. The chief was reclining on a mat, his head on the wooden bolster. Strung around his hut behind his wives were their bead dresses. The hut was not to [*sic*] high within but very wide & supported by 9 posts. In the centre the dogs were sleeping. We now saw the monarch reclining at his ease in our presence. Very little ceremony was required. He appeared our friend more evidently than at any time previous. While in the house we heard the loud song of his subjects previous to their participation of the King's meat. Several oxen are slaughtered daily by the chief. After a loud song, they all shout, God save the King, or its equivalent, & enter on the work of mastication.

Dingaan was as inquiring as usual. He took much notice of a letter written for him to Mr. N. He asked how we learned to read. He said it was in his head that he should learn, & should ere long have one of us to teach him. Our interpreter received quite a rebuke for being a white man, & not able to read & write. He then

wished the names of all his girls who were sitting around the side of the house, & the dogs sleeping in the centre to be written & to be read by one who had been about during the writing. He asked when we should return & gave us beads as specimens of those which he wished us to bring. We then must make for him some candle wicks that he might supply his lantern,⁶⁸ & candle stick during our absence, & he egressed leaving us the sport of his childish girls, till the heat & confinement of the house obliged us also to leave it. We found him outside near some tallow which probably his royal skill would soon manufacture into some sort of candles. Here he gave orders for five cattle in addition to the two we had already received to be brought to us for meat on our journey, & charging the doctor not to forget his medicine. He wished us a good journey, saying that he regarded us as his friends, & hoped soon to see us. We left him feeling that unless we were greatly deceived the Lord had given us to win the heart of the Heathen King.

23. Yesterday we set our faces towards Port Natal, but the rain soon obliged us to halt for the night. We find everywhere the ascents of the mountains not so difficult as when we came, a proof that the country ascends towards the interior. A slight alteration in our path across a river took us three or four miles out of our direct path, & we have not made today more than 15 or 16 ms. The gullies of the streamlets washed out by the rains are often deep & impassable until followed up to their source high among the hills. This was the case this afternoon. We are now at rest for the Sabbath at the kraal of the old man previously mentioned,⁶⁹ & the women around us in their skin karosses supply us with wood which must come from far for we see not a bush near. It has been mutually decided that I should remain [at Port Natal] while my brethren return to the colony for our

wives & effects. A station of great responsibility, & calling for much grace & wisdom from above. May my Father in heaven bestow it.

24. We spent on the whole a pleasant Sabbath. Our thoughts full oft reverted to the interesting scenes transacting in our beloved country where the saints in union sweet are praising the Redeemer in a land where his name is fully known. But here all is darkness. I have questioned the people about the author of the universe. But they never raise their thoughts so high. They see that many useful things we have with us must have had a maker, but say that the earth so adapted to man's use came into existence alone. The sun climbed in its place, the rain falls of itself, & the thunder resounds in the heavens they know not how. They were a little interested to hear me answer my own questions, but the merest trifle would turn both eye & ear away from the great theme of man's Redemption. No man feels himself lost or in need of a Savior. None has aught to do with a state after death, for they say, when we die we go to the ground, & are no more. In speaking of warlike exploits the Zulu is all on fire. He imagines himself at once there, his eyes sparkle, his voice is loud, he strikes his spear on the ground, stands or sits as description may require, & exhibits many of the qualities of a good orator.

26. We have succeeded in a very toilsome part of our journey, that of crossing the second or central range of mountains between the Umtogelah & Gungunhlovu. On arriving at the top of the highest peak the descent was very steep, & withal along the hill's side. I had preceded the company, & at the foot of the Alpine eminence tho' clad with green, had the singular spectacle of the wagon & 12 bullocks hanging on its summit against the clouds.

I watched them anxiously in the descent. The leader was obliged to hasten & turn the bullocks now to the

right & now to the left that the wagon might not push them all pell-mell down the valley some hundreds of feet beneath. They came to a spot where a considerable turn must be made to the right to save such a ruin, & the place being very sideling⁷⁰ the wagon instantly overturned not once but twice, breaking our boxes & spilling their effects, splitting the large wagon, the connecting wood of the two axles, & twisting off the end of the duisel-boom,⁷¹ (or neap) besides breaking other less important parts of the vehicle. We were in trouble to which the rainy & cool weather added not a little. The cow bro^t with us from the King was instantly killed, by a bullet, (the usual mode), & her hide cut into riems or strings with which to fasten together the broken pieces.⁷² With some of the animal's flesh the natives were made glad, & rendered very willing to assist. We slept in this place of mishaps, for in this vicinity we encountered our difficulties in going up, amid the rain & confusion. This morn. our vehicle was repaired, & about noon we left the *Hlisia*⁷³ for a more level road.

My brethren fearing lest they should not reach the vessel at our slow rate procured 7 or 8 men to carry their baggage, & left me to proceed themselves on foot. We knelt together around the wagon, & attempted to pray, but emotions of a peculiar nature prevented, & we shook each other by the hand commending us to the watchful care of him 'who never slumbers nor sleeps in his keeping' of his servants among the heathen.

27. Yesterday we passed a wild fig tree of extraordinary dimensions. It was a least 22 ft. in circumference at the height of 6 ft. from the ground. The time of figs is not yet, but they hung in very thick clusters on the branches among the nests of the hanging bird.⁷⁴ This morn. we started early, & by a little foresight saved our former wanderings, & soon arrived at the winding

Umhlatus. On the opposite side were two or three men preparing a cowskin for a woman's kaross. This is the business of the men. They say the women have not skill enough to make their own. It is done by stretching the green hide on the ground by means of pegs, & scratching or scraping it with the jagged edge of the aloe leaf till it is made into a sort of leather. We ascended & descended our rugged hills & drifts more safely than before from our knowledge of the way. Every where milk was brought to us as we passed along. After passing thro' the thorny thickets, & dry valley of the Umhlatus we approached the Kongela. We determined to hasten by this place disliking the importunity of Iyangazana⁷⁵, & her captains. The driver cracked his whip to hinder the people from clustering about us & stopping our wagon, & fortunately we were not molested. Soon a man came running after us covered with perspiration, & put in my hands a gun flint. I knew that we had not lost it, & insisted on his taking it. But No. Such things, says he, do not belong to black men. I took it on hearing that probably my brethren had dropped it, & could not but reward the honesty of the man with a few beads. It is true that there is no lighter penalty than that of death for stealing in this land & this abates a little our wonder. Passed today near a hunting party in pursuit of the wild hogs. These prove very destructive to the gardens which not being fenced are perfectly open to their ravages. The body of the animal is left in the place when he falls & his flesh a prey to the vulture.

This evening our interpreter met us with a recruit of bullocks having returned from the Umtogelah which he found too full to cross.⁷⁶

28. With our fresh oxen we have hastened over the last range of mountains, & in three hours accomplished almost the work of a whole day in our previous journey.

Dogs are quite abundant in this country, & easily purchased with a few beads. Our men today have been very busy in selecting & buying Calabashes. Tho' but little work is bestowed on them [they] are considered for being equal to a cow. As we started this afternoon a young bullock was broken in. He was more restless than they usually are. He was tied head & foot, & thrown on the ground, & then fastened to the yoke. The phrase 'bullock unaccustomed to the yoke' was for once well illustrated. But soon he learned to perform his duty well.

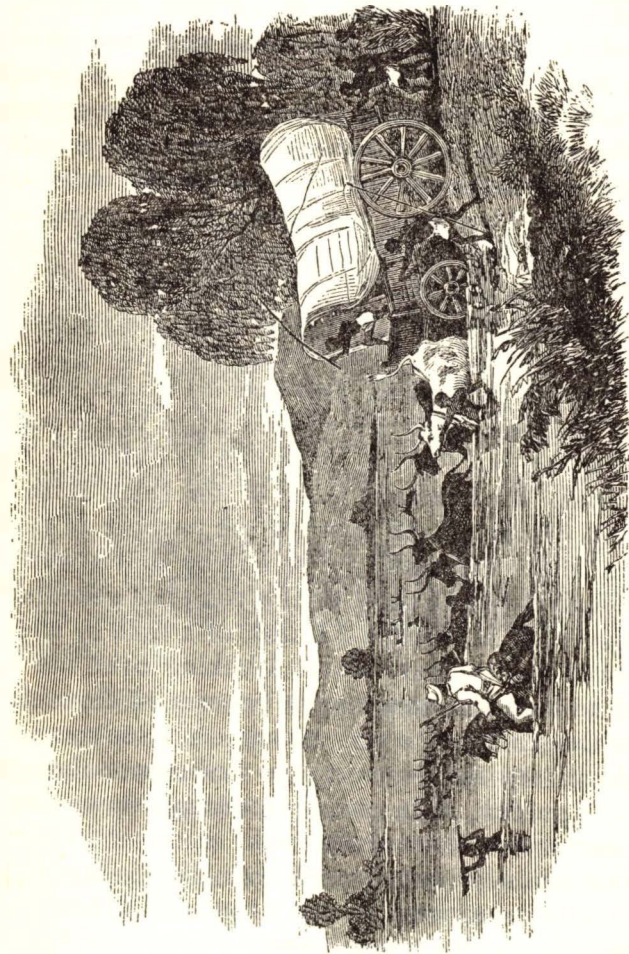
29. At length thro' the good Providence of God safe arrived at the Umtogelah. Last evening by starlight we rode till 10^oclock when being at a loss for the way we outspanned. Started today early in hopes of seeing my brethren, if they had not crossed the river. But in this they had been favored, & left the opposite side of the river a little while previous to our arrival. They got over by means of a raft constructed of the side of a wagon standing here. The river is full, & months may pass before it is low. For about 6 mos. it is high & then so low as to be a mere streamlet. It rises high up some 200 ms. among the mountains, & has two or three large branches.

Feb. 1. On the day of our arrival I took a walk of three or four miles up the river. It is the same muddy stream, but runs in a very narrow channel & over quite a descent among the rocks.

On the next day I walked down to the mouth of the river a distance going & returning of 13 or 14 miles. We passed 6 kraals. At one of them saw Zulu the chief of one of the king's regiments stationed in this quarter.⁷⁷ He was sitting at the upper part of his cattle fold superintending the milker. He gave us some milk & boiled corn & was constantly importuning for beads. He not succeeding to his wishes set his child before me, to beg

for a few. We passed several large herds of cattle, (these are to be seen everywhere & they all belong to Dingaan,) & over hill & thro' ravine till we came upon a kraal shut in by a wall of hills. It was midday & extremely hot. They gave us a hut & there all crowded into it. We attempted to tell them of God. They said they should like Teachers of the word, & when some of their friends arrived told them our story, a proof that they remembered. We left them & one came ostensibly to show us the path. We saw large troops of hippopotami near the river's mouth. Twenty or thirty were in one company. The head of the animal when he first raises himself out of the water resembles that of the horse. His body has much the appearance of a very large hog. The people of Natal are in the habit of frequenting the Umtogelah in winter to shoot the animal. This they do for the sake of the ivory & meat. They lay wait by night in his paths, when he comes out to feed, shoot him by lodging a ball in the brain. We observed some of the thick skins of the animal drying on the trees for the purpose of sjamboks,⁷⁸ a whip very useful for scourging dull horses & oxen. The river like all those on this coast has a sandbank at its mouth, & is perhaps a fourth of a mile in width. We noticed the ordinary waves breaking over the bar of sand so that the water must be very shallow. The paths of the sea cow are very numerous. They come out by night to eat the coarse grass. Sometimes they get access to a garden, & in one night trample down whole acres. But two or three sharp sticks stuck aslant across their path are sufficient to turn them back. Our guide was a monkey-catcher, & he would doubtless have entrapped dozens for a few beads.

Feb. 2. I attempted crossing at the upper ford among the rocks, but the strength of the current & the fact that I was alone obliged me to desist. I found however that



Crossing the River Umgeni

the thing was practicable having gained the centre of the river. We also constructed a raft of the bottom & sides of our wagon-body but it proved to[sic] heavy to float us across. Thus has the 2nd of Feb. contributed but little to our progress. The top of my wagon is on the ground, & this for tonight is my house.

3. Three men have crossed the river above, & bro^t over the boat from the opposite side. A countryman of ours has come down at my request to aid in rowing the boat. We are constructing a raft of some large logs in this vicinity for the purpose of taking over the wagon. One of the terrors of the river, an alligator has been shot today by the men.

There is a Zulu in our company who exhibits one instance of the superstition common to these people. His ideas forbid his eating various articles & milk among others. This is one of the most important kind & often the only kind of food, hence he is sometimes placed in circumstances where he pines away with hunger. When asked, why he abstains? he says that if he eats milk after the loss of a child before he has another the cattle will all die, because the milk comes from the cattle. When asked whose law? That of a certain king long dead. When asked, why white men's cattle do not die? 'O! white men are great men.' O! the blinding, withering influence of superstition. That man will deny himself for months the rich beverage of his country, tho in floods around him, & cannot Christians as well deny themselves of some of their luxuries to send him the rich provisions of the gospel?

5. Safely over the great River. One day was occupied in finishing the large raft, in taking apart the entire wagon, & making it fast, & then towing the burden over with the boat. A strong wind blew up the river, & resisted

the current, else it had been carried a mile or two down stream.

The work of today has been to ferry over in the boat our goods &c, to bring the cattle across among the rocks above where they had a contest with the ozingwenya (alligators),⁷⁹ & to put together our wagon. An ox has been killed to provide meat for us thro' the uninhabited country, our natives all been paid, & tomorrow early we expect to start.

6. Our journey has been rendered pleasant by the appearance of trees, if they be no more than thorn trees. I cannot but feel as I pass along that if much of the King's country is like what we have seen he has given away his best land to the white men.

I sigh often after the scenes of the Holy Ghost's work so often witnessed in our land when

'I've seen his glory & his power
'Thro' all his temples shine'

And can it be wrong? It brings to mind the faithfulness of a prayer hearing God. I think of the clearness & force with which the preacher can urge upon an enlightened audience the truths of God, & compare it with the almost unmeaning words that I press on a savage when I tell him of the great salvation, & my heart is faint within me, but then I reflect that from the very feebleness of the beginning God may the more glorify himself, that the gospel is in truth bro't to this land where Christ has never been named tho' for the present it is as it were hidden, & that soon this preaching shall be fully known, & all the Gentiles shall hear, & what further consolation can I desire?

8. Safe arrived at our former residence on Natal prospered & in peace. And now for once I feel alone. But I shall soon find work & my solitariness will vanish. My brethren left 5 days ago, & are now probably in the

embraces of those they love. We met a large number of the whites & Hottentots of Natal with many natives each having a gun on his shoulder, hastening to the Buffalo districts. They return as soon as a wagon load of hides, consisting of 10 or 15 is obtained, & go out again to their perilous work.

I had the opportunity today of rambling a little about the Umgeni a river 7 ms. distant. There is a beautiful lake to the east of the road. It is quite irregular in its contour & partly surrounded with thick mimosa descending to the clear, smooth waters of the lake. It abounds with hippopotami. I walked up the other side of our path & came upon a kraal which for location is not exceeded by any that I have seen. At a distance the Umgeni is seen coming out from the hills in the interior. It makes a beautiful sweep around, & comes along at the foot of the hill where you stand. Again it is seen winding along thro' its extensive flat & mingling with the blue waters of the ocean. The Lake is also in view, & far to the North some singular Table Mountains rise like blue walls against the sky. The country around the Umgeni possesses a black rich soil, & holds out strong incentives for settlers. But at present it has but few people & is not a suitable place for a station.

Here is my interesting & novel journey completed. A tour which our present knowledge of the way of travelling & acquaintance with the road will enable us in future to make much shorter. From a memorandum which I have kept in which are noticed the number of hours travelled each day, the estimated distance in miles, course &c I gather the following facts. That the dist. from hence to the Umtogelah is 83 ms. & thence to the King's 87, making in all about 160 ms. We were 77 hours upon the road. The course till you have reached 20 or 30 ms beyond the Umtogelah is within a short distance of the sea. Here the road turns not directly

inland but in a Northerly direction. The direction of the coast is N.E. The Thermometer has ranged between 76° & 84 in an average, from early in the morning till 1 or 2^ocl. P.M.

Having completed the Tour which we entered upon with trembling steps, I can now look back & mark the course in which the Lord led us where he vanquished one after another all our fears, & gave us to see our warmest anticipations realized. It is true that the next messenger may bring us evil tidings, that we are in the hands of fickle King, & prejudiced chiefs, but this can we never forget, the way in which the Lord has led us & his favor shown us. Everywhere have we met a favourable reception & found a superior people, those too in some respects advantageously situated for the reception of the gospel.

My first business now is the selection of a spot for a missionary station, & the erection of buildings for the accommodation of my brethren & sisters on their arrival. For this I propose to start immediately upon a survey of the inhabited spots around the Port.

19. Returned yesterday from my pedestrian ramblings to nearly all the inhabited parts of Natal. I have spent the best part of two weeks in the business, & enjoyed it much. Here my course has led me among kraals & flourishing gardens, there to an eminence commanding a fine view of the Bay, the ocean & the surrounding country, now thro' bushes & grass affording supplies of rich native fruit, amatimgula⁸⁰ amabowzi⁸¹ &c, & now by the seaside. My efforts in this affair have also been not a little aided by the presence, & kind offers of the people of Natal now returning from the hunt.

On Tuesday last accompanied by a friend I took a walk to the river Ilovu⁸² the very outskirts of the population, a distance of more than twenty miles to the westward. I

crossed six African rivers. Passed a rich & well watered country, but having reached the Ilovu, the region surpassed anything I had seen. The river winds very circuitously among the mountains, & in its fertile vale are seen nought but fields of corn. The place is quite mountainous, & the kraals placed here & there on their summits surrounded with green gardens present a very pretty appearance. There are 12 or 15 kraals along the river, & the Ilovu is becoming a resort of the natives at present on account of the large crops of corn this year obtained there. We stopped at the hut of the white man living there, & were very kindly treated. The Ilovu may at some future time make an interesting outstation. Our return walk on the next day was much of it very pleasant. Now our path led us along the beach, now among shells innumerable and now just in the bush which lines the coast, the high waves roaring as if they would burst their barrier, & overwhelm us, among tracks of elephants, buffaloes, bucks &c. The rain however overtook us, & wet us thoroughly before reaching the end of our journey. I again examined the spot previously selected for our purposes, & in concurrence with the opinion of several others decided upon it as the ground for our first mission station.

Perhaps it may not be unimportant to mention a few of the reasons which led me to the selection of the spot. The place is upon the Umlaazi, a river which runs into the sea 7 or 8 miles distance west of the bay or harbor. 1. It is in the vicinity of a large number of people. 2. It possesses a rich soil. 3. Good water, being on nearly two sides surrounded by the river. 4. It is on high ground & therefore more likely to be a healthy situation. 5. It is at a sufficient distance from the proposed station of Capt. G.⁸³ to diffuse a good influence most widely. It is 7 or 8 miles from what will prove the centre of business, but this will in the end prove no disadvantage. There is land

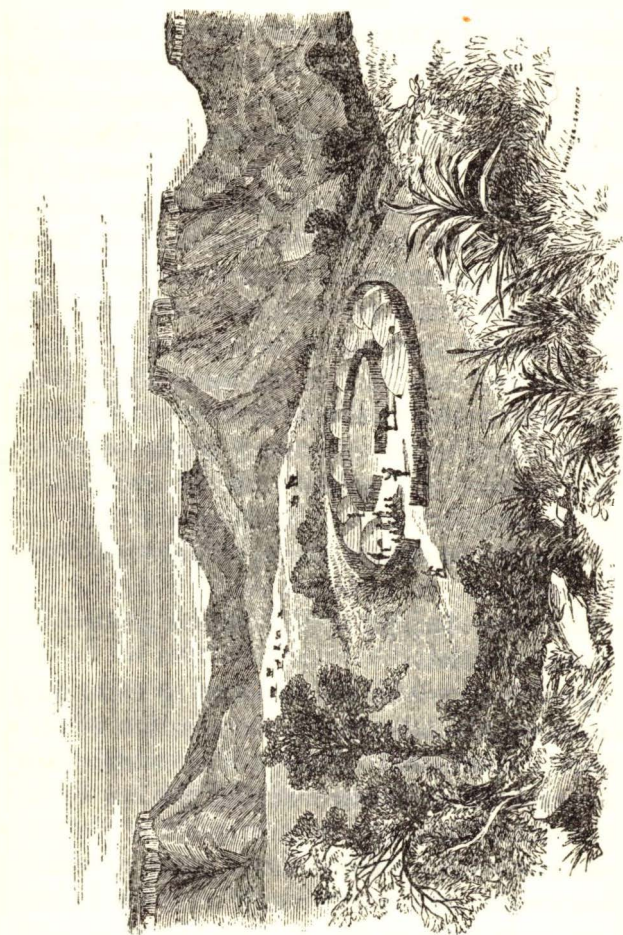


Table mountains and kraal or village

in the vicinity for the gardens of those who may join us as people of the institution, & a good situation for a village.

The pleasant view also was one of the considerations. From the hill you have before you always in the dist. the Bay with its isle of mangroves in the centre, & its waters at the dark Point mingling themselves among the breakers on the bar with the waves of the ocean. A vessel might easily be seen off the mouth of the bay. A valley stretches thence to your feet walled in on either side by ranges of hills. Thro' a part of this the Umlaazi pursues its very circuitous course among the reeds till it falls into the ocean at a break in the hills two or three ms. to the right. Here also is the sea distinctly in view nearer by, & each wave may be watched as it rolls to the shore. Turning a little to the left & over the Umlaazi is a park-like country, with hill, valley, & grove here & there relieving the eye whenever you turn with its variety. Farther still the river is seen coming out from among the hills, & beyond in the horizon is a remarkably long eminence of Table land. In the rear a semicircle of hills bends around, by walking to which a still more pleasant view is obtained over other parts of the country.

In my researches I have hit upon many spots covered with creepers & the castor oil plant, almost sure indications of being the sites of old kraals. These are apt to be infested by very poisonous snakes, & this renders it somewhat dangerous to frequent such places. But hitherto I have been graciously preserved. Evidently this country was once thickly peopled. But many have been destroyed, others have removed, & others died, so that now but very few are here who were on the ground 10 or 15 years ago.⁸⁴ O. Christians, ye are too late in sending the gospel of peace to this land.

Evening. A Report has made us glad, that two vessels are at anchor in the roads. All is interest on the part of

the two or three whites now here, & some have gone down to the beach 3 or 4 ms. in the dark to be ready to assist in the morning.

20. The report of last eve was nothing but a true Kaffer story. Two vessels were seen, but they were standing to the westward.

21. Sab. My audiences were interesting, & especially that of the natives. About 100 assembled under a large tree in front of the house.

22. Have been again to the spot selected, & ordered a hut to be constructed in its vicinity at a kraal of natives, that I may better learn the language, & superintend the erection of buildings, clearing the bush, planting gardens &c.

March 3. I am just quietly settled in my native hut on the east bank of the Umlaazi at the kraal of Mahouley.⁸⁵ A variety of scene is passing before me. The village consisting of 18 or 20 huts disposed around the cattle fold, is surrounded by a border of trees. Beyond the land is covered with corn. My house has been built under the trees for the purpose of coolness, & a partial freedom from the noise & hum of the kraal. It is 10 or 12 ft in circumference on the ground, & in the centre 7 or 8 ft high so that I can walk without stooping in any part of it. The door is 4 or 5 ft in height, & it has a small window in the rear. The floor is of clay pounded quite flat by the women of the kraals. The construction of the house is of the simplest nature. In the first place a circle is made, & in its circumference the poles, of about the size of a wagon driver's whip stalk, are stuck. These are bent till they meet over the centre, & are made fast to each other by a string of umtwaazi.⁸⁶ This is a large sort of vine found here, very pliable which has somewhat the external appearance of rattan, but which when stripped of its

bark divides into large or small strings of any length. A large post supports the centre of this frame. Then it is covered with a load of long grass, the women put in the floor, & the house is completed. I find my present situation much more agreeable than I had imagined. My friend Mr P.⁸⁷ who lives a few rods distant at another kraal is also adding to my comfort by a profusion of favors. The people too, regard my coming among them with pleasure, & are daily bringing me of their food as a token of regard.

A walk to the mouth of the Umlaazi occupied a leisure hour the other day. I found it surrounded by thick mangroves, & blocked up by rocks. This tree is very straight & used for the purpose of building. Returning we passed a bed of limestone, & thro' numerous fields of corn in the extensive valley of the river were astonished [to] find so many people all living among the tall reeds each one by his own garden, & enjoying a sort of independence which those cannot boast of who live in a village under a master.

At our kraal the men are now busy in weaving baskets as the time of harvesting the corn approaches. They are woven with grass & a species of reed very ingeniously together, & so tight as to hold liquids. The business of planting, hoeing, & harvesting devolves on the women. The men clear the ground, construct the baskets, & the corn receptacles, & watch at night in the gardens to keep away the wild pigs & other animals. The birds are often so destructive by day that a lodge, or eminence is constructed at some spot which overlooks the whole field, & a boy kept there continually to frighten them away.

This [kraal] is called a sort of Post Office. Everyone with news stops & relates, & gains some to his own stock. Especially is this the case at the time of planting when picks are to be made by the blacksmith.

Sab. night. Mch. 6. Have been my distance of 7 or 8 ms. today to preach to the whites & returned, & am tonight sitting in my hut with a fire, & abundance of smoke, the only security against the musquitoes. I hear at a short distance from the gardens all around the clapping on the shields & shoutings of the night watchers to the wild pigs. Near me is the hum of the conversation of the people in their huts. This generally lasts till 9 o'clock & then all is profound silence. They usually keep a fire all night long, & this in a well-thatched hut answers for clothing.

7. Today in reality my school began with about a dozen children. Some had infants tied to their backs committed to them while their mothers are at labor in the field. These made no little ado in getting so near a white man. My board for reading & spelling is not yet completed, & we made use of the ground for an A. B. C. Book.

8. The master of this kraal is a blacksmith. With what is apparently a wheel of a swivel carriage picked up at an old wreck, for a hammer, a stone for an anvil, & a rude pair of bellows he contrives to make native axes, hoes or spears. The bellows consists of two skin sacks, with horns for the noses, these being opened & pressed by the hand on the ground answer to a slight degree their intent. His shop is a spot in the bushes with a screen to protect him from the wind.

9. One or two of the people have returned from their hunting & trading excursions. One brings 12 buffalo hides & 4 sea cow teeth, the other 30 or 40 head of cattle purchased from the Zulus with beads & cloth. The cattle are mostly taken up to some interior Zulus refugees from Dingaan & sold for ivory. The men return as soon as their property is disposed of. So

interested were my children today that they came three times to learn, principally the girls with the screaming infants.

10. Just as my school was out I saw the women of the kraal 19 in number passing by from the gardens each with a large basket of yellow ears of corn on her head to deposit in the ingobos.⁸⁸ These are the receptacles where the corn remains until it is ready to be shelled. These are constructed of reeds in the shape of a cask, & when filled, the top is covered with grass. The men build them. The women do the harvesting. They all unite to collect the ears in each other's field (a native cannot work alone) & proceed in a line with singing to the ingobos.

13. Audiences very attentive today. I could not but feel that God was adding his blessing. The day has refreshed my spirit.

14. This morn early the usual hum of the kraal was hushed. The doleful wailing of a mother over her child was all that was heard. She probably awoke & found it dead. The father came from the corn & sent to inform me. And now the mother must bury the babe in the bush, & the father live on a peculiar diet with bitter roots, confined to his house. I am among heathen. This morning also on account of the death, all the women and children went to the river & washed. Today a white man's son at school from 6 ms. distance.⁸⁹

17. Commenced clearing a path thro' the bush to the place of our future abode. Finished a room under the trees with walls of reeds & no roof, to answer temporarily for a school room.

18. Today with a few natives cut out a wagon path [to] the top of our yet nameless hill.

20. Sab. Services as usual. The Zulus assembled in a half moon under the trees by my hut are ever attentive listeners. They learn to sing very rapidly, & have fine voices.

21. Today began with 30 people the clearing of a spot for the mission houses. All with their native ax or hatchet fell lustily at work, & soon there opened upon us a fine view of the country around. The Kaffer ax is very convenient in this work when the bushes are not large. It is simply a sort of chisel driven into a knot at the end of its handle.

24. Scenes of heathenism. On occasion of a girl's arriving at a certain age the youth around assemble. Dancing it is called, but it was such a scene of confused noise clapping & shouting continued all last night, & a part of today that Satan seemed to rule the hour. Some of the songs are very indecent. This evening it began as usual for the night, but a little reasoning ended it, & I have my time in peace.

25. I was witness to a curious scene of Zulu joy this evening. The bride had just been bro^t to her new abode, having been bought with a cow for several months.⁹⁰ She sat on her knees near the house of the white man, loaded with all her beads, her head hanging down as if in grief. She was waiting to see if she would be welcomed to the kraal, if not she would say 'they had thrown ashes on her head,' & go away. Soon there came three women, brandishing reeds, striding over the ground, shouting & running around the new comer. Then others. One with a white smear on her face. Next, a man with spear & shields vociferating very loudly. And now the customary bullock was bro^t & driven around the damsel. Then all the men & women & children assembled, & began their dances, at first rather pleasant with soft tones, but con-

cluding with the greatest noise & violence. It seemed as if the women were vying with each other in high jumping & loud clapping of hands, & the men in their awkward evolutions, & the deafening sound of their voices.

April 1. For the two last days we have been busy gardening in the hours of leisure from the school. Beans, peas, cabbages, potatoes, radishes, carrots are the vegetables that have found their way up to this place, & flourish well. A party are absent 2 ms. dist. cutting posts among the mangroves for our dwelling houses. They are to be constructed of reeds, & thatched with grass.

2. Each day with me now is a day of reckoning. This evening the 20 or 30 pole cutters assembled around the door of my hut, & rec^d some of their 25 strings of beads, others a note, 10 or 12 of which are to purchase for them a Kaffer hoe, or basket, perhaps. The women of the kraal have been at work in twisting the bark of a certain tree which makes excellent strings for tying the reeds, & thatch together. Two men have been at work with spades in the garden. Others have been repairing a broken piece of wood in my house. All these are to be paid.

5. A rainy day. All are confined at home. If one stirs out, the cold rain pelting his naked skin soon obliges him shivering to seek the fire in his hut. Hence all the usual noise in & around the kraal is today confined to a narrow space, & we hear thro' the thin thatch almost all that is said about us. Here we hear children playing now one crying, & the mother using all her powers of vociferation to quell it. In another part amid the chat & noise of the village, I hear some humming their monotonous song, & now above it the pleasant sound of psalm singing from a house in which are my two interpreters. I am busy in making letters for my reading board, with two or three children around me very eager to learn

them. The wind comes directly in at the door, & keeps the room constantly full of smoke to the no small annoyance of my eyes. Now comes a present of some fine native fruit, & garden vegetables from my kind neighbor, & the day in the whole passes agreeably.

13. Almost all the land in the vicinity of the Bay is claimed by the white residents. I was a little anxious lest one person holding lands in this vicinity should contrary to the decision of the Town committee whose duty it is to allow claims, wish to extend his boundary over the spot I had selected. But today he has arrived, & accords me the claim as given in, in behalf of the Board, to the Town committee.

14. Today Mr W.⁹¹ the carpenter arrived, & we began the first house upon the station.

16. Our laborers so diligent at first are now becoming lax. They are becoming rich in their estimation. One gets his hoe, or blanket, another has a prospect of obtaining a cow perhaps, & ultimately a wife. The days are also growing much shorter with them. We have therefore concluded to take a few, & keep them at work a whole day with an addition of a few more beads. Thus far we succeed very well.

May 2. Safe removed to our mission station. My house was bro^t up on men's shoulders. This is the eve of the concert for prayer.⁹² O may this place be made glorious by the conversion of many souls. Today a man has given up his desire for another wife & also came to join us. My former friends at the kraal would come over to me en masse, would I consent to their polygamical system.

10. By Kaffer reports I hear of my brethrens' approach. But no certain news. Today among the mangrove bush searching for timber.

15. My first Sabbath spent wholly on the station. The whites are becoming very irregular. The Kaffers rather increase in number. Today at least 100 assembled under the verdant Kaffer trees around the houses, & listened. Every Sabbath since our arrival have we seen new faces. A few however are constant.

22. Yesterday was truly happy to introduce my brethren to this spot. But one loved sister⁹³ is not, & we feel ourselves a broken band. May we henceforth labor for God alone, & make not flesh our aim. We are disposed of in some Kaffer huts, & today have enjoyed a pleasant Sabbath, our joy not a little increased by the pious spirit of some of the Servants to the wagons.

June 2. Four days ago, 'The Comet', from Algoa Bay arrived at this port & bro^t our stores, clothing &c. Thus far have we been busy in arranging our matters, & laying plans for future efforts.

June 8. We have made arrangements to start tomorrow for the King's country, with one wagon & two spans of bullocks. One span has been sent forward to the Umtogelah, to be a fresh relay on our arrival there. We hope (D. V.)⁹⁴ to return in 3 weeks time. We go with trembling but hoping in the Lord. The King is counselled by chiefs who are prejudiced against white men. But if Dingaan minds his word, we now go to establish a school in his country & teach his people.

On Tuesday Aug. 30 1836, Mr Grout with myself & wife left our dear friends & home at Natal for our contemplated work among the people of Dingan. The children of the school, & some of our people accompanied us to the foot of the hill on which we have dwelt, & it was affecting to part especially with our Dr & Mrs Adams, the companions of our pilgrimage since we left

our native shores.⁹⁵ The friendly natives each took our hands with tears in their eyes, & kissed them, as their testimony of affection. Our wagons were each heavily laden, & drawn by sixteen bullocks. A journey of seventy or eighty miles lay before us, to be paced over probably at the rate of ten or twelve miles per day. The first day we crossed the sandy Natal flats, a distance of perhaps 8 miles. The day succeeding we ascended the high hill on which Capt. Gardiner has erected his mission chapel, crossed the Umgeni, & stopped for the night in the vicinity of what was, some few years since, the headquarters of a tribe. But now the whole country is desolate, & uninhabited except by the elephant, buffalo, or riet bok,⁹⁶ a small antelope.

The evening threatened rain. For ourselves we found refuge in the covered wagon. Our Hottentots constructed a house of mats by the side of a mimosa bush. The Kaffers, consisting of the two leaders & one to drive the loose cattle, erected a booth of bushes & branches which with a fire within answered a tolerable purpose.

The Sabbath found us still 20 ms. from the Zulu boundary. It was the country where Chakka once reigned, the terror, & scourge of these nations. A stream beautifully fringed with green bushes wound around the place where we halted. We could but spend this day in our own spiritual improvement, & that of our little company of twelve, consisting of ourselves, two interpreters, two Hottentot girls as cooks, two drivers, and three natives. I ascended a hill for prayer & meditation. A wide country lay before me with its hills marked as the sites of many kraals formerly inhabited, & in view of the very tree under whose shade as report says, the above named despot was murdered. I thought of the thousands who have gone down to death from this land of late years, all without the gospel. In all probability Chakka would have received missionaries. He had

an exalted opinion of the white man. He had seen but very few abalungu, & if reports are true considered them 'good men'—as the name, if it has any meaning, imparts.⁹⁷ The case is very different with the present chief. It is true, human foresight can predict but little, but had there been with Chakka men of apostolic spirit, who can tell how much blood would have been saved, & how many evils prevented that missionaries now feel very forcibly. Counsels of peace might have prevailed, Msilikaz'⁹⁸ might not have seceded, & pursued his bloody course thro the Betjouana country, missionaries might have pursued their course, & having faithfully explored the land have already found a way to the interior tribes. But American Christians did not know of this country in those days. And why did they not know? Because they had never been sent to see. Could they expect that Chakka who had scarce heard of white men would send for a missionary? Or the white men who sought him intent on gain? No. But they must wait until the country had become familiar in the mouths of traders, & till our European brethren had pressed up hither, & seen the desirableness of the land, & incited us t' come over & help them. Had they at home sent to inquire as much on the coast of Africa as they have inquired on a like space of coast in Asia, is it not likely that long ere this the Zulus would have had missionaries? But ah! they had no men to send, and why no men? Because they had not awaked to the subject. And with light enough thrown on the subject, & facts staring them in the face they awoke not because they loved their ease, they loved their wealth, & their sons & daughters, in short they abused the light & came sluggishly up to the work. Are they not guilty then? But who are guilty? It is not the Missionary Society, for that is but the Church's hand by which she executes her work among the heathen. Somewhere is there guilt in this matter, & none

has a right to cast away this question from him till he has with fastings, self examination & prayer rightly settled it. Is none of this guilt of heathen lost thro' the tardiness of the church to come up to the work of the world's conversion, resting on me? Or, am I not guilty of contributing my share of this negative influence which has thus held back the church in her work of saving the nations?

Towards the evening of our day of rest who should arrive but two hunters who had during the day been shooting buffaloes, not so much as pausing to inquire if it were the Sabbath.

Our hours of devotion were not a little disturbed by the halloing & whoops of a troop of natives that attended the white men. Their wagon thro' age was ready to fall to pieces, & had not a belt, or any of the usual conveniences. A fresh breeze sprang up at evening. For comfort's sake they cut down a large number of bushes & barricaded the wagon on the windward side. Then building a fire they collected around it, & rehearsed the events of the day. Their Kaffers built separate fires at short distances from each other, & the evening exhibited a busy scene of conversation, shouting & gormandering⁹⁹ bok or buffalo meat. The natives usually consume their whole quantity of meat, be it great or small. On one occasion I recollect a good sized wild hog was killed. Some 5 or 6 natives were with us. They began their work at evening, & before they slept the whole animal was divoured except the two hams we had reserved to bring home. And the next day had they found him they would have eaten another. They cut the meat in strips & lay it across the blazing fire. As soon as the juices begin to fry out, one takes a knife & one end of a strip, & offering it to his neighbor cuts off a mouthful from his end, then to the next & so on till the company is served. A Zulu knows not how to eat alone. If

another is present he will share with him his last morsel. It further bespeaks the filthy habits of this people, that there are some parts of the innards of a beef that they cut raw, serving them as soon as they can come to them after slaughtering the animal. We had to interrupt our new comers, & having collected them they listened attentively to the story of Jesus.

The next day we came in sight of six lions & three troops of Buffaloes not far from the path. The former walked off very deliberately in a row, now & then however stopping to gaze at us. The latter fled at once to the bush.

In the forenoon we halted at a river to cook our breakfast. Our Hottentots enraptured at the sights of a troop of buffaloes not far off, took guns & went in pursuit of them. It was not long before the news reached us that two were dead in the bush, & that they were making preparations to bring the meat to the wagons. Animal food is the article of sustenance most highly prized by all the natives of this region. The meat with the skin was drawn on a branch of a tree, & we began to prepare for the rest of our journey but it began to rain & detained us till late in the next day.

A herd of African buffaloes at a distance gives one an idea of a drove of stout black oxen, except that their huge depending horns convince him of the differences. The herds that we saw contained some tens, perhaps a hundred. The skin is covered with very sparse bristly hairs, & is from a half to three fourths of an inch in thickness. When newly taken off it may weigh 60 or 80 lbs. & is sold at Natal perhaps for 4d. per lb. It can also be constructed into admirable *trektoms*¹⁰⁰ or draft ropes for the ox wagon.

Arrived at the Togela we heard that a woman of rank had recently died, that chiefs & people had been to the capital to mourn with the king, & consequently all

business had been suspended. But now the wailing was over & the people were returning.

On the 8th of Sep. we pitched our tent in the Zulu country where Mrs C. & myself remained while Br. Grout took a journey to Umgungunhlovu to ascertain from the king the place in the district where he would have us settle. We dismissed our wagons to return for a new load of goods & were left without an interpreter in this land of strange savages. But nothing untoward occurred. The people manifested the greatest friendliness bringing abundance of milk & other fare, & seemed pleased with the tho^t that we had come to reside among them. Our nights only occasioned us some anxiety. The wolf, the jackal, the wild dog paid us many a visit & often did we fear an invasion thro' our cloth abode for the sake of a taste of the slaughtered buffalo. I was necessitated to cut down all the thorn bushes in our vicinity that had served us for a shade, & barricade my house. They used to frequent us as soon as it was dark. We afterwards sat in patience & heard the growls & chanting of the contentious party around our door. The weather at this time has become oppressively warm in the middle of the day & we much needed the shade of our mimosa bushes.

16. Today Br. G. returns with the news of our selected location & the order that all Hlominhleni¹⁰¹ must come to school. The place assigned is apparently the best of any that we have seen on our routes to & from the king's. The Lord's name is surely to be praised. There was room for fear from the fickleness of Dingan that his promises of good towards us might after all be no more than hollow pretences. But now we see that the Lord has inclined his heart, & that the standard of the gospel is to be erected in this benighted portion of Africa. May many flock to it & be saved.

17. The rains seem to be commencing in earnest. It began to rain last evening & had continued today, thus delaying our proposed jaunt to the place of our future residence. But there are by no means here seasons of rainy weather lasting for days & weeks without intermission as I had been led to suppose before leaving America. My India Rubber coat would be no more useful here than at home.

Mr Grout found the king quite inquisitive about what the book says. He had previous to his arrival remembered us & sent a message respecting where he wished us to be located. The idea that dead folks live again & that he will yet see them startled him.

Perhaps he thinks of some of his great captains who have been recently killed for tardiness in the late war against Sobuza.¹⁰² Numbers of people consisting of their under-captains & dependents have been also killed & the cattle of all have gone up to the king.

18. Sab. a rainy day. Had made an appointment but the rain prevented. Went however to a small kraal in the vicinity & found a few women. They listened with wonder & repeated my words. It was truly pleasant to feel that now all restriction is removed & that we can publish to this waiting people the gladness of salvation. My hearers with their accustomed ignorance & proneness to flattery praised my words, said they loved God, & should not forget him.

19. Rode today to the region where Dingan wishes us to settle. The country pleased us much. It is at the foot of a verdant mountainous region from which various smaller streams collecting themselves into rivers, African rivers I mean, after a distance of ten or twenty miles empty themselves into the sea. On the Umsunduzi one of these rivers, we chose a site, a little elevated above the

valley of the stream where we propose, if prospered, to build a habitation for our God. We could not but say in our hearts happy are the natives of their numerous villages that now the glad tidings of a Savior's love are brought to their ears, while perhaps hosts of others in this wide land must perish before my fellow Christians will conclude to lend them the triad of life.

23. Kokela, the captain to whom the king had committed us as a sort of friend & in whose precincts we are to live, says that we have not selected a good spot & sufficiently near to him & he will not help us. The reasons were all in favor of our selected location.

24. Our wagons have this day returned from Natal, & with them our carpenter that we may proceed at once to erect some temporary dwellings. News from our friends at Port Natal cheers us not a little in our loneliness, & in our new attempts at civilization in this rude land.

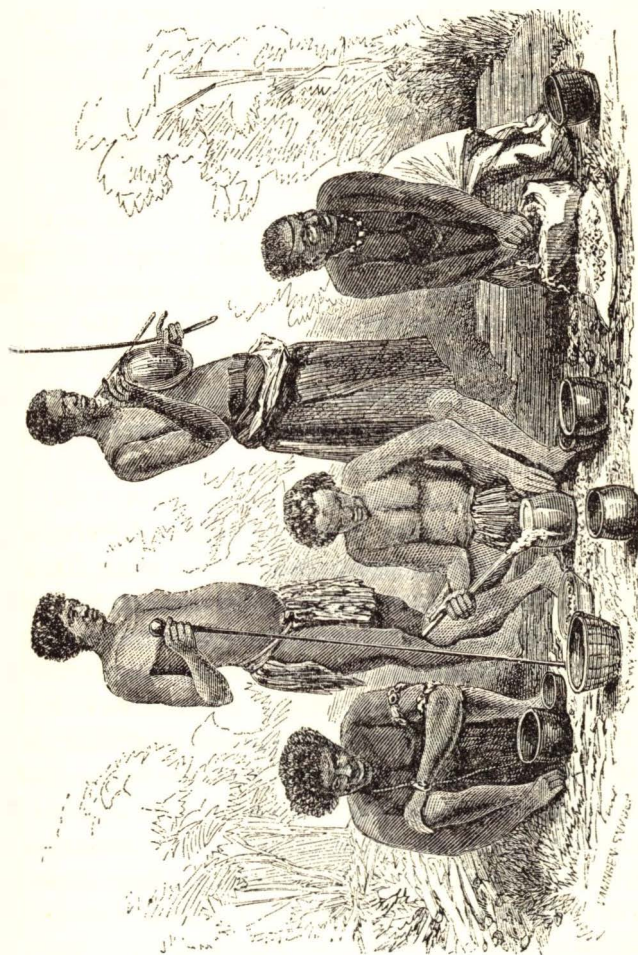
25. A dislike on the part of some of the natives to our settling on the spot proposed troubled us a little. It is in the vicinity of their corn lands, or gardens. And they fear that in some way we shall injure them. But today there came a message from headquarters that will satisfy all minds. Some circumstances of this sort & Kokela's apparent unfriendliness had about determined us to send word to the king. But how providential that the very message we sought came unasked. The king had heard of our selection & sent down to approve it. Some of our goods were yesterday left in the open field at the place above mentioned to await our arrival. A bystander was asked if any one would steal them. At first he did not comprehend. Afterwards he s'd with surprise, 'Steal? no! if any man steals in the king's country he eats no more corn.'

26. This is an evening of joy. We are safely arrived at the place which if God please we shall call our mission station. We feel at rest after our 22 mos. wandering by sea & land. We have joined in prayer & thanksgiving tonight, that the Lord has brought us thus far, & given us a place where to pitch his tabernacle. And now may we feel that it is 'not by might nor by power but by His spirit' that the work must be accomplished. We have been talking over the future. May all our efforts be wisely directed to win souls to Christ.

Mr. Grout has constructed a sort of tent with the canvass coverings of his wagon, while Mrs C. & myself occupy one that was purchased by the mission at the Cape. The view of our two white abodes on the verdant grass leads us back to the days of Abraham the stranger when he abode in tents amid the giving of those promises of a covenant keeping God which are now fulfilling in the earth.

27. Today have been busy in lifting & arranging boxes, & attending to some articles that were likely to be injured. There's a quantity of dried meat to be packed in a barrel. The rice must be exposed to the sun that the grubs may creep out of it. The salt to be put where it will not gather dampness & dissolve. Every trunk & box to be raised above the ground by sticks or stones placed beneath lest they should gather dampness & the clothes mould. The tent to be made securely fast against the strong winds by its 20 or 30 stakes. Such matters must occupy us much till we get a good dwelling. I do not think that ours is a superfluity of goods but in our present circumstances living in the fields as it were, & ever exposed to heavy dews & flooding rains, a little occasions us much care.

I had a Zulu to aid me a little today. He extolled his trifling assistance, & after about two hours was tired &



Zulus at work

must go home. We have had many visitors many of them with pots of milk for beads. O! when will they thus come to hear of Jesus.

30. Yesterday we had a severe blow of some minutes duration. It had been extremely hot during the day. At evening we heard a sound like that of a heavy wind rushing thro' a forest. But no forest is near. It came upon our cloth abode all at once, & had it not been firmly tied it would have been swept away. As it was, it rent the canvass & some of the strings. It was accompanied with a few drops of rain & followed by a blast of air as warm almost as if coming from the mouth of an oven. In these days it is to us excessively hot from morning till night.

A vast cloud of locusts has been passing over our heads for an hour. It seemed much like a snow storm for 10 or 15 ms. around us on the mountains.

Sabbath Oct. 2. A cool raw day, & the natives collect around their fires at home. We had invited them to come & hear the word. But only a few came. I have been out this afternoon to tell them of the great salvation. They listened, questioned, & wondered. But the women have been digging around us, & we feel forcibly the truth that God's name is not here known. Afresh does it teach us our insufficiency, & need of strength from on high.

9. This morning dawned our second Sabbath on this spot. The people made several excuses. Some said we should keep them all day. Others would wait till they saw their neighbors coming & at length perhaps 100 came. They listened meanwhile conversing, smiling, taking snuff, & retiring from the audience. Evidently they scarce knew wherefore they had come. The breaking up of our meeting was quite a noisy scene. However we hope before long to see all the regularity & attention of a Christian audience. May God bless his word.

One inquired if it was right for him to go & see the

doctor today. A woman came early to ask if it were proper to dig. She went & advertised her neighbors, & today we have seen but one or two of their female gardeners about us. Thus is God producing an impression in favor of his holy day.

Tonight I inquired of one what he remembered but the sad tale was, not one thing. He had some vague impression, but could say nothing to the point.

15. This day I left home for the king's. The occasion of it is that he has sent for a quantity of coarse blanketing that we had purchased for the sake of hiring help &c. Some of his menials have been so kind as to inform him, & the king is inexpressibly pleased with the long shag on the outside of the blankets. Deeming it unsafe to refuse the king from the character of the message & the messengers we concluded it best to take a roll of the cloth, & go up & explain why & wherefore we possessed them, & that we wished for the remainder for our own use. At one Umzi (village)¹⁰³ when we rested our horses, I began to tell them about the great God. They soon cut me short by saying the king does not permit us yet to hear these things. At present he tells us the white man's indaba (news).¹⁰⁴ This taught me a new lesson about the despotism of this land. It is cruel. It reigns over the eyes & ears & even the thoughts of this people. A common man must not covet a looking glass, a good blanket or very fine strip around his forehead lest he be said to be resembling the king. Bananas, sugar cane, sweet potatoes he can not eat for the king eats them. He seems to wish to monopolize all the white man's goods & distribute them himself that he may be honored. 'Yes, Father,' 'Yes, Father' must be echoed by every mouth to every foolish or cruel word. If he suspects that a man offends him even in thought, he & all his are destroyed.

Oct. 16. I have rested & the king's men have gone forward. What message they will bring to their master I know not. Doubtless anything that will please him tho' it be at the expense of all our substance. The Lord is blessing me tho' alone among this poor people.

Oct. 17. In a cold & pelting storm the Lord has bro't me at length to Umgunghlovu.¹⁰⁵ We have made a fire in our hut, & got off our wet clothes, & are attempting to make ourselves comfortable for the night.

Oct. 18. This morning the king sent me a sheep for slaughter. As I have no salt & no means to cook with the meat is not very palatable. All the process that resembles cooking is to smoke & burn it partially in the ashes & cinders. Happily I have a little of the Indian corn bread, scented it is true with the hole in the cowyard where the corn has lain during the winter. On this I must fare as long as it pleases God to keep me here.

Soon Dingan sent for me. He broke out with 'What's the white man come here for?'¹⁰⁶ I mentioned our progress in building &c, in accordance with his directions & asked if he were pleased. He answered not. He afterwards said, he did not expect that we should begin our houses till he had consulted his indunas or captains. Evidently a subterfuge, as he had heard of our 'heaps' of blankets that he resolved by some course of proceeding to possess. On this subject he soon became stormy. 'Where were the blankets?' Not one of them must be bartered for cows. 'They were his.' He possessed the peculiar prerogative of dispensing that sort of blanket. Respecting what were left we had a sort of dispute, I contending that they were few, & two servants whom he had called who had told him all they had seen & among other things that there were 'heaps' of blankets. They had seen a few spread out covering something else &

imagined it was a pile of cloth from the ground upward. Again I explained to him our object & work, & the reason of our bringing any articles with us. He said not a word to my subject, only that we might retire.

I went to my hut not alarmed but querying why or wherefore this course of conduct. I tho^t satan must have been at work, but that the king's heart was in the Lord's hand & fell to praying. The people were very kind to me—which relieved me not a little.

Oct. 19. The Lord has heard my prayers & blessed be his name. The king sent for me early, & after seeing my willingness to part with all the blankets that I had of the above named description since such was his decision, & he was my king, became more pleasant & gave answers & made inquiries as at former times.

There was however an after-clap. His mind had evidently been poisoned from some quarter & he might have had some suspicion that we wished to join with others in getting away his people. Without some native labor we could not carry on our work. His sanction was however necessary or the people would not work for us. This was asked. He turned round to his menials who were sitting at a respectable distance, & sneeringly said, O he is asking for people. We never heard of this before. We only ask for cattle in this country. 'Yes Father, Yes, Father.' was echoed from every mouth, 'We only ask for cattle here.' At length however he was made to understand that we had nothing to do with the people, we only wished at times their work for which we should pay them. They were not to stay with us, were to come early & go home at night. To this he readily gave assent. We have yet to pray & labor wisely that we may secure his confidence & establish God's word in this land. Immediately I came away with two of his servants who were to see all the blankets & take for him the long

haired ones, poor indeed but by him & his capt. highly prized.

21. Reached home yesterday & today Mr Grout has started on another tour to Umgunghlovu with the said blankets. The Lord go & prosper him.

A report has been circulated thro' a captain that the king has said, 'Keep away from those white men, bring them no food & do none of their work.' Last night & this morning we have had no people around us in consequence.

The report was contradicted by the messengers sent by me, but still the people fear. Part of this may have arisen from the fact that the king has become displeased with the conduct of some white men in his country & has forbidden the usual trade in cattle with the people.

Our station we have agreed to call 'Ginani'¹⁰⁷ a Zulu word meaning, 'I am with you'—because while we act in obedience to the command we believe that those sacred words will be yet further verified to us in blessings on this dear people. We do humbly feel that we can say that if our Savior had not been with us we had not been preserved & guided thro our difficulties & succeeded thus far in establishing the cause of Christ in this country. To him be all the glory.

24 *Oct.* The people are still afraid to come near us & will bring us milk only in the darkness of the night, retiring immediately lest they be observed. Yesterday was our Sabbath. Solitary indeed was it. Scarce a soul came near. We assembled under the spreading limbs of a large fig tree & with our little circle of one white man & 4 Hottentots worshipped God. This we did not expect. We anticipated other trials but to be suspected of evil designs towards those we came to bless grieves indeed, conscious as we are of the sincerity of our motives.

Two days ago came a Zulu unexpectedly with a note saying that I must come over as soon as possible for the store house at the Togela, & all in it were burnt up. I hastened indeed & reached the place in the evening but it was only to see the ruin of many of the articles of clothing & housekeeping that we had deemed necessary. Our little stock of furniture all gone. The Hardware & tin had passed thro' the fire. Stores, wooden utensils, crockery &c all destroyed. But to me the most affecting was that my books collected for the purpose of aiding me in my work in translations, & the like had all vanished in a moment. I felt that it was of the Lord. I hope my heart replied, it is well. A fire had been carelessly built by some travelling white men near the house, & by a change of wind it was bro^t in contact with the dry thatch & in an instant the house & its dry effects were wrapped in flames. A very few things only were got out of the house.

Oct. 29. Mr Grout has returned. He found the king in a pleasant mood tho' enraged against the whites at Natal. He gave us his approbation in regard to several points that we deem of importance. But whether the captains around us on whom we are partially dependent may not poison his mind, or procrastinate in fulfilling his wishes we do not know. We are in the Lord's hands & he will overrule all for good. Daily do we see more & more of the depravedness & selfishness of the minds of this people. Might is right, & from the king down to the lowest captain as far as his authority extends, he has power to stop all under him for his own use & behoof. If the captain is curious of a subjects' wealth just let him accuse him of bewitching, & have him strangled & the way is easy to his beads or cattle.

Nov. 7. Yesterday after a delay of a week or two the king in accordance with his own suggestion sent us a

few cows in lieu of our blankets. They are but a picture of Pharaoh's lean ones. It seems as if it were only to furnish a reason for some more exorbitant demands. To refuse his presents has seemed to be impossible, & to accept them places us in an unpleasant attitude. The messengers came with such shouting & praising of their king that all things rang again. They were as usual very insolent & full of liberties demanding some things on their own account & some for their master. We are glad to see that the king regards his word & that we are still on peaceable terms. We need great prudence & discretion at this stage of our work, for many little circumstances might occur that would result in our dismissal from the country. The Lord in mercy grant it.

Yesterday too was our Sabbath. A few assembled & were attentive listeners to an explanation of the ten commandments. A captain asked after the meeting, 'who is our neighbor?' This gave an opportunity to repeat Christ's answer which interested them much. A village not far off had sent to ask when the praying day was, & yesterday they came. None were seen laboring. It seems as if God were thus impressing it in them respecting the day of rest. We would be grateful & persevere in our labors.

Nov. 9. Our hopes revive a little. Yesterday Kokela, our captain came direct from the king with a message to obtain laborers for us, & to require the children to attend school. He seemed very friendly, & has not been as we feared plotting against the Lord's cause. Now there seems to be a way open for us to instruct the heathen. May we in all our teachings be taught of God, & honor the Savior among this benighted people. Thus while Dingan is enraged against others there is hope that he is beginning to regard us with a different eye, & that the mission has a firmer footing than we had feared.

Rumors are afloat. They at Natal fear an attack on account of the Zulu refugees that are found there.

14 of Nov. Kokela has sent us a cattle herder, & a boy to watch the calves, two very important items in this land if we wish to be saved from trouble in regard to the unfenced gardens of the people. K. must intercede for his present of beads, & in fact as he is our captain, he says he must have something every time he visits us. We tell him of the gospel, but it is in the midst of his calls, 'banscla banscla,' (give me a present.)¹⁰⁸

We are just now moved to our house. It consists of three rooms 10 ft. by 8 each. One room only is as yet thatched, & that even leaks badly. The other rooms are covered with our wagon canvass. Doors & windows we have none, & are obliged to substitute mats & reeds. The floor is of ant-hills not even yet perfectly dry from the operation of being prepared. These were brot in in large lumps full of ants. Then buckets of scalding water were thrown on them to destroy the animals. Some were destroyed, & some found refuge in the wall, & elsewhere. Then the material is pounded fine, & by water brot to the consistence of mud, when it is levelled & left to dry. While drying the women come with their upper mill-stone one about as large as the two fists, & pound it till it becomes hard. We were glad however to leave our tent so much like a ship at sea on account of the incessant winds, & dwell in a firm tho' unfinished habitation. The Zulus at length are pleased to ascertain the object of our house, having all along been calling it a cattle-fold, a lodge etc.

The slackness of this people is daily a source of complaint. Kokela has every day been sending the school children, but they come not. People to work for us on whom we could depend were to be sent by him, but he procrastinates.

Nov. 15. Today Kokela, came on with his tall form wrapped in a shag blanket¹⁰⁹ followed by 8 boys that he might see what we did to them when we taught them. He seemed highly pleased with the experiment, & began learning himself. But it was with the greatest difficulty that we could induce him to say they should come regularly. He said that he only brot them to see if they could learn. He must wait & follow the motions of another great captain in this vicinity. While K. was here there came a servant & informed of some things that they consider as bad signs. Ah, says he some isituta (spirit)¹¹⁰ is yet troubling me. Poor man. He has lately killed his chief wife, & another man for being as he supposes the cause of his troubles. Meanwhile he is killing cattle & feasting his people at the headquarters 'to thank the great one of the earth & the rain.'

24. Dr. A. [Adams] from Natal had sent us a few articles as far as the river (the Togela). This has now begun to be flooded & will continue so probably for some 6 mos. We started for the river with the design of crossing it by a raft. But tho' the plank of our wagon which constituted it was buoyed up by a barrel, it sank so deep that the current took it at once down stream. We came home & yesterday returned with a rude boat frame made of small sticks nailed together, & the oiled canvass of our wagon. This last was stretched over the frame, & made fast. When with two paddles we succeeded in crossing the swift river, & obtained our letters &, embracing the opportunity so dearly acquired of sending to our beloved friends at N[atal].

The report of a vessel's being seen off Natal excited our hopes & fostered the expectation of hearing from our American friends. Our last dates from home were more than a year since.

Dec. 31. The report above named was a report only. For the last month we have been completing our dwellings, digging up some small garden patches, erecting coarse outhouses, &c. Our great work however has moved on but too slowly. One thing & another has occurred to diminish attendance on the Sabbath. One Lord's day the people were almost all required to frighten away the locusts from the corn. On another a person had died & the people must go to the village & mourn. A majority of the men have been away at the king's to build his village fences. Some women however have been regular hearers, & remember not a few of the words spoken.

Many applications have been made for medicine, some of them not a little curious. If they have had a bruise or wound in the days of their childhood even, they imagine that its evil influence continues with them to make them sick at times thro' life. The wound perhaps has been rudely hacked after the native mode of bleeding which in ordinary cases enhances the difficulty. Numbers come with these their *izilalo*¹¹¹ & if nothing can be done they still tease & insist, till to get rid of them we are obliged to give them something. To pepper they attach great healing qualities, & often ask for it be their ailment what it may. They eat it as greedily as they would sweetmeats.

For the last month I have found some time for study, & at length thro' God's goodness am enabled from notes to speak to the people about the things of his kingdom. To him be the praise.

Meanwhile we hear of the steady progress of the cause at Natal, & this puts joy into our hearts. Our school however, still is not. Kokela is tardy, full of excuses, & seems unwilling to aid us.

The people are now all going up to the capital to celebrate the yearly dance at the eating of green corn.

The king must eat the first, & then it is lawful for his people.¹¹² They have been passing by us lately in numbers all arrayed *capapie*¹¹³ for their senseless mummery. Sometimes they drive a bullock or two before them to serve for meat on the road. Today a captain & his attendants came directly past the house, & we had an opportunity of examining his dress. When approaching he reminded me very much of a picture of an Indian sagem¹¹⁴ that I have seen. A long white wing feather of some large bird stuck upright in the otter band which passed around his forehead. A large bunch of smaller feathers was stuck in the top of his head. Strips of monkey's skin so twisted as to resemble an animal's tail with hair on all sides, were hung over one shoulder & under the other arm, so as to cover the upper part of the body entirely. Skins of the wild cat prepared in the same way were suspended from the hips, & reached near the knees. Beads or strips of skin were fastened around the ankles. The large brass bangle was on the fore right arm, while with the other he held his bunch of spears & shield, which last was nearly as tall as himself, & much wider. Thus the whole country goes up to eat the king's meat, to dance in his presence, & to praise him.

This evening a circumstance occurred that gave me no little pain. A boy appeared, & said he wished to serve me. On inquiry I found that he had fled from *Umgunghlovu* for fear of being put to death. He & another had by accident slept on something containing a dress of one of the king's women. His companion was killed, he heard of it & fled. But the *Togela* was full, & he could not flee out of the country. We told him what was our proper work, & why we could not harbor him as the king had charged us specially on the subject.¹¹⁵ On hearing about God & being happy after death, he instantly said, I love him & will serve him with all my heart. When told that by staying he would endanger us

& himself by soon becoming known, he went out of the house; but cast a despairing look around saying 'where shall I go? I must go to the mountains, & be eaten up by the wolves!'

I believe there is a cry of oppression going up from this land, long & loud, to heaven.

Janv. 1, 1837. We hear that men are in pursuit of the poor umhambi, meaning appropriately wanderer,¹¹⁶ so that had I harbored him, we should probably have fallen under the suspicion of Dingan.

Janv. 2. We found a snake in the house today. Two or three have already thus invaded us. As I went to kill it some Zulus who were in the house ran out with all possible speed as if I had been doing some deed of darkness. I brot it out dead. 'There, I had killed a man.' It was an ihlozi¹¹⁷—the spirit of some of their fathers that had come to my house to ask for meat. I should have killed an ox & let them poor folks eat it, & then I would have been a great man, & the spirit's hunger would have been appeased, & he would have gone away. They consider them as harmless, & suffer them to go where they choose. I threw the animal away. One in going home made a long circuit lest he come into the animal's precincts.

Janv. 6. The great dance is over, & the people are returning. We hear that a party of Sobuza¹¹⁸ took occasion of the desertion of the country & came quite into the midst of it, & took some of the king's cattle. Thus is the great chief infested by a band of marauders whom his great power cannot reach.

Janv. 17. It is interesting to us to hear of new paths opened thro' this unknown country. Two white men arrived at Natal Dec. 23, from a Wesleyan missionary

station to the west of us after a journey of 21 days. Probably their ignorance of the way, & being without guides made their tour longer than it would have been otherwise. They had with them their horses, & aimed at proceeding in an easterly direction, but being without a compass & traversing high mountain ranges it is not probable that they kept their course exactly.

Janv. 20. Have been gratified by the arrival of Doct. & Mrs. Adams on account of the recent illness of Mrs. C. Christian intercourse in a land like this is precious. And God our Heavenly Father has remarkably succored us during the hour of our recent domestic affliction (the death of an infant) by unexpectedly sending our friends to our relief.

Feb. 4. This morning Kokela paid us a visit. He seemed very sociable, & told us that we had not urged him eno[ugh] on the business entrusted to his hands. We had urged till we were tired, & were about looking to some other quarter. Again he promised to send the school.

Feb. 5. The holy day is past. But its sacred hours were interrupted by a scene of cruelty. Yesterday the cattle of one village got into the gardens of another. The owners of the latter seized the cattle herder (a mere boy) this morning, & began dealing their blows about his naked body with canes & clubs till he was unable to stand. They seemed intent on murdering him but a party from his village came & rescued him. O! the horror of darkness that rests on this people.

Today it was showery, & the people collected in my house. Their attention was much better that[sic] when assembled out of doors.

Feb. 6. We need faith. Kokela has recd. many favours from us, & still practises his excusing system. Today he

had sent to tell us that the children are needed to frighten the birds from the gardens.

Feb. 7. Waited on our haughty induna to see why the children so fairly promised came not. I urged pretty strongly the king's command. He said he would send for them.

8. Contrary to our expectation 8 bright girls came from this great captain, as the beginning of a school. They learnt a few letters very speedily, & we dismissed them with the promise of their coming daily.

9. No children.

10. Do.[ditto.] The people we think are pleased with the idea of having their children come to us & learn, but they fear the captains.

20. To illustrate the fears & suspicions that are afloat I mention this fact. We had by the promise of some beads obtained a little girl for a month to take some care of our little boy. She came & went home daily that there might be no difficulty. She had not however been to us many days before her father was rudely attacked by his head man as having given his girl to the white man. He reasoned, but all to no purpose. He was in great distress for fear of being accused to the king & killed. So he concluded to dismiss the girl. Some of his beads he said were stolen. He came to us, & asked us to look in my book & find out the thief.

A Mr C.¹¹⁹ one of the above mentioned travellers passed the other day on his way to see Dingan. He was coming alone without any one to introduce him. While on his path he was stopped by a number of men sent from the king. He told him that 'all from the sun-setting were his enemies, & he did not wish to see him.'

The men were to see him supplied with provisions & safely over the Togela.

It is refreshing to us to hear that some few do remember our words & rehearse them to each other. Incorrectly as they sometimes hear still it will do good. The story of David & Goliath is to them quite interesting.

Feb. 24. One of the captains in our vicinity has returned from the king's having been there to testify in the case of a poor man accused of bewitching in our vicinity. The gross charge was that the man was seen with a bag under his arm. Other reports made him out as having converse[d] with the owls. Five or six men were sent by the king's order to kill him. He & his two sons defended themselves so bravely that he made out to flee, & lay his case before his king with the defense that he did not bewitch. In some cases where they appeal to him he pardons them. But not so here. Dingan sent for his accusers, & having heard the case, delivered the poor man over to his smelling doctors who accordingly smelled him, as they say, to be a witch, & he & one son were executed.¹²⁰

The case of Umhambi (the runaway boy)¹²¹ I have not concluded. He was soon taken after leaving us & kept in such cruel confinement, bound fast & starved, that death was a release to him. This came by an order from Dingan with the interrogatory, 'Why? Why did you not kill him at once?'

I was asking about the [witch]doctors tonight where do they get their knowledge? They plunge into the water with a fire brand burning in one hand & come up with some snakes in the other & the fire is not put out, & the snakes do not bite him. 'But how does he hold the snakes?' 'By their necks.' And, said my respondent he can smell the witches & feel them. If one is bewitched the doctor is sick & is not well till the man is killed.

Feb. 27. Today the news is they are killing a cow at a near village to appease the ihlozi.¹²² 'The spirit,' they say, 'dwells in the fences & gutters & in the thatch of the houses.' Tonight the meat is hung up in a house & the boys sleep there. In the morning it can be seen where the spirit in the night has been cutting off pieces all over the meat. 'But do not the people come from all the villages & eat up the meat?' Oh no! They only beg a little of the spirit. I asked, 'Why they did not watch to see the spirit eat the meat?' O! they were afraid. The being had assagays & went about to kill men. This was all said with such an appearance of incredulity, that it seemed to be of a kindred nature with some of the hobgoblin stories I used to hear in childhood.

I asked one today, 'where do people go when they die?' I told him that we believed men lived. 'O, sd. he *we* die. *We* are no more. Our bodies are thrown away to the wolves & that's the end of us.' Sd. I 'Is it pleasant to think of that?' 'Oh no,' was the answer. It seems that the men who go to throw away a dead body live apart by themselves for some time then are washed, & if the dead man had cattle receive a cow. The property of the deceased with his wives & perhaps children goes to his older bro. If the brother is not of sufficient age for marriage he takes the wives, calls them his mothers, & they plant his gardens.

March 2. A man by accident not long since pierced himself with his spear. He came to us dead, as he expressed it. However the wound was bound up, & is now healed. He seems to be grateful, & says he should have died if we had not helped him. There is a class of quacks among them, but they are remarkable for nothing except their cruel mode of bleeding. Almost every man of above 25 has marks of their skill. They bleed on the body mostly. They take a needle, or sharp pointed piece

of iron, & run it under the skin as if taking a stitch in sowing [*sic*]. The skin thus raised is then cut out, & perhaps 50 wounds are made on each side of the man's back. The smelling doctors are another class of persons.

March 6. Yesterday was indeed a Sabbath among heathen. But few present. On one quarter a captain's wife was just killed by the king's order, for no other reason apparently except that she was once the wife of a great man who some time ago was killed by the direction of Dingan. She heard the sentence, & submitted without a word only that she expressed some reluctance at parting with her little child. The husband had to send two of his men to do the deed of death. They took a long strap or riem,¹²³ & going with her to some unfrequented place passed the strap around her neck, & with one standing at each end strangled & left her. They sent this as a reason why they could not come to meeting. And also for some weeks now the soldiers, i.e. the majority of the people have been absent at their headquarters to learn new dances. These dances are composed & taught to them by those whom they consider masters in the art whom the king rewards with cows. The king has his own favorite regiment at this time under his training at Umgunghlovu. The king of course composes the best. The act consists in making out an igam¹²⁴ or song, & fitting to it the imikuba¹²⁵ or motions of the arms & body corresponding. In teaching a company of soldiers they seem to be as particular as professors of the art at home.

I began with the meeting. Assembling as we do in the open air the least circumstance attracts attention, or excites laughter. Sometimes we are interrupted by the cackling fowls, sometimes by the barking dogs, at others by Zulus singing as they come to meeting.

Singing & praying were services so new & strange to them at first that they always excited laughter, tho' they were often charged on the subject. To a stranger just from a Christian land our audience would seem other than assembled for religious purposes. O! when will they learn of Jesus. 'But he that goeth forth weeping bearing precious seed shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him.'

April 4. Umgunghlovu. All of us residing on the station 9 persons in number left home a week ago for this place. We fastened up our houses as well as possible & left them not knowing but that accident or design might show us heaps of ashes on our return. The ox wagon was our conveyance. A visit of this kind was necessary in order that we might become better acquainted as a body with the king, & accomplish some objects, that otherwise could not be so well affected.

Found that several head men of villages whom we had seen on our first journey had been killed for witchery. Heard of a family or tribe up the Togela & belonging to Zulu, as they call the Zulu nation lately destroyed most evidently for the sake of the cattle. Their people belonged to the different regiments who had come down to the great dances. When arrived the king picked out their people, & sent them back to their country under pretence of collecting copper.¹²⁶ Then he ordered one or two regiments upon them in the night, & thus obtained by his wiliness a few thousands of cattle.

Everywhere upon the path Mrs C. & little G. have been great curiosities. But one white woman has been before in the country. They clap their hands with many exclamations as, au! mams & then lay their hands on their mouth, & seem to be lost in wonder. From one village & another on the path they have followed us, & kept up their expressions of admiration. When will

a miss^v. thus be sought after for the knowledge of salvation?

The hum of the umjadu¹²⁷ or dance is sounding at no great distance from the mimosa tree under which our wagon stands. At the place of parade the grass is worn entirely off by the constant treading of the dancers. When dancing they aim to stand in a circle. This circle is in some places four deep. The king's place is on the lower side. The great captains with brazen necks & arms perhaps a hundred in all stand behind him. On each side of these stand the amapakati,¹²⁸ petty captains with rings on the neck only. The rest of the circle is filled up by boys or young soldiers distinguished by their unshaved heads. One hundred & fifty of the king's women occupy the center & perform a sort of chorus accompanied with clapping of hands. To convey on paper any tolerable idea of the unearthly sounds & the various antics & manouvres of the dance is to me impossible. I have watched them till the shades of evening had set, growing so enthusiastic in the repetition of their warlike ditty that it seemed as if they knew it not, & while the cloud of dust from their stamping rendered the atmosphere very dubious, & the one thousand dancers by their irregular jumping, & confused shouting attempted to imitate the roaring of the seas, & the awkward movements of their bodies, & motions of their sticks in the air were magnified by the darkness, I could easily imagine myself for the moment in another world than this. The dance seems to have no other object except that of repeating the praises of their king, & exciting them to deeds of war & bloodshed.

The king rode down this afternoon to the dancing spot in his new cart. This is one he had recently obtained of a trader. It argues favorably as it respects the disposition of the king towards civilization.

April 5. Today we have spent considerable time with the king. He wishes every-process that we describe such as weaving, & making soap to be done before him. He was delighted with some needle work, & must needs have one of his girls instructed a little. He took occasion to lead us all over his isigohlo, palace, harem or whatever you please to call it.¹²⁹ It consists of apartments surrounded with high fences, each containing houses, & covering in the whole an acre or two of ground. He had the vanity as on other occasions to lead us into the the apartments that had, but one door, as if we had lost ourselves in the labyrinth. He showed us a dozen or more of his women with their clothing of beads. These must have been 15 or 20 lbs. in weight. So heavy they could not take a quick step. Their heads & faces were also covered with the royal sort of beads.

Then away he led us to the smith's shop, the manufactory of the cruel bangles of copper & brass.

April 7. A large company of people came from the vicinity decked out with feathers, beads & long tails made of bark, to dance before the king. He stood under the shade of a tree with his sisters,¹³⁰ & appeared highly pleased as he remarked upon the skill of the dancers, & particular movements.

8. Another regiment that of Nobamba¹³¹ came today from another quarter to dance. Previous to their exercise the king sent to them, & also to those of yesterday a number of cattle for slaughter. Soon fires were seen lighted up in the vicinity of the multitudes & the animals were devoured.

April 9. The adieu. It has been rainy nearly all day. As we expect the usual confusion on the morrow we tho^t best to go & take leave of the king that we might be ready to start early. This evening we have been up to

the high place. A man stood not far from the great houses full of praise, shouting at the top of his voice & calling Dingan, the elephant's calf, the black one, the conqueror of all lands &c. We waited a little for the monarch to hear his flattery, & at length the servant whose post is at the gate told us, he wanted to see us. He was stretched on his mat & wood-pillow in his house of 22 posts which have been lately completely covered with beads of different colors. One or two of his girls were there, & all his dogs lay snoring around the room.

He wished to hear the particulars of our business, & seemed favorably inclined in all respects. He said that K.¹³² our captain had deceived us, & sent particular instructions to all the three great captains of our district, i.e. Hlominhleri.¹³³ A message was to be sent charging them to aid us in various ways in our work. He then began to converse with us freely to an extent we have not before seen.

Among other things he still wished to be taught to read, & in answer to a question said that we must send over the ocean for a teacher to come & live with him. While conversing on religious subjects he broke in, saying with emphasis, 'God ought not to have said in his book that men must die,' an idea exactly coincident with his vainglorious & ambitious feelings. He wished to know what God did in answer to prayer, if he would make it rain or not. He contended humorously for a time that there was no country over the sea, but at last was much pleased with the geographical account, expressing it, 'why then, we are sitting in the midst of the waters!'

April 14. Returned in 4 days from Umgunghlovu partly by a new & shorter route. Arrived at home, & found everything safe with several evidences of the trustiness of Zulus whom we had left in charge. The

people seem very glad that we have returned, & come today from all quarters to say Sakubona, (good day).¹³⁴ Some are so glad that a threefold salutation is not enough. God has been emphatically good to us during our absence. Truly the king's heart is in the hands of the Lord. Whatever may be the case in future there seems now to be no way of accomplishing anything in Zululand but by connection with Dingan.

April 19. Our religious services are now attended with more interest & in greater numbers. We have seen some of the captains. They are as usual full of promises. A class of girls however in consequence of the king's order has been collected for the purpose of learning to sew & read. They seem highly pleased as well as their parents. The naked things take not a little enjoyment these cold mornings when they come to school, in wearing the dresses made for them by some kind Christian friends at home. To inspirit them they have commenced piecing a quilt which is to go to the king.

Ap. 20. Today the oldest captain of Hlominhleni, Nongalaza paid us a visit.¹³⁵ He seemed unused to white men & marvelled greatly at the wonders in our house. He professed great readiness to send the children to school &c, but was full of excuses.

Ap. 23. Lord's day was assisted to speak extempore¹³⁶ to the people. They paid marked attention & observed that 'today they heard. The story was all one. When we had an interpreter there were two stories & they forgot one while hearing the other.' Meaning to refer to the continuity of the preaching in this case, & the pauses between sentences in the case of an interpreter. But as yet I am fettered. I cannot say all that is in my heart.

Ap. 24. Two men who have worked for us pretty constantly & obtained a small amount of beads are at

present coming to us much dispirited. Their superiors the lazy head-men are envious at the rewards of their industry. One of them has been beaten & they fear that they shall be falsely accused & put to death. Thus they come to us, saying 'we will be your people. Speak to the king for us.' But tho' they & their families would be much more accessible to instruction by living with us, still we do not deem such a step prudent.

Ap. 25. There is still another respectable captain to whose villages we are nearer than to those of any other. He has manifested considerable secret opposition. Boys on some service for us have been threatened, & beaten by him for going with the white men. The sowing [*sic*] children are from his villages. And we hear today that he had sent an order for all his children about us to come to school. It may be from a trifling circumstance respecting a man whom we asked that he might work for us, & the captain's absolute refusal, fearing it would reach the king's ears, that he has sent for the children & also is willing the man should come as proposed. Thus the Lord causes the wrath of man to praise him.

Ap. 27. The Amapis', a few Zulus at the Togela, have all, with but one exception fled to Port Natal leaving behind them their stock of provisions, goods & etc. The people from this region have gone over to take the spoil, & some are now returning with pots, mats, calabashes, fowls & etc. We expect that it will enrage the king. But God watches over his own cause.

May 1. Monthly concert of prayer.¹³⁷ For a whole year have we had no miss^v intelligence at this meeting to cheer our hearts & excite us to action. But by faith we can realize that many Christians will today be thus cheered & animated.

May 4. Our suspense is somewhat relieved. The Zulu soldiery are not rudelessly assaulting our friends at Natal. All as yet is peace. Dingan is only sending to inquire the reason of the late desertion, & seeking out their head man. The people are returning from their two month's dancing, having concluded it by a trial of skill one regiment with another.

An eclipse of the moon occurred about the 20th ult.¹³⁸ As soon as observed at the great place they all rushed out of the village-gate with fire brands, & threw them up in the air shouting & making confusion. Some of the fire returned on the heads of the multitude & burnt them not a little. On all ordinary occasions it is unlawful to carry fire about unless in some broken dish or other receptacle.

The school progresses. It increases in numbers & interest. The fathers & mothers often come along with their implements of labor, & look in upon them with delight.

May 6. A messenger arrived here late this evening excessively tired having outrun his companion, to say that the king was sick & wanted some of the white man's medicine. It seemed like a call of Providence, & may be a means of good to that man & his poor people. The messenger has come from Umgunghlovu in a day & a half. He lost his way in the dark & obtained a guide. He would not tell his errand till his guide was dismissed. The king hates to have it known that he can be sick & die like others. Considering it a case of mercy & supposing from the account that the king is indeed sick Mr. Grout & our interpreter are preparing to go early in the morning. May they be prospered.

May 7. This has seemed to me more like a Sabbath than any I have yet spent on these shores. It was partly because

of some little resemblance to things at home. We have a new building of reeds for a school house partly finished in which we assembled. In the morning & afternoon we had religious service in Zulu, & a Sabbath school in the intermission. Small indeed was the no. of children but we must not despise the smallness of Jacob. The people were quite inquisitive to be certain that they understood me. The Lord be praised.

May 12. Today I learn by a note from my absent associate that the king's illness is not very alarming, consisting only in the effects of a cold, & that he was rather averse to the external application proposed. I was saying to some bystanders that news had come on paper from the great place. 'Tell us if Mr G. has started on his way to return?' was the first query. They have an idea that a letter is like an oracle by which you can divine or prophesy.

May 17. Mr Grout has returned & with him two more white men from the interior Wesleyan stations. They are laborers & have come seeking for employ. They had seen our brethren of the interior mission, & by them we first learn of their expulsion from the field, & that they had taken up their course for Natal. Surely God's way are not 'our ways nor his thoughts our thoughts.' We had expected to hear of his wonders wrought by their hands in consequence of the reported opening for missions in that field. Too true has the suggestion of one of our brⁿ while we were yet at the Cape proved, 'we may yet follow your track.' Indeed would we rejoice in having this accession to our number, & thank God for what his Providence indicates by it, that he is about to give the land to his Son. Lord increase our faith.

The king says he is tired with the way his captains treat us & will himself send us children & people to

learn. Two of his serv^{ts} come with Mr G. for this purpose. He wishes especially to have them learn to write, & to make the drawing apparatus of his cart. Hearing that the white men were coming, he had them detained & a letter written to them asking who they were, their names, business &c. He was surprised as well as delighted that the paper could tell their names &c, as well as if they were present. He is beginning to see that paper messengers tell no lies, & after they had left some time, sent for the interpreter back to write another letter for him.

May 19. The king's messenger to the Natalians has been suspected as a spy, & they are making preparations to withstand the expected attack of the Zulus. The king in consequence wishes our interpreter to go down to them & quiet their fears, saying that he never means to kill a white man, & wants again their help to aid him in the war which he is just entering upon.¹³⁹

May 20. Another visit to Kokela. After much chiding as he called it, he promised to send me some help for the purpose of aiding in erecting a permanent dwelling house. And to our great wonder the boys came before night. I went also to Seguebani¹⁴⁰ the captain on the opposite quarter to whom allusion has been made. He also favored us so far as to follow out his order & give special directions about some more school children.

May 23. Commenced making raw bricks for the house. The people wonder at every new instance of our skill. An expression very frequent is, 'the white men have fingers.' Good stones for building are difficult to be obtained, & to get a small load of indifferent timber even the distance is such that it occupies a whole day. Future stations may not in this respect be so unpleasantly situated.

May 24. Today seven girls came from the king to be learnt [*sic*] all kinds of works, as the messenger said.

May 27. A message from 'the great house' to be put in paper that it may be sent to a white man at Natal.

May 29. Another royal dispatch to be penned. He sends his executioner as a trusty servant thus far to see the words made fast on paper, & then returns while others take the letter on. They have many curious ideas about the book. Be it a letter, spelling card, tract, Bible, or bit of paper even, it is all incwadi (book) in the language of this people.¹⁴¹

The substance of the letter was, 'the vessel must not be stopped. (Some had thus threatened). That the trade was stopped, it was not his fault. The white men must hasten to his help. He is going out to fight.'¹⁴²

June 1. Last eve C. our interpreter¹⁴³ arrived with news from Natal. Capt. Gardiner has arrived with powers to act as magistrate over British subjects in this section of the country. It augurs good for the cause of Christ.¹⁴⁴ A press has also arrived for the mission.¹⁴⁵ Also that welcome visitor, the *Missy Herald*, whom we have not seen for more than a year.¹⁴⁶ Our brⁿ we understand are on their way overland & with them our letters.

June 4. Perhaps 200 were present today at meeting. I fear very little of the word was remembered. Some had questions to ask. Others tho^t them improper, & something of a dispute ensued in quieting which I was tasked to the utmost.

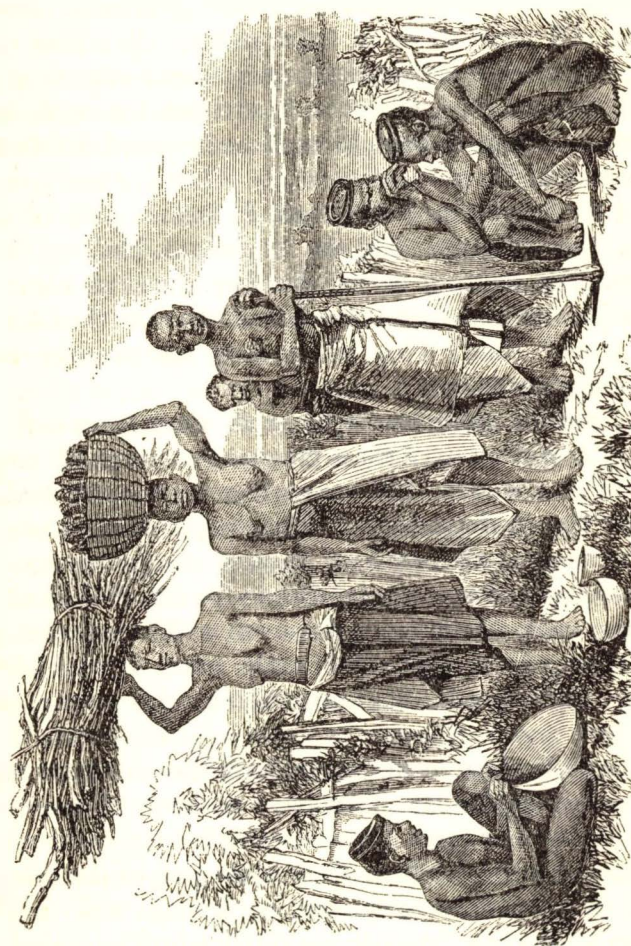
June 6. The detail of our difficulties in obtaining natives to aid us in our secular work would be long & tedious. The result has been that we have had to labor much

working with our hands, & thus has our time of devoting ourselves to the appropriate duties of the mission been encroached on. The captains on whom we have been in a measure dependent seem entirely selfish. If compelled as they have been by the king's order, they make every possible evasion. One for instance was to send a girl to learn domestic work. He first sent a misshapen thing that could do little else than whine out, 'I can't' to everything proposed to her. The captain took her away, & sent another maimed in her hand, & in many respects but a counterpart of the other.

June 8. The warriors are leaving their homes for the king's, & thence for the scene of slaughter. Where it is to be they know not nor even are they at liberty to conjecture.¹⁴⁷ Some I could almost fancy were sad in view of the dangers before them.

A few days since, the 21st ult.¹⁴⁸ we experienced what we now call cold weather. Thermometer at 53°-56° all day. We were obliged to put on our thick clothing & get round the fire. It was the Sabbath. We saw one or two faces only. Our sphere of usefulness seemed to lie with our families, & our own hearts. On such days it is a thankless task to go abroad. The missionary does it at the expense of his eyes finding all the people in their low huts shivering over a fire in the centre, & the house as full of smoke as one for curing meat at home.

June 9. All day long on one hand & the other are the warriors directing their course towards the capitol. They follow each other in Indian file with their large oval black & white shields held at their left side, their bodies adorned with ox tails & heads covered with feathers. The war dress of a captain has been described.¹⁴⁹ The common people are not so richly adorned. It makes us reflect that we are in a savage land. Those who at

*A Zulu group*

other times have frequented our houses & seemed very mild when arrayed with the large otter band over their forehead, the isihlohlo,¹⁵⁰ or bunch of feathers on their head, & the strips of ox skin covering their chest, their hands full of the instruments of death appear like savage Indians. All seem to be in haste today. They pass our house, but none loiter as usual, they scarce even stop to say a Sakubona.¹⁵¹ A boy who is at work for us & is a soldier can scarce contain himself as he sees his fellows on the move. He says he must go. Thus are the young trained to delight in destruction. It is the spirit of the nation. The lame, the sick, the women, & children only are left. The country seems desolate. I asked some if they were not sad that their friends should thus leave them alone? 'Sad? No, when they return they will bring many cattle.'

They usually slaughter a beast & eat it previous to starting, & if they have them take one or two with them for food on the way. The king gives them cattle to kill on their way to the enemy. The night previous to attack they throw away all their food & must conquer or starve. They are exposed to many injuries in the feet & sufferings from the cold. Many have not even a skin caross¹⁵² to cover them, & at night their only resort is to huddle together like animals, & throw their shields over them.

10 *June*. Took a walk to inform the villagers that tomorrow is God's day. They have no habit of counting more than two or three days forward & frequently come a day too soon or too late. They seem glad of the intelligence. We have recently erected a flag staff which answers a tolerable purpose for those who are near, but need very much a better signal. I found few at the villages but women. These however have been by far our most regular hearers. When told of the things of the kingdom they laud every word, & profess attachment

to him of whom we speak. But I fear their hearts feel none of the power of his love. Saw an old man of 90, I should judge, & told him of the fewness of his days, & his need of preparation for death. But he gave no heed. He wanted a blanket, a knife, beads &c. 'Without me ye can do nothing.'

It is not a little strange that they consider it such a high privilege & honor to go up to the great place. They fear the king & captains there assembled almost as much as death itself. On the path thither, & while doing their inkonzo or service as they call remaining at his place,¹⁵³ they are half-starved, & yet it is a great punishment to be told as were some women by the men the other day because they made a noise at meeting, that they should not go up to the great place.

Swearing is one of the most common evils that come under our notice. A man expresses some doubt about the truth of another's assertion. 'Chakka, Vezi' utters the other in a deep undertone. Vezi is one of the king's names.¹⁵⁴ One asks another as if to say is it so? 'Dingan,' is perhaps all the answer. At Natal they swear by Farewell or Faku.¹⁵⁵ One of Dingan's names often thus used is Redeemer. That its tendency is bad we know for as soon as they learn that God is higher than the highest they point upwards & speak his name in vain.

It shows the utter want of veracity among this people that on the most trivial occasions a man is obliged to call for an oath before he can arrive at any degree of certainty respecting the assertions of his neighbor. To the most trivial subject, reckless whether true or not, they swear. In fact in common conversation where they are at all interested, 'Dingan!' 'Chakka!' 'Vezi!' are uttered at every breath. Promises also they break without any compunction. At first they supposed us like one of them, & would trust us in nothing. Now they consider our word as good as money.

June 11. Sabbath day. Tho' cold & misty the children came early, & we held a sort of Sabbath School. Our interpreter with Br. G. is now absent at Natal, & I am obliged to be my own mouth to the people. As an exercise I was following 'Gallandit's book on the soul.'¹⁵⁶ The children seemed interested. But we came at length to a question that stopped us. They asserted that cats talked with the abatakati or witches who walk in the night & are thus instigated to destroy people. None of them had seen even an umtakati,¹⁵⁷ nor a living cat, & therefore could not say it on their own experience, but everybody said so. It convinced them not a little that I had seen many cats, & never heard them talk.

In the midst of our conversation came the king's chief servant with 23 porters on their way to bring up the king's present which has arrived with Capt G. They wished to be present at divine service. We assembled. The boys sitting on the ground floor of our school room, each holding his long cane upright before him, one brang [*sic*] a piece of meat, another with a bone tied to it, another still with a piece of skin attached the relics of a cow lately slaughtered presented to me a curious audience. They heard for the first time of the Savior of sinners. May it not be in vain. A company arriving afterwards from a distance of 4 ms. we held another meeting. I am happy in finding myself better understood than formerly. It is of the Lord who has prospered me in my study of the language.

Jn. 19. Recently the king has sent us two more scholars. May they be trained up aright, & [we] be the means of pouring light on their benighted minds.

Jn. 26. Had an unexpected increase of school children. They come voluntarily quite a distance, in all forty in number. It is good to be sought to for instruction.

July 16. We have met for the first time in the land of the Zulus around the communion table. Only three of us in number.¹⁵⁸ It was a sweet season with Christ within the doors. O! when shall many redeemed from this people celebrate with us this feast.

July 22. A cripple has returned from the army. By him we are rendered certain that the expedition has gone against Umisilikazi.¹⁵⁹ He left them at the place of that chieftain's former residence. But since the attack of the farmers he has removed. The Zulus were proceeding after him. So that had our brethren remained, they would probably have been thrown into confusion. Do we not see everywhere the overruling hand of our Heavenly Father?

July 23. Sabbath. Preached to the Zulus from the story of Hezekiah. Br. G. preached this afternoon to our households & laborers from, 'There is a way that seemeth right to a man &c.' Tomorrow, D.V., I expect to start on a journey to the king's to confer with him as to the subject of enlarging missionary operations in his land.

July 24. Started on foot with three boys to carry our mats & blankets to sleep upon, & a few other indispensable articles. We ascended the Indulindi mt¹⁶⁰ at the foot of which we dwell, & pursued a North course by compass. A curious stream of water issues from the top of the mt. & runs under ground in several places. Near the Amatikulu river¹⁶¹ stands a singular & isolated mountain, Magula its name, from a chief who once took refuge, & was killed there. A peculiarly rocky eminence rises from one end of it, which from some points of view makes it resemble a chapel with a low steeple. For about 9 ms. the last part of our walk before reaching the Umhlatuzi we saw not a soul. It was in passing over the

Indumani,¹⁶² a finely timbered region but full of elephants & buffaloes. Saw today 18 villages on ; near the path. Distance walked between 25 & 30 ms.

July 25. For 6 or 7 miles this morning followed the bed of the river just named. Very high African mts. with rocks & scrubby bushes rose above us on either hand. It was indeed chilling so early in the morning to be obliged to ford the cold river five times. Ascending out of the valley of a tributary to the Umhlatuzi we reached Magwaza,¹⁶³ a fertile spot abounding in villages. It has also much good timber. The trees are 60 or 80 ft. high & grow in clumps on the sides of some moderate elevations. Their trunks are quite free from limbs, & as there is no underbrush they present quite a rural aspect. It is a job of more than one day I imagine for the natives with their puny axes to fell one of these trees. While cornstalks are to be obtained in their old gardens they therefore prefer to let the trees alone for fuel. Stopped at Umketekete a village of Umbibi the greatest woman it is said in the country.¹⁶⁴ She is not at home. Walked I judge 25 ms., my interpreter has become lame or I should probably have reached the king. Saw 25 villages.

Everywhere on the path have made it a point to speak of the things of our religion. Many of the people have heard of us, & call us their white men, & know a little of that one of whom we speak. It is good to find that thus by degrees the leaven of life & health is spreading.

July 26. The king I find at Nobamba¹⁶⁵ a large regimental village 6 or 8 ms. N. of Umgunghlovu. Journey today 10 or 12 ms.

Dingan has received us very kindly & this evening kept us till late conversing on a variety of subjects. The description of steam carriages & ships has interested him much. He says they go like the reflections of a mirror.

The shocks of an earthquake [which] fell some months ago occasioned many questions. He had heard that we caused them. We must go thro' the ceremony of eating in his presence. He asked for an account of bead making, of a powder manufactory, hattery &c. He says we must swear by him now that we are in his country.

July 28. The boys of the regiment stationed here were called up early this morning & sent off in a body to hunt. They are perhaps 200 in number. There is also another regiment belonging to this village. I should judge that there are as many as 1800 people at present residing here.

Just from the beer drinking. Twenty five large globular pots holding a pail full each, were set out in the cattle fold not far from the king's house. The echo went round the circle of houses amapakati niyezwanje, ('great men do you hear?')¹⁶⁶ The amadoda or men with rings ran for the beer in good earnest, some with small pots, some with baskets &c, from which to drink the beverage.¹⁶⁷ The captains followed after & they circled around the beer. The pots were distributed to different parts of the circle of about 300. The servants then ran to the king flourishing their canes & speaking his praises. At a signal given the beer drinkers sitting on the ground shook their fore fingers in the air above their head, & united in a simultaneous shout of thanks. Then the beer was disposed of. I tho' I observed some [who] did not get any. Still there was perfect order, each was allowed to put his lips to the pot or vessel but once, meanwhile however a quart at least had disappeared. In four minutes they had done & the large pots were replaced again in the centre of the circle. When the captains had finished they raised their shout of praise & dispersed.

This afternoon the hunters came in, in Indian file exercising a sort of pantomime bringing with them 4

small 'boks', 2 rabbits & a few birds. They passed round before the king & left their booty. He sent us one of the animals. He then gave them 2 or 3 cattle for slaughter, but they have now been three or four days without any meat, & they scarce sufficed for mouthfuls for them.

July 29. While waiting audience on this chief who thinks not of the flight of time, my thoughts naturally turn to the evils of war as practised by this people. The king's mind is evidently exercised on the subject. By 50 days at farthest he expected to receive some spoils. He keeps a stick on which he makes a notch every morning. The expedition has now been gone 46 days. If Dingan gets no cattle his heart will be sad indeed, & the conquering Zulus will begin to lose their fame.

Supremely selfish must be the heart that can thus delight in the devastation & ruin of their neighbors, especially when the attack is in no way provoked. The Zulus are now so feared upon their borders, that no neighboring tribe would have the wish to do that which they would feel would bring down destruction upon their heads. With their former king the spirit of *conquest* was prevalent, but after all his chief glory was to see the cattle coming in that he might deal out prizes to his soldiers.

For war the nation is trained from youth. Even children are full of their miniature prowess. The dances inspire them with ideas of war. The custom yearly of going out to fight keeps the subject fresh in their minds, & from the way in which the cattle are divided to the brave, they learn that by this craft they have their wealth. Trained in this way they are prepared for acts of the most wanton cruelty in the field, & I have heard that they do practise them. War in civilized lands is mercy compared with this savage fighting. What an argument then is here for the gospel which preaches peace. The whole current

of the nation's tho^{ts} is now in a direction immediately at variance with our pure principles. 'Love your enemies' is to them a strange doctrine. Were the Zulus a peaceable people, at least half the year might be saved to them for instruction which is now devoted to war & its appropriate preparatory exercises. With such hard & cruel hearts as the habit of war gives them, proportionably difficult is it to allure them to the mild & humane principles of the gospel.

This village contains I think 300 houses. It differs in one respect from any that I have yet seen, in that on the outside at the different gates are guard houses for a watchman to remain in during the night.

The confusion & noise of my nights here is no little annoyance. The houses are so near each other that anything passing in one is distinctly heard in another. Last evening in a hut close to my head were about a dozen persons, some apparently drunk with beer, others with smoking wild hemp & all uniting in noise, confusion & nonsensical talk in a loud tone till very late. On another hand was a house full of women who were chatting unceasingly, & laughing or disputing until sleep came to my relief.

Near the king's dwelling they are manufacturing shields. A good ox's skin is split in the middle & suffices for two shields. After being dried by stretching it out on the ground with pins, it is pounded with small round stones. It is then cut into its oval shape, by the king's shield maker. Then a stick is laid along it lengthwise & on each side of it parallel with the short diameter slits are cut for the insertion of leathers which make the stick fast to the shield. This wood protrudes a little above the top & is adorned with a piece of cat skin. A loop is in the centre for the insertion of the left hand.

As a spot for missionary efforts this region is most desirable. It is the grand central point for the whole Zulu

country. Five or six large military villages are within a few miles' distance at which during some parts of the year are assembled the flower of the country. Nobamba¹⁶⁸ however & perhaps others are not merely places of rendezvous, they have permanent inhabitants. There are also a number of other villages in the vicinity well inhabited. The gravelly & arid soil of the region is however a slight objection.

Aug. 2. Wednesday. Arrived at home this afternoon after a walk of 90 ms. at least from Nobamba which I left on Monday. The king was very agreeable in regard to an increase of the number of missionaries & said, 'Let them come. I will point out places for them.' According to a previous design I obtained a guide from the king & started for the villages of Unghlela¹⁶⁹ situated upon the Togela. Following a S. W. course by compass I reached the Intsuze¹⁷⁰ river a few miles from the Togela, the first day at evening. The path lay thro' a tolerably level country. Saw some 20 villages. Their cattle folds of stone, reed fences surrounding each house in some places, & houses thatched with new white mats gave an air of neatness to these villages such as I have observed in no other parts of the country. Not a trace of wood was observed in some parts. Heaps of cow dung lay about the villages dried for fuel. Towards evening we ascended some high land covered with patches of good timber. After walking along a flat we came to its termination. And an almost perpendicular descent was before me of some thousands of feet. Tired as I was it took me 40 min. to descend the height. After I had descended a good piece & hoped it was not far to the bottom, by a turn of the path I caught a view of the beautiful Intsuze winding about among the hills, the hadidaws¹⁷¹ were cawing & seeking their roost far below me, & I could hear & see the bleating goats returning

to their village which lay beneath my feet.

The next day I passed thro' an interesting country. Much of it is watered by the above named river which falls into the Togela near Unghlila's large village.¹⁷² I passed numerous villages. The soil appeared good & crops abundant. Timber could be easily obtained for building & many places found where the land could be irrigated. Stones for building, also with lime can be found. Unghlila is the greatest man in the country next to the king. A wagon road may probably be discovered in this direction which will facilitate communication with Umgunghlovu.

On my return I hear that Mr Lindley & party have arrived at Natal, & found the long wished for letters from America. My last letters were recd 13 mos. since dated.

Aug. 7. Monthly Concert. I spoke of the reasons why on principles we should do something for the heathen, meaning by it, the principles on which worldly men often act in their dealings with one another. Our working men tho' of the subject & assented to the plan of a contribution. Collection 3\$.

9. My scholars. They are learning some English, among other things the days of the week. I gave them each the name of a day, & this morning they come with smiling faces to let me know what is the name of their day, & when it occurs.

Aug. 11. A truly curious reason is assigned for the present invasion of Umsilikazi, viz., that he has asserted that his isigohlo or palace¹⁷³ is as large as that of Dingan.

The locusts begin again to make their appearance. We have seen none for several months. It is said that there were none in the Zulu country in the days of Chakka, but that on their invading Sotshangani's¹⁷⁴ country under Dingan they were seized by a terrible distemper of the

bowels which destroyed many, & on their return the locusts followed. This chief is said to be very powerful, & is far distant N.E. of Dingan, & nearer the coast than Sobuza.

Aug. 13. Sab. Preached on the meekness of Christ from Luke 9 : 51-56. An old & half blind woman present asked, 'if they did not do well to come & hear?' On my replying, she asked, 'how can we walk in the way to heaven.' She is not an uninteresting subject of our instructions, & may thro' the prayers of God's people be born again. The tho^t seemed to strike them that if God should for a little while cease thinking of us his sun would not shine, his rain not descend & we all perish.

Aug. 20. Sabbath. As many as 100 people, mostly women came today from a new district of country 7 or 8 ms. distant. They listened very attentively to some general account of the Deity & the plan of salvation. A particular account of one interview this afternoon at one of the villages I visited may not be amiss. 'Sakubona Champion' s^d one who met me at the gate & immediately all the villagers heard it, & echoed the greeting. These consisted of some 15 women. 'Well, what have you come for?' To tell you the indaba (the message).¹⁷⁵ They gathered around me, & I rehearsed to them the story of the deliverance of God's people from Egypt in a few particulars. They professed much love, but I fear their hearts go after their covetousness. Just at concluding one began to admire the button holes of my coat. 'The work of Mrs. he?' Yes. 'Where is her father?' on the other side of the sea. 'What is his name.' 'How many other wives & children have you?' 'Your father where? Mother & bro^s & sisters? When are you going to bring them?' &c, all asked in such haste that there was scarce

sufficient time to answer them. And on informing them of my purpose (God willing) to live & die among them they clapped their hands & seemed lost in wonder.

At another village my book had fallen down out of sight, & one picked it up, saying, 'Give it to him, he will forget it.' 'No' s^d another 'would he forget his hand?'

Ginani Jan^y 2, 1838.

Rev & Dear Mr A.¹

Instead of the detail of a journal I shall endeavor to send you a succinct narrative of the little events that have occurred to us since August last.

Immediately after closing my journal of that date we had the pleasure of welcoming Dr. Wilson & Mr & Mrs Venable to our roof. They had escaped their perils, & preserved by the good providence of our God had come to join us in our work among this poor people. When we parted 2 yrs. before now little did we anticipate such a result! Then it appeared the more probable that we might one day be seeking their home in the interior. So the heart of man deviseth, but the Lord directs. On the evening of their arrival we had a sweet season of prayer, & of rehearsing to each other God's mercies.²

In two of three days Mr Grout heard of the arrival of a vessel at Port Natal, & anxious to improve the first opportunity, left us for America. This has left me the only occupant of the station, & in consequence having been called away several times, & being busied with secular cares I have not been able to attend to our spiritual concerns as I have wished.

There was a Sabbath soon after I wrote when we had a congregation of about 300. It was the largest number that we have seen assembled here for religious purposes. Some idea connected with God as the Bestower of rain & sunshine I have reason to believe induced them to

come at this time from all quarters. Since that time owing to my necessary absences, & other circumstances which I shall note there has been a sad falling off in the attendance upon God's house.

On the arrival of my brethren I accompanied them to see the king, & returned by way of Hlangezoo the district assigned them by the king. He treated us as usual & seemed highly pleased that he could announce to us his victory gained over Umsilikazi, & the return of numerous cattle. The expedition was absent between three & four months, having suffered much from cold & hunger as well as the spears of the enemy. The soldiers returned wasted away to mere skeletons. One of them observed that they were once three days without water & were obliged to squeeze out, & drink the moisture from the offals of the cattle they slaughtered. Cattle to the number of several thousands were bro^t back by the army. But many of them have died since. Some sheep also which Umsilikaz' took from the Dutch farmers came home with the spoils. These the king I think from fear, returned to a deputation of the Dutchmen as soon as he heard they were at Port Natal. The sheep however have mostly died being unused to the climate.

Kokela the captain to whom allusion has formerly been made fell in battle. Perhaps the Lord had mercy on us in this respect as we never augured much good from his influence. He always listened to us with amazing indifference, & we never could persuade him to attend worship on the Sabbath.

September & October were mostly occupied in concerns attendant on a return from the war & our audiences began to decrease. As soon as the soldiers arrived at Umgunhlovu their relations hearing of it went up from all quarters to meet them. Others hearing of the death of relations began to mourn & continued it for many days in succession during which time they must stay at

home, & I believe not be visited by strangers. Where a person of note had been killed some one must be sought out perhaps a wife as in Kokela's case, & for the imaginary crime of killing the induna be put to death. On the arrival of the whole army at the king's, people were called up from all parts to carry beer to the new arrived. Then cattle were given to the captains & highest in rank by the king, some tens perhaps to the highest, while the lowest must be satisfied with two, four, or six. They came to their homes rejoicing, & spent their cows in buying new wives, marrying & giving in marriage. For several weeks around us day after day, there seemed to be no place to thrust in a tho^t of God. They would even go from worship on the Sabbath to their marriage ceremony, a dance & slaughtering of a cow. One of the king's regiments that had not before had permission to marry now obtained that permission, & day after day for a long time our work went on with difficulty for a want of natives, & we tho^t only of the days that were before the flood. The events of the war furnished for a long time matter of talk & boast between those who went out & those who staid at home, while the soldiers could not for a week or two leave their home on account of their fatigue. Very many of them returned with their skins & bellies badly burnt in consequence of their having no clothing, & crouching over their fires in their attempt to get warm.

A word as to the process of marriage. The virgin comes & gives herself to the man. Friends are called together & they have a dance with some ceremony of driving about their cattle. Either then or on another day they have a cow slaughtered & I think she is [then] the man's wife. He must meanwhile hasten & send to the relations of the girl a cow or two as an earnest of the future in case she has children. If the contrary shall prove the case I believe he sends no more.

On the return from the war the soldiers besought the king to send them against Sotshangani, a powerful chief at the north. But I suppose it was only for form's sake. If they could speak out their minds it does seem to me that the majority would say when thinking of the sufferings they endure, give us no more war. The main part were well nigh starved for want of food, benumbed with cold in the frosty nights they saw on the mountains, & in the end rec^d not a whit for their journey of at least 1000 ms.

In the last of September we enjoyed a friendly visit from Mr Owen^s his wife & sister on their way to commence a new station at Umgunhlovu. Tho' from a different country & denomination to ourselves, yet we trust this shall not hinder us from being helpers of each other's joy in the great work to which we are alike devoted. We cannot but rejoice to see this land occupied with the Lord's servants, & especially such an important station as that at Umgunhlovu.

In October we had a season of religious sacrament in the presence of the Zulus. It was to them new & interesting. And to us also as well on account of the presence of our brⁿ V. & W.⁴ as that such scenes are peculiarly calculated to strengthen & animate us in this desert land. Six of us sat down at the feast of our Savior's love. A like thing had never been celebrated before by so many in this land. This is our second communion since we arrived.

About two months ago the chief induna of our district came to me with such a string of queries that it rather put the people on their guard about attending our religious services. He wished to know where the authority came from to keep the Sabbath? Or rather to come & hear preaching & rest from labor, for that is all they understand by it. I informed that the order was from God, & that the king had permitted us to teach & sent

around for all the people to come. He then took shelter under the excuse that the king had not sent [word] to him particularly on the subject. He asked when the women would gain time to dig up their gardens if they had to rest one day in seven? And why when he was absent on the commando to Umsilikaz' all the country came out to hear God's word? He said moreover he [feared] death if he should come to church. From this you may learn a little the haughtiness, the independence & yet the slavish fear of the Captains around us who have almost the entire control of the people.

I answered him as I tho^t satisfactorily, but still his state of mind is such that his fears have prevailed, & I have not seen him since.

It is indeed true that such is their view of a white man, & such the state of things between Dingan & them of Natal, that they regard with suspicion, & hate one of their own people who is known to be at all intimate with a white man. They consider it as leaving themselves to go over to his side or party, & tho' they do not connect us particularly with the whites at Natal, yet those in power look upon us as introducers of some greater object of reverence than Dingan & suspect that those who come to hear our words will be enticed away from their king, notwithstanding our repeated asseverations & explanations to the contrary.

But the greatest trial that has yet befallen us has occurred recently. In it we have seen the good hand of our God, & trust yet that out of apparent evil he will bring much good to the glory of his great name.

We awoke one morning about the middle of last month & found that many of our nearest neighbors had fled their country. The cattle had been left to themselves, & were ravaging the gardens. The evening previous we had retired as usual, & were not anticipating such a revolt as this. A man had passed us indeed in the evening

who intimated that Isiguebana,^s an induna who lives near us of considerable authority had fled with his people but we gave little credit to it, supposing him a very loyal subject of his king.

Our feelings also were not a little excited by the receipt of a letter at the same time from Capt. Gardiner, stating that Isiguebana anticipating this step had sent forward a message asking protection; assigning as the reason of this flight that an army was at Kongela 15 ms. from this on its way to destroy all the whites in this quarter. That on being called to join the army he (Isiguebana) remonstrated. Whereupon the expedition rec^d a temporary check, & he had rec^d an order to appear before his sovereign. Knowing his fate however he chose to fly the country. Capt. G. meanwhile very kindly offered us his place as a retreat should we deem it best to retire from the impending storm.

On the receipt of this letter we began to make inquiries among the numbers who had arrived to plunder the deserted villages, & at other places. It seemed to us that the above was a forgery of Isiguebana to make his cause appear plausible to Capt. G. And our inquiries rather confirmed this idea. Five villages in our vicinity were deserted, the inhabitants taking little with them. Two boys connected with us, originally from this induna he called away with him. The flight began soon after dusk. The captain had also a brother high in rank whom he hoped to persuade to fly with him. But failing he fled with his people, & his brother meanwhile had sent men forward to stop up the fords at the Tugela, & cut off all who passed. The soldiers lay hid in the long grass, & as the refugees passed along in indian file, rose & attacked them. Some were killed. Isiguebana himself scarcely escaped & only saved himself by plunging into a pool in the river. Several women were taken & bro^t back, & others who had started seeing the commando going out,

hastened back undiscovered to their homes.

In the morning as we were contriving how to send the intelligence to Dr. Wilson & Mr Venable, (Capt. G's men had gone on to Mr Owen,) to our great joy Mr. & Mrs. V. came in sight in their bullock-wagon. Their prayers & counsel comforted us not a little, for tho' we felt that in sober reason there was no ground for alarm, yet still there might be something behind all that we had heard & we dwelt among fickle people under a fickle king. But thanks to our God our hearts did strengthen themselves in him, & our souls stayed upon the Lord.

A message went up immediately to Dingan, who sent down saying, that the people who were taken & bro^t back must live. The messenger also was going on with a comforting message to Isiguebana to tell him he had nothing to fear, & ask him to return. But a counter message soon came, saying it was of no use, the induna would not come back, those who were taken must be put to death. Then ensued a sad scene. The poor victims who on hearing the first message began to come out of their hiding places & enjoy life a little were now taken & beaten to death by the clubs of the executioners, & left in the fields a prey to the wolves & carrion birds. Some fled to us for help, but alas! we could afford them none consistently with our character, or the well-being of the cause. It would bring us at once into interference with the government.

One Sabbath morning two women who used to come to us for instruction fled hither from the hands of their murderers, & had hid themselves in my house without my knowledge. It was a case where I could have wished to intercede with the king. But considering that all such efforts heretofore have been useless, & that my stay in the country has not been sufficiently long to give me any influence in such matters, & that such interference

now might injure the cause we labor in I was obliged to waive the question. I ordered the poor things out of one house & they fled to another. Moaning piteously they cried 'O! they would be my people.' At length I got them away with such confusion that I could scarce remind them of that world they were so soon to enter or the preparation for it. The hard hearted club-bearers returned exulting, & saying laughingly that they had taken them off so far that I should not be offended with the scent.

That was rather a lonely day of rest. Few came near us. As many had been killed the rest seemed to walk trembling. It was however a season of sweet communion at the Lord's table, & of looking to our great Friend & Helper. At such times it is sweet to think of Jesus's sufferings. How much greater than all of ours!

Just at evening there passed a youth whom we have considered as in an encouraging state of mind. It has seemed at times as if the spirit of God had touched his heart. He had a very ghastly, deathlike appearance as he said, 'they are driving me away. Champion, help me.' He had come out of his concealment & was fleeing for his life.

In the night when nearly asleep, we heard the voice of an old woman around the house, repeating in the most doleful ditty, 'si ia kuleka, Baba, si ia kuleka Inkosi, si ia bulaua.' We are entreating Father, we are entreating, great man, we are being killed.⁶ No one answered her, & she went past, & escaped probably as well without my help as with it.

But the whole story is not yet told. A day or two after the first letter, came a second from our friend Capt G. He had had a personal interview with the crafty induna & learnt from him particulars in which he seemed to put a considerable degree of confidence. And as it illustrates the talent of this people in making out falsehoods, I give

it for your information.

The captain reported that he had rec^d orders to kill us at two different times. It was at the time of the arrival of the Boers,⁷ & they were to fall in the massacre. They were to have an ox presented to them & while slaughtering it, to be attacked & slaughtered themselves. Isiguebana according to his own account contradicted his king in the matter, & never was called to account for it. He also reported his attachment to us & his regard to what was said by us. But in truth we have never had a more dictatorial, & unpleasant man to deal with. And a knowledge of some of his conduct in the above respects so opened the eyes of our friend at Hambanati that he wrote us a note saying that his mind was relieved on the subject.⁸ This led us anew to give thanks, because that from the same quarter whence originated our fears, came now our consolation.

To us this is in one sense an afflictive event. Those who had gained the most religious knowledge are now away. They may however find other teachers. Some who seemed interested in the word, & whom we had begun to watch over & instruct particularly when we saw them are now no longer on earth. Perhaps they have reached the land where the oppressor shall no more oppress. But we would trust in the Lord that he will make these things work together for good. As it regards our own feelings we can indeed say, it has been good for us that we have been afflicted.

This is surely a land where one cannot trust his brother, & where good motives, & upright intentions seem to be no safeguard against the violence & fickleness of man. 'The words of his mouth were smoother than butter but war was in his heart,' may be our report some day respecting some of our enemies who talk of our destruction. But we trust that out of all the machinations of the adversary the Lord will deliver.

In about a week after the above affair the people began to return from their hiding places to dwell at their homes. Many had been frightened away who had no part in the affair. One woman who had been left for dead in the affray at the Tugela & could scarcely crawl came to have her wounds dressed. She had 13 wounds, some of them near the vital parts. However by proper treatment she soon recovered.

We still heard whisperings & surmises, & fearing that the king might connect us in some way with this affair of Isiguebana I took a small present in my hand & went up to see the chief. Mr Venable had already arrived, & was about to write a letter to me under the king's sanction saying that all the reports were groundless. There was the most perfect evidence of sincerity in his attempts at contradicting Isiguebana's stories, & in his expressions of attachment to me, which he lavished on me more than usual. Well, s^d he, just as tho' I wanted to kill you & Isiguebana refused, are there not other captains there who would have obeyed me? If I wanted to kill you should I take you into my house with me alone to talk the news & feed you with my beef & beer?

I did not speak of our affairs as it regards instruction at present, because I hope things soon will fall into their natural course here & in answer to prayer the king's mind may take a more favorable turn. I learn that Mr. Owen has had but one religious service in public & that was ridiculed by the king & his indunas, & the missionary was told at the same time it should be his last. And when religious subjects have been alluded to lately he has, quite contrary to his former course, treated them with a sneer of contempt. He has an unbelieving, proud, perverse heart, & our constant prayer is that God who is rich in mercy will overcome that rebellion & make the king on the throne a helper in our great work.

These things are not what we should like to report to

you did the Providence of God afford us other matters. But it is what has befallen us, & we believe that God intends thereby to provoke his children to the work of intercessory prayer for the perishing heathen. We regard it more in the light of a trial to our faith, patience & hope, than as any thing which portends evil to the cause of our dear master in this region. I hope I may say with thanksgiving to my Father in heaven, that I do possess a confidence grounded on his promises, that he will yet give us day for night in this matter & turn our mourning into joy. And I believe I am not alone in this feeling.

A few girls sent us by the king for instruction are yet with us. Four of them make pleasing progress in reading & sowing [*sic*]. Some of their questions manifest inquiring minds, & they remember tolerably well what they hear. On the arrival of some spelling cards from the press at Umlazi, they were much pleased & since that time have made sensible progress. They have something of an ambition to learn to read in the Bible. Even if a few possess correct views of us & our work, & return to Umgunhlovu they may have an influence for good at court. They inquired one day, why the whites did not go & carry the gospel to Matiwanna,⁹ rather than go with guns to shoot him & his people. He was a chief who was once attacked by the colonial troops. They, the children, are very peculiar in some respects. It makes them *ashamed* as they say to use words with a Z in them, because that letter is in one of the king's names, & even many other of the most common words because the king uses them. Hence they have almost another language to the one spoken by the majority of the people, & I have seen even Zulus understand them with difficulty. One day I repeated to them the said word *Vezi*.¹⁰ They were struck with horror, & it was some time before I could get them to learn it, tho' in their common converse they make use of it at almost every breath in swearing.

I should have informed you that Isiguebana got away to Natal with 50 or 60 of his people. And also that already some others have been sent by the king to live in the villages they had forsaken.

The first day of this new year has been to us one of peculiar joy. We are in circumstances where we feel peculiarly our need of the prayers of our fellow Christians.

With much esteem & Christian love
I am yours most truly
Geo. Champion.

Jan^y. 3. Had a small audience this morning at family prayers of people who had come to us for different purposes. The seed thus sown may spring up & bear, while other more public opportunities prove of no avail.

6. My children¹¹ are branding themselves for beauty's sake now-a-days. A Zulu girl is surpassingly beautiful in their eyes if she can have both her arms covered with scars caused by laying red-hot embers upon them. They are very sensible of pain. A scratch of a pin even will cause a long & dolorous complaint. But now we ask them if they have no pain as they go about with their raw flesh in the burning sun, & receive for answer, O! no, none at all, it is fine.

7. No people having come to meeting, this I had previously given notice, I took a circuit to carry the gospel to them. Passed some of the deserted villages where lately I was greeted by many who gladly came out to listen to the 'book.' Now I was rec^d kindly indeed but they listened with many excuses. 'The praying people had fled, they could not return to worship God till the king said so,' was the main apology. There is evidently

a fear lest they be looked upon by others with an evil eye if they come to hear God's word. Thus are we despised. But we trust the Lord will undertake for us.

I was grieved to hear that some children were yesterday put to death by Dingan's order, lest they should follow their parents. Had a discussion at one place to convince them that the captain who ran away had nothing to do with us in the matter. It places us rather in a dilemma to be obliged to show that he did not really love us, & therefore their reports are not true, when we must preach the gospel which says, 'By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples if ye have love one to another,' which for a black man to practise towards a white man they call a great offence.

Perhaps I should have mentioned that it is supposed Isiguebana fled in consequence of some unlawful traffic in blankets.

Jan^y. 14, 1838.

They have flocked to us recently in considerable numbers with baskets, mats, indian corn, & reeds for my house. They are becoming quite anxious for cloth in return for their articles. The Sabbath is becoming generally known, & but few come to us for such purposes on that day. One of the traders today was an Umsutu¹² taken on one of their warlike expeditions to the westward, & now an inhabitant of the Zulu country. His body was thickly tattooed from head to foot, & having no ring on his head, & his hair unshaven his appearance struck us rather singularly.

Some of the people from this region formerly under Isiguebana have just returned from Umgunhlovu whither they have been to thank the king for sparing their lives. And we hear that the soldiers have been ordered to get their spears ready for some warlike expedition.

16. We hear at length that the Tugela is full. It has been unusually low this season. Some amatungulu¹³ were bro^t to us today. This is a species of wild fruit growing near the sea of which we are very fond, & their season is now commencing. In Nov. we had a supply of amajingejolo¹⁴ a sort of raspberry. Sometimes the wild figs prove not unpalatable. There are also the amabouts¹⁵ an orange looking fruit, the izindoni¹⁶ a plum-like berry, amaviia (medlar),¹⁷ umvutamini¹⁸ resembling a little a cherry, & a species of wild apricot &c all eaten by the natives, & often acceptable to us, if bro^t in a perfectly ripe state. We should be grateful for them, & intend improving them by cultivation.

One of my scholars today could not come out for fear of being devoured by the wild animal of whom she dreamed last night. These people are a terror to themselves by means of their superstitious imaginings. They need the gospel which brings deliverance to the captives, but alas! their hearts refuse to hear it.

20. My house is quite a wonder. Especially the viranda & the doors with latches, & a board floor which I have laid in one room. It is often a question whether an assagay can be thrown to the top of the house. There came today a great Captain on purpose to beg. I told him of God & Jesus Christ. He listened as one who heard not, meanwhile making remarks to his followers about various articles he saw. The captains have evidently a disinclination to hear the gospel.

21. But five or six present today at meeting beside our own. They listened however with interest. I have been around to a few villages, telling them that if they will not come to me I am determined to carry the gospel to them. But I found great indifference. The Lord's blessing is our only hope.

My school must disperse for 2 days to celebrate an invention of their king, i.e. throwing away the witch. The girls all unite & go toward the Tugela adorned with boughs of the Kaffer tree. They there wash themselves, & then turn & run back no one looking behind them, as if to signify, let the witches flee.¹⁹

23. We see daily specimens of the deceitfulness & falsehood of the Zulus. A man came today to sell me some corn. He said it was new, & I was about to buy it, on taking off a few kernels from the top, the rest was old & worm-eaten. He went home rather ashamed.

28. Lord's day. A handful only at meeting, notwithstanding my exertions. They know when the day is, for they then choose to avoid us, & we have it very quiet about the house. I directed my steps to one of the king's barrack towns for there I hoped to find a large number of the soldiers as they were collected to repair the fences. I found the great induna stretched on his mat, with his wives & servants around him, a house full. I discoursed to them of Jesus. They were pleased to repeat this name & as they often forgot it wished me to repeat it again to them. But when I asked the captain's leave to speak to all the people in one place, he hesitated. He made some excuse about consulting with other great ones, but I was obliged to leave without attaining my object. I however spoke to a number who came to greet me at the gate of the town. This made it appear to me probably that the captains knew that they were pleasing the king in the affair, for once they would not have thus denied me. I stopped at another town & preached to a company at work at the gate. They heard without gainsaying in my presence, but I hear of it behind my back. 'What is this talk,' they say, 'which declares of one greater than Dingan?' Such is the character of white men in their

eyes that till they learn our true character they will be likely to regard us as uttering falsehoods. I spoke in one place of death. 'Why?' exclaimed one, 'what have we done that we must die?' Evidently thinking of no death but that inflicted by their monarch for real or supposed offences.

I can see a sensitiveness about listening to God's words, & they seem to feel ashamed in each other's eyes for so doing.

Feb. 2. I hear that a party of the Dutch farmers have arrived at Dingan's residence with the cattle which he told them they must take from Sikinyelli the Mantati²⁰ chief, before he could treat with them about a country to dwell in. The young men are called out to go up & give the white men a dance. Thus 'ye shall hear of wars & rumors of wars,' is but verified in our lives full oft. May we in patience possess our souls.

6. Our little one taken dangerously sick & we [are] obliged to send for Dr. Wilson. He cannot arrive under 3 days, & perhaps we may not then need him.

9. Arrived today Dr. W. & Mrs Venable. They bring the sad intelligence that their operations are suspended as to teaching at all God's word, by order of the chief induna of their region. Mr. Venable is now at the king's, to see if the king means thus to strike a blow directly at our work. We truly need strong faith & implicit confidence in God in this hour of trial.

12. Yesterday was the Sabbath, rendered a day of sadness to us by the reception of intelligence which speaks of treachery unparalleled within my knowledge.

It seems the 50 or 60 Dutch farmers with Retief their Governor had arrived at Umgunhlovu, & Dingan

received them favorably. They presented the very peace offering he requested, & which Dingan had said would convince him they were not his enemies. Matters went on favorably. He gave them, it is said, the tract of country between the Tugela & Umsimvubu²¹ rivers, & then just as they were about to bid him adieu, going into the town unarmed they were surrounded, seized & hurried to the place of execution. They were killed with all theirs, & the king took possession of their horses & guns. He immediately collected the strength of his country & sent them upon the others who were quietly waiting the return of their deputation, not anticipating any evil.²² One from Natal who acted as interpreter to the Boers fell with them at the capitol.²³ Dingan made various excuses as that they intended to destroy him, wished back their cattle &c, but it is evident he feared them, & being deceived about their strength took this summary mode as he tho' of putting an end to them.

Mr. V. received many assurances that he meant no harm towards us, the missionaries, that we were his people. He also asked how the said induna dared issue such an order respecting the people at Temba.²⁴

This news rather disquieted us. We have not felt before that we were in the hands of so treacherous a man. We felt that God had protected us hitherto & seeing no way open just now to retire do not think best to say yes to the proposition which had been submitted to us. All that we can do seems to be to trust in God & take courage. Perfidy & treachery even may be over-ruled. My two hired men left me at once for Natal; and this morning my interpreter²⁵ has accompanied Dr. W. on his return to Temba so that I am left alone with Mrs C. & our Zulu children.

This afternoon came another message from the king to this purport. First Collis²⁶ came & after his death you came. You asked me where to live. I told you to choose.

You chose the Umsunduzi. I said, well live there. And there you have lived & prospered. Now these Boers have come on from fighting Umsilikaz²⁷ to fight me & you. I have killed them & saved you. And now are you going to leave us like Mr. Owen.²⁸ I hope not. I hope you will still live & prosper. To close he wanted some fine presents.

13. This morning came the messenger who bro^t the letters on Sunday, & wished for the auger for which the king had sent & his message. I told him to tell his master that I had no fears because no guilt, that I trusted God would take me to himself if I fell by the hands of man. However that I was a man of peace, & did not like to be among the confusion of war.

Today I have been fitting up a second room in my new house & we have left the one about to fall on our heads. We can but bless God for our comforts in this respect.

I have been considering the question of duty. For Mrs C's sake I should be away this moment.²⁹ But there is no means of crossing the river. Leaving this out of the account, I see no reason for moving till I see a little more the result of events. If the war is not likely to affect us, why not abide at my post? True, little can be done toward instructing the people in this state of things, but this is my home, & here I would fain abide unless God by his Providence says, Depart. There is no confidence to be put in Dingan. But our trust is in God & what nation like this is there where missionaries are safe if they trust in an arm of flesh?

14. This day early came our school children & said, the king had sent to call them home. They left us with some reluctance. This rather surprised us as we hoped ere long to have in them some argument of our usefulness.

At noon came the last messenger on his return to the king. I again had to repeat what we have so often told him that our business was not with cloth, & ivory & trade & presents. Also that I did not wish to bid him adieu, if I did, it would be because I had no work.

Soon after we saw a long string of men coming down a hill near a mile off & directing their way to our house. Our boys & girls began to fear it was a commando, & some of them hid. At length they arrived. They proved to be a large number of men sent by the king to bring Mr Owen's goods as far as our place.

15. Today there came still another messenger from Umgunhlovu, Gambutshe³⁰ the principal servant of Dingan. The king seems to expect I shall leave from the terror of his message. He says, that I have nothing to do with the Boers. I came to teach, they to fight. He says, stay then & teach if you will. Or if you wish to go, go; it is no matter. I will bid you adieu only I want a little present. But if you choose to stay I should praise that.

This man met my school children & has now sent for them to return. He says the king did not send for them. They were to stop in case I was not leaving. Thus in words are affairs in a most pleasant state between myself & the king. But he has shown himself too utterly reckless of any principle of gratitude, of truth or of hospitality that I can not put a whit of confidence in his words. I trust however it is a part of the movements of that 'hand that turneth the king's heart whithersoever it will.'

18. Nothing of special interest has occurred for 2 days. We are rather anxious on account of the delay of our interpreter, & we hear nothing of Mr Owen. The people come about us, but with shield & spear, & their actions at times are rather strange. But God is our

helper & we are assured no harm can befall us without the permission of our Father in heaven.

20. Today Gambutshe, after reconnoitering four days, without any particular object in view, unless to watch our movements wished to return to his master. The king's men usually return immediately. I sent to say, that I was yet staying. That this is my home & I wish to stay to teach the people. Nor do I yet see any reason that should drive me away. I came to teach, but the people no longer come to me to learn.

By accident today my cattle fold was destroyed & well nigh my house. Some fire was dropped at a village nearby in the dry grass & a strong wind brot it directly toward us. By timely exertion however the houses were saved. We ought to be thankful.

Umlaxi Mch. 1. Arrived here by the good Providence of God yesterday morning. Last Friday 23 ult. we left our home & people, directed as we suppose by that hand which has guided us safely thus far. The day previous we received advice & intelligence from our brⁿ in this quarter leading to such a result. Our hearts were reluctant to leave the spot where we were quietly settled & had hopes of usefulness in case the alarm of war had not been sounded, but the case appeared so plain that we deemed it trifling with God's providence to neglect the opportunity. Circumstances of a domestic nature had for some time inclined us to wish a release from those distracting scenes.³¹ But hitherto we could not move owing to the flooding of the Tugela, & my want of a wagon driver. Now however both these obstacles were removed by the arrival of a man, & also of a boat wherewith to ford the river. Beside the hostile attitude of all the white men out of the country, the success of the Boers rendered more & more probable by every day's account, following in the

utter confusion if not subversion of the Zulu nation, & the fear that amid whites contending with blacks we might in some way be counted abettors of the king's enemies, & like others treacherously slain, told us that to retire for the present at least was, we tho^t, the part of Christian prudence & the voice of God. Indeed from what we heard we fully expected to meet on the path an armed force coming to invade our district. We said let us leave before the king hears of these movements, from the quarter he least expects. The man who reached us, had done it, as he supposed much at the risk of his life, & was anxious to return as he came in the night. Should I wait till I could hear from my brethren whose delay had already become unaccountably long, it was probable I should have no help in getting out of the country with my family.

These things decided me, & we spent most of the night in packing up our most necessary articles, hoping to reach the river early & secure the aid of two other white men who had come up to aid us but feared to cross the river.

After fastening up my house & sending a message to the king with a small present, saying that I did not leave without hopes of returning, we yoked in our oxen & bade adieu to the spot where we had hoped to spend our days in quiet & win the poor heathen to Christ. The people wondered as they saw us leaving & many flocked around us to beg. We arrived at the Tugela. On the way I providentially found a man willing to go with letters to my brⁿ. We were behind the expected hour & our anticipated fellow-helpers had fled thinking their companion had been taken prisoner, & sent to Dingan that he might learn the news. The boat too was left on the opposite side. Our Hottentot driver however had the courage to swim across [in] spite of his fear of the alligators. But by the time we obtained the boat it was

near night, & we concluded to defer crossing till morning. The nerves of some of us however had become so affected by recent events, & by the odd actions of some Zulus we saw such as brandishing their spears, feeling their keenness, & singing war songs about the white men, that it inclined us to cross the river & sleep without the boundary, no people at all being on the other side. We crossed & climbed a steep bank on the opposite side. It was already dark & we were obliged to return for some fire. Meanwhile a heavy rain came on. We just succeeded in kindling a fire, but soon it was extinguished. The rain continued most of the night. A bit of canvass & an umbrella afforded scarce an apology for a shelter for Mrs. C., while the water trickled down the side hill under us & left not a dry thread in our clothing. We were glad indeed to see the day breaking & were soon ferrying over our goods. I should remark, that no evil befel our health from the thorough drenching. I was detained however some time by a servant of Dingan who came with a message to be forwarded to Natal. It was a loud boast about his conquest of the Boers & a threat of making war on Natal—charging their people with various offences against him.³²

On the journey we have observed several indications that God was with us to prosper us. Our arrival was timely. Our friends here had just heard the report from some quarter that we were all murdered in the Zulu country & knowing the treachery of Dingan were inclined to give some credit to it.

The farmers we hear tho' attacked unexpectedly by the Zulu army destroyed many of them; they themselves however suffered considerable loss. But their determination apparently is to invade Dingan & if possible make an end of him.

4. Today the Lord has given us deliverance from our fears. We hear that our Brethren Owen, Wilson & Venable are safe, & on their way out of the Zulu country. A vessel also has arrived, the *Mary* from Cape Town having on board an assist^t Miss^v belonging to the C.M.S.³³ Thus God strengthens our hands in this time of perplexity.

* * *

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

^a For full details see the following works: Dirk J. Kotze, 'Die Eerste Amerikaanse Sendelinge Onder die Matabeles', *Archives Yearbook for South African History*, 1950 (1), pp. 129-319; Dirk J. Kotze, 'Die Eerste Amerikaanse Sendelinge Onder die Zoeloes (1835-1838)', *ibid.*, 1958 (1), pp. 1-214; Alan R. Booth, 'Americans in South Africa, 1784-1870' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University, 1964), Chapters II and IV.

^b See Edwin W. Smith, *The Life and Times of Daniel Lindley* (New York, 1942).

^c The more proper modern spelling is Nginani.

PART I

¹ This refers to the generally unsettled conditions they had been led to expect because of the recent Frontier war.

² Mr. Berken. He had originally intended to settle in New South Wales, but had accompanied Captain Allen Gardiner to Natal on his first visit to Dingane and succumbed to its charms. He was lost aboard the *Circe* on a voyage to Algoa Bay in March 1835 to purchase supplies. See G. Mackeurtan, *The Cradle Days of Natal (1497-1845)* (London, 1930), p. 182.

³ This was Mr. Benjamin Norden, a Grahamstown trader who had had dealings with Dingane before. Norden had accompanied the three Americans by ship to Port Natal, and was on his way to Dingane's country with a twofold purpose. He bore with him a letter from Governor D'Urban in praise of the recent Dingane-Gardiner treaty for the establishment of a mission station in his country; he also intended to trade in ivory. See Mackeurtan, *Cradle Days*, p. 187; P. Becker, *Rule of Fear* (London, 1964), p. 186. (Note that Champion here and throughout the journal uses the older spelling, 'Dingaan' or 'Dingan'.)

⁴ Mr. Richard Wood, carpenter and builder at Port Natal. Father of William Wood, who became a full-time trader at the age of 12, and was a witness to and survivor of the Retief massacre.

⁵ Mr. James Collis, one of the early British traders at Port Natal. Collis arrived in 1831, and resided there until his death in 1835.

⁶ Mr. Francis G. Farewell, formerly a lieutenant in the Royal Navy. Farewell pioneered the first European settlement in Natal in 1824. While returning to Natal overland from the Cape Colony in 1829, Farewell was slain by a band of Amaquabe.

⁷ Mr. Norden.

⁸ Tugela River. The meaning ('river of surprises') refers to the frequent bores that came down unawares from the upper reaches after a heavy rain-storm.

⁹ In fact, Gardiner was returning to England to procure men of the Church Missionary Society to occupy the posts he had arranged for in Zululand and at Port Natal.

¹⁰ *Hlala kable*, 'abide in peace'. Usually used as *sala kable*, 'remain in peace'.

¹¹ Kierie, actually a walking-stick with a large knob for use as a club.

¹² Kaross, a dried, cured and tanned skin or skins of animals, usually small, sewn together and used as a small apron or larger cloak.

¹³ *Siyakukumbula*, 'we will remember you'. More correctly, *sizokukumbula*.

¹⁴ Mrs. Richard Wood, whose husband would fall in Mpande's massacre of the Biggar expedition to the Tugela in 1838. Cf. Mackeurtan, *Cradle Days*, p. 226.

¹⁵ i.e. dragged.

¹⁶ Millet, or kaffir corn, a type of wheat used as a staple item of diet.

¹⁷ Abbatis, a heap of brushwood used as a defensive breastwork.

¹⁸ The name given the high ridge overlooking Durban by Captain Gardiner. Gardiner had journeyed to Dingane early in 1835 to obtain permission to establish a mission station in Zululand, but had been rebuffed. Thereupon he had returned to Port Natal where in May he was successful in obtaining this permission as part of an overall treaty with Dingane. The reference is to the preaching of Paul and Silas in a synagogue at Berea, with great effect. Cf. Acts of the Apostles, xvii. 10-11.

¹⁹ Mr. Charles J. Pickman, one of the early settlers of Port Natal and Treasurer of the Town Committee. He died of fever in 1838.

²⁰ Umhlatuze River, whose mouth is about 40 miles north of the Tugela. Meaning: 'destructive river'.

²¹ Properly, Xhosa language.

²² Nandi ('sweet') was the name of Shaka's mother, so that during his time the word *mmandi* had to be dropped out of respect for her, and the word *toti* (also 'sweet'), substituted. This was not particularly unusual, in spite of Champion's mention of it. Women in particular were (and are) not allowed to refer to their husbands or their immediate male relatives by their first names. When one of these names happened to mean, for example, *nyama* ('meat') or *tshani* ('grass'), they had to refer to them by some other title. The custom was known as *ukublonipha* ('to show respect for'). Shaka, builder of the Zulu nation, ruled from 1817 until his murder by Dingane and Mhlangana in September 1828. Champion refers to him as 'Chakka' throughout the journal.

²³ i.e. fords.

²⁴ Skeis, pieces of wood let through the yoke so as to pass down each side of the bullock's neck, and held in position by a leather thong across its throat.

²⁵ Umhloti.

²⁶ Champion uses this term throughout, referring to crocodiles. There are no alligators in Africa.

²⁷ uThongati River, 17 miles north of Durban. Meaning: 'river with a tortuous course'.

²⁸ This was Mhlangana, Dingane's brother and, with him, murderer of Shaka. Dingane subsequently had Mhlangana murdered. Cf. Becker, *Rule of Fear*, pp. 40-6.

²⁹ Tugela.

³⁰ Tugela.

³¹ This refers to the various tribes surrounding the expanding Zulu nation, which Shaka and (to a lesser extent) Dingane conquered and either incorporated or wiped out.

³² Jackals or hyenas. There were no wolves in this part of the world.

³³ The Ndulinde Range, stretching to the north-west of the Tugela.

³⁴ The Tugela.

³⁵ Ntontela, a military kraal garrisoned by the Ntontela Regiment ('regiment that causes tear-drops').

³⁶ Probably referring to the name of a kraal known as Kwa Felaenkanini ('defiant unto death'). All Zulu kraals have their own names.

³⁷ Probably Mandawo, a large hill in the valley of the Mhlatuze, and lying to the north-west of the road leading to Dingane's capital.

³⁸ Mazwi, a common name.

³⁹ Probably Maziwana, a well-known personal name meaning 'Man of many trails'.

⁴⁰ Probably Phenduza.

⁴¹ Intaba, a hill.

⁴² Indulinde, a long, high-ridged mountain north of the Tugela, on the route used by Champion going to Dingane. Meaning: 'long mountain'.

⁴³ Probably Ongoye, locative for Ngoye, a range north of the Tugela in the Eshowe District. Meaning: 'a fringe'. Some of the hills are lapped in places with a fringe of forest.

⁴⁴ Umlalazi River, a stream 30 miles north of the Tugela. Meaning: 'river of whetting stones'.

⁴⁵ Khangela, one of Dingane's military kraals, meaning 'behold—what a beautiful sight'.

⁴⁶ Kierie. Cf. page 25, note 11.

⁴⁷ As Champion suspected, this was probably not Mpikase, Dingane's mother; undoubtedly she would have been at the capital, not a military kraal. Most likely it was Langazana, one of Dingane's aunts. Cf. page 43, note 75.

⁴⁸ Umhlatuze.

⁴⁹ This refers to the ceremony known as *Umkbosi*, or 'First Fruits'. It was held every December, a three-day religious event for begging the Great One for a good crop year with no mishap. It was climaxed on the third day by a great feast at which the chief and others partook of the year's first returns. Shaka had turned an essentially local observance into a political weapon by forbidding local clans to celebrate *Umkbosi*. All people henceforward had to journey to the capital for the ceremony, and the punishment for not doing so was death. It was continued under Dingane's rule. Cf. Becker, *Rule of Fear*, pp. 7, 13.

⁵⁰ Cf. page 8, note 16.

⁵¹ One of the cycads having the appearance of a giant fern.

⁵² Properly, Umgungundhlovu. Meaning: 'lair of the elephant', the elephant being Dingane. Champion usually spells it 'Umgunghlovu'.

⁵³ Norden.

⁵⁴ Uphoko, a variety of millet from which beer was made.

⁵⁵ Umfolozi River, of which there were two, the White and the Black, known respectively as the Umfolozi Omhlophe and the Umfolozi Omnyama. Named after a certain fig used as a fibre and found growing in large quantities in certain places along their banks. Champion here refers to the White Umfolozi.

⁵⁶ These were centrally located shelters where war implements were stored in time of peace.

⁵⁷ This was Charles Brownlee, son of Reverend John Brownlee (cf. Introduction, page v). Young Brownlee was employed by the Americans as an interpreter. He usually worked for Reverend Venable, but on at least one occasion Reverend Owen of the Church Missionary Society met him while at Champion's Port Natal house. Champion's usual interpreter was Joseph Kirkman, a boy in his early teens. The early colonists and missionaries employed youths as interpreters because the older people had no knowledge of Zulu, not having grown up with it, and therefore having great difficulty in learning it. So young men like Brownlee, Kirkman, Thomas Halstead (killed with Retief), Richard Hulley and William Wood (killed on the Biggar expedition to the Tugela in 1838), were usually those employed by the missionaries.

⁵⁸ As is evidenced here, the blacksmith enjoyed a privileged status in Zulu society under Shaka and Dingane. It was on the expertise of their smiths that they depended for the manufacture of the short, light stabbing *assegai*, which in no little way was responsible for the astounding military prowess of the Zulu.

- ⁵⁹ Grout.
- ⁶⁰ Properly, *izinduna*.
- ⁶¹ Dr. Newton Adams.
- ⁶² Utshwala, beer made from millet.
- ⁶³ Champion refers to pythons. Boa constrictors are to be found in South America.
- ⁶⁴ These were amulets, made of brass, worn on special occasions when dancing was part of the festivities.
- ⁶⁵ i.e. the king.
- ⁶⁶ *Amabuto*, 'soldiers' or 'regiments'.
- ⁶⁷ Hlomendlini, a regiment formed by Dingane immediately after the murder of Shaka in order to solidify his power. Also the military kraal in which it was garrisoned at the time Champion visited Zululand. Cf. Becker, *Rule of Fear*, p. 39.
- ⁶⁸ Dingane, it is worth remembering, had relieved the Americans of this lantern in the first place. Cf. p. 35.
- ⁶⁹ Probably one of the men mentioned on p. 29.
- ⁷⁰ i.e. steep.
- ⁷¹ Disselboom, the single shaft attached to the portion of the wagon, to which the bullocks are fastened.
- ⁷² Rather, leather thongs used in wagon transport. Cf. p. 12.
- ⁷³ *Ehliisa*, a steep descent.
- ⁷⁴ Champion here refers to the Cape Weaver (*Ploceus capensis*), whose nests, large, kidney-shaped and with their entrances from below, hang from the outer boughs of trees.
- ⁷⁵ Langazana, one of Senzangakhona's widows and Dingane's aunt. Senzangakhona fathered both Shaka and Dingane. He ruled from about 1781 until his death in 1816.
- ⁷⁶ Both Charles Brownlee and Joseph Kirkman, even though still lads, were plucky enough to go off on their own (as Brownlee has done here) in country that was as yet infested with all sorts of wild animals and seething with excitement against the Trekboers. Kirkman, when Champion was establishing Nginani, often took such trips unarmed and shoeless.
- ⁷⁷ Zulu Nyawo, one of Dingane's most influential *indunas*, and who in 1839 would be one of his murderers.
- ⁷⁸ A single-thong whip made out of hippo-hide.
- ⁷⁹ *Izingwenya*, 'crocodiles'.
- ⁸⁰ Amathungulu, a red plum produced by a thorny shrub found along the coast of Natal and Zululand, used for making jam.
- ⁸¹ Amabhonsi, an edible yellow fruit of a small veld plant, *Salacia alternifolia*.
- ⁸² A river on Natal's southern coast a few miles south of the Umlazi mission station.
- ⁸³ Gardiner.
- ⁸⁴ This region of Natal, once containing thousands of people, was one of many areas which fell victim to Shaka's wars of expansion in the 1820's. The result, as Champion observes here, was the virtual depopulation of vast areas in the territory.
- ⁸⁵ Probably Mahawula, a man's name.
- ⁸⁶ Umtwazi, a species of creeper used for rough binding.
- ⁸⁷ Pickman.
- ⁸⁸ *Ingobo*, meaning garner.

⁸⁹ This was William Wood, son of Richard Wood, Champion's carpenter and James Collis's assistant. He did not last long at the school: being bored with his lessons he left the mission in June 1836 and became an independent trader (aged 12) with his father's consent. Cf. Becker, *Rule of Fear*, p. 191.

⁹⁰ This was the Zulu practice of *lobolo*, or bride-price, which the American missionaries would one day consider one of the *sine qua non*s of admission to the Church. Cf. Booth, *Americans in South Africa*, Chapter IV, *passim*.

⁹¹ Mr. Richard Wood.

⁹² It was the custom of the American Board that on the first Monday evening of each month missionaries all over the world should gather at a central place in their respective fields to converse and pray for the furthering of the Gospel in all parts of the world.

⁹³ This was the wife of Aldin Grout, who had died at Bethelsdorp on February 24, 1836.

⁹⁴ *Deo volente*, 'God willing'.

⁹⁵ It had been decided to leave Dr. and Mrs. Adams behind to carry on at the mission started by Champion.

⁹⁶ Rietbok or reed buck, a frequenter of marshlands. Once again, evidence of the desolation caused during Shaka's wars.

⁹⁷ *Abelungu*, 'white men'.

⁹⁸ Mzilikazi, Chief of the Ndebele, who fled from Shaka and was thereafter harassed by Dingane and the Voortrekkers alike. He was finally driven north into Rhodesia in 1838.

⁹⁹ i.e. eating like a gourmand.

¹⁰⁰ Trektoet, the main cable or thick rope made of riems to which the ox-yokes are attached for pulling a wagon.

¹⁰¹ Cf. p. 38, note 67.

¹⁰² Sobuza (*d.* 1836), Swazi Chief, who in 1836 had been the victim of a successful cattle-raiding expedition launched by Dingane. Mackeurtan, *Cradle Dayr*, p. 195.

¹⁰³ Properly, a kraal or home. Could be several huts or merely one.

¹⁰⁴ *Indaba* could mean many things: a matter, affair; matter of business, concern, discussion, news, or a story or report, etc.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. p. 30, note 52.

¹⁰⁶ This is Champion's first indication that the chief is becoming suspicious of all Europeans. He had seen the ease with which the white men, armed with rifles, had disposed of his enemy Sobuza I of the Swazi. He was hearing news of European movements into the interior. The events of 1837 would heighten his suspicions. In May he heard of Mzilikazi's defeat by the Boers, and surely it could not have escaped him that the affair at Mosega had been preceded by the arrival of American missionaries. In September he would receive news that a large group of Europeans coming across the Drakensberg, whose intentions he knew not. (This would be Retief.) Later, members of this group would steal hundreds of his cattle. The journal records the effect of Dingane's raised suspicions on the Americans as the months pass towards February 1838. Cf. Becker, *Rule of Fear*, pp. 206 ff.

¹⁰⁷ Properly, Nginani.

¹⁰⁸ The noun is *umbhanselo*, 'a gift'. The verb is *bbansela*, 'to make a gift'.

¹⁰⁹ The Zulu, indeed many Africans, valued colourful blankets for warmth and prestige. They were (and are) worn throughout the day.

¹¹⁰ *Isithutha*, the spirit of a dead relative. Also known as *idlozi* or *ithonga*. The Zulu were spirit-worshippers, and propitiated to the spirits of dead relatives on the male side when in trouble. *Isithutha* can also mean 'stupid person'.

¹¹¹ *Izjilalo*, plural of *isilalo*, an old contusion or bruise still causing pain although apparently healed.

¹¹² Cf. p. 27, note 49.

¹¹³ i.e. head to foot.

¹¹⁴ A title used by American Indians to denote the supreme chief of a tribe.

¹¹⁵ This was something about which Dingane was extremely sensitive. It had only been when Captain Gardiner had promised to return to Dingane several fugitives being harbored in Port Natal that he obtained his treaty in 1835 which allowed a mission station to be planted in his territory. Gardiner returned the fugitives, and they were duly starved to death.

¹¹⁶ Traveller.

¹¹⁷ Cf. p. 79, note 110.

¹¹⁸ Cf. p. 67, note 102.

¹¹⁹ Mr. John Cane, one of the original settlers of Port Natal, and a man who had various dealings with both Shaka and Dingane before his death at the hands of the Zulu in 1838.

¹²⁰ The verb 'to smell' in Zulu is *nuka*, which is the same term used for the process by which witch-doctors determine which individual is bewitching another. This is done by the throwing of special bones and observing the manner in which they fall. The execution for witchcraft was sometimes used by Shaka and Dingane for political purposes, to dispose of those who challenged their power. Cf. E. A. Ritter, *Shaka Zulu* (London, 1955), pp. 235 ff.

¹²¹ Cf. p. 82, note 116.

¹²² Cf. p. 79, note 110.

¹²³ Cf. p. 42, note 72.

¹²⁴ *Igamu*, here meaning song, but can also mean a person, thing or place.

¹²⁵ Plural of *umkhubba*, meaning customs, rites, antics, performances, etc.

¹²⁶ A reference to copper found on the surface on Msinga Mountain lying between the Tugela and Buffalo rivers, just above the junction. The Zulu also procured copper from both the Portuguese at Delagoa Bay and the English at Port Natal, in the form of large rings about an inch thick and six inches across. They were then fabricated into bracelets, beads, etc. A certain amount was also recovered from shipwrecks.

¹²⁷ *Umjadu*, a wedding dance.

¹²⁸ These were members of patrician families, those who constituted the social kernel of Zulu society, but still distinguishably below the level of the king and his high dignitaries.

¹²⁹ *Isigodlo*, the upper part of the kraal strictly reserved for the king, his wives and members of the harem.

¹³⁰ i.e. wives.

¹³¹ Nobamba ('The Place of Unity'), the kraal of Jama, ancestral chief of the Zulu clan. Cf. Becker, *Rule of Fear*, pp. 14-15.

¹³² Kokela.

¹³³ Cf. p. 38, note 67.

¹³⁴ Properly, 'We see thee', the usual form of Zulu greeting.

¹³⁵ Nongalaza, a famous Zulu warrior and chief *induna* of the Hlomendlini district. Nongalaza would side with Mpande against Dingane after the disaster at Blood River in December 1838. Cf. Becker, *Rule of Fear*, pp. 248 ff.

¹³⁶ i.e. in Zulu.

¹³⁷ Cf. p. 60, note 92.

¹³⁸ i.e. of April.

¹³⁹ Cf. p. 98, note 147.

¹⁴⁰ Sigwebana, one of Dingane's half-brothers. For his role in ensuing events cf. pp. 118-24.

¹⁴¹ *Incwadi*, meaning a book, letter, any writing, distinctive mark, etc.

¹⁴² Cf. p. 98, note 147.

¹⁴³ Charles Brownlee.

¹⁴⁴ Gardiner was sent back to Natal after his trip to England in the dual capacity of missionary and magistrate under the Cape of Good Hope Punishment Act, passed in August 1836. The Europeans in Natal saw this Act as a brazen attempt to place them under British jurisdiction, and Gardiner, heretofore quite welcome, quickly became unpopular with them. Cf. G. M. Theal, *History of South Africa Since 1795* (Cape Town, 1904), VI, pp. 348-9.

¹⁴⁵ The Americans were the first to import a printing press into Natal.

¹⁴⁶ The *Missionary Herald*, issued monthly, was the official organ of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

¹⁴⁷ As Champion would soon learn, the warriors were about to embark on the last Zulu campaign against Dingane's arch-enemy, Mzilikazi, Chief of the Ndebele. Dingane, along with the Americans, had heard about the Boer rout of the Ndebele at Mosega in May, when the American missionaries arrived. On hearing the news, Dingane determined to capitalize on his rival's misfortune by launching a massive cattle raid against him (these being the traditional source of wealth) while he was thus weakened. The attack was not that successful; Mzilikazi, though weakened, managed to keep most of his cattle, and it would be the Boers, not the Zulu, who would finally drive him north. Cf. Becker, *Path of Blood* (London, 1962), pp. 173-8. For Champion's impressions of the warriors' return see pp. 114-15.

¹⁴⁸ i.e. of May.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. pp. 80-1.

¹⁵⁰ *Isidlo*, a bunch of ornamental feathers worn on the head.

¹⁵¹ Cf. p. 92, note 134.

¹⁵² Kaross. Cf. p. 6, note 12.

¹⁵³ *Inkonzo*, free service rendered by a subject to his king in recognition of his over-lordship.

¹⁵⁴ *Vexi*, a praise name of Dingane's, meaning that he had restored the nation to its former greatness from the ill effects of Shaka's rule.

¹⁵⁵ Faku, Chief of the Pondo tribe south of the Umzimkulu River. For Farewell, cf. p. 4, note 6.

¹⁵⁶ Thomas H. Gallandet, *The Child's Book on the Soul, With Questions, Adapted to the Use of Sunday Schools and of Infant Schools* (Hartford, 1831). Gallandet (1787-1851) was a pioneer in deaf-mute instruction in the United States. It was after him that Gallandet College for the instruction of deaf-mutes was named.

¹⁵⁷ *Umbakathi* (pl. *abathakathi*). Any person of the community found by the diviner (witch-doctor) to have caused a death, sickness or harm to another by the use of poison or spells was termed an *umbakathi*, and generally put to death by impalement. An *umbakathi's* familiar was usually a baboon or type of cat known as an *impaka*.

¹⁵⁸ These were the Americans themselves, not Zulu converts. No Africans were converted during these years. The first one would not be baptized until 1846.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. p. 63, note 98.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. p. 25, note 42.

¹⁶¹ Meaning: 'great waters'.

¹⁶² Intumeni, a mountain about 13 miles north-west of Eshowe. Meaning: 'mountain with a gap'.

¹⁶³ Meaning: 'the stabber'. A clan or personal name. The area occupied by the Magwaza clan is near Melmoth where the Kwa Magwaza Mission Station was later established.

¹⁶⁴ uBhibhi was another of Senzangakhona's widows and an aunt of Dingane.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. p. 90, note 131.

¹⁶⁶ *Amaphakathi, niyezwa nje*: 'Gentlemen, are you interested?' (i.e. in the beer).

¹⁶⁷ *Amadoda* was the term for all elders, especially those wearing the head-ring.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. p. 90, note 131.

¹⁶⁹ Kraal of Ndlela Ntuli, one of Dingane's principal captains, and one who would be implicated in the murder of Retief's band. He was later strangled by Dingane for having been defeated by Mpande's forces at the battle of Maqongqo in 1840.

¹⁷⁰ Insuze, a tributary of the Umvoti in Natal.

¹⁷¹ Hadadah ibis (*Hagidasbia bagidasb*).

¹⁷² Cf. p. 108, note 169.

¹⁷³ Cf. p. 90, note 129.

¹⁷⁴ Soshangane, Chief of the Ndwande, enemy of both Shaka and Dingane. Died 1856.

¹⁷ See p. 72, note 104.

PART II

¹ Rufus Anderson (1796-1880), Corresponding Secretary of the American Board, in charge of the Foreign Department from 1832 until his retirement in 1866.

² This refers to the plight of the Interior Mission. Cf. Introduction, pp. ix-x.

³ Reverend Francis Owen, of the Church Missionary Society. By virtue of a treaty Captain Gardiner signed with Dingaan in 1835, the chief finally permitted him to establish two missions in his territory. Gardiner had returned to England for the purpose of recruiting missionaries to fill the posts, and returned in June 1837 with Owen. See Sir George Cory (ed.), *The Diary of Francis Owen, M.A.* (Cape Town, 1926), *passim*.

⁴ Venable and Wilson, refugees from the Interior Mission at Mosega.

⁵ Sigwebana, another of Senzangakhona's sons.

⁶ *Siya kbuleka, Baba. Siya kbuleka Nkosi. Siyabulawa*. 'We salute thee, Father. We salute you, oh King. We are being killed.'

⁷ This refers to the crossing of the Drakensberg into Natal by the United Laagers under Piet Retief, Gerrit Maritz and others in October 1837. Cf. Eric A. Walker, *The Great Trek* (4th ed., London, 1960), pp. 147 ff.

⁸ Hambanati, 'Go with us', a mission station a few miles north-east of Port Natal. Champion discounts this story, but the events ensuing in February 1838 were similar enough to this account as to attribute more veracity to it than the missionary was willing to give.

⁹ Matiwane, a renegade chief murdered by Dingane. Chief of the amaNgwane, he had fled Shaka's terror but returned upon Dingane's accession. Not sure of his loyalty, Dingane summoned him and most of his people, and had them killed. Cf. Becker, *Rule of Fear*, pp. 82-3.

¹⁰ Cf. p. 101, note 154.

¹¹ i.e. pupils.

¹² Properly, Mosotho, subject of Chief Moshoeshe in present-day Lesotho.

¹³ Cf. p. 50, note 80.

¹⁴ Amajikijolo, a wild raspberry.

¹⁵ Amabhonsi. Cf. p. 50, note 81.

¹⁶ Edible berries of the water myrtle (*Syzgium gerrandi*).

¹⁷ Amaviyo, the fruit of the wild medlar.

¹⁸ Umvutwamini, the edible berries of the *Plectronia ventosa*.

¹⁹ These girls were propitiating to a female deity known as Nomkubulwana, a goddess of spring or Ceres, to ward off evil influences from the new year's crops and to ensure a good rainfall. The boughs of the Kaffer tree or Kafferboom (*Erythrina caffra*) bloom with clusters of bright red flowers.

²⁰ Sikonyela (c. 1804-56), Chief of the Batlokua, who recently had invaded Dingane's western border and stolen some of his cattle. Piet Retief, leading the party of Voortrekkers referred to, was told by Dingane that he would be ceded some land if he would return the cattle. Cf. Walker, *Great Trek*, pp. 152 ff. 'Mantati' refers to Sikonyela's mother Mantatisi (c. 1784-1847), who ruled as regent for a number of years until Sikonyela's majority. Cf. G. Tylden, *The Rise of the Basuto* (Cape Town, 1950), p. 6.

²¹ Umzimvubu.

²² The executions took place on the morning of February 6, 1838. That same day some ten thousand Zulu warriors were sent to attack the Voortrekker encampments in the vicinity of Weenen and elsewhere before they could be warned.

²³ Thomas Halstead, who had first come to Port Natal as a boy in 1824. He was the son of Richard Halstead, one of the 1820 settlers.

²⁴ Probably short for Thembalihle, 'Good Hope'. The order was that no Zulu was henceforward to attend any mission school or service.

²⁵ Joseph Kirkman. Charles Brownlee, Champion's usual interpreter, was with Reverend Venable during this period.

²⁶ James Collis. Cf. p. 3, note 5.

²⁷ Mzilikazi. Cf. p. 63, note 98.

²⁸ Reverend Owen, who had been at the capital during the executions, departed immediately thereafter for Port Natal.

²⁹ News of the Retief affair had taken its toll on Susanna Champion's nerves.

³⁰ This may have been the same Gumbu who had been dispatched by Dingane to assure Reverend Owen that he would not be harmed. Cf. Becker, *Rule of Fear*, p. 227.

³¹ This refers to the reactions of his wife Susanna Champion to the events preceding, which were far from calm. It would eventually be her state of nervous exhaustion which would force Champion to leave his chosen field for America early in 1839.

³² Dingane did pursue his war against the Boers, to his ultimate regret. After suffering several disastrous reverses at the hands of the Zulu, the Boers regrouped and rallied beginning in October 1838 under the leadership of Andries Pretorius. On December 16, 1838, they inflicted a decisive defeat on the Zulu at the Battle of Blood River. Dingane fled north with the remnants, only to be murdered by his own people in March 1840.

³³ Reverend Wallace Hewetson, sent by the Church Missionary Society to join Reverend Owen at Dingane's capital.

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