

*In One Vol., Demy 8vo., with Three Maps, and Nineteen Illustrations
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HISTORY

OF

THE COLONY OF NATAL,

SOUTH AFRICA.

To which is added, An Appendix, containing a brief History of the Orange River Sovereignty and of the various Races inhabiting it, the great Lake N'Gami, Commandoes of the Dutch Boers, &c., &c.

BY THE

REV. WILLIAM C. HOLDEN,

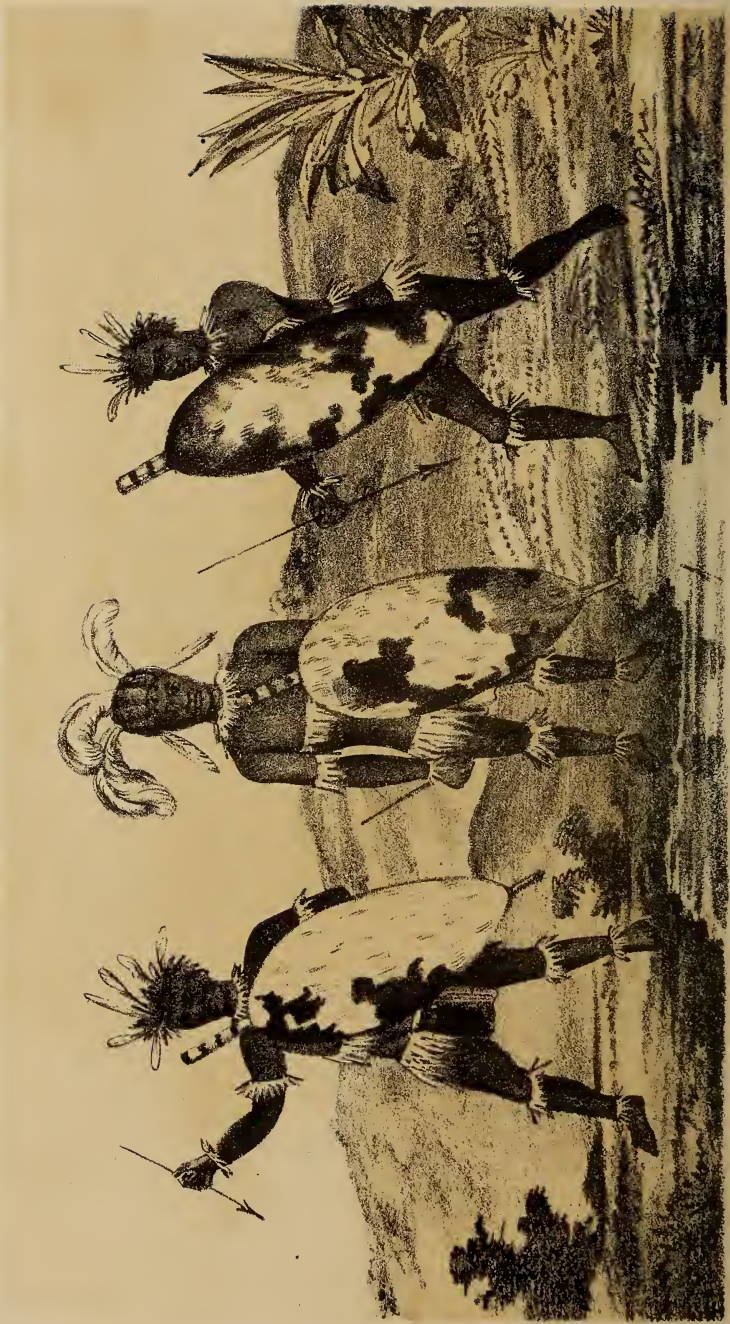
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“MR. HOLDEN'S “History,” for authenticity and completeness, is unquestionably a valuable publication. Its author writes on the authority of fifteen years' residence, with rare opportunities for observation. For colonists and for emigrants, who have chosen Natal as the place of their adoption, he has compiled a thoroughly reliable manual, containing all necessary information, characteristically illustrated, and



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THREE KAFFIR FIGURES SHOWING THE ZULU AND NATAL WAIR DRESS.

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THE PAST AND FUTURE

OF

THE KAFFIR RACES.

IN THREE PARTS.

I. THEIR HISTORY.

II. THEIR MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

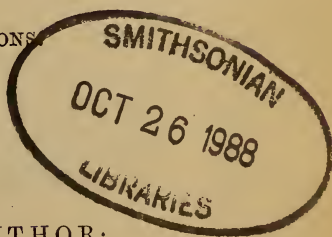
III. THE MEANS NEEDFUL FOR THEIR PRESERVATION AND
IMPROVEMENT.

BY THE

REV. WILLIAM C. HOLDEN,

WESLEYAN MISSIONARY TWENTY-SEVEN YEARS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

WITH A MAP AND ILLUSTRATIONS.



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PREFACE.

TWELVE years ago the original manuscript of this work was prepared, as announced in my "History of Natal;" but as the volume was not then published, it has remained in abeyance ever since. The delay has, however, been advantageous. In the course of these years, changes on a gigantic scale have taken place; so much so, that nearly the whole work has necessarily been re-arranged and re-written; such parts being added as the altered condition and circumstances of the people and country called for. Amongst the additions may be named, the whole of that part which relates to the Kaffirs in Kaffirland proper, and on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony; *a complete and connected account being now given of all the tribes and races from Port Elizabeth to Delagoa Bay.*

At the close of the war of 1852, a large tract of country on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony was taken from the Kaffirs, and added to the Colony. This transfer, and events connected therewith, are distinctly recorded in the History; as also the bearing of these things upon the condition and prospects of the people.

Perhaps prejudice may arise in the minds of some, on the ground of the author being a minister and missionary; but I am persuaded that those persons who

give the work a careful and impartial perusal, will be satisfied that I have sought to treat the many points in which Colonists and Kaffirs are brought into contact and collision, with candour and fairness. On some subjects, there will doubtless be a difference of opinion; but in such instances due allowance must be made for the different aspects which they assume, as beheld from the stand-point of different persons and events.

It ought to be conceded that, if fairness and justice are scrupulously observed in reference to the European colonists, the natives also have their claims to consideration and equity. Nay, more so; because they have no means of making themselves heard and understood through the medium of books and newspapers, as the European colonists have. It is therefore incumbent upon every one who writes upon their affairs, to do them full justice.

My object in this work has been to secure completeness, correctness, and thoroughness; so that in all time to come it may be referred to as a reliable authority on every important question relating to the Kaffir races. Not that error can be totally avoided, or every particular recorded, when the subjects are so varied and multifarious; but it is hoped that all which is really desirable or important on these topics has here a place.

I am conscious of the many defects inseparable from such a work; but I cannot hide from myself the fact, that I have for the last *twenty-six years* been placed in the most favourable circumstances for acquiring correct and extensive information on the topics brought under review. In both the Cape and Natal Colonies, I have numbered amongst my personal friends many ministers and colonists of long experience and extensive information, who have themselves witnessed those scenes, facts, and events which they have related. The numerous books and periodicals that were calculated to correct error or impart informa-

tion, have also been carefully perused. The nature of my ministerial and pastoral duties has also brought me into such close contact with the Kaffirs, that I have been obliged to become acquainted with many things of which I must otherwise have remained ignorant.

Amongst the works from which extracts have been taken, only two require notice. These are Chase's "Natal Papers," and "Laws and Customs of the Kaffirs." From the former, quotations are given relating to the early history of Natal and the Amazulu chiefs; the work itself being now so scarce, as seldom to be met with. Of the latter, "Kaffir Laws and Customs, compiled by direction of Colonel M'Lean, Chief Commissioner of British Kaffraria," the object was to obtain correct information upon all points of Kaffir custom and jurisprudence, for the guidance of magistrates and officers in their official duties. The Rev. H. H. Dugmore, J. C. Warner, Tembookie agent, Charles Brownlee, Esq., Ghika Commissioner, and John Ayliff, Esq., were the persons from whom information was sought; and those who are acquainted with these gentlemen, will readily admit that no higher authorities could be obtained. They have lived many years among the Kaffirs, are familiar with their customs, have a thorough knowledge of their language, and are well informed upon all matters relating to them; their unimpeachable integrity, at the same time, placing them above the taint of suspicion. The book is small and scarce; and, as will be seen, I have made several extracts from it relating to the various tribes on the frontier and in Kaffirland proper.

The map has been prepared with all possible care; and in order to make it as distinct and definite as possible, I have confined it simply to that part of South Africa where the Kaffir races reside. As compared with other maps, it will be found that the Colony of Natal is of much larger extent than in them. This arises from my having added

those parts which have recently been taken in from Kaffirland, and attached to the Colony. The different divisions occupied by the various tribes in the interior are defined with as much accuracy as possible; but, in the absence of actual survey, positive exactness cannot be obtained.

The illustrations also have been prepared *on the spot*, with great care, by competent artists; and are executed so as to give a *correct view* of those subjects, persons, and events to which they relate. They are designed rather to “illustrate the text, than adorn the page.”

Chapters have been adopted in the arrangement, in order to enable the reader to peruse any particular subject upon which he seeks information, by a reference to the Table of Contents, without having to go through the book. Some of these chapters are short, others long, according to the nature of the subject. The division of the work into Three Parts may also assist the reader to gain readily an idea of the author’s scope.

On the subject of the land question there may be the appearance of tautology, but upon examination this will be found to exist more in appearance than reality; as it is presented in the different phases in which it affects the improvement of the natives under different circumstances, and is of too great importance to be passed over lightly.

Great polish of style will not be expected by the reader, when it is considered that the busy, active, unceasing duties of his office preclude the possibility of the author’s paying much attention to literary pursuits; but he hopes that clearness, correctness, and completeness have been attained. A recent French writer has said, “I am sure that I put much trust in erudition; but I still more believe in the general feeling, in the constant opinion, of mankind. Erudition is often too keen-sighted to see well; she perceives each of the particulars, to the prejudice of

the whole. So many are the exceptions she descries, that she mistakes them for the rule. If we want to encompass the large bulk of history, let us not take a microscope, but be content with our eyes."

My objects in the preparation of this book are,—*first*, the real benefit of the Kaffir races;—*second*, to impart much truthful, interesting information to the general reader, which may do something towards advancing the knowledge of all that relates to men and nations;—*third*, to furnish information which may be useful to Government authorities in the various momentous questions which may come before them from time to time;—and *fourth*, to arouse interest in the minds of the Christian public on behalf of one of the most interesting barbarous nations in the world, and to call forth systematic and energetic action for their preservation and improvement.

I am now on a visit to England, intending shortly to return to South Africa; but in my intercourse with those persons with whom I have associated in this country, I have been astonished at how little is known about the Kaffirs, and how little interest is felt in their welfare. Surely a million of this people are worth caring for, and deserve something better than simply to melt away before the face of the white man. Happy shall I be if these pages in any way contribute to their preservation and improvement.

WILLIAM C. HOLDEN.

Folkestone, 1866.



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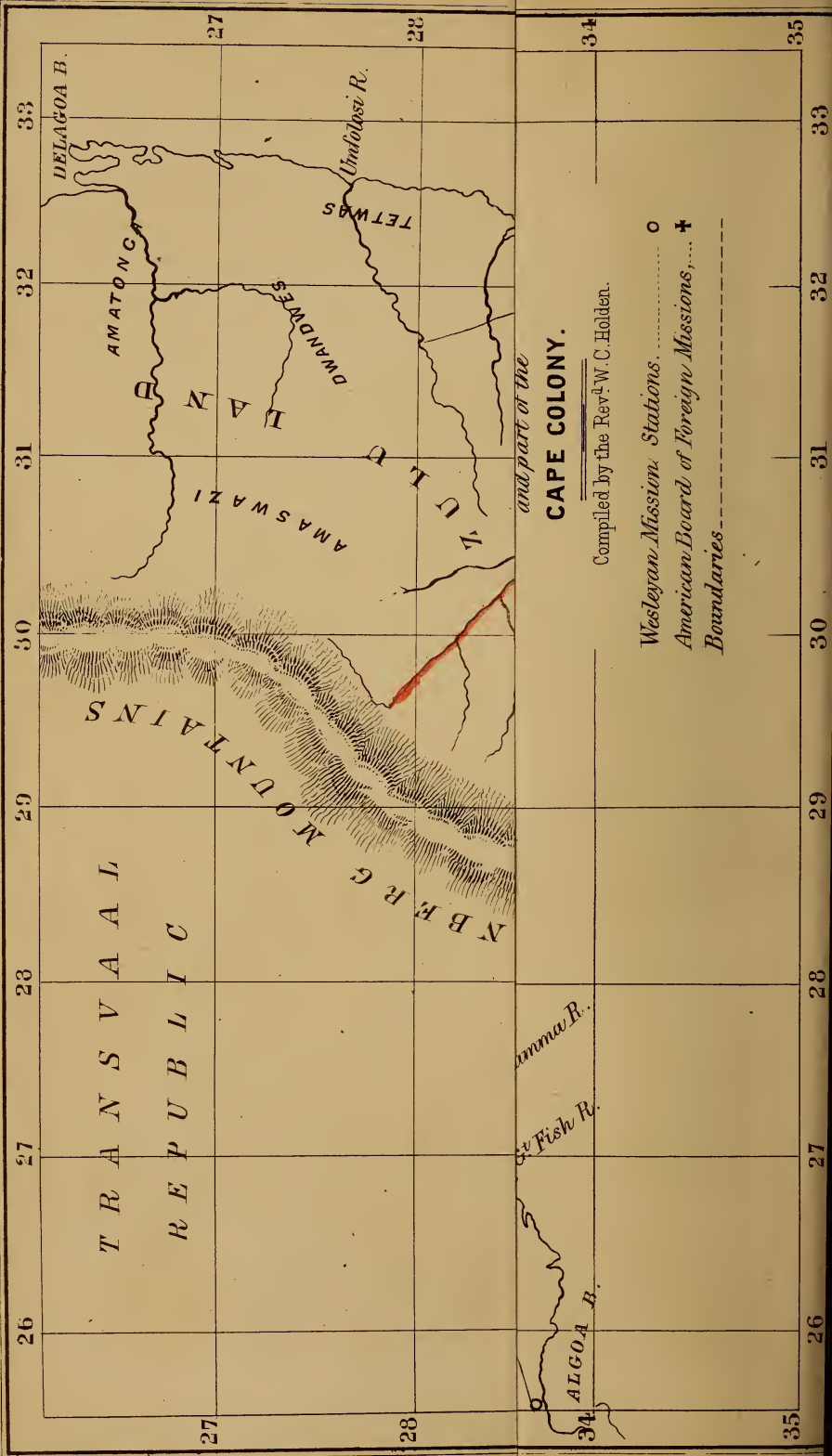
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CAPE COLONY.

and part of the

Compiled by the Rev.^d W. C. Holden.

- Wesleyan Mission Stations. o
- American Board of Foreign Missions. +
- Boundaries. - - - - -

PART I.

HISTORY OF THE KAFFIR RACES.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN OF THE KAFFIRS.

CONCERNING the origin of the *Kaffir* races which inhabit the eastern coast of the South African continent, but little is known. There has been much conjecture upon the subject by different authors; each has had his own peculiar views and particular theory, but each and all have not been able to proceed beyond, at best, a probable guess or uncertain conjecture; and, in the absence of authentic records, we shall still be compelled to tread the same uncertain ground. Some of the most calm and, probably, truthful views have been presented by the Rev. J. W. Appleyard, in the Introductory Notes of his "Kaffir Grammar." In this, he was assisted by noting the difference which prevails among the languages of the country. He has given two general classifications; one being designated "THE CLICK CLASS," the other "THE ALLITERAL CLASS." Under these two general heads he ranges the many dialects which are used in South Africa so far as known. The general result is thus given:—"The particular origin, accordingly, of these languages has yet to be described. Whether the parent dialect is to be found amongst the tribes who have reached the South, or whether it is to be found amongst the tribes who still remain in the North, can only form a subject of conjecture. If, however, there be a parent still in existence, it might probably be found amongst the tribes which

TRANSVAAL
REPUBLIC

ORANGE FREE
STATE

DRakensberg Mountains
TULIP
AMASWAZI LAND
QUATHLAMBO
AMABACA
GRIQUAS
AMAMPONDO
PONDUNISE
GCELEKAS
Farms & Fingies
CHIKAS
Farms

FARMS

FARMS

ZWARTKOP
LOCATION

FARMS

FARMS

PONDUNISE

GCELEKAS

Farms & Fingies

CHIKAS

Farms

AMATONG
DWARDWES
TETWAS

TULIP

MPAFANA LOCATION
TUELA LOCATION
QUABIES

Verulam W.M.S.
Maritzburg
INANDA LOCATION
UMLAZIO
LOCATION

Osborn
Palmerston
Beechamwood

Lembvo
Clarkbury

Arusha
Or W. Town
Wagleyville
Peddie

Grahamstown
Newnada
Bathurst
Salem

DELAGO A B.

AMATONG

DWARDWES

TETWAS

ST LUCIA B.

QUABIES

Umhlutusi R.

Umvoji R.

PORT NATAL

Umkomazi R.

Umsincalu R.

Umhloboana R.

Umzimvubu R.

Umhlabee R.

G. He R.

Buffalo R.

Reskamma R.

Ver Fish R.

ALGOA B.

MAP OF THE
COUNTRY WHERE THE KAFFIRS RESIDE
from
ALGOA BAY TO DELAGO A BAY,
Including the
COLONY OF NATAL.
and part of the
CAPE COLONY.

Compiled by the Rev^d W. C. Holden.

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occupy the interior regions to the south or the south-west of Abyssinia, where it is not impossible to conceive some of the early progenitors of the Kaffir and other South African tribes remained behind, while the general emigration proceeded in its downward course. It may be reasonably expected, in fact, that a traveller, tolerably conversant with the language and customs of the Kaffirs, would be able to throw a considerable degree of light upon their origin and migratory movements, by a journey through the numerous tribes which lie between the Nile and the Red Sea, and skirt the southern parts of Abyssinia. On many accounts there are good grounds for supposing that they are of Ishmaelitish descent, and, consequently, that they are of the same origin as many of the tribes of Arabia. The twelve sons of Ishmael were the princes or heads of as many different families, and whose descendants occupied a tract of country, extending from Havilah on the Euphrates, which seems to be a little below its junction with the Tigris, to the wilderness of Shur, which forms a part of the Isthmus of Suez. In the course of time the tribes of Ishmael's descendants would increase, so as to render an extension of country desirable, if not absolutely necessary. It may be naturally supposed, accordingly, that the more eastern tribes gradually passed down into Arabia, whilst the extreme western ones descended the western shore of the Red Sea, where they gradually spread themselves out to the south and west. Further and successful emigrations were doubtless rendered necessary for the same reason, as well as through the encroachments of other tribes, till at length they reached the several countries where they are now found, and where their migratory progress is finally stayed by the advance, from the opposite direction, of another and more powerful emigration, with which they appear destined to be amalgamated." *

Since the above was written, rapid strides have been taken in exploration; Dr. Livingstone from the south, and Captain Speke and others from the north, and Barth from the west, have penetrated deeply into the interior;

* Appleyard's "Kaffir Grammar," pp. 7, 8.

but they have, apparently, made no new or satisfactory discovery concerning the origin of these natives, nor is it probable that they ever will. Babel belongs to the different tribes of the land: confusion prevails, not only in their varied languages, but also in their physical conformation, as well as their general habits.

Dr. Keith Johnston has classed the Kaffirs and Hottentots under the general division of the Negro race; certainly, without any sufficient grounds for so doing. Dr. Livingstone brings the Negro down as far as the 20th degree of south latitude, but never attempts to place the Kaffir and Hottentot in the same category. Nor can these two races be placed in conjunction: the greatest contrasts prevail between the Kaffir and Hottentot, not only in their language, though this is as different as it well can be, but in their size, colour, and general conformation. Dr. Livingstone speaks of some Hottentots far up the country who are of large size; but, otherwise, those nearer the coast are, comparatively, a diminutive race, their colour is sallow, and their noses and lips very thick, flat, and forbidding. The Damaras and the Namaquas must be placed in this class, descending in the scale to the Corannas down to the Bushmen, who are a race of pigmies, and form the lowest type of the South African races.

But the Kaffirs are a fine tall race of men, many being jet black, and some a dark copper colour. Their features are often fine, with the forehead well developed, and the whole of their physical and mental character standing out in broad contrast against the Hottentot race; and, apparently, having no affinity with the Negro.

The above contains most of the views which have been advanced upon this subject by travellers and writers; but there is nothing certain or satisfactory among them; nor am I able to write with certainty, but can only place the subject in a new light, which is more satisfactory to my own mind than any of the theories advanced by other authors. Indeed, so many and so great are the difficulties attendant on the various theories which have been advanced, that I am unable to embrace any of them.

After deep and long-continued inquiry and investigation, my opinion is, that the entrance of the different races into Africa is much more remote than any attempted to be assigned to it in relation to either Abraham or Ishmael. I am much more disposed to place it in connexion with the dispersion at the confusion of tongues, when "the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth." I also think that, if no previous great differences of physical conformation existed, God at that time added to the confusion of language distinctions of colour, size, and other great family characteristics. I am unable to account for the thick, matted, woolly hair of the Negro, Kaffir, and Hottentot, as distinguished from the long fine hair of the European; and I am unable to account for the jet black of the Kaffir and Negro, as distinguished from the fair European, on the grounds usually assigned to them, namely, those of climate, habit, &c., &c. According to these principles the Hottentot should change his sallow colour to the black of the Kaffir,—he should change his diminutive body to the athletic body of the Kaffir. The Hottentots live in the same country, subsist on the same food, breathe the same air, bask under the same sun, and are the subjects of the same habits; and yet they assimilate no nearer their Kaffir neighbours than they did centuries ago; and hence, reasoning from analogy, I am unable to account for these great tribal and national distinctions upon the grounds above named; and can only account for them satisfactorily upon the hypothesis advanced by myself.

This theory does not at all aid those modern scientific men, who would either set aside the unity of the human family, or require for it untold ages to account for these great national distinctions. The first of these is not needful, the second is of no avail. The first is not needful; for I hold that it requires no greater exertion of Divine power to produce an effect upon the colour of a man than upon the language of a man; it requires no greater exertion of Divine power to make a man shapely and vigorous in body, than to guide the tongue of that body in the articulation of sound. If the whole is to be explained and accounted for on merely natural grounds,

without any Divine interposition, then the ground of argument is changed, and the whole falls back upon whether God interposed in the confusion of tongues; and, ultimately, whether the Bible contains the revealed will and ways of God. These latter questions may be argued upon their own merits, but they do not belong to this question. And I hold that, whilst the unity of the human race is maintained in all the great essentials of body and soul, the various minor tribal or national distinctions may have been made by that God who found it needful to "spread them abroad upon the face of all the earth."

Then, as to the second position assumed, namely, that untold periods of time are required to effect those great changes; this would be of no avail; for, if climate and habit could do it, three thousand years would be quite long enough; if not, thirty thousand would be equally ineffective.

Then, as to the place from whence they came,—there can scarcely be two opinions upon the subject. It must have been from the great centre seat of human life in the neighbourhood of the Tigris or Euphrates; and the reader will find in the pages of this book—in the language, manners, and habits of the Kaffirs—many customs which identify them with the great patriarchal stock; especially in connexion with their serpent worship, the use of sacrifices, circumcision, &c., &c. The probability is, that they descended through Egypt by the Isthmus of Suez, following the course of the Nile, rather than through the deserts of Arabia, crossing at the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb.

As to the time, I am disposed to place it shortly after the dispersion at the confusion of tongues. There is nothing violent or far-fetched in this supposition; but it is easy and natural. Whilst the descendants of Shem spread out to the east, and the progeny of Japheth peopled the north and the west, why not the family of Ham spread over the south? It is well known that the people of those nations, especially India and China, are of very remote origin. Why not allow the same to the dwellers in Africa?

Every one acquainted with history knows that not only

was Egypt peopled at a very early period, but that it was one of the first nations to attain a high degree of civilization: and there is but little probability that the large numbers needed to people Africa would come through a country so far advanced, without bringing, at least, some vestiges of the civilization of Egypt; whereas, there is not a trace of any building or other work of art which would in the least degree associate them with that nation or period. But there is that in their nomade and pastoral habits which would associate them with patriarchal times.

My views on this interesting subject I submit to the reader with all deference: they are simply those which are most satisfactory to my own mind, and remove some of those difficulties and objections which are urged by modern scientific opponents of the Bible narrative of the human race.

It would scarcely have been consistent in me to have entered so fully into the ethnology of the Kaffir races as I have, in the pages of this book, without giving, at least, some rational and consistent view of their first or early origin. The thoughtful reader must judge for himself how far these views have a claim to be favourably regarded or cordially received.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE AMAZULU.

I. UTSHAKA, "BREAK OF DAY."

IN recording the history of the Amazulu nation in general, and of Utshaka in particular, I can approach the subject with some degree of confidence, from the fact that, in addition to the ordinary sources of information from intercourse with the best informed Europeans, and consulting such books as have been published on the subject, I have been brought into contact with some of the oldest and most intelligent natives themselves, enabling me to look at what transpired from *their own stand-point*, and record events in the light in which *they beheld them*. By this means I have been in circumstances to correct many errors which have found their way into other works, and have been handed down from one to another, until they have become almost stereotyped.

In laying claim to originality in this chapter, I have had to examine and correct much of what has been advanced by others. This I should not have dared to attempt, had I not had access to the very best sources of information. Amongst the persons whom I have been able to consult has been a very aged, intelligent Zulu, named Abantwana. He was the *nephew* of Utshaka. His own sister, Unandi, was the mother of the great king. She belonged to the Ilanga tribe. Abantwana was about twelve or fourteen years old when Utshaka was born. He was brought up with him, associated with him in boyish sports, and joined with him in all those exploits by which the Amazulu chief became so renowned. Abantwana was second only to the king. Being chief Indoona, he was second in command in

the army. He was present with Utshaka in his successful campaigns; and when the king was not with the army, he led on the savage hosts in person.

When Utshaka was massacred by Udingaan, Abantwana was present, and escaped into the bush; thence fled into what is now the Natal Colony, taking with him Mawa, the sister of Utshaka, who died on the Umhlali river. Subsequently this aged warrior became a Christian convert, and I baptized him, giving him the name "Adam." From him I obtained much of the information contained in this chapter; he had no motive to deceive or mislead me, and was frequently charged by me to speak the truth. His statements I carefully compared with the statements of other aged intelligent natives, as also with the best informed Europeans, by which means I arrived at conclusions which I am able to place before the reader without hesitation.

From the above sources I learn that the Amazulu nation was originally small, being a nation of "tobacco-sellers," or "pedlars," dwelling between the Black and White Umvolos rivers. They were not at all remarkable for their warlike propensities or martial exploits.

The different authors who have written upon the Amazulu have had their own particular modes of spelling the names of the chiefs and people. No uniform method has been adopted. In this chapter I have sought to adopt the orthography which most nearly gives the English sound, whilst it preserves the Zulu idiom. Utshaka has been spelled Chaka, Charka, Ujaka, Utxaka, Zyaka, and Tshaka; the last is Mr. Appleyard's, in his very excellent Grammar, and gives the English pronunciation, but not the Kaffir idiom. I have adopted this, adding the prefix *U*, which will preserve the Kaffir idiom.

Udingaan has been spelled Dingan, Dingaan, and Udin-gani. I have adopted Udingaan as approaching nearest the English and Kaffir pronunciation. Panda has been the name in common use; the prefix makes it Umpanda.

When writing about the nation, the name has been spelt Zoola, Zooloo, Zuloo, and Zulu. I take the last as nearest the English sound, with the prefix *Ama* in the plural. But,

in the singular, I have used the word Zulu for the sake of convenience: Izulu would be more correct.

Amazulu signifies "the celestials," or "the heavens;" a proud title, equalled only by the Chinese.

The names of chiefs, persons, and places, are frequently given from some incident connected with the birth of children, or the peculiarity of the place, or the employment of the person at the time; hence, they are sometimes very ridiculous, and sometimes very appropriate.

Usenzagakona, which signifies "you who were still working there," was the name of Utshaka's father. His mother's name was Unandi, of the Ilanga tribe. These tribes dwelt near each other, and nothing worthy of note occurred before Utshaka's day. But when this majestic savage, this mighty warrior arose, a new era in their history commenced. Those who have written about him have laid the English language under contribution in order to find suitable epithets to describe his horrible and revolting conduct.

After much thought I have formed the opinion that he was great in every respect *except goodness*; and the absence of this benignant disposition shows to what terrible lengths of revolting cruelty men may go in carrying out their ambitious designs. He was great in mental grasp and physical development; great in the vastness of his conceptions, and the successful execution of his plans; great in boundless ambition and dauntless courage; great in crime and great in cruelty. He was great in the extensive territories over which he held sway; great in the many nations he conquered; great in the wide-spread homage which he received; great while he lived, and greater still after he died.

Utshaka, "Break of Day." This magic name has for the last fifty years spell-bound myriads of Amazulu. Whilst Utshaka lived, he was revered, honoured, and obeyed as a hero; after his death he was extolled, adored, and invoked as a god. To a Zulu his name is sacred, and never used except to give solemnity to an oath, or to nerve the warrior for battle. His birth, coronation, and death, form epochs in their history, from which subsequent events are

dated. He was the Buonaparte of South-Eastern Africa. Some have termed him the modern Attila, "the scourge of God." But, whilst that mighty northern conqueror poured down with his hosts, and fixed his seat in the heart of the Roman empire, he by no means effected so complete a subjugation of the countries over which he swept, as Utshaka. The career of Alexander and Buonaparte in the civilized world was not more splendid than that of Utshaka in the savage, if a course of wide-spread devastation and blood can be so designated. They each sought in their day to be the world's king, and to make their respective nations great, by filling them with the spoils of the Eastern and Western worlds; but, the one fell the victim of his vices, and the other, performing desperate deeds of valour, was at length beaten by the "Iron Duke" of "illustrious memory," and chained to the rock by the "Ocean Queen." But Utshaka was never beaten, never lost a battle, never fled before a foe; no human arm could smite him, or nation stand before him. Fell despair at length prompted his unnatural brother, Udingaan, to fall upon him with a chosen band, at mid-day, and thrust the death spear to his heart, whilst he was unsuspectingly sitting with his friends and councillors.

Alexander sought to immortalize his name by placing it with those of the gods, and securing divine honours, but in vain; for he fell from his giddy height, and, though cased in a coffin of gold, saw "corruption." Not so Utshaka. When he died, his memory was embalmed; his spirit, mounting the throne of their gods, was installed in the first place, and has ever since received divine homage. To use his name irreverently is, in the eyes of a Zulu, a very grave offence.

The great Jehovah has at different times raised up remarkable persons for extraordinary purposes, assigned them their task, given them their part to perform on life's busy stage; and, when that has been accomplished, removed them from the scene. "The wicked are His sword." "He restrains the wrath of man," while He causes the "remainder of that wrath to praise Him." His glory shines forth in bringing order out of confusion, good out of evil,

life out of death; and making the instruments of terror and cruelty unconsciously work out His own designs. This we shall see accomplished in the present instance.

Having placed before the reader a general view of the character of Utshaka, and the state of the nation, a detailed account of this great man and his illustrious career may now be given. Some writers have attempted to make it appear that there were prodigies connected with his birth; but, if so, they were not of so extraordinary a nature as to produce any permanent effect upon the nation. He did, however, at an early period begin to display great powers of both body and mind. When he reached manhood, he was a fine specimen of physical perfection and muscular development. He was more than six feet high, well formed, and strongly built. He soon stood alone among or above his compeers, in the performance of those exploits which require great muscular force and herculean strength. In gymnastic exercises, such as wrestling, leaping, dancing, throwing the kerie, and using the deadly assagai, none could compete with him; his powers of endurance were also very great.

As before stated, his mental powers were of a high order; so that he was able to conceive vast designs, and conduct them to a final result with unvarying success. Like other great aggressive warriors, *ambition* swelled his breast, and the fiercer passions of man's depraved nature had unbridled sway. In the accomplishment of his ambitious projects, all means were alike lawful. Suffering, tears, blood, and death, had no voice to pierce his steeled heart, or arrest his angry stroke. Deceit, fraud, cruelty, and the worst forms of human wickedness, which ought to have been hateful, became willing servants, when the gratification of his ambition or lust had to be effected.

From the character here given, it was not cause of wonder that his father should become jealous of him; the more so, *as to name a successor during the king's life was a capital offence.*

No sooner did Utshaka perceive the jealousy of his father Usenzagakona, than he fled to Umacingwani, a powerful chief, who had often been engaged in war with his

father, and who lived some distance from the coast, there being five tribes betwixt the coast and him. But as soon as it was known that he had found an asylum there, his father sent presents to the chief to induce him to betray his trust, and destroy his guest. This the chief nobly refused to do, informing Utshaka that he could no longer afford him protection; upon which, Utshaka fled to the Umtetwas, a powerful, warlike tribe on the coast, where he was allowed to remain until he had taken a concubine and his father died.

The general account given of the manner in which Utshaka attained supreme power is, that he effected it by treachery, and the brutal murder of his own father; but this is incorrect, for his father died in peace.

Utshaka was at a distance with the Umtetwas at the time his father died; when his uncle, Umakadama, taking advantage of the occasion, seized the throne before the lawful heir could secure the position. Umakadama was the name of this chief, who was of the Nlanga tribe, from whence Utshaka's mother came; and he doubtless seized the Zulu throne, that, by uniting the two nations, he might become powerful. No sooner did Utshaka become acquainted with this, than he prevailed upon Udingiswao, his friend and protector, to lend him some of his warriors to dislodge the usurper. The measures of Utshaka were devised with so much secrecy, and executed with so much dispatch, that he came upon Umakadama before he was aware of his approach, surrounded the house where he slept, and dispatched him without opposition.

Utshaka then ascended the throne of the Amazulu, and, being in the possession of unlimited power, at once applied himself to change the nation of pedlars into a nation of warriors. For this purpose he sought and obtained permission from Udingiswao to retain his warriors for awhile. He then began to train his own nation in military tactics by the use of his borrowed troops, and quickly acquired unbounded influence over his new levies. There was that military magic about his words, actions, and bearing, which usually attends great commanders.

In order to carry out his ambitious projects much had to be done. One of his first acts was to change the

common assagai then in use, and still used, by the Amazulu Kaffirs, into *the short stabbing assagai*. This, instead of being thrown with uncertain results, was *the Zulu bayonet*, designed to stab with fatal effect; each warrior was allowed only one, which he must bring back from the battle field, or be put to death as a coward. This stamped the whole character of their future warfare. There was nothing but death or victory. "To conquer or die," was their motto, and engraven upon their mighty shields.

Second, in order that every tender sentiment and feeling might be removed from the hearts of these fierce men, they were not permitted to marry; nothing must be allowed which could in any way "move the softer passions," or enhance the value of life, the king's command being alone recognised. They might have as many concubines as they desired, to gratify their passions, when not called out; but wife they must not have, nor child, that must ever use the endearing name "*father*." Utshaka set the example.

Third, the practice of circumcision was abolished, lest it should occasion inconvenience to his warriors, or interfere with the execution of his imperious decrees. This rite had been universally practised by the Kaffirs on the south-eastern coast from time immemorial; and so deeply fixed was it in the national mind, that to eradicate it was most difficult. It was the sign of manhood, the youth was only a boy until he was circumcised, and no girl would take him for a husband. Utshaka, however, made an attack upon it, and succeeded. Another badge of manhood was adopted. His success was a remarkable proof of the unbounded influence he must already have acquired over the national mind.

The organization of the army was unique and complete. It consisted of two general divisions, having a third in a subordinate capacity as bearers of burdens. The first division consisted of "*amadoda*," men. This division contained *the veterans—the first—the boldest—the best*. These were brought into the hottest part of the fight, and on their desperate valour and untiring energy victory was suspended.

The second consisted of the "*ebuto*," *i. e.*, youths or

young men. These were full of fire and fury, and, when sustained by the Amadoda, were "mighty in battle." They fought the Natal army on the Tugela, as recorded in my "History of Natal," and won a complete and glorious victory.

The third division of the army was the "*eziboto*." These were young men who accompanied the army as "*commissariat*." They did not fight, but carried the burdens of the warriors, and took charge of the cattle taken in war. The army would not be complete without these: there would be no supplies. In their absence, confusion and failure must be the result.

Some have said that Utshaka incorporated his conquered enemies into his own army. My impression is, that it was not so; but that they formed a great part of the Eziboto. This employment was sufficiently humiliating, whilst it incurred no risk.

The army of Napoleon Buonaparte was not more regularly officered and systematically equipped than the one now under consideration. There was the commander-in-chief, Utshaka himself, in all the early campaigns; or Abantwana, my informant: to him was committed the conduct of the war.

Next to him the chief Indoonas, or ministers of state. Under these the captains of regiments, with their subalterns; then the warriors, arranged in their respective regiments, which were about 1,500 strong. Nothing was left to the chapter of accidents, no part neglected, no place unguarded.

Military kraals, or barracks, were scattered over the entire country, so as for it to become one vast military establishment. This was not done promiscuously, without design or arrangement; but the situations were selected with the greatest care, and arranged in the most effective manner. Each regiment had its particular number and its specific position assigned it. Distant provinces of this vast barbaric empire were placed under the most approved and loyal leaders. Never was this great chief mistaken in his men, with only one or two exceptions, as in the case of Usomolekatse, of whom more will be said anon.

From these military establishments children were universally excluded; the cry of a child must not be heard; these were men, not children; warriors, not women. Their kraals were often oval, and of large dimensions. One of Um-panda's, measured by a friend of mine, was 340 feet long and 250 wide, having four rows of houses or huts around it, and capable of containing 750 warriors.

Their time, whilst resting in these military establishments, was mostly employed in preparing their large shields and polishing their deadly spears. They sought also to inflame military ardour, by recounting the deeds of warlike valour already displayed, the victories achieved, and the spoils taken. They discoursed on the strength or weakness of the foe, the force and fury of the fight. Chivalry was there in its most perfect development. Their songs, their dances, their designs were chivalrous—nay, far exceeded anything connected with civilized nations.

These military kraals were sometimes visited by the king in person, and sometimes the regiments went up to the great place for the purpose of review; but they must always be kept in an efficient state, ready for immediate action. The reader may meet with an account of some of these reviews in the work of Captain Allen Gardiner, but they are too long for insertion here. The reader must consider that *military achievements, and the best mode of accomplishing them, were the business of the nation.* The women must plough the ground, sow the seed, gather the corn, and prepare the food. The men must be warriors. With the men there was no agriculture, no manufactures, no literature; in these things they differed from all civilized nations, a large number of whom must be employed in these departments. War filled their thoughts and inflamed their breasts; it was the subject of their conversation and the business of their lives.

The manner of calling the army together, and preparing it for actual fight, was unique. When the chief and amapakati had decided on war, it was made known that war was to take place; but, at the same time, it was kept a profound secret as to who the people were, or when the

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war would take place; these things being only known to the commander.

The following is the order adopted, with some variations.

1. Spies are sent out to reconnoitre, and distinctly mark everything relating to the country and people against which they purpose fighting, and, if possible, bring a small portion of the goods or excrements from the dwelling of the foe, without detection. This is taken by the priest, and with an infusion of charms is prepared in the form of a ring or cake, which the chief sits upon, being indicative of the manner in which he prognosticates he shall sit upon the enemy, or place him beneath his feet.

2. The *isanusi*, "priest, or witch doctor," is summoned. He is made acquainted with every particular, the most trifling thing must not be omitted. He then prepares his charms in the most mysterious manner, and makes the *inkata*, the compound before alluded to. Beasts have to be sacrificed to the *isituta*, "ghosts of the departed chiefs," that they may be favourable to the undertaking; make the warriors strong, and their enemies weak: the whole being designed to propitiate the ghosts and secure success. Great faith is reposed in these magical performances, and the right or wrong mode of conducting them has much to do with the success or failure of the war.

3. The time having arrived for active operations, the king summons one of his notables, who is dressed in the most extraordinary and terrific manner. Tails of wild animals are taken and twisted and bound round the body, neck, arms, and legs, until only the face is seen, and the man looks like a superhuman monster. Thus dressed he goes forth as the king's herald, crying, in a frantic voice, "*Maikupuke*," "Go up," or, "Let the army go up." The nation is instantly thrown into a state of the greatest consternation, and the male population hasten to the "great place." The chief *isanusi*, or priest, then enters upon the work of preparation, in the sacrifice of the beast and the application of charms, by which the warriors may be nerved for battle.

Each regiment is selected and set apart, having its

proper place assigned it in the army. The preparation of the body consists in first cleansing it from all weakness and impurity by the use of powerful emetics and purgatives, so that if there is any latent disease or impurity it may be removed. This being done, large numbers of oxen are slaughtered and eaten, in order to create new and pure blood, and impart new and great strength, the whole being accompanied with the charms and offerings of the priest. At this stage of the proceedings long strips of flesh are taken and slightly cooked, and made very nauseous by the application of charms and bitter herbs. The warriors standing in a row, each snatches the piece, takes a bite, which he must not on any account spit out, though insufferably nauseous; for, if he did that, it would be regarded as an evil omen, and he would probably lose his life as the result. For in this manner are they to catch and eat their foes. Some have thought that this was human flesh, but of this there is no proof, and certain it is that, in some places, it is the flesh of the sacrificial beast.

Thus prepared in body and mind, they have now only to receive the oration of their chief or king. This is of the most animated and exciting description; everything is said to inflame their ardour and inspire their courage. The greatness and glory of the triumphs already achieved, the spoils taken, and the nations conquered, are brought before them in the most impassioned strains. New conquests and new glories are exhibited to view, until, in imagination, they already see their numerous enemies prostrate before them, whilst they are taking and dividing the spoil; they pant for glory, they thirst for blood! Thus inspired and fortified they go forth, "terrible as an army with banners." Let the reader conceive, if he can, of thirty or fifty thousand of these fierce warriors going forth "to conquer or to die;" watch this dark cloud as it rushes on through the darkness of night, with the secrecy of stealth, and the rapidity of the wind, until it arrives, unexpectedly, in the region of its unsuspecting foes, stretches abroad over their land, bursts with one terrible volley of yells, and thrusts its ten thousand spears into

the hearts of its helpless foes ; and he has some faint conception of the dread reality. In many instances no quarter is given ; man, woman, child, dog, cat, fowl, all must fall before this storm of savage men ; nothing is spared except the cattle, part of which are slaughtered to feed these fierce warriors, and the other part are sent to the "great place," to feast upon in days to come. Apollyon revels in the midst of such awful carnage, and the "great destroyer" himself must certainly be glutted in these feasts of human slaughter.

"Birth of the morning ! give in secret thy commands
 To thy soldiers ; to the veterans, and to the more youthful ;
 They will go before the dawn of day
 To ravage every place whithersoever thou mayest command them
 To carry desolation.
 Of night they know nothing."

This is not imagination. Take the following illustration from Moffat, given by a native himself. Let the reader bear in mind, that the "Matabele" were the warriors of "Usomelekatsi," who, with his officers, boasted that they were Amazulu :—"On Sabbath morning I ascended a hill, at the base of which we had halted the preceding evening, to spend the day. I had scarcely reached the summit, and sat down, when I found that my intelligent companion had stolen away from the party, to answer some questions I had asked the day before, and to which he could not reply, because of the presence of his superiors. Happening to turn to the right, and seeing before me a large extent of level ground covered with ruins, I inquired what had become of the inhabitants. He had just sat down, but rose, evidently with some feeling, and, stretching forth his arm in the direction of the ruins, said, 'I, even I, beheld it,' and paused, as if in deep thought. 'There lived the great chief of multitudes. He reigned among them like a king. He was the chief,—the chief of the blue-coloured cattle. They were numerous as the dense mist on the mountain brow ; his flocks covered the plain. He thought the number of his warriors would awe his enemies. His people boasted in their spears, and

laughed at the cowardice of such as had fled from their towns. "I shall slay them, and hang up their shields on my hill. Our race is a race of warriors. Who ever subdued our fathers? They were mighty in combat. We will possess the spoils of ancient times. Have not our dogs eaten the shields of our nobles?—the vultures shall devour the slain of our enemies." Thus they sung, and thus they danced, till they beheld on yonder heights the approaching foe. The noise of their song was hushed in night, and their hearts were filled with dismay. They saw the clouds ascend from the plains. It was the smoke of burning towns. The confusion of a whirlwind was in the heart of the great chief of the blue-coloured cattle. This shout was raised, "They are friends!" but they shouted again, "They are foes;" till their near approach proclaimed them Matabele. The men seized their arms, and rushed out, as if to chase the antelope. The onset was as the voice of lightning, and their spears as the shaking of the forest in the autumn storm. The Matabele lions raised the shout of death, and flew upon their victims. It was the shout of victory. Their hissing and hollow groans told their progress among the dead. A few moments laid hundreds on the ground. The clash of shields was the signal of triumph. Our people fled with their cattle to the top of yonder mount. The Matabele entered the town with the roar of the lion; they pillaged and fired the houses, speared the mothers, and cast their infants to the flames. The sun went down; the victors emerged from the smoking plain, and pursued their course, surrounding the base of yonder hill. They slaughtered cattle; they danced and sang till the dawn of day; they ascended and killed till their hands were weary of the spear.' Stooping to the ground on which we stood, he took up a little dust in his hand; blowing it off, and holding out his naked palm, he added: 'That is all that remains of the great chief of the blue-coloured cattle!' It is impossible for me to describe my feelings, while listening to this descriptive effusion of native eloquence; and I afterwards embraced opportunities of writing it down, of which the above is only an abridgment. I found also, from other

aborigines, that his was no fabled song, but merely a compendious sketch of the catastrophe."

Where will the reader meet with a finer burst of eloquence in Grecian or Roman classic lore, or even in Macaulay himself? But no words can describe the eloquence of the action on such occasions: the fire of the eye, the flash of the countenance, and the action of the body, all conspire to produce an effect almost overwhelming. The writer has witnessed many such exciting scenes.

That which gave additional spirit to Utshaka's armies, and largely contributed to his success, was the fact that, in his early wars, he led on his savage legions in person, seized the first victim, and thrust the death spear to his heart. This was the signal for the host to close in; then came the shock of battle, the onslaught was furious and irresistible—they had to conquer or die—victory was theirs. The poet Pringle thus describes the scene:—

"Fling your broad shields away,
 Bootless against such foes;
 But hand to hand we'll fight to-day,
 And with their bayonets close.
 Grasp each man short his stabbing spear;
 And when to battle's edge we come,
 Rush on their ranks in full career,
 And to their hearts strike home."

Not that there were no instances in which they met with resolute opposition. Their enemies often fought with great bravery, knowing that they must either die fighting, or, if conquered, die cruel deaths, or be reduced to the most galling servitude. In some instances night closed in, and left the sturdy warriors on both sides unsubdued. But whilst night summoned a cessation of arms, it also assisted the flight of those who found that they were unable to stand before the conquering Amazulu. The spear bathed in blood rested a few hours; when the morrow's sun arose, they looked around in vain to find their foes; they had fled. But if not, again the fierce combatants closed in, and renewed the fight with more

desperate ardour than before, until the enemy was beaten at every point, and the Amazulu were masters of the field, having myriads of slain lying at their feet bathed in blood. Buonaparte had to raise the siege of Acre, and, chagrined, depart; at Aspern he was beaten by the Archduke Charles, and, until his army had been recruited and strengthened, he could not again meet the brave Austrians in the field; from Moscow he retreated with the broken remains of his fine army; and at Waterloo was beaten, broken, ruined; and, filled with biting rage, fled a fugitive from the capital of France. Not so Utshaka: "Victor of victors, conqueror of conquerors," was his title and claim. Some notice must now be taken of the course of conflict and victory which he pursued.

Utshaka, having secured the stability of his throne, won the affections of his warriors, changed the mode of their attack, and prepared for aggressive warfare. With eagle eye he looked around, and resolved to have the great barbarian world his own; over all his sceptre must sway, and his will be universal law.

His first military exploits were displayed in subduing the small petty tribes around him, before he extended the sphere of his operations to distant tribes and nations. No sooner had he broken and conquered these, than he marched forth in search of more distant foes. He first fell upon *Umatawana*, a powerful chief of the Amanguana tribe, lying beyond the Amazulu to the north-east: these, after some hard fighting, he effectually subdued. Being flushed with victory, and maddened with the spoils of the vanquished, without allowing his inflated warriors breathing time, he led them against the Umcewana, whom he beat, broke, and drove along the slopes and gorges of the Quthlamba Mountains. Some of these remnants afterwards formed part of the Fetcani, the race of robbers, the man-eaters of South Africa.

His savage warriors, having tasted human blood, must drink to repletion, being made drunk with the blood of many slain. He therefore led them along the eastern side of the Drakensberg range of mountains, and, as a tempest of fire and death, swept all before him. The terror of

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his name and the magnitude of his conquests inspired alarm in the hearts of all who came within the range of his wrath or ambition. Some fled over the Drakensberg into the country of Moshesh, and other tribes in those parts, and are thus described by the Revs. T. Arbouset and F. Daumas, of the French Missionary Society:—
“These Zulus are a fine race of blacks, superior in stature, in elegance of shape, and in muscular strength, to the Bechuanas. These, as mild and gentle as the others are ferocious, have invariably suffered much from their aggressors when they have come into collision with them. A Basuto, speaking on this subject to me, said,—‘On seeing these men, so strong and well-made, entirely naked, of a cruel and ferocious countenance, armed with short-handled, but large-headed assagais, the *mokondo*, and with a shield of buffalo or bullock hide twice as large as ours, we were all seized with fear, and called them Matabeles, (*i. e.*, those *who disappear*, or are scarcely to be seen behind their immense bucklers,) but amongst themselves they are called Amazulus.’”

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The Undwandwa nation, dwelling beyond the Umpon-gola river to the north, under Zetu, their captain, was much more powerful than any that had yet been conquered. They were very numerous, and very rich in cattle, and were, consequently, a very attractive prize to their neighbours. Against these Udingiswao, the war-like chief with whom Utshaka had been brought up, led his powerful army. They engaged in battle; it was very severe and very bloody; in the midst of it Udingiswao was slain, the Umtetwas were beaten, and lost a large number of their bravest men; the remnant made their escape by flight. It has been stated by preceding authors that Udingiswao was murdered by Utshaka, but this is not correct; as above stated, he lost his life in battle with the Undwandwa.

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No sooner was Utshaka informed of this defeat, than he resolved at once to renew the conflict, and determine, in mortal strife, who should be sole monarch of those regions. The two greatest captains and the two greatest victors were now to measure their prowess and power

against each other, with armies on both sides flushed with victory, knowing that on that battle depended their national existence. My aged informant told me that they all felt that to be “a great battle and a great day.” The fighting was terribly severe; the battle raged with frightful slaughter on both sides, until at length the Undwandwa gave way; a greater than Udingiswao was there; Utshaka came, he saw, he fought, he conquered. Nothing could withstand the impetuosity of the onslaught, or oppose any effectual barrier to this sea of wrath and death.

The Undwandwa were broken, beaten, and destroyed, and no language can describe the frantic joy of the conquerors: their hideous yells, their vociferous songs, their savage delight, exceeded all bounds. The spoils they took in cattle, &c., were very rich. This was the greatest victory they had won, and was celebrated with corresponding enthusiasm and joy.

Out of this victory arose the ground for destroying the Umtetwa nation, from which the greatness and glory of Utshaka took its rise. A considerable number of the Umtetwa warriors had joined in the battle, and when the spoil was taken and distributed, they were not satisfied with the portion assigned them; and, although this did not lead to an immediate rupture, yet the bitter elements were brought into existence which were the cause of their ultimate destruction.

After this famous victory they rested upon their spears, and behind their “great bucklers,” for the space of a year, to celebrate their triumphs, inflame their ardour, and prepare for new scenes of rapine, blood, and death.

“Thou makest all the world to keep silence,
 Thou hast silenced even the troops,
 Yes, the troops of Moyokuane,
 Of Entate, of Magela.....
 Thy troops always obey thee:
 Thou sayest, and they go;
 Thou sayest, and they go again;
 Thou sayest, and yet they go to fall upon Sekoquana,
 Thou art master of the great garrison towns,

Of Mocumula, Mocoluyarie, Umtetwas.

Before thee the true men of the nations faint in their hearts,
The true men of the nations melt away."

Among the powerful nations which still remained unconquered, the Amaquabi had not bowed the knee to this youthful conqueror, or placed their necks beneath his iron yoke. The Amaquabi dwelt along the coast to the southward, occupying both sides of the Tugela river, the present boundary of the Natal colony. This people were very numerous, and rich in cattle. They had two great chiefs over them, one on each side of the river, each ruling over his own people. Against this nation the fierce iron-hearted Amazulu came. Their very name inspired terror; but the Amaquabi nobly stood their ground. They fought with much bravery and pertinacity, but in vain; nothing could present an effectual breakwater against this angry rolling sea; they were beaten, and fell into the hands of the victor, supplying another wreath to encircle the brow of this proud and pitiless despot.

This courageous people, however, would never admit that they were beaten by the hand of man. They were highly superstitious, and attributed their defeat to the wrath of the gods, or Isituta, whose ghostly favour and defence they had not secured by sacrifices sufficiently costly, and who had thus allowed them to fall a prey into the hands of the destroyer.

We have now seen this mighty barbarian monarch escape the treachery of his father, destroy his usurping uncle, ascend the throne of his ancestors, train and consolidate his army, commence his victorious career, and push his conquests east, west, and south, his territories extending from the coast to the Quthlamba mountains, and from the Tugela almost to Delagoa Bay. Who shall now stay his hand, or restrain his wrath, or arrest his victorious career? The arm exists not that dares to rise against him, nor the tongue that dares defy his power. What is very remarkable is, that about the same time Napoleon Buonaparte had run nearly a similar course of victory over the nations of civilized Europe that this barbarian monarch had over the wilds of South-Eastern Africa.

King of
a little
tribe of
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Had anything short of universal empire satisfied this ambitious man, the Tugela had been the boundary of his empire, and the Amaquabi the last nation he had made to lick the dust before him. But no! like the Roman victor, he regarded nothing as done whilst anything remained to be accomplished; therefore so long as there was a country he had not overrun, a people he had not spoiled, or a nation that had not placed itself at his feet, he rested not, but contemplated new scenes of slaughter and spoil, and hastened to execute his dark designs.

That part of South-Eastern Africa, now included in the Natal colony, was peopled by numerous and powerful tribes, some of whom could trace their pedigree many generations backwards; they were rich in cattle, and dwelt in security. Some account of them will be given in the chapter on their history. The aged men, when describing the state of the country, represented the people as being "*numerous as the blades of grass, spreading over the hills and filling the valleys;*"—they literally covered the land. But their days were numbered, their glory was about to depart for ever, unless in the wonder-working providence of God it should rise again in a new and more enduring form under the fostering care of Christian Britain. About the years 1816 to 1820, Utshaka, crossing the Tugela river, swept all before him, filling the land with a deluge of blood, the victims of his merciless wrath thickly strewing the ground, and their bones left to bleach beneath the fire of many suns. As the raging volcano vomits from its fiery crater smoke, and ashes, and burning lava, entombing villages and cities at its feet, spreading dismay, destruction, and death around; so, from the mouth of this despot a stream of fire was vomited forth, which "burned up the land round about;" leaving scarcely a vestige behind in its scorching, desolating course. Battle succeeded battle, victory crowned victory, nation fell after nation, until the stream of fire was only interrupted by the Umzimvoobo instead of the Tugela. But to attempt any description of these scenes of misery and death would be vain. The heart sickens at the bare statement of the facts. The feet of the writer have trod many parts of the

country where the heavens have been rent by the yells of these savage hordes, and the echoes have reverberated from rock to rock and from dell to dell, whilst the piercing wail of death died away upon the tremulous foliage of the trees : before them it was the animation of thickly-peopled busy life ; behind them it was the awful silence of universal death : before them it was a beautiful country covered with gardens, corn, grass, and cattle ; behind them it was one vast graveyard, with the unburied masses sinking to corruption. O death, who shall satisfy thee ? O sin, who shall tell the numbers of thy victims, or record the sorrows thou hast poured forth ? We learn also, that amidst these scenes of darkness and death the impassioned hearts of women also could revel. Utshaka's stepmother is said to have attended him through all these wars and triumphs, and ministered to his wants. In the midst of these victories she closed her career, dying near the Ilovo river, in the Natal colony.

Without attempting to go through the details of the various tribes that were conquered, we shall give one illustration, which will at once show the vindictiveness of Utshaka's nature, and the manner in which one tribe fell upon another and drove them *hors de combat* in succession, until the great final battle upon the Umzimkulu completed his victorious career. It has been before stated that when Utshaka fled from the jealousy of his father he took refuge with Umacinguani, a powerful chief, who had in various instances made war upon the Amazulu ; and that the father of Utshaka sent to bribe this chief to assassinate his guest, who refused to do it, but directed him to seek refuge elsewhere. He went to the Umtetwas. When Utshaka came to the throne, he resolved to be revenged upon Umacinguani for the plundering inroads he had made upon the Amazulu in his father's day, and also for refusing to defend him against his father. He said, "Umacinguani had always murdered his father's people, but he would now take out his gall, and put it upon his head." He then made war upon and overcame him. Upon which Umacinguani fell upon the Nomangaka, and overcame them. Utshaka again attacked and beat Uma-

cinguani, who fell back upon Udelwa. In this manner the Kaliponombuya, the Ungwanavizi, the Umcabesa, the Umabutyana, the Ugbugani, and the Unomatiti, were in succession fought, conquered, and driven back, until at length the great battle on the Umzimkulu was fought, in which eight tribes were desperately engaged, fighting for their existence. They were all conquered. Umacinguani was slain, and Utshaka, according to his threat, took out his gall, and placed it upon his head. To attempt to trace these victories further, or enter into more minute detail, would only weary the reader, without answering any practical useful purpose. Enough is written to show the nature and extent of Utshaka's conquests, and to prove that nothing could effectually resist his victorious arms. With the exception of one or two nations that were distant and unconquered, he had now nothing to do but feast his warriors on spoil taken from helpless victims, and engage in plundering forays at the dictate of his passion or caprice.

The following boasting lines, sung by his exulting warriors and crouching sycophants, fitly celebrated the completeness of his conquests and the vastness of his domains.

“Thou didst finish, finish nations,
 Whither wilt thou send to battle?
 Yea, whither wilt thou send to battle?
 Thou didst conquer kings,
 Whither wilt thou send to battle?
 Thou didst finish, finish nations,
 Whither wilt thou send to battle?
 Yea! yea! yea!
 Whither wilt thou send to battle?”*

Here this Buonaparte of the Desert is extolled as finishing nations; and, while the victors proudly look abroad for an enemy unsubdued, they exultingly ask, “Whither wilt thou send to battle? Where is the king thou didst not conquer, or the nation thou didst not subdue?” Not thus could the veterans of the French Buonaparte sing. The

“sea-girt isle” proudly sat unmoved amidst the rocking of the Continent, whilst, chafed with biting rage, Napoleon saw his vast preparations to invade England’s shores, scattered by the winds or destroyed by the power which rode Queen of the Ocean, the glorious battle of Trafalgar extinguishing his hopes.

We have now arrived at that interesting epoch when this great black king is brought into contact with the white man, when the greatest black king of barbaric South Africa is brought into contact with the greatest white king of civilized Europe. This took place through the intervention of Messrs. Farewell, Fynn, and others, and is thus recorded by the former, who, writing to Lord Charles Somerset, the governor of the Cape at the time, says, “I communicated with Chaka, king of the Zulus, to whom belongs the whole of the country from Natal to Delagoa Bay, extending inland, according to their account, some hundreds of miles. After some difficulty, I obtained permission to visit him, and proceeded with a small party above one hundred and fifty miles N.N.E. from Port Natal to his residence, and had the pleasure of being the first European ever there. The king received us, surrounded by a large number of his chiefs, and above eight or nine thousand armed men, observing a state and ceremony in our introduction that we little expected. His subjects, over whom he has the most despotic authority, appeared to treat him with such submission and respect as to rank him far above any chief, I believe, at present known in South Africa; whilst the nations he governs are, in manners, customs, and mode of ornamenting themselves, so different from those hitherto known, as at once to astonish and please us.

“I had an opportunity of holding frequent interviews with the king, who seemed particularly pleased at hearing my intention in coming to Natal was to remain there, making me a sale and grant of part of his country in that neighbourhood, of which I beg leave to forward your lordship a copy through my agent, Mr. J. R. Thompson. He at the same time gave us a number of cattle for our support. He likewise expressed a wish to send two of his

chiefs to the Cape, for the purpose of being better acquainted with the English nation, which I have to request your lordship's permission for doing. We had an opportunity of further gaining his friendship, by curing him of a dangerous wound he received since we have been here; and I trust I shall, by frequent communications, and a studious endeavour to avoid giving offence, increase his and his subjects' confidence in us."*

Probably one reason why Utshaka was prepared to receive this small party of hardy adventurers with more state and ceremony than might otherwise have taken place, was, Mr. H. Fynn had before opened a communication with him, although not at that time admitted to an interview; and Jacob the Kaffir, of whom some account is given in my volume on the colony, having found his way to the "great place," after having been capsized in the boat of the "Levan," whilst Captain Owen was surveying the coast, would also give Utshaka some general account of the English at Graham's Town and the Cape. From the whole of this it is evident that Utshaka was desirous to cultivate friendly intercourse with the English, of whom he had heard much. And because he was so great a warrior and so perfect a despot, we are not to suppose he was destitute of every kind sentiment and generous feeling; this was by no means the case; but, on the contrary, when not excited or exasperated, he sometimes performed deeds worthy of a noble and generous nature, and in all his intercourse with the first English settlers he behaved with kindness and generosity. They were few and helpless, being entirely in his power, and a nod of his head was sufficient to seal their doom; but whilst he sometimes acted in a capricious manner towards them, yet he never injured them, but gave them liberally of his bounty in cattle, corn, &c., at the same time assigning the Natal country to their use. But we presume he did this rather as a Kaffir chief than an English king, *meaning thereby that Lieutenant Farewell should be the chief captain over that part of the country where he resided, subject to his royal*

* CHASE. "Natal Papers," vol. i., pp: 17, 18.

master ; and not that the country in question should be alienated. This is the more probable, inasmuch as afterwards he gave the same country to Mr. H. Fynn, and subsequently to Lieutenant King ; and at a still later period Udingaan gave it in the same way to the Boers. We shall here insert a copy of the agreement with Lieutenant King, which, though anticipating some other transactions, will prevent the necessity of breaking the narrative of other events.

“ AT CHAKA’S PRINCIPAL RESIDENCE, UMBOLOLI,

February, 1828.

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

“ I hereby grant him, my said friend J. S. King, in consideration of the confidence I repose in him, of various services he has already rendered me, presents he has made, and, above all, the obligations I am under to him for his attention to my mother in her last illness, as well as having saved the lives of several of my principal people, the free and full possession of my country near the sea-coast and Port Natal, from Natal Head to the Stinkien River,

including the extensive grazing flats and forests, with the islands in the Natal harbour, and the Mataban nations, together with the free and exclusive trade of all my dominions; and I hereby confirm all my former grants to him.

“JOHN JACOB.

“ X (his mark.)

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

(Signed)

“ N. J. ISAACS.

“ Sworn before H. Hudson, Esq., resident magistrate of Port Elizabeth, July 29th, 1828, by Nathaniel Isaacs and John Jacobs, the interpreter, as a true document, and signed in their presence.”

This document bears upon its face unmistakeable evidences of authenticity, and is very creditable to the parties by whom it was prepared, showing that the best feelings existed between Utshaka and the early settlers, and exhibiting on his part a very laudable desire to live in friendly relations with His Britannic Majesty; and evincing a disposition for his people to improve in the arts of civilized life, by beholding those displays of military power and civil advancement, which a visit to England must impart; and by which the representatives of this great barbarian might, on their return, give that information to their lord and his people, which might be of the utmost value to them in their intercourse with, and relation to, the white man; good faith characterizing the whole.

In the execution of this plan, Messrs. King, Farewell, and Isaacs embarked in the small vessel they had built, and which was called “Chaka,” on the 30th of April, 1828, taking with them Sotoby and Bosombosa, chief Indoonas of Utshaka, and Jacob as interpreter. They successfully conducted their small new craft to Algoa Bay, where they cast anchor on the 4th of May, and were quickly boarded by the port captain and the surgeon from the port. Communications were quickly opened between the parties, Messrs. King, Farewell, and Isaacs, and the government authorities; but these appear, from Mr. Isaacs’ account, to have been conducted, on the part of the latter, with

anything but that consideration and generosity to which the parties were fairly entitled; being calculated to provoke and irritate the early settlers, as well as inspire feelings of disappointment, disgust, and chagrin, in the hearts of the Amazulu chiefs. After three months' negotiation and altercation, the result was, that the "Helicon" was sent round to take the chiefs on board, and convey them back to their country, without their having seen the Cape or the governor, or anything else calculated to inspire them with respect or esteem for their new acquaintances; which, in its results, occasioned a large amount of unnecessary trouble and suffering, both to the settlers and the natives. The disappointment, chagrin, and trouble arising out of these transactions, were supposed to have occasioned either the sickness of Lieutenant King, which terminated in death; or to have greatly aggravated the symptoms which proved fatal. The whole affair was greatly to be regretted, as the parties, both white and black, were entitled to consideration and generous treatment. For although the position of the English at Natal was peculiar, yet they were not a set of low renegades or rebels, but persons of respectability amongst their own people, and entertained nothing but feelings of loyalty towards their king; being anxious to establish intercourse and commerce between their nation and Natal; and the representatives of Utshaka were not come on a *begging* or *complaining* expedition, but for the purpose of *establishing friendly and fraternal relations* with the greatest known nation (to them) in the world. What could occasion this treatment we are not able to tell. When they were sent back, we believe that presents and friendly expressions were returned with them; but these were despised in the heart of a haughty despotic monarch, and could but ill atone for what he would regard as a gratuitous affront. Upon the whole, the English authorities and settlers in their dealings with natives have proceeded with kindness and consideration towards the various black races of South Africa; but there have been instances in which the former especially, either from want of knowledge, consideration, or capacity, have greatly mistaken the character of those

with whom they had to do, and, perhaps without any unkind intention, have performed thoughtless or arbitrary acts, which have occasioned immense mischief and the loss of many lives. We know "how great a matter a little fire kindleth" sometimes among civilized nations; but among barbarians a single spark has been deposited in the heart, which lies smouldering for years, and then in some unexpected moment, without any apparent adequate cause, has burst forth into a mighty flame, consuming all within its reach.

It is not needful to detain the reader by a detailed account of the wars of Utshaka from the time the English settlers became acquainted with him to the close of his illustrious career. But one event occurred of such magnitude and importance as to claim for it a distinct notice in this place: that was, the betrayal and flight of Umoselekatsi, who was one of Utshaka's great captains, on the north of his extensive dominions; and who, in his flight, became the Utshaka of the north-east, being designated by Captain Harris "the Lion of the North." As Mr. Moffat has visited this great captain or king, and has held friendly intercourse with him, I shall transcribe the brief account given by that noble and laborious missionary:—"When a youth, his father was the chief of an independent tribe. His people were attacked by one more powerful, and routed. He took refuge under the sceptre of Chaka, who was then rendering his name terrible by deeds of crime. Moselekatsi, from his intrepid character, was placed at the head of a marauding expedition, which made dreadful havoc among the northern tribes; but, instead of giving up the whole of the spoils, he made a reserve for himself. This reaching the ears of Chaka, revenge instantly burned in the tyrant's bosom, who resolved to annihilate so daring an aggressor. Moselekatsi was half prepared to take flight, and descend on the thickly-peopled regions of the north, like a sweeping pestilence. He escaped, after a desperate conflict with the warriors of Chaka, who killed nearly all the old men and many of the women. His destructive career among the Bakone tribes has been noticed; but dire as that was,

it must have been only a faint transcript of the terror, desolation, and death, which extended to the utmost limits of Chaka's arms. Though but a follower in the footsteps of Chaka, the career of Moselekatsi, from the period of his revolt to the time I saw him, and long after, formed an interminable catalogue of crimes. Scarcely a mountain but bore the marks of his deadly ire. His experience and native cunning enabled him to triumph over the minds of his men, and made his trembling captives soon adore him as an invincible sovereign: those who resisted and would not stoop to be his dogs, he butchered. He trained the captured youth in his own tactics, so that the majority of his army were foreigners; but his chiefs and nobles gloried in their descent from the Zulu dynasty. He had carried his arms far into the tropics, where, however, he had more than once met with his equal; and on one occasion, of six hundred warriors, only a handful returned, to be sacrificed, merely because they had not conquered, or fallen with their companions. Abject representatives came, while I was with him, from the subjugated tribes of the Bamanguato, to solicit his aid against a more distant tribe, which had taken their cattle. By means like these, it may be said, 'He dipped his sword in blood, and wrote his name on lands and cities desolate!' His voice, soft and effeminate, did not indicate that his disposition was passionate; and, happily for his people, it was not so, or many would have been butchered in the ebullitions of his anger.

"The above is but a faint description of this Napoleon of the desert,—a man with whom I often conversed, and who was not wanting in consideration and kindness, as well as gratitude; but to sympathy and compassion his heart appeared a stranger."

Moselekatsi still lives, and reigns, and triumphs; whilst the man from whom he derived his knowledge and power has long slept in the silent grave, and his name is now only remembered and used by his people with reverence and praise. This intrepid Missionary has again recently visited this "Napoleon of the desert," some extracts from whose account we should now introduce, were it not for

extending these observations to an undue length. Moselekatsi has, on this last occasion, displayed all the kindness, and consideration, and attention towards the “messenger of the churches,” which his “circumstances allowed;” and we hope that the instructions, advices, and prayers of this servant of Christ may not be lost upon the heart of this great man and the numerous people under his control.

To return to Utshaka, his last foray towards the westward was in 1828, when his army proceeded so far as the Umzinkulu, destroying all before them, and taking all the cattle they could find; but this was rather a plundering excursion than a victorious campaign, as there were none to offer any great impediment to their desolating course. My informant was the great captain commanding in this war, Utshaka not being with the army.

The last army of this great, cruel man was again quickly collected, and it was one of the most numerous he had sent forth. Its destination was to the north-east, against a numerous people dwelling on the Palula River; old and young were summoned, immediately on their return from the last expedition to the Umzinkulu. Without allowing them time to rest, this immense host was sent forth; but neither Utshaka in person, nor Abantwana, who commanded on the last foray, went with the army. This army was the last of the great warrior, and departed to return no more. A sin-avenging God met and smote them, and they died without human hands. The mighty host of the boasting Sennacherib was slain by the angel of the Lord; and in the morning, when they should have risen to march in triumph against the defenceless Israelites, behold, “they were all dead corpses.” Buonaparte marched with threatenings and slaughter, with the flower of the French army, against the north, but returned a fugitive from the cold and snow of Moscow; his well-appointed, conquering veterans being seized by a frosty hand, icy-bound, expired. What took place in these displays of retributive providence in connexion with other lands and amongst other nations, was now fearfully effected in this savage host. Before they reached their destination, or lifted their hand against the

foe, they were attacked by a terrible disease, which they designated "*blood sickness*,"—probably a species of cholera. They were seized with dreadful pains in the bowels, which at once laid them prostrate on the ground, groaning under the most awful torture, and producing bloody evacuations, which quickly terminated in death. Scarcely any survived this fearful pestilence; the few who did only returned to tell by their wasted and emaciated forms the tale of death.

Before we relate the tragic end of Utshaka, we must give some account of his proceedings at home; there was the "reign of terror" in his capital, as well as the terror of his arms in the distance. In doing this, we shall be as brief as the subject will allow. Those who wish for more numerous and lengthened details may find them in the work of Mr. Isaacs. In giving a general description of what took place at the Amazulu capital, I shall again quote from the popular work of Mr. Moffat, what he personally witnessed at the "great place" of Umoselekatsi:—"His government, so far as I could discover, was the very essence of despotism. The persons of the people, as well as their possessions, were the property of their monarch. His word was law, and he had only to lift his finger or give a frown, and his greatest nobles trembled in his presence. No one appeared to have a judgment of his own; none dared negative an opinion breathed by his sovereign. When any were permitted to approach his person, they crouched softly, muttering his names. Messengers from the distant out-stations of his dominions were constantly arriving. These laid down their spears and shields at a distance, approached, and then kneeled about thirty yards from his royal person; and when it was his pleasure to receive the communication, it was conveyed by one of his chiefs in waiting. Some of these brought the news of the attacks of lions on some parts of his distant herds; but no one presumed to be the reporter without bringing the head and the paws of the animal which had dared to assail the possessions of its mighty namesake.

"Although his tyranny was such that one would have supposed his subjects would execrate his name, they

were the most servile devotees of their master. Wherever he was seated, or wherever he slept, a number of sycophants, fantastically dressed, attended him, whose business was to march, jump, and dance about, sometimes standing adoring his person, then manœuvring with a stick, and vociferating the mighty deeds of valour performed by himself and Machobane. The same things are repeated again and again, often with a rapidity of articulation which baffles the understanding of their own countrymen. After listening many times, I was able, with the assistance of one of these parasites, to pick up the following expressions: ‘O Pezoolu, the king of kings, king of the heavens, who would not fear before the son of Machobane, mighty in battle? Where are the mighty before the presence of our great king? Where is the strength of kings before our great elephant? The proboscis is breaking the branches of the forest! It is the sound of the shields of the son of Machobane. He breathes upon their faces; it is the fire among the dry grass! His enemies are consumed before him, king of kings! Father of fire, he ascends the blue heavens; he sends his lightnings into the clouds, and makes the rain to descend. Ye mountains, woods, and grassy plains, hearken to the son of Machobane, king of heaven!’ This is a specimen of the sounding titles which incessantly meet the ear of this proud mortal, and are sufficient to make the haughty monarch believe that he is what the terror of the name of Dingaan convinced him he was not; for, notwithstanding all his vain boasts, he could not conceal his fears of the successor of the bloody Chaka, against whose iron sway he had rebelled.”

If this graphic description exhibits the servant, what then may we expect the daily court of the master to have been? It was all this, and as much more of exciting and imposing ceremony as was capable of being crowded into it; and, withal, a large addition of terror and blood. It is stated on the best authority that when Utshaka was at home, the day never closed without one or more victims falling the prey of his caprice or fury; and this frequently by impalement, which, whilst producing excruciating

agony, made the death slow and lingering. In this manner blood was spilled like water, and mangled human corpses were common as their daily food, making the capital Aceldama, a vast "field of blood."

Without multiplying instances, the writer will describe one scene which may be regarded as an illustration of the rest. It has already been observed that to name a successor to the chieftainship, whilst the chief was living, was a capital offence among the Amazulu. But Utshaka was resolved that no successor there should be to excite his fears or create his jealousy. Unlike crowned heads amongst civilized nations, who are most anxious to have heirs to their thrones in a direct line of succession, he would never marry. Hence all the women and girls that he had to gratify his lust, were only concubines, and even in their case they were not allowed to be the living mothers of living children; but if they happened to be pregnant, they must take a certain medicine, used for the purpose, in order to effect abortion. By some it has been declared that to become pregnant at all was a capital offence, but of this the writer is not certified. But if the poor unfortunate creature became a mother, then mother and infant must be immolated together, and very many were thus inhumanly cut off. A refinement of jealousy and cruelty so intense that scarcely any parallel to it has been known. There, however, occurred one instance in which secrecy was preserved, and the child was born without the knowledge of this unnatural despot. But one day, as he passed the house of his mother, he saw her playing with the child of one of his women; upon which, he instantly departed to his own house, and, taking an assagai, returned, and thrust it to the heart of his parent-victim; the spear entered under the arm, and soon effected the work of death. This, however, did not close the tragical scene, but, returning to his palace, he called for the *Tsanusi*, ("witch doctors,") in order that by their incantations they might detect, or "smell out," the authors of this foul deed. Many were declared to be engaged in the crime, either directly or by implication, and were instantly put to a torturing death. But still the hypocrisy of the

man and cruelty of the deed were not consummated. In order more effectually to divert attention from himself, he ordered a general mourning to take place through the land; the whole nation must weep and wail, "be clothed in sackcloth and ashes;" fasting also was added to weeping; the cows must not be milked, but run wildly, the land being desolate. Neither man nor beast must be allowed to exhibit any aspect but that of the bitterest grief. This last part of the farce, however, was too much for the hungry youths, the carriers, herds, servants, &c., who could not control their appetites, but who, in the absence of all other means, stole secretly into the kraal during the night, and, making a vessel of their mouths, supplied themselves with a little milk. This was a dangerous experiment, as also one of great temerity, and they had to pay dearly for their drops. The crime was detected. They must die. The warriors were required to surround the kraal at a given time, the offenders were ordered out, they were fallen upon and butchered, not one being allowed to escape; probably fathers had to slaughter their own children, but to have hesitated would have been instant death. We have heard and read of certain gentlemen who have said very fine things about the excellence of "human nature without the Gospel;" here they have it in unadulterated perfection; let them read and reflect upon this page and others of a similar nature which were of frequent occurrence, through the life of this "unoffending, unsophisticated child of nature," and then say what are the excellencies of "natural religion." But from such scenes, corrected, softened, elevated Christian man recoils with a thrill of horror, shame, disgust, and loathing. "The dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty."

A different version is given of this event by the Rev. J. L. Dohne in his Introduction to his "Zulu Dictionary," where he states, when writing upon the subject of mere succession: "Chaka would have shared the same fate, had he not been removed in time from his father's presence; or, which is more probable, had his mother, Ummandi, not availed herself of a custom which permitted her to go on a visit to

her father, Udingiswao, chief of the Umtetwa tribe, at whose place she gave birth to this child, who was left in charge, not of Udingiswao, but of his Induna, Umgomane, in order to be preserved as well from his grandfather's cruelty as from his father's." And in a note, "This stratagem, by which Umnandi saved her child, bound Chaka to her with an affection which was never before witnessed among these savages. When she died, the rude conqueror was overwhelmed with grief. It is scarcely possible for history to record an instance in which there was greater mourning and lamentation for the dead than in the obsequies celebrated by Chaka on his mother's decease. Thousands of his people voluntarily killed themselves, and thousands of cows were slain, with the object of causing their calves to suffer the pangs of hunger, and at length to die of starvation, in order that the brutes might also feel how great was the loss of a kind and beloved mother."

Mr. Dohne is a high authority, from whom I should not like to differ in any material point stated; but unless he has had access to the same authorities for his information that I have, I do not think there are others equally able to give particular information on these points. Abantwana, Utshaka's uncle, was the only person I ever met with who was present in all these transactions; and being a youth growing up when Utshaka was born, he was not likely to be ignorant, especially as he was next the king. My other authority was an European of unquestionable veracity, who had been long in the land, spoke the language like a Zulu, was familiar with their customs, had been many times at the great place, and mingled with them in general converse as well as other transactions; and who could have no design to deceive. With both these persons I conversed often, telling them that the information was for publication, and that they must be careful to state nothing but what they knew to be correct. Besides, I am not aware that previous to the time of Utshaka it was unlawful for a successor to live, but rather have regarded the law and practice as established by him. Thus Utshaka stood not alone, as Udingaan and Umpanda were both brothers of Utshaka, and they were not likely to have all been saved by stratagem.

But one remarkable feature in these scenes of murder we must not omit to notice, which was, that whilst these wretched beings were thus daily put to a most cruel death, we might expect that their execrations would be called forth against the pitiless author of their woes, instead of which they died uttering the most fulsome flatteries, and extolling his praises until their voices were silenced in death. May not the Christian learn a lesson here?—"Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him." How often does the unsanctified heart of the Christian repine at the chastisements of his heavenly Father, whilst the victims of the most cruel and relentless despot that ever lived die adoring their king!

Another remarkable feature connected with these tragic scenes was, that although the men who inflicted these tortures upon their fellow-mortals knew not but that the next day they might be called to endure similar sufferings, yet they resorted to various methods for the purpose of inflicting gratuitous pain, as though the agony of impalement was not in itself sufficient, but needed the aggravation of every refinement of torture; exhibiting a savage ferocity truly fiendish,—hanging, shooting, shattering at the cannon's mouth being mercy compared to it.

We now approach the final scene of this remarkable man. If he had "died the common death of all men," we might have been led to suppose that the laws of nature were inverted, and that the world was left without a moral governor, and man relieved from moral responsibility and obligation. But, if there is a "God who ruleth in heaven and orders the affairs of men, whose kingdom ruleth over all," then may we reasonably expect that his end would be a fitting close to so bloody a life; and so it was; judgment overtook him in a moment. Whilst a malignant disease had seized his host of renowned warriors, and laid them dead in heaps, distant from his capital, his brother had matured his plans for assassinating him. He was now at the *acme* of power, with apparently no foe to meet, no danger to apprehend, and no evil to dread; possibly, in his swelling pride asking, "Who was Lord over him?" when lo! in a moment, when least expected,

from a quarter and by a person not suspected, he was seized, stabbed, expired!

He was sitting at noon in his kraal, conversing with his amapakati, or chief captains and councillors, amongst whom was my aged informant; fearing no enemy, suspecting no treachery; when Udingaan, with a select number of desperate accomplices, sprang from behind the houses, each seized his victim and thrust the spear to his heart, without allowing time for defence or flight. Utshaka implored mercy, and promised if spared he would be a servant for ever; but in vain; he had shown no mercy to others, and now none could be exercised towards him. (See plate.) Utshaka the great is fallen, the mighty warrior lies weltering in his gore; he who made the nations to tremble is stretched powerless in the arms of death. This event took place on the Umvoti River, not far from the present site of Mr. Grout's Mission Station. When the colony was taken by the British, this place was given to a Dutch farmer of the name of T. Potgieter, the farm measuring 6030 acres in extent.*

We cannot close the history of this great destroyer of the human race, without a few observations suggested by the unique character of what has passed under review.

Utshaka was indeed "the scourge of God;" but was it, as "God's sword," merely to desolate nations, and "pour out the vials of His wrath" upon offending men? Or, was it also to prepare the way for a new part to be acted upon this portion of the South African stage? Probably both. Doubtless these heathen nations deserved the chastisement they received; but, at the same time, the righteous Governor of the universe determined, in the "counsels of His own will," that a new and brighter era should open upon this dark, pagan land. These richly crowned hills and fertile valleys were now to be trod by the foot of civilized, Christian man, and yield their ample stores to the industry of continuous labour.

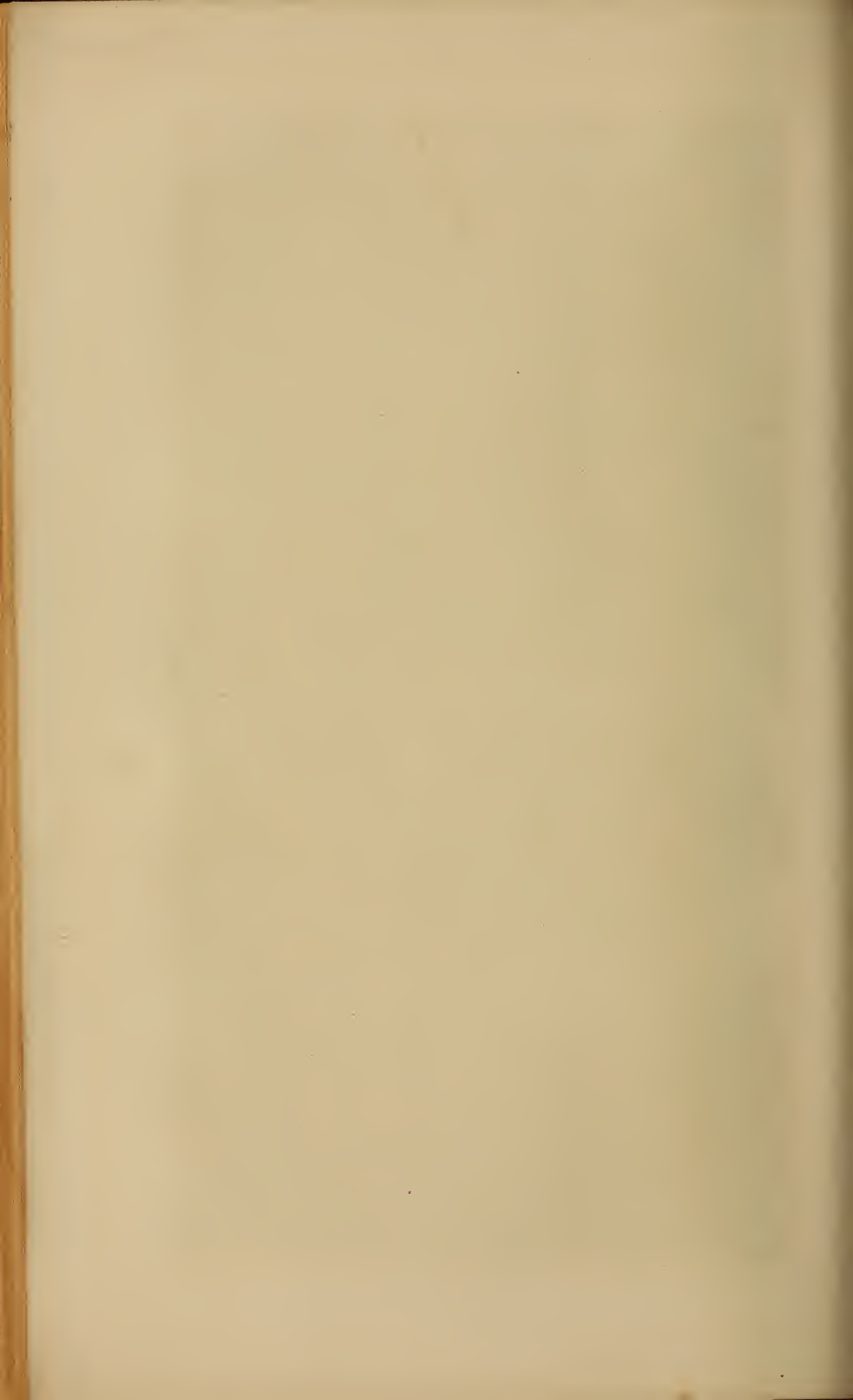
Whilst we repudiate the idea that civilization must precede Christianity, yet we are free to admit that, in some instances, the scourge of the sword prepares the

* See Warr's Map.



A. LA RIVIERE, LITHO. 18. CLIFTON STREET, E. C.

ASSASSINATION OF UTSHAKA BY RIEDINGAAN



way for the bloodless conquests of “the Prince of peace.” This was recently done in China, when the gates of the “celestial empire” were burst open by the force of arms, and the capital, enterprise, and Christianity of western nations allowed to enter. So, also, among the Kaffirs and Amazulu, on the eastern coast of South Africa, God has been preparing the way of His redeeming purposes in the use of means and instruments unseen and unrecognised by men. He has caused “the remainder of man’s wrath to praise Him;” has made the worst forms of human savagism prepare the way for the highest forms of human refinement, and the brightest displays of Christian philanthropy.

At the very time when these desolated regions were of small power, God brought Natal under the control of the greatest Christian nation of the world; and it is for the government and colonists of that nation now to fulfil their high destination,—making the natives of this land wise and good and great in return for the rich inheritance they have received.

A slight digression in this place will be pardoned, in which we take occasion to notice the manner in which “extremes meet,” and to show that despotism, whether personified in the individual Utshaka, or the multitude in France in the Revolution of 1790, is the same. The contrast will be made, not for the purpose of invidious comparison, but as affording an illustration of the philosophy of human nature, and proving how certain passions and principles, worked out under different circumstances, lead to the same results.

Despotism, whether in the individual or the multitude, is the same: the one presents the individual to view; the other, the mass personified: and both alike, when left uncontrolled, and allowed to carry out their own principles and dogmas to their legitimate results, produce effects revolting to humanity and harrowing to every correct feeling. These remarks apply almost equally to France during the Revolution of 1789 to 1792, and Zululand under the eventful reign of Utshaka. The points of contrast and similarity are remarkable. In contrast, the one

was placed in the centre of civilized Europe, the other in the centre of savage Africa: the one, intelligent, learned, and philosophic; the other, ignorant, selfish, and sensual: the one took "liberty, equality, and fraternity," as their watchword, and the basis of their principles and actions; the other denied all, admitting no right, claim, or will, but that of the despot king, to their final conclusions and results: the one was guided by reason and philosophy, the other by passion and caprice. With these marked contrasts there were striking points of resemblance. The former was without God, having deified reason; the latter was without God, having never known His name: the former was without the Sabbath, having blotted it from the number of "sacred days;" the latter was without the Sabbath, having never heard of "the pearl of days:" the former was without the Bible, having ignored the "sacred page;" the latter was without the Bible, having never heard "the joyful sound:" the former was without God and religion, having installed reason in the temple of God, and abolished the priesthood; the latter was a stranger to Jehovah's name, and that religion which His ministers proclaim. With these points of contrast and agreement, what was the result?—"The reign of terror." Savageism slew its thousands, civilization its tens of thousands. Paris, Lyons, Nantes, were the Umbololi of civilized France; the "great place" of the despot king, the Umbololi of Zululand. On these altars of "reason" and savageism the hecatomb of human beings was offered; but it is difficult to tell which had the largest number of victims, or which was polluted with the deepest stains of blood.

We are shocked with the executions which take place at the court of the savage Zulu; but what shall we say to the three millions of slain who baptized the earth with the best blood of France? Danton, Marat, Robespierre, and their satellites, drew out their lists of devoted victims by the score, the hundred, or the thousand; whilst the imperious Utshaka did it by a nod of the head or the motion of the hand. The one destroys the unborn fetus in the womb; the other sacks the tombs of the silent dead.

The one murders his subjects; the other murders king and subjects both.

Is this thy work, boasting reason? Are these thy conquests, high-sounding philosophy? Are these thy trophies, refined civilization? If so, then we know not which has the advantage, the civilized or the savage. The former dies, pouring execrations upon his murderer; the latter, extolling the praises of his king. But both alike teach us that reason, philosophy, fraternity, pride, ambition, glory, are defective. Both alike teach us that man without God is poor, and base, and wretched, whether in the individual or in the multitude; whether in the person or in the body politic. Human nature is rotten at the core; and, however you may alter the position and form of the different parts and members, unless you introduce into it something purer, higher, better, you may refrain your efforts, and allow fallen, depraved human nature to work its own way and effect its own ruin.

If you would mend man, you must *Christianize* him. You must correct, elevate, heal him. You must renew his nature, change the lion into a lamb,—must raise his dark, selfish, sensual nature to heaven and God. If you are to benefit him, *you must bring God into the business; men cannot do it.* Man defies all the art and power of man; but when God is brought to bear upon man, then He works in him effectually the counsels of His own will, and man rises to God, feels His power, drinks at the fountain of bliss, and partakes of that nature, the distinguishing characteristic of which is LOVE; and love to God soon manifests itself in love to man. The savagism of the heathen or the philosopher is no more; both lie at the feet of Jesus, “clothed, and in their right minds;” and both unite in proclaiming “good-will to man.” Yes; mercy and good-will in the place of blood and death.

II. UDINGAAN, LITERALLY, "POOR FELLOW."

WE have already made some passing remarks upon the person, character, and conduct of Udingaan. He was a younger son of Usenzengakona than Utshaka, but was nevertheless the proper heir to the Amazulu throne on the demise of his father, being the son of the "great wife," and, therefore, according to Kaffir law, the rightful heir to the chieftainship. But when his father died, the sceptre being seized by Umakadama, as before related, Udingaan was not in a position to take the chief authority from the usurper; Utshaka did this by the aid of the warriors obtained from the Umtetwas.

We have not much knowledge of the character and proceedings of Udingaan previous to his becoming chief; only, that he was chief Indoona (first minister of state) under Utshaka, at the time when he massacred his brother. The probability is, that Utshaka had carried his tyranny and jealousy to so great an extent, as to render it impossible for Udingaan to remain in safety any longer at the "great place;" and if he should attempt to flee from the wrath of Utshaka, there was no place to which he could go with any fair probability of safety. And, further, doubtless many of the Amazulu nation were become weary of the butcheries daily perpetrated by Utshaka; indeed, Udingaan would not have ventured upon the murderous step he took, had he not been fully aware that he would be supported by the majority of the nation; for, if he failed in the attempt, he must of necessity perish, together with not only his immediate accomplices, but also with all who were *suspected*. The most extensive and frightful slaughter of human beings must have been the inevitable consequence. The manner in which Udingaan effected his deadly design has been already related. His immediate comrades were Mopa and Umhlagan. This tragic deed was executed on the Umvoti river, where Utshaka was at that time residing, and which is now part of the Natal Colony. These three desperate men, with, probably, a few others, fell upon Utshaka at mid-day from behind one of the houses at the "great place;" whilst the "hyæna

man" was quietly and unsuspectingly talking with his councillors and basking in the sun at noon. All attempts at resistance and escape were in vain; the man who had made the nations to tremble was laid in the dust. There was now no obstacle or impediment to prevent Udingaan from ascending the throne, which was done without hesitation or delay; and he was at once acknowledged as king by the majority of the Amazulu nation. But having obtained the chieftainship by treachery, murder, and blood, he could not be firmly fixed in authority, or feel himself secure, whilst the leading captains and friends of Utshaka lived; so that his first business was, as quickly as possible, to cut them off, either by private assassination or public execution. So many of these as could effect their escape, did so. Amongst whom was Abantwana, of whom I have before spoken, who was sitting about two yards from Utshaka when Udingaan fell upon him: the brother of this man was slain at the time, but Abantwana made his escape in the *mélée*, and found refuge in the bush; and afterwards, under cover of darkness, made good his flight. At the same time, *Mawa*, the only sister of *Utshaka*, Udingaan, and *Umpanda*, fled in company with Abantwana, and, after wandering some time as fugitives, they made their way to the Umhlote river, when *Mawa* died a natural death, near the present site of *Verulam*. Abantwana, with his friends and companions, remained for some time near the Bay, living awhile on the Umbilo river, and afterwards on the small Umhlanga river. Some of the family are now among the native Christians at *Verulam*.

For the sake of additional security Udingaan removed his capital from the Umvoti river, where Utshaka was massacred, to the White Umfolose river, which lies about forty-five miles from the sea, and probably 150 or 160 from the Bay to the north-east. The name of this celebrated savage capital was *Ungungunhlova*,—literally, "the rumbling noise of the elephant."

After Udingaan had thus removed the immediate source of danger, he rested awhile from blood and death; and some supposed that this arose from his being brought

into contact with the English settlers at the Bay, by which the softening and humanizing influences of civilization were brought to bear upon him: but subsequent events proved that this was not the case, as nothing could exceed the treachery and ferocity by which he destroyed many of the Dutch Boers, and daily immolated some of his own people.

He was now brought into more direct and frequent contact with the white man. Shortly after he became chief he sent John Cane, one of the settlers of the Bay, to Graham's Town, on what was to him important business; and Jacob the Kaffir, of whom we have before written, (in the History of Natal,) as interpreter; who went very reluctantly. Whilst he was in Graham's Town, the writer has been informed on good authority, Jacob was seized by the authorities as being a convict escaped from Robin Island, and detained until the return of Cane. This we regard as an unjustifiable act, so far as we have the means of judging from the information in our possession, as Jacob had never attempted to make his escape from Robin Island in an unlawful manner. But, as Captain Owen, of the "Julia," was about to proceed to examine the eastern coast, and was requiring an interpreter, and no other person could be found, Jacob was sent for that purpose, placed under charge of Captain Owen; and, when they were off St. Lucia, was sent in a boat under charge of Mr. Fannin; when the boat was capsized, and Jacob saved himself by swimming; upon which he was called by the natives "*Thlambamanze*," having saved himself from the water. He subsequently found his way to Utshaka's capital, and in time became a great captain under him, acting as his interpreter in his intercourse with the white man. When Utshaka died, Udingaan still retained him in the same employment, but with his power and status much diminished; so that for Jacob to be seized some ten or twelve years later, when on a mission from his sovereign, was what we regard as a very unwarrantable proceeding; and, though apparently small and trifling in itself, nearly cost the lives of all the British settlers at Natal; being to some extent the

cause of that future course of mischief pursued by Jacob, which nearly brought about this result. Certain it is that he was greatly enraged and exasperated, and only waited an opportunity to vent his wrath upon those who might in any way fall under his dark and malicious spirit. An opportunity for this soon arose. On their return to Natal, Cane declined going personally to the "great place," to make the chief acquainted with the result of his mission. He had doubtless reasons sufficiently strong for so doing. Udingaan sent for him, but in vain; he persevered in his refusal; which led Udingaan to send down his army to destroy the settlers. But for this there were other causes than Cane's refusal to go up to the great place; as it is affirmed that Jacob, on his arrival there, represented that the English were about to come with an army and cut off Udingaan and his people,—thus falsely and maliciously carrying out the revenge conceived in Graham's Town. But probably the chief reason was, the one stated to me by Mr. H. Fynn, who affirmed that, as it was the rule of the Kaffirs to cut off the captains and friends of a deceased chief, especially when that chief had been destroyed by the one in authority, he (Fynn), as well as Cane, and the other settlers, were called up to the capital, and they feared it was for the purpose of having them destroyed; and, therefore, they all refused to go, thinking it was safer to brave the consequences, than place themselves, powerless, in the hands of an enraged despot, from whom there was no possibility of escape. Udingaan then sent his army to the Bay. The utmost secrecy was preserved. Cane was to be destroyed; but, having been made aware of the workings of his treacherous foe, he escaped into the Berea bush just before the warriors arrived, when they destroyed every vestige of what existed, not allowing dog, or cat, or fowl to live. In order to prevent Mr. Fynn from feeling any apprehension of danger, and to lull suspicion, Umtobella was sent to him to ask for beads, &c.; but Mr. Fynn was aware of his insecure position, and fled with his people and cattle towards the Umzinkulu; where, no sooner had the army destroyed the whole establishment of Cane, than they pursued Fynn. There were two regiments, probably

3,000 warriors. They overtook and fell upon Fynn and his people in the night, killed twelve or fourteen men, took the cattle, and returned under cover of the night. In the morning Fynn collected his people to pursue them and retake the cattle, but in vain—they were gone. The other British residents at the Bay fled, some to the Bluff, and others left the country altogether, in despair.

These fierce warriors lay about the Bay a short time, until every vestige of property was destroyed; and then returned to their captain, having executed their commission to the full.

About the year 1833, when quietness had for some time been in the land, the settlers at the Bay and their people again recovered to some extent; and the tribes beyond having a little breathing time, Udingaan sent down spies to ascertain whether cattle were to be found in the land. These were Umgoduka, Umhlangan, and Umpezulu, who, on their return, reported favourably; upon which the army was again collected, and dispatched along the range of the Drakenberg mountains; but before their arrival, the people and cattle had disappeared, having probably had either timely notice or good grounds to suspect what was coming. As the practice of these warriors was to take no commissariat with them, but make the enemy supply it, they were reduced to a state of starvation; and consequently, on their return by the Bay, they took a number of cattle from the settlers, which led to some sharp fighting, and produced considerable alarm. But the result proved, that it was only to supply their pressing wants, and not from hostile intentions. The consequences of this campaign were disastrous to the spies, who were sentenced to lose their eyes, as "they had brought a false report." An Englishman pleaded for them, and one was spared; but nothing could arrest the sentence of the other two,—“The eyes must tell lies no more.”

On the 29th of January, 1835, Captain Allen Gardiner arrived at Port Natal, on his way to the Zulu country, for the purpose of establishing a mission at the capital of the “great king.” This gentleman has since met with a

very tragical end, dying from starvation, with his devoted little band, in the Patagonian Mission. Some things connected with his proceedings at this time now naturally come under our observation, which we cannot omit, as he was *the first person to visit the Amazulu nation and king for the purpose of establishing a Mission there*. We quote his own account of his first visit to "Unkunglove" (more correctly Umgungunhlovi):—"When about half-way, a petty chief arrived, with orders to conduct me to the capital, and to kill a beast for us at the first place where he should meet us. Dingarn had expressed his desire that I should proceed, saying, that I was his white man, and must make haste! I shall now proceed at once to my first view of Unkunglove, on the afternoon of the 10th. This was obtained from a rocky hill covered with aloes and mimosas, intermixed with several large cauliflower-shaped euphorbia trees, growing to the height of sixty or seventy feet. Having descended to a beautiful spot, a continuation of the same ridge, to which I had pushed forward, for the sake of quietly enjoying a scene to me so fraught with interest, I dismounted under a wooded knoll, whence the circular fence of the town appeared like a distant racecourse on the left; while a range of rugged mountains, one remarkably table-topped, rising towards the north, hemmed in the prospect on the opposite side. Near this point the road branched off, one path leading to the principal gate of the town, and the other to the Issicordlo, or King's quarter; but which I had not perceived among the trees. As no voices were heard, and, after waiting an ample time, no traces of the party could be seen, I concluded that they must have passed unperceived, and accordingly made the best of my way by the only well-worn path that I could discern, and which I could distinctly trace to the very fence of the town. On reaching a shallow stream, which I forded, I suddenly found myself surrounded by thirty or forty women, who, laughing and shouting as they went, accompanied me as I proceeded towards a gate in the outer fence of the town; still under the idea that the party were in advance, and fearing that I should be deprived of the advantage of an

interpreter at the very time when his services would be most needed. At this moment a person suddenly came up, and, seizing the bridle of my horse, without further ceremony, turned him short round. The effect was so immediate and unexpected, that I did not at first recognise the individual, and struck at his hand with a stick; but in a moment I found that it was my servant, Umpondombeni; and from the hurry of his demeanour, and the intense anxiety he portrayed by his countenance, felt at once that all was not right. Submitting, therefore, to his guidance, he soon conducted me to the party, anxiously waiting my return upon the road which I should have taken; and where I found many of the baggage-bearers actually in tears, and all under the highest state of agitation and alarm.

“No causeless fears were theirs; for had I proceeded and entered by the gate I was approaching, they would all, it appears, by the custom of the country, have atoned for my mistake by their lives; and, as it was, there was still an apprehension that some at least would be capitally punished. We soon after entered the town, and, on application to the principal Indoona, (Umthlella,) two huts, not far from his own dwelling, were appointed; into one of which I was not sorry to creep, after the fatigues of the journey, having ridden and walked alternately since leaving the Tugela.

“A bundle of imphi and a large bowl of outchualla (native beer) were sent to my hut by order of Dingarn; and a messenger soon afterwards signified his wish to see me. Crossing the area of the circular town, accompanied by the chief who had been dispatched by Dingarn to conduct me to the capital, we were desired to sit at a short distance from the fence which surrounds the Issigordlo (a palace). After a little pause the bust only of a very stout personage appeared above the fence, which, I was soon informed, was the despot himself. He eyed me for a considerable time with the utmost gravity, without uttering a word. At last, pointing to an ox which had been driven near, he said, ‘There is the beast I give you to slaughter,’ and on this important announcement he disappeared. The

carcasses of several oxen, recently killed, were at this time lying in separate heaps not far from the gate of his fence, the quarters divided and piled one upon another; and in order, no doubt, to exhibit at once his wealth and his munificence, he again appeared slowly emerging from the arched gateway, and advancing with a measured step to the nearest animal mound. Instantly he was surrounded by fourteen or fifteen men, who ran from a distance, and crouched before him. A word and a nod were then given, and as quickly they arose and carried off the meat at full speed, holding it up the whole way with extended arms, and singing as they went. Another heap was then approached, and as systematically distributed; and so on, until the whole had been conveyed away in a similar pantomimic manner. Dingarn was habited in a blue dungaree cloak, relieved by a white border and devices at the back. The train swept the ground, and, although tarnished and worn, well became his height and portly figure. The soldiers' meat having now been duly apportioned, he slowly approached the place where we were seated, and in solemn silence stood motionless like a statue before me, until a chair was brought from within, when he at last sat down, and commenced a long conversation. His first inquiries were respecting the conduct of the guides, who were also present, seated in a group; but who were readily pardoned on the assurance which I gave, that if blame were attached, it must entirely rest with me, as I had mistaken the road, while in advance of the party. He then requested to know the object of my visit, which I found great difficulty in explaining.

“That my views were not in any degree connected with trade, he could understand; but what was God, and God's Word, and the nature of the instruction I proposed, were subjects which he could not at all comprehend. In order to give him some illustration, I related a few of the leading circumstances which in other heathen countries had led to the worship of God; and contrasted their superior character, and the many advantages which they possessed since their reception of Christianity, with their former condition. He asked if his people could learn also,

and seemed to regard the whole as an impossibility. The subject of the presents was then adverted to; but on this unfortunately I had little to say, but that they were on their way, and I hoped would arrive safely. Still he was not satisfied until I had not only enumerated every article, but entered into a minute description of each. The mention of a red cloak quite filled his mind, and seemed likely to suit his taste more than all the rest. He then asked if my king's name was George, and, on the mention of our most gracious sovereign, inquired how he governed his people. With so many decided proofs of despotism around, I considered this as rather a delicate question, and therefore avoided the circumstance of parliamentary interference altogether, by informing him that King William governed his people by means of his great men. He smiled, and seemed evidently to regard even this as an inconvenient approximation to popular institutions. Finding that he had now sufficiently relaxed in state reserve, I thought it a favourable opportunity again to revert to the subject of teaching, and requested permission to build a house for that purpose; but this was a knotty point, the objections to which I had yet to learn. No denial, however, was given; and I took my leave with a full understanding that a person should accompany me on the following day, to assist me in the selection of the spot. Dingarn had already expressed a desire to see 'the Book,' of which I had spoken so much, and now reminded me to bring it with me on my next visit."*

This extract shows, to some extent, the character of Udingaan, and the mode of proceeding at the savage court: the state he assumed,—the studied manner in which he meted and measured his sayings, walkings, and doings,—his display of liberality in distributing slaughtered beasts to savage flesh-eaters,—the mean selfishness of his nature in reference to the presents,—and last, though not least, the danger to which the lives of all were exposed, if they should incautiously take a wrong path, or allow

* GARDINER'S "Narrative of a Visit to the Zulu Country," pp. 28-33.

others to do so. The following day came; but no messenger arrived to direct him where he might erect a habitation for the purpose of commencing missionary operations. It was one thing to receive him as the representative of a great king; another, to give him "a local habitation and a name." Udingaan was willing to receive his presents, but not for him to teach his people truths and principles which would overturn the power of despotism, and the long-standing usages of a barbarous nation. Day after day passed without success in his favourite scheme; and he began to be treated with everykind of contumely by the chief Indoonas; whilst Udingaan studiously avoided seeing him or allowing any interview with him. Captain Gardiner required no small amount of patience to endure this continued course of intense provocation, especially after having been treated like a gentleman amongst his own people; and the wonder is, that he was not betrayed into some overt act by which a pretext might be found to endanger his safety, or take away his life. But at length he was more favourably entertained, and learned one cause at least of the hostility, real or apparent, which was manifested towards him, which is explained in the following extract:—"Jacob, (the same I have before described,) the native interpreter of the late Lieutenant Farewell, who was the first settler at Port Natal, from some cause became greatly incensed against the settlers, and took every opportunity to prejudice them in the eyes of Charka, at that time the sovereign of this country. He assured him that a white man, assuming the character of a teacher or Missionary, would arrive among them, and obtain permission to build a house; that, shortly after, he would be joined by one or two more white men; and, in the course of time, an army would enter his country, which would subvert his government, and, eventually, the white people would rule in his stead." (Pp. 37, 38.) The persevering captain, however, at length succeeded so far as to inspire confidence in the breast of his sable majesty, and friendly relations were established between them; and, ultimately, a treaty was entered into, by which Captain Gardiner engaged, on the part of the English settlers at

the Bay, to send back all deserters who might flee to them from Zululand; at the same time Udingaan engaging on his part to release his claim upon the settlers as his subjects. This treaty (a copy of which may be found in my work on the Colony, p. 61) was doubtless made by this self-denying gentleman from the best motives, and with the best intentions; but it was one which, from the peculiar circumstances in which the contracting parties were placed, scarcely admitted of being carried out. It did not give entire satisfaction to the English residents; and they called upon Captain Gardiner to fulfil its requisitions in the first instance, and with characteristic zeal and fidelity he carried it into operation. Several unfortunate persons having fled from under the iron rule of the great despot, Captain Gardiner undertook to convey them back to the capital of their country. The journey abounds with many touching incidents, which we cannot quote for want of space, only taking one or two short paragraphs towards the close. The whole party of natives fully calculated upon being put to death; but Captain Gardiner pleaded strongly that they might be spared, and entertained hopes of success, for a time. But the savage monarch was only too happy in having an opportunity of feasting his vengeance upon them, which his last answer to the worthy captain fully demonstrated:—"You have done your utmost in bringing them bound to me, and then speaking for them; but, as they have committed great offences, you must not ask for them any more. *Their bonds must kill them!*" I was not again to teach them; and he had given orders that they should not be supplied with food. Inhuman wretch! The death they had so much dreaded would have been mercy compared with the torture of lingering out a few more days of painful existence, and at last falling the famished victims of hunger and want. Too true, indeed, were the last words that fell from them on leaving my hut. As it appeared by their statement that Mankanjana alone had been informed that he was not to be killed, I endeavoured to quell their fears by saying that the king had himself assured me that all their lives should be spared; on which Nowha, in a mournful voice,

replied, 'They are killing us now.'" (P. 166.) Little indeed did this zealous Christian man think, when he penned the above paragraph, that the torturing death by the slow process of starvation, which he there describes, would be his own and that of his gallant band; and yet, in the inscrutable dispensations of Divine Providence, such was literally the case, when he, and Williams, and Irwin, with the other members of the fatal Mission, perished amidst the cold and storms and rocks of Del Fuego, without pity, and without help. His zeal was unbounded; but his judgment was not equal to his wishes, or the hazardous enterprises he undertook. The wonder to many in Africa was, that he did not lose his life *there*, from the hazardous nature of the exploits he engaged in, and the imprudent manner in which they were carried out; but God graciously watched over him, and did not allow a hair of his head to be touched, or savage men, or fierce beasts, or desolating scourges, or swollen rivers to destroy him. He did not at this time succeed in obtaining permission to establish a Mission at the "great place," but was allowed to establish one in a tract of country lying beyond the Tugela, called by him "Clomanthleen," as also one at the Bay. The Rev. A. Grout, of the American Mission, afterwards obtained permission to establish a Mission at the "great place;" but succeeded with great difficulty, as Udingaan urged the same objections as before. Subsequently, on the return of Captain Allen Gardiner from England, taking the Rev. Mr. Owen, of the Church Missionary Society, with him, an arrangement was made, by which Mr. Owen went to Udingaan's capital, and Mr. Grout to Clomanthleen.

We have now arrived at that period of Amazulu history in which the savage and the civilized were brought into fierce and deadly contact with each other, which terminated in the death of the chief, and the loss of the independence of the nation. Very early in 1838, a party of the Dutch farmers, who had left the colony, and emigrated into the interior, crossed the Quthlamba mountains, being desirous to settle in the Natal country. Several of them, headed by P. Retief, proceeded to Udingaan's capital, for the purpose of making arrangements to settle in the

country, and obtain lands for their own use. To this Udingaan consented, if they would first go and take a number of cattle from Sekonyella, the Mantatee chief, which he had stolen, and deliver them up to him. This proposal was accepted by the farmers, who at once set out for that purpose, and quickly brought the Mantatee chief to terms, by which the cattle were restored without bloodshed. On their return to their friends, Retief was disposed to take with him two hundred mounted men, well armed, to Udingaan's capital; thinking that this imposing force would at once strike awe into the mind of his Zulu majesty, and dispose him more sacredly to adhere to and fulfil any engagement that might be made, as also confer honour on him as a great chief, who was gratified with display. The friends of Retief took a different view of the subject, and, as the sequel shows, a more correct one. They were afraid that the jealousy of Udingaan would be excited by this imposing array, and that he might be tempted to commit acts of hostility by which their lives would be endangered. "Maritz, however, and some others, who could not forget the conduct of Usomoselikatsi, were inclined, if not to doubt Udingaan's friendly intentions, at least to give him no opportunity of executing any sinister design; and they therefore told Retief candidly that they disapproved of his intention, and that they feared the Zulu tyrant would not let slip an opportunity of striking a blow, when he found them too confident of safety, trusting themselves in his hands, in his own kraal, and amidst the Zulu nation. Mr. Maritz even went so far as to offer to go himself, attended by only two or three men, observing that 'if they were destroyed, it would be quite enough.'" This wise counsel, unfortunately, was not taken; and when Retief saw the reluctance which some of his friends manifested to his proposition, he still persevered, allowing those to go who chose to volunteer. About seventy of his countrymen acceded to this proposal, who were accompanied with thirty coloured persons as servants, or after-riders. The whole, being mounted and armed, proceeded to the "great place;" alas! it was to return no more. Udingaan received them graciously, and by his

apparent free and open-hearted conduct effectually lulled suspicion, entertaining them for several days with every show of friendship and good feeling, during which period a document was drawn up, by which he agreed to give to the farmers the territory from the Tugela to the Umzimkulu river, and from the sea to the Drakenberg mountains. He had given this said country away several times before, as also Utshaka before him, to different English residents at the Bay,—Farewell, King, Finn, &c. ; and we have often wondered why no allusion was made to their claims, either by the Boers or Udingaan, as by this time they were numerous, and had thousands of natives under them, and, as we think, had the first and strongest claim upon the country. But the reason probably was, that Udingaan had resolved that the Dutch should not have it at all, for during this time he was completing his arrangements to have the whole of the Dutch cut off; he therefore only made this agreement the more effectually to hide his dark and treacherous design, and enable him, without suspicion, to execute the horrible massacre he was plotting. We cannot better describe this heart-rending scene than by the letter of the Rev. Mr. Owen, an eye-witness of unexceptionable authority, who, in his Journal of February 2nd, 1838, thus writes:—"Feb. 2nd.—Dingaan sent for me at sunset to write a letter to Mr. Retief, who, with a party of Boers, is now on his way to the Zulu capital. The letter was characteristic of the chief. He said, 'his heart was now content, because he had got his cattle again.' (Some cattle which Mr. Retief had recovered for him from Sinkoyella, another chief, as the condition on which Dingaan would grant him territory.) He requested that the chief of the Boers would send to all his people, and order them to come up to the capital with him, but without their horses. He promised to gather together all his army to sing and dance in the presence of the Dutch, who he desired would also dance. He said he would give orders that cattle should be slain for them in every place through which they passed on the road, *and he promised to give them a country.* I asked how they could come without their horses? He said, 'Tell them they must bring their

horses, and dance upon them in the middle of the town, that it might be known who can dance best, the Zoolas or the Abulunga,'—the general name given to white people. The Dutch will be too wise to expose themselves in this manner.

“3rd.—Large parties of Zoolas, in their war dress, were yesterday evening entering the town. This morning, when we were at family prayer, the unusual sound of muskets was heard from the west; this proved to be the arrival of the Boers, who presently entered the town on horseback, with their guns in their hands. An immense concourse of Zoolas were present to receive them. The deputation, in number about sixty, brought back the cattle which they had received from Sinkoyella. The Boers immediately showed Dingaana the way in which they danced on horseback, by making a sham charge, causing the air to resound with their guns. This was something the Zoola chief had never witnessed. In their turn, the Zoolas exhibited their agility in dancing.

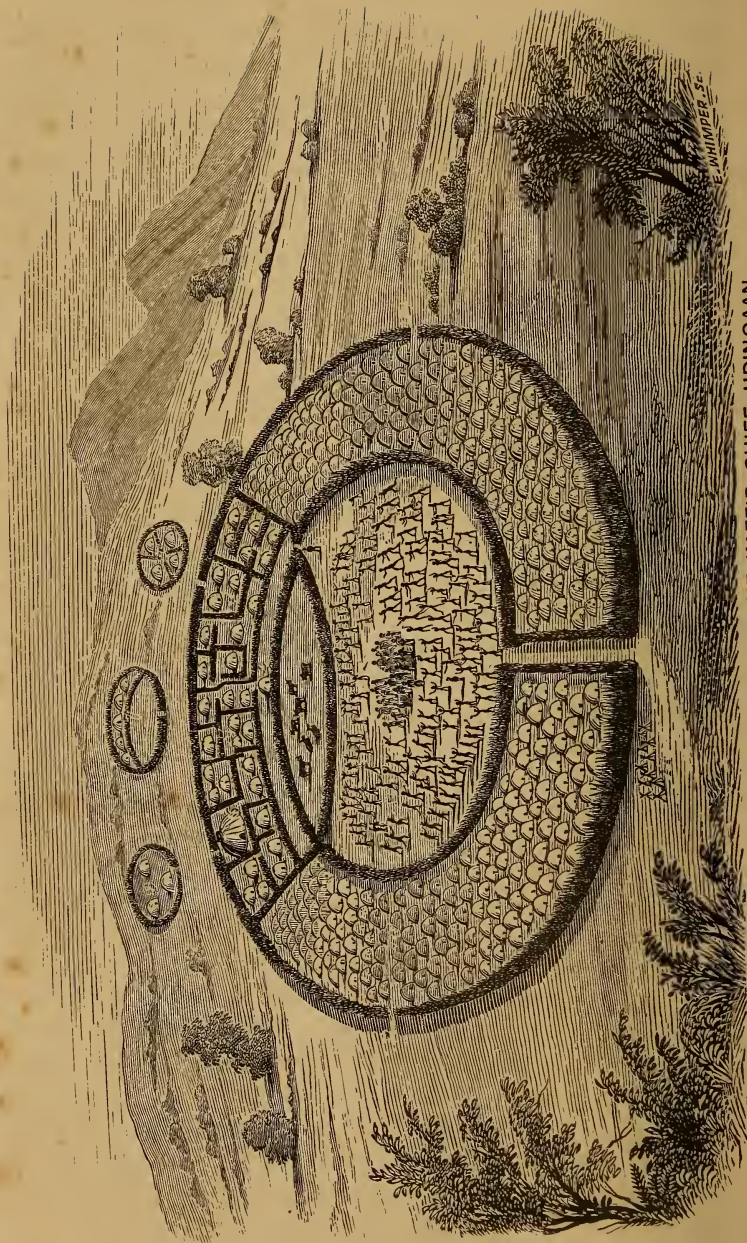
“6th.—A dreadful day in the annals of the Mission! My pen shudders to give an account of it! This morning, as I was sitting in the shade of my waggon, reading the Testament, the usual messenger came up with hurry and anxiety depicted in his looks. I felt sure he was about to pronounce something serious; and what was his commission? Whilst it showed consideration and kindness in the Zoola monarch towards me, it disclosed a horrid instance of perfidy, too horrid to be described, towards the unhappy men who have for a few days been his guests, but who are now, alas, no more! This news came like a thunder-stroke to myself, and to every successive member of my family, as they heard of it. The reason assigned for this treacherous conduct was, that they were going to kill him! That he was anxious for my reply; but what could I say? fearful, on the one hand, of seeming to justify this treachery, and, on the other, of exposing myself and family to probable danger, if I appeared to take their part. Moreover, I could not but feel it was my duty to apprise the Boers of the intended massacre, whilst certain danger would have en-

sued, I apprehended, should I be detected in giving them this information. However, I was released from this dilemma by beholding an awful spectacle. My attention was directed to the blood-stained hill, nearly opposite my hut, where all the executions at this fearful spot took place, and which was now destined to add sixty more bleeding bodies to the number of those who have already cried to Heaven for vengeance. 'There,' said one, 'they are killing the Boers now.' I turned my eyes, and beheld an immense multitude on the hill: about nine or ten Zoolas to every Boer were dragging their helpless, unarmed victims to the fatal spot, where those eyes which awoke this morning to behold the cheerful light of day for the last time, are now closed in death. I laid myself down on the ground: presently, the deed of blood being accomplished, the whole multitude returned to the town to meet the sovereign; and, as they drew near to him, they set up a shout that reached the station, and continued some time. Meanwhile I, myself, had been kept from all fear for our personal safety; for I considered Dingaans's message to me as an indication that he had no ill designs against his Missionary, especially as the messenger had informed me that Thomas Halstead, an Englishman from Port Natal, the Boers' interpreter, was to be saved. Nevertheless, fears afterwards obtruded themselves upon me, when I saw half a dozen men with shields sitting near our hut, and I began to fear lest we were to fall the next victims. At this crisis, I called all my family in, and read Psalm xci., so singularly and literally applicable to our present condition, that I could with difficulty proceed with it. I endeavoured to realize all its statements; and though I did not receive it as an absolute provision against sudden and violent death, I was led to Him who is our refuge from the guilt and fear of sin, which can alone make death terrible. We then knelt down, and I prayed, really not knowing but that in this position we should be called into eternity. Two of the Boers paid me a visit this morning, and breakfasted, only two hours before they were called into another world. When I asked them what they thought of Dingaans, they said, 'He was good,' so un-

suspicious were they of his intentions. He had promised to assign over to them the whole country between the Tugala and Umzimvooboo rivers, and this day the papers of transfer were to be signed. I have seen by my glass that Dingaan has been sitting most of the morning in the middle of the town since the dreadful affair, an army in several divisions collected before him. About noon the whole body *ran* in the direction in which the Boers came. They are, I cannot allow myself to doubt, sent to fall unawares on the main body of the Dutch, who are encamped near the head of the Tugala; for, to suppose that Dingaan would murder this handful, and not make himself master of the whole number, with their guns, horses, and cattle, would be to suppose him capable of egregious folly; as he must know that the other Boers will revenge the death of their countrymen. Certain it is, as far as human foresight can judge, we shall speedily hear of the massacre of the whole company of the Boers; or, what is scarcely less terrible, wars and bloodshed, of which there will be no end, till either the Boers or the Zulus cease to be. To Dingaan's message this morning I sent as guarded a reply as I could; knowing that it would be both foolish and dangerous to accuse him, at such a season, of perfidy and cruelty. Moreover, as his message to me was kind and well-intended, showing a regard to my feelings, as well as my safety, I judged it prudent and proper to thank him for it.

“7th.—I did not give an adequate idea of the carnage yesterday. I omitted to state that several of the Boers had children with them under eleven years of age, as I am informed, and all these are slain; they had likewise their Hottentot servants, and all these were slain, and also besides their interpreter and servants: the number of slain must have been nearer a hundred than sixty.

“9th.—My interpreter returned to-day, to my great joy. The king sent for him soon after his arrival, and gave him a very plausible account of the late affair; he said, ‘If he had not dispatched the Boers, they would have fired upon him and his people before they left.’ The perfidious tyrant gave the following account of the manner in which they were seized. He invited them all into a cattle-fold,



THE KRAAL, OR CAPITAL, OF THE KAFFIR CHIEF UDINGAAN.

to take leave of him; his people were then ordered to dance, and forming themselves, as usual, into a semi-circle, they approached nearer and nearer to the Boers, till he gave the command for them to seize hold of the unsuspecting victims of his jealousy. In the confusion their interpreter was seized contrary to his wish.*

The accompanying drawing presents a view of this remarkable scene; the farmers in the centre of the kraal, and the Amazulu warriors closing in upon them, and seizing their defenceless victims. They had been so completely imposed upon as to consent to leave their arms outside the fence, as may be seen in the drawing; and, by some it is asserted, had been induced to drink *utyala*, or native beer, with Udingaan and his people, when this treacherous monster gently retired behind the fence of his labyrinth, exclaiming, "*Solani quhla*," that is, "Sit," or "Abide comfortably;" or, "*Hamba quhla*," that is, "Travel well." His disappearance behind the fence was the signal for the onslaught, when instantly the whole were seized by as many Zulu warriors as could obtain hold of each man, and were dragged to an adjoining mound, where their brains were beaten out with knobbed sticks. The heart recoils from this scene of horror with chilling indignation. No words can too strongly express the consummate treachery and cold-blooded cruelty of this appalling deed.

But the work was not complete; the cup of blood and woe and death was not full. These men, mutilated and weltering in their gore, had those who, from wives, had become widows; and their sporting children were, with one fell, barbarous swoop, become fatherless. But alas! how quickly were they also to be involved in one great calamity, mingling their death-cries with those which had as yet scarcely died away on the passing breeze from the field of death! The warriors whom Mr. Owen had seen hastily running in the direction from which the Boers had come, were dispatched by the cruel despot to finish the work of slaughter by killing the widows and children of those already slain, together with their friends and

* BOYCE'S Notes, pp. 152-155.

comrades, and to seize their horses, cattle, and goods, so as to blot them from the book of life, and leave a dire blank, which before was filled up with many living characters. True to their mission, "their feet were swift to shed blood;" they had before tasted, and now the appetite was whetted. Blood was sweet; and, impelled forward with burning thirst, they hastened to the place on the Bushman's river, where a considerable number of waggons were collected. Suspicion had before been created amongst the Boers that all was not right; but this had been again allayed, and the families of Retief and his friends were anxiously looking out for their return. No voice had conveyed the sad tidings from the "Aceldama," that their blood had grown cold on the field of death; and now, alas! instead of those they loved, the joy of their hearts and stay of their lives, they had to meet the pitiless onslaught of furious savages. It is said that *ten regiments* were employed on this dreadful occasion, about fifteen thousand warriors, whose breasts were touched with no feeling of compassion for helpless women and innocent babes; but who, with revolting barbarity, put them to death, producing scenes harrowing to every feeling of humanity, and from which the sickened heart turns away with disgust. It is stated that five or six hundred were thus mercilessly destroyed, and that their murderers succeeded in taking away twenty to twenty-five thousand cattle, besides other things, to a place of security beyond the Tugela.

Altogether about six hundred and sixteen were massacred, viz. :—

African Dutch Farmers	120
Women.....	55
Children	191
Coloured People	250 *

The Boers mustered as quickly as possible, and deeds of desperate valour characterized the death struggle of that day, women and children assisting in expelling the hordes of savage invaders, until they were repulsed and driven

* CHASE, "Natal Papers," part ii., p. 8.

back, many of them being pursued to the river, and shot whilst crossing it. Five hundred fell on this occasion, besides those who in crossing the river were drowned.

There are a few considerations connected with these eventful transactions which we think it desirable to notice, before proceeding to narrate subsequent events. The *first* is,—That by the Dutch farmers applying to Udingaan for possession of the Natal country, they by that means acknowledged that he was the rightful owner of it; otherwise, he could not give them that which did not belong to himself. It is thus evident that he not only laid claim to it by right of conquest, but that *they* acknowledged that claim to be valid and well-founded. *Second*,—How was it that, on their part, in the application made, and, on the part of Udingaan, in the grant given, no reference whatever was made to the *claims of the English settlers at the Bay and the numerous natives under them?* For, it is a positive fact that *the Bay was occupied* by these parties, and a considerable portion of the land along the coast. It is computed that there were at least 10,000 aborigines, the remnants of the tribes broken and scattered and wasted by Utshaka, who were to all intents and purposes the original possessors of the soil; and these were collected under their own acknowledged chiefs, the English settlers; and, further, *at various times Utshaka and Udingaan had given the Natal territory to these parties.* One document, containing one of these transactions, has been quoted, being signed and entered in the colonial records; in which Utshaka gives the whole of this territory to “J. S. King and the Matterban natives.”* The seaport town of D’Urban was established, and the mercantile transactions connected with the Bay carried on; and three or four missionaries were actively employed in teaching the natives the great truths of Christianity, from the Umkomazi to the Tongaat rivers; and yet no reference whatever is made to these facts in the application of the Boers. *For those parts of the Natal territory which were not occupied, they might with propriety and fairness apply to Udingaan, but not*

* See CHASE. “Natal Papers.”

for that portion which had been before given, and actually occupied by the parties to whom the grant was made.

The plain fact of the case was, Udingaan did not intend that the Dutch emigrants should have it at all. The whole proceeding on his part was a piece of deception and treachery; and he only sought by these dark and wicked methods to adopt the best mode of imposing upon the Boers, and arranging means by which he might annihilate them in his own territory. The probability is, that when he requested Retief and his clan to recover the stolen property from Sekonyelli, he hoped something might occur by which they might never return; and when he found that they did return with the stolen property, he then sought to devise methods by which to destroy them utterly. This was apparent in his requesting Mr. Owen to write to their chief, and request them to come without their horses: "He requested that the chief of the Boers would send to all his people, and order them to come up to the capital with him, but without their horses;" and, for the work of slaughter he was contemplating, he made previous arrangements. On the 3rd, "large parties of Zoolas in their war dress entered the town," and we have before shown that the town would contain 10,000 warriors; these were collected only the evening before the Boers entered; and, therefore, all the arrangements about land were only made for the purpose of more effectually blinding them, to allay suspicion, and enable him to carry out his diabolical plan of extirpation more perfectly.

Third,—We say that, had he not liked them to remain, he should have stated that in a fair, straightforward, honest manner. But what then? Would the Dutch farmers have been willing to depart, and vacate the territory they had taken possession of? I trow not. They were come in considerable numbers, with their wives and families, with their waggons and oxen, with their horses and arms; and they intended to remain, to take possession of the country. If they could do this with the consent of Udingaan, well; but, if not, they would seek to do it by force. But now, by the infatuated, treacherous, and murderous conduct which the Amazulu chief has adopted,

he has only supplied them with a pretext and ground for his own destruction and that of his people ; and we are now naturally brought to consider the steps by which this was effected.

The Boers were placed in a position in which, by well-concerted measures and hard fighting, they must either revenge the death of their companions and friends upon the Amazulu, or, on the other hand, prepare to vacate the country. To expect or suppose the latter were absurd, and contrary to all the practice and experience of this people ; therefore, with all possible expedition, they prepared to inflict severe chastisement upon the authors of these massacres.

“ Accordingly, on the 6th of April, a force consisting of between 300 and 400 men, marched from the encampment, under the command of Piet Uys and J. Potgieter. On entering Dingaans territory they found the country abandoned, and it was not until they came near Ungun-gunhlovi, the capital and principal residence of the king, that they met with any obstruction. They arrived in this neighbourhood on the morning of the 11th of April, and found the Zulu army drawn up in three divisions, 7,000 strong, and advantageously posted on some rocks, which formed a half-circle. The road to the royal residence lay through a narrow pass in this circle, and on each side of this opening the enemy were awaiting the attack. The third division lay in ambush, with the evident intention of closing in upon the farmers in the rear, should they enter this circle, and so preventing their escape. Notwithstanding the immense disparity of numbers, the farmers resolved upon an immediate attack. They divided themselves into two nearly equal divisions, and at once opposed themselves to the two divisions of the Zulu army. One division on the first onset was completely routed. It appears that, from the noise made in beating their shields, and by the shouting of the warriors, their horses took fright, and they were thus thrown into irretrievable confusion. The division under Piet Uys was thus left to sustain the rush of the whole Zulu force, and it nobly did its duty. By a steady, well-directed fire, the farmers had thrown the enemy into some confusion ; but from this they recovered,

and the gallant little band soon found itself hemmed in on every side. Every man fought desperately, and so did the Zoolas. The fight had continued an hour and a half, when the farmers, finding every moment their danger becoming more imminent, directed a steady fire to one point of the circle, and having made a line completely through the enemy, they effected their retreat, leaving, at the lowest computation, from 400 to 600 Zoolas dead on the field.

“At the commencement of the engagement, when the Zoolas were thrown into confusion, the commander, Piet Uys, followed by about twenty men, rushed gallantly forward upon the enemy, followed them into a kloof, and were there hemmed in by an immense body of Zoolas. Uys fought in the most heroic manner, but fell with nine of his companions. *His son, a boy of twelve years of age, fought and fell bravely by his father’s side.* Uys was severely wounded in the thigh by a spear, but he continued fighting, until he fell exhausted from loss of blood. His last words were, ‘*Fight your way out, my brave boys ; I must die !*’ The Boers on this occasion lost ten of their number.”* The remainder made good their retreat, shooting as many of the enemy as they could.

Immediately upon the defeat of the commando under Piet Uys, and probably before its result was known, the English settlers at the Bay mustered in force with their people, in order to go into Zululand. They had before attacked two large kraals on the Natal side of the Tugela, from which they had taken a large number of cattle and women, as detailed in the history of them in my former work on the colony ; and as they had thus enriched themselves before, whilst the Kaffirs were away to repel the commando under Uys, the settlers now resolved to enter a second time ; which they did, but met with a warm reception. As the Amazulu were just returned from their victory over Uys, they were flushed with the joy of conquest, and prepared to fight with desperate valour.

It is supposed that the “grand army of Natal” consisted of 2,000 or 3,000 natives, under the leadership of the English settlers, and some Hottentots and Bastards, 300 or 400 being armed with guns, and most of the leaders

* CHASE, part i., p. 23.



CLOSING SCENE OF THE BATTLE ON THE TUGELA.

mounted. Seven Amazulu regiments, 11,000 warriors or upwards, were brought to fight against them. These consisted of the young men, whilst the old veterans looked upon the order of the battle from an adjoining eminence. That day the battle was fought with dreadful fury, the onslaught of the Amazulu was intensely fierce, and it was returned with deadly fire by the Natal force; they fought for their lives; and, when compelled to yield by the overpowering force of the foe, they sold their lives as dearly as possible. The victory on the part of the Amazulu was complete. It is computed that at least two-thirds of the Natal army was destroyed, including most of the settlers themselves. The loss on the part of the Amazulu was much greater in numbers, but for this they cared not, as to die fighting and victorious was their highest glory.* In this affair, my impression is, that the settlers missed their way. Utshaka and Udingaan had treated them with kindness and hospitality, and I know of no reason why they should now gratuitously, without cause or quarrel, rush into the jaws of death. Their true position was neutrality.

The settlers who were left had quickly to pay bitterly for the part they had taken in recent transactions; as also those who remained behind, who had taken no part in what had been attended with such disastrous results. The army of Udingaan quickly came down to the Bay, to destroy, if possible, those of the people whom they might find, as also seize all the cattle and goods that were left. The remaining settlers, with two or three missionaries, took refuge on one of the islands in the Bay by day, and slept in the "Comet" by night,—a small vessel lying at anchor. For ten or twelve days they beheld these fierce warriors destroying the whole of their property; making a total wreck—houses, furniture, goods, domestic animals. All which they could not drive or carry away was ruthlessly destroyed.

The army proceeded beyond the Bay so far as the Umlazi river, where they threw a firebrand into the roof of Dr. Adams' house, the American missionary; but, fortunately, it did not ignite, and the house was not destroyed. When

* See Illustrations.

they had in this manner carried the work of revenge and destruction to its utmost limits, they returned with all the spoil they were able to collect; whilst those who had saved themselves from death by flight, had again to begin to recover their lost property as they best could.

The Boers, however, were not daunted by these sad reverses; but after discouragement, disasters, and defeats, and much distress, as a natural consequence, they were strengthened by the addition to their numbers of many of their friends from the sovereignty and the old colony.

By the end of November they were enabled to take the field with 460 fighting men, having Andries, Wils, Joes, Pretorius for their commander, and Mr. J. G. Buntjes for their secretary, who kept a regular journal of each day's proceedings. Under the able management of Mr. Pretorius every precaution was taken to prevent surprise; when they halted for a day, the camp was guarded with the greatest care. As they advanced they found the country deserted. Steadily proceeding, they crossed the Umzinyati river, where, on Saturday, 15th of December, they had reason to expect, from the reports of various patrols and spies, that the Amazulu were mustering to oppose them.

On the following morning the Kaffirs attacked the Boers' camp in great force, but were repulsed, with great slaughter; 3,000 were killed, according to the account of the Boers.

After this the secretary writes:—"We proceeded on our journey, and got to the Umslatos on the 19th. In the meanwhile several spies and Kaffirs were killed. I should also mention, that Dingaan's servant, in his *full dress*, was also killed during the conflict near the camp. Being encamped at the Umslatos, the patrols, whilst spying, saw Dingaan's town covered with smoke. We could form no conception of what it meant: meanwhile we broke up the next day, and marched on towards it. N.B.—Two Kaffirs were caught after the battle had ended, and these also the chief commandant sent to Dingaan, with the same message which he had given to the women and children before mentioned; another was again caught, and this he also sent to Dingaan. One of the prisoners is now our guide. We went on, and encamped near to his town on

the 20th, at a distance of about a quarter of an hour. No sooner had the camp been formed, but a commando was ordered towards the town.

“We went with about 900 men, and found the town deserted, and the palace of the king totally burnt down, together with the whole upper part of the town. The chief commandant ordered all that was found to be brought together, and whatever was in the fire, such as iron and copper, to be taken out, and taken care of; and next day, being the 21st, we fixed our camp on the very hill, ‘where the unfortunate Mr. Retief and company had been butchered.’ *The sight of the cruel martyring, whereof the dead bones still gave proofs, was indeed horrible to be looked at, while the raw straps with which they had been tied were still fastened to the bones of several of them; and the sticks and spikes with which they had been beaten, were found by thousands, and in pieces, along the road which they had been dragged. Of these sticks some were those with which they danced, and some were poles whereon they build their houses, or wherewith they plant their fortifications. While other skeletons or dead bones lay there, these were recognised by us by their skulls, which were all broken, and by the heap of stones lying by their corpses, wherewith they had received their last sufferings. O, horrible martyrdom! The late worthy Mr. Retief we recognised by his clothes, which, although nearly consumed, yet small rags were still attached to his bones, added to which there were other tokens, such as his portmanteau, which was almost all consumed, in which there were several papers, of which some were damaged and rained to pieces; but some were found therein, in as perfect a state as if they had never been exposed to the air; amongst which was all the contract between him and Dingaen, respecting the cession of the land, so clean and uninjured, as if it had been written to-day, besides a couple of sheets of clean paper, on one of which the chief commandant wrote a letter to Mr. J. Boshoff, the following day. Every exertion was used for the gathering of the bones, and we buried them. This having been done, we questioned the Kaffir prisoner, and, as he pretended to have been but a spectator of this martyrdom, being sick at the time, he*

related the whole circumstance just in the same manner as the appearance of the bones vouched to be correct; but that amongst others, that the king, after the treaty had been concluded, had invited Retief and his company to come to his town, that his people might dance in honour of them, and, while dancing, he caused them to be attacked; and though the farmers were without their arms, they, however, defended themselves with pocket-knives, in such a manner, that when they had already fought their way through *one* regiment, another had to resume it. One man, says he, of a tall stature, could run very fast, and escaped, after fighting hard, from the town to the other side of the river, which I believe is about 2,500 paces, but by their great numbers they outran him from all sides, and overtook him before he got so far as where his horses were; he then defended himself with stones until he could no longer. He further states, that twenty of them had died from severe cuts which they had received by the pocket-knives, and several were wounded.

“Several articles were also found which had been buried under ground; and the following day, being the 24th of December, it was resolved to sell the same by public auction, and to distribute the money arising therefrom among the commando, which was done. The next day, being the 25th, one of Dingaan’s captains was caught by the Kaffir spies, and brought up. He related a great deal, but little reliance could be placed on what he said. However, he related as to what occurred about the martyring of the farmers in the same manner as the former. The next day we broke up the camp, and replaced it on a hill towards the sea-side, under which place there are wide and rough cliffs; and in these very places the whole Zoola army was assembled. We encamped and secured the camp. The next day about three hundred men were ordered to descend. We saw from our camp the Kaffirs going backwards and forwards. The commando descended, and the chief commandant went with them; but before they met the Kaffirs, he was obliged to return on account of the pain of the wound in his hand, for the weather was stormy. The cannon which they had taken with them

could not be taken further, and was also sent back. No sooner had the chief commandant arrived at the camp, when we heard the attack commencing violently, and there was a continuing noise of the firing. I was immediately sent off with some others to the point of the mountain, to spy the battle with a telescope; which I did, and as long as I could see, the firing continued without intermission.

“The chief commandant had, on his leaving them, given the necessary orders to be prudent; but they had, notwithstanding, descended into the cliff, and without any precaution been riding amongst the Kaffirs in the caves and dens, so that they could neither advance nor retreat, and were obliged to fight their way clean through the Kaffirs, by whom they were surrounded as so many ants; and, not daring to continue fighting, for fear of getting short of ammunition, they retreated until they came to a very bad road, where the river was swollen, when the Kaffirs had an opportunity of getting in amongst them; and they then killed another five of us, named Jan Oosthuysen, formerly of Nieuwveld, Marthinus Gous, of Zwarteberg, Gerril van Stade, Barend Bester, and Nicholas le Roux, besides Alexander Bigger, with five of his Kaffirs. They returned to the camp, as their horses were all knocked up. The Kaffirs pursued them to the open field, when they returned to the same caves.

“We remained here for two days, to see whether they would still venture to come to the field, which they dared not; and we were necessitated to return on account of our horses. The chief commandant then caused the town to be further destroyed by fire; and we returned, halting now and then, for the purpose of seeing whether they would not follow us. Having again arrived at the ‘Omsingatie,’ two hundred men were sent out, to see whether they could not get any cattle; and they returned with about five thousand head of cattle, which were herded by one hundred Kaffirs, who were all killed. Thus we returned to the Togala River, where the chief commandant divided the booty, and the commando separated.”*

* CHASE. “Natal Papers,” part ii., pp. 66-69.

Thus terminated an expedition, big with important results to all the parties concerned. On the part of the Boers it had been conducted with consummate skill, with untiring energy, and with dauntless courage, being crowned with complete success, by which their relative position was greatly altered, confidence and courage taking the place of doubt and uncertainty. The joy of victory was theirs, which secured their permanent occupancy of the land, and full provision for themselves, their families, and their friends; whilst at the same time they had inflicted sore and irreparable loss and damage upon Udingaan.

On the part of the Amazulu king and nation, it was a blow from which they never recovered. Doubtless its character and effects were twofold. *First*, as the infliction of terrible judgment by an angry God, into whose ear had entered the dying cry of many bleeding, writhing, dying victims, besides Retief and his party. And to suppose that the God of providence was regardless of these enormities, were to close our eyes against all history, as well as the revealed economy of Jehovah's providential government of the world. The previous amount of "iniquity" was great, but in this last immolation "the measure was full," and the pouring out of God's wrath was seen in this majestic kraal and capital being wrapt in a sheet of flame. *Second*, it was the first of a succession of great blows dealt at this gigantic barbaric image, by which it was ultimately broken to pieces. The Amazulu had never been conquered before; their name had been a terror to every native tribe and nation in the country; and their power had been regarded as irresistible: but now the spell was broken, and they were beaten in their own land, their capital was taken and destroyed; Ungungunhlovi now no longer roared "the rumbling noise of the elephant," the heavens were no longer rent with the wild song of ten thousand savage warriors, streams of blood no longer flowed at the bidding of a pitiless despot, nor were human skulls broken and scattered as the mere trophies of savage caprice. Udingaan, now having abandoned all idea of preserving his capital, is the first to order its being burnt; whilst as many of the valuables are secured and carried off as their

late defeat and hurried flight would allow. He, with his people, penetrated deeper into the wilderness, seeking shelter from the pursuing foe by hiding themselves in rocks and caves and dens of the earth, that these natural fortifications might preserve them from the destructive power of those whose terrible vengeance they could not resist. Udingaan and his warriors were now become fugitives in that land over which they had so long ruled with unchecked authority and unbridled power; and the "rumbling noise of the elephant," which they heard from these natural denizens of the wilderness, among whom they had now taken up their abode, would only serve to increase their pangs and aggravate their woes, as well as mock those vain pretensions to untamed freedom and power which they had assumed, but were unable to maintain.

For three months after this severe castigation we lose sight of Udingaan and his people, so far as authentic information goes: the next direct notice we find in a letter from Congella, on the 27th of March, from which we make the following extract:—"Very little has occurred here since the commando worthy of note before yesterday, when peace (thank God) was concluded with Dingaam, *by the interference of Captain Jarvis*, (here let me pay that tribute to this officer he so justly merits; his post has been an unpleasant one, but he has acted in the most impartial, honourable, and just manner; alleviating, so far as his duty would permit, the wants and sufferings of the Boers,) who, when told by the farmers that they wanted to make peace with Dingaam, but could get no men to go to him, applied to Ogle, and he (Ogle) sent a Kaffir to communicate with Dingaam. The issue was, that Dingaam sent down two messengers, to ask what the Boers wanted from him. A message was then sent, saying they wished for peace; and on Friday last he sent down two of his principal captains, with three hundred and sixteen horses he had stolen from the farmers, to conclude peace. Yesterday Pretorius came down to Port Natal with thirty men; and, *in the presence of Captain Jarvis*, who, as usual, behaved in the same honourable, straightforward, and candid

manner, agreed to conclude peace with Dingaan, on condition that he (Dingaan) repaid the cattle, sheep, horses, guns, &c., he had taken from the Boers. This the Zoola ambassadors agreed to, and departed, promising in as short a time as possible to bring down the cattle, &c."*

We here witness the very great advantage which may arise from the residence of only one judicious British officer and a few soldiers amongst the disorganized materials which existed at Natal at this time; and most unfortunate was it that they were subsequently removed, instead of Natal being taken possession of as a British colony. How much blood and treasure would have been saved, had this policy been adopted,—*humanity*, as well as all enlightened policy, calling loudly for such a step!

In conformity with the condition of the treaty, we find that,—“On the 7th of June, Dingaan sent thirteen hundred head of cattle, and between four and five hundred sheep, which had belonged to the farmers, and which were called *Christian* cattle; as also fifty-two guns, and forty-three saddles and bridles, with a message that he was ready every moment to deliver up the nineteen thousand three hundred head of cattle which had been claimed by Pretorius. Pretorius asked him whether Dingaan had any ivory; but he said, ‘Not much,’ but that if he chose, he might get a good quantity. Pretorius then desired him to tell Dingaan, that if he could furnish him with ivory, he might pay with that article for part of the number of cattle; and also that he was not for the present to send cattle, as it was now too cold for them; but that he would let him know.”† This is not three months subsequent to the time when the peace was made between the Boers and Udingaan, and certainly bears no marks whatever on the part of that chief of any unwillingness to fulfil to the utmost every part of the stipulations made.

Shortly afterwards, Umpanda, the brother of Utshaka and Udingaan, and heir to the Amazulu throne on the death of Udingaan, thinking this a favourable opportunity

* CHASE. “Natal Papers,” part ii., p. 92.

† *Ibid.*, p. 101.

for escaping from his brother, "divided the nation," and brought as many of the people with him as he was able, seeking the protection and support of the Boers against his brother, whom he had thus traitorously abandoned. With the cause or causes of his conduct we are not acquainted, so as to state them confidently, as he had generally kept himself retired, not mixing up very freely with great transactions, and was not therefore suspected of any intention of acting in this treacherous manner towards his brother. At first, the farmers looked upon the movement with suspicion, fearing that some traitorous design lay concealed beneath the show of friendship and submission. Therefore, on the 15th of October, they had him summoned before their council, and made such inquiries as they needed; and, being satisfied with his answers, they proceeded at once to instal him as the chief of the Amazulu nation.*

In this transaction we conceive that the Boers violated every principle of right and justice and fair dealing towards Udingaan. Had Udingaan violated his treaty, or prepared any hostile demonstrations against the Boers, they would have had just and fair ground for their present and subsequent proceedings. But, so far as we are able to gather from existing records and data *as given by themselves*, no attempt at either had been made by him. The last notice we find of him relative to these matters is the one already quoted of the 7th of June, in which he declared, "that he was ready every moment to deliver up the nineteen thousand three hundred head of cattle which had been claimed by Pretorius;".....and, in reply, "that he was not, for the present, to send cattle, as it was now too cold for them; but that he would let him know." Here, then, was the fullest evidence that the case admits of, that he not only would sacredly abide by his engagement, but was prepared to fulfil it to the utmost any moment, when called upon so to do. Therefore, to dethrone him, and instal Umpanda as "prince of the Zoolas," *which was done in October of the same year, was, first, a stretch of power which*

* See Umpanda's history.

they scarcely possessed; and, *second*, to set up Umpanda not as a rival or competitor, but as *the king in the place of Udingaan, and commence war upon the latter, to extirpate him, whilst he was yet nominally, and ought to have been actually, a friend and ally*, was, we conceive, a violation of the law of nations and the rights of men, as well as a breach of that faith with him which they were honourably bound to maintain. They had before inflicted severe chastisement for his misdeeds towards them, in the destruction of his capital, and exacting at the rate of three thousand lives for one hundred; and, until he had given some very satisfactory ground for the course they now pursued, in setting up a traitor in his stead, we hold that they were clearly guilty of what we here impute to them. And whilst we do not unite with those who raise a general cry of cruelty towards the natives, yet we feel bound in faithfulness to point out what is really so.

On the 24th of December of this same year, the handful of British troops which had been placed at the Bay, were removed, by which unfortunate step, as the result proved, every tangible proof of British authority over the farmers was taken away, and they were left to the unrestrained course of their own impulses. The flag of Republican independence was hoisted, and they regarded themselves as fully their own masters to do what was "right in their own eyes."

Early in the following month, January 14th, 1840, a commando was summoned, consisting of 335 men, which was afterwards increased to 400, mounted and well armed, in order to go into Zululand, to exact by force from Udingaan that which he had before declared "*his willingness to give any moment, when called upon so to do.*" These were joined by the forces under Umpanda, who was kept a prisoner at large in the Boers' camp, whilst his warriors pushed forward under Nonklass to meet and fight Udingaan. But the early part of the campaign was marked by an act which further stained this part of their proceedings. Tamboosa, one of Udingaan's chief Indoonas or councillors, was a captain in the Boers' camp, with Combezena, one of Tamboosa's chief Indoonas. The writer knows not

how they came there, but supposes they were sent by their chief as ambassadors upon some matters connected with the state of their affairs. These men were summoned before their council on the 31st, and Tamboosa was charged with various offences relative to the murder of Retief and his party, whilst his attendant was declared innocent; upon which the chief commandant, with the advice of the court-martial, passed upon them the sentence of death. It has been stated, by one mixed up with the transactions of these times, that the conviction and condemnation applied to the former only, but that the latter, as his companion, friend, and inferior officer, refused to live when his master was executed. This was an instance of devotedness and faithfulness to the death, on the part of an untutored savage, seldom equalled. The whole transaction was a perfectly illegal and unjust affair, as the matter to which it related had long before been settled, when peace was established with Udingaan; and these men were now come as the messengers or ambassadors of their sovereign to a supposed friendly power.

Nonklass, the commander of that portion of the Amazulu army which adhered to Umpanda, proceeded before the Boers' camp, and coming up with the army of Udingaan probably near the Umpongolo river, at a place called Emagomggo, signifying "Three sugar-loaved Hills," a desperate battle was fought,—brother against brother, Zulu against Zulu; and for a time victory seemed so nicely balanced, that it appeared uncertain upon which side the scale would turn, until Nonklass, by a stroke of well-timed strategy, decided it in his favour by exclaiming that "*the Boers were upon them;*" which at once inspired his army with new courage and vigour, whilst it in an equal manner dispirited those under Udingaan. Thus beaten, and finding no probability of making head against a force so superior, Udingaan fled further into the interior, taking about half the Amazulu warriors with him. Some have said that there were only few who adhered to his ruined cause; but subsequent events proved that in this they were mistaken. It was affirmed that "such immense droves of cattle were captured," that "they could not tell how to herd

them." But "*it was resolved by the chief commandant that whatever the number of cattle captured, no more than 40,000 should be received by the emigrants, that being the amount of the demand made by the Volks-Raad, as indemnification for the losses sustained through the treachery of the Zulu chief,*"* being only 20,700 more than Udingaan was called upon before to pay.

The conduct of Umpanda and Nonklass was highly applauded by the farmers on this occasion, as well it might be, and the chief commandant appointed the former as "*chief or king of the Zulu people.*" Large parties of the Boers pursued the fugitive army on horseback, as well as Nonklass with the warriors under him, but in vain; Udingaan made good his retreat, and the commando resolved on returning. But before doing this, "on the 14th" of February, the chief commandant ordered the *national flag* to be hoisted, and then, in presence of the whole army, caused the following proclamation to be read by the secretary-at-war:—

" PROCLAMATION.

"I ANDRIES WILHELMUS JACOBUS PRETORIUS, Chief Commandant and Commanding General of all the Burghers of the Right Worshipful Volks-Raad, of the South African Society of Port Natal, and Commander-in-Chief of the army placed under my command by the Volks-Raad, &c.

"Whereas the Volks-Raad of the South African Society, on account of the unprovoked war which the Zoola King or the Zoola nation have commenced against the South African Society, without previously declaring the same against them, was compelled to incur an expense of one hundred and twenty-two thousand and six hundred rixdollars, for horse and waggon hire, and other expenses of war; and whereas the Zoola king, according to all information, has deserted his territory, and crossed the Pongolo river, (his boundary,) and his remaining people conceal themselves in many directions, so that there is no person to whom I can apply for these enormous expenses, Be it hereby made known

* CHASE. "Natal Papers," part ii., page 124.

that for the recovery of said one hundred and twenty-two thousand six hundred rixdollars, I do hereby proclaim and make known, that in the name of said Volks-Raad of the South African Society, *I seize all the land, from the Togala to the Umfilosa Umjana, (the Black River,) and that our boundary shall in future be from the sea along the Black River, where it runs through the double mountains near to where it originates, and so on along the Randberg, in the same direction to the Draakberg, including the St. Lucius Bay, as also all sea coasts and harbours which have been already discovered between the Umsimvoboo and Black River mouths.* These lands and sea coasts will, however, have to be considered the property of the Society, exclusive from that which the late Mr. Retief obtained from the Zoola nation for our Society.

“GOD SAVE THE VOLKS-RAAD!

“Given under my hand, in my camp, at the Umfilosa Umjana, or the Black River, on this the fourteenth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty.

(Signed,) “A. W. J. PRETORIUS,

“As Witnesses,

“Chief Commandant.

“H. J. LOMBARD,

“JACOBUS POTGIETER,

“ANDRIES SPIES,

“MARTHINUS SCHEPPERS.)

} Commandants.”

“After this a salute of twenty-one guns was fired in honour of the Volks-Raad, and a general ‘hurra’ was given throughout the whole army,—while all the men, as with one voice, called out, ‘Thanks to the great God, who, by His grace, has given us the victory!’

“After this ceremony the march was resumed to the White Umfilosa, the commando having with them 31,000 head of cattle.”*

In reference to this celebrated proclamation, I would observe,—*First*, The war or commando was commenced by

* CHASE. “Natal Papers,” part ii., pp. 127, 128.

the Boers against the Zoola king, not "commenced by the Zoola king against the South African Society." It should be frankly stated, therefore, the *expenses properly belonged to themselves; for they were actually and practically carrying out their own measures in dethroning Udingaan and installing Umpanda.*

Second. The amount of expenses. When the peace was concluded with Udingaan, he had 19,300 head of cattle to pay; after they had received Umpanda, and made war upon his brother without cause, and defeated him, they (the Boers) took cattle in such multitudes that they knew not how to herd them; but "only 40,000 cattle would be accepted by the Volks-Raad as indemnification for their losses and enormous expenses:" but now, in a few hours, the amount of these "enormous expenses" has so increased, that a whole country must be taken, larger than the Natal Colony, to "indemnify" them. This might be allowed on other pretences, but certainly not on the ground of expenses incurred, but not discharged.

Third. The reason for making the demand is further stated to be that "the Zoola king, according to all appearance and information, has deserted his territory and crossed the Pongolo river, (his boundary,) and his remaining people conceal themselves in many directions." And we may ask, where was he to go? To the Boers' camp? Alas, they had just executed his chief indoona, without cause, and he had no better fate to expect, or the "people who concealed themselves in many directions,"—their only safety, if safety they could find; for, wherever they went, they must fight their way or die.

Udingaan, having fled further back, selected a suitable and easily defended position for his military kraal, on the slopes of the Ingomi hills, and proceeded to erect what he hoped would be a permanent capital. Having already attacked and conquered the Amaswazi, the only power that could give him trouble, or endanger his safety, in his new locality, he felt himself secure; and, had it not been for a traitor, one of his own captains or head men, he might still have taught Umpanda and others that he had not "vanished like smoke by the sword of Sapoesa," but

that there was still a large portion of Amazulu nerve, fire, and iron left. But one of his own faithless followers opened a communication with the Amaswazi chief, and both sought a convenient opportunity to effect that by stratagem, which they could not accomplish by force. At length a suitable opportunity occurred. Udingaan had built his kraal on the side of a hill, and for greater security had three parts of it surrounded with dense bush, leaving only one part open for ingress and egress, at which place the body-guard was always stationed, whilst he occupied the upper part of the kraal. Having completed this work, the army and carriers were dispatched to bring up the goods, furniture, &c., from the last kraal they had occupied. Now that the period had arrived when Udingaan calculated upon a little repose and security, the messenger of death was dispatched. The Amaswazi chief, under the direction of his traitorous guide, had opened a way through the bush, so as to enter at the upper part of the kraal, where they knew Udingaan slept, and that the body-guard could not come quickly to his rescue; when, with a chosen band, they fell upon the unsuspecting warrior-chief, and gave him three deadly stabs. The body-guard quickly heard the alarm, and flew to the spot; but "*it was too late;*" the death thrust was given: he had showed no mercy to Utshaka; and now his assassinating foe knew no pity for him. The murderers were soon cut off; but, having dispatched their victim, to die was to their notion gain.

Messengers were instantly dispatched to inform the army of this dreadful catastrophe. The warriors were on their return; but at once threw down their burdens, and hastened to witness the final scene of their great king. The wound of which he died was inflicted in the lower part of the bowels, and did not at once prove fatal. During the few hours' respite, they assembled around him; and the accompanying engraving shows how they sat in military order, in mute astonishment, in awful silence, with their shields lying on the ground, indicating that their great living shield was about to lie in the dust. Thus assembled, he gave them his parting address, which was

to the following effect:—"He highly applauded their faithfulness to him in his many sad reverses, thanking them for their fidelity, and assuring them that he had also cared for them as their father and captain, seeking to make them free and great. And had it not been for 'that base bastard,' " (referring to Umpanda, who had joined the Dutch,) "he should have made the earth to tremble. But now, through the treachery of one of his own officers, he was about to die; and, after his death, the land would be overrun with wild beasts,—elephants, lions, tigers, and wolves."

At the close of this address he expired. Thus lived and thus died Udingaan, the second great Amazulu chief and warrior. How dark and cheerless the mantle which falls over the heathen exit from this exciting scene! and how different from the bright hopes which animate the Christian's dying hour, and demonstrate that the religion of the Bible is heaven-born, and admirably adapted to the present and future wants of man!

It is supposed that Udingaan had, at his death, half the Zulu nation with him; which proves that, however dreadful and heart-rending some of his acts had been, yet he must still have occupied an exalted place in the esteem and affection of his people, thus to bind them to him under all the disasters which attended the last years of his life.

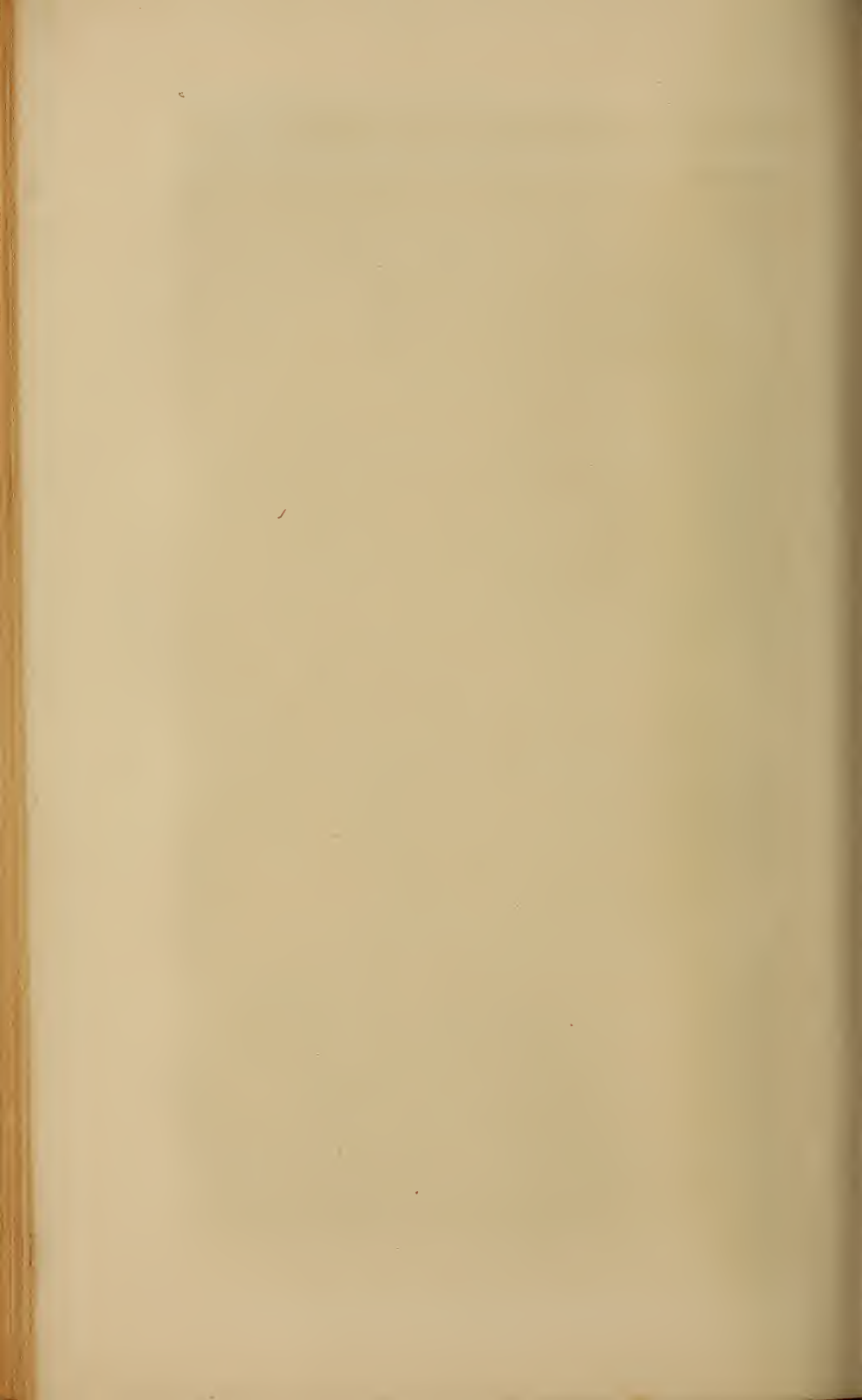
At his death, most of his army returned to Umpanda, who not only received them favourably, but confided in them more fully than even in those who had joined him against his brother. And to the end of his career he taunted the one part as traitors in having joined an usurper against their rightful sovereign; and commended the others for their unswerving fidelity to him in all his misfortunes; and he (Umpanda) would rather confide in the latter than the former.

Udingaan died in the prime of life, being, as is supposed, about forty-five years old at the time. Like Utshaka, he would never marry, being always too young; and would never allow a grey hair to remain in his head, lest it should indicate the approach of old age: each must be pulled out as it made its appearance.



A. LA RITZ, 1870.

ASSASSINATION OF UDINGAAN.



The following are among some of the praises of Udingaan among his own applauding warriors, as given in the narrative of Messrs. Arbouset and Daumas :—

“ There is a bird hovering.

It hovers above Bolavako.

This bird devours the other birds ;

It has devoured the sagacious one of Bolavako.*

“ The lustral waters have been drunk in silence ; †

They have been drunk by Mama and Makhabai.

The bird has perched at Nbampa ‡ in the cattle fold.

He has eaten up Opucuche, the son of Boleleze.

He has eaten up Omocoquane, the son of Poka.

He has eaten Sethlepuna, the son of Babanauko.

He has torn in pieces the Mosumpas.

He has devoured Matuane.

The waters of purification have been drunk by Nomapela.§

“ Liberator ! thou hast shown thyself to this people ;

Thou hast delivered from oppression the virgins,

The women, the men, and the children.

* “ The sagacious one ” is a periphrasis for the elephant, and the elephant a metaphor for Chaka. This is a double figure, common with the Zulus when speaking of their kings ; the power and cunning of whom naturally recall to the minds of these savages the greatest and most sagacious of these quadrupeds.

† “ The lustral waters,” *makubalo*, are composed of milk and water, and the juices of certain bitter herbs, which the relatives of the deceased, according to the religious rites of the Kaffirs and Bechuanas, drink in the retirement of their dwellings for ceremonial purification. It is a practice very similar to that according to which persons who were defiled among the Jews were sprinkled : they sprinkled their furniture and their apartments with water, mixed with the ashes of a red heifer, sacrificed by the high priest on the day of solemn expiation. The Zulus purify themselves also with water from the running stream, and by sacrificing an ox or a calf, according to the age of the deceased, were he a man or a child. They cast away, as altogether defiled, a part of the clothes of the dead man, his buckler, the shaft of his assagai, and the bed on which he died. Every one knows that the nations of antiquity all attached an idea of great defilement to death. Thus the fleet of Æneas, after the death of his friend, is represented as entirely defiled.

‡ Nbampa, the capital of Seutsakakona, situated in the neighbourhood of Bolavako and of Mokokuttufe. It appears that the best pasturage is to be found at Nbampa ; and thither they accordingly lead their flocks. Dingaana is represented as going, after the death of Chaka, to place himself at the entrance to the folds, and saying, “ Now, this prey is mine.”

§ Nomapela, the uncle of Matuane, and one of the lieutenants of Dingaana.

Thou art a king, who crushest the heads of the other kings.

Thou passest over mountains inaccessible to thy predecessors.

Thou findest a defile from which there is no egress.*

Then thou makest roads ; yes, roads.†

Thou takest away the herds from the banks of the Setuele,

And the herds of the Babanaukos, a people skilled in the forging of iron.

Thou art indeed a green adventurer ! ‡

Thou art victorious over the nations of the sea ;

Over Moteto, king of Ntementoa.

Thou art a conqueror, chosen among ten tens of others.§

Thou hast passed over Mount Moghoma and the Quathlampenes.

Thou art the pillar which supports the house of Nate.

Thou art the ally of Cele, king of the Taguenes.

That is something different from being the ally of the Basutos.||

Thou sayest to the Motetos and the Kwabes,

‘What ill have I done you,

In snatching you from the flames

In my mercy ? ’ ¶

King ! deliver us, O Saviour !

Thou, who subjectest to thy sorcery the greatest of kings,

Throw a spell over Bosaze and Mozeuquane ;

* “Thou findest a defile,” &c. The original is *lege*, “a stone,” and by metaphor, “a mountain.” It is in the same sense that the Barolongs and Batlipis call the mountains *maye*, “stones.” The Bushmen say only *komao*, “a stone ;” *ikomao*, “stones, mountains.”

† “Thou makest roads ; yes, roads :” literally, “Thou makest it” (the mountain) “road, road.” It is a Kaffir idiom.

‡ The expression “a *green* man” is employed to designate a vigorous and healthy man. It is an expression not less common in Kaffir and in Bechuana than in French.

§ A phrase may be found somewhat similar in Scripture.

|| The Basutos were very much despised by Dingaan, their greatest enemy. It is worthy of remark, that under this designation the Zulus comprise all the Bechuanas in their neighbourhood ; the subjects of Moshesh, the Mantetis, the Ligheyas, &c.

¶ That is, because, having surprised them in the night, he was satisfied with carrying away their herds without burning their towns, as was his usual practice.

And the Mokhaturus, and the Mokheme;
For the food upon which thou feedest
Is mighty kings."

III. UMPANDA, "ROOT OF A TREE."

OF the early history of this Amazulu chief we know but little; he was the younger brother of Utshaka and Udingaan, and for a long time appeared to take but little interest in state affairs: keeping as retired as possible, probably from political considerations, as his conduct at a subsequent period proved that he was not at all wanting in boundless ambition, or scrupulous as to the methods he adopted for accomplishing his base designs.

He was not naturally such a bold, dauntless savage as his two predecessors; mentally and physically he was greatly their inferior. He was low of stature, and stoutly built. He had broad thick lips, a scowl on his face, and his whole physical conformation was dark and forbidding, indicating low cunning and gross sensuality. Mentally, he inherited the low savage type, and was in a large degree capricious and vindictive. He would create the greatest petty quarrels about the merest trifles, raise a storm of vindictive passion to "waft a feather or to drown a fly." Striking a favourite dog would make him a perfect fury; or overdriving an ox be sufficient cause for impaling a man.

Much of what relates to him has already been anticipated in the life of Udingaan, and our present observations will not be more lengthy than necessity requires. Under Udingaan he was chief "*indoona*," or prime minister, being next in order of office and authority to the king himself; he was at the same time of royal blood. As "prime minister," it was his province to call the army to war, and take the most prominent part in preparing for the campaign. He had to superintend the medical processes and religious exercises, on the right performance of which victory was made to depend; hence, when any great advantage was gained over a contending foe, he claimed the honour of it. Thus, when the "great army of the

Natal settlers" was defeated at the Tugela, he appropriated all the honour to himself.

There is ample proof that for some time before he "divided the nation" and joined the Boers, he had been cogitating how he might obtain supreme power. To prepare the way for this, he had his brother Ququ put to death. Ququ was the rightful heir to the Amazulu throne upon the decease of Udingaan, and his removal was therefore necessary in order to prepare the way for Umpananda to take supreme power upon the defeat of Udingaan.

As Umpananda saw no other way of attaining his object than that of joining the Dutch farmers against his brother, he "divided the nation," went over to the Boers, and sought their aid against Udingaan. At first they suspected his designs, fearing this was only a feigned movement, for the purpose of more effectually and successfully carrying out his evil purposes. Hence, on October 15th, 1839, they called him to appear before their council, and answer such questions as they might think needful to propose. I quote at some length *their own version* of what transpired, both in the examination and at his installation. I do this designedly. It would be an easy matter to modernize and curtail it, and dress it up, in order to suit modern taste; but this appears to the author to divest it of all that is peculiar and in accordance with the action of the people and customs of the times. A true historian is called upon to give not only the truth, but even the *idiom of history*, to bring the living characters of the times in their own dress before the eye of the reader, not give his own opinions, or dress up an attractive caricature. A gentleman of considerable intelligence once said to the author that he had "lost all faith in history, as it was only the version of the particular writer, which was so worked and influenced by his own views and cast of thought and mind, as to keep from view the real facts of the individuals or the times." The author has throughout sought to avoid this reproach, or, if given, to render it inapplicable.

On October 15th, in the year of our Lord 1839, the Boers called upon Umpananda to appear before their Honourable Council, when the following examination took place:—

Q. "What did you come here for; and why did you cross the Togela?"

A. "To escape from Dingaan, and to seek protection amongst you."

Q. "Why did you escape from Dingaan?"

A. "Because I heard that Dingaan wanted to proceed further into the interior, and because I did not wish to join him; and also because he would certainly cause me to be murdered, should he ascertain my unwillingness to join him."

Q. "Give us a statement of all the particulars."

A. "I was informed that Dingaan had sent four regiments to Sapoesa, in order to encroach on the country of that chief; but he was defeated by that chief, with the loss of many head of cattle, and Dingaan then sent for two other regiments."

Q. "Did these regiments go thither?"

A. "Yes, they complied with that order; and when they reached the place, they heard that Dingaan, together with his cattle, women, children, &c., had already proceeded onward. They then returned. I asked them for the reasons why they returned: they answered that they had not found Dingaan, as he had proceeded onward. Dingaan then sent to me, to ascertain why I and my people were not proceeding, and whether we intended to join the white people. After that I received another message, ordering me to come to Dingaan, and thank him that he had not made us suffer for our disobedience. I then told my captains that they might go if they chose. Some went. On their way, they again met some messengers with cattle, who came to call me. I clearly saw from all this that Dingaan cherished hostile views against me. At last Umsela, the chief captain of Dingaan, came in person, and said to my people, 'Why don't you rise and proceed onwards, or do you wait for Panda? If you wait for him, I can tell you that in a short time one of Dingaan's commandos will surround him. Don't you clearly see that he has turned his face towards the whites?' Umsela having said this, part of my people joined him, but the greatest part turned back, and said to me, 'Will you sit here and wait till the commando surprise

us?' I answered, 'We will go; I have heard of there being white people at the Togela; I will immediately send a message thither.' At last I arrived at the Togela, with the half of Dinga'an's people, where I met Mr. de Lange."

Q. "Who was the chief of the Zoola country before Chaka?"

A. "His father, Ipson Sakona."

Q. "What were you under his orders?"

A. "One of the great captains, which I was until the death of Chaka."

Q. "Did you often go on commando?"

A. "Yes; but not once under Dinga'an."

Q. "Why did you not wish to go with Dinga'an?"

A. "Because I have heard that the white people wished to live in peace with us; and why should I allow myself to be murdered by a villain, or take to flight with him?"

Q. "Where have you lived?"

A. "In the country along the Ganzela."

Q. "What is the reason that you did not become king instead of Dinga'an?"

A. "Chaka had sent me on a commando against the chief called Sosangaan, and when I returned, I was informed that Dinga'an had put himself on the throne in my absence, and had murdered my father Chaka, and the whole royal family."

Q. "Has not Dinga'an endeavoured to murder you, when you returned?"

A. "But, but Ssela and Tamboesa, the chief captains, wished to kill me; but Dinga'an would not allow it, pretending that I had not influence enough, and could do no harm."

Q. "When you sent a message to the Togela, were you already effecting your escape?"

A. "Yes."

Q. "Where did you meet Mr. de Lange?"

A. "On this side of the Togela."

Q. "If you had not met the whites at the river, would you notwithstanding have continued your way?"

A. "Yes; as I was proceeding, I would not have stopped."

Q. "Did you not know then, that, according to treaty, no Zoola is allowed to come to this side of the Togela?"

A. "Yes; but what is a man not capable of, when his life is in danger?"

Q. "Panda! this day you must be sincere."

A. "Yes; for that reason I came here in person to speak to the gentlemen. I shall lay my heart open to you."

Q. "If Dingaan had acted like you, war would have been at an end."

A. "Therefore you see that I come personally, and deal with you in a more upright manner than Dingaan. I wish to be your friend, and act according to your wishes."

Q. "What do you now expect of us?"

A. "As the gentlemen now give me liberty to speak, I would request you for the piece of ground between the Umslatuse and Umvoti."

Q. "Why won't you live on the other side of the Togela?"

A. "Because I am afraid of Dingaan, as I have divided the people."

Q. "Don't you know that Dingaan may not murder any people?"

A. "Yes; but he will not care about that."

Q. "Do you consider yourself strong enough to wage war against Dingaan?"

A. "Not at the present moment; but if the people receive information of the peace, they certainly will come to me in crowds."

Q. "Do you know how the people are inclined?"

A. "Yes; I have also sent out spies, but as Dingaan's commando was in the bushes, they have not been able to do any thing."

Q. "Do you know how many captains will join you, when they hear of the peace between you and us?"

A. "Of three I have already heard; they are on the other side of Dingaan, and cannot therefore come at present."

Q. "How many regiments has Dingaan, wherewith he wages war?"

A. "This I cannot say for a certainty, as many have

been killed in the battle with Sapoesa. He probably has many yet."

Q. "Have many of Dingaan's people been killed?"

A. "Yes; as well of his people as those of Sapoesa."

Q. "Have you received intelligence, or do you know with certainty, where Dingaan now is?"

A. "No; I do not know, at the present moment, where he is. I cannot say with certainty. I have heard that he (Sapoesa) had killed more than half of Dingaan's people in the last conflict."

Q. "Can't you send out spies, whom you as well as we may trust?"

A. "Yes; this I will do immediately, perhaps as soon as I get to my camp; perhaps the spies I sent out have returned. I shall lose no time, for my heart is now full of joy, as I see that you deal with me in so good and kind a manner."

Q. "You know that we will no longer allow Dingaan to kill women and children; you must therefore send us a report as soon as possible, so that we may take steps accordingly."

A. "Yes, that I will do; and as the gentlemen are so kind towards me, they must open their hearts very wide for me, yes, as wide as my arm." (He lifted his arm on high.)

Promise was then made to him, that the land for which he had asked would be allowed him, until he should be able to live on the other side of the Togela in peace and safety; and that he might always calculate upon the protection of the farmers as long as he behaved himself as a friend and a faithful ally.*

In the answers thus given before the council, a full view is supplied of the relative position of the different persons, characters, interests, intentions, and prospects of the different parties. All that Umpanda stated was not correct, probably much of it was false,—as that Utshaka was his father instead of his brother, that he was a great captain under Utshaka and not under Udingaan, whilst the

* CHASE. "Natal Papers," part ii., pp. 104-107.

answers themselves prove the contrary. Probably an attempt at deception was in various instances made, and was to some extent successful; but he had to do with those whose sagacity and penetration were too great to allow of their being greatly imposed upon; and whatever his intentions might or might not have been, he so fully committed himself to the Boers as to allow him no opportunity of backing out or materially altering the abject position in which he had voluntarily placed himself; and they were too shrewd and sharp to allow an opportunity so favourable to slip without securing him fast in the bonds which he had prepared for himself. So without troubling themselves further about Udingaan, or waiting longer to hear of his whereabouts, or allowing Umpanda time to alter his purpose, position, or intention; on the 24th of this said October, 1839, being only *nine* days after his appearance before their council, they dispatched their landrost of the district of Togela to instal Umpanda as prince of the emigrant Zulus; and as the account of this transaction is unique and interesting, we make no apology for its introduction in this place. The following is part of the statement of the landrost of Togela, about his embassy, in October, 1839, to the camp of Panda:—

“In compliance with a request of the assembly of the emigrants, I departed on the 24th of October last, accompanied by the heemraad, S. Van Breda, and M. Van Breda, who joined at our request to visit the kraal of the chief Panda, where we arrived on the 26th, with four more waggons, in company of the member of the Assembly, G. Kemp, the Commandant Fourie, the Field-Cornet Jan Meyer, Messrs. Mawood, Dr. Krantz, and many other respectable persons; the member of the Assembly, Jacob Moolman, and his company, having also joined us on our written application.

“On the first interview of the commission with Panda, we already perceived a dejected melancholy in him, which was apparent to us during the whole time of our stay with him, and in every thing he did.

“After having communicated to him with what view the commission had come there, and what orders we had

received from the assembly of the emigrants, he was requested to prepare himself by the next morning to be solemnly installed as the head or prince of the Zoola emigrants, and to be presented to his people as such; and the flag having been brought in his presence, he repeated in an impressive manner the solemn assurance of peace, friendship, and alliance, which he had before given to the assembly. When this was communicated by his chief captains to the great crowd who had collected together, (which we estimated at more than three thousand warriors, and more than an equal number of young men and women,) a cry was raised three times, as a sign of their approbation. The following morning having been fixed for a feast and military dance, Panda requested that after it should be finished the same honour of firing a volley of musketry might be shown him which he had received at Bosjesman's Raand. On the morning of that day, Panda was invited to the tent of Mr. Breda, in front whereof the national flag was offered him; amongst which a fine blue cloak, presented by Mr. Parker, and a very fine officer's poniard, by Mr. Delagorgue, wherewith he girded himself. Panda was then seated in our court, on the right hand of the landrost, and the other gentlemen according to their ranks, on which occasion the landrost repeated to him the assurance of friendship and alliance, and the protection granted to him by the assembly of the emigrants; which again having been communicated to the people, a cry of joy was again thrice raised; after which it was signified to Panda, that his stay on this side of the Togela was but of a temporary nature, and that neither the delivery of any cattle, nor anything else of whatever nature, was to be considered as giving him any right to the land now occupied by him, but that he would have to leave this part of the country as soon as his own safety would in any way allow. It was also agreed with him, that in future he should allow no punishment of death for supposed witchcraft, or other ridiculous superstitious pretences.

“That, at his death, his successor should be chosen by his people, subject to our approval.

“That his title should be ‘Reigning Prince of the Emigrant Zoolas,’ until he should have been confirmed as Dingaan’s successor.

“That he will fulfil and comply with the contract entered into by the assembly of the emigrants with Dingaan, in respect of the acknowledged boundary-line, as well as in respect of the delivery of the stolen cattle, &c.

“That in future he will not allow any woman, child, or defenceless aged person to be murdered; nor allow any war or hostility of his people with any neighbouring chief or tribes, without the consent of the assembly of the emigrants.

“After this, Panda was requested to call two or three of his most faithful captains and friends particularly attached to his person; when the following three were called in by him, and presented as chief captains:—

NICHOLAS, (NONKLASS,)

EMMELIN, and

PANGA ZOAKA.

“The landrost then addressed them, and alluded to the honourable station in which they had now been placed by the prince, and the great obligation they were under for the safety of his person; observing at the same time, that all injuries and evil advice with respect to war, cruelty, or faithlessness towards our Government, would be avenged upon them personally; whereupon Panda left the tent with visible marks of approbation.

“A few moments afterwards we perceived a loud and violent agitation in a circle formed by more than three hundred men, which, at the commencement, appeared as the preparation for the intended feast; but the noise and clashing of kieres increasing, we sent a little Kaffir, our interpreter, to the spot, who, having been at a distance of two hundred or two hundred and fifty paces from us, returned quite terrified, stating that they were in the act of murdering one of the captains just appointed. We then sent to Panda, desiring his return to us, in order to make a beginning with the promised feast, and thus make an end to the agitation that was existing. Deep dejection and discontent were perceivable in his countenance and

appearance; and, having placed all his people at a distance, he addressed them, through the Captain Assagaay, in a serious tone, and often with signs of threats; and, from what we could collect from our interpreter, every thing said by him on this occasion amounted to an entire disapproval of the murder committed on the Captain Panga Zoaka, saying, 'Why have you committed such an act in the presence of the white people? What must they think of me, as I have a few moments since promised not to allow such cruelties? Where shall I find friends and protectors in future, when I shall again be compelled to flee?' The multitude there surrounding us then appeared to consult about what had occurred, while some of the friends of the murdered chief still pleaded the cause of their murdered friend with passion and firmness. Fearing, however, that by a continuance of this difference the agitation would increase, we desired Panda to make a beginning with the promised feast; and, after having saluted the flag with a general charge, their '*malescere* dance' commenced, which had a very interesting, but in many respects a fearful, appearance. To give a proper description thereof I shall leave to more competent persons, and only say that it was grand, and at the same time very interesting, to witness the regularity of the movements of their bodies while dancing, performed by so many thousands; while another set, called flatterers or praisers, abounded in praising Panda for his many virtues, riches, mildness, greatness, glorious birth, and for the corporal beauty of himself and his many wives, which perhaps would not have ceased had not the dance been discontinued on account of the powder-flask of Mr. Morewood having caught fire, burning his clothes, and slightly wounding himself. Panda then returned to his residence. What the unfortunate consequences would have been if Panda had accidentally been wounded by one of the splinters of the copper powder-flask, which had spread in every direction, we cannot say, particularly after what had occurred as before described, about which visible signs of discontent were yet perceivable in many of the people.

“ On the following morning we went to Panda's residence

to take leave of him ; we were, however, not received with that frankness and civility to which we thought we had a claim ; and having congratulated him on the good success of his confirmation as prince of the Emigrant Zoolas, he presented to the landrost, as a particular present, six fat oxen, for the many civilities which had been shown him by him and his family ; to which the landrost replied that he could not accept of them, as he had sworn, on entering on the duties of his office, not to accept of any presents for himself, and he would otherwise become liable to punishment by the government ; but that he would take them for distribution among the poorer classes, who would be very grateful for them ; to which Panda replied, ‘ If that be the case, I will myself give ten oxen for the poor, ten oxen and two cows for yourself, and forty-two cows and calves for those who fired at my installation.’

‘ Though the landrost would have complied with his request on this occasion *unconditionally*, he, however, considered it necessary for the honour of our community, to apprise him of our opinion on the subject, by telling him that as long as his national debt, whereto he had bound himself in the name of Dingaan, was not discharged, he could not expect us to accept of any presents from him ; and that not only these presents, but also those to Mr. de Lange, being forty or fifty head, together with the two hundred delivered to him on a former occasion, would all be deducted from the said national debt ; and that he, by making these presents, should never pretend to have any right on the land, which was only granted to him for a short time, as a momentary protection ; and that, as we had now seen his great force, we requested him to prepare for action against our general foe, as the many new colonists now coming would soon require that land now occupied by him. He said that he was obliged to ask our permission, before undertaking it, to send out a small commando against a neighbouring captain, who had committed many thefts amongst his women and cattle. The landrost having asked the advice of the several members of the Assembly of the Emigrants there present, G. Kemp, J. Moolman, the Commandant de Lange, the Commandant

Fourie, Field Commandant Rensberg, and Field Commandant Meyer, they gave assurance of the bad and thievish character of the captain alluded to, who had evinced great hostility on former occasions against us; when Panda received our permission, under the usual directions against the murder of the women and children, and to avoid all unnecessary bloodshed as much as possible. After which one hundred oxen and two hundred and seventy-eight head of cattle were sent to Field Commandant Rensburg, in part payment of the losses sustained by the emigrants; whereof, on the proposal of our company, on our arrival at the Omgeni, seventy-eight head were retained for the poor at the camps of Omlass and Congella; which, being added to the presents to the landrost and others, making in all one hundred and eight, have been distributed by lots amongst the people, who evinced general gratefulness and satisfaction for what had been done."*

These gentlemen appear to have been quite accomplished in making and unmaking chiefs and kings; and Umpanda must have looked wondrous grand, when, clothed in "a fine blue cloak, and girded with a very fine officer's poniard, in front of the national flag," he was "seated in our court on the right hand of the landrost, and the other gentlemen according to their ranks," thus solemnly and grandly to resign his own and his nation's independence:—*alias*, he was the personification of abject meanness and contemptible servility; in abandoning his birthright for a mess of pottage, and selling his nation for a bagatelle. In a savage, one likes that which is noble, and admires the loss of greatness and independence at the highest price, and only when it cannot longer be retained; but when he becomes a contemptible traitor and regicide, the breast rises in indignation against him. It would, however, appear that he was in some degree conscious of the pitiable position in which he had placed himself, as "we already perceived a dejected melancholy in him, which was apparent during the whole time of our stay with him, and in everything he did." And when they left him, on the

* CHASE. "Natal Papers," part ii., pp. 107-111.

last visit, they were "not received with that frankness and civility, to which they thought they had a claim."

This grand installation was also stained with blood : the murder of one of his chief captains, who had just engaged to be his protector and defender, was doubtless the ebullition of that vindictive feeling which already began to burn in their breasts, and served as a fitting ovation at the celebration of the funeral obsequies of their national independence. Umpanda was not long before he was made *to feel* that he was no longer his own master, but was in "bondage to another." The stern and unmitigated requisition to leave his present locality with all speed, was a fitting accompaniment to his installation; but to call upon him as soon as possible to prepare for action against "our general" foe (Udingaan) was unnatural and hard. This was probably a part of the result he had not calculated upon. Umpanda, therefore, requests permission to lead his warriors against a natural foe who had stolen his "women and cattle," before he should bring his forces to bear against his exiled brother, and that part of the nation which had not yet basely crouched before their foes. But whilst I have shown in what respects the Boers had proceeded in an improper or unjust manner towards Udingaan, and in what respects many parts of their conduct could not be reconciled to the rights of nations and individuals; yet, I must also state that the prompt and decided tone of their statements and the energy of their actions are such as are needed in treating with native character; and had the English, with their enlightened views of the claims of humanity, and the rights of black as well as white, only adopted a more decided course, and proceeded with unflinching firmness in the enforcement of their demands, and the infliction of punishment for evil committed and duplicity detected, it would have been an unspeakable benefit to the native tribes themselves, as well as have prevented much robbery, bloodshed, and murder. A too mild and vacillating conduct has been the great fault of the English Government.

The captain against whom he requested permission to fight, was Pakati, who was located in a very rugged

tract of country near the Tugela; so rugged and broken was it that in some parts they were obliged to travel in single file, and others were altogether inaccessible; but into these secret strongholds they penetrated, attacked and overcame the chief and people, and returned in triumph, bringing many cattle with them as the trophy of victory. There were other small tribes in the same locality whom they fought and conquered, taking and dividing the spoil. These victories were of great importance and value to Umpanda in his new and untried circumstances; they inspired his warriors with confidence in him, and served to consolidate his power, and establish his authority.

This was no sooner done, than the Boers, allowing him but little breathing time, called upon him "to prepare for action against the general foe," *Udingaan*; and in the early part of January of the next year, only about three months from his installation by the farmers, he was called upon to muster his forces and proceed against Udingaan and the Amazulu under him. (An account of this commando has already been given, and does not need to be repeated here.) Umpanda's army was sent on in advance of the Boers, under Nonklass, who met and engaged Udingaan, and, after a hardly contested battle, beat him, and drove him back into the depths of the interior.

Shortly afterwards, Umpanda and his people removed to the other side of the Tugela river, where after remaining awhile, they thence removed sixty or seventy miles to the eastward, having no longer cause to fear any attacks from Udingaan, and thus complying with arrangements made with the Boers on the installation of Umpanda.

This chief's kraal or capital is situated on the Umfolosi river, probably about seventy miles beyond the Tugela, the present colonial boundary, and is named *Unodwengu*, signifying, "You with a torn off piece," or, "You who have torn the tribe, and taken a part yourself."

It was not long before the Boers called upon Umpanda to go and assist them in a commando against Nachi, chief of the Fetcani, who lay to the south-west of the present Natal Colony, and to the north of the Amampondo under Faku; but as the distance was great, and his people were

in a wasted and disorganized and almost famished state from the long course of confusion and war through which they had passed, he begged to be excused, stating as the reason that his people were dying of starvation and hunger, and greatly needed a little rest and respite in order to cultivate the ground and raise the means of subsistence. Upon these representations being made, the farmers did not insist upon compliance with their demand.

This call had not long been silenced before another was made. A dark cloud began to loom in the distance from a quarter that was still more dangerous to the independence of the Dutch. The English Government at the Cape being unable to bring the Boers to terms by negotiations and proclamations, they were resolved to resort to force, in order to bring the renegade emigrants to submission; and these misguided men were resolved to oppose force to force, to prevent the English from taking the country, which led to the armed resistance which is detailed in my History of the Colony. In order the more effectually to organize successful resistance, they requested Umpanda also to assist them with the Amazulu; but he again desired to be excused, alleging as the reason, "that they were unable to fight with or against warriors with long guns, but would watch the rivers and the coast, and report all that they saw, or that came under their observation." The writer is aware that it has been asserted that the Dutch farmers never sought the assistance of the natives against the English; but the above representation he has also received from a quarter, and upon authority, which to him is satisfactory; and he feels bound to state it, without being called upon to explain the apparent discrepancy.

Whilst Natal was being convulsed by the English taking it from the Dutch in 1842, as recorded in my History of the Colony, Umpanda was enjoying a little rest, and consolidating his newly-acquired power in the country which was before the seat of the Amazulu dynasty; and, when Natal became an English colony, the English did not attempt to interfere with him or destroy his power; nor has he attempted to disturb the English, or make war

upon the colony. There have sometimes been vague rumours of "Umpanda coming down;" but, we believe, they have been without foundation; yea, in order to prevent it, and also to prevent his people leaving him and coming to reside in the colony, or to make forays into the colony for the purpose of stealing cattle or creating alarm, he has had a space of country left unoccupied, fifty or sixty miles broad, along the whole line of frontier; and if any of his people are caught attempting their escape into the colony, the spies and small captains along the frontier line are so watchful and energetic as to render it almost impossible for them to effect their escape; and if caught, they are taken back and put to death. That some do actually succeed we cannot doubt; but the obstacles in the way are so formidable as to render success problematical and very difficult; and we have reason to believe the instances are comparatively very few.

For fifteen years the commotions in Zulu-land were very trifling as compared with days and scenes gone by. There were forays and fightings amongst the neighbouring tribes; but these were not of a very serious nature, excepting one, recently, against the Amazwazi, in which there was some hard fighting, the combatants fiercely contending for victory, until, exhausted, they sat down to breathe, only to renew the conflict with renewed intensity; but the Amazulu at length conquered, and, having overcome their foes, took a large number of cattle as lawful spoil, and returned in triumph. But it has been evident that the nation has never recovered from the shocks which it sustained by the Boers, and the traitorous conduct of Umpanda. Their sun was in its zenith when Utshaka sat in glory, or marched in triumph over conquered nations and desolated countries. Since that period, their glory has been on the wane, and will never again acquire the ascendent it before possessed. It has been stated that the Boers are now coming into the vacant tract of country which Umpanda had sacredly set apart as a defence against his people entering the colony; that they are doing this from the side of what is now the Transfaal; and that they still claim Umpanda as their lawful chief, and assert their

authority over him. Be this as it may, it has been shown that all they did aforetime in reference to him was utterly unwarranted, and never in the slightest degree recognised or approved by the English government, when they took the country from the Boers. And further, that, according to the showing of the Boers themselves, they have not the slightest title or claim to the country spoken of; nay, that, according to *their own arrangement and direction, the country beyond the Tugela was given by them to Umpanda, and that "no consideration whatever would be taken to allow him to remain to the westward of the Tugela river:"* so that, *if any parties have any claim upon that tract of country, it is Umpanda, and he alone: and the precautionary steps which he has taken to prevent the exode of his people never ought to be taken advantage of for the purpose of seizing the country.*

The work of immolating human beings at the Amazulu capital is not now carried on with that relentless cruelty which prevailed in the days of Utshaka and Udingaan. Then, no day closed without the instruments of death being bathed in the blood of the people, and some new victim or victims being offered upon the altar of jealousy, caprice, or revenge. Now, this takes place with much less frequency; but the change cannot be attributed to any increase of softened or elevated sentiments or feelings on the part of Umpanda or his people, but to sheer policy, as it is now needful to preserve the lives of as many as possible, inasmuch as, in addition to other causes of decrease, fever and other diseases have at different times decimated their numbers, and laid them almost prostrate.

Umpanda himself has several times been nearly carried off by the ravages of disease; and recently, on one of these occasions, the medical skill of the Rev. Mr. Schrewder was the means of effecting his recovery. This gentleman belongs to the Norwegian Missionary Society, and came to this country some years ago for the purpose of commencing a Mission amongst the Amazulu nation; but this Umpanda would by no means allow. He therefore waited some time,—acquired a thorough knowledge of the language,—took a voyage to China, and returned,—estab-

lished a Mission amongst the Natal Kaffirs,—until, at length, by means of medical science, he obtained admission into this great stronghold of heathenism; the despot being more sensible to the disease of the body than that of the soul; and more willing that one should take up his residence in his country to remove physical than moral diseases.

Extensive trade has been carried on with the Natal Colony, in which large numbers of cattle, and some ivory, have been bartered for articles of British manufacture, such as blankets, beads, buttons, knives, and Kaffir picks, or ploughs, as they are sometimes called. But this traffic has sometimes been of a very precarious nature, Umpanda having prohibited white persons from entering his country; and, in other instances, it has been affirmed that he would only allow bartering for guns and gunpowder; and it is to be feared that large quantities of the munitions of war have in this manner found their way into the country; for there are some white men so utterly unprincipled and wicked as to make gain from this suicidal traffic.

But the last days of the poor old black king have been sadly embittered by the unnatural rebellion of his two sons Umbulazi and Kechwayo, who have first endeavoured to destroy each other, and then probably the victor intended to put the old king to death and reign in his stead. The predecessors of Umpanda would not allow a successor to live, but they were both cut off by violence: Umpanda has allowed his children to live; but they cannot wait until the course of time and natural order of events will allow them to take the supreme authority. The following account of affairs by an eye-witness, taken from the "Natal Star," will give a general view of the state of things, and the manner in which the deciding battle took place; this was on the 2nd of December, 1856. The battle was fought on the Tugela river, in the same place as the one between the Natal army, under the early English settlers, and the Amazulu army of Udingaan, when the former were beaten with great slaughter, an account of which is given in my work on the Natal Colony:—

"In consequence of the disturbed state of the Zulus, and

having some cattle in that country, I determined to go and bring them across the Tugela. Upon reaching the station of Mr. Walmsley, the government agent, I found that Umbulazi, with three of his brothers, had come over to ask for aid in repelling an expected attack of his brother Kechwayo. He was advised by Mr. Walmsley to return to his army; and if any help could be sent, it would follow him as soon as possible. Accordingly, he and his brothers returned by the ferry-boat, kept by Mr. Hill, on Friday, the 28th of November. On the same day a party of about fifty, armed with guns, chiefly natives and Hottentots, volunteered to go to the assistance of Umbulazi; and Mr. J. Dunn also went with them, with the intention of promoting peace between the belligerents. These having arrived on the opposite shore, and among the army of Umbulazi, no one could be found to act as messenger to Kechwayo, and they remained waiting till his army should come up, as they were expected very shortly.

“Very early on the Tuesday morning following, (December 2nd,) I had proceeded up a hill about three miles from the banks of the Tugela on the Zulu side, and looking towards the interior of the country, I saw the army of Kechwayo about a mile distant, coming on in vast numbers, and presenting a scene at once imposing and fearful.

“I lost no time in returning, and gave the intelligence. Dunn and the volunteers went forward to meet them, with a small party of Umbulazi’s army under the command of Shanguin, with the intention of proposing terms of peace between the parties. When they were within gunshot of each other, a gun was fired from Kechwayo’s army, the bullet whistling near Mr. Dunn, for whom it had evidently been intended, and an immediate attack commenced on both sides; and that portion of Kechwayo’s army which was thus engaged was twice repulsed by the little band of volunteers, although there was no comparison as to numbers. The remainder of the army of Kechwayo, seeing how matters went, ran to join the affray, and were met by Umbulazi with the remainder of his army, who, upon seeing the superior numbers of the enemy, lost confidence, and began to retreat in confusion,

one part going towards the beach, and the remainder towards the Tugela drift. The victors now commenced a horrid slaughter of the defenceless women and children, who had been secreted in a kloof near to the river, and all who came within their reach were put to death without mercy. Out of the band of volunteers, it is supposed that only ten, with Mr. Dunn, returned alive. Few are supposed to survive of those who fled towards the beach, with whom was Umbulazi. Four of the sons of Panda were killed in battle, or have not been since seen.

“After returning from the hill, leaving my cattle to the chance of circumstances, and reaching the banks of the Tugela, I plunged in, although dissuaded by my Kaffirs from doing so. I had not swum far before I heard the war and slaughter had commenced. The noise and confusion was dreadful, and such as to leave an indelible impression upon any one who witnessed it. I safely reached the opposite shore, but much fatigued and exhausted; so much so, that I felt the cramp in my legs, which disabled me from walking. Looking across, I saw the dreadful conflict raging, and vast numbers pouring into the river, who never emerged alive, being followed in many cases by the enemy, and speared in the water.

“The fight being over about noon, the victors collected all the cattle within their reach. There were two thousand belonging to white traders, and a very large number belonging to the natives. They then commenced to plunder the waggons at the drift, six in number, taking every moveable article, even to the tent covering. With this plunder, they commenced their return into the country, taking up a war song with the burden, that there was only one king of the Zulus, and he was Kechwayo.

“About six miles from the drift, a party of Dutch traders and residents, numbering twenty in the whole, had formed a laager with six waggons, with the intention of defending themselves; but upon seeing the numbers of the Zulu army of Kechwayo, they gave up all hope of defending themselves, and two of the party who had left the laager during the day were killed in the bush,—one a

young man of the name of Thomas Morris, and the other a Dutch youth of the name of Gowse. When the chiefs came up to the laager, they asked for anything they desired, which was instantly given them; but when they went away, the army fell to and helped themselves, and stripped the waggons. The party afterwards reached the drift, and were brought into this district by the boat. It is surprising that they escaped with their lives."

Mr. Dunn has been severely censured by the Colonists and others for the part he took in these transactions. Probably, when he went over, he never intended to do anything beyond making a demonstration and seeking to negociate a peace. Had he wished to bring about a reconciliation, he should have avoided the demonstration, except it might have been to keep it in reserve in case of need; for when the army of Kechwayo was raised to fury and thirsting for blood, it was not to be supposed that his warriors would be satisfied with any thing less than complete victory over their opponents; the result proved such to be actually the case. This victory was followed by a display of the most revolting barbarity on the part of Kechwayo, who was not content in having beaten his rival, but followed his victory with a course of wholesale butchery revolting to humanity, massacring women and children as well as men, with merciless cruelty, until the large Tugela river is said to have been reddened with their blood. It is stated on good authority that not less than one hundred thousand human beings must have been slain on this occasion. So great was the slaughter that some of the old warriors who had joined this savage youth, were so sickened with the reckless conduct of this scion of an old stock, that they left his army in disgust; whilst many were cut off for the most trifling causes, or rather without any cause at all, except the brutal caprice of this youthful savage.

There were also some white men beyond the Tugela, traders and others, whose lives were placed in great jeopardy; but the victorious army was content with seizing all the cattle and property of those who were at their mercy; at the same time allowing them to escape

with their lives. When Umpanda afterwards remonstrated with Kechwayo for taking the white man's cattle, asking how he could expect to prosper when his authority was based upon plunder and violence, he replied, "that he had been merciful in not killing all the white men at the Tugela, for he had beaten there a white army as well as a black one;" thus making the presence of a few Europeans assume the importance and magnitude of a white army; and, by way of precedent, making it an augury of ill for the future; showing also the extreme caution which it is needful at all times to exercise in connexion with uncivilized races. When a single spark ignites, it may spread into a devouring flame.

In this time of need it is said that Umpanda applied to the British authorities at Natal, to interpose, not by force of arms, but by force of words, to seek to negotiate, and by friendly but authoritative language to interpose, and stay the stream of blood, and restore order where confusion, anarchy, and death had wasted and destroyed; but that these applications were not complied with, and that the danger is, that the Dutch Boers will not only step in and take possession of the vacant territory, but bring the old king entirely under their power, and add the whole of Zulu-land to their republic, and thus increase a thousand-fold the difficulties of managing them as well as the natives.

The following part of a message from Umpanda to the lieutenant-governor will show how anxious the Boers are to obtain this tract of country, and that they can resort to fraud and intimidation to accomplish their purpose, if need be:—"Panda and Ketchwayo wish to inform the lieutenant-governor that they are threatened with hostility by the Boers; that when Ketchwayo demanded from them his two brothers who had fled to them, they asked for certain lands to be made over to them. Ketchwayo said the country was not his to give, but belonged to his father. Ketchwayo, however, received the boys back, and consented to send one of us (Gebula) to ascertain what country they wanted; he went and found that they wanted country which the Zulu people could not consent to give,

because it would separate them from and interfere with their intercourse with Natal. When they got to the spot and indicated what they wanted, Gebula said he had no power to consent. They asked him to mark a paper; Sirayo was also present, one of Ketchwayo's Indoonas, and residing in that land. Gebula refused to sign, because, he said, he had no authority to do so, if it would profess to give them the land. They said it would only show their President Pretorius that he had been with them to inspect it by Ketchwayo's desire. Upon this understanding, Gebula consented to affix his mark, and so did Sirayo. Some time after this the Boers came to Panda, and brought seventy head of cattle, to thank him for the land that had been given them by Ketchwayo. Panda said he knew of no such land, and referred them to Ketchwayo. Ketchwayo denied he had ever given them land, and said he had no authority to give it. They insisted, and spoke of the paper; but when the circumstances were stated, they were obliged to admit that it was of no value. They, however, persisted in their claim for land; they said they wanted to close the fords for us, between us and the Natal government; and that they wanted all the waters running into the Tugela on our side down to the sea, and along the coast to the St. Lucia Bay, for their ships to come out. Ketchwayo said he would not consent to this, and they went away in great anger, saying that they would take that country by force. They took their cattle back with them.*

The traders have also been loud and bitter in their complaints against the government for not interposing for the recovery of their cattle and property; the more so, as Umpanda and Kechwayo have expressed their willingness to restore the whole, if the government will only state what is required. The whole of these transactions, with their melancholy results, only give force and importance to what I urged in my previous work,—the necessity for having a competent person as government agent, or ambassador, at the capital of the Amazulu chief. A

* "Gazette," September 16th, 1861.

person with discretion, knowledge, and firmness, might often prevent the shedding of much blood, as well as secure the friendly regard of the nation towards our government; and also prevent any of our own countrymen or the Dutchmen from taking improper advantage of the ignorance or feebleness of the people. Wrong-doing may be practised by individuals with impunity for a time; but it is sure in the end to recoil with terrible retribution upon the parties concerned. The British government appears in these days to have gone to the opposite extreme, in this country, to what was practised some time ago, when it would interpose with *armed force* to prevent the collision between native tribes, or to support one tribe to the extinction of another; now, the authorities will scarcely interpose with their friendly offices to prevent war, or terminate a state of anarchy and death.

Why thus be thrown to the antipodes of their former mode of action, and adopt a course alike weak and impolitic, which can secure no good, but may permit evil to go unchecked, until the consequences are most disastrous, and probably terminate in the effusion of much innocent blood, and the expenditure of a large amount of British treasure? The middle course is the proper one,—not, on the one hand, to interfere uncalled for in their petty feuds or clannish quarrels, or, on the other, to hold back when advancement will prevent much evil and effect most good. The latter may be done with dignity and safety, whilst the former is the mark of weakness and fear. But on all occasions the gentlemen employed should not be ignorant, impetuous youths, but men experienced in native affairs, having a knowledge of their language, and being acquainted with their customs and habits of thought and action.*

No apology is needed for introducing the following scene and conversation between a young Zulu Kaffir who visited England, and some of his aged friends in Natal, on his return. It brings out native character and modes of thought in a very striking manner; and shows very clearly

* Since the above was penned, an agent of the government has been placed at the Zulu capital.

what impression is made on the minds of uncivilized foreigners by the wonders of art on the sea, in England, and on the continent of Europe. The young man must have been a very careful and intelligent observer of men and things, and he relates what he saw with great simplicity, correctness, and effect.

A SOUTH AFRICAN KAFFIR'S PICTURE OF ENGLAND, &c.

(FROM THE "NATAL JOURNAL.")

A FEW years ago certain natives of the colony of Natal were conveyed to England for purposes of exhibition. They remained in the British Islands, and in European countries, for about a year, travelling from place to place, and seeing a great deal. It so chanced that, subsequently to their return, one of the party, who had made good use of his eyes, was induced to tell of what he had seen in the presence of several older men of his own race. The following sketch of the scene, and report of the experiences of the traveller, is made by an eye and ear witness, who was present at the time, and who was eminently qualified, by a thorough acquaintance with the native language and peculiarity of character, to preserve an accurate record of what passed. Every expression that is attributed to the narrator, was actually used by the young native in communicating his experiences to his companions.*

Upon a certain occasion, not many moons ago, an intelligent young Zulu, of about twenty-two years of age, sat on the floor of a large room in the city of Maritzburg, surrounded by twenty older men of the same race,—most of them persons of rank and influence in their tribes, and some of them old enough to be the young man's grandfather. The countenance of the young man was open and clear; but the faces of the elders were clouded with doubt, or fixed in the impassible mould of incredulity, which barbarians of experience and dignity so

* Editor of the "Natal Journal."

well know how to assume. The occasion of the gathering was that the young Othello had undertaken to speak of "the dangers he had passed," and to recount his adventures in strange lands. In place of "antres vast and deserts idle," he, however, had to tell of the wonders of civilization, things more incredible to the rude dwellers of the kraal than if the narration had been of "men whose heads do grow beneath their shoulders." He had crossed the wide ocean, and visited the white chiefs in their island home beyond, and he had now to bear his testimony to their surprising cleverness and power. For some time the entire party sat in uninterrupted silence, the old men unwilling to admit curiosity, and eyeing their travelled entertainer. At last one of the seniors put an end to the probationary silence by saying,—

"Well, young man, it is said you are older than we are ; you have travelled further and seen more ; you have crossed the sea. Now tell us of your wanderings, and what you have seen ; but do not pour lies upon us."

"Yes, father," replied the youth deferentially, (for the reader must know that great respect is always shown by these people to age as well as rank,) "I have crossed the sea ; I have seen London, the great place of the English : I have also crossed another sea, and seen the 'great places' of other white nations ; and there is another great sea, which I did not cross ; and beyond that live still other white nations. I will tell you no lies : but what my own eyes have seen can I relate to you."

The old councillor said, "Go on, my son, begin with the sea."

The young traveller proceeded to say, "I must first tell you that when we left this country to go to England, we had heard from Englishmen much about the greatness of the English ; how numerous they were ; what an old people, and how rich they were ; and what wonderful things they possessed. We shall now see the truth of all this : every man magnifies his own country to strangers. When they told us, they did not think we should go there for ourselves. We did see, and that which we saw far exceeded what we thought was exaggeration. I cannot tell

you all I saw. I should not expect you to believe me if I did, because I saw before I could believe. When we left this country, the tax (native hut tax) had only just been established: and when we asked why we had to pay, we were told that in every country people paid taxes. We did not believe this either: we thought that when another's property is wanted, a hole can always be found in the fence. We determined to investigate for ourselves, and bring back the truth. We did so; we inquired all over England, in France, in Germany, in Prussia; wherever we went all said they paid taxes, and that every one they knew paid taxes; so we concluded that where the world ends, there ends taxation! These are the two things we agreed together to inquire into and find out, and we found as I have told you.

“Going on the sea was hard to us; but we said, ‘We will try; others have gone, and gone safely; should we be selected for a different fate because we are black?’ At first the ship went well enough: soon it began to lean from side to side, and it felt so loose in the water, we said, ‘It will fall over;’ we saw no reason why it should remain upright; presently we became very sick, and could eat nothing, and we thought we should die; our hearts turned behind us, and we lamented for our friends; at length, however, we found ourselves recovering, and the ship still keeping its right position, and we said, ‘All may yet go well with us.’ We reached Cape Town. Until we had seen England we thought Cape Town a great place; but then we saw otherwise. After leaving the Cape, we lost sight of the land, and we thought, ‘How can the ship find its way without a path? Before, behind, and on every side, is nothing but sea.’ We bewailed our condition, and said, ‘We shall all die in this waste together;’ but the white men laughed at us, and told us that they saw their way in the sky,—that the stars were their guides, and the sun their path,—and that they had not lost their way. We hoped this might be true; but we could not see such a path, and we could not believe. We said, however, ‘Surely these people do not die joking; for if we die, they must also.’ After some time the captain said we should see land the next

day, and this would prove that he knew where he was. We said, 'We shall see.' The next day truly we did see land; then our fears ceased, and our bodies melted into comfort. This land, however, was not England, but some island in the sea which we were to pass by. In the third month we saw England; then we were told that we were in the mouth of a river; and, soon after, that London was before us. Those who knew London saw it: our eyes, however, saw nothing but a cloud of smoke, then houses, and presently poles standing out of the water, like reeds in a marsh, and these were the masts of the London ships. We went in among them, and our ship stood still; and we found ourselves in London, the great place of the English!"

One of the listeners inquired how large this great place was. The young man replied, "We never saw the end of it; we tried hard to find it, but could not. We ascended a high building like a pole (the Monument) to see where it ended; but our sight was filled with houses, and streets, and people. We heard that many people, born and grown old there, had never seen the end of it; and we said, 'If such is the case, why should we, who are strangers, look for it?' We gave it up.

"The people are so numerous that they tread one on another. All day and all night the streets are crowded. We thought some great thing had happened, and said, 'Let us wait till the people have passed on;' but they never did pass. If any one falls down, he is trodden upon and dies; there is no rising again for him, unless his own strength helps him. The surface of the earth is too small for the people, and some live under the earth, even under the water." (An allusion to the shops in the Thames Tunnel.)

"That must be a lie, young man," exclaimed one of his listeners.

"I hate a liar," said another.

"Perhaps it may be true," suggested a third. "Let him explain."

"No, chiefs! it is no lie," replied the young man; "for I saw it with my own eyes. The London river is as broad as one part of the Bay of Natal. Over it they have built a bridge, which people and waggons can cross upon. There are also boats by which you can get over on the water;

and under the river is a passage cut, through which waggons and people can go to the other side, without knowing that they have passed a river at all; for the water is above them; and it was here that I saw the people living."

One of the chiefs inquired, "If waggons and people can pass on a bridge over the water, and they can cross with boats on the water, why should they make another passage under the water?"

The young man said, "I asked as you ask, and was told they made it so because they wished to have it so."

Chief.—"But where is their light? It must be dark where they live."

Young man.—"Fire gives light."

Chief.—"Did you go among the crowd in London?"

Young man.—"Only while holding the arm of a white man; for people lose themselves in London, and are sometimes never heard of. We were told that two brothers got separated in the streets, and it took a letter from one two months to find the other, and he was in London all the while. You know how fast letters always travel."

Chief.—"Young man, if you speak the truth, you are old, for you have seen much; we are but children."

Young man.—"Besides the crowds in the streets on land, the water is covered with large and small ships, all full of people, going up and down it, who never go into the large sea; and I was told they live on the water because there is no room for them on the land. When I saw all these people, I thanked for you that England was not joined on to this place; for if it were, they would trample you into the earth with their boots."

Chief.—"Did you see any black people in England?"

Young man.—"I saw a few; but although they had black faces, they had long hair, and I heard that they came over another sea."

Chief.—"Are the houses of London large?"

Young man.—"They are so tall that they shade the streets from the sun till midday. The spirits of the place are in the highest parts of some of the buildings, where men never go, and day and night utter a wailing sound,

which I heard." (This is probably an allusion to the chimes in the churches.)

Chief.—"What kind of country is England? What kind of grass grows there?"

Young man.—"I never saw any country, and there is no room for the grass to grow. Except it is fenced in like a field of corn, it would all be trodden down. I went from London to other parts of England, but I only saw houses and fences. I never saw open country, and believe there is none any where more open than this Ungungunhlovi (the town of Pietermaritzburg). A man is never alone in England; he could not be so where I was; but I travelled so fast my eyes were puzzled."

Chief.—"How?"

Young man.—"I travelled in a waggon drawn by another waggon; but how I never could understand. What I know is, that it went so fast, that if you were to start from this place at daylight in the summer time, to go to D'Urban, (fifty miles off,) you could go there and be back again by gun-fire the same morning." (This would be from half-past four to nine A.M.)

"No! no!" exclaimed his hearers, "that is faster than a horse can go!"

Young man.—"A horse! When you want to go quickly in this country, you ride on a horse; but there you take the horse with you into the waggon, and he feeds as he travels."

Chief.—"That is too much for us; you are laughing at us. What is it you say?"

Young man.—"One waggon draws a great many others; it goes so fast that a horse cannot keep up; therefore you take your horse with you. When you have arrived at the place you are going to, you mount him, and ride about to finish your business quickly, in time for the return of the waggon. Having done this, you put him back again into the waggon to be taken home with you."

Chief.—"And what is this waggon that draws the other waggons along?"

Young man.—"I do not understand it myself. I could only make out that it is a large kettle on wheels, full of

water, with a fire under it to make it boil. But before it boils, other waggons loaded are tied behind it; for the moment it does boil it runs away in its own road; and if it were to boil without the waggons being fastened to it, I do not know where it would go to."

Chief.—"But does going so fast not break the waggons?"

Young man.—"It has its own roads, upon which nothing else travels; they are straight and level. Valleys are built up, and hills bored through, for it, and strips of iron are put into the ground to keep it right."

Chief.—"Did you ever see a hill bored through?"

Young man.—"I passed through many. A stranger thinks his road goes over the hill; but all at once he finds himself going through it, in darkness, and sparks, and a fearful noise."

Chief.—"If there are so many people in England as you say, do not these waggons kill the people?"

Young man.—"These roads are guarded, and the people take care of themselves. Few prefer death."

Chief.—"Are there any cattle in England?"

Young man.—"There are none here; I never saw a cow give milk, or a fat ox, till I went to England."

Chief.—"But you say there is no open country; where do they graze?"

Young man.—"They are kept in stables like horses, and their food is cultivated."

Chief.—"Is there any beef in London?"

Young man.—"It was in London that I saw beef."

Chief.—"Where did it come from?"

Young man.—"I inquired about that very point; for I could see but few oxen, and still there was plenty of beef; and I found that they were brought from a distance in waggons, feeding all the time; for instance, the oxen to be slaughtered here to-morrow—supposing this to be London—are just now leaving Delagoa Bay, in those waggons drawn by the hot-water waggon. In England oxen do not draw waggons, but ride in them; and I saw a herd of them coming into London on the tops of houses; there was no room for the road on the earth, so they built it over the houses."

Chief.—"When you began, young man, we asked you not to pour lies upon us. We are no longer children, we are full-grown men. How can a road be built over houses such as these we see?"

Young man.—"I tell you what I saw, I add nothing of my own. I saw oxen come over the houses of London, and they are not like these: I see no houses here; in England the horses live in better houses than the gentlemen do here."

Chief.—"You said the cows give plenty of milk in England."

Young man.—"One there gives as much as a kraal full would here; the milker tires before the milk is finished."

Chief.—"What kind are they?"

Young man.—"The kind we call *Amafalalani*; they have large bodies and short legs; they stay in houses. When I looked at them, I was sorry for them; for although they gave so much milk, they never felt the sun."

Chief.—"How much is the money that buys them?"

Young man.—"Many pounds are paid for one cow; but London is the place where money is made; they don't look at it there."

Chief.—"Are the people of London all rich?"

Young man.—"Many are rich and many are poor. In such a great place there is all that is beautiful, and all that is bad."

Chief.—"How is a rich man known in England?"

Young man.—"He is not rich who has not been obliged to build a house to keep his money in. I saw many large houses in London, built for nothing but to keep money in."

Chief.—"Did the English notice you black people much?"

Young man.—"They noticed us because we were black; for I saw they never noticed each other."

Chief.—"Did you hear any news of the country while you were there?"

Young man.—"Yes, the English were at war with the *Ami Rusi*. We saw the soldiers going into the ships to fight them."

Chief.—"Where was the fighting carried on?"

Young man.—"It was over the sea. I heard that the

English never allow any fighting in their own land : whenever they fight they go and meet the enemy in his country."

Chief.—"They understand fighting who do that ; but did they show any alarm as to who would be beaten ?"

Young man.—"Not at all—they know they will beat. I saw some of the ships of the Ama Rusi brought in, which had been captured by the English. It is only the soldiers who go to fight ; war makes no difference to the people."

Chief.—"Did you see the Queen ?"

Young man.—"Yes, we were taken to her house. It is very large, looks to have been built long ago ; is surrounded by high walls, and guarded by soldiers. We were taken into a large room, in which it was said the Queen saw people who came from other countries. Many persons, all belonging to the inside, came to look at us, and we stood wondering at what we saw. Presently we perceived, from all the gazers leaving us, that the Queen was coming. We thought these were many of them great men ; but they knew themselves to be too small to stand in her presence. All left us but our conductors ; and we feared to stay where our superiors had considered themselves unworthy to remain. The Queen, however, approached, and we saluted her with our '*bayete*' (native royal salute). One of our conductors was then called to explain to her all about us. I was also called to answer questions about this country, Chaka, Panda, the Zulus, and Faku. I was asked about old Zulus who had died long ago, and whose names I only recollected after my return to this country ; for I had heard my father talk of them. When we found ourselves so near the Queen, we felt that we were not far from the edge of a precipice ; but when she spoke, our fears ceased, for we saw she only wanted to look at us ; but who can tell all that we saw there ? They showed us the Queen's carriage, fastened and covered with gold, the dresses of the men who sit in front and behind it the same, as also the dresses of the horses which draw it."

An acquisitive old listener remarked, "It might be profitable to walk behind it. It is said that riches are often found in the paths of the great."

The young man resumed, "We were shown the stables where the horses were kept. Those belonging to the Queen's guard are all black, very beautiful; then we looked at the buildings themselves, but came away without knowing where the Queen herself stayed. The place is so large, no one can know unless he is told."

Chief.—"What kind of person is the Queen?"

Young man.—"Not tall, but good-looking. She is like any other English lady in her own house. It is only when she goes out that you see she is the mistress of the land. She rides in the shining carriage, surrounded by great gentlemen on horseback, and the soldier guards, with metal covers to their heads, riding their black horses. When there is no path for any one else, a way is always found for her. When she passes, all hats are taken off: even the great of the land do not omit to uncover their heads, for she is passing who owns them all. It is then that even a stranger, who knows not, would say, 'This must be the Queen of the land.'"

Chief.—"Did the Queen give you anything?"

Young man.—"No, we were told that we must go again before we left, but we never did."

Chief.—"You said you went over another sea, and saw other white nations."

Young man.—"Yes, we crossed the sea, and saw the amaFulansi (French), and the amaBelgi, the amaGermani, and the amaPulusi (Prussians). We saw all their great places."

Chief.—"Are they like London?"

Young man.—"Their houses are; but in size they are all children to London; we could walk from the middle of either of them to the outside in any direction, and return the same day; but London we never saw where it ended, or where it began, although we were bent upon doing so."

Chief.—"Which are the largest of these great places?"

Young man.—"Paris is large, and so is Berlin. I said Paris was the largest; but if a man contradicted me, I should think he had seen as well as I, and might be right; but London is the mother, and could hold one in each arm."

Chief.—"Are the people there as rich as those in London?"

Young man.—"They themselves confessed to us that the greatest riches were in England."

Chief.—"Did you recross the sea, and go back again to England?"

Young man.—"Yes, but one of our party died in Berlin."

Chief.—"What more did you see in England?"

Young man.—"I saw more than I can tell you, and yet I saw nothing. Some of our party stayed behind, because they said they wished to see more. I saw men ascend into the skies, and go higher than the eagle; I saw dogs carry letters, and monkeys firing off guns; I saw a horse dance to a drum, and when he had finished make a bow to the people who were looking at him; I saw elephants, sea-cows, tigers, and crocodiles living in houses; I saw living snakes handled by human hands; I saw a boa coil himself round an Englishman, put his head into the man's mouth, and then uncoil himself when he told him; I saw men standing on their heads, and walking on their hands, for money, and paid my own money to see them do it."

Exclamations of "Hau! hau!" followed the narration of this string of wonders. "By Chaka!" said one of his hearers, "the young man is inventing now; where did the men get wings who went into the skies?"

Young man.—"I saw all that I tell you; the men did not go up with wings, but in a basket." (A subdued "Au" from several showed that they thought the young man was becoming incorrigible.) "The basket was tied to a large round bag filled with smoke. It looked like a large calabash, with the mouth downwards, and the basket hung beneath; in this two people sat, and when the bag was let go it went up with them. I looked at it till my eyes were tired, and it became smaller than a bird. They took up sand with them, and poured it on the people beneath, and some of it fell on me."

Chief.—"Did you ever see them come down again?"

Young man.—"No, I did not; but people said the coming down was dangerous, because the thing mostly

went where it liked, not where the people in it wanted ; sometimes they found themselves on the top of a tree, or a house, or in the water."

Chief.—"What did they go up for?"

Young man.—"I don't know. They told me there was some work there to do ; but what it was I did not hear."

Chief.—"It is hard to believe this ; but, if it is true, the white people have large livers" (much daring).

Young man.—"If you were to go where I have been, you would say so."

Chief.—"Do you speak the firm truth in what you say about the wild animals and snakes?"

Young man.—"Yes. I saw all I tell you. I saw animals from this country, and others which I had never seen before."

Chief.—"May we believe you?"

Young man.—"You may, for it is all true ; why should I tell you lies in praise of others ? Did you not hear me say, that when we went to England, we thought all we had heard from the English was exaggerated ? and when we saw for ourselves, we said we had heard nothing?"

Chief.—"We have heard, and if you have any more to tell us that is true, go on."

Young man.—"I saw many things that were good to me, and many that I did not like. When a man dies in the streets, (and many do, because the streets are always full,) if he has no brother or friend, he is taken to a house, and his things hung up, and he is cut open, and papers put out to ask who he is ; and if no one claims him, he is taken to the doctoring houses, and cut up and dried ; and if one dies, and they do not know his disease, they cut him open and look at him. We were taken to one of these doctoring houses ; and when we were at the door, we saw dead men standing up as if they were alive, so we feared to go in."

Chief.—"Why is all this done?"

Young man.—"Because they say the doctors learn to cure the sick, and because they don't want to bury more than they can help ; for the ground is but small. In England, people make ready places for burying themselves

in, as we here make kraals for our cattle; and in these one generation is buried by the side of another."

Chief.—"No wonder they come to Natal, if their own country has grown so small for them; but this cutting up dead people looks as if they knew how to 'takata'" (use witchcraft).

Young man.—"They may know that also, for they know everything; but I heard that the doctors were the people who liked dead men, and that if the graves were not taken care of, their people stole the dead bodies for them. We were also told that the man of our party who died at Berlin was only buried because we were there, and that he was afterwards taken out and cut up, to see if he was made inside like the white people."

Chief.—"Where there are so many people there should be much food; but if land is so small, food must be scarce."

Young man.—"The people are like the grass, but food is more abundant. At first we thought, Where shall we get food when there are so many people of the country to eat it themselves? We did not see it growing, or where it could grow; but we learnt afterwards that money brought the food of other countries there. For a sixpence a man can fill himself there much better than here, and have more than he can eat."

Chief.—"Is there *umbila*" (Indian corn) "in England?"

Young man.—"Plenty, but we never looked at it. We ate bread and drank beer. We only liked *umbila* after we came back to this country."

Chief.—"Have you any more things to tell of?"

Young man.—"I have many more, but I cannot recollect them now. I did not see what I wished to see, the houses where clothes and iron things were made; we were always promised to see them, but did not. Some of our party refused to come back, because they wished to see these and other wonders. I saw, however, where they were made, and the people that make them, and found that our belief was not true, that a race of people with only one eye were the only makers of them. We went to the house where the money is made; but the soldier

would not let us go in; he said that not even an Englishman was allowed inside; but we heard them making money very fast from where we were. There is English money distinct, and French money distinct: all countries have their own money; and when an Englishman goes to France, he buys French money from the money houses, where I saw heaps for sale, to use in France, and the same when a Frenchman comes to England.

“But, although I have told so much, I have told you nothing, for I was only beginning myself to see when I left. I saw but one thing,—the number and power of the English, and all the white people. When I went from this country, I thought that the blacks were beyond the whites in number; but when I saw for myself, I concluded there were no black people at all. Men say many things, and that the whites are but few: it is only because they have not yet come: if they were all here, they would dig down the mountains and build up the valleys, and we should be like dogs on a flat, howling for their homes. We know no work, they can work for themselves, there is nothing they cannot do; and we,—what can we do? I often thought of you in England, and that you knew not the truth on this point; that you believed you were strong, while you were nothing; and that it would put an end to many false thoughts if every chief in Natal could be taken to see England.”

Chief.—“Young man, we thank you for your news: you have made us older than we were, but you are older still, for you have seen with your eyes what we only hear with our ears. As you say, eyes are more to be relied on than ears, and it would be well to see as well as hear; but what old man would cross the sea?”

The history of the Amazulu nation is thus brought down to the present time. What will transpire in the future no one can tell. The chief danger at present appears to arise from the restless Dutch, who, as recorded in a previous page, are doing all in their power to obtain possession of the unoccupied land before described, and take in the coast range as far as St. Lucia Bay. This

should not be allowed by the English, under any consideration whatever; but it is one of the many evils arising out of "the abandonment of the Sovereignty," which was so clearly and strongly pointed out by the author in the Appendix to his former work on the Colony of Natal.

My object in this history of the Amazulu nation has not been to enter into lengthened details or trifling incidents to increase the number of the pages and swell the size of the volume; but, in as compressed a form as possible, to present to the eye of the reader a clear, connected, and correct view of this interesting nation; the rise of its power, its internal policy, the course and extent of its conquests, together with its manners and customs. That some errors will have found their way into this part of my work is what must be expected; but I do lay claim to having been placed in the most favourable circumstances for obtaining correct information, and for having stated it in a firm, unbiassed manner. If any persons desire more lengthened details, they may find them in the works of Messrs. Chase, Isaacs, and Captain Gardiner.

CHAPTER III.

THE NATAL KAFFIRS.

HAVING somewhat lengthily entered into the history of the Amazulu, it will not be needful to enter so fully into detail in reference to the manner in which the Natal tribes were broken and dispersed, but only to give a general outline of the whole.

From the earliest period of the discovery of Natal, and its introduction to the notice of the civilized world, we find it peopled with numerous tribes. The first authentic record we have is in Hamilton's "East Indies," vol. i., p. 9; and is thus given in Chase's "Natal Papers," vol. i., p. 2:—"I believe the first communication or commerce either to Natal or Delagoa, with the English, came by accident. About 1683," (nearly one hundred years after the discovery of Natal by Vasco di Gama,) "an English ship, the 'Johanna,' was lost somewhere about Delagoa. The natives showed the shipwrecked men more civility and humanity than some nations that I know, who pretend much religion and politeness; for they accommodated their guests with whatever they wanted of the product of their country, at very easy rates; and assisted what they could to save part of the damaged cargo, receiving very moderate reward for their labour and pains. Their language was by signs; and for a few glass beads, knives, scissors, needles, thread, and small looking-glasses, they hired themselves to carry many things to a neighbouring country, and provided others, who also served as guides towards the Cape of Good Hope, and provided eatables for their masters all the while they were under their conduct. And, having carried them about two hundred

miles on their way by land, they provided new guides and porters for them, who conducted them, and provided for them, as the others had done, for seven or eight hundred miles further, which they travelled in forty days, and so delivered their charge to others, till they arrived at the Cape; and some of the English falling sick on the way, they carried them in hammocks till they either recovered or died; and, out of eighty men, there were only three or four that died; but how long they journeyed before they got to the Cape, I have forgotten. This account I have from one of the travellers. He told me that the natural fertility of those countries he travelled through made the inhabitants lazy, indolent, indocile, and simple. Their rivers are abundantly stored with good fish and water-fowl, besides manatees, or sea cows, and crocodiles; their woods with large trees, wild cattle and deer, elephants, rhinoceroses, lions, tigers, wolves, foxes, for game; also many sorts of fowl and birds, with ostriches."

If "their language was by signs," it was because these white strangers did not understand the meaning of their sounds, which articulated a language full, harmonious, and strong. This account was written nearly two hundred years ago, and is valuable as giving distinct reliable information at that very early period. Many parts bear the impress of authenticity so clearly, by what our subsequent knowledge confirms, that the whole must be taken as in the highest degree credible.

Two or three years later the "Stavenese," a Dutch vessel, was also wrecked on the coast; and the sailors remained until they could construct a small vessel out of the wreck, with the addition of such other timber as the country supplied. They say that "they had sometimes fully a thousand armed men near."

About the year 1689 or 1690, the Council of the Cape dispatched the "Noord," with a view to survey the coast and report upon it. They anchored on the 5th of January, and found Arion Jans, boatswain, and Jan Pieters, a boy, both of the wrecked "Stavenese;" who, having been in the country some time, were able to give some information concerning its inhabitants. "One may travel two or three

hundred *mylen*” (miles) “through the country without any cause of fear from men, provided you go naked (*bloot*), and without any iron or copper; for these things give inducement to murder those who have them. Neither need one be in any apprehension about meat and drink, as they have in every village a kraal, or house of entertainment for travellers, where they are not only lodged, but fed also. Care must only be taken, towards nightfall, when one cannot get any further, to put up there, and not go on before morning. In an extent of a hundred and fifty *mylen*,” (miles,) “travelled by your servants along the coast, to the depth of about thirty *mylen*” (miles) “inland, and through the five kingdoms, namely,—the Magoses, Makriggas, the Matimbos, Mapontes, and Emboos, they found no standing waters, but many rivers with plenty of fish, and full of sea-cows.” And among other things enumerated by them, they add:—“The country swarms with cows, calves, oxen, steers, and goats; there are few sheep, but no want of elephants.”

These quotations fully verify the fact that the country was at that early period thickly populated with a prosperous people. Allowing the other portions of what is now the Natal Colony to be as fully inhabited as those given, there must have been at that time two hundred kingdoms of aboriginal inhabitants in the present Natal Colony. And if we allow only a thousand persons to each kingdom, a very moderate computation, two hundred thousand aboriginal inhabitants of the land existed at that time.

They are also stated to be rich in cattle, corn, &c., &c., being advanced as far in civilization then as they are now; they were also characterized by kindness and hospitality.

The favourable accounts of the country and natives taken to the Cape by these early adventurers, induced the Dutch East India Company to seek to purchase from the natives the Bay and adjoining neighbourhood, for the purpose of establishing a “factory.” In order to carry out this design, the “Noord” was dispatched, with full instructions given to the commander to make the purchase from the natives “for the Honourable Company, for beads, copper, ironmongery, and such other articles as they have

a liking for, of the Bay of Natal and the adjoining land; and you will have a deed of conveyance, *in communi et solemniformá*, written by *Laarens van Swaarswyck*, passed before commissioned members of the ship's council, and signed by the said Ingosi and some of his nearest relatives; taking good care that the articles of merchandise for which the Bay and adjoining lands are purchased, are not noticed in the deed, except in general terms, and that the amount of the same be estimated at nineteen or twenty thousand guilders. (*Tot op negentien of twentig duysend guilders.*)”

The members of this Honourable Company were disposed to make a large purchase from this “Ingosi” king with small ware or merchandise; but they were anxious that no permanent record of it should be made,—“*taking good care that the articles of merchandise for which the Bay and adjoining land are purchased, are not noticed in the deed, except in general terms.*” Probably they were unwilling that after ages should be made acquainted with the manner in which they imposed upon ignorant natives, and took advantage of their circumstances.

In accordance with these instructions, we find the party bringing their small craft, the “Noord,” into the Bay of Natal on the 5th of December, 1704; “and, after embarking the residue of the crew of the ‘Stavenese,’ solemnly purchasing that Bay, with some surrounding land, from the king and chiefs of those parts, for some merchandise consisting of copper, arm and neck rings, and other articles, upon behalf of the Honourable Company, whose marks were set up in various places. (*Der selvér wapen in verscheide plwutsen opgeregt.*)”

This is the first instance in which we find the Bay and lands of Natal going out of the hands of the natives into those of the civilized white man. The articles given were a few trifles for ornament; and only prove how utterly ignorant the natives were of the relative value of the articles which were changing hands. The object for which this purchase was made was, probably, for the purpose of establishing a slave mart; so that these unsuspecting natives might be sold to enrich the civilized white

man. There were probably a few slaves obtained from this part of the coast at a subsequent period, but no regular slave trade was established as at Delagoa Bay. Thus when Gerbruntzer, in 1705, went to claim the territories before purchased, he found the late king "Ingosi" dead, and his son exercising supreme authority, who, when reminded of the purchase of these lands from his father, and the consequent right of the Honourable Company to them, replied, "My father is dead, his skins (*i. e.*, cloths) are buried with him in the floor of his house, which is burned over him; and the place is fenced in, over which none now must pass; and as to what he agreed to, it was for himself, I have nothing to say to it." So Gerbruntzer urged it no further, having no orders concerning it from the Company."

This was a very simple and easy way of getting out of what to us would be a very difficult business; and what would have been one to him, had there been an armed force to press the claim. He looked upon his father as now dead, and, as a logical sequence, his acts had died with him. Those things were convenient or profitable to him, like the "skins" he wore, or the house in which he lived; but the one was now burned, and the other buried; and, therefore, to attempt to establish a claim to lands upon such a baseless fabric, was to him absurd. To these barbarians, land was simply an article of convenience, like the fruits of the earth, the house in which he dwelt, the skins he wore, and the utensils he used. As a matter of convenience, "Ingosi" might sell the land to these strangers for a few beads or trinkets, but this was not equally convenient or agreeable for his son; and, therefore, he was at perfect liberty to ignore the whole transaction:—"As to what he agreed to, it was for himself, I have nothing to say to it."

Thus commenced and terminated the first land sale in Natal. For although, in December, 1719, orders were sent from Holland to the Cape Government to establish factories both at Delagoa and Natal, these orders were not carried into effect; but on the 19th of April, 1729,

directions were sent out to *abandon* the latter place, and it nowhere appears that any subsequent attempt was made to claim or occupy the country.

The quotations above given are mostly from Bannister's "Human Policy," and Chase's "Natal Papers."

I now pass on to the period which elapsed between 1729 and the bursting of the Amazulu tempest in about 1816. All parties agree in representing the country now included in the Natal colony, as densely populated with aboriginal inhabitants. The old man of whom I have written described "the people as being like the blades of grass,—innumerable;" or, waving his hand abroad, "like the forest leaves shaking in the wind." Stretching out his right arm, he said, "The land was full of people, they covered the hills, and were spread over the plains." Another old man with whom I met on the Fish River, four hundred miles distant, spread his hand abroad, and said, "The people covered the land the same as the bushes cover the land before you;"—the country around was covered with multitudes of small thorn bushes. Such was the land when the mighty Amazulu warriors poured down into it; before them it was as "the garden of Eden, behind them a desolate wilderness." As I have given an account of these wars and desolations in the chapter upon Utshaka, which was done to avoid breaking the narrative, it is not needful for me to repeat that account here.

The last battle near the Umzimkulu was one of unexampled barbaric terror and grandeur. It was the climax, the finish of all that had gone before. The last *eight tribes* of Natal Kaffirs had combined, and fought with desperate bravery, but in vain: the Amazulu conquered, and Utshaka took out the gall of his last foe, and placed it on his head in exulting triumph, whilst the plaudits of his inflated warriors arose:—

"Thou hast finished, finished nations,
Whither wilt thou go to battle, whither wilt thou go to
battle?"

Yes. "Loud the clamour rose.

There rose two mingled shouts and groans of men,

Slaying with slain ; the earth ran red with blood.
As when, descending from the mountain's brow,
Two wintry torrents from their copious source
Pour downward to the narrow pass, where meet
Their mingled waters in some deep ravine,
Their weight of flood, on the fair mountain side ;
The shepherd hears the roar : so loud arose
The shouts and yells of those commingling hosts."

After the last great battle was fought, and the last combined Natal forces were defeated, as recorded in the narrative, the land was deserted, and desolate in the extreme. Before, it was full of busy human beings, the valleys were filled with cattle, the hills were covered with corn ; they were rejoicing and singing together ; but now one widely extended scene of desolation spread before the eye, human skulls and bones, unburied, lay bleaching in the sun, whilst deep and awful silence proclaimed, "*the land was dead.*"

The calamity was aggravated by the fact that, when they found women and children, they butchered them also with cruel ferocity. The wife of one of my informants saved herself by taking refuge in a tree, and hiding herself whilst the furious host was passing underneath. Mr. H. Fynn says, "There were neither kraals, huts, cattle, nor corn. Occasionally I saw a few stragglers,—mere living skeletons, obtaining a precarious subsistence on roots and shell-fish."

But from this vast grave new life was destined to rise by the wonder-working providence of that Being who "works all things after the counsels and decisions of His own will." Many of those who were driven from the land, and became wandering fugitives, have returned to it. Many of those who had taken refuge in the bush, dens, and caves, have emerged into open day ; whilst a new principle of vital European life has been diffused through the whole.

We are now brought to consider their dispersions, their preservation, and their return. For although vast multitudes were slain, still many were left alive ; these sought

refuge in the bush and other hiding places, and subsisted on roots, insects, &c.; but many more fled to the south-west among the Kaffirs dwelling there, whilst multitudes either crossed the Drakenberg, or remained in its strongholds and fastnesses. These, it is said, became cannibals from sheer want, only feeding on one part to keep the other alive.

Those who fled among the Kaffirs were reduced to the most abject state of wretchedness and want, many dying of starvation. Mr. Appleyard, in his Grammar, says, (p. 41,) "The *Amafengu* constitute the principal remains of several nations which were broken up and destroyed in the wars above referred to, chiefly by Tshaka and Matuwana. They at length forced their way to the country of the late Hintsá, amongst whose people they lived in a state of abject bondage, and by whom they were generally treated with great cruelty. From this servile condition they were delivered by Sir Benjamin D'Urban in 1835; when a large portion of them removed to Fort Peddie, between the Fish and Keiskama rivers, where, as British subjects, they now form a promising settlement. Others of these people continue to live in different parts of Kaffirland, particularly in the vicinity of Mission Stations, and are also scattered in considerable numbers throughout most of the eastern districts of the Colony."

And, again, in a note, "The term *Amafengu* is a conventional national epithet, first applied to the Fingoes by the Kaffirs, but now in general use among themselves. The root from which it is derived is *fenguza*, and signifies 'to seek service;' and correctly characterizes their condition when they arrived amongst the Kaffirs." The term *Amafengu*, as here explained, is applied to all the remnants of those nations that have found their way through Kaffirland to the frontier of the Cape Colony. But it is not used in this sense by the Natal Kaffirs, but is rather a tribal name, as *Amafengu* or *Amafenya*; being used to distinguish that part of the great Amatuli nation which lived upon the sea-coast, from the Bluff westward, who long subsisted on the productions of the sea.

Those who were thus brought out, under the care of the

Rev. John Ayliff, Wesleyan Missionary, gradually increased and spread under the protection of the colonial government.

At the close of the war of 1852, a large number more were brought out, computed at seven thousand, under the guardianship of the Rev. F. Gladwin. These have gradually amalgamated with those who preceded them, until they have now become a numerous, wealthy, and powerful people. According to a census recently taken, there are, at this time, seventy thousand Kaffir Fingoes south-west of the Kei; seventeen thousand of these are located in the Peddie District. These have accumulated property to a large amount. The census gives :—

Horses	772
Draught Oxen.....	3,724
Other Cattle	14,401
Woolled Sheep	8,669
Goats	22,578
Pigs	240

They raised at the last harvest :—

Wheat	670 bushels.
Maize or Indian Corn.....	91,125 bushels.
Tobacco.....	1,508 lbs.
Wool	17,726 lbs.

To the above must be added a large number of ploughs, waggons, and other agricultural implements; the whole showing a great amount of material wealth, and very considerable advancement in civilization. This, however, relates to only one district; and when the others are added, including Kaffirs and Fingoe-Kaffirs,—all, more or less, in a similar state of advancement,—every impartial person must acknowledge that great results have been accomplished.

In a memorandum addressed to Lady Grey in 1855, by Miss Sarah Ann Ayliff, daughter of the late Rev. John Ayliff, we have the following tribal notice of Fingoe-

Kaffirs on the frontier of the Cape Colony. Miss Ayliff estimates the total number at thirty-five thousand. This will apply only to those in the Colony, and is greatly below the mark; as, if we include British Kaffraria, there are seventy thousand south-west of the Kei, as before stated. This is not mere guess, but the result of actual census, carefully taken.

The following tribes are enumerated by Miss Ayliff:—

- | | |
|----------------------|---------------------|
| (1.) a Ma-size, | (2.) a Ma-hlube, |
| (3.) a Ma-belidwani, | (4.) a Ma-husha, |
| (5.) a Ma-hlangu, | (6.) i Fei-gubevu, |
| (7.) a Ma-shawu, | (8.) a Ma-yobu, |
| (9.) e Mi-tyale, | (10.) u Tshabe, |
| (11.) a Ma-bele, | (12.) u Kunene, |
| (13.) a Ma-tshusu, | (14.) a Matolo, |
| (15.) u Myu, | (16.) a Mavunhle, |
| (17.) a Ma-ntamlo, | (18.) a Ma-xolo, |
| (19.) i Mi-zizi, | (20.) a Ma-ntuzele, |
| (21.) a Ma-ganya, | (22.) a Ma-cekwana. |

It would be possible to trace these tribal distinctions further, but no beneficial practical result would arise therefrom.

Large and prosperous Mission Stations, mostly Wesleyan, are established and conducted amongst these people; and these Missions have largely contributed to the material wealth and rapid advancement which the people have made; and the progress they are now making is much more rapid than at any former period; thus proving that, whilst Christianity does not profess or undertake to civilize barbarians, yet a natural result of Missions is, to do this in every place; whilst loyalty to the Government has at all times characterized the conduct of those of whom we write.

I have now traced the course of that part of the former Natal Kaffirs in their wanderings through Kaffirland, and their prosperous settlement on the frontier of the Cape Colony; it still remains for me to notice those who did not thus migrate to distant parts, but remained in and returned to their own country.

Of these there were many who fled before the conquering Amazulu, and found refuge in the dense bushes and forests, in rocky and mountainous parts, in dens and caves of the land. They lived on roots, insects, wild animals, fish, &c., dragging out a very precarious existence, until a brighter day dawned.

After my arrival at Natal, Umnini, chief of the remaining Amatuli tribe, lived in a bush about six miles from the Bay. But he and his people were so carefully secreted in the dense bush, that no one unacquainted with their abode would suppose that human beings dwelt there. The way to this secret, bushy citadel was rather like the track of the elephant into the impenetrable forest, than the path leading to the residence of human beings. What I thus personally witnessed was only an illustration of what took place with others to a great extent.

Captain Gardiner, as the result of some of his observations, says, concerning some of these people:—"These people originally lived high up on the right bank of the Tugela, whence they were driven, about fifteen years since, by the devastating wars of Charka. The name of this village is Doomazoolu, or Thundering Heavens, and, with the other nine, contains from three hundred to four hundred men; and as each, on an average, has three wives, the whole population may be estimated at about three thousand. The name of Charka, according to Fortu's account, was not even known to them until the approach of his army was announced, and they were eventually obliged to abandon their country, when, after wandering for some time, they settled on the Umzimvooboo; but even there they found no respite, the Amakoash, under Maddegan, falling upon them, and killing their chief Nombeu, (father to Fortu,) who fell by the hand of Spai (or Ncpai). This occurred about five years ago, and obliged them to seek their present asylum, which, after enduring many hardships, several of their people dying from actual starvation, they effected. They describe themselves as having been formerly a powerful nation, the only remains of which at present consist of twenty-five villages,—ten here, ten more on this side of the Umgani, and five on the other, all

under the control of Fortu,—and may probably amount to about seven thousand or eight thousand souls. The refugees so frequently to be met with scattered among all the tribes from the colonial frontier to the Umzimvoobo, and especially at the Missionary Stations in those districts, and who are known under the general name of ‘Fingu,’ (literally, ‘wanderer,’) are the remnants of the various nations formerly inhabiting this extensive tract of country, the greater part of whom have been destroyed either by famine or the assagai.”*

I have here given two examples; one from my own personal experience, and the other from Captain Gardiner; one near the coast, and the other far inland;—showing that they were not confined to any particular locality, but scattered over the country wherever they could find a hiding-place, and maintaining themselves against such terrible odds as they had to encounter. And I am by no means disposed to think that the number of these aborigines was so small as has often been represented.

A third part of these original possessors of the soil were taken captive by the conquering Amazulu, and were either made to serve in the army or put under strict surveillance, and so remained until after the English took possession of Natal. When this took place, *large numbers returned, not as “Zoolo emigrants,” as is often affirmed, but as wasted wanderers returning to the land of their fathers.* At the same time, those who had remained in their hiding-places in the colony gradually emerged from their pent-up prisons into open day; first under the European settlers at the Bay,—Farewell, Fynn, and others; and afterwards under the Dutch and English, when the colony became British. Out of these broken and scattered remnants have arisen the present large numbers of Kaffirs in the Natal colony, say 150,000 to 200,000 persons. I distinctly repudiate the term Zulus, as applied to these people in the mass; doubtless many Zulus are among them, but the great majority are the aborigines of the country.

It would not be difficult to prove this in detail; but the

* GARDINER, pp. 312, 313.

mere statement must suffice. I am acquainted with the names of forty remnants of tribes whose history is fully traced, and many more who have ceased to exist as distinct tribes. The only reason why I do not give historical notices of each is, because it would probably be wearying to the reader; but I have them in my possession. Going into lengthened detail to distinguish betwixt Natal Kaffirs and Amazulu would be of but little practical use; for even on the much-litigated land question, when a case is fairly made out of aboriginal right, it is disputed by some and denied by others. The statement that these are mostly descendants of the ancient aboriginal inhabitants must therefore suffice. Here, then, we have as a final result of the Natal Kaffirs, say 200,000; that is, 130,000 in Natal and 70,000 on the frontier. Certainly no small remnant; proving that the same God who breaks down and scatters a nation one way, can raise out of the wreck and apparent ruin a people who may live and serve Him.

To make this chapter as complete as possible, I shall give some statistical results as to the comparative numbers of men, women, and children; as also the number to each hut, kraal, &c. Mr. Perrin thus writes:—"In the district whose boundaries are, in the north and north-east, the Ifafa river, west and south-west, the Umzumbe, east and south-east, the Indian Ocean, and a line drawn from the Umzumbe to the Ifafa, about ten miles inland, there are 180 kraals, containing 797 huts; giving an average of nearly $4\frac{1}{2}$ huts to a kraal. Classified, they average thus:—

	6 kraals contain	1 hut each.
21	„ „	2 huts „
48	„ „	3 „ „
34	„ „	4 „ „
28	„ „	5 „ „
17	„ „	6 „ „
10	„ „	7 „ „
4	„ „	8 „ „
4	„ „	9 „ „
6	„ „	10 „ „
1 kraal contains	14	„ „
1 „ „	15	„ „

“One hundred of these kraals (containing 454 huts) have a population of 1,689, averaging $16\frac{9}{10}$ per kraal, and nearly $3\frac{3}{4}$ per hut.

“Of 201 married men belonging to these kraals, and taken fairly one with another,—

52	men	have	1	wife	each.
54	„	„	2	wives	„
33	„	„	3	„	„
23	„	„	4	„	„
16	„	„	5	„	„
9	„	„	6	„	„
6	„	„	7	„	„
5	„	„	8	„	„
2	„	„	10	„	„
1	man	has	13	„	„

201 men having 600 wives. This gives an average of nearly 3 wives to a man.

“Although 52 have only 1 wife each, yet these are chiefly young men, who in the course of time will have as many wives as their means will allow.”

The same person writes again from the same place, and says:—“In the entire population of 100 kraals in this district, there are 657 males and 1,032 females, an excess in the latter not exceeding 57 per cent.; but it will be understood that during the twelve years of peace which these people have enjoyed, the disproportion in numbers between the sexes has been gradually diminishing.

“In 206 native families, the male children are 608, the female, 619; hence it follows that the present excess of females consists of those who were born in time of war.”

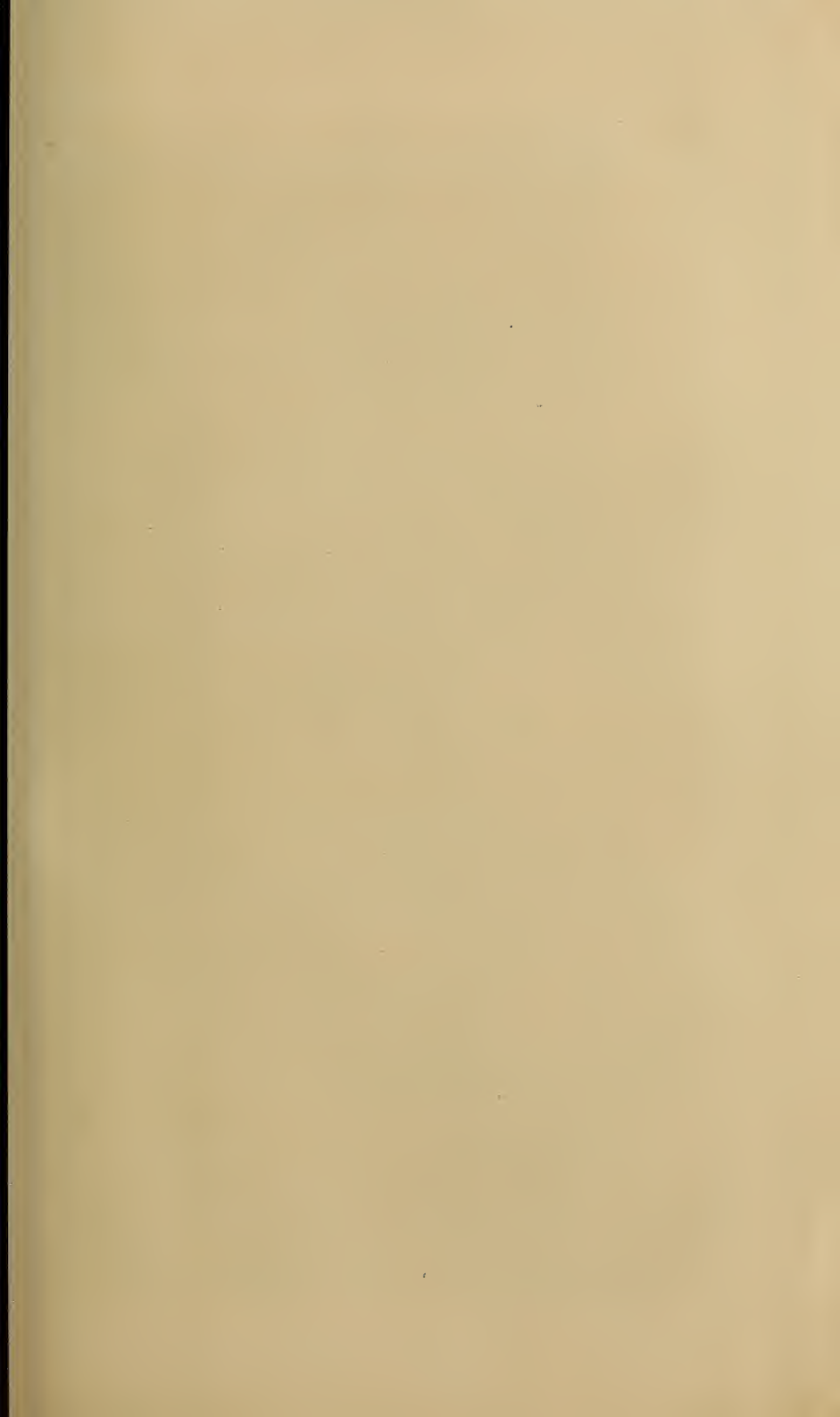
These statistics were taken in Natal some years ago; but the following figures are the result of the last census in British Kaffraria, and were taken so recently as 1865, coming down to the latest date, and giving results in another part of the country, but still chiefly among the Natal Kaffirs or Fingoes, as found in Kaffraria:—

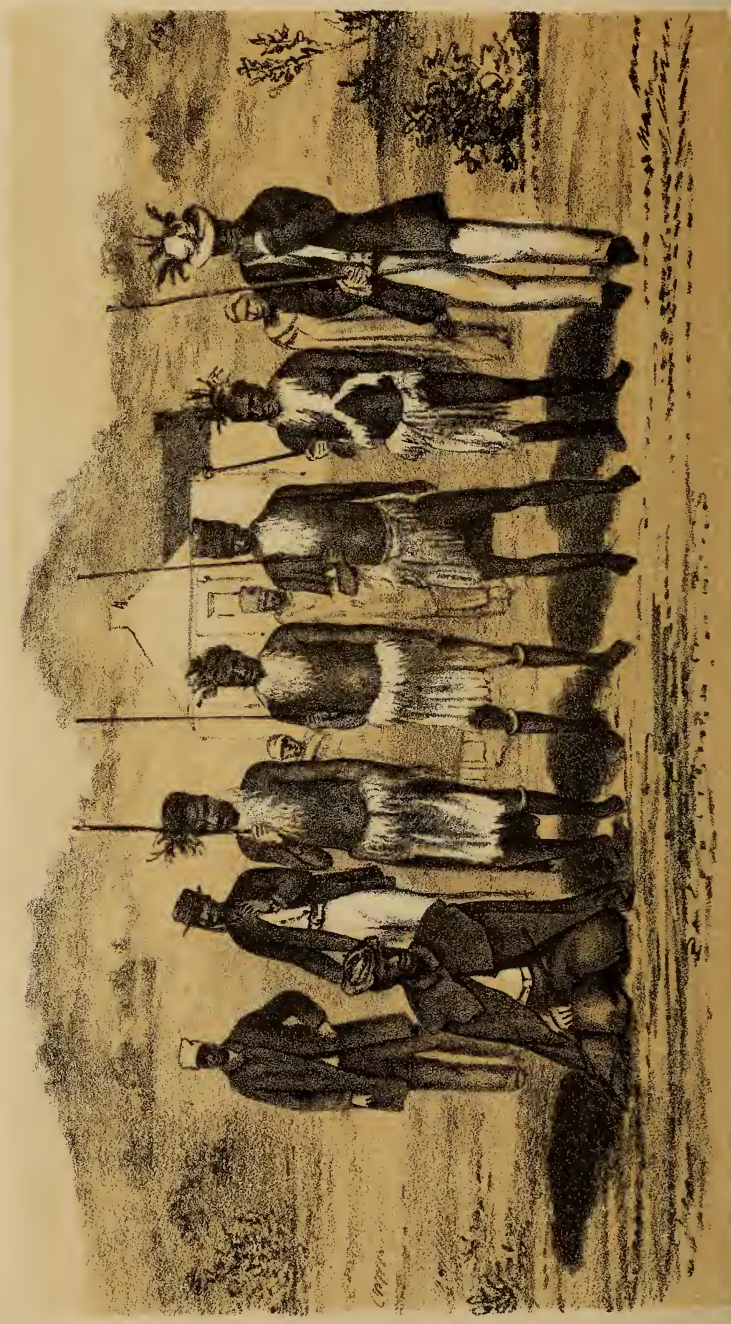
Males.....	17,395	(men)
Females	18,062	(women)
Children	39,646	(both sexes)

Here it will be seen that the number of men and women is nearly equal, probably arising from long continued peace. These statistics also establish another fact; viz., that the practice of polygamy is not only unnatural from the sexes being nearly equal, but further, that if continued, it must occasion the greatest disorder amongst them in times of peace; for, as some men must have several wives, others must in an equal proportion be without wives at all. This already exists to some extent, and has been increasing of late years. War can be the only panacea for such an evil, in which a large number of men are cut off, and thus an excess of women remains.

I am not aware that any class exists among the Kaffirs significantly called "old maids." Ladies are too valuable; and, whether pretty or not, always go either as wives or concubines.

Many have thought that the increase of population would be greater among polygamists than among monogamists; but this is an error, as the preceding statistics only give a little more than two children to one woman, which is two hundred per cent. below what takes place among the European inhabitants. Some have thought that the natives increase very fast; but our figures prove, not at all in an equal ratio to the white inhabitants.





A. LA RIVIERE, LITHO. 18, CLIFTON STREET.

FIGURES OF FOUR KABBIR DANCERS.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF THE AMAXOSA AND OTHER INTERIOR TRIBES.

THIS part of Kaffir history will embrace the whole of those tribes residing between the Great Fish River, on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony, and the Umzimkulu, on the western border of the Natal Colony; and extending from the sea coast to the large range of mountains, called the Stormberg, on the west of the Great Kei River, and the Quathlamba range, on the east of that river. This majestic range stretches a great distance, as the mighty backbone of the south-eastern peninsula: from its summit the waters divide; one part flowing eastward, emptying itself by numerous rivers into the Indian Ocean; the other westward, into the Vaal and Orange Rivers, thence into the Atlantic Ocean.

The distance along the coast is about 3 deg. east long.; but as it is traversed by roads, rivers, &c., it is very much farther, as many parts are extremely rugged and precipitous, most of the beds of rivers lie deeply down, and the roads to them are often frightful and dangerous to Europeans, but not to Kaffir pedestrians, as they can traverse paths fit only for baboons. The distance from the sea coast varies from about 120 to 150 miles. The upper parts are mountainous, and in winter covered with snow; the plains and valleys are exceedingly fertile, grass being very abundant.

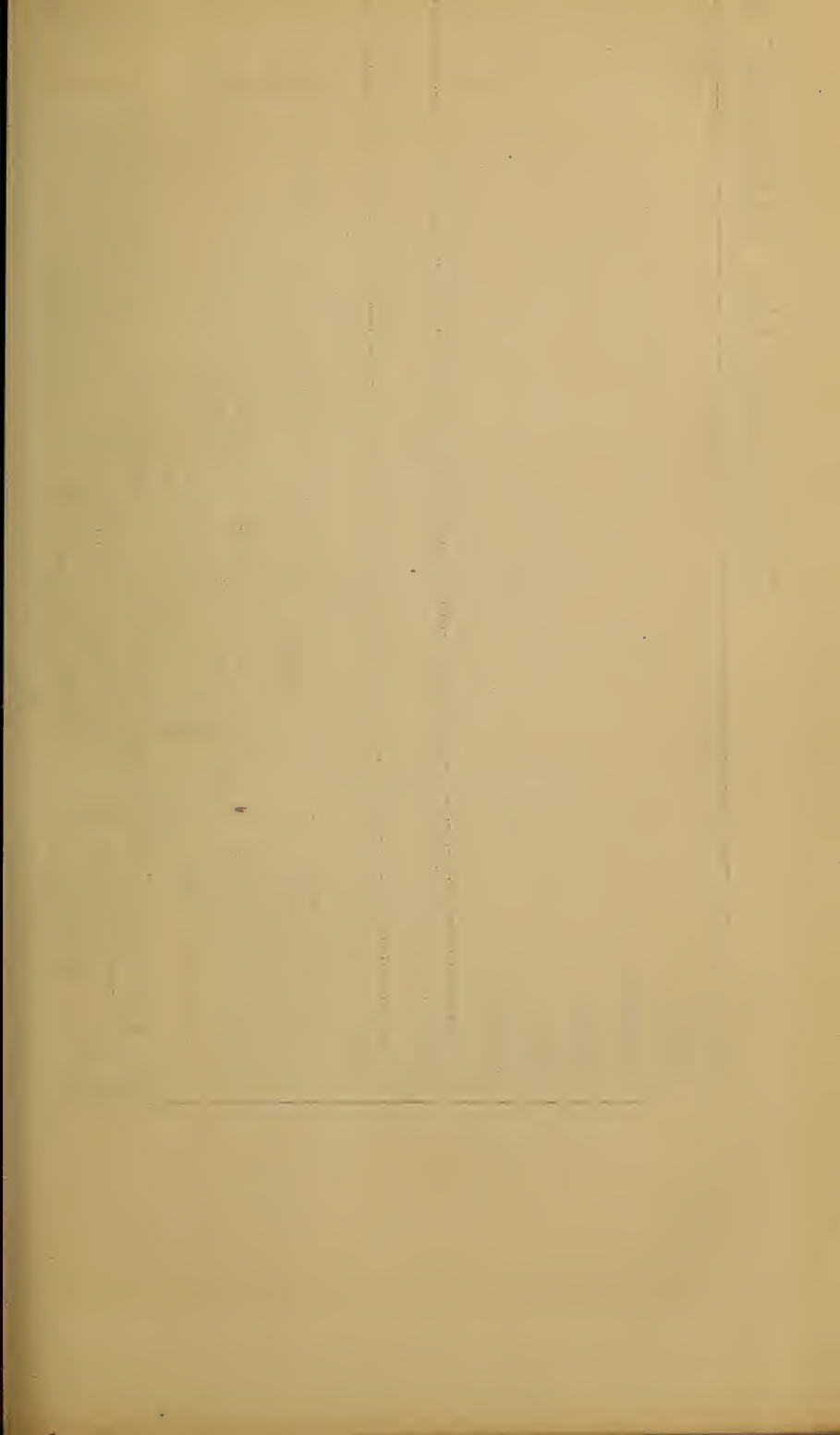
This range of country contains an area of twenty-five thousand square miles, and has been occupied by numerous Kaffir tribes from time immemorial. We have no means of fixing definitely or distinctly the early date at which they took up their abode in it: only in the tables shortly to be given we are able to trace their history backwards

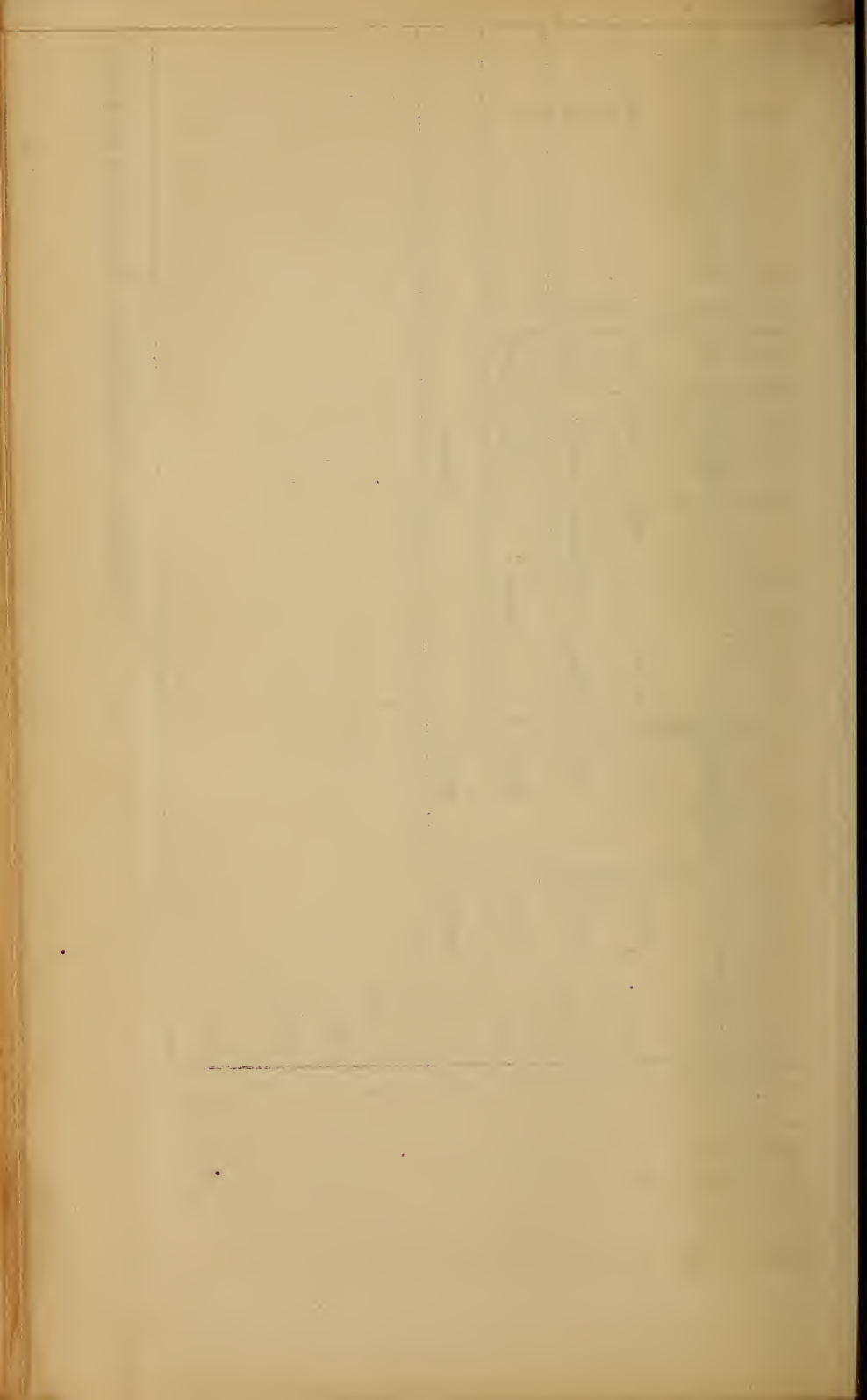
several hundred years, having the names of their chiefs for that space of time; thus exploding the oft-repeated statement, that "they came down from the north not very long ago, drove the Bushman out of this country, and took possession of it, being only emigrants, and having no title to it." Of this there is no proof whatever, but all the evidence goes to prove the contrary,—that they descended from the north at a very early period, before any civilized nation whatever could take any distinct account of them.

The great divisions of these Kaffir races, according to the table here given, as prepared by Mr. Dugmore, consist of the *Abatembu*, *Amampondumisi*, *Amampondo*, and *Amavosa*; besides which there are the *Amabaca* of more recent origin. To give a detailed history of these various tribes, with their numerous divisions, subdivisions, and ramifications,—their numerous wars, migrations, and localities,—would require a volume. The aim of the author must therefore be, to select, arrange, and compress the varied information in his possession, in such a manner as will present a clear, connected, and popular view of the whole in as short a space as possible. The curious and the critical will still have ample space left for investigation and addition.

Two things will greatly aid me in this compressed record of the subject: one is, that it will not be needful to say much about the tribes in the interior, which have not been brought into direct contact with Europeans; the other is, that the map and various tables, carefully prepared and as accurately given as the nature of the subject will allow, will enable the reader to ascertain, with considerable precision, the local position of the different tribes, and their relative influence upon each other. The map shows how far the Natal Colony has been extended southwards, adding to that colony a large portion from Kaffirland proper, and thus making Natal much larger than in former maps; also giving the boundaries on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony.

I. According to the annexed table, it will be seen that the *Abatembu*, or Tembookie tribe, is *paramount*, being the oldest or great stock of the tree, from which the other



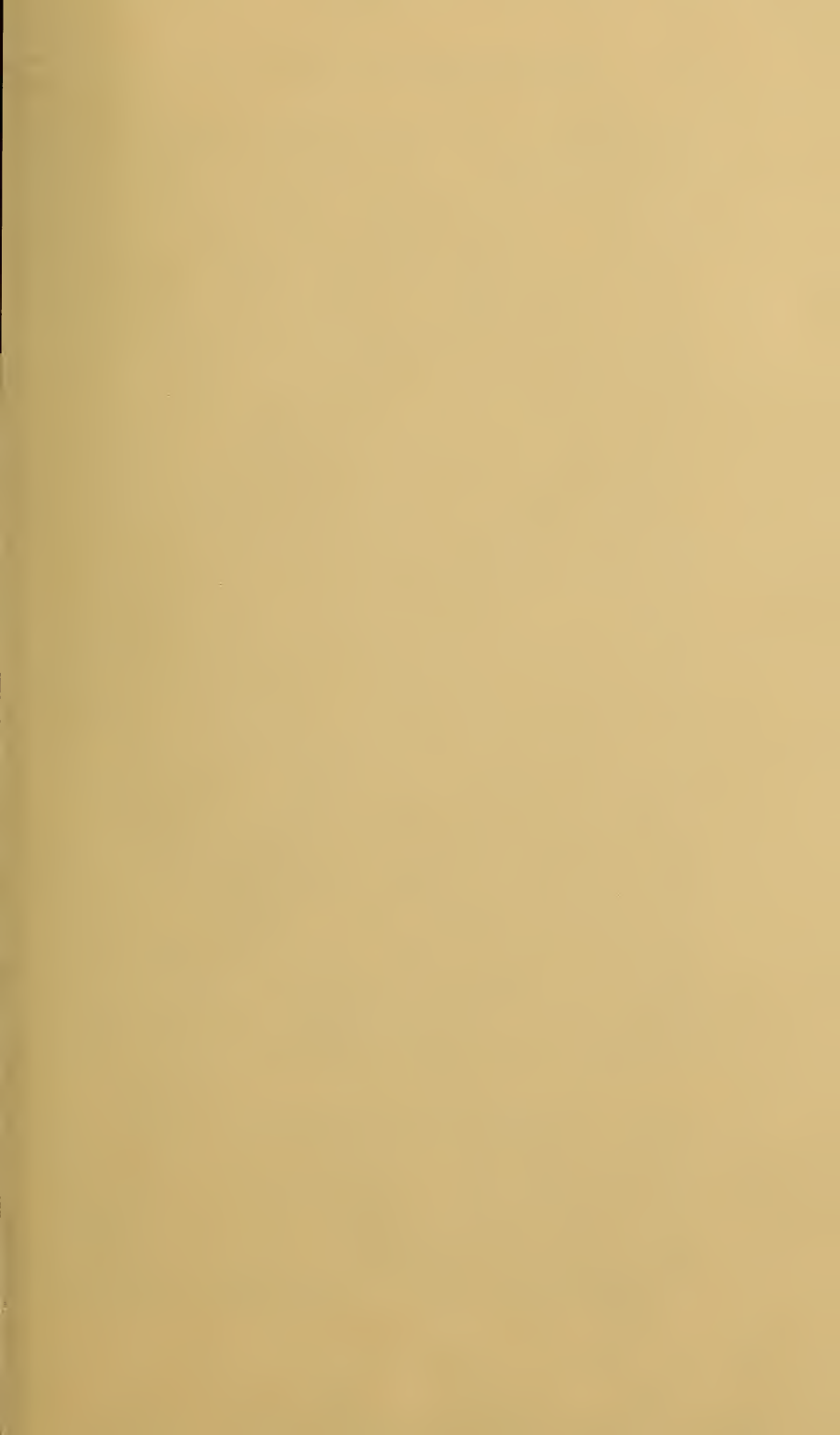


divisions in remote periods have probably descended ; that is, they may have come down into these parts in distinct great divisions, only acknowledging the Tembookie as superior in point of time. Qeya is the present chief, a young man about twenty-one years old (1865). From him we trace backwards, on the table, the names of *eighteen chiefs*, to Zwidi, which would carry us backwards to about A.D. 1400 as the time when the tribe settled in these parts. *Tembu*, the name of the chief from whom the tribe takes its name, was the *sixth* in order from Zwidi, the first great root or stock of the tree.

II. The next in order of importance are the *Amampondumisi*. The name of the present chief is Umbala; from him we ascend to Zwanga, giving thirteen names in a direct line. This would make their history reach backwards to about A.D. 1445. Pondumise, from whom the tribe takes its name, was the *fourth* in this line. The Amampondumisi, however, dispute the right of priority with the Abatembu, affirming that they were in the country when the Tembus and the Xosas passed along above them, and settled in the lands since occupied by them, being much nearer the colonial boundary.

III. The *Amampondos* stand next in order on the table. The present chief is the old and venerable Faku; but a large portion of the tribe is, however, already under Damas, one of his great sons. *Eleven* is the number of the chiefs we trace upwards here,—Malangela being the first in the line, and Pondo the second, from whom the tribal distinction is taken. This would fix their settlement at about A.D. 1500. This tribe is located on the western frontier of the Natal Colony, along the coast and inland, until they join the *Griquas* or *Bastards*, under Adam Kock, in *No Man's Land*.

IV. The Amaxosa form the next great division. As will be seen in the table, this tribe is divided into two great parts; Khili being the paramount chief on the east of the Kei, and Sandilla on the west. We trace this tribe upwards through *eleven* chiefs also, giving us about the year 1500 as that of their settlement. This has been the powerful tribe with whom most of the desolating wars have



been waged on the eastern frontier, and often with such sad results. Their power is now greatly reduced. Hintsa was the father of Khili, and was killed in the war, 1835.

V. The *Amabaca* are the latest great division, and are formed out of the remnants of several tribes after the wars of Utshaka. They occupied the mountain range for some time, and Ncapi became their chief. They were a tribe of robbers, and at one time cannibals, if report be true; but this arose out of their extreme distress, when worsted and scattered by the great Utshaka.

The following is the account given of the origin of this tribe by the pen of a competent person. "The Amabaca are said to have branched off in ancient time from the *Amazelemu*. They have been distinguished as a fierce, warlike, predatory tribe. At the time of the Zulu invasion, they dwelt high up the Umgeni, a little above Pietermaritzburg. Many were slain by the Zulus; many others fled inland, and found refuge near the sources of the Umzimvoobo. Umtikani, or Umdigani, fled with a large portion of his people before the Zulus, and was killed by the Amabele tribe, under their chief Umdingi. Usonyangwa, the successor of Umtikani, was also slain by the Amabele, in his hut at night; and Uncapai (or Ncpai), who succeeded him, was killed in an attack on Ufaku, chief of the Amampondo. Ukalimoshe, the oldest of whom any account is given, died in the early part of Utshaka's reign.

"The Amabaca now dwell on the north-east branch of the Umzimkulu river, above the sources of the Umtualumi and Umzimbe rivers. Their present chief is Umtutyane or Umdutyane, the son of Umsonyangwa. He became chief in 1844, on the death of his uncle Ncpai." This tribe has also spread gradually further to the westward.

According to the information given in the tables, and obtained from other sources, we trace the history of the Kaffirs back to about A.D. 1300 or 1400, but beyond this we cannot go; and this is far enough for all practical purposes, and quite sufficient to secure to them the undisputed right to the occupancy of the country they now possess.

In computing the years allowed to each chief, I have

reckoned thirty years to each reign: some would be shorter, others longer. Dr. Nicholson of the 9th Regiment, who had bestowed considerable attention upon this part of the subject, says, "Naturally also they (*i. e.*, great chiefs) live to a good old age, whilst their successors are amongst the youngest of their sons, and not very unfrequently minors. Hence the usual reckoning of thirty years to a generation is too small; and I should be inclined to extend it to forty years." Had the writer fixed forty years instead of thirty as the ground of his computation, the dates would have been carried much further back; so that, if there is error, it is on the side of giving too short a period in the reckoning, and not too long.

What Dr. Nicholson says about minors is worthy of notice; as will be seen in another place, it is a common thing for the heir-apparent to be a minor. Thus Qeya, the present paramount chief of all Kaffirland, is a young man about twenty-one years old. But his father Umtirara died many years ago; after which, the Tambookie nation was governed by two regents, Nonesi, the widow of Umtirara, and Joyi, his brother; but all the years of the regency must be added to the reign of Qeya; so that if he should live to seventy years of age, he will have reigned *sixty* of the number.

When the writer arrived on the frontier of the Cape Colony twenty-six years ago, the boundary on the east was the Great Fish river, from the mouth to where the Kat river falls into it; thence following the line of the Kat river to Fort Beaufort, Eilands Post, and the Katberg mountain. The only spot possessed by the English on the Kaffirland side of the Kat river was, the small peninsula on which Fort Beaufort stands, which was taken and used for strategic and military purposes.

All beyond these specified boundaries was Kaffirland proper, having no Europeans in it, except Missionaries and traders.

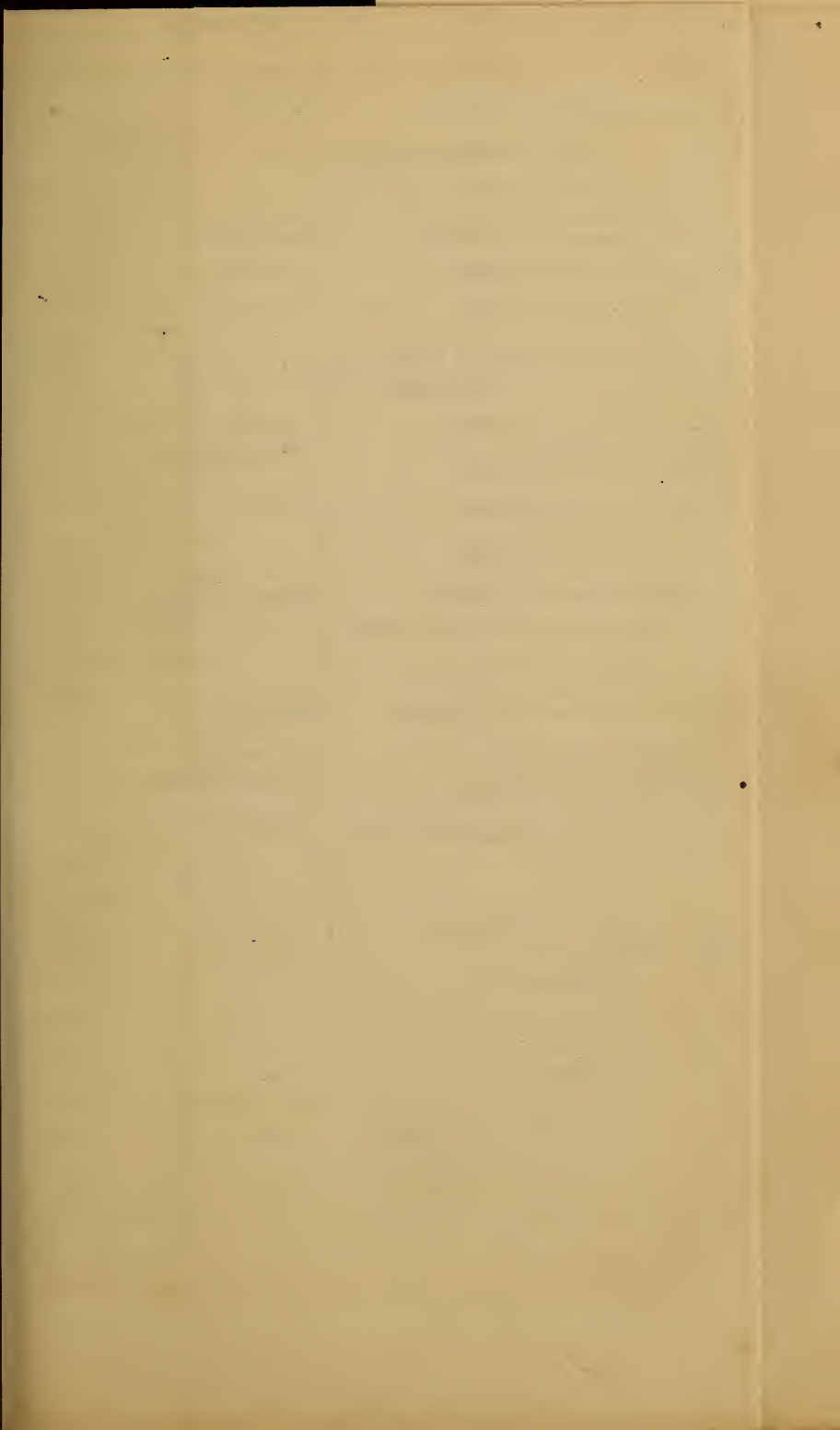
It is, however, proper to observe that, after the war of 1835, a large tract of this country was taken into the colony by Sir Benjamin D'Urban, but was subsequently returned to the Kaffirs. A step which was very severely

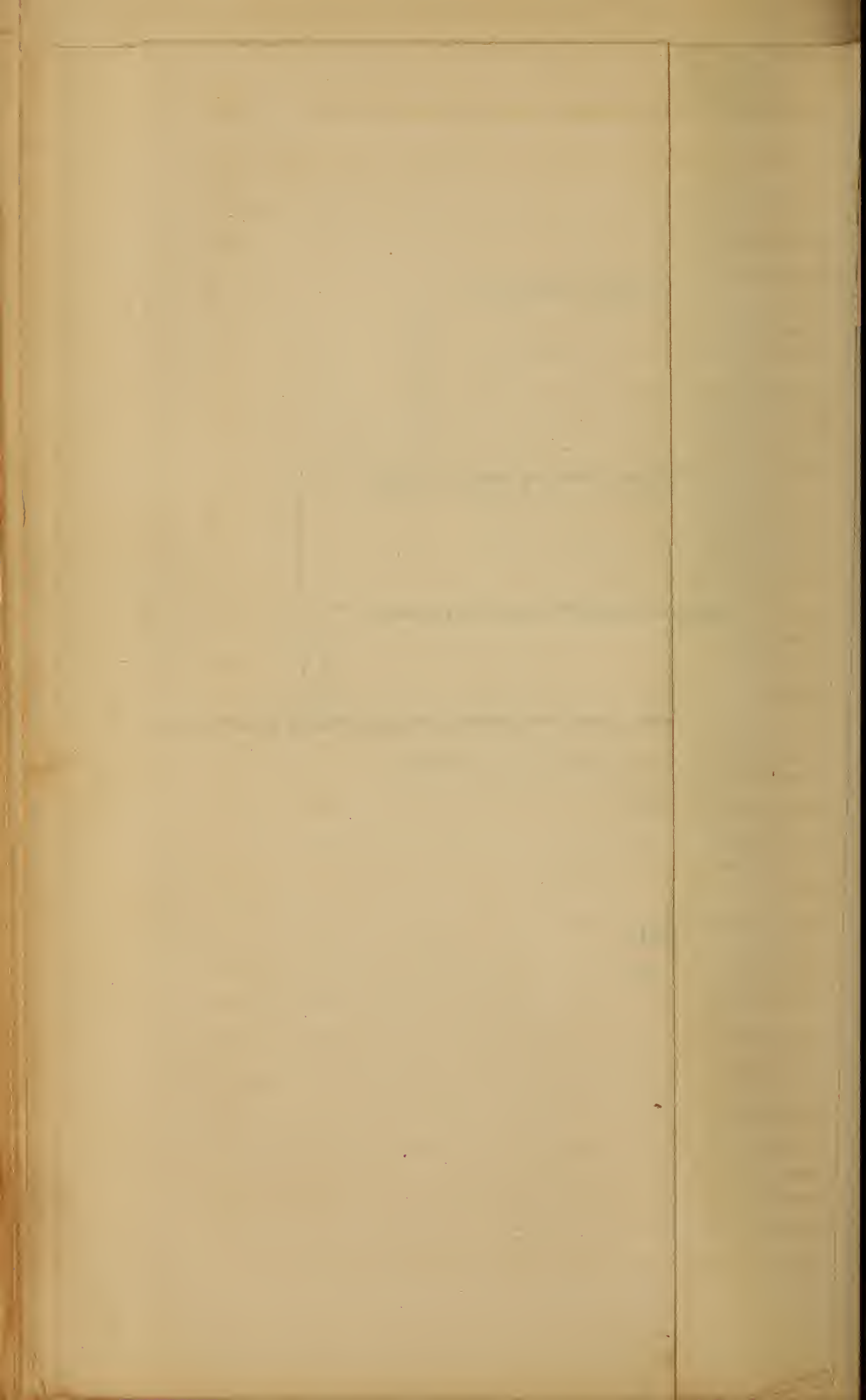
condemned by many of the colonists, and subsequently entailed much loss and expense by the war of 1846.

The country, at that time, lying between the Great Fish river and the Umtata, was occupied by the *Abatembu* or *Tambookies*, and the *Amaxosa*. The numbers and several localities of these tribes are thus given by Mr. Dugmore:—"The population of the tract of country, of which the above sketch has been given, may be estimated at 300,000 souls, to be allotted, however, in very unequal proportions to its two national divisions. The Abatembu, or Tambookie branch, cannot be considered as numbering more than 90,000, while the Amaxosa may be safely calculated at 210,000. Of the various tribes into which the latter are subdivided, the first in rank are the Amagcaleka, (the tribe of Khreli,) numbering about 70,000. The second is that of the Amangqika, (Sandili's tribe,) which, including the smaller tribes of the Imidange and Amambala that are dependent upon it, may also be estimated at 70,000. Third in rank stand the Amandhlambe, headed by Umhala, in number about 55,000, including their various branches. The Amagqunukwebi, or Pato's tribe, may be set down at 15,000.

"The relative local position occupied by these tribes is as follows:—

"The Amagqunukwebi extend along the sea-coast from the mouth of the Fish river nearly to that of the Buffalo, reaching, between the Fish river and the Keiskama, to the sources of the Beka, but confined to a much narrower strip of territory, between the Keiskama and the Buffalo. Above the Beka, and extending across the Keiskama and Chalumna, comprising all the lower course of the Buffalo, and that of the secondary rivers, as far as the Kwelera, lies the territory of the Amandhlambe. The Amambalu (Eno's tribe) lie next to the Amandhlambe, extending upwards from the Gwanqu, between the Fish and Keiskama rivers; and beyond these, in the same line of country, are the Imidange, reaching, along the immediate colonial border, to the vicinity of Fort Beaufort. The Amangqika possess the whole of the Amatoli range of mountains, from the colonial frontier to the banks of the Kei.





“The territory of the Amagcaleka is the valley of the Kei, including the secondary rivers to the Kwelera westward, and to the Qora eastward, and extending upwards to beyond the Tsomo. The Abatembu formerly occupied the whole of the country between the Bashee and the Umtata; but in consequence of the repeated formidable inroads of the Amampondo and the Amabaca, (the tribes of Faku and Ncapai,) nearly the whole tribe has migrated to the country watered by the upper branches of the Kei. A few of the inferior clans have been left near the mouth of the Bolhee; but nearly the entire territory formerly inhabited by the tribe is abandoned to desolation.

“One general remark is applicable to the whole of the above tribes. The limits of their respective territories are not closely defined; and hence their ‘Borderers’ are frequently intermingled, which has been the occasion of many feuds, and in some instances has involved whole tribes in war.”*

The mode in which the various subdivisions of the tribes is effected, is clearly given by the same hand, together with a tabular view of the great and subordinate chiefs. The reader will need to observe that this tabular view relates to *only one tribe*, viz., the Amaxosa, but this is an illustration of the manner in which it is also made in others.

“The common origin of the Kaffrarian tribes is much less a matter of conjecture. Many of the tribal distinctions obtaining amongst them are of very recent date; and have arisen from a peculiarity in the ‘law of succession’ to the chieftainship. The principal divisions of Amaxosa, Abatembu, and Amampondo, are of earlier formation, although probably arising from the same cause.

“A genealogical list of the principal chiefs of Kaffraria has been constructed, which extends through a period embracing sixteen generations; and marks the successive separation of the tribes from the original stock. The order of succession among the more remote generations is, however, very uncertain; although the names there given

* “Kaffir Laws,” &c., pp. 7, 8.

GENEALOGY OF THE KAFFIR CHIEFS. 1858.

	Present Chiefs and Chieftains.	Nations, Tribes, and Sub-tribes.
I.—ABATEMBU.		
Zwidi, Umbulali, Injanya, Malandela, Unguti, Tembu, Bomoi, Ceduni, Tooi, Xekwa, Dunakazi, Hala, Nalibi, Tato, Zoua, Vusani, Gabencuka, UmticaraGreat Wife NONESI (regent) QEYA (minor) JOYI (regent) *	ABATEMBU
II.—AMAMPONDUMISI.		
.....Zangwa, Cira, Cwini, <i>Pondumisi</i> , Majola, Sabe, Umli, Qengebe, Gewanya, Pablo, Umgabisi, Umzambi, Uinyeki	UMBALI	AMAMPONDUMISI
.....Velelo, Diko	QIBANA	
III.—AMAMPONDO.		
.....Malangela, Pondo, Kondwana, Cindisi, Cabe, Bala, Cilwayo, Dayeni, Tabli, Nyanza, Quuquabo	FAKU	AMAMPONDO
.....Qiya, Ceme, Puta, Matai, Makalo, Pahló, Hala	Qunda	
.....Biba, Sango, Dejan, { Sons by a } Bajela Getani, { white woman }	Majimbane (sub tribe)	called Abefungu
IV.—AMAXOSA.		
.....Xasa, Tshawe, Newangu, Sikomo, Togu, Gconde, Tshivo, Palo, Geleka, Kanta, Hintsá	KHILI	AMAXOSA
	Umtikhakha	
	Bukhu	
.....Velelo	Gxaba	Amavelelo
.....Khakhabe, Umbau, Ngqika	SANDILI	Amangqika
	Maqoma	These and the following tribes, being all on this side the Kei, are, as a general name, termed Amakhakhabe by the Amagcaleka
	Ntimbo d. s. p. Tyni	Fini
		Oba
		Haita
	Cebo .. Dushane d. s. p. given as representative of Cebo	SIWANI
		Imidushane
		Fundiá, <i>alias</i> Qasaua
		Bangi
.....Dhlambe	UMBALA	Amandhlambe
	Umqai	JALI
		Taboi
.....Nukwa, Gasela	CANCA (minor)	
		Toyiso (regent)
.....Ulanga, Nqeno	STOCKWE	Amanbalu <i>alias</i> Amalanga
		Sonto
.....Gwali, Titi, Kobela, Mhade	Zweni	Amagwali
		Hlini
.....Umdage, Mahote, Fano, Ceya	MADOLO	Imidange
		Tula (lately regent)
		Botman
.....Tinde, Getani, Bange, Cika, Tshatshu	JAN TSHATSHU	Amantinde
Gquukwebi, Sishude, Uutibana, Lungana, Tebe, <i>Kwano</i> , Tyakha, Tshaka, Cungwa	PATO	Amagquukwebi <i>alias</i> Anakwano
(Kwano first Chief, Councillor of Tabiwo)		Kama
		Kobi
V.—AMABACA. †		
Lato Chief, Unepai	Umdutyane	

* Qeya is now paramount, and Nonesi and Joyi are no longer regents (1865).

† Editor.



are generally familiar in the traditional remembrances of the various tribes.

“The accompanying table comprises *twelve* generations, beginning with the chief from whom the Amaxosa Kaffirs profess to derive their national designation. Of the ramifications of the parent stock from Xosa to Gconde, nothing is known; and it would seem that the remembrance of the *direct* line has been preserved, chiefly through the perpetuation of the national name, and a desire on the part of the *antiquarians* of Kaffirland to be able to trace it to its source. None of the tribes at present recognised as distinct, date their origin earlier than the time of Gconde. Accordingly, from this epoch the order of succession to the various branches of the chieftainship is generally known, and the relative rank and period of formation of the separate tribes may be pretty clearly ascertained. Rejecting the names of such chiefs as are not considered leading men in the tribes at present existing, it is believed that this genealogical table embraces, with general correctness, all the principal branches of the ruling family.

“An explanation of the Kaffir law of succession will be necessary to a clear comprehension of the above table, and to throw light on the tribal distinctions existing amongst the Kaffir nation. It will be inferred on a reference to the table itself, that the chiefs of all the tribes are of one family; which (with one exception to be hereafter noticed) is really the case. The process by which the separate tribes have been formed is the following:—

“At some specific period, the chief of a tribe, who, it is assumed, has a plurality of wives, assembles his relatives, with his principal officers and councillors, to decide as to the investment of two of his wives with the respective dignities of ‘the great one,’ (*omkulu*,) and ‘the one of the right hand’ (*owasekunene*). These two wives rank superior to all the rest. The eldest son of the ‘great’ wife is presumptive heir to his father’s dignity, and succeeds him in his general government. The ‘right hand’ wife, however, lays the foundation of a new ‘house,’ as her eldest son is constituted the head of a

certain allotted portion of the tribe ; and assumes, on the death of his father, the separate jurisdiction of that portion. He thus becomes the originator of a new tribe, acknowledging precedency of rank on the part of his brother, 'the great,' but independent of him, except in matters involving the general relations of the tribes at large. The sons of the inferior wives possess no distinct authority, excepting among such retainers as their personal influence may gather around them ; unless, indeed, the 'king' be 'a child,' in which case one of them is invested with a kind of regency until the period of minority has expired. They are, however, attached to the *courts* of their 'great' brothers, enjoying their share of the exclusive privileges of the 'blood royal,' and constituting the aristocracy of the nation. As their immunities extend to all their descendants through successive generations, this class now forms a considerable portion of the population. The subdividing system above explained has been in operation amongst the Kaffir tribes from the earliest known period of their political existence ; and a reference to the preceding table will exhibit the effects of that operation in the formation of distinct tribes. An additional element of subdivision was introduced by the chief Gaika, (Ngqika,) who was an innovator, in several respects, upon the customs of his forefathers. He originated the custom of investing *three* of the chief's sons with distinct authority, instead of *two*, as had previously been the case. The third son thus invested was made the representative of his grandfather, and the families of his grandfather's councillors were attached to him, as standing in the place of their own deceased chief. As these families were naturally among the most influential of the tribe, the young chief, who was constituted their head, assumed at once a high relative position amongst his brethren. The introduction of this new custom has greatly accelerated the geometrical ratio of subdivision into separate tribes, and its effect, if undisturbed, would be to break the nation up into fragmentary clans in the course of a very few generations. The only existing check to its influence is that its operation is not uniform,

Some of the branches *wither*. The unpopularity of the head of a particular 'house' will gradually lessen the number of his adherents, and reduce his tribe to insignificance, while it increases the power of others. The relative inferiority of the tribes in point of rank increases in proportion to the distance of the period of their separation from the original stock. The people share in a sense of this inferiority, and as they have not the privileges of 'blood' to compensate for it, they relieve their feeling of humiliation by joining the more modern and influential 'houses,' and leaving the representatives of their ancient chiefs 'alone in their glory' of aristocratic descent and immunity. The predominating influence of the principal divisions of the ruling family overpowers that of the inferior branches; and the moral gravitation following the analogy of the physical, the greatest body exerts the most powerful attraction. Despite of this, however, the number of distinct tribes is rapidly increasing, and their various relations are becoming increasingly complicated and embarrassing. This is especially the case since the institution of the *Owasexibeni*, (as the representative of the grandfather is called;) for the institution being a modern one, the relative rank of this third participator in hereditary dignity is not yet fully adjusted; and the disputes for priority serve to show that the desire of pre-eminence is a vice of human nature not confined to civilized nations.

"The original rule for regulating the gradations of rank amongst the tribes is to be found in the custom of the 'right hand.' This custom has existed from time immemorial; nor is the cause of its origin now known. By its operation, each successive generation adds a step in relative inferiority to the right hand tribes of previous formation; as that of the existing generation always takes precedency of those of earlier date, on the ground of its standing in closer relationship to the existing head of the nation. Bearing this rule in his mind, the reader is now requested to turn to the preceding table. The first column contains the names of the paramount chiefs from Xosa down to Khili. The latter is the present nominal

head of the Amaxosa. Over the Abatembu he claims no authority; as that division of the Kaffir nation is now considered a distinct people. Khili, being but a young man, has as yet formed no 'right hand house.' The chief, therefore, who is next in legitimate rank to himself is his brother, Umtikhakha,* who is the head of that formed by his father Hintsu. The 'right hand' of his grandfather Kauta ranks next. This is Bukhu. Then follows Gcaleka's 'right hand,' Velelo. And then, *fourth* in the scale of inferiority from the paramount chief, follows the house of Khakhabe, the 'right hand' of Palo. This branch of the 'royal' tree, however, flourished in a very extraordinary degree. The causes assigned are, the popular character of Khakhabe; the extreme cruelty of the mother of Gcaleka; and the adoption, by Gcaleka himself, of the profession of wizard doctor, although great chief of the nation. So greatly and so rapidly did the power of Khakhabe increase, that he at length ventured to wage a war with his 'lord paramount,' and laid the foundation of a tribe, which now, even when the Amandhlabu, its offshoot, are deducted, is equal in numbers, and far superior in power, to the Amagcaleka themselves. For their *numbers* the Amakhakhabe (as the tribe of Sandili is still designated beyond the Kei) may thank the character and fortunes of their founder; but their *power* may be traced to their proximity to the colonial frontier. The maxim that 'might is right' is as well understood by barbarous chiefs as by civilized monarchs; and accordingly Sandili, the representative, in the 'great' line, of his great grandfather, Khakhabe, acknowledges no superior but Khili, and pays *him* merely the formal respect that the ceremonies of ancient custom require.

"Practically, therefore, Sandili is the head of what might justly be termed the third division of the Kaffir nation; the Amakhakhabe and their subordinates standing in a similar relation to the Amagcaleka to that which the

* "This chief is to be distinguished from the chief of the same name who is the head of the Abatembu. The latter is related to Khili only by marriage, his sister being Khili's first wife."

latter bear to the Abatembu, and neither party interfering, in ordinary cases, with the political affairs of the other.

“Postponing the consideration of the subdivision of the Amakhakhabe, we pass on to the line of Langa, the originator of what is commonly known as ‘Eno’s tribe.’ Langa was a brother of Khakhabe, and a ‘mighty hunter.’ His courage and skill in hunting the elephant, rhinoceros, and other large animals, the chase of which required dexterity and daring, gathered around this Nimrod the kindred spirits of his day; and although he was neither a ‘great’ son, nor a ‘right hand,’ his personal qualities attracted followers that in two generations have grown into the present Amambalu; a tribe which, although of little importance in point of numbers, is considered one of the most warlike on the frontier.

“Receding another generation, we reach the ‘right hand’ of Tshiwo. This was Gwali. A lasting stigma has rested on the name of this chief, which may account for the present insignificance of the tribe formed by him. Tradition relates that Palo, the ‘great’ son of Tshiwo, was not born until some months after his father’s death. Gwali, already a young man, was desirous of increasing his own power; and laid a plot for murdering the child at its birth. The plot was, however, discovered. The *Inkosikazi* took refuge with her deceased husband’s brother, who had her secreted until the child was born, and ascertained to be a son. The old councillors of the tribe, well knowing the advantages of a long minority to themselves, rallied around the infant chief; and the ambitious designs of Gwali were defeated. The latter fell into disrepute, and his tribe appears to have felt the consequences of his disgrace, as it has been quite eclipsed in respect both to numbers, and *barbarian* fame, by others that ought to have been its inferiors.

“The formation of the Imidange tribe dates a generation still farther back. Umdange, its founder, was the ‘right hand’ of Gconde, and was the chief who afforded an asylum to the widow of his brother Tshiwo, on the occasion referred to above. Owing, it is supposed, to some death, or failure of issue among the earlier

generations, the 'succession' as respects the chiefs of this tribe has been involved in more confusion and uncertainty than that of any other on the frontier. The result is, that for a long time past the tribe has been virtually without a legitimate head. The chief (Nciniswa) whose pretensions are considered to be best founded, has, apparently from sheer imbecility, surrendered his right, and is attached to the *umzi wakwomkulu* * of Sandili as little more than an *umpakati*. The inferior chiefs have thus come into note; and Botumane, by birth one of the lowest of them, has, by the force of circumstances, been thrust into a position which has led the colonists to regard him as the head of the tribe.

"The Imidange have also been separated widely in the local position of their various clans; and in the different, and sometimes rival, interests they have espoused. Botumane has adhered to the Gaika tribe; Kuse to that of Dhlambe; Tola appears to have passed over from the one to the other. Smaller fragments, under their petty leaders, have settled in separate localities; and it is many years since one chief was acknowledged by the whole tribe. It is not extraordinary that, under such circumstances, the Imidange should have acquired the unenviable notoriety of being the most lawless and predatory of all the tribes of Kaffirland.

"The position of the founder of the Amantinde is a subject of dispute. The antiquaries of Kaffirland are at variance on the question. By some it is said that Tinde was a son of Gconde, by one of his inferior wives. Others assert that he was only adopted by his reputed mother, to avoid the disgrace of furnishing no support to the *umzi wakwomkulu*; and in the disputes on the subject of hereditary honours, which sometimes occupy the leisure hours of Kaffirs as well as those of their 'betters,' the Amantinde are challenged to name the 'house' from which they are descended. These things are, of course, treated as slanders by the partisans on the opposite side. Whatever be the truth, however, on the *hereditary*

* "Literally, 'residence of the great one.'"

question, the personal character of Tinde enabled him to found a tribe, which, though small, has remained distinct to the present time.

“Before explaining the origin of the Amagqunukwebi, whose chiefs occupy a different position from that of all the others, it may be well to notice the subdivision of the Amakhakhabe into the distinct tribes of which they now consist. This will complete the view of those tribes whose chiefs belong to one family.

“Khakhabe, who appears to have been of a restless, warlike spirit, was killed in battle with the Abatembu. His ‘great’ son was Umlau; his ‘right hand’ was Cebo. Umlau died young, leaving his ‘great’ son, Ngqika, and his ‘right hand,’ Ntimbo, both children. Dhlambe, who was a brother of Umlau, by the same mother, and who would have become the head of the tribe, had Umlau died without issue, was invested with the guardianship of his young nephews, and the government of the tribe during their minority. His ‘regency’ was popular; and when Ngqika assumed the government, he found a very numerous party ready to support his uncle’s pretensions to a continuance in independent authority. These were farther favoured by the death of Cebo, who left no son to succeed him as head of the ‘right hand’ tribe; and whose daughters were excluded by the Kaffir ‘salic law’ from the succession. The *amapakati* of that tribe requested to be supplied with a representative of their deceased chief from amongst the sons of Dhlambe. Dushane was appointed, and proved the most able chief in all Kaffirland. Resentment for the abandonment of his mother detached Dushane from his father’s interests for some years. The old councillors of Dhlambe, however, at length effected a reconciliation, being jealous of the influence which the rising fame of a son of their own chief was giving to the house of Ngqika, a house they were disposed, from the peculiar position of Dhlambe, to consider rather as a rival than as a superior. Accordingly Dushane, on rejoining his father, brought him such an accession of strength, as enabled him, with his other auxiliaries, to overthrow Ngqika in a pitched

battle on the plains of the Debe, which, from the slaughter that took place, has formed an epoch in the annals of Kaffirland.

“The above observations will serve to explain the origin of the Amandhlambe and the Imidushane as distinct tribes. We return now to the sons of Umlau, Ngqika and Ntimbo. The latter, his father’s ‘right hand,’ died quite a youth, leaving no successor. His tribe remained without a distinct head until Ngqika gave it one in the person of a son of his own. Hanta, the son who was appointed to this chieftainship, is now commander of Sandili’s ‘household troops,’ it being he who heads, by right of office, the *impi yakwomkulu*, or regiment of the ‘great place.’

“It has been already remarked that Ngqika originated the custom of the *owasezibeni*. The example of the head of the house of Khakhabe was sure to be influential amongst the other tribes. Every chief’s family accordingly has now its ‘first three,’ in the order of ‘great son,’ ‘right hand,’ and ‘representative of the ancients.’ For the family of Ngqika, these are Sandili, Maqoma, and Tyali.* For the family of Dhlambe, Umhala, Umqai, and Umxamli.† For that of Dushane, who died in the prime of his years, Siwane, Fundisi, and Siyolo. For that of Nqeno, Stokwe, Ngeweleshe, and Sonto.

“The position of Umhala is somewhat different from that of the rest of the principal chiefs. The son of Dhlambe, who should have been his father’s successor, died before him; and Dhlambe, on a reverse of fortune, which placed him for awhile in the power of his nephew Ngqika, engaged not to appoint another in his room so long as he was alive. Umhala’s mother was but a concubine of Dhlambe, and had been allotted to the house of his principal wife as an attendant upon her. On the death of Dhlambe, Umhala was found to be the only male descendant of his father connected with that house. This circumstance, together with his own popular character,

* “Tyali is dead, and his son, Fin, represents him.”

† “Umxamli was killed at the battle of the Gwanga.”

gave him a strong party amongst the *amapakati*. The son of Dhlambe (Jan) who was in charge of the 'residence of the great one,' at the time of his father's death, was destitute of the energy of character requisite to maintain his position against his more enterprising brother. A fit of illness supplied Umhala with a convenient charge of witchcraft against him. He fled, leaving his cattle behind; and thus at once relieved his rival of his presence, and enriched his treasury. Umhala, adopted by the old councillors, was acknowledged by the tribe generally; and Tyali and Maqoma, the sons of Ngqika, confirmed his authority by the formal admission of his claims to be recognised as the successor of his father.

"There is yet one tribe, the origin of which remains to be noticed, and that is the Amagqunukwebi, the tribe of Pato. In point of numbers, this tribe is superior to several of those already spoken of. Its chiefs are, however, deemed inferior to the rest, as not belonging to the same family,—as being, indeed, the descendants of a man who was raised from amongst the common people, and invested with the rank and authority of a chief by Tshiwo.

"There is something of romance in the history of this man, as it has been preserved in the traditions of the tribe which he founded. It is probable that the facts of the case have been somewhat *adorned* in the course of transmission: the following, however, is the result of a comparison of accounts.

"Kwane was a councillor of Tshiwo, and a man very popular with the tribe at large. He was also a great favourite with his chief, and was employed by him on most matters of importance. There was another councillor, of great influence with the chief, but a man of a very different character. Amongst the 'matters of state' of which these two *ministers* had the direction, was the execution of frequent sentences against the victims of accusations of witchcraft. These sentences, involving not merely the confiscation of the cattle, but also the massacre of the parties involved, were carried relentlessly into effect, whenever the second of the councillors above mentioned had the management of the

proceedings. Kwane, on the contrary, systematically spared life; and, leaving them a few head of cattle to subsist upon, connived at the escape of the accused and their families to the mountain region towards the Orange river. His own great influence, and the popular character of the proceeding, enabled him to continue it for several years. At length a quarrel with the other councillor threatened him with the consequences of exposure, on which he adopted the bold resolution of assembling his mountaineers (now an imposing-looking band,) appearing at their head at the *umzi wakwomkulu*, avowing what he had done, and putting it to the old chief whether he had not better served his interests by preserving the men alive, than he would have done by putting them to death. He did so; and the measure was perfectly successful. Tshiwo, instead of punishing Kwane, constituted the people he had saved a distinct tribe, and invested him with the chieftainship of it. His insignia of rank consisted of a milksack, a selection from the chief's milking cows to replenish it with, and an allotment of blue crane's wings for war plumes for his bravest warriors.* These, bestowed by the hand of Tshiwo, served instead of the ribbands, stars, and garters, as eagerly sought for, though perhaps not more highly prized, in a higher state of society.

"The tribe of Kwane is the present tribe of Pato. Its fortunes have been various; but at the commencement of the present war, it far exceeded in numbers several of the other tribes, whose chiefs had long looked down upon it with the contempt which the imaginary superiority of blood inspires.

"The successive formation of the Kaffir tribes affords an actual specimen of the process by which the pastoral nations of the world are formed. It exhibits, on a small scale, an exemplification of the periodical *swarming* by which, from the ancient *hives* of nations, the earth was

* "None but chiefs of rank are allowed to possess these; nor are any permitted to wear them but men of tried bravery, upon whom the chief bestows them as marks of his favour."

overspread. In this point of view it will form an interesting illustration of some branches of the study of *Man*, to those who can free their minds from the influence of temporary circumstances."*

I have now brought down the general history of the Kaffirs to the year 1846. And thus stood matters twenty years ago: but how altered! how changed are things now! The march of the last twenty years has been rapid indeed, the present year (1866) witnessing astounding results. How favourable to the colonist!—how fatal to the Kaffir! The former has advanced with sure and rapid strides; the latter has retired, fighting and angry. It cannot be said, "He died hard;" for he is not yet dead, but will yet probably give some more death struggles which will inflict suffering and loss.

When the writer came to this country twenty-seven years ago, the Fish river was the boundary, as before stated, on the eastern frontier, from the mouth, to where the Kat river falls into it, thence by Fort Beaufort up to the Kat Berg range of mountains. But now (1866) the Great Kei is the boundary, with the country beyond as far as the Bashe in an unsettled state, scarcely belonging either to the government or the Kaffirs. Twenty-five years ago, Graham's Town, Port Elizabeth, and Graaf Reinett were small towns, with few people, whilst Cradock and Colesberg were only just springing into existence, Fort Beaufort being a military post. Now, the first named are becoming populous towns or titled cities, with some eight thousand inhabitants each; the last, towns of considerable size and importance; whilst the following *new towns* and villages have been added, between the colonists and the Kaffirs, viz.:—King William's Town, Peddie, Alice, Whittlesea, Queen's Town, Burgher's Dorp, Dordrecht, and Aliwal North; besides other villages and thickly populated districts.

During the years from 1842 to 1846, the writer resided in Fort Beaufort, and near Fort Peddie. In the former place he was accustomed to see Macomo with his retinue

* "Kaffir Laws and Customs," pp. 9-22.

of wives, he being frequently supplied with intoxicating drinks by those who knew better, and should have acted according to their superior light and civilization. In the latter place, he was accustomed to see Pato in much the same state and under similar circumstances.

The war of 1846 was a very severe one. Most of the border tribes engaged in it, and fiercely contended with the superior force by which they were confronted, and by which they were ultimately overcome, Pato being the last to submit. He long severely harassed the British troops in the deep gorges of the Kei river.

When the war closed, the country lying between the Fish and Keiskama rivers was added to the colony, and given out mostly to European colonists and Fingoe residents.

Then came the war of 1850-2,—the most bitter war of all, and the most fatal to the life and property of the colonists; inasmuch as the Hottentots rebelled and joined the Kaffirs. Ordinarily, the Kaffirs were no match for disciplined troops in the field; their forte consisted rather in falling suddenly and unexpectedly upon houses, people, and cattle, and then, as quickly as possible, retreating into the thicket of dense bush. Many of them had fire-arms, but had not learnt the proper use of them; their *guns* were often bad, and they aimed too high, so that they seldom hit the mark. But it was far otherwise when the Hottentots joined them. Many of the Hottentots had been trained to the use of fire arms, and could use them with fatal effect. This war, like its predecessors, was ultimately brought to a close; the Kaffirs being defeated and driven back. Their country, extending from the Keiskama to the Kei rivers, and from the coast inland to the Stormberg range of mountains, was also taken from them. What now forms the Queen's Town District was taken from the Tambookies, and added to the Cape Colony, whilst the other was formed into a small colony, called British Kaffraria.

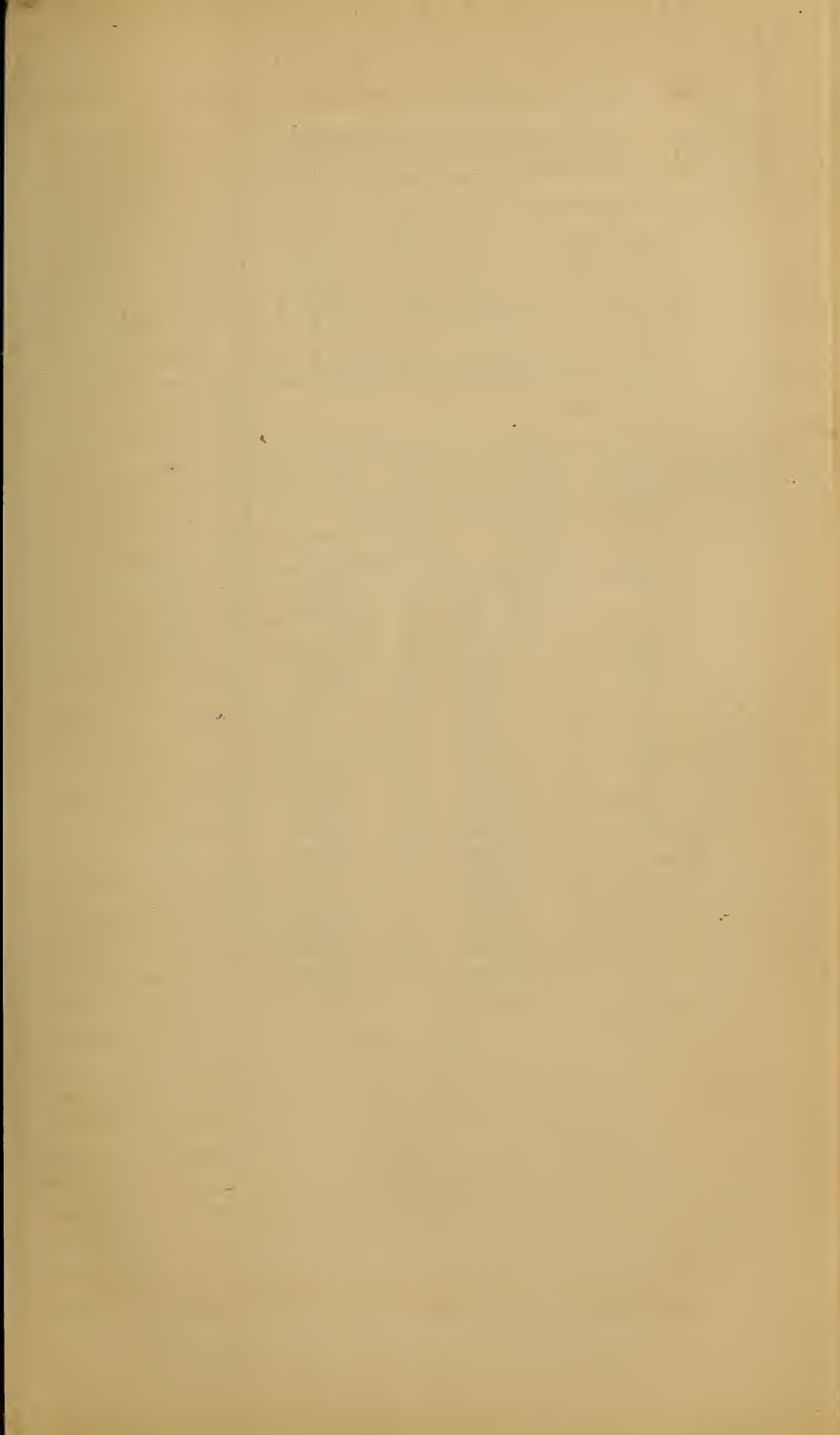
In various parts of this territory the remnants of the conquered tribes were located. But to give even a brief account of their different *localities* and histories would

extend this chapter to an undue length. A general view may, however, be obtained by consulting the annexed statistical table. I would only observe that Sandilli, the paramount chief of the most powerful tribe of the Amangqika, was placed with his people on a tract of country between the road that leads from King William's Town to Queen's Town and the Kei river; which, when compared with the romantic mountains and the rich valleys of the Amatola range, and the Keiskama and the Tyumie rivers, might well make him "weep." But even from this spot, "sour and small" as it is, the present governor has sought to remove him beyond the Kei. Many of the chiefs were also taken and transported to Robin Island by Sir G. Grey. The population, as given in the official census of January 1st, 1857, was 104,721.

The last great calamity which befel these tribes was a bloodless one, so far as the colonists were concerned. In this they were the victims of their own vile superstition on an extensive scale. In the chapter on witchcraft, the reader will find a detailed account of the manner in which the Prophet Umhlakazi induced the people to slaughter their cattle and destroy their corn, which, being done, brought on famine in its most ghastly and fatal forms. The reader is referred to that chapter for particulars.

The terrible result of this infatuation was, in 1857, a decrease of population, between the 1st of January and the 31st of December, of 67,024; this, taken from 104,723, left only 37,699. This was a black year in their history, and one to be remembered. Probably the whole of these did not die of starvation, as many found their way into the Colony, and were preserved alive, some of whom have returned, and others still remain in the Colony. The last returns (for 1865) will be found in the accompanying table, which affords striking evidence of the elasticity of the Kaffir character, and shows how quickly it sets to work to repair the most serious injuries that can be inflicted upon it.

The effect of this calamity was not confined to British Kaffraria, but was extended beyond the Kei, where Kreli





POPULATION RETURN, BRITISH KAFFRARIA, DECEMBER 31ST, 1864.

MAGISTRATE AND DISTRICT.	NATIVE RETURN.													Amount of Hat Tax estimated for the year 1864.			Amount of Hat Tax collected during the year 1864.			Amount of Horse Tax estimated for the year 1864.			Amount of Horse Tax collected during the year 1864.			
	No. of Villages.	No. of Huts.	No. of Men.	No. of Women.	No. of Children.	TOTAL SOULS.	No. of Cows.	No. of Waggon.	No. of Ploughs.	No. of Horses.	No. of Cattle.	No. of Sheep.	No. of Goats.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	
MR. TAYLOR* King William's Town.	01	3592	4470	4543	10456	10409	826	113	313	782	12945	6243	14326	1643	0	0	1308	10	1	61	7	6	35	13	9	
MR. JENNINGS. East London.	3	106	242	170	312	724			3	16	127		136	50	0	0	40	0	0							
MR. WILD, in charge Crown Reserve.	50	2009	3215	3283	8154	14862	841	149	363	717	15802	20281	20341	1025	0	0	626	10	0	37	10	0	17	1	3	
MR. BROWNLEE Sandhili.	55	3748	4040	3850	7990	15805	355	69	120	938	11027	14638	21811	1000	0	0	391	6	0	50	0	0	22	10	3	
MR. BISSET Kama.	32	3456	3446	4835	8859	16970	512	50	227	613	11210	13702	27508	960	0	0	911	2	0	37	10	0	52	0	0	
MR. THOMPSON, in charge Anta and Oba.	24	737	1127	737	2136	3999	88	2	3	370	3855	1732	7215	200	0	0	192	15	0	15	0	0	10	3	9	
CAPTAIN HUNT Gonubie District.	8	732	846	838	1710	3394	132	1	13	78	1992	19	2190	200	0	0	139	16	0	10	0	0	2	6	3	
†	233	14470	17305	18062	39640	76103	2734	874	1042	3514	56958	50603	93527	5068	0	0	3509	17	0	201	7	6	140	1	3	

* The Locations of Tantsos, Siwani, Toise, and Jahi, are included in this return; also the Lzeli District.

† No return is made this year for the Transkeian Territory.

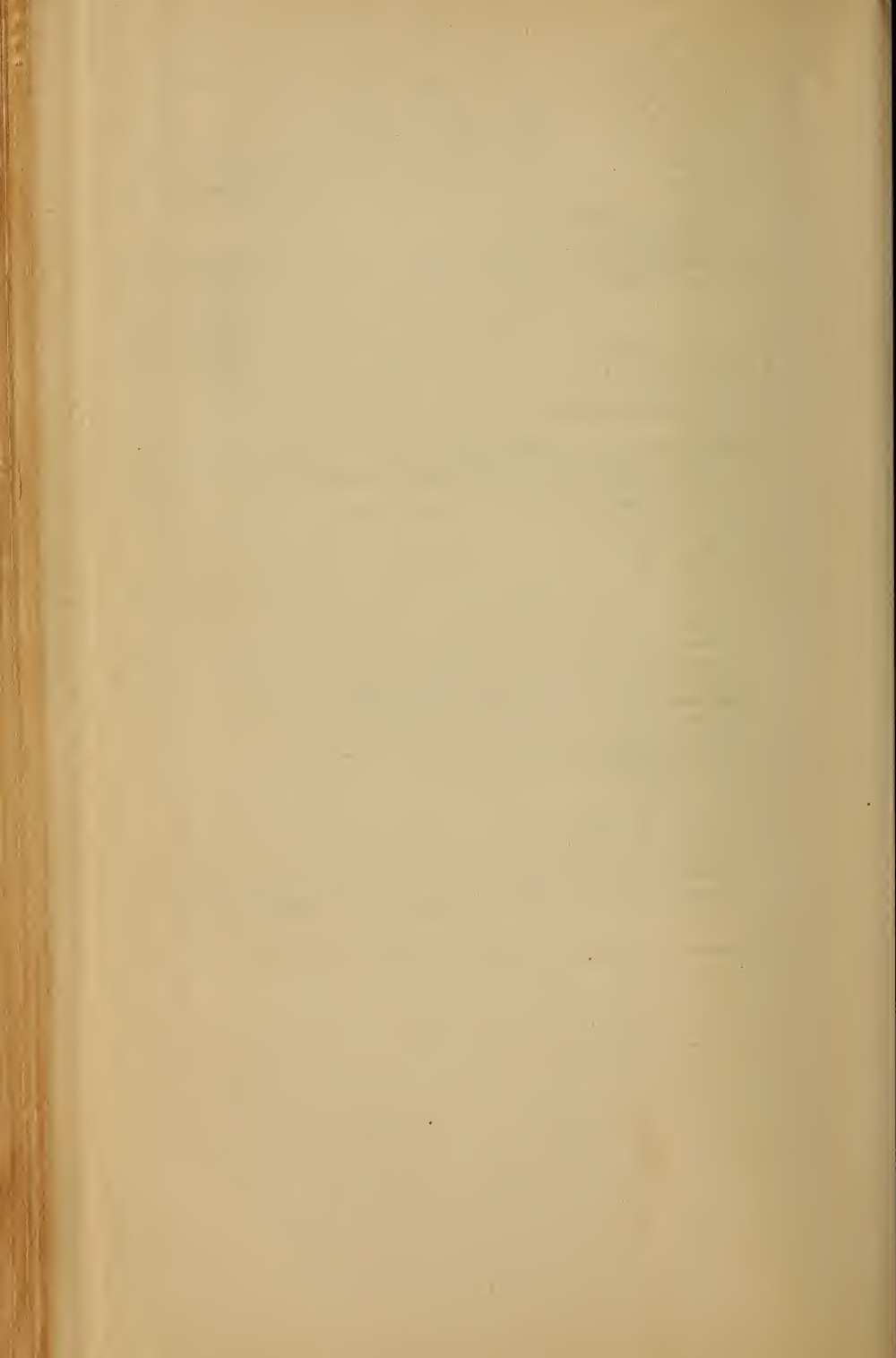
RECAPITULATION
Natives 78,018
Europeans 8,183
Total 86,201

MAGISTRATE AND DISTRICT.	EUROPEAN RETURN (EXCLUSIVE OF HER MAJESTY'S FORCES).																				
	No. of Grantee Farms.	No. of European Adults (Grantee families and servants) resident on the Farm.	No. of Natives (men, women, and children) resident on the Farm.	No. of Horses.	No. of Cattle.	No. of Sheep.	No. of Goats.	GERMAN IMMIGRANTS.				GERMAN MILITARY SETTLERS.			OTHER EUROPEANS.			MILLS.			
								Men.	Women.	Children.	TOTAL.	Men.	Women.	Children.	TOTAL.	Men.	Women.	Children.	TOTAL.	No. of Saw Mills.	No. of Corn Mills.
MR. TAYLOR King William's Town.	44	338	617	296	3065	51047	6036	176	177	820	973	67	66	98	221	584	551	1061	2206	1	5
MR. JENNINGS. East London.	114	793	852	431	7683	32435	3141	41	39	112	192	14	15	17	40	143	97	192	432		
MR. WILD, in charge Crown Reserve.				135	597	7109	3540	50	43	142	235	4	4	7	15	103	61	109	263	2	
MR. BROWNLEE Sandhili.	30	109	290	123	1863	30705	29473	61	50	190	291	33	23	49	105	23	19	48	93	1	
MR. BISSET Kama.				69	587	2109	100									29	24	92	145	1	
MR. THOMPSON, in charge Anta and Oba.																1	1		2		
CAPTAIN HUNT Gonubie District.	131	1136	1256	859	8683	138077	16302	53	55	173	281	24	15	20	63	39	29	61	149		
	319	2376	2915	1913	22478	261482	56098	371	364	1237	1973	142	113	200	455	1023	772	1683	3360	1	9

POPULATION OF THE TOWN OF KING WILLIAM'S TOWN
Europeans 2,054
Natives 196
Total 2,240

Return showing the various Classes of Occupiers holding Land in British Kaffraria from the Crown, by Grant, Purchase, or on Lease; and the total Number in each Class on the 31st of December, 1864.

CLASS OF OCCUPANT.	Number in the Class.	Number of Acres held by the Class.	Number of Acres as yet Surveyed.
Grantees of Farms	307	623,100	814,690
German Immigrants	403	9,409	9,330
German Military Settlers	1623	8,244	8,244
Enrolled Pensioners who have received One-Acre Lots	13	13	13
Discharged Soldiers and Immigrants holding Building Lots in King William's Town and Panmure	280		
Discharged Soldiers under Section C, Land Regulations	235	5,279	5,191
European Purchasers under Sections A and B	54	11,113	10,903
European Lessees under Sections A and B	149	21,327	19,467
Native Purchasers	568	16,100	14,550
Native Lessees	108	5,713	6,433
Chiefs and their Sons	15	19,566	10,566
Purchasers on Remission	37	10,104	10,104
Native Reserves (exclusive of existing Locations)		20,000	
Mission Stations	8	81,537	17,037
Farms sold by Public Auction	19	29,662	29,662
TOTAL.....	3767	811,068	704,628



RIA. 1857.

P 1857.		European population, exclusive of English Soldiers.								
MAGISTRAL	Total Increase of Souls.	German Military Settlers.				Other Europn. Inhbts.				
		Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	
CAPT. REEVE	88					23	15	30	68	
MAJOR GAWL	66	358	54	17	429	12	4	1	17	
—	18	}	210	17	3	230	2	1	3	
—	36									
—	32									
MR. BROWN	111	584	91	32	707				38	
—	71									
MR. AYLIF	720					1	1	4	6	
MAJOR HAW	310								32	
—	16									
MR. VIGNE	98									
CAPT. FIELD	77	81	6	3	90					
CAPT. ROBER	240								1	
—	4									
—	80	1530	1233	168	55	1456	38	21	35	165
—	24									
MR. JENNIN		328	44	21	393	182	63	70	315	
MR. TAYLOR		99	8	7	114	370	254	460	1084	
COL. PINCKN		138	13	5	156	81	37	110	228	
—	24	1798	233	88	2119	671	375	675	1792	

..... 52,186
 2,119
 1,792

56,097

FOR

JOHN MACLEAN,
 CHIEF COMMISSIONER.

POPULATION RETURN, BRITISH KAFFRARIA. 1857.

Probable number of kraals, population, and free arms, 1st January, 1857.							Probable number of kraals, population, &c. 31st Dec. 1857.							European population, exclusive of English Soldiers.										
MAGISTRATES.	LOCATIONS.	No. of Kraals.	No. of Guns.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total Souls.	No. of Kraals.	No. of Guns.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total Souls.	Total Decrease of Souls.	Total Increase of Souls.	German Military Settlers.				Other Europa. Inhabs.				
																Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	
CAPT. REEVES MAJOR GAWLER	Kama	418	380	3416	3277	6245	12,988	288	374	2456	3159	3735	9350	3588			23	15	30	68				
	Umhala	855	538	4342	3233	12,619	22,714	218	433	1380	1976	3182	6538	16,176	358	54	17	429	12	4	1	17		
MAJOR GAWLER	Macomo	47	500	500	750	1050	3000	29	12	75	80	91	252	2748	210	17	3	280	2	1	3	8		
	Pelmann	35	400	500	600	900	2000	22	2	80	98	136	314	1685	584	91	32	707	1	1	4	6		
MR. BROWNLEE	Sandli	754	1200	14,000	17,000	31,000	82,200	798	963	1957	3718	27,282	2822	2971	724	816	1	1	4	6				
	Xoro	75	100	1400	1800	3200	9,154	146	91	352	589	2611	2371	698	81	6	3	90	38	21	35	165		
MR. ATYFF MAJOR HAWKES.	Fynn	100	150	1720	1900	3620	14,210	105	111	433	649	2971	1236	2371	724	816	1	1	4	6				
	Toise	68	no rept.	362	428	801	1051	83	180	505	630	1236	2371	698	81	6	3	90	38	21	35	165		
MR. VIGNE.	Siwani	309	377	1478	1747	2803	6028	271	468	1589	1971	3278	6838	650	8246	1536	1233	168	55	1456	38	21	35	165
	Pato & Stock	846	1800	2235	3400	4261	8896	50	150	200	300	650	8246	1536	1233	168	55	1456	38	21	35	165		
CAPT. FIELDING.	Jali	110	225	463	525	950	1938	95	319	420	691	1330	608	907	138	18	5	156	81	37	110	228		
	Jan Tzatzoe	90	74	592	703	1086	2381	80	74	454	630	990	2074	307	138	18	5	156	81	37	110	228		
CAPT. ROBERTSON	Oba	68	800	750	1275	2625	53,131	361	492	865	1718	907	1424	138	18	5	156	81	37	110	228			
	Anta	71	624	780	1326	2730	46,91	284	384	638	1306	1424	138	18	5	156	81	37	110	228				
TOTAL OF LOCATIONS		3842		50,045	54,676	104,721	1291,2001	8702	11,211	17,784	37,597	68,554	1536	1536	1233	168	55	1456	38	21	35	165		
													67,024											
MR. JENNINGS MR. TAYLOR	East London						29		583	484	738	1808	328	44	21	393	182	63	70	818				
	King Wms. Town						3	42	501	476	577	1554	99	8	7	114	370	254	460	1084				
COL. PINCKNEY	Crown Reserve						2225	1120	2490	2864	5767	11,136	138	18	5	156	81	37	110	228				
GRAND TOTAL		3842		50,045	54,676	104,721	3163	12,285	15,035	24,867	52,184	67,024	1798	233	88	2119	671	375	675	1792				

RECAPITULATION	{ Total Native Population	52,186
	... German Military Settlers	2,119
	... Other European Inhabitants	1,792
		56,097

FORT MURRAY,
1st January, 1858.

JOHN MACLEAN,
CHIEF COMMISSIONER.

dwelt, as before stated. Weakened and exhausted, he was afterwards driven beyond the Bashe river with his few remaining people, and his country left vacant, being guarded by the mounted police, with the intention of having it given out to Europeans, Fingoes, and others, as appeared most desirable. The home government did not, however, carry out the proposal; and now the governor, Sir P. Wodehouse, has allowed Khili (Kreli) with his people to return into it, and seeks to induce the Tembookies and the Ghikas to do the same. What will be the ultimate result no one can tell; probably war, either with the colony or among themselves.

I must not close this chapter, however, without making some distinct note and comment upon the chief Kama. The more so, as his history is not only full of instruction, but stands out in broad contrast to the downward desolating course of his compeers. In the list of Kaffir chiefs, as given in the first table, his name is the last but one, being next to Pato, of the Amaquukwebi tribe. When the Wesleyan Mission station at Wesleyville was established by the Rev. William Shaw, Pato, Kama, and Kobi were there. At an early stage of missionary operations, Kama, a young man of gentle disposition, embraced Christianity, and was baptized. Pato did not; for, although favourably disposed, he still adhered to heathenism, and in process of time, if he did not actually persecute his brother, made him so uncomfortable, and his situation so dangerous, as to induce Kama to seek a place of refuge in the colony. He was accordingly located about twenty miles from Queen's Town, and the Rev. William Shepstone became his Missionary; the station being named Kamastone, to perpetuate the names of Kama the chief and Shepstone the Missionary.

After the war of 1850-2, Kama, on account of his fidelity to the British government, was brought down from Kamastone, and placed along the western border of the Keiskama river, below the present town of Alice, to act as a safeguard against those beyond; where he has since remained, and is now an old man.

When the slaughtering of cattle and the destruction of corn took place among the other tribes, Kama, being an

enlightened Christian man, and loyal to the government, refused to take part in it; only a few of his people did so without his consent. Hence, when the famine came, and thousands around were dying of want, his people had "corn in their holes," "cattle in their kraals," and "milk in their sacks," and were preserved alive. They have been increasing in numbers and strength until this day. How, then, did matters stand in the census returns of December, 1857? Why, he who before was lowest, took the first place, and figured away with 9,350 people; whilst Pato and Stock had only 650. Kama lost 3,588; Pato and Stock, 8,246. Sandilli, the great Amangqika chief, had 3,738 left, having lost 27,282 by this dire calamity, and leaving the former despised little chief 5,612 ahead of him. Truly, according to the saying of a great Book, "The first is last, and the last first;" "Godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come." Yea! profitable for a Kaffir chief and profitable for a Kaffir nation.

But this is not all; for Pato was among those chiefs whom Sir George Grey transported to Robin Island; from whence, after remaining some years, he returned an abject, despised old man, and with a few followers was placed near Fort Murray, below King William's Town. The author resided at King William's Town at the time, and saw Kama and some of his people going down to see the old chief before he died.

Kama has, notwithstanding, had his dangers; the most formidable being, not the opposition or sword of his own countrymen, but the inebriating glass of the white man. Far be it from me to say a word against any who wear Her Majesty's uniform; but historic faithfulness requires the statement to be made, that, from these and by these, the faithful old chief was at one time in slippery places, and report said he had fallen; but I trust such was not the fact. The accounts I have since heard of him state that he still continues steadfast; and what is still more gratifying is, that at least one of his sons is an evangelist, and has renounced great pecuniary advantages in order to preach the Gospel of Christ among his own people. Among

the recent war rumours, it was laconically said, "It did not much look like war against the colony, when Kama's son was sending a waggon-load of wool into town."*

The question will arise, What of the future of this interesting chief and his people? The answer to this depends greatly upon the conduct of the British government towards him. If they adopt the suicidal course, generally resorted to, of removing him and his people from their lands, these incipient stages of Christian civilization may be rendered abortive and end in ruin. If, on the other hand, they adopt a course of simple justice, there is every probability that this is only the commencement of a happy and prosperous future. I hear that, instead of the tract of country formerly assigned him and his people, they have given him and his sons farms in the location; but I have not heard what is to be done with his people. Surely *the remainder of the location will be divided among them*; not one half taken away and given to colonial farmers, and the most miserable pittance given to this people. Surely the farmers cannot say, "This was, or is, our country, and you do us wrong in giving it to them." No, never! It never was the soil of a white man, but was given to a Christian chief and his people, *after having been taken from hostile Kaffirs; and they ought to have the whole of it.* And I

* Since the preceding pages were penned, I have seen a copy of a small work published by Mr. Wilson, a sub-inspector in the frontier armed and mounted police force, in which there are some statements and representations so directly contrary to what I have advanced, that it becomes imperative on my part to notice them. The title of the book is "Reminiscences," &c.; and had the writer confined his attention to those subjects which came immediately under his own observation, and which related to his own particular calling, the book would have been interesting in its own way, as it contains a good deal of what is smart and dashing. But when the writer leaves his self-prescribed path, and turns aside to assail the innocent and unoffending, he lays himself open to adverse criticism; he is evidently "out of his beat." Indeed, so serious are the discrepancies, that I am bound to meet and refute them, or withdraw what I have advanced. Probably, I might have been disposed to leave the whole unnoticed, but for another fact, which is, that they are *the representations of a class* which is somewhat numerous in South Africa, and therefore assume an importance which they would not possess if they related only to a few persons. I have, therefore, concluded to deal with Mr. Wilson's statements and all the matters involved, in an Appendix. To that the reader is referred for a full vindication of my own views as opposed to those of Mr. Wilson, and especially for an investigation of all that is essential as regards the question between Kama and his slanderers.—See *Appendix A.*

maintain that it will be gross, sheer injustice to take any part of it from them. I know all the specious things that are written and said upon this subject; but I reiterate, that what I here affirm is only the barest justice, and every honest man ought to affirm the same. I care not whether it is made over by individual title or to trustworthy persons; *but let it be done, and done at once.*

It will be found that but little is said about the distant tribes in the interior of Kaffirland Proper; because, from their distance, we are not brought into much direct contact with them; and, also, because what is written of those near at hand, applies, in general outline, to those at a greater distance.

Some may ask, What are the writer's own views in reference to the future of the Kaffirs? I confess, they are not very sanguine. Some apposite remarks will be found in the chapter on the land question; and some more at length in the chapter on the improvement of the natives. My only hope is, that in days to come they may be gradually brought under British rule *in extenso*, and that British authority may be extended over them; but, most of all, that Christian Missions may be more extensively carried on among them, and with greater success. For, as the result of twenty-five years' observation and experience, I have faith in nothing else. In proportion to their Christian influence is their loyalty to the government, and in proportion to both is their existence conserved. The Tembookies, next to Kama's people, appear at present to be the most favourably disposed towards the Gospel, and to be making the greatest advances in civilization. But those in the Tembookie location are again being disturbed by proposals to go beyond the Indwe, which will probably undo much, if not all, that has been done. Surely this is not the time for a Christian people or Christian government to sleep. The watchword should be, "Action!"—intelligent, zealous, persevering action, before those for whom action may be beneficial have passed away.

I close the chapter with the following scene, taken from a local paper, which affords another melancholy proof of the manner in which the government first assigned a tract

of country to the Kaffirs, and then, without cause, seeks to remove them further back. This, with the attempt to do the same thing with the Tembookies, of which an account is given in another chapter, is amongst the last acts by which the Kaffirs are unsettled, annoyed, and irritated. The result of this was to produce a war panic through the colony, to the detriment and loss of all parties,

GREAT MEETING OF GAIKA CHIEFS.

(FROM THE "KING WILLIAMSTOWN GAZETTE.")

A PUBLIC MEETING was held on the 16th instant, with all the Gaika chiefs and their people, at the residence of the Gaika commissioner, Charles Brownlee, Esq. From the early morning, which promised a beautiful day for the purpose, the Kaffirs, led by their different chiefs and councillors, poured down from the mountains in squads of fifties and hundreds, mostly on horseback, kerrie in hand, and presented an imposing sight. On arriving in the vicinity of the meeting-place, they sat, smoking and talking, till the sign for the meeting was given. The different clanships then advanced, and took their seats on the ground in a semicircle, the last or rear line standing; and outside of these were a few persons busy preparing to kill and cook three bullocks, twelve sheep, and bags of corn, which the commissioner had provided for the appetites of the meeting. At the opening of the semicircle sat the chief Sandilli, in his tiger-skin; Anta, rather old and worn out from the former fatigues of war; Inkongama and his son, with their open faces; and Stockwe, in his manner and dress a rather amiable youth, with a number of councillors, among whom were noticed Tyali and Soga, who always behaved friendly to government. When all was ready, the Gaika commissioner addressed the assembly, informing them that he had to tell them a short but weighty word, which came from the governor, and was to the following purport:—Krili had been settled down by the government beyond the Kei; he would get no more land. He (Charles Brownlee) had to go over to Krili to become British resident there, and they (the Gaikas) could

go over with him if they liked. The governor did not drive them over, but would give them the land between the Galekas and Tembus, on the best and most favourable conditions: 1. The government money, which hitherto the chiefs and headmen had received, should go over with them so long as they properly behaved. (When this was uttered, it is said a farmer, who stood near, felt his pocket, and muttered something like new taxes by the next Parliament for the Kaffirs beyond the Kei, and hoped that the representatives would see to this.) 2. They would have no more hut-tax to pay; but if they remained here, the hut-tax, which had hitherto only been a name, would be enforced. 3. Sandilli would be chief again of his tribe, and not interfered with by the British government. He could do what he liked. (A Kaffir asked a bystander if this did not mean that Sandilli could kill and eat up according to his heart's desire, and punish all those that had not killed their cattle in Umhlakaza's time, and if it was the right interpretation of the commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," to give over the people, who have lived for years under British authority, to be killed for witchcraft, &c.) Mr. Brownlee gave the chiefs time to consider these matters. Sandilli rose at once, and asked, what he had sinned that Charles should be taken from him? what he should do without him? Mr. Brownlee intimated again to him, to consider first the message of the governor, with the other chiefs and councillors, and after mature consideration to give "his word." This was done towards sunset, when Sandilli gave his answer to the following purport:—"I do not know the land beyond the Kei. I have not grown up there. When we separated from our common ancestors, we came here with the game as hunters, and since that time we never returned back to that country. We like to die here. We do not care if the land beyond the Kei is large or small, we are satisfied with the land in which we live, though it is sour. We have no cattle; our cattle are our gardens. This word stands fast like a tree. The land there we do not know, we do not like. What have I sinned that the Government will take from us Charles? From the day Charles crosses

the Kei I am prisoner, tied by chains, even if I remain on this side. Before Charles was born his mother had no children, but a doctor gave her medicine, and she bore him, and when he grew up, he came into the place of our father Ngqika. On his breast we, the orphans of Ngqika, have been nourished and brought up. The governor may look for another man, to be placed with my elder brother, Krili. You will not cross, for I also will not cross. I am not against my elder brother having another white man. It would be the same with my brother; he would not be satisfied by taking away his white man and placing him with me. I am here for thy sake. I never have complained of you; if I had any complaint against you, I would first come to you. The governor cannot take you away from me; I have not complained against you. The governor says, he wishes to give me the chieftainship, that I may rule just as I like beyond the Kei. I am satisfied with my chieftainship I have here; and if it is small, I do not care, so long as I am taken care of by the English government. But the chief reason for not going over is, that many of my people will not go with me, and those that are going will join Krili, and I will be there a common Kaffir. It is true, I have cried over my former country at the Tyumie and the Keiskamma. It is my fault that I have lost it, for I made war with the governor. He took away all my power, and then I came here. I have not sinned as long as I am here. The time is gone when the governor had a right to send me beyond the Kei; that was the time when we killed our cattle. Then he should have done it when I destroyed the governor's people and cattle. He has forgiven me, for he did not then drive me away. I am a long time on this side. When I shall to-day remove beyond the Kei, then it must be a sin for which the governor drives me away. I do not cross, and my last word shall be, 'Charles, you will not go!' The governor speaks of the hut-tax. I am satisfied. He says, 'This tax shall cease there.' Just as well it may cease here; but when it cannot be, I shall be satisfied. If the governor cares for my chieftainship, then he can just as well give it to me here. I am satisfied with everything, only that I may remain under the care of the British Government."

PART II.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

CHAPTER I.

BIRTH AND MANAGEMENT OF CHILDREN.

IN treating upon the manners and customs of the Kaffirs, the birth and management of children cannot be properly left unnoticed. In the chapter on the mental and physical character of these denizens of the wilderness, it is stated that the physical constitution of the female is remarkably strong. The bony framework of the body is firmly built, and the muscular development very powerful. Instead of the bones of the vertebræ presenting a pointed ridge along the entire spine, there are two lobes of powerful muscles, one on each side of the spinal column, giving great force and strength to the back. Their fare is very simple, consisting chiefly of corn or maize, and occasionally pumpkins, milk, and flesh; yet they are very robust, and child-bearing with them is attended with but little pain or danger.

On this simple fare they live during the season of pregnancy, being daily employed in the open air in labour as severe as that of the common labouring man, until the time of delivery arrives, when those sturdy creatures perhaps leave the garden in the evening, after a hard day's work, carrying a bundle of firewood on the head, and a hoe or pick in the hand; when, shortly after entering their house of sticks and straw, certain significant pains are felt, an elderly woman is called in, the fruit-bearing mother is laid on a mat, and, in ordinary cases, the child is born in an hour. Or if, on a journey, the young stranger

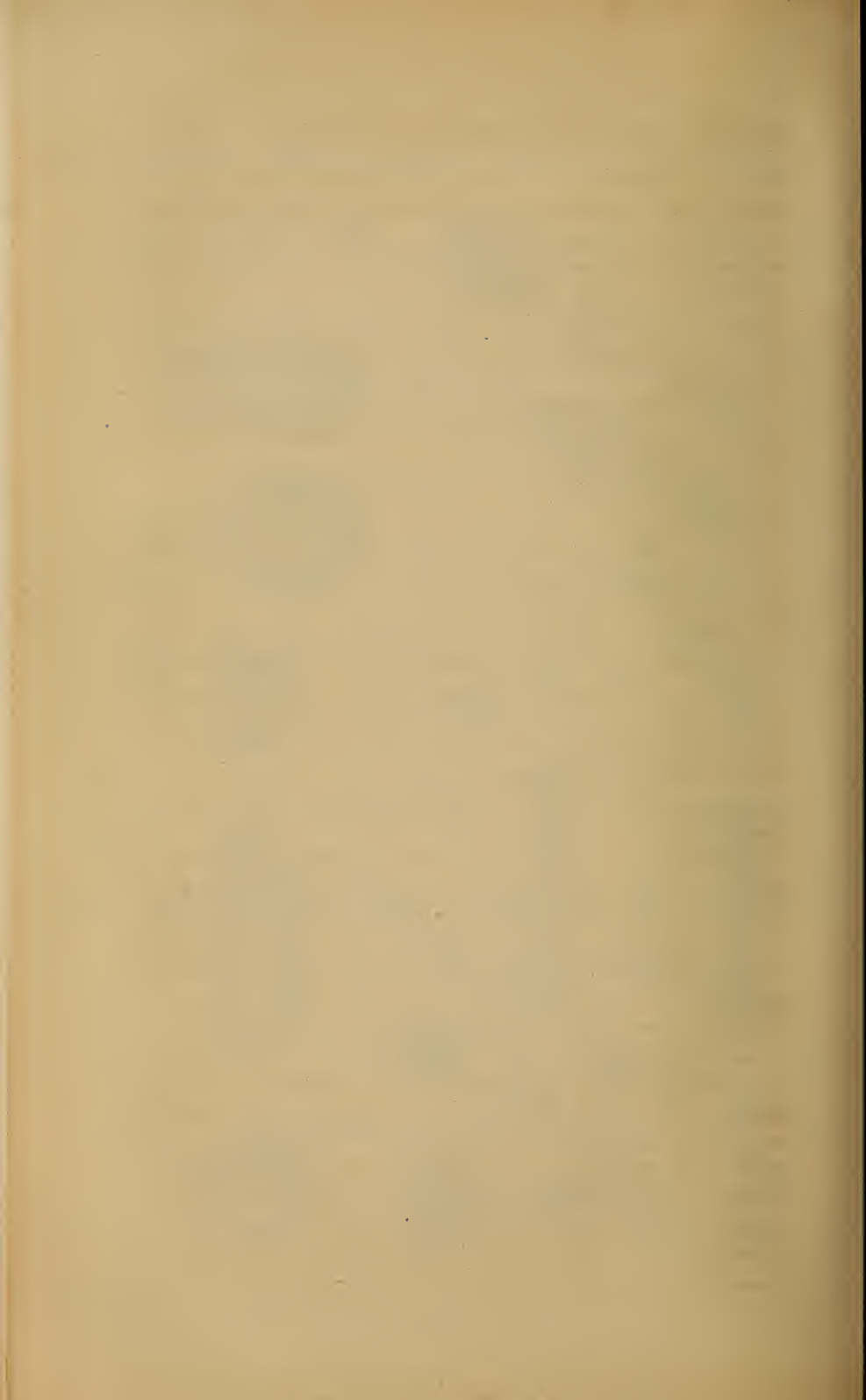




DIFFERENT KINDS OF VESSELS MADE AND USED BY THE KAFFERS
 A. S. BUIRE, LITHO. 18, CLIFTON STREET, E. C.

Kaffir Household Utensils & War Instruments.

Nos	English Names	Kaffir Names.
1	Small Basket	Imbenga
2. 3	Mealie Baskets	Igomee
5. 6	Beer Pots	Inbera .
7. 8	Milk Pots	Udiu
9. 10	Spoons	Trinkero
11	Wood Spoons	Trincembo
12. 13	Wooden Pots	Isigenge
14 15. 16	Snuff Boxes & Spoons	Eihlu & Intyass.
17	Harp	Gubu
18	Mill	Ugayazo
19	Pillows	Isigamelo
20	War Shield & Dancing Shield	Isihlanga, Trau
21	Stabbing Spear	Trua
22	Throwing Spear	Incusa.
23	Barbed Spear	
24	War Weapons, Series, and Wooden Spears	Trindugo
25	Apron	Ebetyo.



is not disposed longer to delay his advent, the mother turns into an adjoining hut, gives birth to the child, and afterwards proceeds on her journey with but little inconvenience, having her "picaninni" tied to her back. If all is not right, which seldom happens, a process of severe rubbing is adopted, which produces great pain, and is sometimes followed by death: this is, however, a rare occurrence.

It may be fairly asked, What makes so great a difference in child-bearing betwixt civilized and barbarous nations? This inquiry would not be proposed or entertained, was it not of great general practical importance. For, when any distinct fact is brought out which applies to and affects the whole human family, it is not either wise or kind to leave such a fact unnoticed, or without comment. There is no difficulty in accounting for the difference. The one follows the simple course of nature, without attempting to interfere with or alter what the all-wise God has ordered and arranged: the other, from early childhood, is treated in a manner contrary thereto, followed by results the most painful and calamitous; the laws of nature are violated, and suffering, and often death, is the melancholy result.

In the higher circles of civilized society this more especially prevails. "*Fashion*" is that Moloch to which thousands of the fairest daughters of Eve are continually sacrificed. "There is no accounting for taste:" hence, the climax of beauty among the Chinese consists in "shortening the feet and flattening the head." This appears barbarous and ridiculous enough to our enlightened taste; but it is not nearly so bad as the practice adopted in many circles for the purpose of giving beauty to the female form; in which, by means of stays and other etceteras, the vital and child-bearing parts of the body are contracted and crushed, inducing disease, weakness, and death, to an alarming extent.

Mrs. H. Pendleton remarks:—"We might multiply authority to any extent to prove the correctness of this opinion. Reasoning from analogy from the animal kingdom, the book of nature, the handwriting of God, which bears on every part evidences of His wisdom and goodness,

amply testifies to its correctness. Comparative anatomy also, which shows the difference of capacity between the male and female pelvis, sustains the opinion that Nature has made ample provision for the performance of the functions of parturition unattended by danger or suffering."

Mrs. Gove's Lectures to Ladies support the view last quoted:—"Many lovely young women enter the married state frail as the gossamer from wrong physical training, unable to bear the slightest hardship, when it is their right, by God's intendment, to be hardy and robust. They fall victims immediately, and often the grave covers them and their first-born, and 'Mysterious Providence' heads their obituary. Parent of Wisdom! shall such ignorance for ever shroud our world?"

"The functions of gestation and parturition are as natural as digestion; and were mankind brought into a healthy and natural state, we have reason to believe that these functions would be attended with little, if any, pain. But the healthy tone of the nervous system is destroyed, and disease, convulsed and erratic action established, by the various abuses of civil life; and the most tender and endearing of all relations becomes a horror and a curse.

"I know many mothers, who, with their husbands, have adopted the 'Graham system,' or, in other words, those correct habits recommended in these lectures; (that is, attention to diet, exercise, and bathing freely and constantly with pure cold water;) and those mothers have abridged their sufferings from forty hours to one hour, and have escaped altogether the deathly sickness of the first three months of gestation. But they avoided all excesses as far as possible. We know that the Indians, the lower orders of Irish, and the Lamas of the South, suffer very little in child-bearing. Why is this? God made us all of one blood. Is it not that these, living in a less artificial manner, taking much exercise in the open air, and living temperately, have obeyed more of the laws of their being, and consequently do not suffer the penalty of violated laws, as do our victims of civilization?"

To the Indians, Irish, and Lamas should be added the

whole of the Kaffir race; and, indeed, all the aboriginal inhabitants of South Africa. The above remarks receive their illustration and corroboration in every part of South African female life. The desire of general benefit must be my apology for this digression.

No sooner is the child born than the ablutions are performed by the use of cow dung, and then commences a course of treatment which is in violation of all the laws of Nature and propriety. Instead of the infant being allowed to use the mother's milk, *amasabele*, which is designed for the twofold purpose of medicine and nutriment; they give it sour curdled milk from the cow, the same as adults drink; this they force down the throat of the poor little mortal by blowing it out of the hand into its mouth, and compelling the child to swallow it.* This is done until the bowels become greatly distended, the child is subjected to great pain, and disease or death is sometimes the result. The reason of this odd practice is, they affirm that the milk of the mother would corrode in the stomach, forming small cakes, which induce sickness and premature decay. So that if a child is sickly, the doctor attributes it to the child having taken the mother's milk too early, which must be purged away by a sharp course of medicine. A person whom I knew had a child which, they said, was thus affected; but a cure was wrought in a much more rational manner. At the end of three days the infant is allowed to take the *amasebele*, or "breast milk."

This absurd and injurious custom might simply excite a smile, if it was not sometimes attended with fatal results. One day, whilst sitting in the house, I heard a woman shriek, which was quickly followed by the loud wail of others. I hastened to the spot, when I found an agonized mother with her dead little boy in her arms. She had been forcing milk down the throat of the child, when the breath must have caught, and suffocation ensued. When I arrived, the body was still warm and supple; it appeared as if it could not be dead. I tried to resuscitate it, but in vain; life was extinct; nothing could be done for it.

* This is continued for three days.

In the evening, the old man, the father of the child, came home, when a still more heartrending scene took place. Among the Kaffirs the law is, that if property or person is deposited in the hands of another, the person in charge must return it to the owner or proprietor in the same state in which he received it,—“*it was put in the hand, and must be returned.*” The old man, stricken with wonder and grief, demanded from the afflicted mother the living child he had placed in her hands in the morning. This was a part of the scene I had not calculated upon; but, whilst it was a new feature, it was very difficult to manage, as the old man became very violent, and could not be pacified for a long time. Absurd as the demand might appear, and impossible of being complied with, it was one of stern reality with the old man; and the woman had to forget her own grief to assuage the anger of the father, so far as possible.

Scarcely any sickly or deformed children are found among the Kaffirs. If they were born so, the probability is, that the rude treatment they receive whilst young would carry them off. But I am of opinion that but few children are born weak and sickly; for the remarks which applied to the mother, in reference to child-bearing, apply equally to the child, who, instead of being tender and delicate, is a chubby, fat fellow. He is soon put down, naked, on a mat, and left to kick for himself; and, if only kept out of the fire, which is in the middle of the hut, and in which children often get burned, he soon begins to make use of his arms and legs, and helps himself.

There appears to be something superstitious in the use of milk, which will be observed in other parts of their customs.

The children of raw Kaffirs are never troubled with clothes. When in the hut or the garden, they sprawl naked on a mat on the ground; when taken from place to place, the mother ties them to her own naked back with the upper part of her kaross, the head of the child peeping out above it, and does not allow this to prevent her from carrying, at the same time, a heavy load on the head, and a pick or calabash in her hand. Little children, not accus-

tomed to see white persons, always run away in great fright when one makes his appearance.

The mode of doctoring their children is unique, but, upon the whole, rational. They usually give either emetics or injections when the child is sick. In the administration of the former there is not much trouble, for they lay the child on its back, pour the medicine—often bitter, made of herbs—into the mouth, hold the nose, and, struggle as the child may, down it must go, and there is an end of it, unless it makes an end of the child. In the latter case, the decoction is prepared by the doctor, or some elderly lady, well-skilled in the healing art. A short piece of small reed is obtained; the mother takes the liquor into her mouth; one end of the reed is placed in her mouth, and the other in the fundament of the child; and thus she injects that which she wishes the “picaninni” to receive, and the whole is over. The mother does not handle her babe very softly or delicately, having no sensitive nerve-strings to torture, and being very unimpressible by the crying of the child.

It will thus be seen that child-bearing and child-nursing interfere but little with the ordinary course of the woman’s life or labour. In a few days she is seen again going to her garden, with her child tied on her back, a basket on her head, and a pick in her hand. There again she works or watches through the live-long day, laying her child on a mat, or getting a little girl to stay by it.

CHAPTER II.

PHYSICAL AND MENTAL CHARACTER.

My observations upon the physical and mental character of the Kaffirs will not need to be greatly extended, because much that relates to both will be found in different chapters, which strongly bring out the peculiarities of body and mind.

I am not able to make this chapter very attractive by throwing around it an air of romance, or investing it with the wonder of the supernatural. I have not a race of pigmies on the one hand, or giants on the other, to describe,—no fairies, no prodigies, no witches; but veritable human beings, men and women. They have indeed black skins; and if the “Ethiop could change his skin,” and wash it white, no amount of soap, or hyssop, or labour, would be withheld; but this they cannot do. They have woolly hair, thickly matted and strong; and some of the brunettes would give all they have, which is not very much, if they could make it long. But, despite all the washing, and greasing, and combing, it remains short still. Yet, notwithstanding the absence of the romantic and sublime, they are an interesting people, and establish a fair claim to the attention of their more enlightened fellow-men.

The physical conformation of the body is fine; the men ordinarily stand about five feet ten inches to six feet high, slenderly built, but compact and wiry. Their diet being very simple, they seldom acquire the robust form of the lethargic Dutchman or the high-living Englishman. The *physique* is intelligent and well defined. The lips and the nose are indeed too broad to be beautiful; yet they accord with strength. Not unfrequently the head is well developed, displaying considerable mental power; and, amongst

the men, the numerous ways in which they are called to engage in intellectual gladiatorship, impart an intelligence and expressiveness to the whole contour which are far removed from the low savage or the sordid barbarian. The body being naked, they early become inured to all the varieties of the season, bidding defiance alike to the burning rays of the sun or the fierce cutting of the blast.

The female frame, before marriage, is remarkably well developed; the properties of symmetry and strength affording very fine specimens of the compactness and power of the human body. The lady is not distorted and almost deformed by the use of artificial means; the young women before marriage, in their native state, seldom wearing any clothing beyond a few slender ornaments. The body is allowed to develop its parts in a natural way. Being early accustomed to labour in the open air, and to eat very simple food, great strength is attained, and the body is able to bear the heaviest burdens. In the absence of stays or other artificial appendages, the spinal column lies deeply imbedded between two lobes of powerful muscles, and the joints and bony structure are fixed, and firm, and knit together in the most perfect manner.

After marriage, the symmetry and beauty of the body are destroyed. The breasts gradually become very large; and, during the time of suckling the infant, they hang down indelicately in long bags; so much so, that the little urchin at his mother's back sometimes helps himself. It is rather a novel sight to see one of these delicate mothers sit down by the road side, and give two of these naked young Cupids suck at the same time. But she is not aware that the laws of delicacy are in the slightest degree violated, although, at the same time, she has no covering from the loins upwards. And so familiar does the sight become, that the passing European does not observe it, unless more than ordinarily fastidious.

English ladies say that the female frame needs the aid of artificial means for the support of the body. Let these daughters of nature for once express a distinct and loud negative. Let them affirm, by fact and practice, that the body is capable of enduring the most severe labour, and

carrying the heaviest loads, without artificial aid. I have often stood and wondered whilst beholding them bearing the heaviest burdens,—a load of wood on the head, such as a man would not venture to try to carry, a child at the back heavier than most nurses are willing to bear, and a calabash of water or a pick in the hand, being a load in itself; and all without artificial means of support. But the heads and countenances of the women are by no means equal to the men in intellectual appearance; they have been made beasts of burden, and have been greatly brutalized by the process, which is apparent in the physical form.

The colour of the skin is mostly black, sometimes, however, only a deep copper-colour; but when the body is cleanly washed or polished with grease, they are, to many, “black, but comely.” The short woolly hair must be allowed to detract from the general good effect of the whole.

Scarcely any cases of deformity are to be met with; I have only seen one or two. No contracted chests, no hooked shoulders, no weakened spines, but the fine human frame erect as the God of nature made it; chest expanded and limbs supple; the whole capable of enduring excessive labour, or performing long and wearying journeys.

They have two rows of beautiful white pearly teeth in the mouth, strongly contrasted with the black skin of the body. European ladies may well envy them this ornament. In this respect they form a striking contrast to their northern neighbours, as described by Dr. Livingstone; who affirms that the women in those parts have adopted the revolting practice of knocking out their upper front teeth, which produces a very forbidding appearance. It is a real deformity; but what monstrosities will ladies not submit to in order to “be in the fashion?”

Their diet being very simple, and their exercise in the open air constant, they do not suffer much from sickness; and, when not cut off by war or violence, attain old age.

The above remarks relate chiefly to their physical character, and apply to the body; their mental powers must now be considered. The chapter on mental improvement enters at some length into this subject, and to it I must

refer the reader ; only, in this place, making such notices as are specially called for. There is nothing in which their mental power is so fully developed, as in conducting their law cases, which afford ample space for all their forensic skill, and supply no questionable proofs of their decided ability. I will quote a part of one of those processes, as given by Mr. Dugmore :—

“ Then comes the tug of war. The ground is disputed inch by inch ; every assertion is contested, every proof attempted to be invalidated ; objection meets objection, and question is opposed by counter question, each disputant endeavouring, with surprising adroitness, to throw the burden of *answering* on his opponent. The Socratic method of debate appears in all its perfection, both parties being equally versed in it. The rival advocates warm as they proceed, sharpening each other’s intellect, and kindling each other’s ardour, till, from the passions that seem enlisted in the contest, a stranger might suppose the interests of the nation to be at stake, and dependent upon the decision.

“ When these combatants have spent their strength, or one of them is overcome in argument, others step in to the rescue. The battle is fought over again on different ground, some point, either of law or evidence, that had been purposely kept in abeyance, being now brought forward, and perhaps the entire aspect of the case changed. The whole of the second day is frequently taken up with this intellectual gladiatorship, and it closes without any other result than an exhibition of the relative strength of the opposing parties. The plaintiff’s company retire again, and the defendant and his friends review their position. Should they feel that they have been worsted, and that the case is one that cannot be successfully defended, they attempt to bring the matter to a conclusion, by an offer of the smallest satisfaction the law allows. This is usually refused, in expectation of an advance in the offer, which takes place generally in proportion to the defendant’s anxiety to prevent an appeal. Should the plaintiff accede to the proposed terms, they are fulfilled ; and the case is ended by a formal declaration of acquiescence.

“If, however, as it frequently happens, the case involves a number of intricate questions that afford room for quibble, the debates are renewed day after day, till the plaintiff determines to appeal to the *umpakati*, who has charge of the neighbouring district. He proceeds with his array of advocates to his kraal, and the case is restated in his presence. The defendant confronts him, and the whole affair is gone into again on an enlarged scale of investigation. The history of the case, the history of the events which led to it, collateral circumstances, journeys, visits, conversations, bargains, exchanges, gifts, promises, threatenings, births, marriages, deaths, that were taken, paid, made, given, or occurred in connexion with either of the contending parties, or their associates, or their relatives of the present or past generations, all come under review; and before the ‘Court of Appeal’ has done with the affair, the history, external and internal, of a *dozen* families for the past ten years is made the subject of conflicting discussion.

“The ‘resident magistrate’ (Kaffir) decides the case, if he can, after perhaps a week’s investigation; but if not, or if either party be dissatisfied with his decision, an appeal can still be made to the chief ‘in council.’”

I must not trespass upon the reader’s patience by quoting more upon this subject. The above will supply a specimen of the intense interest, and untiring perseverance, and tenacious obstinacy, with which their lawsuits are conducted; and prove to a demonstration, that such minds are capable of the widest expansion and the highest culture.

Some would-be-wise Englishman has endeavoured to parody the black man by representing him as shaking hands with a baboon or a monkey, and thus establishing brotherhood with the monkey tribe. The writer would like nothing better than to pin down such a gentleman to a three days’ Kaffir discussion; and he would engage that it would take either the folly or the fun out of him, and show which approached nearest that quadruped. They have deceived and outwitted our ablest governors, our most astute diplomatists, and our very acute officers and

magistrates. They are equal to any English lawyers in discussing questions which relate to their own laws and customs; and the man who attempts to speak contemptuously of them, only betrays his own ignorance, weakness, or folly.

In connexion with such mental power, it will not be surprising to find that they are not very impulsive, at least not quickly so. They are indeed capable of the most fiery excitement when wrought up in the war-dance, or called in battle to confront the foe; but this is only the result of stirring scenes and circumstances. Otherwise, on the contrary, it is most mortifying to witness the stolid indifference which they display, when an angry Englishman, or Dutchman, under severe provocation, reproves them: at such times he has no alternative but either to expend his wrath in boisterous words and angry looks, or knock down the provoking mortal, unless he should turn aside in order to breathe freely.

They are also *most suspicious*, they will receive nothing on credit, the mere *ipse dixit* of a man goes for nothing with them. In this respect they contrast strongly with the Hottentot, who is very excitable, easily wrought upon, and quickly induced to accept what is propounded, and adopt what is stated. With the Kaffir, deception is a practised art from early childhood; even the children will not answer a plain question. If a stranger goes to the kraal and asks for the head man, they will positively affirm he is not there, whilst he is in his hut all the time.

As a proof how little many Europeans who live near the Kaffirs know of their character and conduct, I may mention, that, in a leading article in one of the frontier papers a short time ago, it was broadly affirmed that falsehood among the Kaffirs was a capital offence, and of course punished by death; whereas, instead of this, the man who can lie and deceive most successfully, is the cleverest fellow, and the most loudly applauded. Hence it follows, that if men on the spot, who are the professed enlighteners of others, are themselves so grossly ignorant, how greatly must those be misled who reside at a dis-

tance, and have no means of obtaining more correct information!

Credulity forms no part of their mental character; hasty credence is never given; every part of a subject must be long and carefully investigated, and then only is wary assent obtained. Hence, they are not a material on which the Missionary can produce an effect quickly. When a truth is propounded, they will listen attentively and patiently, but *not answer*. If they speak at all, it is simply to say, "We hear the word," or, perhaps, "We thank for the word," or, "We will think about the word." If a distinct reply is urged, there is less probability of obtaining one; then suspicion is excited, and there will be either no answer at all, or only a false one. Their memories are also very tenacious; so that whilst nothing escapes their keen observation, when once engraven upon the tablet of the memory, it is never obliterated.

The above description does not apply equally to the women with the men. As stated in relation to the physical formation, woman is degraded; she is the servant or slave of the man; her province is to gratify his lusts or work for his support, either as wife or concubine: consequently she cannot rise; and only those who have observed this long course of degradation can adequately mark the difference it has made; only when Christianity may set her free will she be able to rise and assert her own freedom, and attain her true position in the social and intellectual scale.

The consequence of what has been related in reference to the Kaffir mental character is, that when they receive Divine truth after long and careful examination, and embrace the Gospel of Christ, they usually remain true to their profession, and abide in the faith of Christ and the hope of the Gospel.

CHAPTER III.

CIRCUMCISION.

THE origin of this rite is unknown, the extent of the practice very wide. The first authentic record we have concerning it is in the case of the Patriarch Abraham, when, at the age of ninety years, he was called upon to circumcise himself and his son Ishmael. This was, according to the authorized chronology, in the year of the world 1910, being nearly 4,000 years ago; but probably much longer, according to the chronology of those who assign more than 5,500 years before the advent of Christ. However, long as it is, it is still perpetuated among the descendants of the great patriarch. But it by no means follows that its origin began with Abraham. It would rather appear as though an existing, known practice was taken and applied to a distinct and specific purpose or religious rite, making it the sign and seal of important religious advantages, the seal of the covenant entered into betwixt God and the Jews.

This rite was not, however, confined to the Jewish nation; at a very early period it was both known and practised by many other nations. "The Arabians, Saracens, and Ishmaelites, who, as well as the Hebrews, sprang from Abraham, practised circumcision, but not as an essential rite to which they were bound on pain of being cut off from their people. Circumcision was introduced with the law of Moses among the Samaritans, Cutheans, and Idumeans. Those who assert that the Phœnicians were circumcised, mean probably the Samaritans; for we know from other authority that the Phœnicians did not observe this ceremony. As to the Egyptians, circumcision never was of general and indis-

pensable obligation on the whole nation: certain priests and professions only were obliged to submit to it."

In what manner, or under what circumstances, the practice was first established among the Kaffir nations on the south-eastern coast of Africa, we know not; nor are the oldest inhabitants able to give us any information on the subject. "Their fathers did so before them:" that is sufficient.

The existence of this rite among them, and the unknown length of time it has been practised, may be one among many marks and proofs of their early identity with the great fountain of human beings in Central Asia, marking their descent from the great patriarch, or those nations nearly allied to the Jewish race. It would be vain and useless to attempt to speculate upon this subject without any certain data to guide us; and will consequently be more to the purpose to chronicle some of the leading characteristics connected with the practice along this coast and for many miles inland. I cannot do this better than by giving Mr. Warner's description, as given in the work already alluded to. At page 97 he says, "This national rite is performed at the age of puberty, and partakes partly of a civil and partly of a religious character. As a civil rite, it introduces boys into a state of manhood; and as a religious rite, it imposes upon them the responsibility of conforming to all the rites and ceremonies of their superstition.

"The superstitious ceremonies practised in connexion with this rite also point it out as being part and parcel of their system, from whence such superstitious notions proceed; as does also the fact, that should anything of an untoward nature happen during the course of these initiatory rites, a priest would be immediately applied to, who would, as a matter of course, offer sacrifices to the *imishologu*, in order to obtain a removal of such *isixake*, or evil influence. Circumcision is generally performed about the time of the new year. A number of neighbouring kraals club together, and arrange that the boys thereof shall be circumcised together. A hut is erected for that purpose, about half a mile from the most central kraal.

To this hut the boys are taken, having been placed in charge of a person appointed to that office, and who is called the *inkankata*, and under whose charge they continue during the whole time of their initiation; and which state of initiation is called *ubukweta*, the boys themselves being termed *abakweta*. Here the ceremony is performed, after which healing plants are applied, together with certain charms; especial care being taken to preserve the whole of these, to be burned at the appointed time, in order that they may not fall into the hands of sorcerers or witches, who might make use of them as *ubuti*, to bewitch the boys. Cattle are then slaughtered by the parents, and the boys are plentifully supplied with flesh meat; a good deal of dancing also ensues at this stage of the proceedings. During the whole time of their initiation, which generally lasts until the Kaffir corn crops are reaped, the boys form an entirely separate community; they sleep in one hut, and no others are allowed to eat with them. As soon as the soreness occasioned by the act of circumcision is healed, they are, as it were, let loose upon society, and exempted from nearly all restraints of law; so that should they even steal and slaughter their neighbours' cattle, they would not be punished; and they have the special privilege of seizing by force, if force be necessary, every unmarried woman they choose, for the purpose of gratifying their passions. And yet I have heard it contended that circumcision, as it exists among the Kaffirs, is a harmless custom; whereas the fact is, that it is while passing through this initiatory state into manhood, that virtue is polluted and destroyed, while still, as it were, in a state of embryo.

“Another heathenish custom connected with this rite is the *ukutshila*, which consists in attiring themselves with the leaves of the wild date in the most fantastic manner; and thus attired, they visit each of the kraals to which they belong, in rotation, for the purpose of dancing. These *ukutshila* dances are the most lewd and licentious which can be imagined. The women act a prominent part in them, and endeavour to excite the passions of the novices by performing all sorts of obscene gesticulations.

“After all those ‘works of darkness have been completed, the *ubakweta* are taken to the river to be washed; for during the whole time of their separation, they smear themselves all over with white clay. The whole of the men of the kraals to which they belong being assembled, the boys are chased by them, and obliged to run as fast as possible all the way to the river. After having sufficiently performed their ablutions, they return to their hut, when everything connected with their *ubukweta*, including their karosses, bandages, &c., is collected inside the hut, and the whole is burned. The boys, having been smeared with fat and red clay, are presented with new karosses. They then proceed in a body to the kraal which has the charge of them; all of them being exceedingly careful not to look back upon the burning hut, lest some supernatural evil should befall them; and, in order more effectually to avoid this, they are careful to cover their heads all over with their karosses.

“The next day all the men assemble in the cattle fold. Cattle are slaughtered, and a grand feast ensues, at which the ceremonies of *ukuyala* and *ukusoka* are performed. The first consists in discourses or lectures by the men to the novices on their duties as members of society; they having now entered into the important state of manhood. These duties, they are told, consist in obeying their chief, defending their tribe from all enemies, and in conforming to all the customs, and fulfilling all the rites and ceremonies, of their forefathers. They are also exhorted to be careful in providing for their parents, and all others committed to their charge; and to exercise a spirit of liberality towards all their neighbours and friends. The *ukusoka* consists in presents being made to them by the men assembled, of cattle, assagais, &c., in order to give them a start in life. They are then pronounced to be *men*, and are admitted to all the privileges of that important state.”

From the above outline it will be seen that nothing can be more barbarous and degrading than the customs and ceremonies connected with the rite, as it is found to exist among the Kaffirs; and yet, I fear, a very long time will elapse ere it will be altogether abandoned; as an uncircumcised male,

though as old as Methuselah, would still be considered but a boy in the estimation of Kaffir society. No father would ever think of sending his daughter to be married to such a person; and if he did so, the girl would utterly refuse to become his wife. Every endeavour ought, however, to be made to do away with, at least, all the objectionable and heathenish parts of the rite.

“ NTONJANE.

“ This female custom is analogous to circumcision among the men, in as far as it is the initiatory rite by which girls are introduced into womanhood. It is performed at the same time of life, viz., that of puberty; and the remarks made under the head of circumcision, as to its being partly of a civil, and partly of a superstitious, character, are equally applicable to this rite. When a girl arrives at a state of puberty, the fact is announced to the whole kraal. All the women immediately assemble, and rush to the cattle, which they drive into the cattle fold, (regardless of all laws respecting females not being allowed to enter the cattle fold, &c., for this is a privileged day among the women,) seize the finest beast among them, which, if not prevented, they would immediately slaughter. But here a compromise generally takes place between them and the men, who redeem the one they have caught with one of less value. Dancing and feasting now take place, to which all the people of the surrounding kraals are invited; and all others, though not invited, may attend.

“ The girl in question is placed in a separate hut, and none but females are allowed to see her; and, during the time of her separation, which lasts from seven to ten days, neither she nor any of her female companions are allowed the use of milk. If the girl is of a respectable family, as many as from seven to ten head of cattle are slaughtered at this festival; during which a fearful amount of immorality is committed. On these occasions, it is customary for all girls who have arrived at the age of puberty to choose paramours; and, if they refuse to do so,—which,

however, is seldom the case,—men are selected for them by the elder women, and with them they are forced to cohabit as long as the festival lasts. Thus these poor creatures are degraded and polluted at the very threshold of womanhood, and every spark of virtuous feeling annihilated.

“When the time of her separation has expired, the girl in question, accompanied by her female companions, proceeds in the dusk of the evening to a convenient spot, a short distance from the kraal, when she carefully hides underground the fork with which she has been accustomed to cut her food during the time of her separation, together with some other articles not necessary to mention. The next morning she is pronounced to be an *intombi*; that is, she has entered into the state of womanhood, and is considered marriageable.”

Such is Mr. Warner’s account of the manner in which this rite, with its indecent and immoral accompaniments, is conducted among the Kaffirs. There are some particulars not therein enumerated which are supplied in the following, from the pen of the Rev. H. H. Dugmore :—

“The operators in the performance of the rite, in the case of the common people, are some of the old men of the families to which they belong. When, however, the sons of chiefs are to be circumcised, and especially when the rite has to be performed upon the successor of a chief of high rank, great care is taken to select some operator of known skill.

“The youths, generally a large number, who are circumcised at the same time with a young chief of rank, become his retinue. The prospective ‘prime minister’ is the first operated upon; the second is the chief himself; the third becomes the councillor second in order at the *umzi wakwonkulu* of his young sovereign. The rest range in subordinate positions according to circumstances.*

* Khili, the present chief of the Galacas and paramount chief of the Amaxoxa nation, lately had his son circumcised, who is heir to the chieftainship; and it is stated that two or three hundred other youths were circumcised at the same time, the design being to give strength and permanency to his future reign.

“During the period of seclusion, the *novices* are distinguished by having their faces and legs smeared with a kind of white clay, and their karosses left undressed with the usual preparation of red ochre. The appearance they present is, accordingly, a most hideous one. They may often be seen standing in a group, and gazing from a distance at passers by, when they look like a company of lepers interdicted from society. Their appearance in the presence of married women is strictly prohibited, excepting at the *ukuyeyezela*, or dance of their *order*. It is accordingly no uncommon thing to see a party of *abakweta* take instant flight to some hiding-place while a woman of that class passes by. No such interdict exists with regard to the unmarried.”

I have now given as full and detailed an account of this custom as will enable the reader to form a correct opinion upon it. There have been, and still are, those who have boasted of the chastity, purity, and innocence of heathen life; but these have not been “behind the scenes,” as Lord Chesterfield said, and witnessed how the “dirty pulleys,” &c., were worked there. These orgies, as described by the preceding and competent witnesses, are of the most revolting kind, and unfold a state of moral degradation truly appalling,—one that calls aloud for that pure and chaste influence which Christianity imparts.

The difficulty of eradicating these demoralizing practices is admitted by all who are acquainted with the strong bent of the heathen heart towards them. Many parents, who have embraced Christianity, have desired their children to abandon this evil custom, by refusing to submit to it, or take part in it; but in vain. They have directly opposed the wishes of their parents, or privately and stealthily disappeared; when shortly afterwards they have been recognised among the *abakweta*.

These remarks do not apply equally to Natal and Zululand. One of the most striking proofs of the amazing power which Utshaka acquired over the minds of the Amazulu was, that he was able to induce his people to abandon this custom. This was done solely for military purposes, as it might sometimes interfere with or prevent some of his

ambitious designs. The practice was universal before. The Natal Kaffirs, also, since Utshaka's time, have only practised the rite to a limited extent. As they were so broken, scattered, and peeled by the Amazulu, they had neither the opportunity nor disposition to perform it. Hence the writer never saw a company of *abakweta* in Natal, but has seen many on the frontier of the Cape Colony. The probability is, however, that unless prevented by Christian and civilizing influences, they will gradually return to it, as there is so much connected with its performance calculated to gratify the depraved passions of fallen human nature, and present a strong barrier against those means which would lead to the abandonment of their long-standing usages.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY.

IN the absence of the softening and elevating influences of Christianity, woman is reduced to the lowest scale in the social state, and subjected to the most degrading and debasing servitude. The history of heathen nations in general, and of the Kaffir races in particular, will confirm this statement. From the dawn of life to the close of the final scene, the truth of this assertion is illustrated and corroborated. The various historic notices in this volume, as well as the elaborate ramifications of their laws and customs, will show how fully woman's degradation enters into the whole framework of their social state.

When a *female child is born, she is looked upon as so much property*, being estimated at a certain value, being worth so many head of cattle, and adding so much wealth to the established "house." On this account she is tended and cared for, protected and reared; her person is guarded, and if any injury is inflicted upon life or limb, the chief, as "public prosecutor," comes in to enforce the deserved fine. Often, while she is yet young, say from seven to fourteen years of age, her parents or guardians enter into matrimonial arrangements with some man, young or old; the object of supreme concern being, *who will give the largest number of cattle for her*. This, ordinarily, without the slightest regard to her personal wishes or cherished affections, yea, often before she is capable of taking any part whatever in the proceedings, and, as is shown in the chapter on polygamy, in many instances being *compelled by torture* to accept the man she hates. The whole is as purely a business transaction as the bartering an ox or buying a horse.

In order to make this contract or "*betrothal*" mutually binding upon the *contracting parties*,—*not the girl*,—*an ox is slaughtered*, of which *both parties eat*; the design being to indicate that as the flesh thus eaten enters into the bodies of both parties, and becomes part of their physical frames, it can neither be separated nor broken; so, also, the contract, now so solemnly sealed, cannot be broken, without the highest affront being offered by the faithless party, and possibly fatal consequences following such a transgression.

This, on one occasion, formed a serious difficulty in the case of a young woman who wished to embrace Christianity. In this instance, *her brother was her proprietor*, and she had been "*betrothed*" to a heathen man; the contract had also been "*sealed by the slaughtered beast*;" so that when I requested permission for her to embrace Christianity, and marry a Christian convert, the brother, who also desired to receive "*the word*," and was not therefore personally opposed, informed me of what had taken place, and knew not how the difficulty was to be overcome, as it might endanger property and life. All the address and powers of diplomacy which I possessed were called into requisition to help the parties through, and avoid serious consequences; this was, however, ultimately effected.

Another case, still more difficult, was that of a man who had married one wife, and was betrothed to another; but, desiring to embrace Christianity, he knew not how to act. There would have been no difficulty according to English law; but so serious was the case with him, that he feared it might expose his person to violence, or something worse, if he did not take her. The betrothal had taken place some years before, and now the parents of the girl insisted upon his taking her according to custom. The way in which he got out of the difficulty was, by taking her in the usual manner, and in process of time giving her to his nephew, who was too poor to buy a wife for himself. There are only few English Christians who can estimate the amount of sacrifice made by this man in order to become a Christian. He sacrificed polygamy, the cherished sensual gratification of his country; he sacrificed property,

for he gave a large number of cattle for the girl he now handed over to his nephew without fee or return; he sacrificed the "future greatness of his house," for all the female children born of this girl would have been of large marketable value; and he sacrificed his position among his people. I afterwards married him, according to Christian law, to one wife, and baptized him by the name of *Moses*; and he stands well to this day as a member and officer in the church.

When the time has arrived for celebrating the "marriage nuptials," the man does not proceed to the residence of his brown or black lady, as is customary in English society, but the lady must go to her honoured "lord;" and he must receive her in truly dignified form and state. The friends of the young woman, if she can be so called, select a number of her young acquaintances, male and female, to accompany her to the residence of the bridegroom; who, being duly informed of their arrival, is prepared to receive them; except, as is shown in another place, she is sometimes sent to a chief without notice or preparation, and he is surprised on the arrival of a bridal party; which, according to Kaffir etiquette, he must neither treat lightly, nor dismiss roughly.

The bridal party, both male and female, are dressed in the first style of heathen fashion. There is a profusion of bead necklaces, head dresses, and breast ornaments, arm, wrist, leg, and ankle bands, the skins of small animals suspended from the loins, and feathers of wild birds fantastically placed in the hair.

The march often partakes more of the mournful and sombre nature of a funeral, than the joyous procession of a bride. She often goes as a "lamb to the slaughter;" and mingled emotions of fear and sorrow are expressed in her countenance. Not unfrequently, however, some of her ornaments apart, she looks very interesting, and has much more of intelligence and beauty than would be supposed to exist among a barbarous people.

When they arrive at the kraal of the bridegroom, he and his friends are prepared to meet them, dressed in a similar manner. Singing and dancing then commence,

which last until midnight. Each party dances in front of the other, but they do not mingle together. As the evening advances, the spirits and passions of all become greatly excited; and the power of song, the display of muscular action, and the gesticulations of the dancers and leapers, are something extraordinary. The manner in which, at certain times, one man or woman, more excited than the rest, bounds from the ranks, leaps into the air, bounces forwards and darts backwards, beggars all description. These violent exercises usually close about midnight, when each party retires; generally, each man selects a paramour, and, indulging in sensual gratification, spends the remainder of the night.

On the following morning the party of the bride retire into the bush, and remain there until about three o'clock in the afternoon, when they return and the dancing is renewed, each party still keeping distinct. Towards the close of the evening, the party of the bridegroom sits in front, whilst that of the bride dances before them. The bride then, with two attendant friends on each side of her, advances to where the bridegroom is sitting; when she delivers an harangue, in which she taxes her powers to the utmost to find all sorts of abusive and provoking epithets; which she freely pours upon the man who is so soon to be her "lord." She also asks him all sorts of questions, equally offensive and abusive; this being the "last time" in which she may thus speak and act. Having thus interrogated him very abundantly, she concludes by taking a certain feather out of his head, with which the "gordian knot" is tied, and she is his wife; the conclusion being an imploring request that "he will use her well."

The party of the bridegroom then address the bride very formally and forcibly; making no small parade of the manner in which she must take care of her husband, work for him, and "obey him," &c., &c., &c. This being done, a beast is slaughtered, the wedding feast is celebrated, and they make merry for a longer or shorter period. One custom must not be left unnoticed at this stage of the proceedings. During the whole evening, the bride

watches every opportunity to make her escape and abscond to her parents. If she succeed, the bridegroom must not only apply humbly for her return, but must also pay another beast for his neglect in allowing her to escape. This is sometimes followed by quarrels and even blows.

I once witnessed part of one of these scenes without having designed so doing. Being on a journey, and seeing a large concourse of Kaffirs collected and collecting, I turned aside to a large kraal close by. The party of the bride were just rising and forming in procession, the party of the bridegroom being seated on a mound about three hundred yards distant, the former party being about one hundred in number, men and women; and, as they rose and formed from behind the kraal, being gaily dressed, they had a unique, wild, and imposing appearance. The song and dance were led by an elderly woman with a staff in her hand, followed by the whole company beating time with their feet. Every muscle of the body was put into slow or active motion; so that the creeping or rolling action of the muscles, added to the wild song and the measured or frantic gestures, produced something like a supernatural effect. So much so, that my horse was quite disposed to take part in the proceedings; adding his dancings and prancings to the rest, making it desirable for me to dismount quickly, lest, by a not very graceful somersault, I might add interest or ridiculousness to the scene.

In this manner they proceeded, until they arrived opposite the rising knoll where the bridegroom and his party sat, who looked on with apparent great satisfaction and delight. At this stage of the proceedings, ever and anon, one gentleman bolted from the rest, and in leaping, jumping, and fantastic grimaces exceeded everything I ever saw. I had seen strange things before, but this surpassed them all. That which made the whole more saddening to me was, that at an earlier stage of my ministry the bridegroom, with his *one wife*, bade fair to be amongst my first and best converts; but the power of woman and heathen habit were too strong. He struggled

for a while, and then deliberately offered his soul on the shrine of polygamy. This was his third wife.

The above is a description of the mode which prevails in and around Natal; but, as the custom differs considerably in Kaffirland Proper and on the frontier of the old colony, and is withal unique and interesting, embracing several particulars not enumerated in the above, I shall quote Mr. Dugmore's description from "Laws and Customs," pp. 45-52:—

"The younger sons of a family are not competent to marry while their elder brother remains single. The order of seniority is not, however, observed any farther. The firstborn once 'settled in life,' the rest may follow, as inclination and circumstances lead. The origin of this custom is probably to be found in the priority of claim which the eldest son, in virtue of his primogeniture, is deemed to have upon his father's aid in providing a dowry.

"The business of negotiation in matrimonial affairs differs accordingly as the proposal comes from the representatives of the bride, or from those of the bridegroom. A man sometimes fixes his desire upon a young woman, and at once proposes to her guardians that she shall be sent to his residence in the ordinary manner.

"It *sometimes* occurs that the entreaties of the daughter prevail over the avarice of the father; but such cases, the Kaffirs admit, are rare. Kaffir fathers have for the most part their full share of those principles of human nature which in more *enlightened* countries lead parents to sacrifice the 'foolish' inclinations of their children at a golden shrine; and accordingly the highest bidder usually gains the prize.

"In the mean time the dowry negotiation is going forwards between the representatives of the two parties; the demands of the one, and the statement of difficulties of the other, occupying a considerable time. At length the men of the bridal party are summoned to the cattle kraal. An ox is caught in their presence. They look on in silence and retire. The animal is slaughtered, and the meat sent

to them. This is the ratification of the contract, and the signal for the marriage festivities to commence. The presents of the father of the bride to his son-in-law are produced. These are, one head of cattle for a kaross, another, the hair of the tail of which is to be worn round his neck as a charm, and, if the bride be a person of rank, a number of cows, to furnish a milk-sack and its contents for his sustenance. The number of the latter varies from two or three to ten, according to the wealth or ostentation of the party who sends them. The neighbours are invited to the wedding, and the dancing and feasting begin. These festivities usually last three days among the "commonalty." When a chief of rank is married, they continue eight or ten days. On the last day, when the sun is declining, the ox races are held. While the youth and more fiery of the elder guests are absent at this sport, the *ukutshata* takes place. This is the great ceremonial of the occasion, but strikingly characteristic of the barbarism of the people. The bride, and two of her companions as supporters, walk in procession. Their only clothing consists of the skins of the oribie, tied round the loins. Their heads are bare, and their bodies coloured with light red ochre, which presents the more remarkable appearance from the bright yellow of the oribie skins. They proceed arm in arm, 'with solemn steps and slow,' towards the gate of the cattle kraal, the bride carrying in her hand a single assagai. Their air is that of victims about to be offered in sacrifice, for which they would certainly be taken by any one ignorant of the customs of the country. As they proceed on their way, one of the male attendants removes any sticks or stones that may chance to lie in the path. On reaching the kraal gate, the bride throws the assagai within it, and leaves it there. The procession then moves towards where the men are assembled, the women of the place preceding the bride, and imitating in dumb show her future duties, such as carrying wood and water, and cultivating the ground. On reaching the assembly of the men, the procession halts, and the bride is lectured on her future conduct by any one of them who chooses. There is no deficiency of coarse

brutality of remark in this part of the ceremony, which continues as long as the lecturers please, the bride standing before them in perfect silence. It is, however, the *finale* of the ceremony. On receiving permission to retire, the procession returns to the place from which it set out, the guests depart, the bride takes possession of a new hut that has been erected for her, and assumes her assigned position in the domestic establishment of her new 'lord and master.'

"The number of guests present at these festivities is sometimes very great. At the marriage of chiefs of high rank, they amount to thousands. On such occasions the greater portion of the tribe assembles, and all the other chiefs within one or two days' journey are expected either to attend in person, or send their racing oxen. To neglect to do either would be considered an affront. The bridegroom and his friends provide the slaughter cattle for the feast; but the guests bring their own milch cows and milk-sacks. From four or five to fifty head of cattle are slaughtered, according to the wealth and rank of the parties.

"Such is the marriage ceremonial in the 'respectable circles' of Kafir society. There is also an abridged form, in which the *ukutshata* and the ox racing are omitted, and the feasting and dancing much curtailed. This, however, is considered a discreditable mode of getting married, and is therefore chiefly confined to the poorest of the people."

The reader has thus before him a rather full account of the varied modes of procedure in this important ceremony. Two things cannot fail to impress the thoughtful mind. The first is, the humble state to which the bride is reduced; the second, the gross obscenity connected with the ceremony. In reference to the first, the man goes not to the woman, but the woman is sent to the man; and when there, what can be more revolting to every feeling of delicacy and humanity, than the brutal course through which the bride must pass?—"In due time the master of the kraal sends word that the bride is to present herself to be seen. She accordingly proceeds with one or two of her companions to where the men are assembled. She

kneels before them at a short distance, uncovered from the waist upwards, while her defects or beauties of person are freely criticized. When this is over she retires, leaving behind her a present of beads or buttons." To how low a state is the poor creature reduced, when kneeling in a state of almost entire nudity, before the polluted gaze of coarse and rude men, who indulge in all kinds of ribald and obscene remark, accompanied with derisive laughter and disgusting grimaces!—kneeling thus during their lordly pleasure, and then retiring when permitted, leaving a present of beads or buttons behind her.

Again, in the final part of "the scene," "on reaching the assembly of the men, the procession halts, and the bride is lectured on her future conduct by any one of them who chooses. There is no deficiency of coarse brutality of remark in this part of the ceremony, which continues as long as the lecturers please; the bride standing before them in perfect silence. It is, however, the *finale* of the ceremony." Christian ladies will say, Time it was! Can female humanity be subjected to greater indignity or lower humiliation?

This is the commencement of a course of labour and degradation to which she is subjected more or less.

Mr. Brownlee says: "A husband may beat his wife for misconduct; but if he should strike out her eye or a tooth, or otherwise maim her, he is fined at the discretion of the chief. If he puts her to death, he is punished as a murderer." The reader will remember that the punishment for murder is often light, being only a fine.

On one occasion a Kaffir woman came to my house to inquire, very seriously, if it was true that I had obtained my wife without paying a large price for her. She had difficulty in believing me when I assured her that it was really so. She then not only assured me that her husband had paid for her, but shewed me her back, which had been freely lacerated; so that her lord had not only bought her, but had secured the privilege of beating her when he pleased.

The second conviction which forces itself on the mind is, the gross obscenity connected with these marriage

celebrations. No respectable pages can be defiled with a description of what then takes place, especially in connexion with the marriage of men of rank and chiefs. There is full licence given to wholesale debauchery, and men and women "glory in their shame." The songs, the dances, the gestures, and the conversation, are all designed to excite and gratify the animal passions. Some have attempted to magnify heathen chastity and purity as connected with the Kaffir races; and the journalist of an influential colonial paper, the other day, proved how profoundly ignorant many of the European colonists are of the state of things around them, by affirming that "real prostitution among the raw Kaffirs" was unknown. A writer well informed on the subject replied, "If he had said that a really pure girl was unknown amongst the raw Kaffirs, I think he would have come nearer the truth."

What takes place is *not accidental*, but depraved human nature systematically providing for the gratification of its own natural cravings. It is man "without God," in his highest state of enjoyment, and lowest state of sensuality. The bare recital of what follows, in addition to what has been written, will only more fully confirm the truth of these remarks.

Concubinage.—This is not indeed connected with the marriage ceremony in due form, but is so nearly related to it as to call for notice in this connexion. It might have been supposed that when so many facilities were afforded for sexual intercourse, concubinage would not be desired or practised. This is not so; for although a Kaffir chief may have ten or twenty wives, his sensual desires are not satisfied; and he must therefore take the fairest and the best from among the unmarried females of lower rank to perfect his harem. These not being equals in rank are not made wives, except in some special cases after long cohabitation.

"Amongst the common people, concubines consist of two classes, the voluntary and the bestowed. The former are those who have become so by voluntary consent, and arrangement with the relatives in whose guardianship they are. The latter are such as the chiefs have authori-

tatively allotted to the young men of their retinue, who have acquired their special favour during their term of service at the 'great place;' and who have therefore obtained permission to select female companions from among their acquaintance, without incurring the expense of the marriage dowry. As concubines have a legal standing, their offspring are not considered illegitimate. They rank, however, inferior to the children of the married wives; nor can they inherit, except in default of male issue, on the part of the latter."

Concubines, however, do not fill up the full measure of sensual gratification; for, in addition to this, it is no uncommon thing for chiefs, head men, and common men, to lend their wives to each other, for a longer or shorter space of time; "every man neighs after his neighbour's wife," and God "gives them up to uncleanness through the lusts of their own hearts."

Besides, added to this, when the men are on a journey, and come to a kraal to spend the night, they expect not only food and a hut to sleep in, but also to be supplied with a female sleeping companion; and this wish and want is gratified.

This is not all, but it is common for young men to go to a kraal in the evening, and say, that they are come to play with the girls, using a word well understood by all parties; when young men and young women are put together in a hut for the night, and indulge in practices too obscene to mention.

Well might the writer above quoted affirm, "If he had said that a really pure girl was unknown amongst the *raw Kaffirs*, I think he would have come nearer the truth." When these practices are taken in connexion with, and in addition to, what takes place at the time of circumcision, and when the girls arrive at the age of puberty, then it may be said with sad truth, that "a really pure girl is unknown among the raw Kaffirs."

This chapter, as well as that on polygamy, discloses a dark and polluted state of things, in connexion with Kaffir common life; and only too fully illustrates and confirms the statement made at the commencement of this

chapter, that in the absence of the purifying and elevating influences of Christianity, woman is reduced to the lowest state in the social scale, and is subjected to the most debasing and degrading servitude. But woman in this state is, to a great extent, unconscious of her true condition; and, in reference to sensual indulgence, is as debased as the man; in this respect, "they would have it so." All moral sense of purity and shame is lost: "it is the custom of the nation;" the law which pervades the whole social state; the common practice of daily life. This life of the nation cannot alter, cannot improve, unless something brighter, purer, and better, is brought to bear upon it from without. "Like produces like," and as a logical sequence, this polluted type of heathenism can only produce that which is as bad or worse than itself. Let Christianity, then, haste to the rescue, and send forth its pure and hallowing streams through this mass of impurity and crime.

Incestuous Marriages.—Incest among the Kaffirs is a grave crime, and, if detected, is severely punished. It is so, not only on general grounds, but more especially as connected with their superstitious fears. They believe that supernatural evils will follow such a crime, and hence it is the more to be dreaded and avoided. But incest among them cannot be regarded in the same light as among the English. Among them it applies only to consanguinity of blood, and not at all to family connexions arising out of marriage. Among the English a man cannot marry his late wife's sister, according to law; and if he does so, his children are treated as illegitimate; but he may marry his first cousin. Not so with them. A man may not only marry two sisters one after the other; but he may marry the second while the first is still living; and, indeed, may marry two at the same time, so far as the law is concerned, as it will not step in to hinder or condemn him.

But to marry a first cousin would be a great crime, and expose the person so doing to be regarded as a sorcerer. Consequently the crime of incest in this form is scarcely known. But incest in its worst forms does exist. There

is no taunt more offensive to a Kaffir than to say, "He lies with his mother;" and yet it is known that this takes place to a large extent. This is one of the sad results of polygamy. By the time a woman arrives at middle age, her husband has, generally, one or more younger wives, when he ceases to cohabit with his first wife. By this time his sons are growing up, and as they sleep in the same hut with their mother, every facility is afforded for the commission of this repulsive crime, and there is no doubt but it is extensively committed,—the more so, as no issue will proceed from it.

CHAPTER V.

POLYGAMY.

GOD "made man upright," but his darkened mind and polluted imagination "sought out many inventions." The truth of this sentiment has not been more fully illustrated and corroborated in any instance than in the polygamy of the Kaffirs, as practised along the south-eastern coast of South Africa.

There is no doubt, from many striking coincidences, that these people proceeded from the great patriarchal stock in Asia; but for many ages they have been removed from this centre-source of light and civilization, and in proportion to the time and distance of their removal from Bible influence, has been the extent and depth of degradation into which they have fallen. This is in nothing more apparent than in the establishment, consolidation, and universal practice of polygamy. This affords full scope for the unbridled passions of selfishness and lust to revel in. And hence, with them it is not accidental or partial, but systematic and universal. The generally admitted sentiment, that in the absence of Christian light and influence woman is degraded, holds good here to the fullest extent; and the writer confidently expects that this chapter will unfold a practice which is manifold in its workings, and terrible in the wrongs and sufferings which it inflicts. In order to assist mutually the writer and the reader, the following classification is made:—

- I. The existence and degrading character of polygamy.
- II. It is, as practised by the Kaffirs, essential slavery.

III. The extensive and intense sufferings arising out of it, or flowing from it.

I. The existence and degrading character of polygamy.—If it did not exist, any thing written upon it would be a mere abstract essay on the general subject; but its actual existence, wonderful ramifications, and terrible results, will be amply illustrated in these pages, by a description of its practical working and numerous facts.

Polygamy among the Kaffirs is a *sine quâ non*,—to obtain a large number of wives is the object of supreme desire: “They make the house great.” This invests the possessor with “importance in the nation;” this constitutes the real wealth of the Kaffir, of which he cannot be deprived, except by war or witchcraft.

Formerly the Amaxosa Kaffirs regarded the possession of cattle as the criterion of wealth; but the Natal Kaffirs, the extent of their harem: but, with both alike, the amount of their wealth was regulated by the number of wives they possessed. This, added to the fact that the practice secures the most unbounded licence to sensual indulgence, makes the practice peculiarly grateful to the Kaffirs, and raises the most powerful barriers against its removal.

The man who cannot obtain cattle enough to buy one wife is looked down upon as a “poor beggar,” doomed “only to serve,” “not fit to dance with any girl,” “or take part in any public feast.” The man who has only one wife, is still “poor,” but is greatly in advance of his beggar brother. His wife works for him, and, if a good one, will do much towards supporting the establishment. But she consents to a second being taken; *she*, to obtain a companion to share her toil and make her labour lighter. Her husband desires it, to increase his importance in the social scale, gratify his passions, and enlarge his possessions. Thus they proceed, until the number increases to ten or twenty, being only limited by the ability to procure them.

The man is thence supported in Kaffir pomp and plenty; “he can eat, drink, and be merry,” bask in the sun, talk,

sing, and dance at pleasure,—spear bucks, plot mischief, or make bargains for his daughters: to care and toil he can say farewell, and so go on to the end of life.

With him, it is not either, “Eat, drink, and be merry, for to-morrow we die;” but, as age advances, he takes another “young wife,” or concubine; and then another, to keep up “eternal youth;” for he is never supposed to grow old, so long as he can obtain a “youthful bride:” she, by proxy, imparts her freshness to his withered frame, and throws her bloom over his wrinkled brow.

On one occasion I was addressing some twenty of these white-headed old gentlemen, and inquired if they did not take young wives to keep up perpetual youth. To which they answered, “Yes.” I then further inquired if this took place,—if their youth was preserved. “Yes.” Then one of the number stretched out his arm over the rest, and said “*they were all young.*” I then further inquired if these young wives could prevent grey hairs from growing. (Udingaan had each pulled out as it made its appearance.) Could they prevent the wrinkles from forming in the forehead? could they prevent their bodies from becoming withered and weak? could they, finally, preserve from sickness or drive off death? They were, as a matter of course, self-accused and self-condemned. They began to talk among themselves, grew angry, rose to their feet, vociferated, and walked to a short distance. They again sat down, took snuff by spoonfuls to allay their ire, talked again, shook their heads, and ultimately walked off. I probably should not have been thus severe upon them, but they were systematically trying to keep the young people away from our services. They believed that their old callous hearts were proof against all the onslaughts which could be made upon them by Divine truth. But the young people were not thus proof; so that the only way to preserve them in the path of heathenism was to keep them away altogether.

As distinctly shown in the chapters on the marriage ceremony and the law of inheritance, each wife has her own separate hut or house, which is sacred to her husband and children, except a traveller or friend happens to be on his journey, or visit, and has a woman assigned him for his

gratification during the night, which is a common occurrence. Then there is always an *intando kazi*, or favourite wife, who, with her children, domineers over the rest, and produces much jealousy, bitterness, and strife. A faithful, good wife, after a year or two, or more, living with her husband, does not like to be forsaken, and all the attention of her husband devoted to her new rival.* His attentions to one child, and corrections of another, are bitter and galling to one or another; his keeping the fence of one wife in good order, to the neglect of another, is grievous to the one, whilst it is gratifying to the other.

A gentleman well acquainted with the practical working of this custom says:—"I shall mention a case which accidentally came to my knowledge a few weeks ago. A woman had been prosperous in her gardens; she had been able to sell mealies every year, and was becoming rich in cattle. The other wives became jealous, and she was accused of being an *umtakati* (a witch); the *izanusi* (witch doctors) were consulted, and she was formally declared to be such, and the murderer of her own children. Cords were tightly bound around her fingers, to make her tell where she obtained the poison. These acts of cruelty are carefully concealed from us, and it is only by accident that we occasionally become aware of such."

The existence of polygamy having been pointed out, the above is one of its injurious and degrading effects. But *the effects are "legion;"* only one or two can be named. The Kaffirs being from early life accustomed to look upon the character and lot of the woman in the light of their own low and degraded customs, it becomes natural in them to *treat her as an inferior being*, and as by no means fit to take equal rank with the men. The woman is the man's *she*, not his wife; she is his *female*, not his equal. It is thus stated by competent authority,—“No word corresponding to the Saxon word *wife* is found in the Zulu language. The term most nearly approaching to it is *umkake*, and its correlatives *umkako* and *umkami*, which

* Leah feels it hard when Rachel obtains all the favours of Jacob, and is willing to buy a little of his attention at the price of her son's "mandrakes."

means his *she*, his *female*. The man owns his wives as truly, according to native law, as he does his spear or his goat, and he speaks of them accordingly." The slavery part of the subject will be treated upon shortly. The object of the writer here is, to point out *the degrading effects of this practice upon the national mind and action*. A vast deal has been written and said upon the *degrading effects* of slavery, whether in the West Indies or in South America : all that has been urged upon the subject in reference to them applies with greater or less force to the Kaffir female. Being placed among the cattle and goods by law and custom, she takes her place there accordingly,—in *her own estimation*, in *the estimation of her husband*, and in the estimation of those who have the disposal of her. I am aware that there are some relieving considerations and customs ; but these do not affect the fact or the practice ; her social and national status is among the beasts. "The husband or the owner of the woman says, 'I have paid so many cattle for you, therefore you are my slave, *my dog*, and your proper place is under my feet.'"

How fully she takes this position *in her own estimation*, is apparent from the following, given by a gentleman of undoubted veracity. "I once saw a woman standing by a load so great, that I should barely be able to take it up. She was to take it up and carry it about two miles. I asked her if she could carry it, when she stood up erect and said, 'If I were a *man*, I could not, but I am a *woman*.'" Yes, the women are "the bearers of burdens," as any man may see, when they go to market, or travel on a journey, or return to their homes.

Another writer says, "To find, therefore, an entrance into the hearts of the female sex, is very hard. The women being purchased with cattle from their fathers, become the slaves of their husbands, who put all works of drudgery on their shoulders. From this cause, they stand, in intellect, far below the men, and with increasing age their stupidity and utter blindness increase. The girls are jealously watched by their fathers : 'My daughter is equal to so many cattle.'"

It is truly astonishing how deeply and intensely the

whole social state becomes debased and imbruted; in some respects, even more so than in the Slave States of America, or, formerly, in the West Indies. *There*, there was simply *the master, his property, his gratification, his interests*; *here*, there is the gratification and interest of, what should be, the husband, the father, the brother, *and of the mother and sister*. *Here*, there is *both the family and the national confederacy and combination to hold fast and perpetuate this foul blot*. Thus another gentleman, writing upon the subject, says: "I have already instanced the case of a father declaring that he would thrust his spear through his daughter, if she persisted in her refusal to comply with marriage arrangements which he had made: and I have also seen other cases, in which father, mother, brothers, and sisters, all combined their utmost efforts and threats, jeers and vile epithets, to induce the girl to comply. It is wonderful indeed, and one would hardly believe without seeing it, how fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, and the whole neighbourhood, unite in order fully to carry out such marriage contracts; the whole turning out with dogs, to hunt for the girl who has run off and secreted herself, *like the slave masters in the late Slave States*; and when she has been found and refuses to return, they seize her by main strength, and drag her on the ground, as I have repeatedly seen, the nearest relatives being foremost in the cruelties practised."

Enough is here given from eye witnesses, and competent authorities, to establish the position of the author, that polygamy not only exists, but has the most debasing effect upon the individual, the social, and the national mind.

II. It is, as practised by the Kaffirs, essential slavery.—The essence of slavery consists in making the person an article of merchandise, and preventing such person from disposing of himself, or herself, according to his or her wishes or interests. According to this definition, it will be apparent that Kaffir women are slaves. This fact has been more or less mixed up with the preceding remarks; for they so run into each other, as to be incapable of separation. But it requires more distinct notice. I have

long denounced the custom of paying cattle for wives, as slavery: some have taken a different view of the subject. After proving my affirmation, I shall consider and answer the other view advocated. The quotations already given favour the view now advanced: others may be given.* A number of gentlemen collected together and fully informed on this subject declare, "The first fact presented to notice is this, that a very large number of British subjects, that is to say, the whole female population of the Kaffir races, (in number not less than 70,000, or 80,000,) are liable to be subjected, and are many of them actually subjected, to the most degrading slavery."

Let the careful reader observe, that this relates to the Colony of Natal alone, and not at all to the many thousands who reside on the frontier of the Cape Colony, or in Kaffirland Proper. The price paid varies. "The common price of a wife is about ten or twelve cattle, but a young woman of uncommon attractions, with a good muscular frame, often commands from twenty to fifty animals. The price is in proportion to the demand, and to the means of the applicant. Indeed a fixed number is seldom or never agreed upon. The proprietor finds it more for his interest, first to consent to the marriage, and then call for cattle, when a few, more or less, are sent in; then, when the applicant comes to call for the woman, to renew his call for cattle; and thus repeat his call, so long and so often as it is effectual; and when the applicant for the girl gets disgusted, so as to send and demand back all he has paid, declaring he will not have her, the woman is usually sent, and the marriage takes place. This process often runs the price very high. In some cases, however, the applicant does not possess the requisite number of

* Some time ago, a number of Christian gentlemen, Missionaries and laymen, were so impressed with the magnitude of this cruel and revolting practice, that a Committee of the Evangelical Alliance was formed, to collect evidence, and draw up a Report. This Committee consisted of the following gentlemen,—Rev. G. Y. Jeffries, J. Jackson, C. Scott, and C. W. Posselt. The Report was prepared and printed in order to inform the minds and arouse the sympathies of British Christians. 250 copies were sent to the Religious Tract Society, and 250 to Mr. Peter Drummond, of Stirling; but it is to be deeply regretted, that, hitherto, the sympathies of Englishmen have not awakened to action on this subject.

animals; in which cases, if no new applications are made, the parent will allow the daughter to be married, on the strength of a promise to pay at some future time. Hence, in some cases, men are harassed all their lives, to pay for a wife; and, by common consent, if a man has not paid for his wife, the original proprietor may come, and take away his eldest daughter as payment; and if both proprietor and father are dead, children of the proprietor may come, and take away one or more children, male or female, as compensation for the mother. And this ability may run on through one or two generations." This quotation will give the serious reader a view of the custom adopted, in reference to the price paid for the girl or wife. It is important to notice how the price varies, as this has much to do with *forced marriages*, which will be shortly considered. Also, how the course of worrying application may be continued through life, and after death, to the executors or heirs of the deceased.

The true, but distressing, facts connected with this part of the subject, are thus given by another gentleman: "I may have been guilty of assisting fugitive slaves to escape from the States of America into the dominions of Queen Victoria; but here, *in* the dominions of Queen Victoria, what can we Missionaries do, to aid the fugitives who come to us for protection? If we bring or send them to the magistrates, as the law is at present administered, this may be but to rivet their fetters, by transferring the unhappy victims of avarice and lust from an unnatural parent to a brutal master." How sad this picture, how humbling to the pride of Great Britain! how loudly calling for interposition and redress! Is it true? Let those who doubt it, examine for themselves. Quotations could be given *ad nauseam*.

To the position of slavery here assumed, it has been objected that this is not the true view of the subject. It is urged that the custom is similar to the one in the East, in which *dowry* is given with the wife, to secure protection and support for the widow and children, in the event of the man's death. The fallacy of this representation must be apparent, when the whole case is considered. What

has been already advanced fully establishes the fact, that the woman is an article of property; what I now seek is, to show that this is not in the sense of providing for the widow and children after the husband's death. If the reader will take the pains to read carefully the chapter on the Law of Inheritance, he will be assisted in forming a correct view of the subject. There it is distinctly set forth, that the women or female children are parts of the property to be disposed of, on the death of the man, after the same fashion as the cattle, with certain variations.

The following apposite remarks are taken from the *Graham's Town Journal*, of May 26th, 1855; being made in reply to a government official of no mean authority. "The buying and selling of wives—for I will adhere to that term—is the chief, if not the only, cause of COMPULSORY MARRIAGES, which obtains among the people; for the females are seldom consulted, or any attention paid to their wishes or feelings in the matter.

"The father has the power to force his daughter to marry whom he pleases, and she has no redress. And when several men want the same girl, it is no uncommon thing to *put her up by auction* (for it is tantamount to such a sale) to the highest bidder."

On the point of provision for the widow, &c., he says, "When the husband dies, the wife does indeed become a pitiable object. Instead of having any provision to fall back upon, as Mr. ——— states, she herself continues to be the property of her husband's relatives, without having any longer the advantages of a husband's care and protection. And she cannot return to her own friends, without the permission of those whose property she then is,—unless, indeed, she runs away,—in which case she must leave her children behind, as they are not her property, but belong to her husband's relatives, because their cattle purchased her. So if she wishes to enjoy the society of her children, she must continue to reside with her husband's friends. If, however, she decides upon this course, she is met by another evil, she is not allowed to marry again. She may become the concubine, from time to

time, of such men as the husband's friends may approve of. But even the children she may have by them, are neither theirs nor hers, but are considered as the dead husband's, and are the property of his surviving relatives. The only way, then, in which a Kaffir or Fingoe widow can again obtain the honourable name of wife, is returning to her own friends, (either by running away, or with the consent of her husband's relatives,) and by them being married to another husband, when another lot of cattle is paid for her, and her parents enriched a second time at her expense. But then, as I before mentioned, she must forsake, not only her cherished and rightful home, but also her children; and it is hard for even a Kaffir or Fingoe mother to forget the child of her womb. The consequence is, that if they have children, they generally remain with their husband's relatives, and live in a state of concubinage." If such be the provision and protection of polygamy, well may she pray, "Save me from my friends." There is some slight variation in the custom of different tribes, but the principle runs throughout; and all arises out of the fact of the woman being an article of property.

But, apart from the above, the woman neither needs nor requires protection and support. The whole is based upon false premises. It is not with them as among the civilized, where the man must provide for the woman; but, on the contrary, the woman has to support the man, —the household slave must support her master; and hence, when he dies, she is relieved of part of her burden. Bringing up children is not, either, any expense to them. These are rather looked upon as valuable commodities, than expensive human beings; and always form a part of the consideration in the distribution of property.

I close this part of the subject with the following quotation:—"It is common for the youngest, the healthiest, the handsomest girls, to be sold to old men, who perhaps have already half-a-dozen concubines. These old men are rich from the sale of their own children, and the labours of their women, and can therefore offer a much greater number of cattle for a girl than a young man can. Hence it happens that many young men, twenty or thirty years

old, either have no wife at all, or one much older than themselves; while an old man at fifty or sixty has purchased several young girls. Three years ago, a man sixty years of age contracted with the father for a girl about fifteen, by paying for her twenty cows. The girl, from the beginning, remonstrated against being compelled to become the old man's concubine, he having several other women. She was compelled to go through the marriage ceremony, and was driven away from home with her master. She refused to live with him, and ran away. Again she was caught, and sent back; but, unconquered still, she fled again to the kraal of a rich man, whose son she loved. There she received protection: but the owner of the kraal was fined by his chief, because he had received the fugitive, and had compassion upon her. She was again taken, but she declared that they might kill her, but live with the old man, to whom she had been sold, she never would. The matter was finally compromised, by the father of the girl sending a younger and less spirited sister to the old man, in her place. This is only one case out of hundreds which occur."

The above quotation prepares the way for the third part of this subject:—

III. The extensive and intense suffering arising out of polygamy. *Compulsory marriages* are of frequent occurrence; arising out of the fact before stated, that an aged polygamist can frequently give more cattle than a young man. This appeals to the avarice of the girl's father, he being anxious to obtain as many cattle as possible; and, if the girl will not willingly go, he resorts to various kinds of torture in order to compel her. I shall record some facts that have come under my own experience, and then quote some which have come under the experience of others.

The first was the case of a girl, near one of my substations, about ten miles from D'Urban, Natal. On visiting this station, I was informed by our people that a girl in the neighbourhood had recently been subjected to torture, in order to compel her to take an aged polygamist,

who had five or six wives. She was first tied to a post, and literally "*scourged*;" her back being much beaten with a "*reim*," a heavy leathern thong. When this did not produce the desired effect, her inhuman tormentors took one finger of each hand, and tied it tightly above the second joint, until it became very distended, and was ready to burst, by reason of the blood collected there; they then tied her hands behind her, and took a burning brand out of the fire, and blew the heat upon the distended parts; until the agony became so intense, that she at length yielded to the torture, and complied with the demand. As the place was not far distant, and I was anxious to be certified of the truth of all that was stated, I requested a young man to go with me to the place, that I might see for myself. I mounted my horse, and he ran before me until we arrived at the kraal; and, as we came upon the people suddenly and unexpectedly, they were unable to secrete the girl before our arrival.

Upon our arrival, we went directly to the hut where they were; the man came to the door of the hut, and after we had talked a little about "*the news*," I requested to see his new wife. The request was reluctantly complied with. Upon her stooping to come out of the hut, the rags fell from one of the tortured fingers; this finger was beginning to heal. I then requested to see the other. When she took off the rags, nearly the whole was in a putrid state; exhibiting only too plainly how great those sufferings were which she endured, before she complied with the demand of her tormentors.

Another instance which came under my own observation, was that of a young woman who lived about ten miles in another direction. She had been brought under Christian influence, and desired to embrace Christianity. Her parents and friends were anxious she should marry an old polygamist, who had already *ten wives*. To this she objected, and fled to my house for protection. In a short time her friends came, and in a very excited state demanded the girl. I did all in my power to induce them to allow her to remain, but in vain. I knew that I had no power to detain her by force, as they would have

applied to the colonial authority, and I should have been required to give her up. Upon my earnest solicitation, they promised not to force or injure her; but, no sooner had they reached the outside of the town, than they tied her hands behind her, put an ox-rein round her neck, beat her, and drove her before them.

In a few days, I sent my native teacher to see how she was going on. He found her in great suffering, her wrists being much chafed by the thong which had bound them, and one of the fingers much injured; had he been permitted to raise her kaross, he had reason to believe her body would have been found much lacerated. But this was not all; for, whilst they tortured the body, they sought also to afflict the soul. The *isanusi*, or "witch doctor," had been sent for, and was practising his diabolical arts upon her, in order to induce her to change her purpose, and cause her to love the old polygamist; and also to induce her to say that all she had said and done before arose from madness. She attempted, under the pressure of those who guarded her, to describe how the change in her disposition was effected, &c. The whole, however, was the result of torture and astrology. She afterwards tried to escape again, but was caught. Thus the reader will see that not only is the torture of the body resorted to, but also all the arts and abominations of sorcery, to affect and afflict the soul. "The tender mercies of the wicked are cruel."

I will adduce only two more cases, which came under the notice of two other gentlemen. One states: *—"Not a year ago, a cry was heard up on my station, that a young woman had plunged into a lake, well known to be infested by alligators; and, on inquiry, it was found that the father had contracted her to a man so repugnant to her feelings, that death itself was sweeter to her than the marriage; and her father had so hardly pressed her to the marriage, that she plunged into the water to be eaten alive: she was with difficulty rescued by a man, who

* In 1861.

plunged in and dragged her out.* The father swore that if the daughter persisted in her refusal to marry the man to whom he had contracted her, he would thrust her through with his spear. She too ran, and jumped into the Seacow Vley, near at hand, to drown herself."

The last instance I shall quote, is:—"The great thing the father wants, and, in the majority of cases, the *only thing*, is a large number of cattle; no matter what may be the character or the age of the man who purchases his daughter, providing he gets his pay. I have seen girls driven like beasts to their purchasers, whom they utterly despised, whose wives, or rather slaves, they were destined to remain through life.....Some time ago, my heart was pained with a most piteous cry, proceeding from a kraal a short distance from my station. It was from a girl, not fifteen years of age, who was about to be married to a man for whom she had no attachment. She had been, a year before, sold by her father, for fifteen head of cattle, to a man who then had three wives. When this man, according to custom, began to pay his addresses to her, she swore, by the spirits of Dingaan and Chaka, that she would never marry him, or have anything to do with him. She spurned all attempts made to reconcile her to the engagement. Gladly would the poor girl have found protection under our roof, but she well knew that we could afford her no assistance, while within reach of her cruel father. As the season for making gardens approached, her friends became more strenuous than ever in their efforts to compel her to submit, but she continued firm in her resistance. Many times, when she anticipated a visit from her hated purchaser, she fled to *the bush*, or some lonely ravine, where she spent days and even nights. At early dawn of the day fixed for the marriage, the sound of the *mukosi*, 'call to the wedding,' echoed from hill to hill. Almost simultaneously, scores of men, women, and children, decked in their heathen finery, were seen wending their way to the kraal of the bridegroom. All were

* Some time before, a similar case came under my observation, at Pecl's Drift, on the Umgeni river.

assembled but the bride, who was nowhere to be found: the night previous she had fled from her father's kraal, unattended and unobserved. The disappointed guests, finding that the ox could not be slaughtered, nor the nuptial dance carried on, returned to their homes, to await a more favourable summons. Meanwhile, some of the neighbouring kraals turned out, in aid of the father, with spears and clubs, to search for the poor girl, whom they found late in the afternoon in a distant kraal. The father, determined not to lose the cattle paid for her, which he knew would be the case if she was not brought to yield to the man of *his* choice, beat her most unmercifully; and those were the cries which reached our ears, and sank deep into our hearts.

“These two practices of *woman-selling* and *polygamy* are intimately interwoven, naturally acting and re-acting, as cause and effect; and aggravating the evils inseparably connected with each. Thus, *avarice* and *sensuality*, the two vices of our fallen nature which more than any other stifle the better principles of humanity, and debase the whole man, whether in a civilized or savage state, are naturally excited and fostered.”

These are a few instances, out of many that could be given, making apparent the wide-spread oppression and cruelty which prevail throughout heathendom. They are given not merely for the purpose of general interest, but also to call forth the deep commiseration of all Christian hearts, and bring into action those efforts which may lead to the speedy “abolition” of this dreadful slave trade. Not only must every Christian and philanthropist execrate this vile system, but every person who has a manly or womanly soul will seek its utter downfall.

The chapter on the Duties and Responsibilities of the Government contains the author's views in reference to what the government may and ought to do; and the chapter on the Responsibility of the Church, what is called for and expected from all true Christians.

CHAPTER VI.

DIVORCE AND INHERITANCE.

THESE two subjects, divorce and inheritance, are distinct in themselves, but often become so closely intermingled in Kaffir custom and action, as for there to be no incongruity in treating upon both in the same chapter.

The bonds which unite man and wife among the Kaffirs are not either strong or tenacious. A man may dismiss his wife and send her home for a mere trifle, or without assigning any reason at all; or the wife may leave her husband and return to her friends, if she is not satisfied with her lot or treatment. But the one or the other does not take place so frequently as might be supposed, arising mostly from the annoying and almost interminable litigation about the cattle or marriage dowry.

Mr. Brownlee says:—"There is no legal process for obtaining a divorce. A man may repudiate his wife for barrenness, for adultery, or simply because he dislikes her. A man may also repudiate his wife for taking milk out of his milk-sack. It is not necessary to obtain the sanction of the chief. A wife often leaves her husband on the ground of ill-usage, dislike, or jealousy; and if a reconciliation cannot be brought about, the husband can claim his cattle in the same way as the heirs of a deceased husband recover from the relatives of the widow. The children all remain with the father. According to law, the cattle and their progeny are recoverable; but it seldom happens that more than the number originally given are accounted for." From this quotation, it is evident that the veriest trifle is sufficient to occasion divorce, and that the woman may divorce the man as well as the man the woman.

Amongst the English *adultery* is a *sine quâ non* in order

to obtain a divorce; but amongst the Kaffirs this is an offence punishable by *fine*, and *the fine goes to the husband, not the chief*; so that, generally, the man takes the fine and inflicts castigation on his faithless spouse.

The power of the wife to forsake her husband and return to her friends is her only protection from the brutal treatment of her husband; for unless he maim her person by destroying a member or limb of the body, there is no power to curb his relentless violence; but if she is maimed or injured, then only the chief steps in, and *demand a fine for the loss of a part of his property in the person*. But if she has had children, and returns to her friends, she must leave her children behind her, as they are *his property*; *she cannot inherit the property of even her own children*. This alone is often a powerful preventive, as even a Kaffir mother does not like to leave her offspring.

Then, again, if the husband should send her away, *he would lose so much property*, in the work she might perform for him, or the children she might bear him; and he is sharp enough not thus to sacrifice so valuable a part of his goods for a trifle. True, if he has a clear and strong case, he may recover some of the cattle he gave for her; but even this is attended with so long and vexatious a course of wrangling, and such uncertain results, that a man does not like to enter upon it. If he is a downright captious bully, and cares for nought, he may carry the thing through with better success; but even then there are so many cool, awkward cross-questions, that the whole is very annoying. He therefore prefers, if possible, getting another wife, and so treating the offender with neglect, and exacting to the utmost all he can in labour and the management of his children, without sending her away.

If she has any real grievance, and cause of complaint, she can claim an asylum with her father or friends; then, if her husband is anxious for her return, he must obtain it at rather a costly price: *he must go in person to ask for his wife*, when "he is instantly surrounded by the *women* of the place, who cover him at once with reproaches and blows. Their nails and fists may be used with impunity, for it is the day of female vengeance, and the belaboured

delinquent is not allowed to resist. He is not permitted to see his wife, but is sent home, with an intimation of what cattle are expected from him, which he must send before he can demand his wife again; and this process, should it be necessary, may be repeated over and over again, to be closed, in incorrigible cases, (should the woman have borne any children,) by the father's finally detaining his daughter and her dowry together; so that the husband may at length lose wife and cattle both." But if there are female children, he is still a gainer, as they are worth more than the wife with whom he has been so unfortunate. In such a case as the above, the father of the woman would be able to dispose of her a *second time, and obtain cattle from her new husband, by which he is again enriched*; so that, not unfrequently, the father of the woman uses all his influence to get back his daughter, after she has had one child or more, especially if she is a likely person for re-disposal. Thus the game is incessantly carried on, until it is enough to make any man sick, except an avaricious, litigious Kaffir.

INHERITANCE.

The subject of inheritance is one of great interest and importance in both civilized and barbarous nations. Among the Kaffirs it might at first sight appear to be involved in inextricable confusion, arising out of the prevalence of polygamy. Such, however, is not the case; but, on the contrary, everything is arranged in direct and regular order.

Before entering fully upon the subject, one or two particulars must be noticed: the first is that which constitutes their property, which may be regularly and legally transmitted to posterity. Here we are at once met with the fact that what is termed immovable property among the civilized has no existence among the Kaffirs. They have certain recognised, but varying, rights, which exist in relation to the sites of kraals, plough-lands, and pasture-lands; but these do not exist in that absolute manner in

which they may be transmitted from father to son, and claimed as positive possession. The great articles of value are *cattle*, women, and female children; but it is usually supposed that if a man has cattle, with them he can procure women, and children as the result. As will shortly appear, the cattle are disposed of in connexion with the three chief houses of the establishment; but in Natal sisters also are placed in the hands of their brothers as so much property, so that the cattle they may obtain for them may enable them (the brothers) to obtain wives also; thus making the girls an article of property much in the same manner as the cattle.

Another fact is, that the women *cannot inherit property at all*. Mr. Warner affirms:—"Females can inherit nothing, but are themselves property. A married woman is the property of her husband, and when he dies she becomes the property of his heirs; nor can she marry again without their consent."

With these two facts before us, viz., that cattle and females are the articles of value to be bequeathed, and that females can *inherit nothing*, much confusion may be avoided, and the order observed with greater ease.

The first and highest possession to inherit is that of the chieftainship itself. This, as shown in the chapter on their government, is claimed and received by the *eldest son of the "great wife;"* though he may be a minor and have many brothers older than himself, his title is not thereby vitiated or cancelled; he walks boldly up to the throne, and claims it as his inalienable right, and no one disputes his claim.

The order in which the houses and property are arranged is as follows:—"Each wife has a separate establishment. If a man has three wives, their establishments will be thus distinguished: the principal or great wife's establishment will be called the '*Ibotwe*,' the next in rank will be called the '*right hand*,' and the third in rank the '*left hand house*.' If he has less than three wives, the above principle will nevertheless be the rule or guide, as far as circumstances will allow. If he has more than three, they will be attached to one or other of the three

principal houses, but each of these minor houses will nevertheless have its own separate establishment." The usual plan adopted is for the husband, if he has a number of cattle, to apportion some to each of these three recognised "houses," which remain for their use during the life of the husband and father; but upon his death the *eldest son of each separate "house"* takes the whole of the cattle belonging to that house. If the father dies without having divided his property, then *the eldest son of the "great wife"* takes the whole of his father's property. This is his "*birthright*;" and if he should "sell it for a mess of pottage," he would be regarded as insane. The principle which underlies and regulates the whole is really the same as that which prevails in English law: when the father dies intestate, the heir at law takes the whole of his father's property; but when a will is made, the property is divided according to the pleasure of the father. With the Kaffir, the division of his cattle among the *three houses* is simply his being *his own executor*, doing the thing before his death, instead of leaving it for others to litigate about after he is gone; only there is this difference, that in all cases the cattle belong to the eldest son of each house, and are not divided among the whole, whether few or many. With these cattle the eldest son is supposed to be able to procure a wife, and thus lay the foundation of "a new and independent house;" and after he is "settled" his brothers may get wives if they can or how they may, but *not before* he is married.

"*Children belong solely to their father, and the mother has no claim upon them whatever under any circumstances; and when the father dies they pass, together with his other property, to his heirs.*" Should a man have no sons, his property is inherited by his father, if still living; if not, then by his eldest brother of the same house; if there is no brother of the same mother, then the property is inherited by the eldest son of his brother's great wife; in case of a failure of a male in that house, then by the eldest son of the next house in rank, and so on. In the event of an entire failure of brothers, then the eldest brother of his father,

born of the same mother as his father, comes in for the estate.

If in any instance no heir at all should be found, then the property falls back to the chief; as *will be seen in all the above gradations, it never reverts to any female.*

The disposal of the women and girls is so fully treated upon in the chapter on Polygamy that it needs not to be repeated here.



A. LA BIENNE. LITHO. 18. CLIFTON STREET. E.

WARRIORS SLEDDING & FORGING.

CHAPTER VII.

DOMESTIC HABITS AND DAILY LABOURS, ETC.

THE drawing which faces this chapter gives a very natural and remarkably correct representation of the towns, villages, and kraals of the South African natives of whom I am now writing. Their dwellings, houses, or huts, call for our first remark.

The form and size of their houses or huts are there distinctly shown; these are as nearly circular as possible, and constructed on the most simple principle. The space of the ground area varies from fifteen to twenty-five feet, or upwards, according to the wants of the intending occupants.

When one of these original domiciles is to be erected, a circle of the requisite dimensions is described on the ground; a small trench of about six inches deep is then made with a rude iron instrument or pick, and long rods or sticks are inserted, which, being pointed, are forced as deeply into the ground as possible; these meet in the centre overhead, being shorter as they approach either side, when they are again crossed by other rods, meeting at nearly right angles, leaving a space of from one to four inches betwixt each rod: they are tightly bound together with the bark of a running shrub which grows abundantly in the bush, and is as strong, tough, and pliable as cord of equal dimensions. In this manner they make a kind of wicker work, which forms the strong framework of their simple mansion, and becomes so firm and consistent before any thatch is placed upon it, as to enable two or three men to stand upon it without difficulty or injury: under this, inside the hut, light poles or rafters are placed in

a horizontal position; these, again, are supported by upright posts from the ground inside, bearing the pressure from above. This part of house-building falls to the lot of the men. (Some have said the women, but this is incorrect. I have seen many in course of erection, but never saw a woman touch this part of the work.) This being completed, the women bring enormous bundles of long grass, on their heads, for thatch, which they have cut and dried in the sun at the nearest convenient spot; the weight of which bundles is enough to break the neck of ordinary persons. When a sufficient quantity is obtained, it is laid on the framework prepared for its reception, and bound down with bands of the same material as that which fastened the rods, passing both in a perpendicular and horizontal direction over the whole structure, presenting rather a neat appearance when carefully done,—bidding defiance alike to rain and wind and tempest. When housed in these unadorned and apparently frail habitations, the inmates feel as secure as the prince in his mansion of marble or stone. There is a small hole in the side, as shown in the drawing, for the purpose of ingress and egress, through which the occupant or visitor must enter on all fours, if at all; and, when inside, the whole presents a sombre, if not sooty, appearance;—the use of chimneys is looked upon as a grand impertinence: but it is not until the pupil of the eye has somewhat enlarged, that the organ of vision can survey the black abode, with its dusky furniture and dark inmates; and then, often, the first object beheld is a pair of sparkling eyes, shining from their dark sockets, and making the stranger feel somewhat tremulous, as though visiting an enchanted abode, and brought into contact with beings other than human.

The floor inside is laid with the pulverized earth of the ant-hill; which, being impregnated with the glutinous matter infused by these busy, troublesome insects, forms one of the hardest clayey substances known or used. In the centre the natives work a round hole, a few inches deep, with raised sides, two or three feet in diameter, which forms their fire-place, and where their cooking operations

are carried on. In the absence of chimneys, the smoke inside is very distressing to Europeans, or persons unaccustomed to it, but not to these children of nature, who sit on their hams or squat on the ground; the smoke filling the upper area of their dark abode, in which the white novice, standing erect, gets his full benefit of the noxious vapour. A number of men and women not unfrequently join together in the construction of these simple edifices, and one is completed in a few days.

Captain Gardiner thus describes one of these scenes:—
 “The scene here is a busy one: houses in all stages of progress, some in frame, men perched on the top of others thatching; lines of women bearing bundles of grass upon their heads; the young men bearing boughs and fagots; and all moving in order to the tune of a song. A stranger would at once pronounce them a happy people; but their natural vivacity is too often quenched by the rule of despotism, and the dread of a violent death, to permit them long to enjoy such intervals of repose. The huts are more numerous and better built than in the former town; and, to my great relief, are as yet untenanted by rats.”*

There is more room and convenience in these simple abodes than an ordinary observer would suppose; for, in addition to rats, they are the sleeping places of the small calves, young goats, and a number of dogs, cockroaches, &c., &c.; which together make a motley throng, but are unnoticed when people are only accustomed to them; although their varied harsh and grating cries or songs are very inharmonious to the ear of a more refined being than a Kaffir.

The king's palace (as seen in the drawing) exceeds in beauty, solidity, and value, the common hut, in the same proportion as those of princes more illustrious: when properly done, it is worth ten head of cattle.

Their furniture and food afford a practical illustration of the sentiment that

* GARDINER, “Zulu Country,” p. 204.

“Man wants but little here below,
Nor wants that little long.”

A mat made of rushes supplies them with a mattress, (not a downy bed,) and a piece of wood serves as a pillow, as shown in the plate, fig. 19. A calabash furnishes them with a water-vessel, and an earthen pot with kettle, cooking pot, &c. When they sleep, a skin, or piece of cloth or blanket, forms their covering, if they do not lie naked; the feet are placed near the fire in the centre of the house. They seldom suffer from cold in these close abodes; except sometimes towards morning, when they rise and stir the smouldering embers, and nearly bring their cold feet into contact with them; but, by the addition of a little more wood, they are quickly warm, and again lie down to sleep.

Properly speaking, each wife should have one of these huts to herself; so that if a man has five or ten wives, he should have as many separate huts for their accommodation; and the brown or black lady is expected to keep it clean, and in every way fit for the entertainment of her independent lord. If she has children, these of course occupy the same abode.

The number of huts in a kraal varies from one to twenty: our drawing shows ten, and a smaller kraal is seen to the right, containing probably six; but in former times there were, in almost all instances, twenty or thirty in a kraal; which was rendered needful from exposure to enemies. By this means they formed an encampment, and were not so much exposed to danger and destruction.

The kraal or fold itself is the next object. This properly consists of the fences which surround the huts; but the general mode of speaking is to say, “the kraal of such a one,” or “such a kraal,” including thereby houses, fences, and all. The word “kraal” being in this instance used in the same manner as an Englishman would say town, or village, many at a distance have been confused about its meaning, as it has been employed promiscuously with the above terms; but, properly speaking, it is the cattle enclosure, constructed of branches of trees or strong stakes, planted in the ground about two feet apart, and crossing

each other to about seven feet from the ground ; making the whole so high and strong as for men to be unable to leap over it, or for cattle to break it. This inner kraal is very distinctly shown in the plate, with the cattle enclosed. Besides the above, there is another strong fence of similar construction outside the huts, enclosing the whole, and making both cattle and inhabitants very secure. This outer fence is also shown, with the entrance, which is only large enough to admit one beast through at once. To preserve their cattle is a point of first importance, and everything is done to secure this object.

The *site of the kraal* is also a matter of considerable importance with them, but is not noticed by a casual observer. The position is often either on the top of a hill or on its slope. The chief reason of this is, that it secures a dry situation, from which the water quickly flows, and leaves the quantity of manure which soon accumulates comparatively dry, making it much better for the cattle to stand in through the night, or lie down if they please. But the chief object to be secured is a suitable place for stowing away their corn. The cattle kraal is their granary, and beneath a coat of cow-dung one foot thick they make large holes, *just large enough for a slender man to go through the neck*, and then to excavate underneath, in bottle form, until three or four sacks of corn can be deposited therein ; which being done, the opening is carefully sealed, so as to prevent water from filtering through, and then the manure is all levelled over again. Some of these cattle kraals are full of these granaries ; but if they were not on a hill, or in a dry situation, the water would collect in the holes, and destroy the corn. The object for which the corn is put into these holes is to preserve the grain in a sound state. If it is kept out of the ground, a small black insect, called "weevil," eats out the heart of the grain, leaving little beside the husk ; but when the corn is put into these holes, this insect never enters, and they may keep it as many years as they like. The grain acquires a sour taste whilst here deposited, and the principle of vegetation or life is destroyed ; not a single seed will grow if it has been placed here. These, I am aware, appear simple incidents

to relate ; but I think the device is both ingenious and valuable, and enables us to form a more correct idea of the habits of these people than could be done in their absence. If the water gets into these holes, it is quite a sufficient reason to remove the kraal or village to some more suitable spot ; in doing which, after they have taken the thatch off the huts, a number of men join together, and take up the whole framework of the house, and carry it *en masse* to the new locality which they have selected, where they again rear this basket house with but little damage to its rods or binders. The kraal in our drawing is placed in the centre of a hill summit, and takes the slope of the hill on both sides.

The next object of interest is the garden or corn lands, in selecting which great care is taken. Two things have to be secured, if possible, viz., rich soil and abundant moisture ; in order to which low swampy places are often selected, also the skirts of bushes, where, the underwood being cleared away, the soil is both moist and rich.

Having fixed upon the plot of ground, the next thing is to surround it with a strong fence, which ought to be proof against the ox, the elephant, the wild pig, or boar, besides other depredators. The wild pig is a great enemy and fearful scourge, having a longing taste for mealies and pumpkins, and being kept out with great difficulty ; the baboon and monkey are also destructive rascals, and, with insufferable impudence, help themselves to the fine ears of fresh corn. It falls to the lot of the men to construct the fences ; and if they are not well made, the poor woman who has to plough the ground and reap the crops makes great complaints, as well she may.

The hard toil of the female tiller now commences. As soon as the first shower in the season falls, or the rains are expected, she is to be seen in the morning, with her pick in hand, and basket upon her head, quietly walking to her allotted scene of labour ; and probably with a sigh she strikes her pick into the ground for the first time. The weeds and underwood and rubbish to be cleared away are often considerable ; but this she does either by burning it at once, or hoeing it up and col-

lecting it in heaps to burn. When the ground is sufficiently cleared, she sows her seed broadcast; and then, as she works her heavy iron plough, she ploughs the ground and harrows in the seed at one process. The labour now commenced must be her daily task for six or eight long months, without intermission and without cessation; and, if it is in a part where the Sabbath is unknown or disregarded, no day of rest intervenes to break upon this long course of monotonous toil. How merciful the institution of the Christian's resting day!

In this manner she renews her daily task, until a large piece of ground is planted. When the first sown grain has grown four or six inches high, and is accompanied with a prolific quantity of weeds, then the woman must again go over the same ground, hoeing down the weeds and loosening the soil about the growing plant. This process of planting and hoeing is continued until the first corn begins to get ripe, and the long runners of the melon, pumpkin, and calabash cover the ground, with their large fruit attached; when the pick is to some extent laid aside, and "a cottage in a garden of cucumbers" is erected, being a rude structure about twelve feet high. There are a number of upright posts with several poles placed upon them in a horizontal position, so as to make a floor; and upon these a little hut is raised, having a small platform: in this elevated position a watch is kept by day, and, if enemies are near, a shout or song by night, to drive the depredators away.

In the evening the poor woman is seen returning to her hut and home, wending her weary way, with a child on her back, a large basket of corn and pumpkins on her head, or a heavy bundle of firewood, or a calabash of water. She has now to make her fire, grind the corn, cook the food, and prepare for the evening entertainment, when her lord returns from the chase, or the gossip, or the wife-buying and bargain-making business of the day, to partake of his repast, and deal out complaint if not well pleased.

There is not, however, so much of drudgery, slavery, and misery connected with this course of incessant toil as

would at first sight appear to a well regulated, civilized, European mind. It is the thing which is before their minds from childhood's earliest dawn; probably the first associations of thought are connected with the garden in which the daughter learnt to look for, call for, and cry for the hard-working mother; and from that period until she closes her eyes in death, she has nothing else to look for or expect: it thus becomes a part of her being, and all her thoughts, feelings, and associations flow along with it. The evening is spent in talking, or laughing, or playing, or singing, or dancing, or all; and thus life runs on until womanhood succeeds youth, and old age brings to the tomb. "What is man?" "Verily, at his best estate he is altogether vanity!"

The men are verily lords of the creation; to manual labour they are almost entire strangers, having only the garden-fencing, house-framing, and cattle-overseeing, as their small portion; for the rest, they spend their time in visiting, talking of or hearing some new question or subject,—news travels with almost the swiftness of wind with them: in the day-time a number of men often assemble at some given kraal, and spend the whole day in taking about almost nothing. When a bargain has to be made for a wife, or a beast to be slaughtered, or a law-suit to be conducted, they are sure to be present. Hunting the antelope, and other wild animals, also affords favourite amusement; whilst boys knock down birds with their keries, for sport. The boys are mostly employed in herding cattle, or going out to hire amongst their white neighbours; the girls nurse the children, when young, whilst the mother works, and as soon as they are able to lift the pick, begin to work themselves.

Amongst civilized nations, the question is, "What shall we eat, and what shall we drink, and wherewithal shall we be clothed?" but this question is not of equal importance with them; especially in the clothing department, of which they have none.

The married women usually have a beast's skin, brayed and pliable, which is fastened round the loins, leaving the upper part of the body bare; this they bring

over the shoulders when in full dress, or, if carrying a child, it forms the bag in which the child rests, the head peeping out above the top of the skin, which is fastened in front over the breast; thus leaving the hands and arms of the mother quite free, so as to be able to carry her pick in one hand, and a calabash of water in the other, and a load of wood or a basket on the head. The unmarried females have usually not even this small covering; a strip of calico, or some other ornament, three or four inches deep, round the loins, being all; leaving the whole of the other part of the body quite bare, except, possibly, a few ornaments. In the time of Utshaka, the unmarried women were perfectly naked.

The men also are without clothing. They now usually wear a blanket of European manufacture; but this is simply to throw over them to keep them from the cold, and is put off at pleasure. They have a certain nondescript bag, about an inch long, covering a small piece of a certain part of the body, which they, among themselves, call clothing, but which, in the eyes of an European, only makes their appearance more unseemly. But there is not the slightest sense of indecency or shame among themselves in all this; only strangers and foreigners observe it. Of course, the more they mingle with Europeans, the more they become alive to the indecency of such things; and I have seen the young women put their arms over their breasts, trying to cover them, in my presence.

To give a particular account of Kaffir ornaments is not compatible with the limits of this chapter. I may observe in general, that, among the women, these consist chiefly in beads, buttons, and brass wire, ingeniously worked in various devices. The brass wire is made into rings, which are worn on the right arm from the wrist upwards, as may be seen in the engraving; and when they are increased so as to reach the elbow, they become a load in themselves. They work the beads into breast ornaments, necklaces, headbands, wristbands, and, when they want to be at the top of the fashion, upon various parts of their karosses. The buttons are fastened to long strips of skin, which are attached to the top of the kaross behind, and reach down the back to the ground.

The men, however, generally take the feathers of birds, and the teeth, tails, and skins of wild animals. The feathers they place wildly and fantastically in the hair. The tails and skins of wild animals are tied around the arms, the loins, the legs, and the ancles, in various forms and sizes. Often six or ten of these tails hang down from the loins in front, the whole giving a very wild and grotesque appearance. The teeth of wild animals, as the wild dog, monkey, &c., are made into necklaces and other devices; these are supposed to act as charms in various ways, and they will not part with them, unless under pressure of circumstances, or for a very high consideration. If the reader will take a glance at the engravings, he will see the illustration of these remarks.

Their food, as before notified, is also of a very simple kind; they are strangers to the taste of the epicure, and the luxuries of high life. The staple article of consumption is Indian corn, "*umbilo*," to which is added "*ama-bele*," or, as it is called, Kaffir corn, which is a small, round, brown grain, used for food, but often to make "beer," which, undergoing the process of fermentation, becomes intoxicating in a high degree. Besides these, there is a kind of brown nut or bean, which grows underground, and helps to supply their daily wants; pumpkins also are extensively used as an article of food. Milk and flesh are amongst their luxuries; the former, however, is becoming more common, as the people are obtaining more cattle; but instead of being taken sweet, as the English use it, they put it into a calabash, or leathern sack, when it quickly becomes sour, curdled, and thick, and, to an Englishman, disagreeable, but to them savoury.

Mr. John Ayliff, son of the late Rev. John Ayliff, says: "MILK.—Before being considered fit for use, milk requires to undergo the process of fermentation; for which process it is poured, when new, into leathern bags; and, after thickening, it is poured into rush baskets for use, and in this state it is used only by adults, who consider it puerile to drink the new. It forms the chief article of food for all classes, who sometimes for months together use no other. One man only is allowed to touch the milk bags.

He acts as steward, and any person touching it in his absence, unless authorized by him to do so, is regarded as guilty of theft. Two reasons may be assigned for this extreme caution: the first is the dread they entertain of being poisoned, milk being used at times as the medium of administering poison; and an additional guarantee against this is afforded by the practice of the steward being required to taste of every basket of milk before any other person partakes of it; while the second is, that a quantity of milk is always left in the bag to act as leaven to that next poured in, and thus greatly expedites its fitness for use."

The writer at first used to think this a very filthy and repulsive practice. To see a stalwart Kaffir, not the cleanest person in the world, bring a basket of curdled milk,—the greasy basket being anything but inviting to the lover of cleanliness,—and then with his swarthy face take the first drink, was, for a time, very disgusting; but, like other things, custom and use soon deprived even this practice of its forbidding features.

When the crops are gathered in, the grain is threshed, either by being beaten off with sticks, in which exercise the children as well as women join, or by folding it in sacks and beating it off with keries. This being done, it is cleaned by being sifted in the breeze on a fine day, after which a certain portion is set aside to be deposited in the holes, as before described; another portion is reserved for immediate use; and a third to be sent to market for sale, if the quantity reaped will give a surplus to be thus disposed of.

But sometimes there are seasons of drought, when "the heavens are as brass, and the earth as iron;" the clouds for a time have taken their departure, and ceased to pour their watery contents upon the parched earth, whilst the continued heat of an almost vertical sun burns up what remains of vegetation. This is a time of great anxiety to these dependent creatures, and they look again and again for rain; and the poor women, as they go day by day to their gardens, sigh whilst they behold one green patch after another put on a shrivelled yellow covering, until

expectation is cut off, and hope expires,—the grass withers and the corn dies! If their underground granaries are now empty, want stares them in the face, and famine pinches their craving frames. There is no America or Australia from which to import, and no vessels to carry the needful supplies from distant and more favoured climes; they are therefore reduced to the extremity of eating roots,—chiefly large bulbs, with such other esculents as they can obtain. I have seen them prepare this almost tasteless food, and have tried the flavour myself, but was not at all prepossessed in its favour; and those who had to subsist upon it were reduced to extreme debility, and became moving skeletons. But they generally guard against this by reserving corn, not in Egypt, but in their holes, until they are sure of a crop the succeeding year, *i. e.*, supposing they have a sufficient quantity so to do.

In preparing their food for use, they frequently grind the maize or Kaffir corn by a very simple process, but to them perfectly satisfactory. See engraving. This shows their grinding apparatus, (*ugayazi*), which is a large stone, with the inside worked into a deep oval hollow; the grinding stone is a good-sized oval boulder, which is taken by the woman in both hands, and worked about half the circumference; the grain lies behind it, softened by having been soaked in water; the woman kneels on both knees, and then works away with all her might. Whilst working, the grinder draws in the grain from behind, and sends it out in front a soft, malleable paste, ready for cooking. A mat is placed underneath the stone, on which it falls, whilst she replenishes the mill with her hand; and by this simple process the work is admirably performed. This is the most common mode, but sometimes the corn is cooked and eaten whole, without any grinding whatever.

Flesh must be classed amongst their luxuries. It is only occasionally that a beast is slaughtered, and that on great occasions, such as when the marriage contract is sealed, or when the marriage is actually consummated; and also in connexion with the mysterious rites of witchcraft, when the beast is killed by direction of the *isanusi*, to appease

the anger of the ancestral spirit of the departed chief. These occasions excepted, the Kaffirs rarely taste flesh, not being sufficiently wealthy to afford it. But although they have so strong a relish for flesh, they will not touch fowls or fish, except in the time of starvation; the only ones I have heard of who will eat fish are the Amafengu along the Bluff, of whose necessitous condition I have before written. The flesh of the swine also they will not eat; when the wild pig is killed, it must be placed among tigers and wolves, although an Englishman would eat it. Antelopes, however, and hippopotamus, or sea-cow, they will eat, also the buffalo.

The regular cooking pot is shown in the engraving, fig. 8. Some are larger and some smaller, made of clay hardened in the sun, and proof against the most intense heat; these have a cap lid made to fit, of the same material, which covers over the top of the cooking vessel, the part where it joins being pasted round with cow dung, to prevent the smoke entering or the heat escaping.

For drink these people use water,—tea, coffee, fermented and spirituous liquors not being used; except in some instances, when they make tea from a herb which is not very insipid, but acts powerfully upon the kidneys; and beer they sometimes make from the *amabele*, and get drunk upon it.

Utyalla.—In making this “beer,” they have learnt from Europeans to malt the grain, and the regular process of fermentation goes on; they boil it for a considerable time in large clay pots. (See engraving, figs. 5, 6.) Some of these pots are immensely large, and must surprise any one who examines them to find that vessels which will contain so much can be made fireproof with a thickness of clay not exceeding from a quarter to half an inch.

This beer is powerfully intoxicating, and when freely taken whilst fresh, quickly lays the sensualist on the ground; but if only taken in small quantities, the lover of it can drink and talk—drink, and talk, and laugh,—drink, and talk, and sing the whole day through, and the night also; being quite mellow, jovial, and merry,—literally immersed in what he thinks enjoyment.

I was once left in an awkward predicament when travelling in Kaffirland with a Kaffir servant as my only attendant. We came to a kraal about two or three o'clock in the afternoon, and the people appeared very friendly, wishing us to "off-saddle," which I consented to do; the horses were "knee-haltered," and turned out to eat, and I sat down on the grass, whilst my servant went to partake of the hospitality of our host: verily, I did not know that the *utyalla* (beer) was there, or I should have looked sharply after the gentleman. In about a quarter of an hour I called him to "saddle up;" he accordingly brought up the horses, placed the saddles on their backs and the bridles on their heads, and up we mounted. We had not proceeded far before my servant began to make some most extraordinary manœuvres; sometimes he would ride behind me and sometimes before, sometimes in the path and sometimes out of the path; sometimes he would tear away at full gallop, and at others stand quite still; sometimes he would almost murder the horse with unmerciful thrashing, and then allow the poor beast to have its own way. During all these unaccountable performances my temper was put to torture and my patience placed on the rack, especially to see the faithful steed so dreadfully abused: but, after a while, I was convinced, to my sorrow, what had taken place; and to raise a storm was useless, for the poor drunken fellow was too far gone to be affected by any thing I could say; until, at length, after bending and bowing in most ungraceful form, first to one side and then to the other of the horse, he made not a very graceful somersault, exchanging places from the saddle to the ground, upon which he fell as elegantly as a sack of potatoes. However, I was not sorry to see the horse relieved of its monster, and the solid earth bearing his drunken carcase.

My situation now was not the most pleasant, my servant being my guide as well as attendant; I was far from the abode of man, on an unknown path, and liable to wander beyond the reach of recovery, or to fall a victim to the beasts of prey. But I could not help myself, and was therefore obliged to leave my faithless servant lying intoxi-

cated in the path, and the horse feeding close by him. I rode on until the shades of evening began to gather, when, to my great joy, I found the abode of civilized man,—a joy only known to the person who is the subject of it. The worthless mortal made his appearance next day with the horse, not at all improved in appearance by the preceding evening's performances. This beer can only be made when the crops are abundant, so as to enable the people to spare the corn for this purpose.

The preceding general outline will prove the correctness of the common adage that "the real wants of man are few," and that the human frame can not only exist, but be hardy and robust, on the simplest food and commonest fare. Their wants being few, and easily supplied, the Kaf-firs are strangers to those artificial wants which the refinements of civilized society have created; indeed, they look upon them not only as useless and undesirable, but as disagreeable, if not disgusting, and wonder that human beings can be found who will incur so much labour and expense to make themselves miserable.

Smoking prevails to some extent, but is not by any means universal. For this purpose a plant called *dacca* is used when they cannot get the tobacco leaf; this is a powerful narcotic, I judge nearly equal to opium, producing stupidity or madness, as the case may be, but it does not lead to those terrible results which take place among the Chinese. But besides *dacca*, the natives grow a large quantity of tobacco, the seed of which must have been imported; the plant flourishes, and they generally prefer it to the former noxious weed. Of snuff they are passionately fond, and in taking it exceed all the bounds of moderation. Some of the old ladies in England can do the thing rather freely, but here they are fairly outdone, as these people take it by spoonfuls; (see the plate, fig. 15;) until the tears gush out of their eyes, and follow each other in quick succession down their swarthy faces. Indeed, unless this effect is produced, the rest is a mere apology—a sham—a thing to be laughed at and despised. No matter what work they are doing, or whether they are on the path, or sitting and talking at home, the snuff must be

taken with all due form, and you might as well try to move a post as one of them, until the process is completed. Captain Gardiner thus describes the two conjointly,—smoking and snuff-taking:—“*Egoodo* or smoking horn.—The tobacco is placed at the end of a reed introduced into the side of an ox’s horn. The quantity of smoke which is inhaled through so large an opening, unconfined by a mouth-piece, often affects the breath, and produces much coughing; notwithstanding which, the natives are particularly fond of it. Tobacco composed of the dried leaf of the wild hemp, here called *dacca*, is in general use, and has a very stupefying effect, frequently intoxicating; on which occasions they invariably commence, long and loudly, to praise their king,—a soliloquy which has often disturbed me, though at some distance from the hut whence it proceeded. *Dacca* is indigenous throughout the country; and tobacco is frequently seen growing wild near deserted villages; but it has, I understand, been imported. Though smoking is comparatively confined to few, all, without exception, are passionately fond of snuff, and no greater compliment can be offered than to share the contents of a snuff-calabash with your neighbour. For this purpose the hand is extended, and a certain quantity shovelled in by means of a small ivory spoon, the whole of which is then snuffed off from the palm of the hand; and worse than a Goth would that barbarian be, in their estimation, who would wantonly interrupt a social party thus employed. Often have I been obliged patiently to await the disappearance of the last grain, rather than too harshly urge them on, even when on a journey requiring speed.”* The two kinds of snuff-boxes in general use are the pretty calabash snuff-box, which is usually suspended from the neck by a string of beads, or some twisted strips of skins, whilst the second is a short piece of reed, generally carved, having a cork in each end, and carried through a hole in the ear.

In order to keep the body shining and pliable, a plentiful supply of grease is freely smeared over it as often as

* GARDINER’S “Journey to the Zulu Country,” pp. 106, 107.

they can obtain it. The head especially comes in for a full share: the tufts of woolly black shining, and, when the sun is hot, causing the perfume to drop from the points of the delicate ringlets, which, if it falls upon any other part of the body, no great harm is done, but if it should unfortunately fall on the ground, a real loss is sustained.

In addition to the above, red ochre is often brought into requisition, to give a finish to the delicate married ladies, who have their heads clean shaven, with the exception of a small tuft on the top of the crown, preserved for the sake of beauty; (as may be seen in the various figures;) this has almost invariably a large portion of red stone or ochre mixed with a plentiful effusion of oily unction. There is one great advantage, however, which the black beauties derive from this custom, which is, that by having so large a portion of the head perfectly bare, there is less quarter given to what might otherwise prove to be an insufferable number of live stock of small dimensions. The head ring worn by the married men is ordinarily about the thickness of a man's little finger, composed of gum and beeswax, and made into a consistence like india-rubber or gutta-percha; great care and pains are bestowed in preparing and fixing this head ornament, which is only worn by men after marriage. This badge is often the distinguishing mark of manhood being attained. It is generally fastened to the hair, and becomes a fixture, unless occasionally taken down for slight alterations and repairs, or to be newly polished.

The married men, too, generally have the whole of the head cleanly shaven, with the exception of the circle on which the ring rests, as may be seen in the various figures; but the young men have the hair often full length. Rather a ludicrous account is given of the shaving process, in connexion with Udingaan:—"Amongst a thousand droll accounts given of Dinggaan, it is told that his barber, when on duty, dares not look upon his master's face, but so as to see his profile. He breathes upon his *quecu*, (a wretched little knife,) to warm it a little, shaves away a hair or two, and breathes on it afresh. If, by mishap,

the despot turns round, or makes some other movement, the terrified barber runs away to conceal himself in some corner of the hut. After a time he reappears, and commences again the dance of his wretched razor over the face of his sable majesty."

I have now come to the end of this chapter, having touched upon most particulars which will not be brought under more distinct consideration in chapters appropriated to them; and the reader must form his own opinion upon the various topics brought under review. Much simplicity in their manners will be found, together with some things which bear specially hard upon the females. Great ingenuity also appears in connexion with practical utility; and the whole proves this people to be far removed from the mere wandering savage, without home, order, or happiness; but only little advance has been made in the arts of civilized life during the last two hundred years, when the shipwrecked mariners of the "Stavenisse" said they "were supplied with meat, bread, beer, fruit, vegetables, and lodging."

CHAPTER VIII.

SKILL DISPLAYED BY THE KAFFIRS IN MANUFACTURES, ETC.

ACCORDING to the heading of this chapter, my object will be to present to view the original genius of the Natal Kaffirs, as practically displayed in the construction of those various implements of ornament, utility, or defence, which we meet with amongst them; and, probably, admiration will be called forth from those who are far in advance of them in the arts and sciences, when they behold the various ingenious contrivances to which the Kaffirs have resorted, to meet their wishes or supply their wants.

The first in order which will occupy our attention, is, the skill displayed in smelting iron ore, and working in iron and brass.

The drawing exhibits these sons of Vulcan busily employed in the various processes of this important art. Smelting the ore, and forging the implements, are there presented to view, in all their parts and processes. The furnace is a large sand-stone, with a deep hole scooped out either by nature or art, and of such a character as to be proof against the most intense heat; with moulds or pipes inserted in different directions, into which the metal may flow, as the smelting process goes on. A large quantity of charcoal, prepared for the purpose, is placed amongst the ore, and beneath it; when the whole is arranged, a covering is provided, in order to condense the heat, and prevent any from escaping. Into this furnace the small end of an ox's or eiland's horn is inserted, the larger end projecting out to receive the small end of two other horns, each of which comes from one of the

skin bellows, and is carefully secured at both ends, so as to prevent the air from escaping. The bellows are made of two goat or buck skins, with valves, and handles on the top. Each of these bellows is worked alternately by a man, as shown in the drawing: the one in the right hand is just pressed down, and the air exhausted; the one in the left hand is drawn up and inflated, being ready to press down again as the opposite one is drawn up; and thus a constant stream of air is by this simple process poured into the furnace, upon the burning charcoal, which soon becomes so intensely hot as to melt the ore, and cause the metal to flow into the moulds prepared for it, leaving a large portion of the dross in the furnace; and, as soon as the iron thus obtained acquires a consistent substance, the smith takes it out with his rude tongs, and works it into those forms which he desires.

The anvil on which he works is a large hard stone, or boulder, of such shape and dimensions as his wants require: the hammer is ordinarily one of iron, of a very rough make; but stones also are used for this purpose, one of which I possess. The tongs are also of a very rude construction, made of iron; but Mr. Moffat speaks of those he saw as being of the bark of a tree. The drawing sets forth each part of the operations in the plainest manner: the one man blowing the bellows, the other hammering away with one hand, and holding the iron in the other; the stone on which the smith is working, and the manner in which he holds his iron; the furnace with its moulds, and the melted metal shining in them; the basket with the milk, and the calabash with the water, with a number of other indescribables lying about; whilst another gentleman is walking off with the bar on his shoulder. And, according to the following account, they produce iron of no mean description.

This letter was addressed to the Natal Society by Theophilus Shepstone, Esq., the Secretary to Government for the Natives, and may be fully relied upon for accuracy:—

“PIETERMARITZBURG, *October 22nd*, 1852.*

“GENTLEMEN,—I beg to transmit to you, for the purpose of being placed on the table of the Natal Society, a specimen of Natal iron.

“It was smelted by natives, residing on the Umpanza River, in this district, from ore procured on the farm ‘Landsberg,’ belonging to and occupied by Mr. Landsberg, sen., by means of a charcoal fire, and two sets of the native bellows, (similar to those shown in the drawing,) equal in power, perhaps, to two of our common kitchen bellows.

“Having satisfied myself of the correctness of this, and obtained a specimen, I thought it desirable to request a practical blacksmith to make such experiments upon it as would satisfy him of the working qualities of it, as regards those of the English and Swedish iron in ordinary use among us.

“I transmit specimens of each, with the result of the experiments upon them, for your examination, made by Messrs. Ross and Pearson, blacksmiths of this town; they are marked respectively, 1, 2, and 3.

“1, is the best Swedish iron; 2, Natal iron; 3, technically called ‘*best*,’ best English iron.

“Precisely similar experiments have been tried on each, and the result would show that Natal iron is far superior to No. 3; and, considering the primitive manner of its production, quite equal to No. 1. Messrs. Ross and Pearson consider that, under the advantages of equal skill in smelting, &c., it would be superior. They state it to be more malleable, and consequently easier to work, in its present state, than Swedish iron.

“The long twisted bar is also of Natal iron, and was so twisted in my presence,—*cold*. I need scarcely say that the other experiments were made with the iron in a cold state.

“I regret that a specimen of the ore from which this iron was smelted, does not accompany the metal; but I will endeavour to supply the deficiency in a few days.

“I have, &c.,

T. SHEPSTONE.”

* “Natal Mercury,” December 29th, 1853.

Mr. Moffat, in his popular work, gives the following account of this part of native art, as displayed in the interior, several hundred miles to the north of Natal:—

“Among the different tribes congregated in this wilderness part of the world, the Bahurutsian refugees were the most interesting and industrious. Having occasion to mend the linch-pin of my waggon, I inquired for a native smith, when a respectable and rather venerable man, with one eye, was pointed out. Observing, from the cut of his hair, that he was a foreigner, and inquiring where he practised his trade, I was affected to hear him reply, ‘I am a Mohuritsi, from Kurrichane.’ I accompanied him to his shop, in an open yard at the back of his house. The whole of his implements consisted of two small goat skins for bellows, and some broken pots for crucibles; a few round green boulders for his anvil, a hammer made of a small piece of iron, about three quarters of an inch thick, and rather more than two by three inches square, with a handle in a hole in the centre, a cold chisel, two or three other shapeless tools, and a heap of charcoal. ‘I am not an iron-smith,’ he said, ‘I work in copper;’ showing me some of his copper and brass ornaments, consisting of earrings, arm-rings, &c. I told him I only wanted wind and fire. He sat down between his two goat-skins, and puffed away. Instead of using his tongs, made of the bark of a tree, I went for my own. When he saw them, he gazed in silent admiration; he turned them over and over; he had never seen such ingenuity, and pressed them to his chest, giving me a most expressive look, which was as intelligible as, ‘Will you give them to me?’ My work was soon done, when he entered his hut, from which he brought a piece of flat iron, begging me to pierce it with a number of different-sized holes, for the purpose of drawing copper and brass wire. Requesting to see the old one, it was produced, accompanied by the feeling declaration, ‘It is from Kurrichane.’ Having examined his manner of using it, and formed a tolerable idea of the thing he wanted, I set to work; and, finding his iron soft for piercing holes through nearly a half-inch iron plate, I

took the oldest of my two hand-saw files to make a punch, which I had to repair many times.

“After much labour, and a long time spent, I succeeded in piercing about twenty holes, from the eighth of an inch to the thickness of a thread. The moment the work was completed, he grasped it; and, breaking out into exclamations of surprise, bounded over the fence like an antelope, and danced about the village like a merry-Andrew; exhibiting his treasure to every one, and asking if they ever saw anything like it. Next day I told him, that as we were brothers of one trade, (for, among the Africans, arts, though in their infancy, have their secrets too,) he must show me the whole process of melting copper, making brass, and drawing wire. The broken pot, or crucible, containing a quantity of copper and a little tin, was presently fixed in the centre of a charcoal fire. He then applied his bellows, till the contents were fused. He had previously prepared a heap of sand, slightly adhesive, and by thrusting a stick, about two-eighths of an inch in diameter, like the ramrod of a musket, obliquely into this heap, he made holes, into which he poured the contents of his crucible. He then fixed a round, smooth stick, about three feet high, having a split in the top, upright in the ground; when, taking out his rods of brass, he beat them out on a stone with his little hammer, till they were about the eighth of an inch square, occasionally softening them in a small flame, made by burning grass. Having reduced them all to this thickness, he laid the end of one on a stone, and rubbed it to a point with another stone, in order to introduce it through the largest hole in his iron plate; he then opened the split in the upright stick, to hold fast the end of the wire, when he forced the plate and wire round the stick with a lever-power, frequently rubbing the wire with oil and fat. The same operation is performed each time, making the point of the wire smaller for the less hole, till it is reduced to the size wanted, which is sometimes about that of thick sewing cotton. The wire is, of course, far inferior in colour and quality to our brass wire. These native smiths, however, evince great dexter-

ity in working ornaments from copper, brass, and iron."*

I have thus placed before the reader, first, the manner in which these ingenious, interesting people smelt the native iron ore, and work it into the many forms they desire; and, secondly, from the foregoing quotation, the manner of working brass is distinctly presented to view. It becomes an interesting question, as to how long these ingenious arts have been in operation among them. From the earliest notice of the Natal Kaffirs, we find these arts and manufactures prevailed in their country. Thus the shipwrecked mariners of the Dutch vessel "Stavenisse," on their return to the Cape, in 1687, nearly two hundred years ago, report: "The captain of that vessel, William Knyff, landed here in a very miserable condition, on the 1st of March, from Terra de Natal, in a small vessel built there by himself, three of his officers, seven of his crew, and nine shipwrecked Englishmen..... They agree in describing the natives of that country as very obliging, kind, and hospitable; and state that some Englishmen who could speak the language, had been prompted by curiosity to travel fifty mylen inland, where they found people who very readily presented them with meat, bread, beer, fruit, vegetables, and lodging; *they found metallic ores among those natives, and the art of smelting them*; not indeed gold or silver, though the English say that a certain chief, named Ingoose, wore a bracelet which was much heavier than the common neck rings; from which circumstance they conjectured it to be gold."† The underlining in this quotation is my own, as bearing upon the subject directly under consideration; from which we are led to suppose that, two hundred years ago, these arts were existing, and practised in an equal degree of perfection with the present day. These facts fully prove that for many years or ages past this people were not in that untutored state of barbarism and savagism which excludes the arts and operations of civilized life; but, on

* MOFFAT, pp. 465-468.

† CHASE, "Natal Papers," vol. i., p. 6.

the contrary, that much has existed which must raise them considerably above the mere savage.

Of good iron ore, the country is full. I have walked over it, and handled it; and there are, in certain localities, innumerable holes, from which the ore has been excavated; but who first informed these people that that dark unsightly stone, that apparently worthless rock, contained this most valuable mineral? for, to them, it was of greater practical utility than gold to the Englishman, as it met the demand which was to them most pressing. And if this ore contained this valuable metal, who taught them that intense heat would cause the particles to fuse, the metal to separate from the dross, and run off in distinct form? And then, who instructed them in the art of manufacturing it into many various forms, for pleasure, war, or utility; the yielding metal thus flowing before their eyes? These are interesting questions, but the answer to them cannot be given, as the earliest records show that these arts existed, in their present state of perfection, for ages past.

Brass and copper are in extensive use amongst them, and are highly valued, especially for ornaments; but I have never learned with certainty whether the ore was obtained in this country, or whether they have obtained it only from Delagoa Bay, and the various vessels which have been wrecked along the coast from time to time. That they have obtained a large quantity in this manner is beyond doubt; but whether they have at any time found the ore in the country, is still problematical. My impression is that they have obtained and smelted the ore in this land, like those of whom Mr. Moffat writes.

In some parts, if not in all, the profession of smith is not only secret, but ranks among the highest known among them; being confined to one particular family, and transmitted from father to son: this is more especially the case in reference to brass smiths. The family generally resides near the king or chief, and is held in high repute. Picks or hoes, for ploughing the ground, axes and assagais, are the articles mostly manufactured out of iron; and the execution is often of the most respectable

kind. These three articles meet their most pressing demands, in digging, fencing, and fighting. The brass articles made are almost innumerable in form and device, from the thin wire to the heavy bangle; and as they are used for ornament, taste and art are taxed to the uttermost to create some new fashion, and supply the demand when created; the processes being very slow, and the manufacturer being in no haste, as there is no danger of the applicant turning saucily aside, and saying, "I will go to another forge, or foundry, and be supplied with what I cannot get here!"

Having thus at some length given an account of the smelting, forging, and manufacturing processes in iron and brass, I shall now treat more generally upon the different implements, arms, and ornaments, found in common use.

In arms, the assagai stands first in importance, being the only offensive weapon in use, except the heavy knobbed kerie. The different kinds of spears, or assagais, are shown in the drawing. 21 is the stabbing assagai, or *trua*; but we shall first make a remark or two upon 22, which is the assagai, or spear, *incusa*. This is the most ancient weapon, and the only one known of the kind, until Utshaka introduced the *trua*. The *incusa*, spear, is the one still in use by most of the Kaffir tribes, in what is termed Kaffirland proper; *i. e.*, between the Natal Colony and the Cape Colony, along the coast; but it has almost passed away among the Natal tribes, as well as entirely among the Amazulu. The blade is made of iron, ten or twelve inches long, admirably bevelled off on both sides to the sharpness of a knife, and gradually pointed to the end. It is thus like a sword with two edges, only being formed for entering the body rather than for amputation, and having a regular slope from the point upwards, and both edges sharp, there is no resisting part; so that when it enters the body only slightly, it makes a deep incision, or a frightful gash, inflicting often a deadly wound. The handle is a beautiful straight rod, about half an inch or a little more at the bottom, where the blade of the assagai is inserted, and neatly bound round

with narrow strips of wet raw hide, or skin, and made perfectly secure; from this part it gradually tapers off to a diameter of a quarter of an inch or less, at the top or end. The execution is such as to make it quite worthy the appellation, "as straight as a dart."

This spear is thrown in a manner very different to that which would be ordinarily supposed, not at all like throwing sticks or balls. The hand is raised to a level with the ear, the elbow forming an acute angle, the palm of the hand being turned upwards. The assagai, or dart, is then taken about the middle of the handle, and nicely balanced, being held between the thumb and fingers, and resting on the upper part of the palm of the hand; when about to be thrown, it is twisted round quickly, and moved backwards and forwards with rapidity, until the whole vibrates, and appears instinct with life, when it is thrown with great force, and flies quivering through the air, being directed with deadly aim, and thrown with fatal effect; so that the antelope or man lies in his death struggle on the ground.

21 is the *trua*, or "stabbing assagai." This weapon was not known until Utshaka's day; but that mighty warrior finding the spear too uncertain in its effects, and withal allowing the enemy a good opportunity of escaping when beaten, resolved to alter it; and, in its stead, introduced the *trua*. The blade of this is longer than the former, being from ten to sixteen inches long, and from two to three inches broad, and altogether much stouter, containing probably two or three times the quantity of iron; but being made in the same tapering manner, and brought down to sharp edges on each side. The handle is also proportionately shorter and stouter, being adapted for heavy hand-to-hand fight; here is nothing slender or vibrating, as in the last instance; so that when these fierce warriors seize each his victim, to conquer or to die, hand to hand, heart to heart, the shock is terrible in the extreme, and the consequences fearful to contemplate.

23 is a barbed spear: the blade is short, broad, and light, and the edges jagged; so that if it enter the body

at all, it is difficult, if not impossible, to take it out without cutting the flesh and lacerating the parts. This is not altogether unlike the arrow of the Bushman, only that this is smaller, and the point is dipped in the most virulent poison; so that if it pierce the body in the slightest degree, the wound must be fatal.

20, *isihlunga*, is the "war-shield," in which the Kaffirs take great pride. Only two of these are made out of a large ox's hide. They ordinarily measure about five feet high, and probably two feet six or three feet broad. Down the centre a strong rod is fixed, through the incisions which are made in the skin; it is held by the centre of this rod in the left hand; and when they are out, it does very well so long as the weather is fine; but if the wind is rough, it is very awkward to carry; and sometimes when they have pursued an enemy, running two or three days in succession, they have thrown down the shield,—a Zulu would run down any other native in the country,—so that to escape by flight was often impossible. Or, if copious rains fall, it becomes soft and useless, but this is not often the case. The rod is generally ornamented at the top with feathers. This shield is so large as to protect the whole body, if the weapon of the enemy is only thrown, but is not of equal avail in close fight. The colour of the shield is also a matter of great interest, as to whether it is black, or white, or red, black-spotted, red-spotted, or streaked; the different colours of the shield are the marks by which different regiments of warriors are distinguished. White and black, I believe, take the first rank among the Amazulu; and when they are armed, in a body, they present a very imposing appearance.

Trau is the "dancing-shield," and also taken on their ordinary visits and journeys; the former cannot be thus taken, as, being an instrument of war, it must not make its appearance in the dance-kraal; this would be a capital offence. On their festive occasions, the shield answers the purpose of a drum; and, being well beaten by practised hands, adds considerably to the power of the chorus and force of the song. There is not equal care

taken in the preparation of this shield with the former; and it is both much smaller and lighter, being made from a calf skin.

6, *tyindugo*, "knob kerie," used in war; and a fearful weapon it is, if a person is near enough to be struck by it; being used either to knock down the antelope, or beat out the brains of a man, as the occasion may be. Let one of these athletic men strike his victim with force with one of their heavy instruments, and the probability is that at one blow he falls to rise no more. The other keries and sticks are usually carried in the hand in their ordinary travels, but are not regarded as war weapons; with these they can disable an antelope, knock down a bird, or kill a serpent.

The wooden spears are nearly the same in form as the assagai, but are rather used for ornament than warlike operations; they are often neatly made, and tastefully carved.

Having noticed the weapons of war, we now come to describe the implements of husbandry and the arts of peace. Of these many interesting specimens are found, which display a fertile mind and inventive genius.

5, *jubeza*, "beer pot;" and 6, 7, and 8, *udiu*, "milk pots," are all composed of clay. These are made by first reducing the red clay to a fine powder, and then working it into a proper consistency for moulding. When this is done, the first layer of the bottom is carefully laid, to be dried in the sun; as soon as this is sufficiently dry and set, a second layer is gently drawn over it, the edges all round being brought out a little further than before. This process is repeated again and again until the vessel is of the size required, and has taken the shape they wish; but great care is needful to prevent it from drying too fast or too much, for then the whole will be marred, cracked, and spoiled. These vessels vary in size from a toy or snuff-box, to a huge boiler, that will hold thirty or fifty gallons; and all must bear the strongest heat which can be applied for cooking purposes. That which is most surprising is, that they can make vessels so large, and

compact, and solid, but at the same time so thin, that frequently they are only from an eighth of an inch to a quarter of an inch thick. I have taken up broken pieces which have been as fine and hard as fine-grained stone. Forming the neck and making the lid, as shown in Figure 5, require great care and skill, to get them the proper size and shape; and when the cooking process is going on, this lid is placed over the neck of the pot, and plastered round with cow-dung.

Fig. 18, *ugayazo*, is their "corn mill," and is the most simple thing that could be devised; and yet, with its simplicity, admirably answers the end designed. It is merely a large stone, often a boulder, with an oval hollow scooped or worked out. The grinder, or wheel, is a small oval boulder, just long enough for the women to place both hands upon it; the man never uses it. Beneath the mill a mat is placed, to receive the ground corn; the woman then takes a portion of Indian corn, well soaked, and kneeling down, seizes the grinder-boulder with both hands, having placed a little corn behind it, and then sets to work rubbing with all her might; the boulder-grinder taking just enough in, and turning just enough out, to keep the whole going. The ground corn comes out a soft malleable paste, prepared for cooking, without yeast or leaven; sometimes they make loaves, and boil them, and sometimes thick porridge. The writer has many times had to make breakfast, dinner, and tea, upon this simple diet, and been thankful for it too. The process is much more quick than would be ordinarily supposed.

Wood is manufactured into almost an endless variety of forms, and applied to almost every kind of purpose,—from the tiny spoon to the great arm-chair, and from the plain block pillow to the most neatly carved milk vessels.

The chairs, on several of which I have sat, are cut out of a solid block of wood, six feet long, and three feet in diameter. What a herculean task would an Englishman think this to be!—with a small hatchet, or a sharp piece of iron, to pare down and cut off this large block, until

legs, seat, and back appeared; and then the price of the whole to be two or three shillings!

Figure 19, *tsigamelo*, "wooden pillows;" these are variously constructed, from the plain block to the one with eight legs, all cut out of a solid piece, coloured black in certain parts, by being burned with hot irons, sometimes carved with pretty devices. Either their skin or their skull must be very hard, for them to be able to sleep on substances so unyielding; but this they do.

Figures 12 and 13, *tsiyenge*, are wooden vessels made for general purposes; some of these are very ingeniously wrought, and carved with great taste; and in addition to what is seen in these representations, they have lids made in various forms, also neatly carved, and made to fit well; presenting a neat, chaste, and beautiful appearance. These also are cut out of a solid piece of wood; the inside being scooped out by a piece of shark iron, or the edge of the assagai. The smallest are often long and narrow, which are commonly used as the milk-pail, and answer the purpose as well as anything I have seen: being stuck between the knees of the milkman, and the top reaching near the cows' teats, they allow very little milk to be wasted.

Figure 11, *toyinxembo*, "wooden spoons;" these show some of their devices in this species of manufacture; they are often beautifully made, and carved with great taste and art, being made out of a hard, close-grained wood, which does not easily either crack or break, probably the red-milk wood. The writer was one day in company with an English gentleman, who was opening a large box, newly arrived from England; a number of natives were standing by, when, amongst other wonderful things, out started some wooden spoons, manufactured by whom I know not; but when these black gentlemen saw them, they burst forth into loud laughter, and made all sorts of grimaces at these fine specimens of English taste and skill, looking on them with the most supreme contempt, and wondering that a nation so great should turn out articles so contemptible, and so far beneath

their own productions. These also are cut out of the solid block.

Figures 15, *jutyass*, are "ivory snuff-spoons and hair-combs." They literally take snuff by spoonful; they pour out of their boxes a small heap into the palm of the hand, and being set down, they deliberately snuff up one spoonful after another of the delicious tobacco-dust; and the man or master who would disturb them before the last grain is quaffed, and the tears duly wiped from the face, would be a cruel barbarian, an insufferable tyrant. In making the comb part, great patience is requisite; as, to shave the solid piece of ivory to the proper size, and then saw the long teeth with a rough piece of iron, is no small task.

Figures 14 and 16, *eihlu*, are two different kinds of snuff-boxes: the large-bellied one, with the beautifully formed narrow neck, is the small calabash, with the inside carefully scooped out, and a large storehouse made for the precious morsels; it has a small cork at the top; these also are often nicely carved, and tastefully ornamented with a necklace of beads. 16 is made from a short piece of bamboo, or reed, has a cork at each end, and is often worn in the ear, performing the twofold office of ornament and utility; but not looking very tasteful to an English connoisseur. The greatest care is taken to get these vessels replenished when the supply is exhausted; almost better be without anything than without snuff; and when they meet, they are quite cosy one with another, giving the most expressive looks, as well as tender and earnest words, in order to get a spoonful from each other.

9 and 10, *tzinkezo*, are "calabash-spoons," or bowls, or ladles, or all in one. The calabash of proper size and form being obtained, it is cut through the middle, and the inside scooped out, leaving a very convenient vessel to perform the office of the three articles above-named; making it serve the purpose of a spoon to eat porridge, a bowl to drink water out of, and a ladle for every purpose they think fit.

Figure 1, *imbenga*, "a small basket made of grass," that common every-day thing, the food of beasts and

flames; this common natural production is by these ingenious people converted into a thousand useful purposes for every-day life. The specimen shown in the figure is one in which great care and skill are required in the construction. The material is thin wiry grass, taken and placed together, making a round body, from the thickness of a small lead pencil, to a rod half an inch in diameter. This is laced with the fibre taken from the inside of the bark of the tree, and in all instances regulated according to the demand. Having made the centre of the vessel in the same manner as a straw-bonnet maker would the centre of a hat crown, only with incomparably more trouble, and a hundred times stronger, they then lace on course after course, until the whole is complete, making it just the size and shape they wish. And so strongly is it made, and so tightly laced together, that they will not tear, and water and milk will not run through them. The making of the neck and construction of the lid require great care and skill, and are often marked with various pretty and ingenious devices; the whole is done so cleverly, that the basket may often be raised by the lid without its coming off.

Figures 2, 3, and 4, *igomee*, "mealie baskets," or baskets to carry their corn in, or anything else they please; these are constructed in the same manner as the one already described, only proportionately thicker and stronger, as required for the purposes to which they are applied.

Figure 17, *guba*, "harp," the only musical instrument to which they have applied their minds and hands; and certainly it is a very sorry affair. The bow is of wood, and probably the entrail of a beast forms the chord; a small calabash is attached to the bow, as represented; this they strike with a reed, or stick, which vibrates upon the bow and chord, and produces a monotonous unmeaning sound, from which you turn with disdain.

Figure 18, *ebetyo*, "apron." This is composed of the skin of a goat or buck, the skin of the legs forming the string by which it is bound round the body—above the breasts of the married female, but never seen on

the single maid: it is often ornamented with balls and beads.

Such is a general outline of the various arts as known and practised among the Kaffir races. Of science, we can say nothing; for, although they have rules to guide them, these are so simple and varied as to affect none beside themselves.



RIO NEGRO, 18...

REMOVAL OF...

CHAPTER IX.

MODE OF TRAVELLING AND POWERS OF ENDURANCE.

THE engraving here given illustrates the manner in which the inhabitants of a Kaffir kraal or village travel when they remove from place to place. Male and female, old and young, with their small household goods or furniture, are faithfully presented to view. This drawing is not a caricature, but taken from real life.

The old man, probably the father and head of the kraal, leads the way, whilst another elderly man brings up the rear; it will be observed that these two honoured personages have no burdens to carry; but, with these exceptions, each in the company, not excepting the least, takes his or her share in bearing a portion of the "household stuff."

The woman with the child on her back, a load upon her head, and a brayed-skin kaross hanging from her loins, is true to life: the young woman behind is a fair specimen of these young ladies before marriage. The number of women and children in the procession is not so large as may sometimes be found. The weight carried is proportioned to the strength of the bearer. Some of the journeys on foot performed in this manner are long and fatiguing. It will be observed that these pedestrians *walk in single file, one behind another; they never walk in pairs. Generally their footpaths or tracks are crooked; they literally "tread in each other's footsteps."* The women and children will walk thirty or forty miles a day without difficulty, the men much more; this effort they will repeat day after day, subsisting only on maize or Indian corn. Some of the Zulu warriors would run down any of their

enemies, continuing the chase for three days in succession.

It is also proper to observe that these native travellers have no inns or houses of accommodation at which to stop during the night. They may get to the kraal of some friendly person and remain for the night, and often do ; but otherwise they bivouac in the bush, which to them is no great hardship. When they arrive at a suitable spot, they unbind their burdens, make a fire, cook the food (corn), eat, drink, talk, laugh, lie down to rest, and sleep soundly until the morning ; not, however, usually, without keeping one on watch, to feed the fire and keep guard against the approach of wild beasts or savage men. In the morning they rise up and pursue their journey the same as the day before, and so on until they reach the place to which they are going.

Sometimes, when not poor, they have " pack bullocks," that is, bullocks or oxen that have been trained to carry burdens on their heads, tied fast to the horns with reims, or to carry a person on the back. The boys often begin to train these when only large calves ; they have no saddles, as a matter of course, but often bind a skin over the back by means of a stout reim : if they have not a skin, they bind the hide of the beast with a reim only ; otherwise, the skin of the animal is so supple and loose, that it is almost impossible to sit upon it.

The ladies of an European court would be a little astonished at the following piece of court etiquette, as described by Captain Gardiner, which took place at Udingaan's capital :—" This morning, long before daylight, I was awoke by the vociferations of a man running through the town, and shouting as he went in the most peremptory tone. Not long after this hoarse salute, hundreds of female voices, in pleasing concert, again broke the stillness of the night, by a song which became still louder and louder, until it at length as gradually passed away, and all was again still. On inquiry, as soon as the people were about, I found that an order had suddenly been issued by Dingaana, that every female should instantly leave the town, for the purpose of procuring fencing

bushes at Imbelli-belli. These unfortunate drudges were accordingly obliged to rise at his bidding, and commence a walk of ten miles at that unseasonable hour; notwithstanding, they sang as they went one of the most melodious songs I have ever heard.

“In the afternoon the women returned from Imbelli-belli, bearing large bundles of bushes upon their heads, and singing, as they passed along, the following words, the same which they also sang in the night,—

“*Akoosiniki ingowuyana iziswe.*

“CHORUS,—*Haw—haw—haw—haw.*

“Literally, ‘Why don’t you give—lion—the nations?’”

English women would find other employment than that of singing “the most melodious songs;” they would be in some danger of violating the promise made to “obey” at the hymeneal altar, and be tempted to fierce abuse instead of praise. Happily for European ladies, under the enlightening and elevating influences of Christian civilization, woman has attained that status in the social scale, in which she has become the companion and helpmeet of man, not his working slave.

But this is not the only manner in which the Kaffir woman’s frame must bend beneath the oppressive load; she must do the work of bearing burdens,—the work of the ox, the ass, and the horse, in all their proceedings. If the corn has to be conveyed from the garden to the house, she must carry it; if the water has to be brought from the fountain or stream, she must bring it; if the enormous bundles of thatch to cover the house, or wood to make the fire, are to be carried, she must crouch beneath the load; in fact, whether it be a large thing or a small thing, whether heavy or light, she must be summoned by her lord to bear it. By constant use they are able to poise even the most difficult and unsteady article on the head, so that it rarely happens that the hand is raised to steady it; they are therefore able to carry a child on the back, a load on the head, a pick in one hand, and a calabash of water in the other, at the same time.

When the different articles for sale, as pumpkins, corn, mats, or what else, have to be conveyed to market, the women must carry them, whilst a man goes with them to effect the sale or receive the money; but he takes no share of the burden.

When they remove from one part of the country to another, the province of the man is to drive the cattle, carry the assagai and kerie, knock down flying birds, or spear the fleet antelope. There is no dog-tax in the country; so that the number of the canine tribe that attend them in their journeyings is great. Dogs seldom go mad in South Africa; although the country is hot, cases of hydrophobia are scarcely known. The dogs start the game, and help to run it down; there are no "game laws" in the country. The women, as before stated, carry the goods.

The men are fine pedestrians. My opinion is that they can endure much more labour than the horse. A good horse will travel fifty miles a day, five days in succession, if well attended to; but these men would keep it up for a much longer space of time. For many years they conveyed the post through Kaffirland in a very few days, scarcely ever meeting with accidents in crossing swollen rivers or traversing the most rugged paths.

In travelling, either on long or short journeys, they take some weapon with them, either assagai, or kerie, or stick. One reason of this, as before stated, is to kill game; another is to be provided against the attacks of serpents or other wild animals. Serpents everywhere abound, many of which are intensely venomous; and, as these venomous reptiles often cross the path, or lie prepared to strike their enemy, the Kaffir usually tries to dispatch them. For, although, under other circumstances, he would treat them as household gods, and not allow any injury to be inflicted on them; yet now he will kill them if possible. One day when I was ascending a hill in company with some Kaffirs, a serpent issued from the grass, and being pursued, ascended a tree, but the men succeeded in killing it; so intense was the poison that, if it had bitten any person, he would have died before he could

have gained the top of the hill. On another occasion, a man and a boy went out to get honey ; and having found a nest in the hole of a tree, the man wished the boy to put in his hand, as the hole was too small for him ; when, to his horror, the lad put his hand on a serpent : he drew it out quickly, but the viper darted forth and bit him ; he died the same evening.

Another enemy against which they have to guard is the crocodile, which abounds in the rivers, and is especially dangerous when the rivers are swollen, which the Kaffirs have to cross naked.

There are three general orders of crocodiles. The alligators, or caymans, are found in America ; the real crocodile belongs especially to Africa, and what is called the gavial to Asia. The great strength of these furious reptiles has been celebrated from antiquity :—“ He esteemeth iron as straw, and brass as rotten wood ; he laugheth at the shaking of a spear.” The Egyptians were accustomed both to worship and eat them ; and the nations on the western coast still worship them, an account of which may be seen in Dr. Beecham’s “ Ashantee.” I am not aware that any superstitious reverence is felt towards them in these parts by the natives ; but rather dread of the damage they do to their flocks and herds, and the danger of fatal consequences to which they are themselves exposed. It is said that the crocodile of the Nile has sixty-eight teeth, the common alligator seventy-six, and the gavial of the Ganges one hundred and eighteen. I saw one at Natal, but did not count the number of his teeth ; they present a most terrific appearance.

Their great power in the water is displayed by the manner in which they seize their prey and drag it in. It may be a goat, or an ox, or a child, or a man ; but when the monster once grasps its prey, it rarely leaves its hold. The reader must not forget that the rivers are without bridges, with often reedy banks, which afford perfect cover for the alligator. The time most suitable for securing the object is when there is much water in the river, and it cannot be crossed quickly. If a goat comes to drink, it is seized whilst so doing, and easily dragged in and dispatched. If an ox

comes down, it is seized by the nose, after the fashion of a dog pinning a bull. If the ox starts back, and drags the alligator out of the water, it will probably leave its hold; but if the ox yields and holds down its head, it is soon dragged under the water and drowned; thus being made an easy prey to the destroyer. But if a human being is the object, he has to be seized whilst in the water. On one occasion, the boy of my native teacher was crossing the Umgeni river, in company with a man, who was carrying a bullock's head: the boy was seized, dragged under, and heard of no more; the man threw down the bullock's head in the water, and made his escape. A very powerful, athletic man near this drift was called "the king of the drift," having crossed it at all times without accident; but at length, "trying once too often," he was seized by the fleshy part of the thigh, and, as the beast had a mouthful, he made his escape; the man was long before he recovered, and looked tame enough when I saw him.*

Among other instances of dangerous and fatal attacks from these terrible monsters, I quote one or two from the "Natal Mercury:"—"As two Kaffirs were crossing the Umgeni, a few days ago, at the upper drift, one of them was seized by an alligator, and severely lacerated on the thigh and arm. His companion, in trying to rescue him, directed the wrath of the animal to himself. Leaving hold of the first victim, it seized the other in the side between its huge jaws, and rapidly disappeared with him. Thus the poor fellow lost his life in saving his companion. These frequently-recurring cases of fatal accident by these voracious reptiles strongly point out the necessity of pontoons being provided by government for the passage of the principal rivers at the point of traffic."

And again:—"We deeply regret to announce that serious injury has been received by our esteemed fellow-townsmen, the Rev. J. A. Butler, of the American Mission, from the attack of an alligator, whilst crossing the Umcomas, on horseback, after leaving a station on the other side of that river, on his return to that of the Rev. W. Ireland. The ravenous animal, we understand, first

* A good bridge now spans the drift.

attacked the horse, and afterwards seized Mr. Butler in the thigh, dragging him from his horse. He was providentially able to hold on by the mane, otherwise he must inevitably have been carried off, and have perished. In this position he and the alligator were drawn by the giratory motions of the terrified horse amongst the reeds at the side of the river, and Mr. Butler was rescued by the natives, who were providentially on the spot, and who beat the alligator with sticks. Mr. Butler received very extensive laceration on the thigh and leg, and in that state of agony and exhaustion had to proceed on horseback, with the aid of the Kaffirs, a distance of seven miles, to Mr. Ireland's station. There, of course, he received every possible attention; and Dr. Taylor from this place has twice visited him since this accident. We are happy to hear that Mr. Butler is progressing favourably."

The writer was also once in great danger, when crossing the same drift, in company with Mr. Ireland. His horse being restive, he was obliged to dismount in the river and wade through: fortunately no alligator seized him, or nothing could have saved him.

The difficulty of destroying them is very great, as they have a hard, scaly coat of mail: a bullet fired from a gun will not penetrate, but slides off; for the same reason the assagai of the native is powerless. The only chance, then, which the native has is, if he is very cool and courageous, to wait the rush of the reptile with open jaws, and thrust the spear down his throat: if he can do this, he is safe; but otherwise his life is in jeopardy.

I had often heard of Kaffirs, six or ten in number, conducting Europeans across swollen rivers, but never properly understood the process until, on one occasion, going into Kaffirland, I had to cross the Great Kei when flooded. The appearance of this river at such a time, at the lower Kaffirland drift, is appalling; the depth and width of the stream, the force with which the waters rush down, the awful deep and rocks below, and the huge stones in the bed of the river,—all conspire to make crossing difficult and dangerous. However, having *eight* stalwart Kaffirs to my aid, I was resolved to make the attempt. I took off my

clothes, with the exception of my shirt; these were tied to the head of a tall man to take over; another plucky fellow took my two horses; and then six men undertook to convey my own important self across. One small giant took hold of my arm, above the elbow, on one side, and another on the other; the other four took hold of each other's arms one above the other in the same way, so that we were *seven a-breast*. We all went very coolly about our business, I intrusted myself entirely to the men. We went in, and had not proceeded far, when my feet were washed down by the force of the stream: no sooner did they strike the man below me, than he *motioned* to the man above me, when, as by magic, they raised me up, and placed their shoulders under my armpits; thus borne aloft they carried me, and pursued their dangerous course; sometimes one fell over a monstrous stone and sometimes another; but when one was down another was up, and the grip was so fast that they never loosed the hold on each other. The stream rolled, and boiled, and raged; but in vain; onward they went, until we all came safely out on the opposite bank without injury. We were all merry, and I was thankful to a higher Power for a safe passage over. The Kaffirs commended me for my cool courage, and I thanked them for their hardihood and success. The greatest difficulty and danger was with the men who had to convey over my horses and my clothes: it was only by the most determined, persevering effort that they succeeded. Had they gone, I should have been in an awkward predicament, in the middle of Kaffirland, without house, clothes, or horses; but, fortunately, all were preserved, and I proceeded on my journey without injury.

Many of the men now have horses, which they ride furiously. Jehu fashion is that which they generally adopt: mercy to the beast is unknown to them. Some, in and near the colonies, have now obtained waggons and oxen, which they use when needful. Over some of the rivers in the colony bridges are now constructed, and the danger of travelling is less; this will increase in proportion as progress is made in civilization.

CHAPTER X.

AMUSEMENTS: SINGING, DANCING, HUNTING, AND DRINKING.

THE Kaffir tribes possess no literature, either in written records, hieroglyphic characters, or symbolical representations. In this respect they bear no resemblance to any of those civilized nations of ancient or modern times who have had, or now have, a written medium of communication, or any mode of preserving ancestral or national records. All that we find is limited to tradition, but in order to make this more permanent and less likely to be erased from the memory, it has been stamped with the interest of song, and wrought into the excitement of dance; and in this manner great national events or individual exploits, extraordinary success or sad reverses, have been transmitted from one generation to another; which, but for the muses, must have been obliterated from the tablet of the national memory, and perished for ever.

Each tribe has its own poet, and each chief his own laureate; and this distinguished personage becomes celebrated just so far as he excels in the art of the muses.

His task is not a sinecure, as he is required to provide for the wants and wishes of the king, and supply the tribe with this important species of composition. This task is rendered the greater by having to create the tune or music suited to the composition; which being done, he has to impart verbally and vocally to others what he has himself prepared. This has to be done by means of a slow personal process, having to *repeat, not write*, the words to others, until they are perfectly committed to memory; and also to sing the tune to the words to others, until they have

learned from him, personally, the tune, with its various parts, and the manner in which those parts must be performed.

This labour is again increased by the national law that each new year, as it is ushered in, must have its new songs; those of the past year are become too stale and threadbare to allow their continuance and repetition; something new, fresh, and exciting, must be prepared by this caterer for the national taste and wants, and imparted to others through the same process as the last, so that he has only effectually taught his pupils one set of lessons before another is called for.

Uvuguti is the great poet of the Inkumbi tribe at the present time (1856), and is living on the Umtwalumi river, and amongst his people is as celebrated as a Milton, a Young, or a Montgomery. A number of his family are also celebrated for their vocal powers in song.

The subjects of their songs are of the most varied, numerous, and extraordinary character,—some bold and exciting, others mean and trivial, many filthy and ludicrous.

The first in order are those which relate to the chief; and the panegyrics which are pronounced upon him and recorded of him exceed all description. The vocabulary of the laureate is placed under contribution to obtain epithets sufficiently numerous and strong to express his unknown and untold excellent qualities,—the vigour of his mind, the power of his body, the strength of his arm, and the fire of his eye,—the beauty of his person, and the gracefulness of his form,—his great courage and undaunted valour,—the many great and wonderful exploits which he has performed,—his power as a hunter, and success as a warrior,—his noble origin and glorious ancestry: his name must be carried down the stream of time to the latest generation for the many great and good things which were done in his time. And certainly some of these compositions afford no mean specimen of tact and power; they are exciting and eloquent.

Thus Udingaan is represented:—

“ Noble sovereign, reign over the subjects of Nate
Of the land of Buza.

Thou art a vulture, thou hast pounced upon Busako.*

“ And thou sayest, Soldiers, it is not you who are avenged,
it is the court.

Moko'khu† is known here, he is known at Mokakutlufe.
Ga-ba-a-eute! Ga-ba-a-eute! our king, our father!

Moko'khu is known here.

Thou art he who abaseth all other men ;

Thou art Chaka, thou returnest from Tebethlungo ;‡

Thou hast taken away both the calves and the mothers
from Tebethlungo,

All the oxen of Mega,§

With the heifers of two years old, they and their
mothers.

“ In the race, by thy agility, thou causest to pant
The lungs of the Basutos.||

Dost thou not say to them, ‘ Ha! ha!’

When they speak they tell lies.

They are beasts of the fields from all lands.

If they slaughter an ox, the cutting up

Begins with the shoulder ;

They cut first the shoulder, then the leg,¶

And the other flesh remains there ;—

A pretty spectacle it is !

These gross Basutos are numerous ;

* “ *Busako*, town of Matlanckane, where Dingaan caused his brother to be sacrificed some years since, with his people.”

† “ Moko'khu, chief of the Boko'khu'kus. He was a powerful king, from whom Dingaan took, everything, even his name, which he sometimes in pride assumed himself.”

‡ “ Name of the grazing ground of Chaka.”

§ “ One of the chiefs ruined by him.”

|| “ The tactics of the Matabele are, to pursue an enemy at the utmost speed for one, two, and even three days in succession—a feat in which they greatly excel all the other tribes ; carrying their large buckler greatly incommodes them.”

¶ “ The Zulus, on the contrary, at one blow cut off from the carcase the two legs ; there remain then the shoulders, the breast, and the head, which together present an appearance less disgusting, according to their taste.”

Multitudes of petty tribes,
Which know not whence they have come,—
A host of the beasts of the field from all countries.

“ Thou hast the whole nation under thee.
Thou causest to groan the subjects of Zeku,
Thou art Chaka ; thou causest to tremble all people ;
Thou thunderest like the musket.
At the fearful noise which thou makest
The inhabitants of the towns take to flight.
Thou art the great shade of the Zulu,
And thence thou expandest and reachest to all countries.
Thou puttest out of breath thy soldiers.
Thou art like the door of a house :
If it close itself upon an adversary,
He must perish.
So it happeneth to those whom thou shuttest up,
Even amongst thine own people.” *

But probably the war songs are those which must lay claim to the greatest merit. The subject is congenial to their natures, deeply interesting and always interesting, and one which affords the greatest variety of exciting topics. Here they paint in warm colours their martial prowess and wondrous deeds of valour,—set forth in the most strong and glowing terms the number and courage of their warriors, the strength of their armies, and the glory of their exploits, the colour of their shields, the strength of their spears, and the beauty of their ornaments. The battle-field is painted with the combatants in fierce and deadly conflict, the foe beaten, and the slain covering the field ; the glory of the victory, the greatness of the conquest, and the richness of the spoil, are recounted in characters of fire : the whole of which is calculated to inflame the passions, fan the flame of vanity, and render the theme enchanting, to make them proud of the past and vain concerning the future,—to make them reckless of life, and anxious to distinguish themselves by deeds of fearless valour, which may redound to their future honour.

* Narrative of Revs. T. ARBOUSET and F. DAUMAS.

The manner in which Udingaan spoiled other nations by his warriors is thus paraphrased :—

“ All have respect for a king whom no one can approach unto.

When the king eats, there remains with him no one but Ceyelele,

For Ceyelele has his confidence.

The king speaks not to Pante,

Nor to his other brothers.

“ Thou art he who hath filled with goods
The hands of Cumete, father of the Zueuzuzies ;
Thou art he who preservest their hands
To the troops decimated by Chaka.

“ Ravisher, thou art held in repute among the Basutos,
At Khobas,* and amongst the Balungues.†
Thou hast plundered the cattle of the Amakozas,
Of the Sugentos, of Cutene, and of Maculoqe.

“ Thou art the purple dawn of the morning ;
Thou art beautiful as an isle in the Mosiniate ;
Thou art the salvation of the towns of Kaukela, of
Mubelese ;
Thou sittest on the throne of Kaukela.‡

“ Thou puttest to death the Basuto—to death the old
men.§
Thou hast despoiled the troops of Makheta.||

* “ The present chief of the Tambukes, or Amatembas, which is their real name.”

† “ The *Balungues*,—that is to say, ‘ the pretty ones.’ These are the Portuguese of *Saint-Laurent* Marques. It is said that on one occasion Dingaana took from them a waggon and forty-two horses, &c. The horses were all thrown to the vultures, after having been brought and speared at Mokokutlufe. ‘ What good will these animals do us,’ said Dingaana, ‘ when they could not save their former masters ? ’ ”

‡ “ It would appear that Kaukela is the ancient name of Mokokutlufe ; as for the word ‘ throne,’ *mo'kupe* is the name appropriated to the chair of Dingaana, made simply of the trunk of a tree.”

§ “ That is to say, ‘ Thy rage respects neither the quality of strangers nor of old age ; so terrible is it when enkindled.’ ”

|| “ Makheta, a Basuto prince, who lived, not long ago, in the vicinity of Moriah, on the summit of a high hill, which has retained his name.”

The smiths themselves are torn to pieces by thee,
Without their hearing a breath of thine approach.

“Thou puttest nations to silence,
As thou wouldst silence thy cooks.
Thou art the salvation of thy subjects.
Thou art not the man to rest at ease in thy palace!
Thou delightest in the military expedition!
Out then! flocks have been seen
Going up from the sea-shore,
And proceeding towards the Mathlekas.
Pursue these herds and seize them.
The ox of the Zulu is his assagai.*

“The government of thy forefathers thou hast surpassed,
Leaving it at Macasana.
Thou art the master of Mayokuane,
Of Eutaba, of Mageala, of Kulgelo,
Of Kugnegnezela, of Yama, of Nomakweba,
Of the great and wonderful court of Kaukela.

“Enter thou into the magnificent house.
As for me, I dare not enter it
Unless thou shouldst grant to me the favour;
And even then I must be introduced by a servant, the
old Ngeto.”

The command—the rush—are well given:—

“Out then! flocks have been seen,” &c., &c.

The next in importance are the songs for the marriage festival; and as the former were to excite and feed martial prowess, these are to excite sensual sentiments and feeling. Those who are best able to judge—who have lived among them, know their language, and are acquainted with their customs—represent these songs as filthy in the extreme; those terms which relate to sexual intercourse being freely used in the most repulsive and loathsome forms. Here there is all the animal passion of the beast,

* “*Eukhomo, qua Amazulu, ki mokondo.* This line has the force of a proverb, and perhaps it is one. It tells in a few words what the Zulus are.”

with the addition of language, song, and dance, to fan every impure sentiment and gratify every lustful feeling; until they become perfectly mad, every man neighing after his neighbour's wife, and every youth and girl and woman seeking to gratify impure desire and vicious habit.

Besides the above, there is the vast field of nature over which to travel, all of which is pressed into their service in a manner at once ingenious, novel, and exciting. Hills and mountains, rocks and rivers, grass and flowers, reeds and rushes, creatures that walk on the earth, swim in the sea, or fly in the air, birds, beasts, and fishes,—many of these are particularized, as wild beasts and domestic animals; the serpent especially is an object of interest; a bull's head, an ox's horn, and a cow's tail, the size, shape, and colour of a beast, are quite sufficient to their inventive minds to be made into a song. Their gardens, corn, pumpkins, and potatoes; their houses, large or small, common or peculiar; their furniture, rush mats, woollen pillows, and skin blankets; their sleeping attendants, crawling cockroaches, nibbling rats, and growling dogs; their cooking utensils, &c., clay pots, beer reservoirs, and calabash snuff-boxes; their employments, hunting the antelope, pursuing the elephant, and spearing the sea-cow (hippopotamus); their persons, great or small, beautiful or ugly; their diseases, fever, consumption, and dysentery: these and many more are wrought into poetry, and set to tunes. I have just enumerated a few of the topics, to give the reader some slight idea of the fertility of their imagination and the originality of their genius.

But I confess I am at a loss to describe the character of their vocal music; as for instrumental, they have none. The only attempt at an instrument that I have seen is the *gubu*. (Fig. 17 in the plate.) This consists of a calabash attached to a bow with a string of buck's skin: they beat the calabash with a rod, and it makes a monotonous, vibrating sound, without meaning or charm. I regard it as being one of the poorest displays of inventive genius; and, with their love of song, I wonder they have not invented something better.

In constructing their songs I think they have no rules whatever but the mere caprice of the song and tune maker ; and, if the tune is not agreeable, the reply is at hand, " You do not understand it ;" or, " Your taste is bad."

The tone of voice in general is low and sonorous, not well adapted for singing, according to European taste ; but when well managed it has great power and surprising effect. Although they have no scientific rules by which to conduct their singing processes, yet they are not ignorant of parts.

I have often heard one lead off with a loud shrill whistle, and having proceeded through a few notes, a number of voices join in melodiously ; and then comes the full force of the deep bass, with a rolling chorus of great power ; the feet beating time, until the earth becomes vocal ; and a scene of barbaric grandeur is presented to view surpassing all description.

Their singing is also very monotonous, both in sound and time ; but, when there are many together, this defect is somewhat compensated for by the strong effect produced, especially at the midnight hour, when the beast is quietly lying in his lair, the world is in peaceful slumber wrapt, and the pale moon is pouring her silvery beams upon the silent scene. All nature then combines to give effect to the song ; the sound reverberates among the hills and across the plains, echoing and dancing from rock to rock, penetrating the dense forest and deep ravine ; and is answered by the scream of the jackal, the howl of the wolf, the thunder of the elephant, and the roar of the lion, producing vibrations of soul in the lone Christian, or solitary traveller, only known to himself. Then busy memory recalls the past, the fair, the lovely, the soul-inspiring ; then the fervid imagination paints the future in imagery of terror or of joy ; and hope, and fear, and joy, and sorrow, are called into powerful play, producing a fit of melancholy or a world of bliss : the wanderer thinks of his home, and longs to be there.

The songs for particular occasions are carefully taught to the different performers before the time of celebration arrives ; and there is so much *finesse* about them, that if

any one makes a blunder, he or she becomes the object of derision and the mark at which every pun is thrown.

When they become Christian, and are taught the rules of music and singing, their performances are of the very first order in vocal song. They have a fine ear for music, keep the most exact time, and take their parts with unvarying correctness. I have heard children beat the chorus by clapping hands. No musical instrument ever did it more correctly, or in more exact time, or with better effect. The Sunday School Anniversary in Graham's Town is a great treat to all lovers of song. There are the English, the coloured,—using the Dutch language,—and the Fingoe Kaffirs. The singing of the Kaffirs on these occasions is far superior to anything I have ever heard from any other persons, or in any other performances. In the grand musical performances of England it would be surpassed; but even there the musical instruments prevent the vast body of vocal sound being heard in all its beauty and in all its force; whilst here you have it in all its soft and mellow tones, and in all its full swell, every voice being given and every part taken with rapturous effect.

The dance is an almost indispensable appendage to the song, and invariably accompanies it; yea, it is almost impossible for a Kaffir to hear the song, or a song, without instantly beginning to dance. If he is walking or working, it matters not, his wiry, springing muscles involuntarily begin to play, and his feet to beat time.

I am not aware that they have any particular rules by which dancing is conducted. So far as I have observed, the perfection of the art or science consists in their *being able to put every part of the body into motion at the same time*. And as they are naked, the bystander has a good opportunity of observing the whole process, which presents a remarkably odd and grotesque appearance,—the head, the trunk, the arms, the legs, the hands, the feet, bones, muscles, sinews, skin, scalp, and hair, each and all in motion at the same time, with feathers waving, tails of monkeys and wild beasts dangling, and shields beating, accompanied with whistling, shouting, and leaping; thus

setting at defiance all the rules which prevail in civilized communities, in the light step and the graceful motion.

It would appear as though the whole frame was hung in springing wires or cords; and no sooner was the first chord struck by the song-note, than the whole machine was set in motion,—all creeping, crawling, springing. Some of the motions are odd, others repulsive, and others pleasing; there are grimaces and distortions, hands beating, feet stamping, and eyes rolling.

In the dance there is also a leader. In one I saw, an elderly woman (we cannot say, fair lady) took the lead, holding, by way of ornament, in her right hand, a straight stick, about two feet six inches long, in a perpendicular position: the expression of her countenance indicated the most perfect self-esteem and self-congratulation; and she appeared as self-complaisant as any specimen of humanity I ever saw.

From the above description it will be easily perceived, that some of their performances are wild and frantic in the extreme; and would certainly be condemned by all connoisseurs in the art, being a violation of all rule and order.

The dances increase or diminish in importance from the common every-day dance of the hut, to the great dance of the king; and are held in high repute, being the natural expression of joyous emotion, or creating it when absent. There is, perhaps, no exercise in greater accordance with the sentiments and feelings of a barbarous people, or more fully calculated to gratify their wild and ungoverned passions. The effect upon their own bodies must also be very great, a most severe tax being imposed upon the system, until perspiration gushes from every pore of the body, which quickly forming in large drops, stream follows stream in quick succession, showing, in very deed, what a "bath of sweat" is, and proving that only extraordinary powers of physical endurance could be equal to such a task.

Captain Gardiner gives the following account of one he witnessed in Zululand. "There were some novelties in this dance. 'We must open a new path,' said the

inventive Dingarn, [Udingaan,] and shortly after he was escorted to the dancing ground, without the town, by his Unkunginglove men, each bearing a large bunch of green bows [boughs] in his right hand, (these bows [boughs] had never been carried before,) exalted above his head, who, in conjunction with the people of another town, formed an exterior circle; while the Issiclebani regiment occupied the ring, and danced within. The moving grove, intermingled with the bald heads, had a cheerful effect. Dingarn, [Udingaan,] although in his dancing costume, did not join the lists, but contented himself with witnessing the feats performed by the three regiments assembled, the Unkunginglove, the Imbelli-belli, and the Issiclebani, who each took their turns in the ring. It was altogether a most imposing sight. Crowds of spectators were collected; and groups of women, with children on their backs, were seen taking advantage of every rock and rising ground, to peep over the heads of the bystanders. Even the trees were garnished with boys, who were more than once disturbed on their roost by an order from some of the Indoonas. There could not have been less than 4,000 or 5,000 people on the ground. A variety was also observed in the dress of the Imbelli-belli men; if a collection of skin streamers, like the tails of a lady's boa attached to a thin waist-cord, deserves the name; but which, in fact, is the nearest approach to an habiliment which a Zoolu ever deigns to wear. In this instance, and expressly for the occasion, the short cottony fibre of a root was substituted, at least, behind, and twisted with thick ropy pendants, with the ends hanging loose, like a tassel, below, which had a good effect; eight or nine of these tails forming a dress."*

The dances are of frequent occurrence, and are generally performed on fine moonlight nights, when they are kept up until a late hour. All parties are permitted to engage in them who are competent so to do. We have, in another place, described the ornaments worn on the

* GARDINER'S "Zoolu Country," pp. 70, 71.

occasions, and shall not attempt again to enumerate them.

Colonel Napier gives the following animated description. "I witnessed this evening," says an officer of 1835, "a beautiful scene. At a drift we met forty-seven Fingoes in their complete war equipments, with ornamented head-dress, shields, bundles of assagais, &c., singing in chorus a war song, the most harmonious thing I ever heard. When they came to the drift, they held their shields over their heads; so as to cover and protect the whole person from anything thrown down upon them while crossing it. They first quivered an assagai in their right hand, then collected in a dense mass, formed in a line two deep, then into three divisions; collected again, danced, whistled, and sang from a faint, soft strain, until it ended in a roar; shook their shields and assagais in such a manner, that it first appeared like the wind rustling through the leaves, until it rose to the deafening noise of a storm raging amidst the dense foliage of a large forest."

And again:—"Often during the tranquil beauty and stillness of a night illumined by the bright moon of these southern climes, have I anxiously watched the strange evolutions of the mystic dance, and listened to their wild and not unharmonious songs, apparently directed in token of some vague and undefined superstition (for worship would most certainly be a misnomer) towards that serene planet which there sheds around her soft and benignant rays."*

Hunting is also a favourite sport with these untutored barbarians, as might be expected; and, in the absence of fire-arms, the kerie and the assagai have to do the work of death, assisted by not a few of the canine tribe.

When the buck or antelope is hunted, the place of rendezvous is fixed, and the time appointed; when the men and boys from the adjacent kraals assemble, bringing their dogs and keries with them. These original hunters, not "gentlemen of the turf," being collected in sufficient numbers, do their business as effectually as those who are

* NAPIER'S "Excursions in Southern Africa," vol. i., pp. 315-317.

booted, and mounted on fiery steeds, with "the pack" subject to "the whipper-in."

When the force is mustered, and the arrangements complete, they proceed to surround an adjacent bush where the game is secreted. A guard is placed at every avenue leading into or out of the scattered or dense bush, and the dogs are sent in to start the game. All are now on the *qui vive* of excitement, watching with the greatest eagerness, and waiting for the expected prey; being most anxious that nothing should escape them. So long as the beautiful and affrighted antelope conceals itself in the dense bush, it is to a great extent safe from the attacks of its merciless pursuers; but no sooner does it make its appearance, than a general rush is made, and each strives with the other to put the first spear into their victim. But supposing the fleet antelope should escape from their snare, they instantly start chase, and stay not until, breathless, the spear is thrust to its heart.

When this is done, the quivering, dying creature must be divided "according to law." The man who transfixes the deer takes the body, with the exception of the leg and shoulder. The person who gives the second thrust takes the hind leg, and the third best takes the quarter or fore leg. Having divided the spoil, they return to enjoy in the evening the fruits of their toil. They cannot indeed talk of this favourite pastime of joyous old England, on which there sits a somewhat ancestral dignity and glory, or describe "the assembled jockeys of half a province of gallant knighthood and hearty yeoman, with the high belted corsets and the echoing horn;" but with equal fervour and enthusiasm they can describe the shrill and piercing whistle, the simultaneous echoing shout, "the glee and fervency of the chase, the deafening clamour of the hounds, and the dying agonies of the" deer.

In the evening assemblage they have not collected knights, and squires, and parsons feasting upon the old English cheer of roast beef and plum pudding, with the sparkling wine and bumping bowl making merry, whilst the chivalrous deeds of the day are recounted, and the respective merits of the hunter, horses, and hounds are

discussed until a late or early hour; but with equal glee and gusto do they gather around the evening fire, seated upon their hams, and recount, in glowing terms, every circumstance of the day from the early gathering to the final scene. The merits of men, dogs, assagais, and keries are fully discussed; the foolish, weak, or ludicrous is pointed out, and subjected to cutting sarcasm, calling forth a roar of laughter, or a burst of invective. The exploits of the successful are descanted upon, the fleetness of his running, and the dexterity of his throw; with the action of the antelope from its first starting, every turn and manœuvre to escape its pursuers, until, run down and speared, it expired. After the women have cooked the flesh, and prepared the corn, they (the men) eat and drink to the full, and then rise up to play, sing, and dance until the midnight hour.

The boys acquire skill so great in throwing the kerie, that it is a frequent occurrence for them to knock down birds or deer by a single throw; some of which are highly valued by the English epicure, as the dove, the pouw, (or African turkey,) the partridge, and the deer.

Drinking *utyalla* or beer may also be classed among their amusements; being rather reserved for and resorted to on festival occasions, than used as a common every-day beverage.

This *utyalla* is made from the *amabele* or Kaffir corn; and being long boiled in large beer-making pots, *inbeza*, (see figs. 5, 6,) and, subjected to fermentation, it becomes intoxicating, acquires a sour taste, and is much liked by the people. When any joyous event is to be celebrated, or any general merriment to be made, large quantities of this beer are prepared, and friends and neighbours are invited to partake of the hearty cheer.

These do not become scenes of general drunkenness and debauchery, so far as I have witnessed them; the number of persons being, probably, too great to allow each to take so large a quantity as to produce inebriating effects: but they take enough to make them very large in their own way, very talkative and self-important, sometimes very noisy,—half mad.

This custom prevails throughout all the Kaffir tribes with which I am acquainted, from the eastern borders of the Cape Colony to Zululand, and into the interior, so far as our knowledge extends. But drunkenness, in the common acceptation of the term, as used and understood amongst Europeans, does not prevail among them. I have only seen one Kaffir drunk with their own native beer,—that is the case already noticed of my own servant; but it may happen that on their beer-drinking festivals they may be intoxicated in the evenings.

In closing this chapter, I would remark that it is not cause of wonder that the inhabitants of this part of the earth, free and unconstrained as air, except so far as self-made and self-imposed law prevents,—I say, that it is no wonder that they should see no advantages in the institutions and restraints of civilized society; but rather look upon them with distaste and aversion, as being laborious superfluities, without attraction, and without enjoyment; and they are naturally led to say, that “that path may be good for the Englishman, but not for the Kaffir; those things may give pleasure to the Englishman, but not to the Kaffir; he likes *his way*, and we like *our way*; he thinks *his way* is the best, and, *perhaps, it is to him*; but we think *our way* is the best, and most *assuredly* it is *to us*; therefore, let him take and keep his path, and we will take and keep ours.”

This is precisely the mode of reasoning adopted by them; so that when parties talk so loquaciously about civilizing the natives, they really do not know what they are talking about. For at the very outset there is the absence of (in the mind of the native) the *only element* or *principle* upon which the civilizer can fairly work; and if he tries until doomsday, with people who are free and uncontrolled, he will try in vain. I grant that if there is domestic slavery, and children are taken, and from their earliest days are taught that they are the property of their masters, and cannot leave without being sold, in such a case you may civilize so far as the arts of civilized society are concerned; but this is the result of modified

slavery, as practised among the Dutch Boers of this country, not the result of simple effort upon the free and uncontrolled spirit. I greatly question whether in all the extensive intercourse of the white man with the natives in the whole of this country, South Africa, one such person has been civilized annually. There must be a stronger motive and a higher power, which the Gospel alone possesses.

CHAPTER XI.

WITCHCRAFT.

THIS is a subject which among enlightened Christian nations exists only in name, and to the mind of superficial observers may have but little interest; but it is far otherwise with those nations which have not been visited with Gospel light and the ameliorating influences of Christianity. It may startle some English readers to know that in the United Kingdom of Britain, according to a careful computation, capital punishment was inflicted on thirty thousand persons charged with this crime in one hundred and fifty years.

In the present day children are sometimes frightened by unwise nurses, recounting stories of old dark men being sold to the devil, or withered aged women divining with departed spirits through the medium of "black cats;" but in days gone by this superstition had strong hold on the popular mind. When we read of King Richard turning the popular feeling against his Queen by accusing her of sorcery, and exhibiting as a proof his withered arm,—

“ Like a blasted sapling, wither'd up ; ”

when we hear of a Duchess of Gloucester thrown ignominiously into a dungeon for life, because she had made use of witchcraft; when, again, we are told of the most powerful knights in the world—the Templars—persecuted, broken, and dispersed, upon charges that would now only provoke a sneer; events like these must be wholly incomprehensible to us, unless we are acquainted with the history of those superstitions, by which all classes were influenced at different periods with more or less force.

In treating on the subject of witchcraft, it should be carefully borne in mind, that it is that state of supersti-

tious dread which pervades the mind of man, as man; it is not an accident, not a circumstance, not a transient vision, but *superstitious dread*, which can only be accounted for on the ground of man possessing a soul, which is under a sense of *conscious guilt* and exposure to punishment: and although, in the absence of scriptural light, he is unable to define what it is, or to account for its existence; yet he is haunted by it, and consequently needs some other order of beings who can come between him and the beings whose punishment he dreads. Hence, to whatever part of the human family we turn, to whatever nation, in whatever age, we find its existence in one form or other. Among the ancient civilized Egyptians, the mighty empires of the east, the nations of Europe, and the barbarous tribes of Africa; in olden times, in mediæval ages, and in the present day, we meet with it in one phase or another.

A popular writer has said, "Witchcraft was founded in a universal belief in a middle class of spiritual beings, who had power over the elements, and over human affairs, and whose agency might be bought by offerings, or commanded by charms. This was equally strong among the early Teutonic nations of Western Europe; and it was a further article of their popular belief, that womankind was more easily brought into connexion with this spiritual world than the other sex. Priestesses were the favourite agents of the deities in the eyes of Saxon Paganism: they knew the effect of charms, the qualities, noxious or beneficial, of herbs or animals, or other articles, and how to secure them; for these were supposed to be given immediately by spiritual beings, when under the power of their invocations. Hence the Teutonic women became prophetesses, foretellers of future events, warners of danger, healers of wounds and diseases, conciliators of love, sometimes averters of calamity, at others, workers of vengeance; and, as in those wild and passionate ages the latter feeling too frequently prevailed, women, who had recourse to such expedients, and who were often of the highest rank, became naturally objects of dread. Examples are not uncommon in the history and romance of the Teutonic

people, before, and for some time after, their conversion to Christianity.”

Having thus noticed the manner in which witchcraft belongs more or less to the human race, in the absence of Divine knowledge and correct philosophy; I shall now proceed to give some account of it as found among the modern tribes of Kaffirs, stretching along the country from the Cape Colony to Delagoa Bay. It may be proper to observe, that among these Kaffirs there is no definite fixed idea of a God. Some of the more thoughtful among them have some vague idea of a Supreme Being; but the national belief extends no further than the ghosts or spirits of their departed chiefs and warriors; and, in some instances, those of their ancestors in general: so that they cannot meet that part of the preceding definition, which relates to “a middle class of spiritual beings, who had power over the elements, and over human affairs; and whose agency might be bought by offerings, or commanded by charms.” Their ultimatum is, as before stated, the ghosts of the departed; but they attribute to these all the powers ordinarily ascribed to Deity.

Among the Amaxosa Kaffirs, dwelling between the Cape Colony and Natal, women are often found among those who perform the sorcerer's art; but in Natal and Zululand this seldom occurs, or only to a very limited extent. They are often mixed up with the proceedings, but seldom are invested with the sacred office of the professional character.

In addition to the ordinary sources of alarm among the Kaffirs, arising out of supernatural causes, secret poisoning is extensively practised. One part of the medical art is, to investigate the medicinal quality of herbs and animal matter, in order to detect the most subtle and powerful poison, and, from such a combination, produce fatal effects, with the least danger of detection. Many, who have been servants in the families of white persons, have made this their special business; not ordinarily to administer poison to their employers, but secretly to cut off those whom they hated, or were anxious to have removed. This gave rise to the universal practice among themselves,

of the person who was giving milk, corn, or flesh, to another, always taking a part himself, in proof that it contained no poison. The milk is not served up in a very "lordly dish," but usually in a dirty calabash, or basket; and when a savage, smeared with grease and red clay, first partakes of a portion of the delicate fare, the guest who receives it needs to be not very fastidious, or he is in some danger of having a surfeit. The author has many times been in this predicament.

Besides these poisons, which produce universal distrust and suspicion, there is what is called *ubuti*, or "bewitching matter;" which is supposed to be, or actually is, deposited in some secret place in the hut or cattle fold, and by which, in connexion with supernatural agency, some dire calamity is believed to be inflicted upon the person, or family, or kraal; all contributing to produce the most distressing superstitious dread,—*the reign of terror*. Hence, the affrighted imagination conjures up almost every object into an evil omen. The flight of a bird, or the screech of an owl, or the appearance of a serpent, is portentous, and the worst consequences are prognosticated. Hence the witch doctor or priest is a felt necessity; *some one to go between*, and turn aside threatened vengeance.

The consequence of this state of things is, that a class of persons has been raised up, called among the Amaxosa Kaffirs, *amaggira*, and among the Natal and Amazulu Kaffirs, *isanusi*.*

* The name of these witch doctors or priests, amongst the Amaxosa Kaffirs, is *amaggira* and *incibe*; among the Natal and Amazulu, *isanusi* and *inyanya*. The name I shall use for the Amaxosa will be *amaggira*; and for Natal, &c., *isanusi*. (plural, *isanusi*.) The name of ghosts or departed spirits is, Amaxosa, *imishologu*; Natal, *isituta*. By observing these distinctions, definiteness will be secured, and confusion avoided.

Also, by Amaxosa Kaffirs, I mean those residing between the Cape Colony and Natal; not that they are all Amaxosas, as will be seen from the history; but this will prevent confusion. So also, by Natal or Amazulu Kaffirs, I mean those who reside in Natal or Zululand:

Natal Kaffirs, means those who reside in Natal; and Fingoe Kaffirs, those who reside on the frontier of the Cape Colony. These two are actually the same, although Kaffirland proper lies between them; the former being those who remained in Natal, or soon found their way back into it when peace was restored after

These important personages embrace the threefold offices of *doctor*, to perform the healing art; *priest*, to offer sacrifices; and *diviner*, to give the mind of the spirit. But, ordinarily, the threefold offices are put into requisition at the same time, and by the same person, in connexion with the same event. The mysterious power which they exert is almost unlimited. It affrights the individual conscience, fixes its death-grasp upon the family circle, and sways the national mind. If these professional gentlemen only exercised the healing art, or even sustained the priestly office, the matter would be different; but when, added to these, they hold the keys of the invisible world, have intercourse with the spirits of their departed chiefs and friends, know when these are angry, and how they may be appeased, they exercise a potency which is almost irresistible.

The result is, that not every aspirant to these sacred and mysterious offices can be successful. The precincts of this awful enclosure must be carefully guarded; and no one must overstep them without due preparation, except at the risk of his life. Real crimes, as murder and theft, can be atoned for by fine and forfeit; but these imaginary ones can only be expiated by the death of the offender: other crimes relate to the body and time; these, to the manes of the dead, and the mysterious dwelling-place in which the *isituta* reside.

Among the English, the man who desires to rise to eminence in the medical profession must submit to a severe course of discipline, and mount the steps of fame by the sweat of the brain, as well as the untiring action of the body; so also here the doctor of health, prosperity, and life, must submit to a severe course of regimen. He must not only possess considerable natural boldness and cunning; but, at least, assume a mysterious and pecu-

the invasion of Utshaka; the latter being those who were fully dispersed, and found their way into the old colony, as described in their history.

I also repudiate the term Zulu Kaffir, as applied to the Natal Kaffirs. The history, given in another place, will illustrate and prove this. Some are doubtless Amazulu refugees, but the majority are not; but in the fullest sense the aboriginal inhabitants of the land.

liar character, by which he is distinguished from ordinary men; becomes a "man of mark;"—and those around him begin to suppose he is destined to hold the sacred office.

The subject at length begins to absorb his mind,—his thoughts by day, his visions by night. His mind becomes frenzied, he dreams about all sorts of wild and unnatural things, lions, tigers, wolves, and serpents; but especially the spirits of the departed chiefs. As serpents are supposed to be possessed by the spirits of their ancestors, these become prominent objects in the aspirant's imagination. He now begins to talk about his marvellous visions among his friends and neighbours, until he is utterly carried away, goes into fits, and begins all sorts of gesticulations, running, jumping, shrieking, plunging into water, and performing many wonderful feats, until those around him say he is mad; and he speaks and acts as one under the influence of supernatural agency.

Having proceeded thus far, he catches live snakes and hangs them about his neck, which with other marvellous things he places about his person. He then takes a goat, and goes to a *isanusi*, and, giving it to the doctor, desires to be initiated into the secrets of the profession. After staying here some time, he obtains a number of medicines, mostly strong-smelling roots, called *impepo*. After this he takes a cow, and proceeds to a still more celebrated *isanusi*, and obtains further instructions, and more medicines; these he hangs about his body, and places in his house. By this time, he has proceeded so far as to begin his mysterious incantations. Having gone through these outward preparations, he experiences an inward change, real or imaginary, expressed by the term, *ukutwasa*, which signifies "change of the moon." Thenceforth, he is a new man, and holds intercourse with spiritual beings. This description applies, with some variations, to all the Kaffir races. Some think that by this last part of the process he enters into actual communication with infernal spirits, and that by their aid he is enabled to make disclosures, which serve more effectually to enchain the national mind, and establish him in undisputed empire over their souls. Mr. Warner, no mean

authority, says, "It is impossible to suppose, that these priests are not, to a considerable extent, self-deceived, as well as the deceivers of others; and there is no difficulty, to one who believes the Bible to be a Divine revelation, in supposing that they are also, to a certain extent, under Satanic influence; for the idolatrous and heathen nations of the earth are declared in the inspired volume to be, in a peculiar manner, under the influence and power of the devil."

The initiatory processes being thus completed, the mode of proceeding is as follows:—At a certain kraal, some one is suspected of being an *umtakati*, that is, "evil doer," or "witch;" and is accused of having bewitched some particular person; or the cattle of some particular kraal; or, may be, even the chief himself. The [person suspected is, usually, a rich man, whose cattle are become needful for others; or there are certain family feuds to be revenged, or important state purposes to be accomplished. The people of the kraal and neighbourhood, in which the *umtakati*, *i. e.*, the "witch," lives, now resolve on going to the *isanusi*, or "priest," a witch doctor who probably lives far distant. All must go, including the suspected person; if any refuse, the refusal is regarded as a proof of guilt.

About this time, the *isanusi*, to whom they are going, manifests signs of a mysterious character; and without any apparent knowledge of the parties, from whence they come, or what is the nature of their mission, foretells their approach, and by means, not of "spirit-rapping, or clairvoyance," but of spirit-speaking, professes to declare what is transpiring; and it usually happens as he has prognosticated. Upon their arrival they sit down, and salute him.

Those persons who seek to account for these mysterious revelations without assigning them to supernatural causes, intimate, that this knowledge is acquired by various persons and agencies, employed by him for the purpose. There is, however, much greater difficulty in explaining these phenomena by these ordinary means than by supernatural interposition. Indeed, if it were so, then, on all occasions, the evil-doer would be detected, which does not take place.

The doctor, or necromancer, as he is more fitly called in this part of the proceedings, then steps forward, and requests them to beat the ground with their sticks, which is called *ukubula*, and whilst they are doing this, he repeatedly exclaims, *Yezwa*, that is, "Here! here!" Then he begins to disclose secrets about the *umtakati*; tells his name, the place of his abode, his father's name, and his family connexions. He then fixes his eye on the doomed individual, and charges him with the crime, in which he is generally correct, although an entire stranger to the person before. The company applaud his decision, and extol his fame as a great *isanusi*.

But, if he should not succeed in detecting the *umtakati* by the *ukubula*, he then places the people in a circle around his own person, declaring that the *isituta*, "ghost," will not make a full disclosure without the dance, to which he must now proceed. He takes bundles of sticks and assagais, the tails of beasts, and the skins of snakes and wild animals, and ties them about all the parts of the body; also, the feathers of ravenous birds, which he fixes in his hair; he then begins his horrid dance, strikes furiously his assagais and sticks, throws about the tails and skins of the serpents and animals with which he is adorned, performs the most frenzied gesticulations, utters the most unearthly sounds, until the scene becomes a very pandemonium, the council chamber of demon spirits, the hall and assemblage of infernals. The spectacle is one of terror and dismay, differing from those of Greece and Rome, where the priests or vestals performed their sacred rites amidst the most profound awe, and the mysterious solemnities of their hallowed temples; whilst the vulgar, common horde were not permitted to enter the god-honoured enclosures, only the privileged few being admitted there. *Here*, there is no temple, but the wide vault of heaven; no Apollo, god of day, but the sun shining in his strength; no secrecy, but the multitude looking on with astonishment and terror; whilst this frenzied being professes to hold audience with the spirits of the departed. This being done, he fixes on his victim, who is almost invariably the suspected

person, and will probably confess the crime, though possibly innocent. If he still pleads innocence, amongst the Amaxosa Kaffirs, he is tortured to make him confess; having hot stones applied to his body, or being laid down and covered with black ants or scorpions, whose thousand bites and stings produce excruciating torture, until he confesses or dies. But among the Natal and Zulu Kaffirs, if the right person is not fixed upon, they go to a more celebrated *isanusi*, until they succeed. If the *umtakati* confesses, among the Amaxosa, *he is eaten up*; that is, all his cattle and property are seized by the chief and parties concerned, and he is driven out as an outcast and vagabond upon the face of the earth. But, among the Amazulu, the *umtakati* is killed, his wife is killed, his children are killed, and his property is seized, until not a vestige is left behind, and his name is blotted from the face of the earth. Truly "the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty."

These practices prevail in Natal and Zululand with only slight variations and modifications. They are, however, somewhat different in Kaffirland Proper, which will be apparent in the following account from Mr. Warner:—"The ceremony of *ukwombela* is now commenced, the hide drums are violently beaten, the bundles of assagais are struck together, accompanied by the well-known humming and clapping of hands by the women. By and by, the priest rushes out of his hut, springs into the midst of the circle of human beings assembled, and commences jumping about in the most frantic manner, and performing all sorts of extraordinary gesticulations. This is called *ukuxentsa*.*

"The men now beat their drums, and strike their bundles of assagais together more violently than ever; and the women hum their exciting tunes, and clap their hands in an increasingly agitated manner; vociferating all the while for help, and demanding who has bewitched them. This is continued until the priest is wrought up to the proper pitch of inspiration; when he suddenly

* "Manners and Customs," p. 81.

ceases, and retires to that part of the circle formed by his own adherents. He then names the persons who have bewitched the afflicted party or parties. On their names being pronounced, that part of the circle where they were sitting rises simultaneously, falls back, and leaves the devoted victims sitting alone. This is the exciting moment, and all eyes are fixed upon them, while the priest describes their sorceries, and the enchantments used by them for their diabolical purposes.

“A rush is then made upon them, and every article in the way of kaross, ornaments, &c., is torn from off their bodies. They are then given in charge to certain parties appointed for that purpose, and led away to their respective kraals, there to be tortured in the most barbarous manner, in order to make them *mbula*, or reveal the materials by which they performed their enchantments. In the bush country, where the tree ants are plentiful, their nests are sought for; the poor wretch is laid down, water thrown over his body, and the nests beaten to pieces on him. This irritates the ants and causes them to bite furiously; they also creep into the nostrils, ears, eyes, mouth, &c., producing the most excruciating pain by their bites. Sometimes a large fire is made, and the poor wretch is tied up to a pole, so close to it as literally to roast him alive. Large flat stones are also heated red hot, and placed on the groins, and applied to the soles of the feet, and other parts of the body.

“Another mode of torture resorted to is, the binding of string so tight round the thumbs, as to cause the most acute agony; and unless the poor creature does confess something, and produce some kind of *ubuti*, or ‘bewitching matter,’ he must eventually sink under the torture.”*

These statements and descriptions are appalling and revolting enough, but this chapter would not be complete without producing some facts in illustration and corroboration of the working of this infernal system. I have already described the nature of witchcraft; pointed out its universal existence as the result of man’s guilty fear; unfolded the processes through which the priest or

* “Manners and Customs,” pp. 89, 90.

necromancer passes in order to take his position and office; detailed the manner in which he conducts his orgies among the various Kaffir races; and I shall now illustrate the whole by well authenticated facts.

The Rev. J. Longden, residing at Buntingville, in the heart of Kaffirland, writes:—"The following fact, which took place in this neighbourhood a few weeks ago, will show the justness of the above remark. A native village, or kraal, was suspected of having some disease in it, as many of the people were ill. The native doctor was accordingly sent for. After due examination, he informed them that the disease was of such a nature, that it would have to be burnt out of the place by fire. He then went through the usual ceremony of preparing his medicine, with which he sprinkled a house, and the bodies of the people, to make them fire proof. He then ordered them to go inside the house, and to sit on the ground. They did so. When all were seated, he shut the door upon them, tied it with thongs, heaped dry grass and faggots against it and round about the hut, and then set the place on fire. The fire soon told upon the poor deluded creatures inside; for, notwithstanding the doctor's medicine, it had not forgotten its power to burn. They danced and screamed in a most fearful manner, but there was no help for it, they could not escape. At length the fire burnt a hole in the side of the hut, and through the flames they leaped, one after another, into the open air. Six or seven unfortunate persons have since died from the effects of the fire, and others were much burnt.

"Another very painful event occurred a fortnight ago last Sunday, close to this station. A wealthy native was wishful to remove to another locality, which aroused the ire of his chief, who forthwith plotted his destruction. A report was soon circulated in the clan, that he had *takati-ed*, or 'ill wished,' the people, as his cattle and gardens were so fat and productive, and theirs so very poor. It was said he had been to one of the large rivers, and had taken thence a snake, according to Kaffir superstition, with which he was silently carrying on his work-

of destruction. On the Sabbath in question, he attended a large beer party, at which he was soon surrounded by his enemies and speared to death. On the same day, his son was on his way to the station, when he was overtaken by several young men, who asked him where he was going; 'I am going to the station,' he replied. They said, 'We are going there too, let us take snuff.' They then sat down on the ground for that purpose, but soon rose, and, falling on the poor fellow, one and all clubbed him until he was dead. And why was this? The deceased men were rich; and there can be no doubt that the real motive for committing this murderous deed was to take possession of their property. This is a year of scarcity, and such scenes are of frequent occurrence in times of drought. Surely 'the tender mercies of the heathen are cruel.'"

From this instance of a few being barbarously put to death, I proceed to one on a larger scale in Zululand; the Colony of Natal lying between the scene of the one already given, and the one now to be described. Um-panda, the Amazulu chief, was sick; his sister died, and the fever prevailed, to which many fell victims; what was the result? The *isanusi* was called; the incantations performed; the objects of hatred, jealousy, cupidity, or revenge, pointed out, and deaths, many of the most refined torture, inflicted. The victims immolated on this tragic occasion were numerous, they were slain by scores, kraal after kraal disappeared; the father with his children, the husband with his wife, the petty chief with his people, were swept from the face of the earth by this dire scourge.

The last fact I shall adduce rises still higher, forms a climax, and presents an overpowering testimony to the existence and wide-spread influence of this Satanic system. This was the death by starvation of so many thousand Kaffirs, on the frontier of the old Colony, brought about by the incantations of the priest and prophet Umhlokaza. I wish the reader to mark the locality where this took place. The first instance given was in the heart of Kaffirland proper; the second, towards Delagoa Bay in Zululand; and the third, among the Amaxosa proper, on

the Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony;—thus embracing the entire tract of country betwixt the Cape Colony and Delagoa Bay, being the whole region to which this work relates, and taking in the many various tribes which occupy this large extent of country; and proving that, whatever may be their varied phases and actions, they all agree in this course of monstrous evil.

In the early part of 1857 this extraordinary tragedy took place. The probability was, that the ulterior design of the border chiefs was to bring about a war with the Colony, but the mode of effecting it was most extraordinary. It was, to induce the people to destroy their corn and cattle, the means of subsistence; supposing that under the pressure of want they would be easily induced to make an inroad into the colony, to supply the cravings of hunger: and, probably, Umhlakaza was only a willing tool in the hands of the chiefs. But the plot did not succeed. The priest-prophet did not undertake to go through the whole plot in his own person, but employed a girl to assist in carrying through this gigantic piece of jugglery. This girl, standing in the water, professed to hear strange and superhuman sounds beneath her feet, which were interpreted by the prophet to signify that the *imishologu* were holding council; the result of which was, solemn and peremptory instructions from the region of ghosts, that the people must destroy their cattle and their corn; and upon a set day the whole should rise again with vast increase; that their enemies should flee before them; that they should be victorious in battle, and should enjoy unbounded plenty and security.

Whatever might be the secret of the plot on the part of the chiefs and prophet, the deluded superstitious masses believed these wild unnatural announcements. The Gealekes under Khili, the Thlambies under Umhala, the Ghikas under Sandilli, with other smaller tribes, fell into the snare. Vast quantities of corn were destroyed, and so many cattle slaughtered, that the traders were scarcely able to purchase the skins.

The time arrived when these wild hopes should be realized, but, alas! they were doomed to be blasted. They

looked, but the cattle rose not; they waited, but the day of plenty came not; they listened, but there was "no voice, nor any to answer." The *imishologu* were on a journey, or asleep, or, worst of all, displeased. What was to be done? A great meeting was called at Butterworth, at which, it is supposed, six thousand people attended. Khili was closely interrogated, the prophet not being present; but the wily villain had sent a message to the effect, that all had not obeyed his instructions, and therefore the *imishologu* were angry, and had returned to their own abodes. But if the full moon should rise "blood red," it would be a proof that the spirits were pacified; but if not, they were to assemble again at the new moon. However, the God who made the moon, had given no direction to the pale lamp of night to bestow her sanction on this gross superstition; and, therefore, she neither rose blood red, nor, when she changed, exhibited any extraordinary phenomena.

For some time the prophet's influence continued unimpaired, the infatuated people being "given up to strong delusion, to believe a lie;" until their means of subsistence utterly failed. Gaunt hunger stalked forth before them as an "armed man," starvation and death made awful havoc among them. In their extremity many fled to King William's Town, and other parts of the old Colony, but multitudes perished before they could reach these storehouses, and obtain the means of subsistence. As, in days gone by, the English came nobly forward to save the starving population of the Emerald Isle, although the Irish had accused them of every foul deed; so also, the colonists put forth herculean efforts to keep alive these starving creatures, although their sires and friends had been engaged in desolating war, and might be so again.

The writer lived at Fort Beaufort at the time, and in his journeyings was accustomed to meet small troops of these wasted forms, passing along the road, or going aside to lie down behind a bush and die. It was indeed heart-rending to see these moving skeletons; and only those who saw them could conceive how far humanity could be

wasted, and yet live and move. But there was a look of subdued anguish in the countenances of the women and children, which must pierce a heart of steel. It is supposed that from 50,000 to 70,000 of these unfortunates died of starvation, notwithstanding all that was done to keep them alive.

There was a decrease in British Kaffraria alone of 67,024, in the year 1857, this being only a part of those who either perished or were scattered. But the number beyond the Kei under Khili was probably much larger. However, of the above decrease, many were preserved alive in the Colony and returned; so that the net total of deaths by starvation might be reckoned at from 50,000 to 70,000.

This event formed an era in the history of the Kaffirs, lying between the Keiskama and Bashe rivers. Their power was broken, their strength wasted, and their counsels defeated to a greater extent than all the powder and steel of British troops had been able to effect; proving how God by the most simple means can accomplish the most important results; how He can "turn the counsel of Ahithophel into foolishness;" how He can not only confound the machinations of "soothsayers, and turn diviners mad," but make these very agencies the means by which to accomplish the counsels of His own will, and show that these inventions of deluded and wicked men are only "a refuge of lies."

This chapter discloses a dark picture of human nature: there are those who vainly and proudly talk of the excellence of "unsophisticated human nature;" here they have it in perfection, and surely this picture,—not over-drawn, but falling far short of the dread reality, in detail,—may cause them to pause, if not be silent. Does not this magnified, extended form of human terror, woe, and death make a loud and long appeal, not only to Missionary and philanthropic societies, for help, but also to *humanity*, to colonial governors and governments and magistrates? There is much that even these might do, as well as others who have intercourse with this people, to lessen the amount of crime and sorrow. Let each, let all, put forth

every effort, and pray to God for His blessing, that these enthralled nations may soon be liberated, and the privileges of civil and religious liberty succeed the reign of terror and death.

This chapter may be very fitly closed by the following account of the expiring course of witchcraft in England:—“In 1711, Chief Justice Powell presided at a trial where an old woman was pronounced guilty. The judge, who had sneered openly at the whole proceedings, asked the jury if they found the woman ‘guilty upon the indictment of conversing with the devil in the shape of a cat!’ The reply was, ‘We do find her guilty of that;’ but the question of the judge produced its intended effect in casting ridicule on the whole charge, and the woman was pardoned.” An able writer in the “Foreign Quarterly Review” remarks, after noticing the case,—“Yet, frightful to think, after all this, in 1716, Mrs. Hicks and her daughter, aged *nine*, were hanged at Huntingdon for selling their souls to the devil, and raising a storm by pulling off their stockings, and making a lather of soap!” With this crowning atrocity, the catalogue of murders in England closes. And a long catalogue and a black catalogue it was. Bunnington, in his observations on the Statute of Henry VI., does not hesitate to estimate the numbers of those put to death in England on this charge, at THIRTY THOUSAND. May the last victims among the Kaffirs soon be offered!

CHAPTER XII.

RELIGIOUS BELIEF AND SACRIFICIAL OFFERINGS.

THE term "religious belief" in this chapter can only be used as indicating those convictions which pervade the Kaffir mind relative to supernatural beings, the power they are supposed to exert over the affairs of men, the manner in which their anger may be incurred, and the sacrifices needful to propitiate their wrath and turn aside impending calamities.

There are, indeed, among this people, no splendid pagodas as in the East, no imposing ceremonies and elaborate creeds, no material idols or sacred fires. Nor are there any of the less elaborate idol temples with wooden gods and sacred fires, as in the South Seas, or even the rude structures of the ancient Britons, with their formal array of priests, altars, and sacrifices. The Kaffirs, so far as any outward recognition of religious worship is concerned, are literally "without God;" but at the same time, there is, perhaps, no nation under heaven that is more superstitious, or that is kept in more continual dread by the terror of ghosts and spirits. In this sense they are not "*infidels*," as their name imports.

As the natives of Natal (Natal Kaffirs and Fingoe Kaffirs) are allowed to be among the most superstitious, and to have the most celebrated prophets, priests, or *izanusis*, a description of their superstitious belief will embrace and include all the various shades of the different Kaffir races down to those who are the most material, and have the least consciousness of the supernatural. I shall therefore confine my observations mostly to these; not however omitting anything of importance relating to other tribes.

As stated in the last chapter, the name *isanusi* will be used to express the priest, prophet, or doctor, and *isituta*, a ghost, or spirit.

The belief of these people may be regarded as twofold. One large class of persons have no conception of one Great Supreme Being; their knowledge and belief extending no further than the *izituta*, or spirits of their departed chiefs, warriors, or friends. Another large class have a sort of dreamy, indistinct, indefinite idea of a Supreme Being, designated the "Great Great." But their notions of this Being are so faint and confused, as not to assume any definite shape or practical form. Evidently, they have for many ages been gradually receding from the centre-light of the Great Sun, *Revelation*; and their traditions have become less distinct and more clouded, until at length only the faintest rays of the Bible-God can be traced, so that they may literally be said to be "without God and without hope in the world."

Mr. Henry Hall, who has compiled a very excellent manual on South Africa for the use of schools and young men entering the Civil Service, says, p. 57: "Their religious ideas seem confused and indistinct, although they recognise a Supreme Being, as well as a malignant spirit." This is incorrect; they do not recognise a Supreme Being in the sense in which we use the term. Multitudes of them have no idea of such a Being at all; and the large remainder, nothing more than the floating, dreamy, indistinct supposition here noticed. Nor have they any definite notion of a "malignant spirit." All they recognise is, the *isituta*, ghost, or spirit of the departed; the rank or station in the ghost world being fixed according to the degree of eminence they attained in this, as great chiefs, or renowned warriors; but then only as first, or highest among equals. This spirit, or these spirits, may be offended and made angry by neglect or otherwise, in various ways, and may inflict punishment which the people dread, and seek to avert; but they have no conception of a "malignant spirit" in any other sense.

It is, however, evident that whatever their present state of darkness may be, their language contains words which relate

to and designate the one great Supreme Being. Thus, *Umpande*, "Origin;" *Umdali*, Creator;" *Umenze*, "To make;" *Umbezi*, "To bring forth;" *Uhlanga*, "Origin," "The First;" *Unkulunkulu*, "The Highest, the Great One."

But as to the creation, they can scarcely be said to have any very definite idea. Tradition says, that the Being we call God, "created the first human being by splitting a reed, from which came a man and two women, who were the progenitors of the human race. Also, that in order to kill one woman, *amabele*, 'corn,' was given, which, instead of killing, imparted nourishment, and has since been a chief article of food." Another tradition declares that the Great Being, *Unkulunkulu*, after creating man, sent *Unwabi*, "the Chameleon," to him, to tell him he should live for ever. After *Unwabi's* departure, however, the Great Being repented, and sent after him *Intulo*, "the quick-running salamander, to tell man he must die." *Intulo*, being swifter, outran *Unwabi*, and coming to man, delivered his message. *Unwabi* then coming up, delivered his message; but man answered him: "Go thou; we have already accepted the message which *Intulo* has brought us." "And so it is," says the tradition, "that men die." This confused tradition relates to the fall, and is a very poor, though ingenious, mode of accounting for the manner in which "death was brought into the world, and all our woe."

These traditions would indicate that at one time their ancestors had the knowledge of God which the Patriarchs possessed; their sacrifices, the nature of which will shortly be described, strengthening this supposition. But by degrees, as they removed further from the true light of revelation, "their foolish minds were darkened;" the direct knowledge of God being entirely lost, and the direct worship of God being unknown and not practised; all knowledge of a Divine Providence being also entirely obliterated, and no personal direct appeal being made to Him in prayer, or blessing sought from Him; their religion being that of terror, and their conceptions extending no further than *e isituta*.

It is not laid down as an established fact or article of belief, that the souls of *all the departed* exist in a separate state, or exercise control over the affairs of men: nor is their belief uniform upon this subject; but generally the conviction is, that all do live, but certainly the souls of their renowned chiefs, or great warriors, or distinguished ancestors; and the invocations of their priests are specially directed to these. And, although they have no definite idea as to their whereabouts, locality, or place of abode, they fully believe that the region of the *izituta* exists, and that in these ancestral shades

“Myriads of spiritual beings crowd the air,
Unseen, both when we wake and when we sleep.”

They also as firmly believe that these spirits occupy the bodies of serpents, either occasionally or constantly; and they accordingly classify the order of serpents. One was pointed out to me as the kind in which the spirits of their departed chiefs resided; in the same manner others, as tenanted by the souls of women; and yet another, as the *locale* of common people and children.

On one of my visits to an out-station the following scene occurred. I was sitting in the hut of a young man, a native convert, when, suddenly, I heard a great scuffle outside, running, shouting, throwing of sticks, &c., when shortly a dead serpent was brought and laid at my feet. Some old heathens, as well as some converts, were sitting by, among whom certain significant glances and smiles were passing. At length one of them informed me that this was the kind of serpent in which the serpent-worshippers believed the spirits of their departed chiefs took up their abode; that this was the highest kind of sacred *inyoka*, or “serpent,” and that these old men were believers in the old superstition. The old men were deeply serious, if not shocked, when they saw the dead creature lying at my feet. Addressing myself to them, I inquired if that was the *inyoka*, or “serpent,” in which they believed the spirit of their chief resided. They gave no reply. I then took their silence as admission of their

belief, and proceeded to ask some questions, amongst which were, How could they acknowledge that creature as a god, whose life could so easily be taken away by man? I supposed a God to be a great and powerful Being, who could create and destroy others, but could not be Himself destroyed; whereas, that creature was unable to defend itself, and lay lifeless before me. One old man admitted that such was their belief. I then inquired how it came there; in what part it resided; when it entered, and where it had now fled. Silence prevailed. Being desirous to know their views a little more fully and accurately upon this subject, I proceeded to say, that if they had not killed the serpent now, in process of time it would have died in the natural course of things. Where, then, would the spirit go? "Into another *inyoka*." And when that died, where then? "Into another." And where would it go last of all? This they could not answer, but sat confounded and silent.

In my address afterwards I compared their vain delusions with the certain verities of God's holy word, and their powerless *isituta* with the mighty God of the Scriptures, pointing out the great superiority of the Christian religion over all the inventions of men in heathen superstition, and urging their immediate reception of it.

They believe that the spirits of the ghost-world are always near them, are cognizant of their actions, are made angry by affront or neglect, and, as the result, inflict the various ills that befall them in sickness, loss, or death; that these *isituta* may be appeased by sacrificial offerings, and when their anger is removed, withdraw the calamities before inflicted. The *Izanusi* are the only recognised priests for conducting these sacrificial processes. Sometimes, indeed, smaller offerings may be presented, and the ceremonies be conducted by the head man of the kraal; but this is only done on a limited scale, and in relation to small matters. It will therefore be self-evident that their priests acquire great power and influence over them. In the chapter on Witchcraft, I gave a description of the manner in which they were created, and their mode of proceeding in "smelling out" witches and wizards, for

females as well as males are concerned; but in this place I shall give a more particular account of the manner in which the *isanusi* proceeds through these important ceremonies, which give *the most distinct view of his priestly office.*

No sooner does sickness or death visit a family or kraal, murrain spread among the cattle, drought prevail, or war threaten, than these terror-stricken ones, having no God of mercy to whom they can fly, and dreading the worst consequences, send for the *isanusi*, who upon his arrival makes very minute inquiries into the state and circumstances of the individual or family, the previous prognostics, what signs, omens, &c., have appeared, how they were treated, what followed, &c., &c., the whole being attended by many mysterious signs and careful investigations.

At length he declares that the spirit of some particular chief or chiefs is angry, and must be appeased by sacrifice. The sacrificial beast is called for,—probably of some particular colour, but always the best, as an imperfect one would vitiate the offering. If the poor deluded creatures have only one beast in the world, they will give it on this occasion; if they have not one, they will seek to obtain one from their friends; if they fail here, they will work, or try other methods, until they succeed.

The beast being brought, the priest addresses the *isituta*, confessing the sins of the individual, or family, or kraal, over the head of the victim about to be sacrificed. The actual affronts offered, or the wilful neglects committed, are fully and freely acknowledged, and the deserved wrath of the *isituta* admitted. A prayer is offered that this beast now to be sacrificed may be accepted, the wrath of the offended spirits turned aside, the calamities removed, and peace and prosperity bestowed; the parties concerned being intensely engaged in uniting with the *isanusi* in these confessions and prayers.

This being concluded, the beast is killed according to certain prescribed rules; every drop of blood is caught, and carefully preserved in bowls or baskets; a particular hut or house is sacredly cleaned and set apart, in which the flesh is deposited with great ceremony; the blood in

the bowls being also placed in situations specified. The wicker-work door of the hut is then carefully closed, and watchers stationed to guard the whole through the night, so that nothing may occur to mar the sacrifice or disturb the *isituta*, who are supposed, during the night, to drink in the savour of the sacrifice, not in the form of blood, but the fine serum, "*ububendi*," which issues from the flesh. The ordinary flesh or blood would be too gross for these ethereal beings; besides, by this means no opportunity can occur of detecting the fraud, and the credit of the *isanusi* is preserved.

Early on the following morning the *isanusi* opens the door of the hut with great care and many charms, examines the sacrifice amidst mysterious ceremony, and delivers his report accordingly. After this the sacrifice is cooked and eaten. Not unfrequently favourable results follow; the more so, as the priest generally exercises his medical skill in the use of bitter herbs, or other ingredients which possess good medicinal qualities. Besides this, in cases of sickness, the nerves, which have so much to do with the health or sickness of the individual, are quieted, the nervous system acquires tone, confidence is inspired in the invalid, whilst conscience, the great tormentor, is pacified; all tending to bring about the desired result. This is the nearest approach to patriarchal sacrifices I have met with among the Kaffir races.

The mode in which these ceremonies are performed differs somewhat among other Kaffir tribes, but the great leading points of observance are preserved. Thus Mr. Warner describes the practice among the Tembookies:—"The characteristic distinctions of a sacrifice are the following. It must be offered by a priest, except in a few cases of ordinary domestic sacrifices, which may be performed by the head of the family. The blood must be caught in some kind of vessel, and not spilled on the ground; and the bones must be burned.

"The ceremony of *ukwombela* is always performed; and while under the excitement (*ukuxentsa*) created thereby, the priest, professing to be inspired, declares that a certain beast,—naming its colour, &c.,—must be

slaughtered as a sacrifice. The beast, when slaughtered, is split down each side of the spine, and one side is taken possession of by the priest, and eaten by him and his family alone. The remainder is publicly eaten by all the people of the kraal, for whose benefit the sacrifice was made; but none of it can be carried off the kraal, or eaten in private. Strangers, however, who happen to be present at the ceremony, may partake thereof. During the process of sacrificing, as well as afterwards, certain rites and charms are performed; but the manner of performing them, as well as the nature of the charms used, are known only to the initiated."

We do not find in the preceding description those parts which relate more immediately to the confession of sin, or imploring favour from the *imishologu*, or *isituta*; or sacredly depositing the slaughtered beast in a house prepared for it, and the spirits, to revel and satiate themselves undisturbed through the night; or the watch set to guard the sacred emblems; all of which invest the mode practised by the Natal Kaffirs with an air of greater mystery and sacredness, and give to the whole a more specific religious character.

That I and others are not mistaken in ascribing a sacrificial religious character to these offerings and ceremonies, admits of ample proof. I shall only give one instance. On one occasion, as I was passing a number of Natal Kaffirs, in a beautiful retired glen, in company with my native teacher, I found them busily employed in eating flesh; but not seeing any of our Christian converts among them, although a number resided in the neighbourhood, I inquired particularly the reason, when I was told that this was a sacrificial beast, and our converts conscientiously avoided "eating meat offered to idols;" and, therefore, none were present. If Satan, "that old serpent," is permitted to be the accuser and deceiver of the brethren, and to be transformed into an angel of light for the purpose of carrying out his diabolical purposes among enlightened Christians, how far the Divine Being may allow him to impose upon and deceive these benighted barbarians is to us unknown. As "the prince of the power of the air,

the spirit that now ruleth in the hearts of the children of disobedience," his sway over these affrighted ones is very great; and "the strong man armed" labours most assiduously to "keep his palace and hold his goods in peace." Here he reigns, and revels unchecked and uncontrolled.

But, alas! when all is done, sickness cannot be charmed away, or death arrested in his course. "The king of terrors" marches up, and, despite priests, and charms, and sacrifices, lays his cold hand upon his victim, and remorselessly takes him away.

The following facts, in illustration, may not be without interest to the reader. On the Umgeni river, a few miles from my residence, the head man of a kraal, or village, was taken ill; about the same time a serpent took up its abode in the outer fence of the kraal, and remained there for many days. Whilst there it was adored, honoured, and invoked as a god,—was literally "*the presiding divinity of the place.*" Food was carefully provided for it, and when disposed, it came down, took its circuit among the huts, and returned to its sacred throne. I sent my native teacher,—a very excellent, intelligent Kaffir,—whom during many years I never knew tell a lie, in company with another trustworthy native, to ascertain the correctness of all that was stated, and try if they could not dislodge the serpent, and break the spell. They went and used all their arts and efforts; but in vain. It would have been regarded as an appalling act of sacrilege to have interfered with or destroyed this demigod.

The man, however, remained ill; the priest was sent for, the sacrificial beast was demanded, and the sacrifice offered in the most solemn form, everything being done which this idolatrous system allowed to make it effectual; but in vain. The man was no better, but rather grew worse. At this stage of the proceedings the case became aggravated by one of the children also being taken ill. The priest was again sent for. Upon his arrival, he declared, "That not only was the spirit of the great chief angry, as indicated by the serpent in the fence, but also a number of others, common people and children; and

therefore was the child sick." Another sacrifice was called for and offered, tears and wailings were mingled with the sorcerer's charms and the victim's blood; but with no effect,—man and child both remained ill. The priest was sent for a *third time*, and the third time the sin-offering was presented, and mercy implored, as the angry *izituta* were many; but whilst these ceremonies were being conducted, the child died, when both child and sacrifice were interred in the same grave,—the law or custom being, that if the person dies whilst the sacrificial ceremonies are being performed, the slaughtered animal shall be buried with the corpse of the deceased; probably to give it a favourable reception in the world of spirits.

Shortly afterwards the man also died; and thus ended this piece of delusion and priestcraft. The writer endeavoured to improve the event, by exposing the folly and weakness of heathenism, and directing their minds to that *one* wise and good Being, who is the source of all true comfort and solid happiness, and who alone can afford effectual aid to the sorrowful soul of man.

These two chapters open to us the interior of that temple in which the national thought and feeling dwell; they reveal the state of darkness, delusion, and terror which reign therein, and loudly call for that glorious Gospel by which life and immortality are brought to light; and increase the obligation of all enlightened Christians to bring to bear upon them those benign agencies and influences, by which they may be brought to see the light and bask in the sunbeams of God's reconciled countenance. Man's sin-stricken soul *needs pointing to that great High Priest* who "*appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself.*" "Without shedding of blood there is no remission." So declares the New Testament; so, also, affirm the priests and people of Kaffirland.

CHAPTER XIII.

RAIN-MAKERS.

THIS subject is nearly allied to that of the two preceding chapters,—indeed, forms part of the same, only relating to another part. The deep-rooted superstition of the Kaffir mind allows the full play of all the devices and cunning of priestcraft. As drought is one of the greatest calamities with which the country is visited, and is the cause of such extensive and widespread suffering, it is one of those ills against which the interests and apprehensions of the people are most anxious to provide; or, if not to prevent entirely, bring to a speedy close. This evil, like all others, is ascribed to supernatural causes; and is supposed to be occasioned by the anger of the *imishologu*, and to be averted in much the same manner as other calamities. There is no doubt but that the belief is very extensive that certain priests have power to make rain, or to cause it to rain, in connexion with the use of certain magical arts and sacrificial offerings. Hence, that part of the mysterious process to which the greatest importance is attached is the preparation and offering of the sacrificial beast, which must be of a specific colour, and in all other respects quite suitable.

That defeat must often occur in connexion with so precarious a performance must be calculated upon by the priest, and provided for. This, therefore, is the point to which he must pay careful attention throughout; so as to maintain his credit, although he fail in his cause. Hence, like the oracles of ancient heathen temples, they have to contrive that, whatever may be the result, no valid or grave reason should be wanting to account for the rain not

descending or the clouds gathering at their bidding. Consequently, when all their arts are exhausted without success, they impute their failure to the *amaggira*, or sorcerers, by whose malicious influence the rain is prevented from falling.

The power of making or giving rain, or causing it to rain, is regarded as a special and peculiar gift, not by any means belonging to all the priests alike: possibly only one in a tribe is deemed worthy of the honour; possibly he may be a petty chief, but always a man of distinction among them.

Mr. Warner writes:—"Each tribe has its national priest, or *intonga yakwomkulu*, whose duty it is to protect the person of the chief, and especially to make the army strong to fight all its enemies. The power to perform all these wonderful things they profess to derive from the *imishologu*, or ghosts of the dead, as before mentioned; they are, therefore, strictly speaking, necromancers.

"Hence, when severe drought prevails, the heavens having become as brass, and the earth as iron,—a deep, lurid, blue mist filling the atmosphere, through which the fierce rays of a burning sun dart down on the heated earth, sand, or rock; vegetation ceases; the pools are dried up, the fountains fail, the rivers cease to flow, the cattle hang down their tongues with burning thirst, the wild beasts of the desert pant for the cooling water-brook, and man feels his freshness withered by wasting languor;—then the services of the rain-maker are in loud demand, and doubtless he often quails lest the whole of his professed skill and power with the ghost-world should fail.

"At length the ominous proceedings commence by the chief sending a beast, and asking for rain. This beast is offered as a sacrifice by the rain-maker; and, unless something of an untoward nature arises to prevent, it is expected that it will rain about the day on which the bones of the sacrificial beast are burned, which is generally done on the third day after it is killed. If it does not rain within a reasonable time, the chief sends to know the reason; and the rain-maker is never at a loss for excuses, such as that the beast sent by the chief was not accept-

able to the *umshologu*; that another of a different colour must be sent, &c. When all his excuses of an ordinary nature have been exhausted, and the drought still continues, he does not hesitate to declare that sorcerers are exerting an evil influence, to prevent the rain from falling; and recommends the chief to have the *umhlahlo*, or ceremony of 'swelling out,' performed, in order to discover them. Sometimes the rain-maker himself names them; in which case the *umhlahlo* is dispensed with. Persons charged with this species of witchcraft never escape death, unless they manage to fly to another tribe. The manner of putting them to death is uniform; they are always tied neck and heels, and thrown into a hole of water in the nearest river; and their property is confiscated to the chief."*

The existence of rain-doctors, and the practice of attempted rain-making, are almost universal among the tribes of South Africa, as may be seen in the works of Messrs. Moffat, Livingstone, and the Rev. W. Shaw; only the mode of performing the rites varies; the great difference between the Bechuanas and Kaffirs being, that the former use mostly herbs and different parts of wild animals, mysteriously compounded, as charms to effect their purpose; whilst the latter present sacrificial offerings, in the form of beasts slaughtered; the whole processes being conducted by the priest in person. The reader having before him the Kaffir custom, an account of which he may find in Mr. Shaw's "Story of my Mission," I will quote an instance of what the practice is among the Bechuanas, as given by Dr. Livingstone. This occurred after a long season of severe drought:—"Rain, however, would not fall; the Bakwains believed that I had bound Sechele with some magic spell, and I received deputations of the old councillors, entreating me to allow him to make only a few showers. 'The corn will die if you refuse, and we shall become scattered. Only let him make rain this once, and we shall all, men, women, and children, come to the school, and sing and pray as long as you please!'

* "Laws and Customs," pp. 104, 105.

“The method by which the natives think they can charm the clouds to pour out their refreshing treasure, is by burning a variety of preparations; such as charcoal made of bats; inspissated renal deposit of the mountain coney, (*Hyrax Capensis*), which is also used in the form of pills, as a good anti-spasmodic; jackals’ livers, baboons’ and lions’ hearts, hairy calculi from the bowels of old cows, serpents’ skins and vertebræ, and every kind of tuber, root, and plant, to be found in the country. Conscious that civility is useful everywhere, you kindly state that you think they are mistaken as to their power; the rain-doctor selects a particular bulb, pounds it, and administers a cold infusion to a sheep, which in five minutes afterwards expires in convulsions. Part of the same bulb is converted into smoke, and ascends towards the sky; rain follows in a day or two! The inference is obvious. Were we as much harassed by droughts, the logic would be irresistible in England in 1857.

“The Bakwains still went on treating us with kindness, and I am not aware of ever having had an enemy in the tribe; but as they believed that there must be some connexion between the presence of ‘God’s word’ in their town, and these successive droughts, they looked with no good-will at the church-bell. ‘We like you,’ said the uncle of Sechele, a very influential and sensible person, ‘as well as if you had been born among us; you are the only white man we can become familiar with: but we wish you to give up that everlasting preaching and praying, we cannot become familiar with that at all. You see we never get rain, while those tribes who never pray as we do obtain abundance!’ This was a fact: and we often saw it raining on the hills, ten miles off, while it would not look at us, ‘even with one eye.’

“The rain-makers believe that medicines act by a mysterious charm; and they are all ready with such arguments as the following:—

“*Medical Doctor.*—‘Hail, friend! How very many medicines you have about you this morning! Why, you have every medicine in the country here!’

“*Rain Doctor.*—‘Very true, my friend; and I ought;

for the whole country needs the rain which I am making.'

"*M. D.*—'So you really believe that you can command the clouds? I think that can be done by God alone.'

"*R. D.*—'We both believe the very same thing. It is God that makes the rain: but I pray to Him by means of these medicines, and, the rain coming, of course it is then mine. It was I who made it for the Bakwains for many years, when they were at Shokuane; through my wisdom, too, their women became fat and shining. Ask them; they will tell you the same as I do.'

"*M. D.*—'But we are distinctly told, in the parting words of our Saviour, that we can pray to God acceptably in His name alone, and not by means of medicines.'

"*R. D.*—'Truly; but God told us differently. He made black men first, and did not love us, as He did the white men. He made you beautiful, and gave you clothing, and guns, and gunpowder, and horses, and wag-gons, and many other things, about which we know nothing. But toward us He had no heart. He gave us nothing, except the assagai, and cattle, and rain-making; and He did not give us hearts like yours. We never love each other. Other tribes place medicines about our country to prevent rain, so that we may be dispersed by hunger, and go to them, and augment their power. We must dissolve their charms by our medicines. God has given us one little thing which you know nothing of. He has given us the knowledge of certain medicines, by which we can make rain. *We* do not despise those things which you possess, though we are ignorant of them. *You* ought not to despise our little knowledge, though you are ignorant of it.'

"This is a brief specimen of their mode of reasoning, which is often remarkably acute. I never succeeded in convincing a single individual of the fallacy of his belief; and the usual effect of discussion is to produce the impression that you yourself are not anxious for rain."*

There is no point of their priestcraft which is so perilous

* LIVINGSTONE, pp. 19-21.

as rain-making, or, rather, failing to accomplish that which they have engaged to do. Sometimes, by a sort of lucky passing shower, they succeed for a time; but that Being who

“Points the clouds their course,
Whom winds and seas obey,”

often confounds their dark designs, and renders abortive their utmost efforts; so that, when all their shifts are exhausted, they must flee for their lives to a distant tribe; or are put to an ignominious death in the manner before described; thus they live not out half their days.

They are ignorant of the laws of true philosophy and science, by which the whole phenomena of nature are so plain to us, and so easily explained by the educated man. They are also ignorant of that Being whom the Scriptures acknowledge,—“who makes the clouds His chariot, and rides upon the wings of the wind;” who “crowns the year with His goodness; and whose paths drop fatness. They drop upon the pastures of the wilderness: and the little hills rejoice on every side.” These are beautifully paraphrased by the poet:—

“Sing to the Lord: exalt Him high,
Who spreads His clouds along the sky;
There He prepares the fruitful rain,
Nor lets the drops descend in vain.

“He makes the grass the hills adorn,
And clothes the smiling fields with corn;
The beasts with food His hands supply,
And the young ravens when they cry.”

And again:—

“On the thin air, without a prop,
Hang fruitful showers around;
At Thy command they sink, and drop
Their fatness on the ground.”

Yes, they are ignorant of these truths, and of these

facts, and the worst forms of delusion and terror are the result. Whilst these things may excite or gratify our curiosity, they also establish an additional claim upon our consideration and effort ; so that, by the bright beams of Christian truth, and the certain laws of scientific discovery, they may attain true knowledge and abiding peace.

CHAPTER XIV.

SACRIFICES CONNECTED WITH THE LIGHTNING.

THE awful grandeur of the thunder-storm is invested with peculiar terror to these wild sons of Nature. When the battling elements rend the heavens,—thundering Jove rolling on his course, in long, loud, mighty peals,—the forked lightning pouring down a molten stream of fire on the earth; or darting from his slumbering lair, to strike his trembling victim with instant death,—all nature being wrought to tempest; these untaught denizens of the wilderness recognise not the voice of an angry God, nor decipher the laws of science, by which the cool philosopher expatiates upon and explains the whole phenomena, according to well understood principles. Instead of this, they are thrown back upon their own crude notions and superstitious fears; and, in the highest flights of imagination, only suppose these convulsions and explosions of nature,—to them *supernatural*,—to be produced by the mind and action of the *imishologu*. But even among these, the spirits of common people departed are not supposed to take a part: the cause and action of fatal lightning is assigned to the demi-god who occupies the first place and highest seat. They consider that the lightning is governed by the *imishologu*, or ghost, of the greatest and most renowned of their departed chiefs, who is emphatically styled the *inkosi*; but they are not at all clear which of their ancestors is intended by this designation. But, as being supreme, he points out the object, directs the aim, announces the summons, and receives the victim.

But they (the Kaffirs) are at a loss to know whether the stricken person or beast must be regarded in the light of

an honoured one, or as visited with a calamitous stroke, as the great *inkosi* has sent for him, and needs his services. Hence they allow of no lamentation being made for a person killed by lightning; as they say it would be a sign of disloyalty to lament for one whom the *inkosi* had sent for, and whose services he consequently needed; and it would cause him to punish them, by making the lightning to descend again, and do them greater injury.

However, without stopping to resolve the question as to whether the person is honoured or otherwise who is cut off by lightning, they sacredly observe and carefully perform the various "rites connected with sacrificing to the *inkosi* of the lightning. When it strikes a kraal, man, or beast, &c., whatever idea they may attach to the term *inkosi*, they offer the sacrifice of a beast in the most solemn manner. When the lightning kills either man or animal, a priest is sent for immediately, who, in the first place, ties a number of chains round the neck of every individual belonging to the kraal, in order that they may have power to dig the grave; for animals, as well as human beings, are always buried when struck by lightning, and the flesh is never eaten.

"After the body of the individual, or the carcase of the beast, as the case may be, has been buried, the sacrificial beast is killed; a fire is then kindled, in which certain charms of wood or roots are burned to charcoal, and then ground to powder. The priest then makes incisions in various parts of the bodies of each person belonging to the kraal, into which incisions he inserts a portion of the powdered charcoal; the remainder he puts into a portion of some milk, and gives each individual to drink thereof; and from the time that the lightning strikes a kraal, until this ceremony has been performed, the people are obliged to abstain entirely from the use of milk. Their heads are then shaved. Should a house have been struck, it must be abandoned, together with every utensil belonging to it. Until all these rites have been performed, none of the people are allowed to leave their kraals, or to have any intercourse whatever with others; but when they have been performed, they are pronounced clean, and may again

associate with their neighbours. Nevertheless, certain restrictions are continued for several months: such as, that none of the live stock, and a few other things belonging to the kraal, can be allowed to pass into other hands, either by the way of war, gift, or sale. The priest who officiates at the ceremonies connected with this custom is always well paid, generally receiving for his services from six to ten head of cattle."

There is a marked difference betwixt the doubtful action of the rain-maker, and the certain course of the priest who sacrifices to the *inkosi* in lightning. The former performs his magic arts with uncertain results; and, possibly, the whole may be followed by "tying him neck and heels together, and casting him into a pool in the nearest river;" whilst the latter has the work done for him, and has only to perform the priestly office, with certain advantageous results,—taking six or ten beasts as his rich reward. It may be that the same person officiates in both cases, as all are connected with the priestly office; if so, the satisfaction in the latter case must be much greater than in the former.

The foregoing chapters disclose much, but not all, that relates to witchcraft, priestcraft, sacrificial offerings, and superstitious belief. I have sought to place before the eye of the reader all that is really interesting or important, without exhausting the subject. There is no doubt but that these priests are to a considerable extent deceived themselves, as well as the deceivers of others. Also, that in addition to self-deception, they have often to revert to every kind of jugglery in order effectually to impose upon others and maintain their craft. If we are believers in Divine Revelation, there is nothing new or wonderful about this grand scheme of imposition and deception. Thus, in Exodus vii. 11, we read: "Then Pharaoh also called the wise men and the sorcerers; now the magicians of Egypt, they also did in like manner with their enchantments." And in Daniel ii. 2: "Then the king commanded to call the magicians, and the astrologers, and the sorcerers, and the Chaldeans, for to shew the king his

dreams. So they came and stood before the king," &c. Some may say that it is "too late" in the day of advancement and enlightenment to bring forward such illustrations and analogies. To this I demur, *à posteriori*: we travel back to those times, and find those two ancient nations, the most civilized, enlightened, and powerful of *heathen* nations,—the only difference between them and the Kaffirs being, that they were *enlightened* and *civilized* *heathens*, whilst the Kaffirs are dark and barbarous heathens. The priests of Baal also added sacrificial offerings to all the arts of necromancy; and multitudes of enlightened, civilized Jews were led astray by these fire-worshippers, and sank into the worst forms of idolatry.

With these facts before us, is there anything unreasonable in supposing that Satanic influence may be added to all the force of systematic deception; and that, as a natural result, a vast power is exerted over the mind of the nations? that priestcraft is made not only a powerful state engine, but also the instrument of carrying out every kind of dark and diabolical deed among the people? Yes, and blind, depraved human nature delights to have it so.*

There cannot, either, be any question but that this system of priestcraft, working upon the universal and almost unlimited superstitious fears of the people, presents one of the most effectual barriers to their improvement and evangelization. There is a peculiar kind of infatuation about it: for, as already stated, their most eminent priests generally come to a violent death before they have lived out half their days. This death is inflicted for supposed jugglery, deception, or inefficiency; and we might suppose, as a natural consequence, that the confidence of the people in the system must be effectually shaken, if not utterly destroyed. But it is not so; for they have no

* I offer no personal opinion upon these subjects, but merely state facts, principles, and results; leaving each person to form his own opinion. But I see no necessity whatever for uniting with the modern philosophic sceptic in ignoring things in the present day, which were fully admitted in days of yore, in important events, and transactions among ancient nations, and in connexion with revealed truth.

sooner thrown one of these deluded and deluding wretches, tied hand and foot, into a deep hole of the nearest river, than they turn their attention to another living one with still greater credulity and confidence; often sending for him from a distant part of the country, where he has been apparently successful and acquired fame. In him they repose confidence, until "his day is past;" and thus the succession (not apostolical) is kept up, and goes on without interruption.

The priests themselves are the parties who the most systematically seek to bind these delusive fetters around the necks of the people, and most vigilantly guard every avenue of approach by which a breach might be made in the wall of this vast citadel of error. No one who has not been behind the scenes, and observed all the acts of blinding and trickery resorted to by these fiends incarnate, can possibly conceive the amount of deluding influence they bring into unceasing operation. So that, if the Missionary, or his *tinkling bell*, be the ominous cause why the clouds of heaven do not gather, and the fertilizing rains descend, at the bidding of these arch blasphemers; these priest-doctors are the great, expanded, ubiquitous spirit and power by which the efforts of the Missionary are paralysed, his hopes blighted, and his successes prevented. "Their craft is in danger;" and all heathendom must be thrown into "uproar," rather than this great god or "goddess" be brought into jeopardy.

The great power which they exert against the social and national improvement and advancement of the nations is dwelt upon in the chapters on "Improvement," and needs not be entered into in this place.

CHAPTER XV.

GOVERNMENT AND LAWS.

THE materials at hand on this subject, if elaborately carried out, would form a long chapter; I shall, however, be as brief as the importance of the subject will allow. Some of the laws, &c., receive their illustration and application in the particular chapters upon the subjects to which they relate,—as, Witchcraft, Polygamy, Marriage, Circumcision, &c.,—and will not therefore need a separate notice.

Much of what relates to the Government and Laws of the Amazulu, has been detailed in the history of that nation, and will not need repeating here. The tribes of Natal will be unnoticed. As they have been in so disorganized a state since the invasion of Utshaka, their laws, &c., cannot be regarded as distinct and consolidated. Besides which, their laws either are passing away, or ought so to be; for, being British subjects, in a British colony, under an English government, with English magistrates, the anomaly of Kaffir Government and Laws is either becoming obsolete, or ought so to be without delay. Theophilus Shepstone, Esq., has long been at the head of the native department, and has managed them (the natives) with great ability and success; so that for the space of twenty years but few instances of disorganization and heavy crimes have occurred, but, on the contrary, general peace and prosperity have prevailed. The general complaint against this officer has been, that he has too great a desire to re-establish their tribal distinctions, and bring their old laws and institutions into as

much prominence as possible. Indeed, at one time, he proposed to establish a native kingdom to the south-west of the Natal Colony, to relieve the Colony of its excess of population; over which he desired to be placed as chief paramount, in British pay; but the proposition did not meet with favour among many, and so was abandoned.

With these explanations premised, my notice of the Government and Laws of the Amazulu will be brief; of the Amaxosa, more extended.

Utshaka has been represented as an irresponsible despot, whose will was law, and whose word was absolute. Such was the fact, but only in a qualified sense. He only exercised unlimited despotic power after he had acquired absolute dominion. But even then he did not resolve upon great state matters, without consulting with his chief officers, and being assured he should carry the approval of the nation with him. His personal acts of cruelty, and utter indifference to suffering and life, were unnumbered, and are untold; but these were mere acts of caprice, in which so many persons were brutally sacrificed, but did not affect any great state question.

Those who read carefully his history, as recorded in the former part of this volume, will perceive that he mounted the pinnacle of fame by a course of very carefully prepared plans, and by much tact and policy in their execution; and, only when he felt himself secure, did he rear his majestic head, and with full-blown power issue his imperious commands.

In the Amazulu polity, there were three estates:—
1. The king, as supreme. 2. The chief *indoonas*, ordinarily two; those of Utshaka were Sotobe and Bosombosa. These were “prime ministers,” or “first ministers of state,” the chief’s “confidential advisers,” “the eyes and ears of the king.” As such, they were sent to Cape Town, on a mission to the governor, in the little vessel built at Natal under Captain King.

The names of these chief officers of state, under Udin-gaan, were Dambosa and Umhlela, of whom Captain Allen Gardiner gives no very favourable account. Umpanda’s were, Ukufa, Inquazi, and Masipula.

3. The third order in the state were the subordinate *indoonas*; these were the servants or captains of the chief *indoonas*, as the chief *indoonas* were the immediate counsellors of the king. Dambosa was shot by the Boers, when on an embassy from his chief to their Volksraad; and his (Dambosa's) *indoona* was also put to death with him at the same time. This third order of officers was the organ of communication betwixt the government and the people. There were thus the king, the lords, and commons. Many of these last-named were petty chiefs, and ruled over certain assigned districts, under their lords paramount; as also captains in the army. My impression is, that this was the relative position in the state which the first settlers at Natal occupied. Thus Farewell, King, Fynn, and others, were captains over those parts of the country around the Bay where they resided. They, from their stand-point, probably did not regard themselves in this light; but the authorities at the Amazulu court did.

It will not be needful to enumerate in detail the various crimes and their respective punishments here, as I purpose giving a fuller account of these in connexion with the Amaxosa Kaffirs. At a future period, it will be seen that the nature of crime, and the amount of punishment awarded, were very different to what obtains in civilized states. But this arose from the different relative positions of the parties under civilized or barbaric law and custom, as compared with civilized countries; that being a heinous crime in the one state which was only comparatively small in the other, and the punishment regulated accordingly. But, in general, it may be observed that caprice and favouritism had much to do with the amount of punishment inflicted; yea, often with the innocence or guilt of the party accused. Punishment was ordinarily inflicted in a speedy and summary manner. Life was cheap: and the loss of a few individuals, or a few scores, was a matter of small moment. After the sentence of death was pronounced, sometimes by a motion of the hand or a nod of the head, the culprit was led off instantly to execution: there was no lingering in the "condemned cell" with the "hope of a respite." The gathering shades

of the same evening drew their sable pall over the dying and the dead.

In conducting law or criminal cases, there were three tribunals before which the accused were brought, according to the relative magnitude of the offence:—the *first* being the subordinate *indoonas*, captains, or heads of kraals: the *second*, those connected with the chief counsellors, or judges of state: the *third*, the king in council. Before the first of these, petty disputes and small cases were settled and dismissed, or punished under certain regulations; before the second, graver cases were tried; and before the third, matters of the greatest moment. As before intimated, men were often put to death for trivial offences, or for no offence at all.

THE ARMY.

The organization of the army, with the mode of conducting warfare, was detailed at considerable length in the chapter on the history of Utshaka; so that a few words in this place will suffice. Of officers, there was the *generalissimo* of the forces, as supreme. Sometimes he was the king himself; sometimes the officer of state next to him in authority. There were then the *captains*, or commanders of regiments. The regiments were about fifteen hundred strong. The regiments consisted of three divisions. 1. The first, *amadoda* men; these were *veterans*,—tried men,—the men on whom chief reliance was placed to bear the shock of battle, and bravely win the victory. 2. The boys, or young men, of whom a drawing is given. These were full of fire, and anxious to distinguish themselves in battle, in order to obtain the first rank and place in the army. 3. The commissariat. The third part of the army consisted of carriers of baggage, food, &c.; also drivers of cattle taken in war. Thus the actual warriors were unencumbered, having their karosses carried, and whatever else was required on the campaign. Those who composed this third division of the army usually consisted of prisoners taken in war, who were thus reduced to the most menial and humbling services.

As before stated, the whole country was one compact, ably-fortified garrison, under Utshaka; the military towns being placed in the most favourable localities, and kept with the most vigilant care; so that the centre-spring at the capital could quickly put this vast organization into motion, for all strategic or aggressive purposes. Nothing like this has been known elsewhere, or conducted on so large a scale in South Africa. No one ever held sway over so vast a range of country, or had the whole under such perfect subjection.

Having passed over the part of this chapter relating to the Natal and Amazulu Kaffirs, with as much brevity as the subject would allow, I shall enter somewhat more fully into detail in that part which relates to the Kaffir tribes, usually designated Amaxosa.

I need make no apology for quoting the following outline of a part of Kaffir law entire.

“THE GOVERNMENT AND ITS PRACTICAL OPERATION.

“It is common to talk of the *despotism* of Kaffir chiefs. If by the use of this term it is intended to be implied that the will of the chief is the sole law of the nation, it is incorrect. The government amongst the tribes on this side of the Bashee is not a despotism. Such a term may be applicable to the rule of Mosheshe, the Basutu chief, who boasted that when he spoke the mountains moved; or to the tyranny of Tshaka, the head of the Amazulu, who would order a number of his people, unarmed, to catch a hippopotamus alive, *and be obeyed*, too, so far at least as the attempt was concerned, although it involved the certain and wanton sacrifice of many lives. The government of the Amaxosa and Abatembu tribes is a sort of mixture of patriarchy and feudalism. Age gives great weight and influence to the will of a chief, and most chiefs of rank can generally find means to accomplish their wishes; but if these wishes involve the death or the spoliation of any of their subjects, they are usually obliged to resort to some form of law, to give colour to their procedure. In the case of a Kaffir chief, the principal checks

to the despotic inclinations which the possession of power always induces, are, 1st, the division of the tribes; and, 2ndly, the existence of a very influential council.

“The operation of succession to the chieftainship has led to the formation of various tribes nearly equal in power to each other. It is very common for persons who have exposed themselves to the ire of their own chiefs, to take refuge amongst some tribe adjoining; and, on doing so, they become so far safe, as to be within the protection of a custom which forbids their arbitrary seizure by their own chief, and places them on the same footing (until investigation take place) as the subjects of the chief amongst whose people they have taken refuge. Any attempt to interfere with them by violence, when once they are within the territory of another tribe, would be resented by an instant rising of the clans nearest them in their defence, and that without any inquiry as to the merits of the case. The desire of each chief to increase the number of his retainers, often induces him to throw obstacles in the way of any investigation that would be likely to lead to the surrender of any man who had placed himself under his authority and protection from another tribe. It is therefore very common for all farther prosecution of a chief's quarrel with his delinquent subject to be abandoned, on the culprit once gaining the ‘city of refuge’ which another tribe affords him. The practical limitation of the power of the chiefs, arising from the above circumstances, is easily perceived.

“The existence of a council, in which all matters of importance are discussed at length, is another check upon the power of the chiefs. This council, the members of which are called *amapakati*, (literally ‘middle ones,’) is composed of commoners; who, by their courage in war, or their skill in debate on public questions, or in unravelling intricate law-suits, have acquired great popular influence, and are thus qualified either to sustain or control the power of the chiefs. They generally reside in different parts of the country, and have a sort of civil jurisdiction over their respective neighbourhoods. A few of them are mostly to be found at the chief's residence; but on the

occurrence of any matter of public importance, the arrival of a message of consequence from the chief of another tribe, or the proposition of any particular measure on the part of their own chief, they are all summoned to the *umzi wakwomkulu*, and no decision is come to till the matter has been thoroughly discussed in all its bearings. As every one of these *amapakati* has his own partizans and favourites in the tribe, so the shield of the *patron* is often interposed between his *client* and his chief.

“The operation of the influence of the *amapakati* in modifying the power of the chiefs is remarkable, as it has its periodical revolution, its waxings and wanings. Some idea of the nature of these alterations may be acquired by tracing the operation of a custom which exists amongst the principal chiefs, of making one of the youngest of their wives the ‘great wife.’ The ground of this custom will be best understood from a view of the usual career of a chief in relation to his matrimonial alliances.

“The first wife of a Kaffir chief, ‘the wife of his youth,’ is not unfrequently taken from amongst the families of his own counsellors. He is as yet ‘unknown to fame;’ his wealth is not so considerable as it is to be. After a while his alliance becomes more worthy the attention of those of other tribes, whose daughters demand a higher dowry than was required by the humbler parents of his first wife. Another and another are sent to him; for it must be borne in mind that a Kaffir chief does not choose his own wives. He is surprised from time to time by the arrival of a bridal party, bringing with them as his offered bride some chief’s daughter, whom he has never seen before. The danger of refusing her is according to the rank and power of the family to which she belongs; for, to decline such an alliance, is to offer a public insult to the whole tribe. The usual order of things, then, is, that as a chief grows older and richer, wives of higher rank are sent to him, and the reasons which operate against their refusal, operate also against their having an inferior rank allotted to them in the successional distribution. The mother of him who is to be the ‘great son’ may thus be the last wife.

the chief has taken; which is, in fact, sometimes the case.

“The result of this process is, that a chief, dying in his old age, leaves a minor, often a mere child, to succeed him. What, then, is the position of the young chief? He finds himself surrounded by a number of grey-headed veteran associates of his father, who are strong in the possession of long-continued popular influence, and insolent from their consciousness of possessing it. If he will yield himself to their sway, his course is smoothened for him; if he manifests much self-will, they do not scruple to remind him that they were the counsellors and companions of his father before he was born; that his mother owed her appointment, and consequently her son his rank, to their advice and influence: and they will sometimes hint that they can *unmake* as well as make chiefs; and threaten him with the elevation of a brother as a rival.

“The rule of a young chief is thus in reality the rule of the old counsellors of the tribe. The relative position of the two parties, however, gradually changes. While the young chief is advancing towards the vigour and resolution of manhood, the course of nature is carrying the most venerable of his haughty mentors to the grave, and thus removing some of the most formidable obstacles to his own exercise of power. On the other hand, his own party, formed of the young and active spirits of the tribe, is growing in strength. By degrees he ventures on bolder measures. One after another of the old *amapakati* falls a victim to an accusation of witchcraft, the Kaffir state engine for the removal of the obnoxious; and, by the time the young chief has grown old in his turn, he has surrounded himself with another set of counsellors, who, enriched by the spoils of their predecessors, and inheritors of their influence, are prepared to do for the successor of their master what their own forerunners and victims did for himself; to be in their turn the victims of a system perpetuated from generation to generation.

“Such in one point of view is the practical working of the Kaffir system of government, as regards the tribes individually considered. That under such a system there

should be more than enough of tyranny, might be inferred from the natural rapacity of power. But it is not the tyranny of *one*, whose will no other dares to thwart. It is divided amongst many, and is often more or less neutralized by the rival popular interests of the tyrannizers themselves.

“A view of the *constitutional* sources of a Kaffir chief's revenue, and its expenditure, will throw a little more light on this subject.

“As cattle constitute the sole wealth of the people, so they are their only medium of such transactions as involve exchange, payment, or reward. The retainers of a chief serve him for cattle; nor is it expected that he could maintain his influence, or indeed secure any number of followers, if unable to provide them with what at once constitutes their money, food, and clothing. He requires, then, a constant fund from which to satisfy his dependents; and the amount of the fund required may be judged of from the character of the demand made upon him. His retinue, court, or whatever it is to be called, consists of men from all parts of the tribe, the young, the clever, and the brave, who come to *busa* (do court service) for a time, that they may obtain cattle to furnish them with the means of procuring wives, arms, or other objects of desire. On obtaining these they return to their homes, and give place to others. Thus the immediate retinue of the chief is continually changing, and constitutes a permanent drain upon his resources. To meet this he has—

“1. The inherited cattle of his father. Not that he inherits the whole of his father's cattle. A prospective division of these is made at the time of the successional division of the chieftainship. The portion allotted to the ‘great’ house, the cattle of the *umzi wakwomkulu*, constitute the inheritance of the ‘great’ son. This previous division of his father's property thus obliges every chief to begin his ‘reign’ with less wealth than his father possessed.

“2. The *amawakhe*, or inauguration offerings. These consist of cattle, made on the day the chief completes his novitiate after circumcision. It having been previously

announced to all the chiefs of rank in the nation, a grand meeting of the principal men of the tribe takes place on the day appointed; the young chief is presented to the counsellors of his father, who lecture him, in terms not the most courteous or respectful, on his future conduct; the offerings and presents of the chiefs of other tribes are received, and constitute a formal recognition of their young compeer, and an acknowledgment of his rank, which accordingly dates from that ceremony.

“3. The *ukugola*. This is a sort of occasional tribute, or ‘benevolence,’ as our old English sovereigns would term it, and consists of cattle furnished by the rich *commoners* of the chief’s own tribe, to assist him in some special emergency.

“4. Fines and confiscations. The universal punishment for crime is fining; cases of supposed witchcraft excepted, which usually involve the torture and cruel death of the party accused, and the seizure of all he possesses. In levying fines, however, a distinction is made between cases involving personal injury, and those which affect property merely. *Persons* are considered the property of the chief. Fines imposed for acts of violence committed on the person—cases of ‘blood’—are accordingly claimed by him, and the person or family whose blood has been shed receives no part of it. In what may be termed the *civil* cases, *i. e.*, those infringing on the rights of individual property, the party aggrieved claims the fine levied; but is nevertheless expected to fee the chief and his officials pretty liberally out of it; supposing the case to have been brought before him for legal investigation, which however is, generally speaking, only when the ‘lower courts’ have been unable to settle it.

“The above may be termed the *regular* sources of a Kaffir chief’s revenue. Presents extorted by personal importunity during *visits of friendship*, and the results of predatory excursions, belong to the ‘unfixed contingencies.’

“From the above remarks it will be seen that a Kaffir chief is in some respects dependent upon the goodwill of his people, and that it is necessary he should to a certain extent cultivate the arts of popularity. Accordingly, the

cases of glaring oppression are only occasional, and occur where the hope of sharing in the spoil leads the majority of the *amapakati* to support their chief in victimizing some unfortunate individual whose wealth constitutes his crime.

“The foregoing observations chiefly respect the administration of the tribes separately considered. There is, however, a sort of general government, centring in the chief and council of the tribe first in hereditary rank, which extends to all the other tribes. It is, indeed, of rather a loose character, and interferes with the internal affairs of individual tribes only in cases of appeal, or when, as sometimes occurs, the chief of the tribe himself refers the case to the ‘great chief’ for decision. Its general sphere of exercise is in such matters as affect the relations of the tribes with each other. In any case of this nature which may arise, the decision is supposed to rest with the *ukumkani*, as the paramount chief is designated. It is accordingly expected that the parties concerned will send their respective representations on the merits of the case to the council of the *ukumkani*, to be tried there. The sickness or death of any secondary or subordinate chief; disputes with regard to ‘the succession’ in any of the secondary tribes; insults or injuries deemed to afford cause for an attack by one tribe on another; are among the cases of which the general government takes cognizance: and any subordinate tribe which should neglect to send a formal report of such matters to the ‘great place,’ and abide by the decision there pronounced, would be considered as having contemned the authority of the supreme government, and would be amenable accordingly.

“Such is, in brief outline, the system of government which obtains amongst the tribes of the Amaxosa. It is, like other governments, the offspring of circumstances to a considerable extent; and although defective in many important respects, forms one amongst a variety of facts which give a practical contradiction to the assertion that the Kaffirs belong to the lowest grade of the earth’s population in point of intellectual development.* That it is very desirable it should be superseded by something better,

* “See PRICHARD’S ‘Physical History of Man.’”

may, however, be readily granted; and will perhaps appear all the more fully, if we notice a few of the defects which it presents.

“1. With the exception of the principle of hereditary succession, it recognises no fixed constitution or system of legislation. The appointment of the primary chieftainship is frequently the subject of caprice or intrigue, as might be expected where a plurality of wives obtains, and rival family interests present their clashing claims. There is at present a case in point, in the circumstances of the Imidushane, one of the principal tribes on the frontier; where, a fit of personal disgust having led Dushane to the informal supercession of his ‘great wife’ by another, two rival candidates for *ubukulu* (‘greatness’) have arisen in the two sons whose mothers have thus at different times been claimants of the rank so much coveted. Nor was the disputed succession settled when the present war broke out.

“And then with regard to the principles of administration:—Some regard is paid to the decision of such chiefs of former days as were of note for sagacity and wisdom; and appeals are often made to them in the council debates, as furnishing general grounds upon which to decide existing cases. These are, however, forgotten in the course of a generation or two; and thus cease to influence after the lapse of a few years. Besides which, a chief of the present generation may equal or surpass his forefathers in wisdom, and thus his decisions, although differing in many respects from theirs, may come to be the oracles of his children in preference to those of an earlier date. The government is thus liable in this respect to incessant fluctuation, being destitute of the solid basis for regular action, which fixed principles alone can afford.

“2. It confounds the legislative, judicial, and executive departments.—The laws originate in the decisions of the chief and his council; but the same council forms the great law-court of the tribe, in which the chief sits as judge, and afterwards enforces the execution of his own sentences, or perhaps inflicts the awarded punishment with his own hand. It is needless to enlarge on the practical effect of this. It is universally admitted to be dangerous

to the claims of justice, when the same party that is to administer the law is intrusted to make it.

“3. It affords no guarantee for the uniform administration of justice.—There is no ‘*letter of the law*’ to appeal to, and thus there is much scope for the exercise of favouritism; of which, doubtless, from the powerful influence of the principal counsellors, very much exists. The facility of escape to another tribe, already noticed, is farther obstructive of the impartial administration of justice, even in cases where the law is clear; and thus greatly checks the repression of crime by the impunity which it offers to delinquents in affording them a place of refuge.

“The above considerations may serve to show that, for the true ends of government, the conservation of order, and the promotion of social comfort and happiness, the system existing amongst the Kaffir tribes is destitute of energy and efficiency.

“On the other hand, lawless and predatory habits are greatly fostered by the peculiar position and privileges of the *untitled* members of the chiefs’ families. In the numberless ramifications of these which exist, there is provided an exhaustless supply of leaders for any enterprise which promises booty; and there are always numbers of young men of a restless roving disposition ready for any career of adventure that holds out the prospect of obtaining cattle. Disputes and quarrels furnish frequent excuses for petty expeditions of this kind, in which cattle are swept off as a speedy mode of settling what the regular process of law might take some time to decide. These give occasion for others of a similar character by way of reprisal; and as opportunities for displaying courage and address are afforded by such forays, and as there is little to lose in them for those who have nothing, and at least the *prospect* of gain to stimulate them, in addition to the pride of distinction, such enterprises are very popular, although they often lead to feuds of a serious character, and of course oppose a formidable obstacle to social advancement.”*

* “Kaffir Laws and Customs,” pp. 23-33.

The preceding quotation relates to the general constitution of the government. In order that the reader may have the whole subject before him in a connected form, at a glance, of which the above is only a part, I have prepared the following synopsis, numbering each particular; taking great principles first, and numbering their subordinates under them.

I. *The Constitution of the Government.*—In which we note, 1. *That the chieftainship is hereditary.* 2. *The heir is often a minor, as being the son of the "great wife."* She is frequently taken when the paramount chief is far advanced in life; so that the father may die soon after the rightful heir is born; and although there may be other sons grown up to man's estate, yet they cannot claim the throne. 3. *During the minority a regent is appointed; sometimes the mother of the heir, and sometimes the great council of the nation.* 4. *Hence, the old counselors of the deceased chief practically govern the nation, until the heir comes of age; which is, ordinarily, when he has completed his eighteenth year.* 5. *The other sons of the paramount chief take rank according to certain established usages, as before detailed, thus,—after the "Great House," there is the "Right Hand House," &c.* It will thus be evident at a glance that a vast field of litigation is thrown open, and much scope given for feud, jealousy, and strife,—sometimes burning tribal war. 6. *They acknowledge a certain head, or paramount chief, of the whole nation, who in position is higher than all the tribal chiefs, but who exercises no actual control over their separate independent action. He may, however, be consulted on great state subjects and special occasions. Thus, by a reference to the scale of tribes, it will be seen that the Abatembu is the highest in rank, whilst the Amaxosa is the lowest. And of the Amaxosa Khili is paramount, whilst Kobi is lowest. Qeya is the paramount chief of all Kaffirland. Yet he is only a young man of twenty-three, having recently come into power (1865). The writer saw him a few years ago, when he was still a minor, and his mother Nonese and brother Joyi were regents.*

II. The *Amapakati*.—Next to the royal family in order and office are the *amapakati*; or, Great Council of the Nation. The members of this council are persons of the greatest intelligence and influence, selected from different parts of the tribe, some of whom are always at the “great place,” and the whole may be called on great state occasions. The king does not usually transact affairs of great importance without carefully consulting them; so that, in this way, despotic power is greatly modified. This is also the great law court—“House of Lords”—of the nation; before which all cases of importance are tried; and though the king pronounces sentence, yet he is careful to take the will or approval of the council with him. The *amapakati* have great influence in the nation, and great power over the chief. And, as before stated, they have to arrange and carry out the regency of the young king. These authorities constitute the two great powers before which all law cases are tried and determined.

III. *Offences*.—The offences to be brought before the king and council may be designated *criminal* and *civil*.
1. The *criminal* cases belong to the king, in which he becomes “public prosecutor,” levies and receives the fines, taking all the benefit to himself, which forms one very important part of his revenue. *The principle is, the king claims the person, and all matters relating to him, as his property; the subject claims the property, as cattle, &c., as his own. Hence, whatever offence relates to the person becomes criminal, or constitutes a criminal case; and whatever offence relates to the property of the individual, is a civil case.* So that, whilst theft is most distinctly a criminal case among the English, it is a civil case among the Kaffirs, as *it relates to the property of the subject*. The following is a list of *criminal cases*: murder, witchcraft, treason, rape, abortion, incest, unnatural crimes, &c.; as will be seen, all relating to the person. *Civil cases*: adultery, seduction of virgins, theft, injury to property by trespass or otherwise, marriage disputes, divorce, inheritance; as will be seen, all relating to property. Adultery, and some other of these last offences, might be classed among

those which relate to the person ; but it must not be forgotten, that *the wife is the property of the husband*. He has bought her, and paid for her in cattle ; and hence, in Kaffir jurisprudence, she is looked upon and treated as any other *article of property*. But as to the seduction of virgins, it is merely nominal : how humbling the fact, that *they have no word in their language for "virgin !"* Those who have read, or may read, the chapter on circumcision, will see how it must be so, in the nature of things.

Among the criminal cases, probably witchcraft is a much greater offence than murder ; and, as may be seen in the chapter on that subject, is, indeed, a fearful state engine, and the source from which the king's treasury is replenished more than any other. Murder includes also homicide and accidental murder. *The intention is not taken into account : it is simply the fact that the life of one of the king's subjects has been taken, and must be atoned for by fine*. The circumstances and intentions might be taken into consideration in levying *the amount of fine*, but not as affecting the crime itself. Abortion is a very common crime, extensively practised, and lightly punished. But it is criminal, because it relates to the life of a person in embryo ; but a female does not lose caste in Kaffir society for the crime itself, as it is universally known that pregnancy among the unmarried is rather an *accident* than a natural result, as, probably, a pure virgin is unknown.

IV. *The Legal Process*.—Before entering upon this particular, it is needful to observe that, 1. In a Kaffir law-suit, the *opposite* of what prevails among the English is observed. With us, the accused party is regarded as being "innocent" until his "guilt is proved ;" with them, the accused is regarded and treated as "guilty" until his "innocence is established." 2. It is also a point of great importance to observe, that with us guilt or innocence is established by means of "*witnesses* ;" but among them there are no "*public informers*," or *volunteers*, to establish guilt ; so that the accused must pass through a most thorough sifting in the way of cross-examination ;

and here the tact and cleverness of these accomplished disputants and lawyers especially appears: every advantage is taken of forgetfulness, evasion, mistake, or self-contradiction.

“When a man has ascertained that he has sufficient grounds to enter an action against another, his first step is to proceed, with a party of his friends or adherents, armed, to the residence of the person against whom his action lies. On their arrival, they sit down in some conspicuous position, and await quietly the result of their presence. As a law party is readily known by the aspect and deportment of its constituents, its appearance at any kraal is the signal for mustering all the adult male residents that are forthcoming. These accordingly assemble, and also sit down together, within conversing distance of their generally unwelcome visitors. The two parties perhaps survey each other in silence for some time. “Tell us the news!” at length exclaims one of the adherents of the defendant, should their patience fail first. Another pause sometimes ensues, during which the party of the plaintiff discuss in an under-tone which of their company shall be “opening counsel.” This decided, the “learned gentleman” commences a minute statement of the case, the rest of the party confining themselves to occasional suggestions, which he adopts or rejects at pleasure. Sometimes he is allowed to proceed almost uninterrupted to the close of the statement; the friends of the defendant listening with silent attention, and treasuring up in their memories all the points of importance for a future stage of the proceedings. Generally, however, it receives a thorough sifting from the beginning, every assertion of consequence being made the occasion of a most searching series of cross-questions.

“The case thus fairly opened, which often occupies several hours, it probably proceeds no farther the first day. The plaintiff and his party are told that the ‘men’ of the place are from home; and there are none but ‘children’ present, who are not competent to discuss such important matters.”

The stages subsequently pursued are,—on the following

day, the parties for the accusation and defence muster in strength, when the whole case is gone into; and for many a wearying hour these tenacious disputants engage in wordy gladiatorial combat. The process I shall not stay to describe here: if they can come to terms, without proceeding further, they do so. But if not, as soon as convenient they bring the "case" before the *amapakati* of the district. If this does not succeed, they formally take it to the "Great Place," where it is discussed at great length, "in full council," before the chief, who gives the final decision. On this being done, the party in whose favour judgment is given rushes to the feet of the chief, kisses them, and in an impassioned oration extols the wisdom and justice of his judge to the skies. A party from the "Great Place" is sent with him to enforce the decision, *and bring back the chief's share of the fine imposed*, and the affair is at an end.

The reader will observe that this is the process in *civil cases*, but the mode of procedure in criminal cases is very different. The chief is himself the accuser and prosecutor here; and, as in the nature of things, a case cannot *descend* from the highest authority to one lower; so here the case admits not of investigation or appeal, the decision is taken, the sentence given, and the punishment executed. Probably there will be consultations with the head counsellors before all this is done, as the chief finds it needful to be in a position to carry out his own sentences.

V. *Punishments*.—Under this head it is needful to notice, 1. That one of the great defects in Kaffir jurisprudence is, that the legislative, judicial, and executive departments are combined, which produces the unfavourable result of the law makers being the law administrators; and thus causes so much uncertainty, and often oppression, in the administration, as to leave the most worthy without protection, and, at the same time, favour the most base and licentious. 2. There is *no written "code;"* all has to be guided and controlled by *precedents*. These have often been made by their wisest and best chiefs; but, in the absence of a written code, they allow very great licence in

any case brought before the counsellors and judges. If, in English jurisprudence, where the written code is so particular and exact, there is the "glorious uncertainty of law," how much worse must it be when there is no fixed standard of law at all! 3. The only punishments known among them are fines and death,—the property of the chief in the person, and the property of the person in his own possessions; hence there are *no prisons, and there is no transportation*. 4. Punishments inflicted by the king for criminal offences are the heaviest; which are—witchcraft, murder, treason, &c.: the heaviest of these is witchcraft. Sometimes for deliberate murder only a small fine in cattle is levied, whilst for the imaginary crime of witchcraft the person is "eaten up:" that is, the *whole* of his cattle are confiscated to the chief, and the witch or wizard is cast out, or banished, or put to a cruel death. 5. In *civil cases theft* is the offence of most frequent occurrence and of the greatest magnitude. This, however, is not ordinarily so extensively committed among themselves, as the danger of detection and the amount of the fine make it a losing game. The law allows ten head of cattle to be levied for one stolen: not that this number is often exacted; but it may be rigidly enforced if the case is a bad one, or the chief very angry. But it by no means follows that the proportion shall be carried out, so as for fifty to be levied for five stolen. 6. What adds seriousness to the case is, that if the offender is poor and cannot pay, the law allows the prosecuting party to fall back upon his nearest relation and demand the payment; thus, a well-disposed, worthy man may be ruined by the misdeeds of a worthless vagabond son, brother, or nephew. 7. *The father is made responsible for the conduct of his children*. Hence, a wild, lawless, reckless son may indeed bring down the "grey hairs" of his old sire "with sorrow to the grave."*

The amount of fine levied varies from a single beast to confiscation, and is determined by the nature of the crime,

* A border newspaper a short time ago stated that theft among the Kaffirs was a capital offence, proving how little its editor knew of the laws of which he wrote so confidently, but so erroneously.

the circumstances attending its commission, and especially the favouritism or the caprice of the chief.

8. There is one exception to the general rule: that is, in the case of the sons of petty chiefs, who are not liable to be punished for theft, if they are ever caught in the act. This has allowed a licence to youthful desperadoes, which has sometimes been felt to be a serious grievance. Mr. Brownlee, the Ghiki commissioner, records a case that came under his own observation:—"No case can be brought against a chief for theft, except it be committed on the property of a person of another tribe. Then the chief of the injured person may take up the case as his own.

"The children of chiefs are permitted to steal from people of their own tribe, and no case can be brought against them. Should they be taken in the act, and the injured person should beat them, his property may be confiscated for assaulting a chief.

"In Tyali's tribe, there are a number of offshoots of the Rarabi family, bearing the name, but not the influence, of chiefs. Among these were Tihla, Vingo, Sami, &c., &c. Before the death of the chief Tyali, the young sons of the petty chiefs stole cattle and goats, and robbed gardens, to such an extent, that a remonstrance was brought before Tyali against the constant aggressions of these boys, against whom no proceedings could be instituted.

"Tyali decided that in his tribe, for the future, the sons of petty chiefs should be amenable to the same laws as private individuals, and that only the family of the paramount chief should be free from punishment." This is not like the glorious constitution of England, *where the law is supreme*, and persons of the highest rank in the realm are amenable to it.

9. *Collective responsibility*.—Collective responsibility prevails throughout Kaffirland. Thus, in the absence of an organized police, the whole country becomes a vast police-camp, in which one is made responsible for the misdeeds of another, and is thus bound to prevent crime from self-interest. Hence, if stolen cattle are traced to a kraal,

and the "spoor," or footprints of the cattle, cannot be traced by the inhabitants of that kraal beyond it, the people of the kraal must pay the damages; although they may be quite innocent of the theft, the "spoor" leading from their kraal being quite obliterated. Yea, if the footprints of the stolen cattle are traced to within a short distance of the kraal, those on the "spoor" can demand the occupants to trace it to a certain distance beyond the kraal, or be held responsible. But in the event of the colonists tracing the "spoor" to any kraal, they there give it up, and take no further trouble about it, looking to the people of that kraal to reimburse them. So that it becomes a very serious matter, and makes them look very sharp in all such cases. Upon the whole, whilst collective responsibility cannot be commended in some respects, yet, in their present barbarous, or semi-barbarous, state, it probably is the best mode that can be adopted; but when they can be brought under English law, *personal responsibility* should be adopted by punishing the *actual delinquent*. The effect of this law among themselves is doubtless beneficial, and tends to check crime to a very great extent; also causing parents, who are liable for the crimes of their children, to be very guarded in their mode of bringing them up. Every man is his "brother's keeper," and *the cattle*, or "*the blood*," is required at his hands.

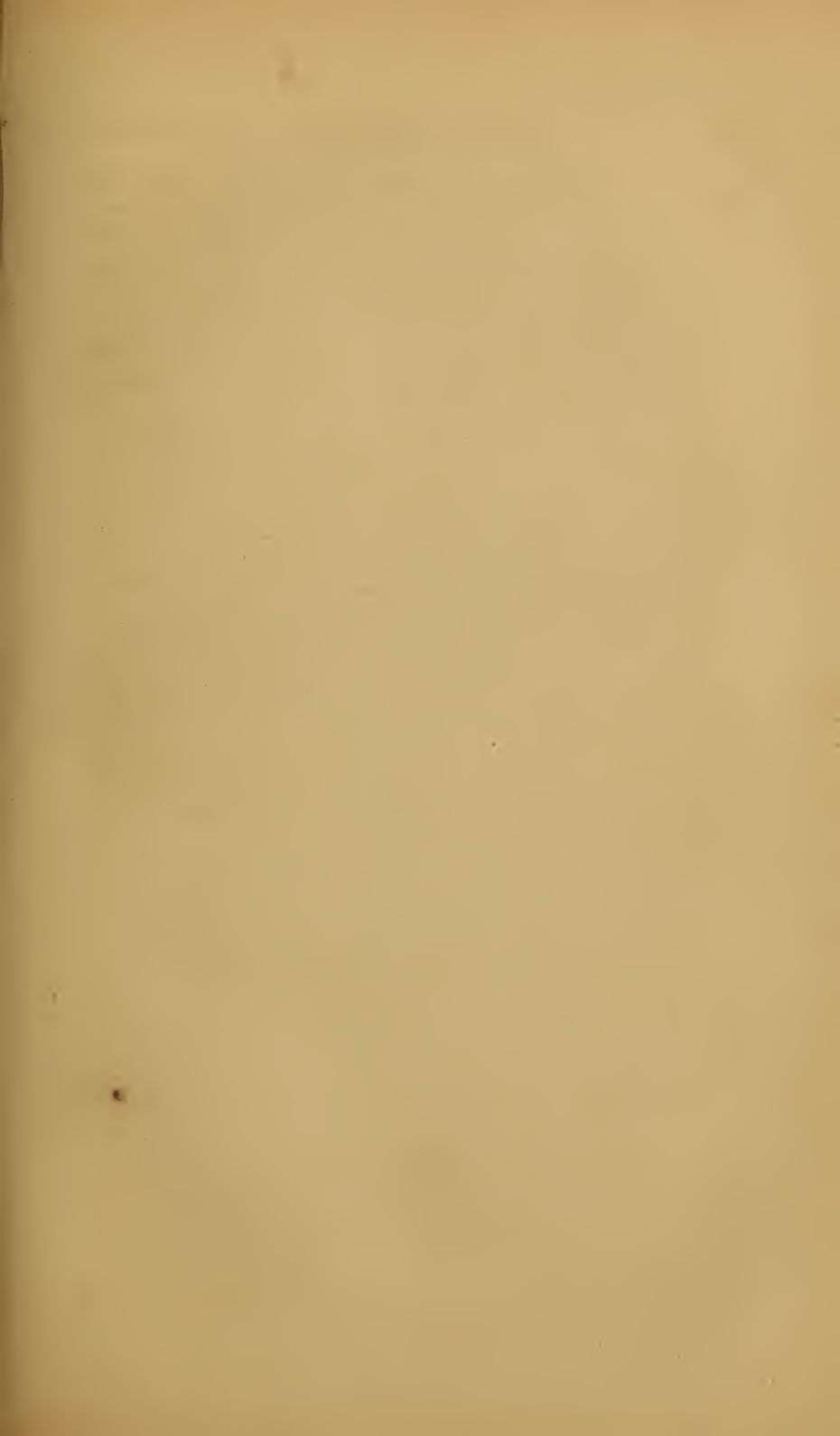
I have thus given a brief but comprehensive outline of Kaffir jurisprudence; so that any one who wishes to understand it may do so with comparatively little trouble. I have not entered into the *minutiae* of detail, as this must considerably extend the length of this chapter, without any practical benefit arising therefrom. But I am of opinion that all subjects of real value and general interest have been introduced.

There is, however, one law of considerable importance, as it affects the general position and conduct of the Kaffir tribes, which cannot be ranged under any of the preceding heads. It is, that if a person or family is dissatisfied with his or their chief, *they can leave their own tribe, and place themselves under the protection of another chief*; and the

chief to whom they flee is bound to receive and protect them, no matter what may be the crime for which they flee from their own tribe. In a certain sense, then, each chief or tribe becomes a "*city of refuge*." But this can only be done by secret flight, which is often effected in the middle of the night, before suspicion is sufficiently roused to prevent it. If they are detected before they have made good their exit, their property is confiscated, and possibly their persons are put to death.

The practice has much to do with modifying the despotism of the chieftainship, and imparts one strong motive to the chiefs to aim at popularity. If a young chief becomes very popular, he endangers the stability of his father's throne; or if the son of a lower house becomes popular, he may very seriously interfere with the succession of the rightful heir,—the son of the "Great House."

These laws and customs also prove that the mental character of the Kaffir is by no means of that low type which some would set it forth to be. Much tact and talent are developed in the framing of their laws, and a vast amount of legal acumen is required in conducting their various processes. This will be more distinctly noticed in the chapter upon their mental and physical character.





BATTLE BETWEEN THE NATAL KAFFIRS, UNDER JOHN CAIN, AND THE ZULU KAFFIRS,
ON THE TUGELA RIVER.

CHAPTER XVI.

MODE OF WARFARE.

IN war tactics two things have to be provided for,—first, the vigour of the soldier; second, the organization of the army. These two essential pre-requisites will vary according to the notions of different countries, and their state of barbarism or civilization. They will also vary in the same country in different periods of its history; mostly in accordance with, or in proportion to, the progress made by such nation in elevating knowledge, social improvement, and most of all, the extent to which the softening influences of Christianity are brought to bear upon it. It is thus, in England especially, that the war spirit has been subdued and controlled, if not extinguished: so that of late years many things have occurred which in former times would have plunged the nation into the shock of war; but now, forbearance, neutrality, and diplomacy, have accomplished all that even victorious war could have effected; without the bloodshed, suffering, and cost inseparable from war, whether successful or not. But in looking at savage nations we must expect to find war measures conducted after a savage manner. Where life is cheap and suffering disregarded, there is nothing to impose restraint upon ambitious designs, and the love of universal power.

The love of power is innate in man, and, as a rule, so far as circumstances will allow, he will carry out this innate propensity; whether in the state or in the army, whether in the senate or the club-room, whether in the factory or the workshop, or even the elder son over his weaker brother. This passion is also blinding in its in-

fluence, so that motives, modes, and actions, which would be utterly condemned under other influences, are admired and even applauded under this. These remarks apply to civilized communities; but in barbarous nations, where no restraining influences are exerted, we behold them developed in a more distinct and forbidding form. The Kaffir nations, whether of Zululand or Kaffirland Proper, exemplify the correctness of these statements.

Some things which will be advanced in this chapter, have been already anticipated in the chapter on the history of Utshaka, but as they there only occur in the usual order of the narrative, and as war occupies so prominent a place among the whole of the Kaffir races, it appeared desirable, yea, even needful to completeness, that a separate chapter should be devoted to this exciting subject.

As war tactics are brought to their highest state of perfection among the Amazulu, we must look there for the processes in the most finished form.

As already observed, the first essential requisite for successful war is *the vigour of the soldier*. The preparation of this varies in different tribes: among the Amazulu it was unique. In all the tribes, the sacrificial offering of slain beasts by their most celebrated priests formed an essential part of the preparation. But among the Amazulu, the preparation of the body also had a prominent place.

1. *Circumcision was abolished*. This rite had been universally practised among the Kaffir tribes from time immemorial; and, as shown in the chapter on this subject, was, and is, one of the most deeply rooted and firmly established usages of the nation. So much so, that the Kaffir is not considered to be a man, nor will a girl consent to marry him, until after this rite has been observed. But the great Utshaka, thinking this might interfere with the readiness of his warriors for immediate effective action, had the rite abolished; an act which no other chief would have dared to attempt: its success only proves the unbounded sway he held over the national mind and customs which were held sacred by the *prestige* of untold years.

2. *Marriage disallowed.* Utshaka, though having concubines innumerable, was never married; his warriors also were never allowed to marry. Not that this involved the absence of sexual intercourse with women, as this could be carried on to an almost unbounded extent, without shame or restraint, at certain times, and in certain ways. But, by not being married, the softer feelings of the nature of even a savage man were not allowed to come into play, in the social circle, or at the domestic hearth. Woman's love, and a child's tenderness, must not touch the stern qualities of these callous hearts. Home was to them unknown, the only home they knew was the military kraal or garrison; where the only associates with whom they mingled were fellow-warriors, whose sole business was war, and whose sole attention must be directed to making them invincible in battle.

3. *The preparation of the body.* The body was required to be both pure and strong, or free from disease on the one part, and strong for endurance on the other. For this purpose, a practice was adopted which I have not even heard of in any other case; which was, after the army was called, to purge the body first by emetics and purgatives; so that if there was any defilement in the blood, or latent disease in the frame, it might be effectually removed. These medicines were carefully prepared by the *izanusi* from various plants and roots,—many charms and mysterious motions, words, and actions, being connected therewith to give them efficacy, and make the warriors proof against their foes.

But whilst incipient disease or weakness was thus removed from the body, on the one hand, by medicines, new strength and vigour must be imparted, on the other, by eating large quantities of animal food; for which purpose many oxen were slaughtered, and the warriors ate freely of the flesh daily for weeks, until the muscular part of the body, which was thin and weak by the previous process, was made robust and strong, capable of enduring excessive fatigue, or displaying herculean strength in actual combat,—invincible in battle. Gymnastic exercises, in daily military manœuvres and evolutions, had their due

share of attention; nothing being omitted that was at all calculated to make them successful in battle.

The three modes of preparation of the body above enumerated were confined to the Amazulu, so far as I have heard. Among other tribes circumcision is practised by all, marriage arrangements are not interfered with, or the warriors prevented from sealing the marriage contract; nor do others pass through the same mode of bodily purgatives and restoratives.

4. *Preparation of the mind.* In this respect the whole of the Kaffir races excel; apparently knowing well how much true courage, as well as bodily vigour, has to do with contributing to success. Hence, by all, great importance is attached to the right performance of the priest's office, the preparation of charms, the slaughtering of the sacrificial beast or beasts, and the sprinkling of blood or bitter herbs upon the warriors. Mr. Warner gives the following account of the custom, as practised among the Tembookies:—

“UKUKUFULA.—This is the great national sacrifice and ceremony performed when the priest makes the army invulnerable. All the men of the tribe, or as many as can attend, are assembled at the ‘great place.’ The priest names the sacrificial beast, which is immediately caught and thrown down. The shoulder is then skinned and cut off while the wretched animal is still alive. The flesh is cut off the shoulder so as to form a long strip, which is roasted on the coals of a fire prepared for that purpose, into which charms of a certain kind of wood or roots are thrown by the priest. The flesh when roasted is made to pass through the smoke of these charms, after which each man bites off one mouthful, and passes it on to the next. The priest then makes a number of incisions in different parts of their bodies, into which he inserts the powdered charcoal of the above-mentioned charms.

“All this while the poor animal has been left to writhe in excruciating agony. It is now killed, and the flesh boiled, and publicly eaten on the spot by all the men present; after which the bones are carefully buried. No female is allowed to partake of the flesh of this sacrifice.”

Much of what is above related will apply equally to other tribes, and to the Amazulu. Only amongst the latter the strips of flesh are thought to be by some the flesh of human beings; but whether they are so or not, they are made so intensely nauseous by the infusion of charms and bitter herbs, that it is almost impossible for even these savage men to eat them. But so much importance is attached to this part of the performance, that if any one spits it out he is put to death, as this might occasion the defeat of the army; not a secreted "wedge of gold," but a morsel of disgusting flesh, may cause their ruin.

It has been roundly and repeatedly affirmed that the "Kaffirs are a race of infidels." Nothing is farther from the truth, if by this is to be understood that they believe not in "angels or spirits," after the fashion of the ancient Sadducees. On the contrary, the chapters on witchcraft, &c., will show that they are most superstitious; and, in connexion with going to war, they believe that success depends entirely upon the favour or anger of the gods or ghosts; that, if they are satisfied and well-pleased, success is certain; but if, on the contrary, they are dissatisfied and angry, defeat is also certain. Hence the importance of these sacrifices. Thus the great nation of the Amaquabi declared that they were not beaten by the great Utshaka, but that the gods, or *izituta*, were angry,—had not been satisfied; and therefore delivered them over into the hands of their enemies. They were conquered not by the valour of men, but by the anger of the gods.

One or two more practices connected with this part of the preparation remains to be told. In addition to the charms and sacrifices, the priest prepares a decoction of liquid, from various roots, charms, &c. He then takes the tail of an ox, and having dipped it in the sacred unction, sprinkles a portion of it on the body of each warrior, accompanied with mysterious signs or rites, and pronouncing certain words; the whole being designed to make the warriors invulnerable, to preserve their bodies in battle, or, if they fall, to make their death triumphant, so that they may be received with applause as heroes in

the ghost-world. Anathemas and defeat are pronounced upon their foes, blessings and triumphs upon themselves.

How much of the spirit of this, if not the exact form, was displayed in the conduct of the king of Moab, when he sent for Balaam to curse the Israelites!—"And Balak the son of Zippor was king of the Moabites at that time. He sent messengers therefore unto Balaam the son of Beor, to Pether, which is by the river of the land of the children of his people, to call him, saying, Behold, there is a people come out from Egypt: behold, they cover the face of the earth, and they abide over against me: come now therefore, I pray thee, curse me this people; for they are too mighty for me: peradventure I shall prevail, that we may smite them, and that I may drive them out of the land: for I wot that he whom thou blessest is blessed, and he whom thou cursest is cursed." (Num. xxii. 4-6.) The whole of the sacrifices offered by Balaam, as well as the other parts of the proceedings, are after the same spirit and manner; and when we meet with these striking marks of descent from the patriarchal stock, surely we ought not to reject them, or pass them over unnoticed.

The second important point to be observed was *the organization of the army*. This was complete in the days of Amazulu military glory. Utshaka was not the man to leave anything to the chapter of accidents, but everything was arranged in the best manner to produce effect and insure success. The army consisted of *three* great divisions:—the *amadoda*, or "men;" the *ebuto*, or "young men;" and the *ezibuto*, or "carriers," who had to attend to the commissariat. The first of these divisions, *amadoda*, was composed of the stoutest warriors, veterans in the service, who had won, if not their spurs, their spears, their titles, and distinctions, by bravery in battle, endurance of fatigue, and invincible courage on all occasions. These were supposed to bear the brunt of the most desperate onslaught in battle, to present an unbroken front to the foe, and carry terror and death into the heart of the enemies' ranks. Some of these old warriors can recount wondrous deeds of valour, gathering inspiration as they proceed, and

infusing fire into youthful breasts,—their gestures, as well as their words, being enthusiastic and exciting.

The *ebuto*, (see drawing,) the second division of the army, was composed of young warriors, who, in the ardour of youthful fire, were often desperate. They, however, were not able to bear, unsupported, the pressure of fatigue and the long continued, fiercely contested fight. Hence they were only employed alone whilst the veterans looked on, as in the battle fought on the Tugela against the Natal army, as recorded in my "History of Natal," when they were equal to the power of the foe; at other times they were made to share the fight with the *amadoda*, by whom they were supported, steadiness and constancy being secured. It was an awful crisis in a hardly fought battle when, the *ebuto* being hard pressed by their opponents, the *amadoda* "closed in" or "came down." No words can describe the scene in which so many thousands of fierce, savage combatants brought all their strength, their valour, and their heroism into action. The scene is terrific in civilized warfare when such battles are fought, whether the earlier ones in France, under Edward the Black Prince, or the later ones, under Marlborough, Wellington, or Bounaparte; but in those there were more of the steadiness and order of disciplined troops, acting under the direction of able commanders, conducted upon scientific principles: but it is far otherwise among fierce savage warriors, when every part of their wild natures is brought into full play, and every advantage taken of the failure, not of large bodies, but even of single individuals; when there are none of the slow, heavy movements of disciplined troops and heavy artillery, but instant closing in. In the former case the arms do the work of slaughter and death, but in the latter almost everything depends upon muscular strength and personal prowess. It is hand to hand, "bayonet practice," and the man who holds the strongest arm wields the deadliest weapon; it is stab, stab, stab, stab, stab! strike the death spear to the heart! withdraw it! strike again, and again, and again! All the passions of fierce men are brought into awful action, and prodigies of valour mark the scene. The noise

is not the bomb of rolling cannon,—this is dread and dismal enough,—but it is the noise of yells, screams, and curses.

The third division of the army is the *ezibuto*; or “carriers.” These are mostly young men, who accompany the army in the capacity of the bearers of burdens, performing the menial office of carrying the various articles the warriors require, preparing the food, or driving the cattle. The army is supposed to provide its own commissariat, in cattle or goods taken from the enemy. In many instances the *ezibuto* are prisoners taken in former wars, who are not intrusted with arms or permitted to fight, but are nevertheless made to render important service. I am aware that some have affirmed that prisoners of war are or have been incorporated into the army. My impression is that, if so, it is only in this last capacity. Sometimes they have been intrusted to govern certain districts, as in the case of Usomelekazi; but as he availed himself of the confidence reposed in him by Utshaka to make his escape and become the conquering lion of the North, this far-seeing king rarely allowed any other the opportunity of so doing. It will be at once evident that the army can move with extraordinary rapidity,—no carriage of heavy cannon, no slowly moving, cumbrous bullock waggons, no vessels to put into certain ports along the coast; but in a few hours, almost with the fleetness of the wind, they traverse the country, and fall upon their unsuspecting foes.

These general divisions were again sub-divided into regiments, each regiment being about fifteen hundred strong, though some have said Udingaan’s contained a larger number.

The entire army was fully and efficiently officered. There was the general-in-chief, who was sometimes the chief himself, and sometimes the one next to him in rank. There were then the chief *indoonas*, whose office was something like lieutenant-generals in the British army. Under these were subordinates, each of whom had his regularly defined office; so that no confusion existed or disorder prevailed. As war was the business of the Amazulu nation, every arrangement was made to secure complete organization and perfect efficiency.

In times of peace the army was placed in military kraals or cantonments throughout the country, being so situated as to afford the greatest security, and at the same time be capable of being called on the shortest notice. One of Umpanda's military kraals, measured by a friend of mine, was 350 feet long, and 250 feet broad, and of oval form, containing *four* rows of huts, and capable of holding 750 warriors. (See the drawing.) These military establishments were sometimes visited by the king himself, for the purpose of inspection and "review," an account of which is given in the history of Utshaka. At other times they were summoned to the "great place," to be reviewed there; and generally a large portion of the army was near the king's person or capital.

The causes and extent of war vary. Sometimes it is only a course of internecine war,—war amongst themselves on a small scale; a system of reprisal for supposed affronts or real injuries, but neither extensive in its range nor calamitous in its results.

At other times the sole cause is *ambition*, as in the case of Utshaka, who, after the fashion of all aggressive warriors, sought to make his own nation great by making others small, to make his own nation rich by making other nations poor; tiger-like, tearing out the bowels of another nation to satisfy or glut the almost insatiable appetite of its own savage nature.

When a war with the Colony is contemplated, it is, however, another thing. Here they have to come into contact with civilized man, and the many inventions of modern science for destroying human beings quickly, and on a large scale. Hence the preparations for such a war must be on a gigantic scale, and generally require a long course of preparation. As a rule, they must be at "*peace among themselves*;" there must be no internal war or strife which might operate unfavourably against them. Secondly, They must seek an alliance with as many other tribes as possible, "offensive and defensive;" tribes having fellow sympathy, fellow hatred to the white man, and fellow ambition to overcome him and drive him into the sea; tribes that will unite, not with doubtful ardour or faint effort, but who

will throw the whole of their energies and possessions into the fortune of war. Thirdly, If there are neighbouring tribes who will not engage in open hostility, they will seek to induce these to perform the part of a base neutrality; inasmuch as, whilst not openly engaged in war, they will allow as many of their people as like to engage privately, and at the same time guard the flocks and herds of those who are openly engaged. Fourthly, They must select the best season of the year for making the onslaught. This, usually, is not while their corn crops are on the ground, or in the depth of winter. Their object is not to have a long war, but to rush down with the fury of a tempest, to drive off large numbers of cattle, sheep, and horses; not to besiege fortified cities, but to desolate, burn, and destroy solitary homesteads, private houses, or small villages; not to meet disciplined troops in open field and fair fight, not to encounter British pluck, steel, and powder, but to lie in ambush or keep an eagle watch, and from their mountain heights dart down upon escorts, or slowly moving waggons, or a few scared travellers, and thus cut them off, drive away the oxen, pillage the waggons, seize the spoil, and escape to their own fortresses with the rich booty; and, if they could succeed, there is no doubt they would destroy the white races, take their goods, and occupy their lands. In doing this they would think they were doing quite right: as much so as the ancient Britons when they fought against the advancing Saxons, or the Scots when they carried on their relentless border warfare.

As to the *causes* of the various wars which have taken place from time to time betwixt the Kaffirs and colonists, my conviction is, that the Kaffirs have been the offending and aggressive parties. I have been connected with the frontier during the last three desperate wars; and in each case I believe the Kaffirs, not the colonists, were blameworthy: at any rate, so far as the English colonists were concerned. Many colonists will now talk about the natives in a manner which is painful and offensive to those who are interested in their welfare; but it is fair to state in extenuation, that the colonists have been great sufferers

in losing much property and many lives ; and, where the higher influences of religion do not prevail, so as to elevate them above the harrowing scenes through which they have passed, some of them indulge in language which can neither be justified nor supported on Christian grounds.

My conviction is, further, that the English colonists have not desired or sought war with the native tribes, for the purpose of taking their land and appropriating it to their own use ; and the friends of the aborigines in England who endeavour to fix this on the English colonists greatly err ; and, I am persuaded, only produce irritation, instead of advancing the benefit of the natives. No, the *crying sin is that of the government*, which, when it has taken possession of a fine, fertile, extensive tract of country, and professedly distributed it in farms to European colonists, and given a fair share to the natives, *has given legal security to the white, but has withheld it from the black.*

The writer submits that the proper field for the action of the friends of the aborigines does not lie in preventing the occupation of new country, *but in the righteous distribution of the land when taken, and in the native being secured in the certain possession of that which is assigned him.* In the chapters on Improvement, I have supplied ample materials for the use of any persons well-disposed towards the natives ; and should feel thankful if wise and well-directed effort could be brought to bear, not upon this shortcoming of the government only, but that a power should be exerted by the Christian public which should make itself felt, and that *the government should be made to respect and fulfil its own engagements with the natives ; not break faith with them, irritate them, and urge them on to self-destruction.*

Having shown that the *cause* of the late disastrous wars does not lie with the colonists, I may add that there is no doubt but that a deep and innate dislike to the encroachments of the white man exists. This, however, is perfectly natural ; no nation, either savage or civilized, will willingly renounce its long-claimed and occupied territory without a struggle. Added to this, there is the strong, selfish desire to possess the cattle and property of the white man,

and enjoy in luxurious ease that which has cost them nothing, save and except taking it from their neighbours, by laying violent hands upon it, and appropriating it to their own use.

Wars with the colony have always turned out most disastrous to the natives. The white man has greatly suffered: the black much more so. Any calm, dispassionate person must admit this who reads the chapters on their History and Improvement, given in other parts of this work. Hence, whatever may have been their motives, however favourable their prospects, and however great the advantages obtained for a time, war has been to them a disastrous, losing game; and so it must continue until the improving processes so strongly urged in the third part of this work can be carried out. Either the white or the black must and will give way; the white will not, therefore the black must. The alternative is a painful one; but of the two horns of the dilemma, this is the one that will be taken. Let every one, then, who wishes them well, seek to bring about that happy period so beautifully portrayed by the prophet Isaiah: "The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together: and a little child shall lead them. And the cow and the bear shall feed; their young ones shall lie down together; and the lion shall eat straw like the ox. And the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the cockatrice' den. And they shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain: for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea." (Isai. xi. 6-9.) Yes, let that Prince ascend the throne, and sway His sceptre over those nations, of whom it is affirmed that "righteousness is the girdle of His loins, and faithfulness the girdle of His reins." Then shall the savage Amazulu, the fierce Amaxosa, and the once despised, down-trodden Fingoe Kaffir, the wolf and the leopard and the lion of the aboriginal Kaffir races, sit down harmlessly with their white neighbours; black and white having "beaten their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-

hooks," and "learning war no more." Yes, South-Eastern Africa needs the ploughshare and the pruning-hook; then shall it become one of the finest countries on which the glorious orb of day throws his bright, burning rays, or the pale regent of night pours around her soft, gentle beams.

"Haste, happy day; the time I long to see."

CHAPTER XVII.

LANGUAGE.

No work upon the Kaffirs would be complete without a general popular view of their language. To give this in one short chapter is a difficult task. The grammar of a language is one thing, and a popular essay another. To accomplish the latter is the object of the author in the present instance, whilst those who desire to enter more fully into the subject, can do so by purchasing the Grammars published by Messrs. Boyce and Davis; also by Rev. J. W. Appleyard. Dr. Colenso has also published two grammars of the Zulu language founded on the above, and adapted to the Zulu idiom. Also Dr. Bleek, of the Cape-Town Library, has carefully collected and arranged a list of the languages and dialects spoken and the books in use among the Kaffirs, which will be found under the head of "Africa" in Sir George Grey's Library, in the Cape-Town Library. The only quotations I give from this important work are the following:—

"The Kaffir species comprises the language of the Kaffirs proper, and the Zulu language. In general, the two languages of this species have best preserved the original features of the Bantu family of languages; and they are, therefore, for the students, of the same importance as Sanscrit and Gothic are for the study of the Indo-European or the Teutonic languages."—P. 41.

"The Zulu language is now considered as the standard language throughout the whole of Natal and the Zulu country: it has almost entirely superseded the Tegeza dialects, which were formerly spoken by a considerable portion of the inhabitants of those parts."—P. 89.

In preparing the following essay, I have secured the services of the Rev. C. W. Posselt of the German Mission. This gentleman is a good linguist, and has a thorough knowledge of the Kaffir languages as spoken both by the Natal or Zulu Kaffirs, and the Amaxosa Kaffirs. The reader will see that he has adhered the more closely to the former dialect; and I think has succeeded admirably; as I know not any other instance in which so clear and popular an account of it is given in so short a space.

It may assist the reader to observe,

1. *First*, that the general structure of the language is pointed out; in which, by means of the *prefix*, the whole is governed and regulated. *Second*, the special prominence which the noun, the pronoun, and the verb occupy throughout the language.

2. After this general outline, Mr. Posselt enters more fully into detail upon the noun, pronoun, and verb; in which he gives many rules by which they are regulated; shows how the cases and numbers of nouns are provided for by the prefixes; how distinctness and definiteness are given to the pronoun by the same means; and, also, how the absence of adjectives, adverbs, and prepositions is provided for by the changes which the verb undergoes "by adding one or more syllables to the root of the verb."

3. It will be apparent that the language is so far subject to rule and order as to deprive it of a barbarous character, and establish its claim to identity with the more refined and cultivated languages of Greek and Hebrew; and thus confirm the various allusions traced through this volume to the Eastern origin of the Kaffir races.

It will, however, be too much to suppose that the general reader can, by once reading this chapter, master its contents. But any one who has a fair knowledge of the English language, and will devote a little careful attention to the subject, may understand the leading essential character of the language, and must acknowledge that, instead of barbarous jargon, it is copious, rich, harmonious, and powerful.

This language, with its various dialects, is the one spoken

by the eight or ten hundred thousand Kaffirs, to whom the pages of this volume relate; extending from the Fish River to Delagoa Bay,—certainly no unimportant part of the human race.

Of the orthography of the Kaffir language little need be said. Not only had the Kaffirs no literature, but they had no characters whatever, either written letters or hieroglyphics; hence, when their language was reduced to form, it being done by Englishmen, the English alphabet in Roman characters was introduced. The Rev. W. B. Boyce, with the aid of Mr. Theophilus Shepstone, son of the Rev. W. Shepstone, who was born and brought up among the Kaffirs, on Wesleyan Mission stations, was the first to unlock this difficult language; but after they had discovered the key, in the “euphonic and alliteral concord,” which governed the language in the changes of the *prefix*, which pervaded and influenced the entire language, then the work became comparatively easy. Grammars were composed, and now the entire Scriptures are translated and published in a uniform edition by the Bible Society; the Rev. W. Appleyard having conducted the whole through the press in England.*

It is proper further to remark, that the vowels have but one sound, *a* as in father, *e* as in fare, *i* as in feel, *o* as in hole, *u* as *o* in move, *w* as in water; *c*, *q*, and *x* are clicks; † *r* is a guttural formed at the root of the tongue. These clicks are difficult to pronounce by a foreigner, at first; *the difficulty arising from having to substitute the click in the place of the letter, by which it must form part of the syllable.* The clicks also, at first, appear

* This version, however, will not be capable of being used by the Natal and Zulu Kaffirs. A Zulu translation is needed; and the missionaries of the American Board of Foreign Missions have already translated and printed the whole of the New Testament, and some parts of the Old. The Zulu form of the Kaffir language is lighter, more elegant, and more compact, as well as expressive, than the Amaxosa dialect.

† The *first*, *c*, is a dental, and is sounded by placing the tip of the tongue against the upper front teeth. The *second*, *q*, is a palatal, and formed by placing the tip of the tongue against the palate or roof of the mouth. The *third*, *x*, is a lateral, and is pronounced by placing the end of the tongue against the side of the mouth, just as we urge on horses.

to give harshness to the language; but when well spoken by a Kaffir, such is by no means the case, but increased power appears to be imparted. *Y* is always a consonant, and pronounced like *h*, strongly aspirated; *g* is always hard, as in God; *tsh* sounds like *ch* in English church; and *hl* like *ll* in Welsh.

Having premised the above explanations, I now give what the Rev. Mr. Posselt has supplied.

The various and numerous tribes on the east coast of South Africa, from the colonial boundary to Delagoa Bay, form one great nation, which, as they go under the common appellation of Kaffirs, have but one common language. The differences existing are those of different dialects, and they are of such a nature, that they affect much more the dictionary than the grammatical structure of the language.

Excepting the clicks, and a deep, grating guttural in some few words, the Kaffir language is rich, harmonious, and expressive, on account of the great prevalence of the simple vowels, and because its syllables are almost all open, and of a very fine melodious sound when clearly spoken with animation and feeling. But if it is thrown out of the lungs of an excited Kaffir, then its crashing clicks, hissing sounds, and gutturals, to which the speaker invariably adds many more clappings, by snapping forcibly the forefinger against the next, give it a fearful asperity, and it becomes thundering. The nervous, deafening language demonstrates, then, the athletic barbarian. Of a very fine and musical sound are

Ukulondotoza, "to protect."

Ukudundubala, "to arrive on the top."

Ukumomateka, "to smile."

Amazulu, "the heaven;" *entabeni*, "on the mountain."

Lalani nina 'bantwana!

"Sleep, ye children!"

Barbarians as the Kaffirs are, ignorant even of the art of writing, and on this account without any literature, their language is not a jargon, composed of rude, incoherent

masses of words, thrown together without principle and rule; on the contrary, it is built up according to a most perfect system, which strictly adheres to defined and fixed rules, with respect to the whole structure of the language in general, as well as to its single and smallest parts. What the language has chiefly aimed at is, firstly, to distinguish the substantive nouns by a certain number of prefixes, which are essential to them, and which they never change into any other. Without its prefix, no noun can make its appearance; and if it comes from a foreign language, then the Kaffir naturalizes it at once, by engrafting a prefix upon it. All other words require a prefix of their own. They are obliged to adopt that of the noun, to which they are united in a grammatical sentence, and by which they are governed. If this noun changes, then all the dependent words, as the verb, the adjective, pronoun, numeral, and genitive case, change their prefix, adopting that of the new noun. As:—

Abantu ba lendhlu abatatu abahle abagulayo, bati, “the people of this house, which are three, good and sick, say.”
Izintombi za lendhlu ezinhle ezintatu ezigulayo, ziti, “the girls of this house,” &c.

This characteristic peculiarity is productive both of an euphonic alliteration of the parts belonging to each other, and of giving to the substantive noun a great preponderance over the other words. It is the arbitrary ruler of the whole language, whilst the latter are kept in a state of humble vassalage. It seems as if the tyrannical political government, as obtaining amongst these nations, has been reflected by the grammatical government of the substantive noun. Next to the noun, the language has paid special attention to the verb. Its want of adverbs and prepositions it has tried to supply partly by an enormous list of verbs; partly by inserting one, two, and three syllables into the root of the verb; partly by having formed a compound conjugation, by which the particles,—not, not yet, already, no more, once; and the words,—wish, can, may, are blended together with the verb in its flexion throughout all tenses and moods. The conjugation of the verb is as perfect as in any other refined language.

With great precision, the Kaffir language distinguishes between the sounds *b* and *p*, *d* and *t*, *z* and *s*, *e* and *i*, *o* and *u*; between the *spiritus asper* and *lenis*, as :—*ukuhlala*, “to live,”—*ukuhlala*, “to play;” between the aspirated and the soft click :—*icwane*, “lamb,”—*icwane*, “madman;” between the long and short vowel :—*ukuböhla*, “to abate,”—*ukubödhlä*, “to roar;” *inyānga*, “moon,”—*inyānga*, “physician.”

The following lines will give the reader a general view of this language, convincing him that it rests on a firm basis. It is to be borne in mind that they treat exclusively on the dialect used by the Kaffirs within Natal, called Amazulu.

Change of letters.—The language is anxious to avoid hardness. Whenever, therefore, the labial letters *b*, *mb*, *p*, and *n* are followed by *w*, they are changed into softer sounds, as :—*loba lotywa*, *bopa botshwa*; *unlambo emlanjeni*, (for *emlanjweni*,) *mema menywa*.

If a noun in its simple form is placed in the genitive case, a *hiatus* arises, which is prevented by means of the *Crisis* in the most natural way. *A* and *u* are contracted into the single *a*; *a* and *i* blended together into the vowel between, namely, *e*; *a* and *u* into the *o*, thus :—*Abantu bamakosi*, instead of *ba amakosi*, “the people of the chiefs;” *ihashe lendoda*, instead of *la indoda*, “the horse of a man;” *indhlu yomfazi*, in place of *ya umfazi*, “the house of a woman.” Nouns with the initial *a* or *i* change them into *e* in the ablative case, those with *u* into *o*. This ablative, as such, is frequently placed together with the usual form denoting the genitive. The vowels of this *hiatus* are no more blended together, but separated by the insertion of *s*, as :—*umuntu wa semampondweni*, a man of, from the Amampondo, (a tribe,) *emampondweni*, ablative, from *Amampondo*. *Ilanga la sezulwini*, the sun of, from the heaven; *ezulwini*, ablative, from *izulu*. *Ihashe la semlungwini*, a horse of, from the white nation : *emlungwini*, ablative, from *umlungu*.

1. *Nouns substantive.*—There exists a certain number of initial syllables, commonly called prefixes, which are the rulers of the whole language, and ought on this account

to receive the title of governors. They have the singular and plural numbers, and are :—

SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
1. <i>U</i>	<i>O</i>
2. <i>Um</i>	<i>Aba</i>
3. <i>Um</i>	<i>Imi</i>
4. <i>I(ili)</i>	<i>Ama</i>
5. <i>Isi</i>	<i>Izi</i>
6. <i>In</i>	<i>Izin</i>
7. <i>U(ulu)</i>	<i>Izi</i>
8. <i>Ubu</i>	} without plural.
9. <i>Uku</i>	

Every noun substantive is composed of two distinct parts: its root standing at the end, and its governor or prefix standing in front. The office of the latter is two-fold: it raises a root to the rank of a noun; and, secondly, it defines and specifies the sense, which, by the root, is but generally expressed. For instance :—*Iungu* is a root, and without its governor refers but very vaguely to what is connected with a white person. But the prefix *um* before it (*umlungu*) defines at once the idea, and gives to the root the specific meaning of “white person;” *aba*, (*abelungu*), “white persons;” *isi*, (*isilungu*), *nomen collectivum*, meaning “all white people,” the whole white nation; *ubu* (*ubulungu*) makes the root an abstract, “the nature and habit of a white man.”

After this method of the nouns all other words take, except the particles. They provide the root, whilst in their case the prefix of the noun to which they stand grammatically related is placed to them, they, being governed by the noun substantive, have no prefix of their own.

From this it is evident that, as in the noun the initial and radical part necessarily belong together, the one without the other being but part of an idea; and as, for this reason, prefix and root are represented to the eye by writing in one word, and not in two: just so must the adjective, numeral, and verb, which are composed in the same manner as the noun, be written in one word, prefix and root conjointly including a definite idea; whilst, when

separately written, (the natives never separate in speaking,) the language is represented to the eye, not in words, but in syllables.

On the above prefixes we briefly remark, that *U* pl. *O* signifies the proper names of persons, which is the reason why the Kaffir puts his *U* to every name of any person : *U Adam U David*.

Um pl. *Aba* denotes personal nouns. It is chiefly used by the *nomina verbalia*, as :—*Umfundisi*, “teacher,” from the verb *ukufundisa*, “to teach ;” *umhambi*, “walker,” from *ukuhamba*, “to walk.”

Um pl. *Imi* means extent and space ; therefore it is used by things of dimensions, as :—*Umhlaba*, “earth ;” *umkaulo*, “boundary ;” *umlomo*, “mouth, opening.” Likewise it stands by the *nomina verbalia abstracta* :—*Umtandazo*, “prayer,” from *ukutandaza*, “to pray.” It is similar to the Greek $\mu\acute{o}s$.

I and *Ili* pl. *Ama* indicates chiefly the *nomen gentilitium* :—*Ixosa* pl. *Amazosa*, “Frontier-Kaffir ;” further, the parts of the whole, instruments and animals.

Isi pl. *Izi* signifies the genus, as :—*Ihashe*, “horse ;” *isishashe*, “the whole genus of horses ;” *umuntu*, “man ;” *isintu*, “the human race.” It is further the abstract subjective, in opposition to the objective :—*isipato*, “treatment ;” *i. e.*, the treatment which is acting, not which is suffered, corresponding to the Greek end-syllable $\sigma\iota s$.

In and *Ulu* pl. *Izin* is used mostly by things animate and inanimate, and by the abstract nouns.

Ubu is the proper prefix to express an abstract idea ; as, *indoda*, “man,” *ubudoda*, “manhood.”

Uku is the prefix of the verb in its infinitive mood. As such, this keeps the rank of a noun substantive, and is used as this. It is always used both by the verb and the adjective, whenever these words are left without a certain noun, and the neutral “it,” or “this,” (*id, hoc*.) is to be expressed :—*kulungili*, “it is good ;” *kuhle*, “it is fine.”

2. *Pronouns*.—The importance of the prefix, and its possessing a certain meaning of its own, does still more appear from the fact, that the various classes of pronouns are formed of the same. The demonstrative pronoun

takes, with a very few alterations, the whole prefix, establishing itself at once as such. For instance :—

1. *U* plural *O* its demont. *Lo* plural *Laba*, this, these.
2. *Um* „ *Aba* „ *Lo* „ *Laba*
3. *Um* „ *Imi* „ *Lo* „ *Le*
4. *I(i)li* „ *Ama* „ *Leli* „ *La*
5. *Isi* „ *Izi* „ *Lesi* „ *Lezi*
6. *In* „ *Izin* „ *Le* „ *Lezi*
7. *U(ulu)* „ *Isi* „ *Lolu* „ *Lezi*
8. *Ubu* „ *Lobu*.
9. *Uku* „ *Loku*.

Of the personal pronoun there exist two kinds. The one we call the separate personal pronoun, because it maintains, like the noun, an independent position, exactly as the Hebrew tongue has its *pronomem separatum*. It is this:—

SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
1st person	<i>Mina</i> . I	<i>Tina</i> .	We
2nd „	<i>Wena</i> . You	<i>Nina</i> .	You
3rd „	varies according to the prefix of the noun.		
1st and 2nd class	<i>Yena</i> . He, she, it.	<i>Bona</i> .	They
3rd „	<i>Wona</i> . „	<i>Yona</i>	„
4th „	<i>Lona</i> „	<i>Wona</i>	„
5th „	<i>Sona</i> „	<i>Zona</i>	„
6th „	<i>Yona</i> „	<i>Zona</i>	„
7th „	<i>Lona</i> „	<i>Zona</i>	„
8th „	<i>Bona</i> „	}	No plural.
9th „	<i>Kona</i> „		

The other kind of personal pronoun is that which we would call the verbal pronoun; or, considering that it serves also for the uniting of the noun with its adjective and numeral, and through it (not by means of the substantive verb) the copula is given, it would, on account of these affixes, perhaps be more proper to call it the copulative personal pronoun. It consists of part of the noun's prefix, has a nominative and accusative case, and is, according to the analogy of the principal prefixes, placed before the root of the verb, adjective, numeral, and before the *prædicatum* when it serves for the copula. This is it:—

	SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
	NOM.	ACCUS.	NOM.	ACCUS.
1st person	<i>Gi</i> , I.	<i>Gi</i> , Me.	<i>Si</i> , We.	<i>Si</i> , Us.
2nd „	<i>U</i> , You.	<i>Ku</i> , You.	<i>Ni</i> , You.	<i>Ni</i> , You.
3rd „	varies according to the prefix of the noun.			

1st and 2d class :—

	<i>U</i> , he, she, it.	<i>M</i> , him, her, it.	<i>Ba</i> , they.	<i>Ba</i> , them.
3rd	<i>U</i> „	<i>Wu</i> „	<i>I</i> „	<i>Yi</i> „
4th	<i>Li</i> „	<i>Li</i> „	<i>A</i> „	<i>Wa</i> „
5th	<i>Si</i> „	<i>Si</i> „	<i>Zi</i> „	<i>Zi</i> „
6th	<i>I</i> „	<i>Yi</i> „	<i>Zi</i> „	<i>Zi</i> „
7th	<i>Lu</i> „	<i>Lu</i> „	<i>Zi</i> „	<i>Zi</i> „
8th	<i>Bu</i> „	<i>Bu</i> „		
9th	<i>Ku</i> „	<i>Ku</i> „		

Take an illustration of the above. Let the noun be *isikutali*, “a diligent person.”

Isikutali si sebenza.

“The diligent—he works.”

Isikutali si nye, si hle, si indoda.

“The diligent—he (is) one,—he (is) good,—he (is) a man.”

3. *The Verb*.—On the verb, which is by far the most numerous and infinitely difficult part of the Kaffir language, we would observe, in the first place, its capability of undergoing many modifications, by means of adding one or more syllables to the root at its termination, whereby the original signification of the verb passes over into new ideas, and the want of prepositions, adjectives, and adverbs is made up. For instance :—

Bamba (active), “to keep.”

Zibamba (reflexive), “to keep one’s self.”

Bambana (reciprocal), “to keep each other.”

Bambeka (intransitive), “to keep, to be durable.”

Bambisa (causative), “to cause to keep ;” in a moral sense, “to keep (the law).”

Bambela (objective), “to keep for.”

Bambelela, “to keep one’s self on something.”

Bambisisa, “to keep very much, to keep with might ;”
trop., “to trust.”

Bambabamba (frequentative), “to keep a long while.”

In the next place we would observe, that each of the above modifications of the root, or the *verba derivativa verbalia*, together with the whole body of verbs—exceptions, of course, admitted—may be conjugated after one conjugation. But there exist five kinds (*genera*) of this conjugation: namely, the flexion of a verb can be:—

1. In the affirmative active; as, *giyatanda*, “I love.”
2. In the negative active, *angitandi*, “I do not love.”
3. In the affirmative passive, *giyatandwa*, “I am loved.”
4. In the negative passive, *angitandwa*, “I am not loved.”
5. The compound genus of flexion, which means the inserting into the conjugation a certain number of adverbs; as,—still, yet, already, once, no more, not yet: and of the verbs—can, may, and wish, both in the affirmative and negative way.

Add to this all the moods of the verb’s conjugation, as the refined languages have them; the tenses, which with Grecian nicety from the simple imperfect tense gradually descend, through very small steps, into the remotest *plusquamperfectum*; then you can form some idea of the complicated, but thoroughly cultivated, verb of the Kaffir language.

The object of these lines being not to teach this tongue, but only to convince the reader that it decidedly has a claim to be ranked with the more cultivated languages, we now would turn the attention of literate men to some more interesting subject, namely, to the traces of analogy which are found to exist between the Kaffir and the Hebrew tongues, as likewise between the first and the Greek in some few points.

The verb being the principal, and by far the most numerous, part of the Kaffir language, it is here where we mostly meet with those analogies, which we now show, in the first place, respecting the grammar; in the second, respecting the lexicon.

- a. Almost all primitive words have two syllables.
- b. The terminating vowel of all the verbs is *a*, which in the Hebrew is the same case with the radical form of the

verba mediæ radicalis A—viz., the 3rd person of the *præteriti* singular.

c. Verbs commencing in their root with a vowel, may be classed into—not *mediæ*, but *primæ rad. A*—*apuka*, “to break;” *primæ E*—*ehla*, “to descend;” *primæ O*—*ohula*, “to stretch out.”

d. The *verba derivata*, as shown above, are corresponding to the conjugations of the Hebrew verb. Take the verb *kala*, “to cry.”

<i>Kala</i> , active	corresponding to	<i>Kal</i> .
<i>Kalwa</i> , passive	„	<i>Niphal</i> .
<i>Kalela</i> , transitive	„	<i>Piël</i> .
<i>Kalelwa</i> , passive	„	<i>Pual</i> .
<i>Kalisa</i> , causative, to make cry „		<i>Hiphil</i> .
(Mark the <i>i</i> !)		
<i>Kaliswa</i> , passive of <i>Kalisa</i> .	„	<i>Hophal</i> .
<i>Zikalela</i> , reflective	„	<i>Hithpaël</i> .
(Mark the <i>præform. Zi</i> !)		
<i>Kalakala</i> , reiterative	„	<i>Pilpel</i> .

e. The person of the verb in its flexion throughout is given by *præformativa*.

f. The accusative of the *pronomens pers.* is infixed between the person and the root of the verb. It is therefore *suffixed*, not to the verb, as in the Hebrew, but to the person of the verb; as, *uyagitanda*, “you me love.”

g. There is a *pronomens separatum* and a *pronomens verbi*, which we have called the verbal pronoun.

h. With the *verbo finito* is frequently connected the infinitive of the same verb, in order to give intensity and continuation to the action; as, *gahamba nokuhamba*, “I walked with walking,” *i. e.*, much, continued walking.

i. With the Greek language the Kaffir has common the *alpha privativum*, as, *kulungili*, “it is good,” *akulungili*, “it is not good;” *gitanda*, “I am loving;” *angitandi*, “I am not loving;” *gumuntu*, “it is a man;” *asingumuntu*, “it is not a man.”

k. The *pronomina relativa* in the Kaffir language are, for the singular number, *o* and *e*; for the plural, *a*; corresponding to the Greek *ὄς, ἡ*, singular, and *ἃ* plural.

Let us now see what analogies the respective Lexica exhibit:—

	KAFFIR.	HEBREW.	
Father	Ubaba	אָב	
Mother	Umame	אִם	
Water	Amanzi	מַיִם	
Monkey	Inkaii	קוֹף	
All	Konki	כֹּל	
Loin	Ihleza*	חֻצֵּץ	
Day	Imini, sing. & pl.	יָמִים	Plural.
If	Uma	אִם	
Here	Po	פֹּה	
Pecus	Inkomo	מִקְנֵה	
To eat	Illa	אָכַל	
„ come	Za	בָּא	
„ perceive	Bona	בִּוֵּן	
„ divide	Banda	בָּקַע	
„ finish	Peza	בָּצַע	Zech. iv. 9.
„ devour	Bawa	בָּלַע	
„ flee	Baleka	בָּרַח †	
„ fly	Ndiza	דָּאָה	
„ be rich	Gula	חָלָה	
„ be light	Lula	קָלַל	
„ do	Enza	עָשָׂה	
„ hear	Ziva	שָׁמַע	
„ know	Azi	יָדַע	
„ drink out	Minza	מָזָה	
„ be tired	Katala	לָאָה	
„ flame	Ilangabi	לָהֵבָה	
„ sleep, lie down	Lala	לָוַן	
„ keep off	Kalima	כָּלָא	

* *Hl* to be pronounced like חל.† *R* becomes *l* in the Kaffir's mouth.

	KAFFIR.	HEBREW.
To cry	Kala	קָרָא
„ rise, stand	Ma	קָם
		GREEK.
How?	Po?	πῶς.
To domify	Tambisa	δαμάζειν.
The arm	Ingalo	ἀγκάλῃ. (ὐlnα.)
To be hungry	Lamba	λιμός.
„ place	Beka	ἔθηκα, 1 Aor.
„ throw	Posa	ἔπεσα, 1 Aor., fall.
„ rend into pieces	Razula	ρήσσω.
„ be at an end	Pela	τελέω.
„ be famous	Duma	τιμάω.
Stone	Ilitze	λίθος.
Cloud	Ifu	νεφος.
Poor	Mpofu	πτωχός.
To forget	Libala	λανθάνω.
„ nurse	Beleta	θηλάζω.

Many more instances may be adduced to prove, that the Kaffir language must have lived at an early period in some country where it was near to the Hebrew and the Greek tongue. And where else could that have been, if not in or close to Egypt? Some of their traditions and customs would throw still more light on this point; to speak of which here would be out of place.

CHAPTER XVIII.

UKUHLONIPA.

IN the heading of this short chapter, I have taken the Kaffir word *Ukuhlonipa*, because I know of no word in the English language which can express its meaning. I also have taken a separate chapter for it; for, although a short one, it describes a custom of very considerable importance, not only among the Kaffirs themselves, but, more especially, as it affects the probabilities of their improvement. The following account is from a gentleman familiar with their customs:—

“This is a very singular custom; and, in its nature and tendencies, presents insuperable difficulties to the introduction of civilized habits into the domestic circle, and especially to the exercise of those kindly offices which Christianity inculcates.

“By this strange custom, a daughter-in-law is required to *hlonipa* her father-in-law, and all her husband’s male relations in the ascending line; that is, to be cut off from all intercourse with them. She is not allowed to pronounce their names, even mentally; and, whenever the emphatic syllable of either of their names occurs in any word, she must avoid it, by either substituting an entirely new word, or at least another syllable, in its place. Hence this custom has given rise to an almost distinct language among the women. The emphatic syllable which she must not pronounce, is that which immediately follows the prefix of the proper name.

“She is not allowed to enjoy their company, nor to be in the same hut with them; nor is she supposed ever to look at them. Thus she is debarred from performing all

those kindly offices towards the elders of her husband's family which nature dictates and Christianity commands. She may, however, associate with her husband's relations in the collateral line of relationship.

“The same custom forbids all strange females, or those related only by *affinity* to the owner of the kraal, from entering the cattle-fold, or even from walking on those parts of the village site where the cattle are accustomed to stand and lie down, and which is called the *inkundhla*. Hence they have to make circuitous paths from one hut to another, round the back of the huts, in order to avoid crossing the *inkundhla*. These women's tracks may be seen at every kraal. Females related by *blood* to the owner of the kraal may, however, walk on the *inkundhla*, and even enter the cattle-fold.

“Females not related by blood to the owner thereof, are also forbidden by this custom to touch the milk-sack; and they would rather die of hunger, than pour milk therefrom.

“This custom places the son-in-law also under certain restrictions towards his mother-in-law. He cannot enjoy her society, or remain in the same hut with her; nor can he pronounce her name.

“He may, however, pronounce other words, although they may contain the emphatic syllable of her name; nor does this custom require that the son-in-law should avoid the society of any of his mother-in-law's relations, even in the ascending line.

“The daughter-in-law must to a certain extent *hlonipa* her mother-in-law also: for instance, she cannot uncover her head, nor any other part of her body which is usually kept covered, in her presence.

“If a female *wilfully* commits breaches of this custom, she loses caste; and should any misfortunes befall the kraal on which she resides, and a priest be sent for, he would most likely fix upon her as the cause thereof, and she would then be punished as a witch. The dread of this, together with their own superstitious fears of incurring the displeasure of the *imishologu*, are an effectual preventive to any wilful breaches of the custom. I say

wilful breaches, because, until practice has made them perfect, young married women often commit mistakes with regard to this custom, which are of course overlooked."

Mr. Shaw, in his "Story of my Mission," remarks:—"This custom has given rise to an almost distinct language among the women; the new words, or modified words, which they employ, being known in the general community as 'women's words;' and I have often observed that the men did not always understand the words used by the women. I have occasionally noticed that for this reason, when a traveller inquired the name of the head man of a kraal, of a woman who happened to be his daughter-in-law, she seemed embarrassed, and at length called for a child, or some other person, to tell the stranger the name of the master of the place."

The writer has sometimes been placed in difficulties by this custom; and, until he was acquainted with it, was unable to conceive what made the women so strange and embarrassed; but, when informed of it, all difficulty ceased.

As to the cause or origin of this strange and absurd custom, I can form no idea. There is, doubtless, much superstition underlying the whole; and it is only in connexion with that, that it can be at all tolerated or explained. When their minds begin to be influenced by Christianity, they seem greatly perplexed and confused upon this point, and only abandon it slowly; and are long before they give it up altogether.

CHAPTER XIX.

DISEASES AND MEDICAL TREATMENT.

THE Governor of our world has so ordered His providential arrangements in connexion with the health or sickness of the human body, that vice and excess, when indulged in, become their own executioners. This is true equally in relation to the savage and the civilized.

The Kaffirs would be a healthy and long-lived race of people, were it not for the excess of riot into which they run, in the practice of adultery, dancing, &c.: many of their diseases that become prematurely fatal are attributable to this cause. Their mode of living on simple diet, and exercise in the open air, in a fine climate, is exceedingly favourable to robust health and longevity; and perhaps no nation enjoys, upon the whole, better health. This would be more robust than it is, were it not for their excesses.

Consumption,—*isifubu*,—attended with inflammation of the lungs, is among the most common and fatal diseases to which they are subject. This is not so much hereditary as brought on by undue exposure. One great source from which it springs is their night orgies, in which singing, dancing, and adultery are often carried on to great excess. Their dances are often long continued, in which the physical effort is intense; profuse perspiration follows. This is kept up until a late hour, until the body becomes exhausted; the pores are thrown open, and a chill ensues, which entails disease and death. I have many times seen them in this excited and exhausted state, after which the keen chill of the midnight air has seized them, and the wonder is that a larger number is not carried off.

The treatment varies: in many instances they simply lie in their huts for days, taking only slight palliatives, and waiting to see if the natural force of the body is adequate to throw off disease, which often occurs.

If this does not succeed, they send for the doctor,—*isanusi*,—who probably tries first the effect of medicines. Mr. Finn, who is an authority upon such subjects, says: “Their knowledge of medicinal plants is considerable, though not very extensive, nor is it confined to them alone. A knowledge of the virtues of particular plants, when possessed by private families, is considered as an heirloom. Hence, on a native being attacked by disease, he obtains the opinion of a native doctor as to the nature of his complaint, and is recommended to apply to the family which possesses a knowledge of the appropriate remedy for the fever, dropsy, rheumatism, or whatever the complaint may be. But the doctors frequently purchase a knowledge of such remedies for their own practice.”

If these remedies do not succeed, and the case becomes a serious one, in connexion with some person of importance, then the *isanusi* acts in his priestly character. Some one has bewitched the person, or the spirits of the ancestors are angry, and are inflicting evil. If the former of these, the witch must be “smelled out,” &c., an account of which process is given in the chapter on witchcraft. If the latter is the case, then a suitable beast must be obtained, and offered in sacrifice to the manes of the dead, an account of which is given in the chapter on their sacrificial offerings. The whole is attended with much that is mysterious, and is made potent by charms and ceremonies. Often these methods are effectual: the medicines producing a beneficial effect upon the body, and the sacrificial offerings, duly performed, relieving the mind and quieting the conscience. Those who have had experience in this department know how much these things have to do with the recovery of the patient.

Another disease to which they are subject is *fever*. This increases in virulence the nearer Delagoa Bay is approached; especially among the deltas of some of the

rivers, where rank vegetation, decayed vegetable matter, and intense heat, produce a very deadly *miasma*, which is often fatal on a large scale. This also is attributed to supernatural as well as natural causes. In one instance it was declared that "a dove from Delagoa Bay had brought it, and spread it among the Amazulu, for the purpose of effecting their destruction." At another time, when fever raged extensively, and many died, it was affirmed that "an antelope from another nation had been sent, through which medium the disease had been conveyed;" both only showing to how great an extent ignorance and superstition pervade the national mind. The methods before described are used here also, with the addition of copious bleeding.

Another disease common among them is rheumatism, or rheumatic fever, designated by the term *umcoboko*, which term is used to describe severe bodily pain; probably that particular kind of pain understood by our word rheumatism. This is ordinarily induced by that intense physical exertion before described, in which, after profuse perspiration, the body is exposed to cold and wet, and disease follows.

The method of treatment here is mostly *counter-irritation*. Of this they have considerable knowledge, and use it freely. Cupping the parts affected is often resorted to. In addition to this, scarifying is adopted; and I have heard of the scalp of the head being scraped until the skull has been laid bare. Surely if external irritation can alleviate internal pain, it must be done under this severe treatment. But, as a rule, however severe the pain, the Kaffir does not allow one muscle to betray it.

Another prevalent disease is *utwai*, a venereal disease. In another chapter is shown to how large an extent fornication and adultery prevail. General uncleanness abounds, the gratification of the sensual passions being allowed and encouraged, without the influence of any public sentiment to check or retard it. Hence, disease, as a natural consequence, must follow. Probably this is the only consideration which weighs with them, in helping to moderate their lustful practices.

Tumours—efa—are of frequent occurrence, arising from

a disordered or diseased state of the body, the blood being very impure. In this manner the body seeks to relieve itself of those disorders which otherwise would prove fatal : thus following that benevolent law of the creation in which, when one part of the body suffers, all the others sympathize, and come forth to the relief of the suffering or injured part. Nonklass, the great Zulu general, who fought for Umpanda against Udingaan and defeated him, had both his knees greatly swollen at that time. He was cupped so frequently, that the skin was discoloured and the knees deformed ; it afterwards became chronic and incurable.

Ukwelwe—or scurvy—is often found, with extensive disease of the skin, developing itself in blotches and tumours, especially in children. Scurvy is induced or aggravated by drinking native beer, or *utyalla*, to excess. This intoxicating beverage is made from *amabele*, or Kaffir corn, and undergoes a regular process of fermentation in preparation. When the year is a fruitful one, this part of the crop is set aside for this purpose, instead of being used for food. During the winter months it is made into beer and drunk freely, which produces disease of the skin, and sometimes gravel also. The tumours on the skin of children are often the result of uncleanness in the parents ; but living solely on maize or Indian corn will produce the same effect, as it appears to be too strong and heating for small children.

Leprosy is also found, happily not extensively, as it is a most loathsome disease, and those afflicted with it become distressing objects indeed. I have heard of no cure for it.

Izebalo is the name for wound, or bruise, or violent sprain, &c. The usual resort for this kind of accident is bleeding, cupping, &c. The cupping instrument, *luneka*, is made from a horn, with needles,—*izinthlum*,—carefully prepared ; and the operation is performed more quickly and cleverly than would be supposed by those who have not seen it.

In advancing along the coast towards the north-east in the direction of Delagoa Bay, the climate becomes more insalubrious, and disease more prevalent. Captain Gar-

diner gives some account of this in connexion with a tribe living in those regions:—"On the east there is a tribe of Zulus called Nobambas, from whom they (*i.e.*, the Amazulu) obtain iron for heading their spears and *assagais*. They have heard of Sofala, but have never been there, or seen any of the people. Their houses are of a similar construction with these, but formed chiefly with mats and with reeds. Their king, Sobuza,—the same whom Chaka subdued,—has still the power of life and death. Malefactors, when capitally punished, are struck on the head with knobbed sticks, as is the practice here; but they are never impaled: with the exception of these, their dead are always interred, being first bound up in their cloths and mats. They describe the hot winds as sometimes so oppressive as to oblige them to leave their houses, and ascend the very tops of the mountains in order to obtain a gasp of air. The climate is so exceedingly unhealthy, and that at all times of the year, that Umkolwawa said he expected to find many ill on his return, although it was winter, that season, if any, being the most sickly. Rain is unknown, but the nightly dews are heavy. The prevailing sickness is of two kinds—one, an affection of the throat and lungs, from which they often recover; but the other is a seizure so sudden and fatal that frequently in a few minutes, and generally in a quarter of an hour from the first attack, life is extinct. On these occasions they complain of pain in the loins, back, and front of the head; and, after death, vomit a black liquid from the mouth. They have no knowledge of medicine, and invariably leave the sick to languish without attempting any remedy. A removal from the insalubrious climate frequently restores them when suffering from the first-named disorder; and Umkolwawa himself declared, that on quitting his country the complaint in his chest had immediately left him."

The probability is, that this was the sickness which cut off Utshaka's vast army, or something of the same kind. Abantwana, the old Ilanga chief, described it as "blood sickness," attended with extreme pain in the abdomen and other parts of the body; and so terrible was its

nature, and so fatal its results, that in a few days the vast army was cut off, and one mass of deadly putrefaction left. They lay down, writhed, groaned, died. The angel of death in one night slew the host of Sisera, and in the morning they were dead corpses; so here also, an unseen hand smote this mighty host, and they disappeared. This was just at the time when Udingaan massacred Utshaka at the great place; so that in one day judgment and retribution overtook both king and army; and, if chariots and horsemen were not overwhelmed in the wave, king and army were cut off at a stroke.

When accidents occur, the Natal natives have a very ingenious method of setting the broken limb. The gentleman from whom the last quotation was made, says:—"Mr. Cane, who accompanied me as far as the Inhlungwani villages, related a singular method of setting a broken limb, having himself experienced the operation at a spot not far from the track we were now pursuing; his arm having been broken and put out of joint by the overturning of his cart. Several men having assembled at the place, with a native Esculapius at the head, a deep hole was scooped out, and then partly filled with pliant clay; the whole arm, with the hand open and the fingers carried inwards, was then inserted, when the remainder of the clay that had been prepared had been filled in, and beaten closely down. Several men then raised his body perpendicularly to the incased arm, and drew it out by main force. By this simple and somewhat painful method his arm was perfectly reset, and, had he retained the Natal bandage, would doubtless have grown perfectly straight, but by substituting a sling it has grown out. This, I understand, is the usual practice among all these tribes; and is said to be effectual."

Amongst the many ingenious devices resorted to in cupping, I have heard the following. The operator gets an old calabash or clay pot, he then secures a *frog* of suitable size, &c., and puts it in the broken vessel, with which he proceeds to the abode of his patient, from whose body he extracts the impure blood, and making incisions in the body of the frog, he injects the blood: when the process is

complete, he takes the animal with its worthless house, and casts both into a hole, or chasm, or down a precipice, to be seen no more;—the design of the whole being, doubtless, to convey the disease of the sick person into the body of the healthy frog, and, by throwing both away, cause the sickness to depart.

Emetics are frequently given for affections of the throat, lungs, chest, &c., and with good effect.

Injections are also frequently administered, both to old and young. The process in reference to children has been related, and does not need repeating.

Of anatomy they know nothing, and therefore cannot treat their patients anatomically; but by long and careful observation they know much, and often employ their knowledge in removing disease and restoring health.

The subject of diseases and their cures, discussed in this chapter, has not been treated scientifically or anatomically, as they are strangers to science, and any attempt to use technical terms and phrases would be simply absurd.

CHAPTER XX.

DEATHS AND FUNERALS.

DEATH, to this people, is pre-eminently “the king of terrors,” and the grave “the valley of deadly shades;” or, rather, of dark, blank, black despair. Over the future a dark cloud rests, and beyond the grave nothing with certainty is known. They possess the firm and general belief that the soul exists in a separate state after the body is dead, in the dwelling-place of ghosts or spirits; but where or what that place is they know not, but believe that their souls, as occasion may require, revisit the abodes of men, in the bodies of serpents, as explained in the chapter on witchcraft. But it does not appear that they have any distinct or general impression as to whether the soul occupies the bodies of serpents occasionally or constantly; or whether only some of their number enter the bodies of serpents, whilst others die with the body, and cease to exist. Thus the manes of the dead are shrouded in mystery; they have no distinct reliable traditions which may relieve the mind or cast a few rays of light across the dark tomb. Neither, with regard to those spirits which are supposed to revisit the world in serpent form, are they at all aware what will ultimately become of them. The reader will recollect what took place in connexion with this subject, as recorded in the chapter on their religious belief, &c., and that when the old heathen was pushed to a conclusion, with the interrogation, “Where will the spirit go last of all?” he could return no answer. There is, however, no doubt but that whilst they are uncertain as to the souls of people in general, they do firmly believe that the spirits of their distinguished chiefs, warriors, and necromancers do live. So far as I

have been able to learn, this is not the belief of one tribe alone, but more or less the faith of all the tribes extending from the Fish River to Delagoa Bay. This, then, being their general belief, dread uncertainty hangs over the future, whilst the grave looks cold and gloomy; earth and worms being objects from which the mind of man recoils, confirming the sentiment of a great poet:—

“Nature’s first wish is immortality,”

“Annihilation is an after-thought.”

Annihilation is not only an after-thought, but a dreadful thought, when there is nothing to relieve the dark, cold future.

A natural result of this is, that anything relating to sickness, old age, and death, is looked upon with alarm; and every means is resorted to, to prevent the approach of this “last enemy,” this “king of terrors.” Thus Utshaka and Udingaan had every grey hair pulled out of their heads as they made their appearance, in order that no intimation of approaching old age might be found. Thus, also, as before stated, the old men marry young wives, in order to preserve eternal youth. They know nothing of that blessed book which really preserves perpetual youth, in that, “whilst the outward man perishes, the inward man is renewed day by day.”

When disease and death present themselves, no sacrifice is too costly to offer, or labour too great to endure, in order “to turn aside the fatal hour.” The chapters on witchcraft and their religious belief fully illustrate this. The *amagqira* and the *izanusi* are in loud demand, and their sorceries and charms and medicines must be secured at any price. But when all is done, all is of no avail. This “king of terrors” marches boldly forward; his course is not to be arrested by potent medicines, nor his stern nature to be softened by the incense of slaughtered beasts, nor his fixed purpose turned aside by all the arts of astrology. No; but looking his victim steadily and coldly in the face, he seizes him with a death-grasp, and holds him with a tenacious hand until his prey is secured.

In former times, these affrighted people abandoned their

dying ones to their fate, before the vital spark had fled: not unfrequently taking them to the bush, or hiding them among the reeds of the river, leaving them to perish without the kind attentions of friendship when most needed, and deliberately handing them over to beasts of prey.

I quote the following from Captain Gardiner:—

“Hearing of the death of a young woman in a neighbouring village, I went to the spot with the hope of preventing them from casting the bodies of deceased persons into the woods to be devoured by wild animals. They listened very attentively to all my arguments; and, at the conclusion, thanked me for the words I had spoken, and agreed in future to inter their dead.”

In this instance it was simply to preserve the body after death, but numerous instances might be given in which they have been taken out to die, and abandoned to their fate.

This practice is not now so common as it was in former days, arising from the more enlightened and humane views disseminated by the influence of Christian Missions, even when the Gospel is not formally embraced; but there are still instances occurring in secret places, as it is impossible to conceive how callous the heart may become in reference to the sufferings of others.

The above, however, is not the common mode of procedure. The ordinary course is for persons to die as the result of disease, accident, or old age. No sooner is the fact known, than the neighbours, friends, and relatives assemble at the village or kraal where it has occurred, and if the person be one of rank and importance, the deepest lamentations are poured forth. There are not persons who make it their profession to mourn, as in the East; but there are always friends and neighbours near at hand to manifest the most profound grief, and express it in tears, cries, and doleful lamentations. I have witnessed these scenes, and they exceed all description; doubtless much is sincere, but the probability is that much is feigned. *The men* sit in profound silence and mournful astonishment; the *women* weep and wail with passionate lamentations and bitter tears.

On such occasions many of the neighbours leave their ordinary employment, and devote their time to mourning;

they fast also, and leave the cows un milked, making a general mourning: the land is made to express the prevailing calamity. This mourning sometimes continues for a circle of the seasons. A detailed account is given of the conduct of Utshaka when he had murdered his own mother, in the chapter recording the history of that chief. On that occasion many human beings lost their lives, whilst the whole land was thrown into mourning.

The funerals also are attended with many circumstances of interest, before giving an account of which I will quote Mr. Moffat's description of what takes place further to the north-west, among the tribes residing there.

“The following is a brief sketch of the ceremony of interment, and the custom which prevails among these tribes in reference to the dying:—When they see any indications of approaching dissolution, in fainting fits or convulsive throes, they throw a net over the body, and hold it in a sitting posture with the knees brought in contact with the chin, until life is gone. The grave, which is frequently made in the fence of the cattle-fold, or in the fold itself, is, for a man, about three feet in diameter and six feet deep. The interior is rubbed over with a large bulb. The body is not conveyed through the door of the fore yard or court connected with the house, but an opening is made in the fence for that purpose. It is carried to the grave having the head covered with a skin, and is placed in a sitting posture. Much time is spent in order to fix the corpse exactly facing the north; and though they have no compass, they manage, after some consultation, to place it very nearly in the required position. Portions of an ant hill are placed about the feet, when the net which held the body is gradually withdrawn. As the grave is filled up, the earth is handed in with bowls, while two men stand in the hole to tread it down around the body: great care being taken to pick out everything like a root or pebble. When the earth reaches the height of the mouth, a small twig, or branch of the acacia, is thrown in, and on the top of the head a few roots of grass are placed; and when the grave is nearly filled, another root of grass is fixed immediately above the head, part of which stands above the

ground. When finished, the men and women stoop, and with their hands scrape the loose soil around on to the little mound. A large bowl of water, with an infusion of bulbs, is then brought, when the men and women wash their hands and the upper part of their feet, shouting, '*Pula, pula, rain, rain.*' An old woman, probably a relative, will then bring his weapons, bows, arrows, war axe, and spears, also grain and garden seeds of various kinds, and even the bone of an old pack ox, with other things, and address the grave, saying, 'These were all your articles.' These are then taken away, and bowls of water are poured on the grave, when all retire: the women wailing, '*Yo, yo, yo,*' with some doleful dirge, sorrowing without hope. These ceremonies vary in different localities, and according to the rank of the individual who is committed to the dust. It is remarkable that they should address the dead, and I have eagerly embraced this season to convince them that if they do not believe in the immortality of the soul, it was evident from this, to them now unmeaning custom, that their ancestors once did. Some would admit that this might possibly have been the case, but doubted whether they could have been so foolish. But, with few exceptions, among such a people argument soon closes, or is turned into ridicule, and a great difficulty presents itself of producing conviction when there is no reflection. When we would appeal to the supposed influence of the dead body in neutralizing the rain maker's medicines for producing rain, and inquire how such an influence operated, the reply would be, 'The rain maker says so.'"

The preceding account is to some extent descriptive of what takes place among the Kaffirs, especially in some parts. But sometimes they have buried them in this manner before life has been extinct, which is very revolting. In one instance an elderly woman, connected with my church, was taken away by her friends when she was very ill; some of the other church members thought she would be buried in this manner, which produced very sorrowful sensations among them.

Mr. Warner gives the following account of what occurs in connexion with the interment of the dead:—

“Friendless persons among the Kaffirs are seldom buried. They are generally carried away before they are dead, and deposited in some fissure of a bank or rock, and left to their fate; and it sometimes happens that those that are cast away recover and return to their kraals. They have a great repugnance to persons dying inside the hut; and even respectable Kaffirs are sometimes carried outside to expire. On the death of a person who has friends great and loud lamentations and screaming are always made by the women; but the men manifest their sorrow by sitting in profound silence. These lamentations do not generally last for more than an hour. The body is always placed in a sitting posture, and in filling up the grave, stones are carefully built up round the face, so as to prevent the earth from falling against it. When the corpse is placed in the grave, the relatives often make use of such exclamations as the following, ‘Look upon us from the place whither you are gone;’ ‘Take care of us;’ ‘Cause us to prosper,’ &c.

“If it be a man, his favourite assagai is generally placed in the grave with him, as well as his karosses, &c. After burial, those who assisted in the ceremony, as well as his other relatives residing on the kraal, perform certain ablutions, and shave their heads. If it be the head man of the kraal who has died, all belonging to the kraal perform these ablutions and shave their heads. If the deceased was a married man, the wives fly to the mountains immediately on his death being announced, and there remain for several days: only coming to the kraal after dark, to obtain food and to sleep, and they are off again to the mountains with the first dawn of day.

“Sometimes, however, they remain altogether in the mountains, night as well as day. During the first three or four days of mourning, they all abstain from the use of milk.

“A priest is then sent for, who offers a sacrifice to the *imishologu*, after which they drink milk as usual. The deceased’s hut, if he had one, is always forsaken; and if he was the owner of the village or kraal, that is forsaken, and the cattle fold, together with all the huts belonging to the deceased’s establishment, is allowed to decay

and moulder away. The name of such deserted hut or kraal is called the *idulaka*. It is sacredly consecrated to the dead; and for any of the materials thereof to be used for fuel, or for any other purpose, by his surviving relatives, would be considered as great a crime as witchcraft. During the days of mourning, which seldom extend beyond the period of one month, no cattle, &c., belonging to the kraal, are allowed to depart. As soon as it can be arranged, new karosses are provided for the wives of the deceased, who burn the old ones, smear with fat and red clay, and then the days of their mourning are ended.

“In case of the death of a chief, ‘watchers’ are appointed to protect the grave for a considerable time. These persons have a number of cattle given them, belonging to the ‘great place,’ and which cattle are ever after considered sacred, and are called ‘the cattle of the chief’s grave.’ These cattle cannot be seized for any crime of which their owners may be guilty; and, in fact, they are still considered as the property of the departed chief. Indeed, the ‘grave watchers’ themselves are for a long time considered as very privileged persons, and are not generally punished for trifling misdemeanours.”

The place of interment of the Natal Kaffir is often in the fence of the kraal, but not always; nor have they any particular place of interment, such as graveyards, &c. Sometimes it is in the brush, at a short distance from the house; but if so, they never think of taking the corpse through the regular entrance of the kraal, but break an opening in the fence behind the house, through which it is conveyed, and deposited in the grave in a sitting posture. This is done as quickly as possible after the person is dead.

This over, they proceed to throw away the house, burn it, or leave it to decay; it must not be taken down, or be appropriated to any other use, but as the former occupant is dead, his habitation must also die.

This is the common and significant mode of making known “that the house is dead.” The same also takes place with a kraal or village. When a chief or head man dies, the whole is abandoned, left to perish,—“is dead.” I have seen many kraals thus deserted.

This custom is of long standing; for in 1690, when Gerbrantzi bought Natal for the Dutch East India Company for twenty thousand florins, when he returned to take possession in 1705, the king was dead and his son was reigning in his stead, who, in reply made to the demand for the country, said :—"My father is dead; his skins are buried with him in the floor of his house, which is burned over him, and the place is fenced in, over which none now must pass; and as to what he agreed to, it was for himself, I have nothing to say to it."*

In those instances in which the bodies are interred, they usually get some aged friends or neighbours to perform this act of kindness for them; but in every instance they have an extreme abhorrence of touching the bodies of the dead; and as quickly as possible purify themselves from the defiling touch.

Thus close our notations of the manners and customs of the Kaffirs; we leave them at the grave, beyond which they know nothing. A dark, impenetrable veil hangs over the future. Dreadfulness and sorrow encircle the tomb, and no bright vista opens beyond its dark precincts; making their claim upon Christian churches and nations, for the "light of the glorious Gospel of the grace of God," strong indeed. That they may behold those bright beams by which "life and immortality are brought to light," so that death may be robbed of its sting, the grave of its horror, and the future of the terror which hangs over it, must be the prayer of every thoughtful Christian.

* CHASE.

PART III.

IMPROVEMENT.

CHAPTER I.

THE NATIVE LAND QUESTION.

WHEN this chapter was first prepared, it related to Natal alone; but as the altered form of this work now embraces the whole subject of Kaffir history, manners, &c., it is needful to consider the land question in its entire bearings. Hence, I shall treat it, *first*, in *general*; *second*, in its more immediate relation to the Natal natives.

When I wrote my former volume on "The History of Natal," I expressed my unwillingness for the colonial boundary to be extended to the south-west of the Natal Colony, being disposed to regard it as "territorial aggrandisement," without any real need or practical benefit; and was not favourable to any extension in the opposite direction from the Cape Colony. My views have, however, undergone considerable change since that time. The progress made, and the changes effected, during the last twelve years, have been on almost a startling scale; so as very materially to alter the whole aspect of affairs.

Despite all that was done by the colonists to prevent the abandonment of the Orange River Sovereignty by the British Government, that suicidal act was carried out, to the prejudice of that country and the whole colony; but especially of the native races residing in those parts.

This, now the "Orange River Free State," and the "Transvaal Republic," forms two Dutch republics, stretching along the whole of the Natal Colony to the

north and west: also, at the close of the Kaffir war in 1852, in the Cape Colony, the eastern boundary was pushed on to the Great Kei river; and the whole of what is now British Kaffraria was taken from the combined foe,* and formed into a small colony called British Kaffraria: as, also, what now forms the "Queen's-Town District" and the "Tembookie Location," which were taken from the Tembookies, and added to the old colony. And, at a later period, Sir George Grey took the whole country from the great Kei river to the Bashe river, from the Gcalekas, under Khili.

Subsequently to this, Adam Kok with the Griquas was allowed by Sir George Grey to leave the Orange River Sovereignty, after it was abandoned to the Boers, and locate to the south of Natal, in what was laconically called, "No Man's Land;" thus introducing another element of discord into the very heart of Kaffirland.

The reader will readily perceive that by these events very great changes have taken place, large tracts of territory have been taken in, and the relative as well as real position of parties has been very greatly altered; producing new complications, and forming great difficulties. The Natal Colony and the Cape Colony are now brought near to each other; and, according to the law of modern progress, the time is not far distant when they will stretch out their arms, and shake hands in the centre of Kaffirland proper. Just now, steps are being taken to join the two colonies by means of the electric telegraph; and thus, that which heretofore involved the necessity of a sea voyage, or a long and perilous journey through a barbarous and dangerous country, will be traversed by this modern lightning conductor in a few seconds.

This appears to some a painful consummation, and one against which the heart of humanity and philanthropy protests; but in vain, the two colonies will ultimately join. It will take place: either peacefully, by the gentle extension of British rule; or violently, amidst the storms, and revolutions, and calamities of war. These two colonies will join; and Kaffirland, as a separate

* British Kaffraria has since been added to the Cape Colony.

independent Kaffir territory, will exist no more. You may attempt to dam up the river, or arrest the flood-tide in its rush, but in vain; nature urges on its resistless course, until the increasing momentum bursts every barrier, and rushes on to the goal. So here, legislators, editors, and philanthropists may do what they please, and say what they like, to prevent this result; but the whole will be of no avail, and this will become an accomplished fact. The stream of colonization will go on, and overspread Kaffirland; and he is the true philanthropist who would seek so to guide and control it as to make it fertilizing to European and Kaffir alike.

Taking this view of matters then, I cannot but greatly regret the action of the home government in refusing to sanction the act of Sir George Grey in taking possession of the country between the Kei and Bashe rivers, and giving it back again to the Gcalekas and other native tribes. I did not approve of all that was done in the mode of taking the country; but, when taken, it does appear to all well-informed persons, a step in the wrong direction to give it back; and more likely to bring on war again, in process of time, than any thing else. The government could have retained the country, and given out one part to European farmers, and at the same time have reserved ample lands for the Gcalekas; the natives would then have held it under British authority during their peaceful occupancy, and a strong barrier would have been raised against their losing it by engaging in mad and disastrous war.

Many persons in England who speak and write upon the subject are often misinformed and greatly mistaken. From long experience and careful observation, my settled conviction is, that he is *not the true friend of the Kaffir who would try to keep him isolated and independent*; but he who, as changes take place, would *secure for him and his children ample lands in perpetuity*.

If there was any probability of the Kaffirs who reside in the district between the Kei and Umzimkulu rivers, which forms Kaffirland proper, embracing Christianity in the mass, and becoming an elevated, Christianized, civilized people, and thus being able to take their *status* among the inde-

pendent civilized nations of the earth, I would be as staunch an advocate for their tribal independence, their country remaining intact, and their lands being preserved inviolate, as could be found. But I fear, up to this time, there is no reasonable ground for expecting this gratifying result. I am not able to endorse the statement of a certain prelate, made in England some time ago, that "the Kaffirs were embracing Christianity in the mass." That there are important and flourishing Mission stations among them I am glad to admit, and that much light has been disseminated and good effected is beyond reasonable doubt; but, up to this time, I think no powerful impression has been made upon the mass; and any impartial person residing among them must feel that there is a massiveness about their gigantic form of heathenism which makes itself painfully felt; and, in their independent state, there is but little prospect of their yielding to the claims and restraints of Christianity; and, consequently, they are more likely to be broken and destroyed by intestine wars, murders, and the white man's devil—*brandy*, or "Cape Snooke," than to be preserved and saved.

The following statement from a missionary residing among the Pondos, taken from an English periodical, is illustrative of the above remarks:—"The tribe is still carrying on a desultory war with Xisibi. About a month ago, the Pondos made an attack upon the latter, and were repulsed; but talk of going out again shortly. This long-continued strife will, I expect seriously interfere with Jojo's Mission, for the Pondos are determined not to rest until the Xisibi submit; and the latter appear equally determined to fight to the last for their independence. What a blessing it would be to all these tribes, if they were peaceably brought under British rule!"

Their state and prospects would be different, if the English were not pushing upon them from the east and south-west, and the Dutch from the north; but, as it is, they are pressed on all sides from without, and weakened by intestine wars within. *They possess no internal regenerating process or power to raise, preserve, and fortify them;*

so that, after being long tossed by the waves of boisterous passions and consuming wars, they must, sooner or later, yield before that force which they have no power to resist or control.

The student of history, sacred as well as profane, will have observed that there are some cities and nations who have yielded to the force of wise counsel and moral suasion, and thus risen into eminence, and have been preserved. There are others who have had to be beaten and weakened, before they would enter upon an improving, elevating process,—as the Britons by the Romans and Anglo-Saxons; these have not been destroyed, have not passed away; but, after being conquered and brought low, have risen in new and enduring forms, and now possess a vigour and glory not before known. There are others who have resisted all efforts for good, have filled up the measure of their iniquities, have brought down the Divine displeasure, and have been swept away from the earth with the besom of destruction; the blast of Jehovah has withered and scattered them, and they have vanished from the earth.

My impression is, that the Kaffirs belong to the second class. They do not appear to yield to moral suasion and religious influence, like the first class; nor are they to be swept away as trophies of God's wrath, like the third, as the Canaanites were to be; but, I think, they will probably be broken and humbled by the sword, before they are raised and elevated by the Gospel. Observe, reader, I say humbled by the sword, not prepared by civilization, as some would intimate; this is perfect imbecility, since no one will take the pains to try to civilize them, unless from some selfish motive.

What, then, am I aiming at by all this? I am seeking to set forth *events*, *principles*, and *facts*, in such a manner as to enable the government and the colonist to act with justice towards the natives in reference to the past, and prepare them for right action in reference to the future; to hold up the beacon-light, to avoid danger and ruin to the aborigines, and to help to guide the superior race aright.

Let me, then, take British Kaffraria as a case in point, for illustration. According to the historical narrative, the reader is aware that this whole territory, from the Keiskama to the Great Kei river, was taken from the Kaffirs after the last war; when the remnants of the tribes, instead of being removed from this territory to some other part of the country, were still retained, and placed in certain defined localities. Nor have I heard any particular complaints about these localities being too small; but, so far as my knowledge goes, those lands have *not* been secured to the parties by diagrams and titles; and hence they are mere tenants-at-will, or *squatters*, that may be removed at any time by the *fiat* of the governor, or the pressure of colonization. What I therefore most urgently plead for, is, that these lands be secured to the natives by *title*, as fully as to the white man; thus placing them beyond the power of local governor or colonist to eject or remove them.

There are now fourteen Kaffir chiefs in this territory, with seventy-five thousand people. These are dispersed more or less over the district: let them, then, have their lands secured to them. Large portions have been sold to the Fingoe Kaffirs at twenty shillings per acre, and Europeans have had large tracts given out in farms, and titles issued: let the aborigines, then, have at least security given to the small portions of land assigned them, being that which their fathers possessed before them.

Since the foregoing observations were penned, the meeting of Sandilli and his chiefs, at the residence of the Ghika commissioner, Mr. Brownlee, has taken place, as recorded in the chapter on their history, when the offer of the governor was made for the Ghikas to proceed beyond the Kei, and take Mr. Brownlee as their commissioner. Sandilli, in true Kaffir style, replies: "I do not know the land beyond the Kei. I have not grown up there. When we separated from our common ancestors, we came here with the game, as hunters; and, since that time, we never returned back to that country. We like to die here. We do not care if the land beyond the Kei is large or small; we are satisfied

with the land in which we live, though it is sour.....It is true I have cried over my former country at the Tyumi and the Keiskama. It is my fault that I have lost it, for I made war with the governor. He took away all my power, and then I came here. I have not sinned as long as I have been here. The time is gone when the governor had a right to send me beyond the Kei; that was the time when we killed our cattle," &c. I produce these facts and statements here, for the purpose of showing how well founded my preceding observations were. It is said that "one argument is worth a thousand parallels, and one *fact* worth a thousand arguments;" I therefore, in this place, as well as throughout this volume, *produce facts* which ought to convince gainsayers, and stop the mouths of objectors.

Is it possible to conceive of anything more humbling and disgraceful to the British government, than this scene, and this language from a broken, prostrate chief? Had he or his people complained, and sought removal, the case would have been altogether different; but, when it is only to suit the convenience or caprice of the government, it is quite another matter. No wonder that it should stir up the war-spirit in their breasts, and, from the unsettled feelings created among the people, should produce a war-panic throughout the colony.

NONESI AND THE TEMBOOKIE CHIEFS.

YET again, since the above remarks were written, an event of grave and weighty import has occurred in connexion with the large portion of the Tembookie tribe residing in the Tembookie Location, on the borders of Queenstown. At the close of the war of 1852, this part of the tribe was placed there as a reward for their loyalty, under their chief, Umtirara, and after his death under his widow, Nonesi, who continued in office until a short time ago, when her son, coming of age, became chief; but he remained with the part of the tribe near the Bashe river, and interfered but little with the other part

of the tribe, which still continued under his mother in the Tembookie Location, near Queenstown. This part of the tribe had retained their ancient laws and customs, with their chiefs, head men, &c., until a short time ago, when the magistrate of Queenstown called them together and demanded that they should either abandon the country, and go beyond the Indwe river, or be deprived of their chiefs and abandon their laws.

An account of the meeting, with what occurred, I take from the "Queenstown Representative" newspaper. Happily, the reporter was well qualified for his task, and, instead of giving merely a general running account, gave the language of each speaker, *in his or her own words*; thus enabling the reader to form his own opinion of what transpired. Ministers or missionaries are often accused of giving false, or garbled, or one-sided representations of what they witness, to serve a purpose and create a feeling; but, in this instance, this cannot be; nor has it been done in any part of this work, so far as I know.

The following is the report:—

THE GOVERNOR AND THE TEMBOOKIES.

GREAT Gathering at Glen Grey—The Civil Commissioner meets Chiefs and People
—The Governor's Message delivered—Its Reception by the Chiefs.

(FROM THE "QUEENSTOWN REPRESENTATIVE.")

WEDNESDAY, November the 22nd, 1865, will be remembered by the Tembookies as long as they remain a people; for that day witnessed the deposition of their chiefs, the substitution of English for native law, and the abolition of the office of Tembookie agent. This startling revolution, which, however, only concerns the Tembookies within, and not those beyond the boundary of, the colony, was effected by the civil commissioner of the district, C. D. Griffith, Esq., who quietly declared that this was the will of the governor, and henceforth it would be law.

As soon as the civil commissioner received his final instructions from Capetown, he communicated with Inspector Gilfillan, of the Frontier Armed Mounted Police, at present stationed at Glen Grey, who immediately sent

messages to the different chiefs and head men, calling upon them to attend at Glen Grey, and receive a message from the governor. At first it was intended that the gathering should take place on last Saturday; but it was found that it would be impossible to get the people together so speedily, and Wednesday was the day ultimately fixed upon.

From the first streak of dawn, the people in all parts of the location were in motion, forming into companies under their respective chiefs and head men, mustering as imposing a force as possible, and hastening to the place of rendezvous. One of the first of the natives to arrive on the ground was the great chief,—or perhaps it would be more correct to say chieftainess,—Nonesi, who was attended by a goodly cavalcade, by several of the inferior chiefs, and by an umbrella bearer, who was busily engaged in shielding her sable majesty's delicate complexion from the rays of the sun, which on Wednesday were extremely fierce. As it is usual to describe the dresses worn by royal personages on great occasions, we may state, for the information of the curious, that Nonesi was attired in a sky-blue dress, which had evidently seen better days; a mantle, also of sky-blue, and also somewhat faded; a black riding hat, trimmed with brown ostrich feathers; and Balmoral boots. The royal petticoats were of white, rendered somewhat dingy by use; and, unless her Majesty's stockings were of the very hue and texture of her skin, we may safely affirm, from certain glimpses of the royal understandings with which the wind favoured us, that she wore none at all. The effect of Nonesi's somewhat magnificent "get-up" was slightly marred by the fact that she insisted on riding astride, instead of in the orthodox feminine fashion; but this gave a dash of piquancy to the affair which partially redeemed its want of dignity.

Very soon after the arrival of the great chief the plain in front of the old Mission station and school buildings began to swarm with life. Troop after troop of Kaffirs galloped up, all having some appearance of military discipline, and all armed with formidable knobkerries, with

the exception of the head men and chiefs, who generally carried assagais. The majority of the natives were extremely well mounted, many of them, nevertheless, on mares that had recently foaled. The foals in these cases followed their dams, and, as they ran, set up a whinnying that, although dissimilar, in some way reminded those who listened to it of the cries of children parted from their mothers, and longing to reach them.

At one time, the scene was not only animated, but highly interesting. Nonesi, surrounded by her immediate followers, was engaged in earnest conversation; the troops of Kaffirs that had already arrived were knee-haltering their horses; others were galloping up at full speed; while others again were pouring down a mountain pass at some distance from the station: those at the bottom of the pass appeared to be but a few inches in height, while their comrades at the top were mere dark specks thrown out into strong relief by the deep, dark, beautiful blue of the unclouded sky.

The footmen were not by any means as numerous as those who came on horseback; but they formed a goodly company nevertheless, and probably numbered five hundred men; of the horsemen there could not have been less than a thousand; and, by some people, this estimate was nearly doubled. For our own part, we think that a total of fifteen hundred natives will be somewhere near the mark. Of Europeans, there were, perhaps, five-and-twenty on the ground; but not one of them bore the slightest mark of authority, with the exception of Inspector Gilfillan, and one or two of his subordinates, who were in uniform.

At about half-past twelve o'clock, the civil commissioner took his seat in the porch of the church. He was supported by Inspector Gilfillan and Mr. Liefeldt—the latter acting as interpreter; the remaining Europeans grouped themselves about him; and the Kaffirs were invited to draw near. Nonesi, for whose accommodation a chair was provided, came first, and was speedily followed by her chiefs, counsellors, and people. The chiefs and counsellors sat on forms, placed right and left of Nonesi; the people,

squatting on the ground, formed themselves into a huge semicircle, while at the rear of all were a few who stood upright to listen to the message of the great chief, the representative of their "mother," Queen Victoria.

To persons used only to meetings of whites, to crowds of English people, or of colonists, it was strange to observe the decorous silence, the apparent indifference of this crowd of half naked savages, who, armed with knobkerries as they all were, listened with perfect gravity and respect to the fiat that dethroned their chiefs, and at one blow declared unlawful all their cherished customs. The natural courtesy of these barbarians would put to shame half of the polished but constrained civilities of nations long accounted civilized, refined, and polite.

When all, chiefs and people, had taken their respective places, the civil commissioner, addressing the great multitude before him, said:—"I have sent for you Tembookies, that I may make you acquainted with the governor's instructions as to your position in the Tembookie location on this side of the Indwe. The governor's instructions to me are as follows:—'All chiefs remaining on this side of the Indwe are no longer to have any authority in their tribe.'"

At this portentous announcement there was a movement of surprise, slight almost as the motion of the leaves of the forest when touched by the softest breath of the summer wind; but this evidence of emotion almost instantly subsided, and a profound stillness took its place.

The civil commissioner went on:—"I have to tell you also that all alike, chiefs and people, without exception, are to be dealt with under the colonial law, and treated in every respect as British subjects; and therefore all matters in dispute among you are to be decided by the magistrate in Queenstown, and not by your chiefs at all. This is the message which I have to communicate to you from the governor with regard to the position of those of you, whether chiefs or people, who choose to remain in the location on this side of the Indwe."

There was a long pause here; the people were still perfectly quiet; the chiefs apparently utterly indifferent to

the whole matter. Nonesi, perplexed and thoughtful, took some long pulls at her pipe, and occasionally exchanged a few words in a low tone with her counsellors.

“And now, Nonesi,” said the civil commissioner, addressing the great chief, “it is to you I speak. A complaint has been lodged with me by a Tembookie, who says that you sent some of your people to seize an ox of his, and had it slaughtered. You had no right to seize that man’s property under any plea. Your customs are abolished. You have no authority to take anything belonging to any man without an order from a judge, or from a magistrate, or from a police officer. And those people who were sent by you to take the ox will have to appear in Queenstown, to answer the charge of robbing the man who was the owner of the ox. I want all the people to understand that it will be no excuse for them to say that they were sent by the chief to do any act contrary to the colonial law. The law will not recognise that as an excuse; and any man who commits a crime under any circumstances will be tried for it, and will suffer the penalty the law imposes. This is the message that I have to give you.”

This announcement was succeeded by a long pause. At length an old man, in the thick of the crowd, exclaimed:—“Your speech is about two or three matters. Cut them up and let us talk about them separately.”

The civil commissioner:—“I have explained that no one in the location has any right to exercise authority: that Nonesi did exercise authority; and was wrong in doing so.”

An old man:—“Who ate that man up?”

The civil commissioner:—“I do not know; but you must understand that there can be no other chief but the governor in the colony. As you remain in the colony you must put up with colonial law, which is to recognise no other authority but that of the governor, and of the people he appoints to act under him.”

A head man:—“What is the cause of this sudden change? What have we done that we should be visited with the governor’s anger?”

The civil commissioner:—"All the chiefs agreed to accept the governor's terms, and go across the Indwe, and afterwards nearly all refused to do so; still I have not come here to answer any questions that you may put to me in this way, but simply to tell you what are the governor's instructions. If you have anything you wish to say to the governor, tell me, and I will represent it to him, and get his answer: but I will not argue with you."

Zenzwa, a chief, addressing the people, said:—"You have heard what the magistrate has told you; and if you have anything to say against it, you had better go home and think it over, and then get ready your reply."

At this juncture, a long conversation took place between the principal Kaffirs as to whether they should reply at once, or delay their answer. Nonesi spoke with some energy, and her temper was plainly ruffled. Eventually the chief Lumko asked:—"What offence are we guilty of, that such a thing as this should happen to-day? We have always thought, for years past, that we were under English rule; why are we thus treated?"

The civil commissioner:—"I have told you that I cannot answer your questions. I have not come here to argue the matter, but to carry out the governor's instructions."

Umlanjane:—"I cannot see my way through this. Mr. Griffith has come here to give us our new law, and why cannot we ask any questions?"

One of the crowd:—"Why should our chiefs be taken from us? Why should they be deprived of their authority? We have lived a long time in the country. Some little chiefs and their people have gone away; but why then should authority be taken away from the chiefs who remain? This is the country of our fathers. The fathers of the chiefs were chiefs in the time of our fathers; and why, then, should we be so hardly treated?"

Nonesi:—"I am an old chief, one of an old race. I was Umtirara's mother, and I belong to government. I have always been loyal. I was here under Warner; and when he left us he left his son behind. When his son was going away, I tried to prevent it; but the governor would

not listen. I am the mother of the great chief Queya; he is away from here, but I do not want to go away. I never agreed to cross the river; and it is not known to any one what I have done that the governor should be angry with me. Why, magistrate, do you speak in such a manner to me? If I have been guilty of any fault, let me know my fault, and then tell me that you will drive me over the river, or deprive me of my authority. I am a chief; why should I be less than a chief? Why should I be driven across the river? I am an old woman; I have been here since I was a child; I have brought up children here; and some of them have died before me, and their graves are here. I have been living with my own people in my own country, and have done nothing to make the governor deal so harshly with me. What have I done? The Tembookies are a large nation. My own people, the people over the river, and the people of Queya, my son, all consider themselves under the English government. Why, then, are we called together here to receive this particular report to-day? I have been loyal to the British Government always. I was loyal when other chiefs were fighting against it. In the time of the cattle slaughtering I was on the English side. I have all the country down to the Indwe, and have kept it loyal. I had always, till now, some one to look after me, and see that I was properly dealt with. When the governor took Warner away, I hoped that some one would be sent in his place; but no one is sent. We do not deny being under government; the Tembookies, wherever they may be, are, as we all know, under government. We do not wish it otherwise. Who among us said that we were willing to go over the river? I never agreed to go over. Some have crossed; others remain here. Those who have crossed the river were not sent across by me. I cannot say anything about them; they pleased themselves. That is all that I have to say to-day,—to ask the question why I am treated in this manner, and to deny that the Tembookies as a tribe ever agreed to cross the Indwe. I and all my people have been expecting a successor to Warner, and we are still looking for one to come after. Let some one follow Warner. I have said all now.”

A native, addressing Nonesi, said :—" Who is it that you are expecting in Warner's place? Where is the man? "

Nonesi :—" I do not know the man; I am waiting for him."

The civil commissioner, turning to the chiefs, said :—" You and your people are not to occupy any of the kraals vacated by those who have gone through the Indwe, without permission from me."

Nonesi :—" There are no kraals empty in this part of the Tembookie country."

The civil commissioner :—" I am not talking to you, Nonesi, alone, but to all the chiefs of your tribe."

Nonesi :—" There may be vacant kraals, but I know nothing of them? Is not this place vacant now that Warner has gone? "

The civil commissioner :—" Where there are vacant kraals, they are not to be occupied without my permission. I have not come here to answer any questions; but anything you may have to say I will take down, and send to the governor."

Nonesi :—" There are no vacant kraals."

The civil commissioner :—" Very well, then, it is all right."

Nonesi :—" Who is to take Warner's place, and rule here on my ground? "

The civil commissioner :—" There is no ground that belongs to you. It is government ground."

Nonesi :—" I am the child of the government, but the ground is mine."

A Kaffir (to the crowd) :—" There is nothing to be done that will help us; but if you want to do anything at all, sit down and cry."

This terminated the conference on the principal business of the meeting, and the civil commissioner now called Carolus and Seelo to come forward. The men, who were both decently dressed in European attire, having placed themselves in front of their brethren, the civil commissioner said :—" Carolus and Seelo, you were both paid head men in the government service; and it has been reported to the governor that you objected to carry out the

instructions of the agent residing with the Tembookies, and that you have also done all in your power to prevent the Tembookies from accepting the governor's offer of land beyond the colonial boundary. At the time you did this, you were drawing salaries as government servants; and because you did so, I am to tell you that you are no longer in the government service, and no longer to get government pay."

Carolus, whose tone and manner were both respectful and dignified, said:—"I thank you, magistrate, for your words. I am thankful for what the government has done for us. We are all thankful; but there were head men and chiefs before the government paid us; and there will be head men and chiefs still, even if they are without pay."

The Chief Viezi:—"I thank you, magistrate, for calling your children together that you may see them. We have been your children for a long time, and have always been under your protection; but you have come to say something to us that we do not understand. You say you take us under government rule. We thought we always were under government rule. Still, for what you have said, I thank you to-day with my hat in my hand; and I speak the word for all who are here. They have always wanted to belong to the government, and the governor has to-day kindly taken them under his protection, so that they may live properly under his rule! We cannot understand this thing, but we thank you! The Tembookies as a tribe have not crossed the river. Nonesi belongs to government. She stays with her tribe in Tembookie land. Those who have crossed the river are young men who had no huts and no land here, and wanted some. Nonesi always was the governor's, and will be so still. Her children were always your dogs, and will remain so."

The Chief Telle:—"I have only a small word to say, which you may take as Nonesi's also. All the chiefs are here, and none have moved. Those who have moved are not held as chiefs, and have no land." Chief Telle said, "We want to know again what we have done to be treated as you are treating us to-day. There is one thing we want

from the government: a magistrate to rule in Warner's place, and to be as he was. We thought the meeting to-day was to show us the new magistrate. Let him come. We wish to see him."

The civil commissioner terminated the meeting by telling the natives that he was very glad at having seen them all together, to hear what they had to say, and that they were at liberty to go home again.

As soon as Mr. Griffith left the place of meeting, the Tembookies broke up into scattered groups, who were speedily engaged in loud and animated conversation. This, however, did not last long. In a very short time they began to catch and mount their horses; the different parties were formed under their chiefs and head men—chiefs and head men no longer, according to Sir Philip Wodehouse; and, in less than an hour, the whole of this numerous assemblage had dispersed, east, west, north, and south, and every Kaffir who had taken part in the meeting was out of sight, and Glen Grey was as quiet as though it had never witnessed a gathering of such great moment.

Two or three accidents happened in the course of the day. One Kaffir was thrown from his horse, but escaped with a severe shaking; a restive horse that seemed to have a great objection to being ridden, managed to fall in the course of the struggle with his owner, and singularly enough broke his neck—of course dying on the spot. Another horse was likewise accidentally killed, but under what circumstances we are unable to state.

Thus ends the report. Glen Grey had for some years been the residence of J. C. Warner, Esq., Tembookie agent, or Her Majesty's representative among this tribe, who had conducted the general affairs of the people with great credit and satisfaction to both natives and colonists. A Wesleyan Mission was established at the place, and the people were rapidly advancing in civilization and Christianity, until the present disastrous course of events commenced, which resulted in the people being scattered, the agent being removed, and the Missionary leaving the place, which has since been occupied by the mounted police.

The building in which these extraordinary proceedings took place, was "the church." "About half-past twelve the civil commissioner took his seat in the porch of the church: he was supported by Inspector Gilfillan, and Mr. Liefeldt," &c. The question arises, What church was it, and how came it there? It was a Wesleyan church, built partly by funds received from the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and partly by the free-will offerings of the Kaffirs, and Christianized Tembookies; and, certainly, was never supposed to be the place in which the death-sentence of the nation would be pronounced; and to some it appears a sad profanation of the building from its original design. In this church the writer has preached the word of life to crowded congregations of Christianized and civilized Tembookies; in this church he has administered the holy sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper, to worshippers as devout as ever bowed before the Lord. In this church hundreds of Kaffir children had been taught the elements of general education, and introduced into the first stages of a new civilization. And in this church loyalty to the Queen and obedience to magistrates and superiors had been taught a thousand times. What a melancholy comment upon these scenes and proceedings was it then, to see the representative of the governor, who was the representative of Her Majesty, sitting and speaking words, and performing acts, which all true-hearted men pronounce impolitic and unjust, calculated to destroy all confidence in the British government, and produce feelings of intense hatred against it; and, possibly, ultimately result in a terrible war, with all its disastrous consequences!

Want of space alone prevents me from introducing the statements and representations of all the frontier papers, including Queenstown and Graham's Town, in which the proceedings are condemned with one voice, as being alike impolitic and unjust.

But what were these words? They were few, very few; but they were potent: the words were few, very few; but they contained the death-sentence of the nation:—"All chiefs remaining on this side of the Indwe are no longer to have

any authority in the tribe.” “I have to tell you, also, that all alike, chiefs and people, without exception, are to be dealt with under colonial law, and treated in every respect as British subjects; and therefore all matters in dispute among you are to be decided by the magistrate in Queens-town, and not by your chiefs at all.”

The elements of disturbance had been some time in motion, and ominous sounds of a gathering storm had been heard; but the descent of such a bolt of thunder and death had not been anticipated by these suspicious but loyal people. The Chief Telle replied for the whole,—“We thought the meeting to-day was to show us the new magistrate,” &c.

How was this portentous sentence received by the assembled chiefs and people? Their silent pauses and short replies are very characteristic, and evince extraordinary self-control on the part of these despised savages, and the description of the writer is very poetic; but assuredly something more solemn and stern and burning than poetry was there. Yes, desolating war, burning piles, and streaming blood, all of which might be generated at that time, are very different to the “motion of the leaves of the forest, when touched by the softest breath of the summer wind.”

What was their reply? (1.) *Questions* the most awkward and humiliating that ever British representative had to hear, and to which, with stoical firmness, he would attempt no reply. (2.) It sinks proud Britain very low to have such questions proposed from a great widowed chief, to which no honest manly reply could be given. Nonesi asks:—“I am a chief, why should I be less than a chief? Why should I be driven across the river? I am an old woman, I have been here since I was a child; I have brought children up here; and some of them have died before me, and their graves are here. *I have been living with my own people in my own country, and have done nothing to make the governor deal so harshly with me.* What have I done? The Tembookies are a large nation. My own people, the people over the river, and the people of Queya, my son, all consider themselves under the

English government. Why, then, are we called together here to receive this particular report to-day? I have been loyal to the British government always. I was loyal when other chiefs were fighting against it. In the time of the cattle-slaughtering I was on the English side. I have all the country down to the Indwe, and have kept it loyal," &c. (3.) *Thanks* the most respectful and stinging that ever fell from human lips. (4.) The sight of the Chief Viezi, with "hat in hand," returning thanks for his degradation, must have been very galling to the magistrate, if he was capable of feeling.

But it is impossible for a faithful historian to pass over these transactions with a mere cold record. A remark on the conduct of the magistrate himself is imperatively demanded. In doing this I am actuated by no personal motives or considerations whatever. But public men and public acts are public property, and are consequently amenable to just criticism. The civil commissioner had to perform what I should suppose a painful duty; which, as the representative of the governor, he was bound to fulfil. But much of the harshness and severity of this duty might have been avoided by a kind and conciliatory manner on the part of the officer who performed it. Instead of this, it does appear to those at a distance that the tone and language used were haughty, severe, and crushing. If the death-spear must be thrust into the heart of an individual or a nation, surely it is not needful to dip the barb in the most intense poison, to produce horrid convulsions and contortions withal.

Dignity on the part of Her Majesty's representative was called for by the occasion; but the general character of the remarks was irritating, if not cruel. (See the report.)

This is, however, only as the small dust of the balance, compared with the gratuitous affront, insult, and indignity cast upon the aged Nonesi. One would have thought that to *depose* this aged chieftainess from her throne, and the throne of her ancestors, and place her authority in the dust,—to abrogate the ancient laws and customs of the country by one fell swoop, and establish British authority and law in their entirety,—was enough at once, without the

culminating climax of trying to make her out to be a common thief, and threatening to bring those to punishment who had acted under her authority. Whereas the accusation was not true either in law, or conventionalism, or practice. The law he was only then promulgating, and certainly it could not be broken before it was proclaimed. A very high authority has said that, "where no law is, there is no transgression;" and certainly the law could only take effect from the time it was proclaimed and in force. Then, as to the practice, the whole European population of the Queenstown district can affirm, that not only Nonesi, but also Mr. Warner, the British resident, had adopted Kaffir law in inflicting the fine of cattle, &c., for offences committed,—that, upon the whole, this practice had worked well and satisfactorily towards colonists and Kaffirs alike,—that the highest commendations had been awarded to Mr. Warner for his success,—and that only a few solitary cases had occurred, in which there had been any demur or any appeal made to an English tribunal: and therefore it was wrong to endeavour to intensify this poor woman's degradation by—"A complaint has been lodged with me by a Tembookie, who said that you sent some of your people to seize an ox of his, and had it slaughtered: you had no right to seize that man's property under any plea," &c. "And those people who were sent by you to take the ox will have to appear in Queenstown, to answer the charge of robbing the man who was the owner of the ox" &c. But is this the first instalment of English law to be dealt out to this amazed people? It was always thought that, according to English law, the accomplice, nay, even the "receiver of stolen goods," was guilty as well as the principal; but here, the principal is to go free, and the innocent, who in their ignorance thought they were doing quite right in obeying their chief, are to be punished. Surely there is something gravely wrong about this. To this degrading accusation, this injured woman did not deign a reply. To some the question will arise as to which occupied the most dignified position,—the haughty representative of Great Britain's Queen, or the dethroned Queen of the Kaffir race?





THE UMGENI WATERFALL, ABOVE PIETERMARITZBURG.

Having made these strictures upon the proceedings themselves, some notice might be taken of their intrinsic nature, and their probable bearing upon European and native interests; but I forbear, having written upon the general question elsewhere. If I write strongly, it may be asked, "Is there not a cause?" The cause there is; nay, causes or reasons many there are,—solemn and potent causes, such as ought to influence every thoughtful, honest man. I repeat, that I produce stubborn facts, not probabilities or imputations.

Some may ask why I thus write; affirming that in all my writings I have advocated the abolition of Kaffir chieftainships and the abrogation of Kaffir law in the Colony. *Truly so; but I have not advocated it in the manner of inflicting absolute wrong and degrading cruelty upon existing parties.* I have not advocated the convulsion of an earthquake, or the springing of a mine, or the crash of an avalanche, any of which may injure or destroy; but I have advocated laying down the *principle* by which present and future action may be guided, so that there may be something like uniformity of action in government officials; and I do so still.

NATAL.

THE careful reader who observes the distinctions of locality adopted and followed in this volume will perceive and note that the previous remarks relate to the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony; whilst these apply more immediately to Natal, as a separate and distinct colony. So that, whilst the same remarks apply in general to all, there are some particulars in which each needs treating separately. When I published my volume on the Colony of Natal some twelve years ago, one long chapter was devoted to the natives, in which the subject of their land claims was lengthily discussed, and their positive claim to a sufficient portion of it fully established. No attempt has been made to dispute or deny what is there advocated or affirmed. Since that time this question has occupied much of the time and attention of the authorities and

colonists in Natal. At one time a large and imposing commission was appointed, which for twelve months sought information and discussed what was best to be done; but the whole terminated without any practical beneficial result. One party was for sending the natives beyond the Umcomas, utterly regardless of their claims to the lands they occupied, and reckless as to any evil results that might follow. The other party, who still were inclined to pay some regard to the engagements of the government, were disposed to make arrangements by which to allow them to remain in localities provided for them, with the astounding recommendation that "they should be allowed *three acres of land each.*" If they have any sense of shame, they must certainly be ashamed of such a proposition. However, after this imposing commission had made some stir and bluster for a while, it passed away without anything being done.

In connexion with the above, and following quickly upon it, a powerful movement was made, designed to relieve the Colony of its overwhelming native population, by establishing a native kingdom, beyond the Umcomas, over which Mr. Shepstone, secretary for native affairs, should preside as governor or chief. This also met with disfavour, and to many appeared most impolitic, and was certainly opposed to the policy advocated throughout my works. I adhere steadily and perseveringly to the *principle* of abolishing Kaffir chieftainship, and any separate independent action in a British colony. The result was, that ultimately the idea of a "*black kingdom,*" as it was called, was abandoned; and, by way of compromise, it was resolved to retain portions of the present locations, and add thereto one in No Man's Land, one in the new district of Alfreda, and one in the Drakensberg. It is affirmed that these are already surveyed. It is to be hoped that this decision will set the long-litigated land question at rest. This result also accords with the views advocated in my volume on the Colony of Natal; out of this will arise several considerations of great importance.

1. *The quantity* of land to be appropriated to each indi-

vidual or family. Those who desire to see this subject discussed at length will find statistical information given in detail in my "History of Natal." It will not, therefore, be needful for me to enter again into it in this place. Twelve years have elapsed since my views were placed before the public, since which time no change has taken place in them. These twelve years have been spent on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony, where the native land question has been presented to public notice under every variety of phase and aspect, which seem to confirm all that has been written upon it in these pages.

Quantity.—I submit that this should not be on one uniform scale, but arranged according to the number of persons in a family, and their gradation in the social and political scale; *the minimum, or lowest quantity, being twenty acres per statute adult. But chiefs and head men should have a larger quantity in proportion to their relative standing.*

I am informed that, in British Kaffraria, Kama and his sons had farms given them six thousand acres in extent; the other subordinate chiefs and head men a smaller quantity in proportion. This is a perfectly equitable scale, being in accordance with the *status* they before occupied among their own people. I am of opinion that it would be a serious error to give to each alike without distinction. The chiefs and head men, when made *actual landed proprietors*, become farmers, and their political authority is gradually undermined, making it only a question of time as to when the last vestige of chieftainship shall pass away.

To speak of a Kaffir aristocracy may appear absurd, and excite a smile. Be it so. I will, notwithstanding, advocate the same thing in *fact* and principle, though not in form. We want not the old feudal lords and barons of olden times, as they appeared in European nations, in days gone by; but, on the other hand, we do not think that an indiscriminate levelling policy, as in France, in the Revolution of 1790, would be best. Every student of history will be aware that in France, the great want of Buonaparte was an aristocracy. This middle class in the state, between

the highest and the lowest, having been swept away in the awful tempest of the Revolution, left a chasm in the body politic, which was fatal to right and good government; hence that remarkable man set himself to repair this felt want in every possible manner. So also amongst the Kaffirs. If they are thrown off at once from all the force or terror of their old despotism to the low level of equality, one of the most powerful means and helps to their right government is effectually removed. Hence, whilst I would not attempt to dictate what the specific number of acres should be, I would urge, *deal not with a parsimonious hand*, but give them freely, and after a manly fashion, such a quantity as shall give them weight and *status* in the social scale. Give them that which, in its own spontaneous action, shall cause them to respect, esteem, and confide in the government; that which shall make it worth their while to unite with the government, in reciprocity of feeling and action, in advancing the order, industry, prosperity, and happiness of their own people. Let them feel that, instead of being thrown off from you by an act of excision and ejection, they are drawn towards you, and bound up with you, in the bonds of mutual interest and common objects.

As to the quantity for the common people, my long experience says that it should not be less than *ten acres of arable land, with good commonage for grazing*, to a family of four or five persons, or twenty acres per statute adult. I would enter into long detail, to show the *righteousness and policy of this*, but it might be wearisome to the reader; it may be, however, remarked that *ten acres of arable land, with commonage, was the smallest quantity Sir George Grey would sell to a native, whilst it is also the smallest quantity which will meet their wants or satisfy their claims.*

2. *Personal title.*—This is a very grave and important part of the subject: it has been glanced at in another place, but needs more serious and extended consideration. Shall it be *personal or collective title? is the question.* The principle I have invariably laid down has been *personal*; but in the present state of this people, only just emerging

from barbarism, there is considerable difficulty. If all were sufficiently advanced to understand the nature and appreciate the value of a title, in the form of a legal document, the question would be one of but little difficulty; but the fact is, that whilst many are able to do this, the *masses are not*, and therefore the necessity is imposed upon all who legislate for them, of surrounding the subjects with such guards as may effectually prevent calamitous results from following.

What is right? What is practicable? What is best? are questions which ought to enter deeply into the consideration of this subject. In answer to the first, I submit that personal title is right, and ought to be carried out so far as practicable, with the least possible delay.

In answer to the second, What is practicable? I am not sure that it is practicable to give personal title to all for some time to come; but my opinion is, that that may be done which is equivalent to it. The site of a village can be selected, and village allotments surveyed, and a block of land for commonage laid out. The head man of a kraal could be informed which was his allotment, and that of the people of his kraal; and each head of a family would have his own allotment pointed out to him. The title deeds would be prepared, and *lodged in trust*, in the hands of the executive authorities, magisterial or otherwise, ready to be issued when the advanced state of the people shall render it safe and desirable.

What I thus advocate *is* practicable. It was done on a small scale, and to a limited extent, in connexion with the natives in Alice District, on the eastern frontier. Mr. Calderwood was the magistrate, and held the names of the parties who were entitled to land long before the titles were issued. During that period, many others sought to be located on these lands, and were willing to pay the government tribute, by which to establish a claim; but that gentleman steadily refused such admissions, by which they would have been over-crowded; so that now they are comfortably settled on their own homesteads, and are making rapid advancement in the social scale. What was in this instance done to a limited extent, is capable of being

carried out *ad infinitum*. And hence, the whole of the location in Natal or elsewhere may be surveyed and settled without hindrance or delay, and this question be placed beyond the possibility of future uncertainty.

What is best? is the third question. In answering which I have no hesitation in saying that, according to my own opinion, what is now advocated is *best*, under some restrictions, which will be shortly named.

One of the restrictions is, *entail on title*. The subject of freehold title or one under lien, is one of great importance, affecting very seriously the future well-being and prosperity of this people. I am aware that some object to an entail upon the titles; but I think the following remarks will meet such objections, and prove that under existing circumstances this is most desirable. *The principle I advocate is entail*. I lay down and advocate the principle first, and answer objections afterwards. The principle is to grant personal titles under lien, by which the allotment may be secured to the person and his heirs in perpetuity, and thus prevent alienation and beggary in the future.

The danger to the native of bartering away his title for a mere bagatelle is great in the extreme; he understands not its value, and is exposed to temptations of no ordinary kind. In the *first* place, the subject is entirely new to him; he has been accustomed to change his locality at pleasure, and never to attach any inherent value to any particular spot. Hence, time will be required by which those changes can be effected in his habits and modes of thought by which he may be able rightly to appreciate, and properly to use, a portion of land which may be secured to him by title. A *second* danger is, that he is proverbially improvident; literally, "he cares not for the morrow;" to supply his present wants, and gratify his present designs, is paramount with him, without any calculation as to the future; hence, he will barter away his most precious things for a "mess of pottage," and if the question be that of parting with his cattle, or disposing of his land, he will adopt the latter alternative.

Third, they are surrounded by traders and others who

are ever disposed to offer them credit on the most liberal terms ; and ordinarily, they are too willing to accept of those terms, and purchase goods recklessly ; or buy intoxicating drinks, without due regard to the manner in which these debts are to be discharged. Or, they calculate upon reaping a good crop, instead of which a drought comes, and leaves them without food to eat ; or, they calculate upon a successful journey, which turns out a failure, and thus when the time arrives for them to discharge their debts, they are not able so to do. Many instances have come under the writer's own observation, in which civilized Kaffirs or Fingoe Kaffirs have been thus circumstanced ; the consequences have been that a lawyer's letter has been sent, the parties have been summoned to court, the case has been given against them ; their waggons, or oxen, or cattle, have been sold at a great sacrifice, and the hard earnings and careful savings of many years have disappeared in a few hours. From a forced sale the price realized has been only half the actual value, whilst a great portion has been swallowed up in law expenses. Had they freehold land in their possession, this would have been instantly disposed of, probably to a white trader, and the proprietor be left destitute.

Other reasons might be adduced, and these enlarged upon, if needful, to prove the desirableness and necessity of throwing some protection around the native, under existing circumstances.

I now notice some of the objections commonly urged against that which I have here advocated ; the *first* is that of its being "*class legislation.*" To many it assumes a startling and alarming aspect, as involving and establishing offensive and injurious distinctions : these apprehensions are without foundation. We daily practise the same thing, in another form, in our own families. We never think of laying down the same rules, or according the same privileges, to youth which we claim for manhood ; it would be thought preposterous so to do ; simply, because their limited knowledge and imperfect experience unfits them either to rightly understand or wisely use those laws, privileges, or liberties which belong to maturer

years. Precisely so with the Kaffir; the law which is wise and good for the highly civilized European is not at all adapted to their present state of partial civilization and enlightenment. Hence, if there is to be *good and suitable legislation* for this mass of people, there must be class legislation. In process of time, as their circumstances improve, they can purchase other allotments to meet their increased family demands, then the value of a freehold will be understood and prized by them.

Second. A second objection, and to some a more serious one, is, that these tracts of country must then remain permanently in the hands of the natives, without the possibility of Europeans getting in among them. This objection exists more in appearance than reality; and the observation and experience of the writer would go to prove the contrary. The district of Fort Peddie probably contains the largest number of Kaffir natives of any known; there being twenty thousand under one magistrate in this division. These have been located there more or less since the year 1835, being more than thirty years ago. There have also been some portions given out to European farmers; but the natives and the farmers have had their portions or tracts of country *distinct and separate from each other*; but not the slightest inconvenience or evil has arisen. Nay, on the contrary, observation and experience prove that when Europeans get into the midst of natives, the most injurious results follow. Often, the attempt is made by Europeans for the purposes of trade, but I need not say that frequently fire-arms and brandy are smuggled in in this manner, inflicting the greatest possible curse upon the people.

If, on the other hand, Europeans bought small plots of land, in the midst of natives, for farming purposes, could any objection exist? The most serious objections may be urged which could not be counterbalanced by any slight advantage realized. An European would probably buy an allotment of ten acres of land with right of commonage to graze cattle, or sheep, or horses, or all; having obtained this right, he would bring in enough stock for a farm, and

eat up the whole grass of the commonage as his legal share, and thus injure and oppress the defenceless.

The objector will say, that this is imaginary and uncharitable; but I re-affirm that it would be even so. I have known this to take place among Europeans; and could give the names of the places and parties, if need be. It has produced contentions, heart-burnings, and bitter strife, which could only be allayed after immense trouble in getting rules framed and laws passed, to protect the injured; and if this takes place between Dutch and English, I am fully satisfied that it would be a thousand-fold worse between Europeans and natives.

But, further, a system of impounding cattle for trespass is adopted. The natives know nothing of impounding cattle among themselves, and hence extreme irritation arises, and it becomes impossible to live; for, as a rule, "the weakest goes to the wall:" so, after having the powers of endurance taxed to the uttermost, they have to seek a fresh place, and so the wrong-doer gets paid for wrong-doing and oppression. It will be said that the native should take care to keep his cattle out of trespass; but it is well known that the boys herd the cattle, and every one knows what boys are, all the world over. "Yes, but the native will have the opportunity of doing the same in return:" if he does it, there are so many opportunities of annoyance, that he will be sure to come off worst in the end; for him, therefore, to be where no such danger or practice exists, is far better.

I think I am now fairly entitled to turn the argument against the objector; having shown that the evils he apprehends will not transpire, but that, on the other hand, if his policy is adopted, evils of great magnitude must attend it; which, probably, in the end, would be fatal to the native. I am, therefore, fully warranted in urging upon the attention of the colonists and legislative bodies the recommendation of framing the law in such a manner as to secure a lien upon the title.

I have further to recommend that the title to land should be made *hereditary*. By this I mean that the eldest son of the chief, or proper, or only wife, be the heir

to the estate; and that the small plot of land should not be liable to be sub-divided among all the children of the family.

The quantity is small, and if it is to be divided among several, they will all be in a state of beggary together; but if the heir, he or she, takes the whole, there will be enough for such heir, and the other members must do the best they can for themselves.

In closing this subject, I can only commend these pages to the careful perusal of all who may be interested in the welfare of the natives. It is one of overwhelming importance, and deserves the earnest consideration of every colonist and every officer of government. *Suitable and vigorous action should be added to consideration; or, otherwise, all the consideration and conversation in the world can be of no practical benefit.*

CHAPTER II.

PROVINCE AND RESPONSIBILITY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

THE title of this chapter sufficiently indicates the import and design of the following considerations, which are presented to the view of a Christian government and people with great deference, but with the ardent desire that they may not be without some beneficial result. To raise a nation from barbarism to civilization, from heathenism to Christianity, to plant the olive branch of peace where the upas tree of war had before grown, to establish the institutions of industry and happiness where only confusion, sorrow, and death had before dwelt, are the noblest objects to which the intelligence, zeal, and energies of men can be directed. To transform the heathen to a Christian is the legitimate province of the Christian church; to plant and foster the institutions of civilization is no less the obligation of the Christian state. Not that these two distinct departments are separate from or inimical to each other; on the contrary, they are closely united; the one being the handmaid of, or helpmeet to, the other; and when both are united, the work of improvement advances favourably. The church *does not* undertake, as her peculiar and special province, to teach the arts of civilized life. Not that the Gospel does not produce civilizing effects wherever it is embraced; but these follow rather as accidental and natural results, than as taking place from direct teaching in that department. Sometimes we find persons ignorantly blaming Missions for teaching religion to the heathen, and not civilization; stating that there should be the "*model farm*" as well as the Christian church: truly, but that model farm should be the product of the Christian state, and be supported by it; whilst the religious element and training should be the child of the Christian church, and be sustained by it.

“Preach the word” is the watchword and pole-star of the Christian missionary; and “Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature,” the authority under which he acts. He is “the messenger of the churches to the heathen,” and by them is sent forth for the sole purpose of proclaiming the unsearchable riches of Christ to the wretched, dying sons of men, and only for this; for they would never send him to civilize, but would leave that to others, or allow it to remain undone for ever; whilst the Christian missionary himself goes forth not as the representative of government or civilization, or in the capacity of an emigrant to better his worldly condition, but is impelled by the higher impulse, “The love of Christ constraineth me.” And if it was not for the desire to rescue the victims of heathenism from the grasp of Satan and the jaws of the second death, his presence would not be found in the moral “desert,” nor his energies be engaged in seeking to make it as “the garden of the Lord.” With these facts distinctly before the eye of the reader, no one can reasonably calculate upon the ambassador of the cross devoting his best or sole energies to the advancement of civilization.

This is properly the legitimate province and duty of the Christian state; and, unhappily, the knowledge of this duty has too long been hid, and its obligations have too long been unfelt; and it is only of late years that in South Africa any advances have been made in this direction. When the writer prepared his former work on the Colony of Natal, nothing whatever had been done either in the Cape Colony or Natal towards this desirable and important end: it was only after His Excellency Sir George Grey was placed at the head of this portion of Her Majesty’s colonial dependencies, that aught was fairly and systematically commenced. Doing this is altogether a different thing from affording state aid to any church or churches for the support of religion; and the doing of it, in connexion with any existing Christian denomination, does not, in the least, involve the state support of religion; so that the most scrupulous voluntary need have no uneasy sensation upon this point, nor refuse to

receive assistance, or demur against assistance being rendered to others.

It has appeared, hitherto, as though the state thought it had nothing more to do than govern; that is, govern in the sense of keeping barbarous nations, with which they have been brought into contact, in awe and subjection, *by means of physical force*,—rather shoot a savage than reclaim him; not that we have any desire to shoot him, or would do anything by means of which we might be compelled to shoot him, but simply keep him in subjection, so that he should not do harm to others. That he ought thus to be brought into subjection we not only allow, but affirm that it is essentially necessary to his own existence, and the peace and safety of those around him; and further, that whatever military force and magisterial authority are requisite for this purpose should by all means be at hand; but we go further than this, and assert that it is the duty of the state to seek to bring *moral force* into existence as quickly and extensively as possible, especially with those who are under British control, and actually form part and parcel of her subjects. Some say that they are altogether “irreclaimable.” This we deny, and can produce many facts in confirmation of the denial; whilst the objections can only fairly be made after the various appliances at our disposal have been brought to bear upon the subject, and have failed: and, even then, we should not be content to accept of a first failure as proof positive that the thing was impossible; as in the various departments of business, art, science, agriculture, &c., we see failure succeed failure; and yet again trial succeed trial, until success ultimately crowns the persevering toil of those engaged. The great wonder of modern times, and triumph of art and science over gigantic difficulties, in the successful laying of the Atlantic Cable, is only one among a thousand illustrations of this remark. And if this takes place in the world of matter, where man has no mental or moral resisting force to encounter, but mere passive matter, ought not the same latitude to be allowed in the world of mind, where you have to combat long-standing pre-

judices, and institutions rendered sacred by the *prestige* of years untold ; and, withal, have to encounter profound ignorance, obstinate selfishness, and all the formidable array of gross and vicious passions? That success at all under such circumstances can be obtained without strenuous, long-continued effort, is more than any reasonable person can fairly calculate upon.

You may keep barbarians in awe by powder and shot and shell, by bayonet, sword, and cannon, by military despotism and magisterial authority ; but this is no more than what a heathen savage government can do. It is indeed physical or savage force, but does not at all affect the mental or moral or social position of the parties concerned ; but even this is difficult and expensive, and often is attended by disastrous consequences in savage war and dreadful pillage, whilst the policy we advocate changes the character, destroys savageism, and annihilates armies. We therefore maintain that the part of a Christian government is not to deal with savage nations and native tribes who are brought within the range of their influence, or become subject to their control, as they would deal with wild beasts, and cold, hard rock ; but deal with them as moral agents, and where moral sensibility does not exist, endeavour to create it ; and where it does exist, seek to foster it, and make it subservient to the high ends desired.

Indolence, settled habitual indolence, is one of the most difficult features in the personal character and fixed habits of this people, and the one against which the most loud and bitter complaints are made by the colonists, and justly made ; this being no artificial or imaginary evil, but one which deeply penetrates and affects the mass of the people ; and operates alike unfavourably upon *their own* well-being and improvement, and the well-being and prosperity of the colonist ; and, therefore, is the one against which legislative enactments and magisterial administration should be specially brought to bear ; as also the attention and care of all civil corporate bodies and town municipalities.

Indolence is one of the greatest barriers to man's

improvement. Indolence is not an accidental state, or habit, or disposition peculiar to the South-African races, or limited to any particular locality or age; but it is a habit which belongs to the human race, as the history of every age and nation under heaven will show. It was thus with the American Indians when the Spaniards first took possession of America; which led to the first establishment of Negro slavery upon the American continent and in the West Indian Islands. And even in the present day it is affirmed by Dr. Alison that "the natives of Barbary are indolent in the highest degree, unless when they are roused by some accidental circumstance. They may be seen in great numbers sitting on the ground, or leaning against a wall, in complete apathy and silence. So extremely averse are they to standing or walking, that if two meet they instantly sit down."* These instances are only given to show what exists in other countries, and amongst different races; but they might be extended and multiplied *ad infinitum*. With this fact patent before the mind, the inquiry is presented as to what can be done to remedy this great acknowledged evil. There are only two modes in which this can be done; the first is that of compulsory labour or slavery; the second, that of bringing into operation certain moral and industrial processes, by which artificial wants may be created, and a sufficient motive power be held out to induce the idle person to submit to the irksomeness of continued labour, for the purpose of supplying the wants thus created. When this is done, and only then, he sees the reward of labour; and as that reward is higher than anything which can be attained by neglect and inaction, he willingly submits to labour in order to secure the reward, real or supposed; *the self-interest of his nature is thus operated upon, and with this motive power he does that which, in its absence, he could never be prevailed upon to do*. As in America, place before Jonathan an object, something important or valuable to obtain, and then you at once call forth the practical application of the national

* ALISON'S "Principles of Population," vol. i., p. 383.

motto, "*Go ahead*;" so with the heathen or barbarian, create artificial wants, bring into existence a motive power, and then you place an object before the mind, and call forth energetic action.

It is, however, certain that the creation of artificial wants must be slow in its operation, and require a long time before it can be brought to bear upon the masses. Meanwhile the colonists require labour; and there is more than enough of free labour at hand, if methods can be adopted to render it available without injuriously affecting the liberty of the native; which we have before shown must act in the end alike unfavourably upon both the native and European. The questions then arise, *What is right?* *What is needful?* and *What is best?* As to what is right, I have in other places pointed out in an unmistakeable manner the obligations under which we are laid to settle at once and permanently their land grants, in such a manner as may not admit of future disturbance or ejection.

This being done, it does appear that the fixed grants may be made under certain restrictions and clearly defined conditions. This comes under the second category,—what is needful, and involves what is best. These questions cannot be satisfactorily answered without noting the different relationships in which the colonist and the native stand to each other, and both to government. The subject must also be viewed as a whole, with its different bearings upon all the parts, and not in a crude or *ex-parte* light. When anything like compulsory labour in any form is advocated, some parties strike off from this stand-point and at once exclaim against it. This arises partly from our unfettered views of the nature of English and Christian liberty; but even these views would be altered or modified, if we were to take a more enlarged view of the state of some civilized countries in the present day, as well as the history of nations in ages gone by, when a considerable amount of restraint has been exercised and enforced in conjunction with the freedom of the subject. When the natives are alone, beyond our borders, under their own independent government, we have no right to interfere, so long as their

proceedings do not affect the relations of peace, or expose us to the horrors of war; but it is widely different with those who are in the colony, who are British subjects, and actually part and parcel of ourselves. Here the natives are surrounded by the white population, who are very far in advance of them in wealth, intelligence, and enterprise; and what would be wrong under other circumstances may be right under these, and acts and laws which would be intolerant and oppressive in a higher stage of advancement are for them absolutely essential; and hence are not only needful, *but best*.

The author, in his "History of Natal," at p. 215, thus expressed himself some years ago: "The Kaffirs must be treated like children. If a man has a large family, and leaves them without restraint or control, his children become a plague to himself and a scourge to the community. The Kaffirs are children of a larger growth, and must be treated accordingly,—*children* in knowledge, ignorant of the relationships of civilized society, and strangers to many of the motives which influence the conduct of the white man. But they are *men* in physical and mental powers, *men* in the arts and usages of their nation and the laws of their country; and the great difficulty of governing them is, to treat them as men-children, teaching them that to submit and obey are essential to their own welfare, as well as to that of others."

If these sentiments are correct, which I am not aware has been denied, then it will be self-evident that they may be placed under a regimen at least as severe as that of the children in civilized communities. We should regard it as absurd to treat our children as though they were men. No family could thus be well governed. This would be a violation of the laws of nature and a reversal of the different relationships of father and child. Nay, for the present, they must be placed "under tutors and governors," and the government ought always to be in a position in which it could enforce quickly and effectually its own requirements; and the amount of physical force needful to make it respected and obeyed should always be at hand.

In the family government, the parent finds it needful

that his child should be educated; but this cannot be done without interfering with the freedom and wishes of his child. The value of knowledge is not understood by the child, nor the necessity of its acquirement felt; and this produces unwillingness to submit to those duties and restraints which are needful to its attainment; but the superior knowledge of the parent here comes in, and his authority is used to compel the child to submit to the irksomeness of learning, for the purpose of fitting him for the duties and responsibilities of life. The child cannot understand the why and the wherefore of all this, but *the authority of the parent must be exercised until it can*; and when the years of maturity are attained, the child gratefully acknowledges the kindness of the parent in compelling him to learn that to which, in early youth, repugnance was felt. So also, in reference to the natives of this country, the government is in circumstances to require those to whom it gives fixed property in land to make it a part of the condition or compact, that they shall send their children to school at certain ages, and for a distinctly specified period, provided that schools can be established upon a scale sufficiently extensive to allow of this being done. And although the native, like the child, may not be able fully to understand why this should be, the superior knowledge of the state must suffice as a sufficient reason for enforcing obedience. It is to be feared that the time is still distant when the land will be so filled with industrial and other schools, as to afford all an opportunity to attend; but this need not interfere with the nature of the condition to be imposed, or prevent its execution, so far as circumstances admit.

The parent further finds it needful at a certain age to apprentice his child to learn some handicraft, that he may be able to support himself honestly in after life. This is a very serious interference with the personal liberty of the child, but *stern necessity is urged as absolutely requiring it*; his future existence and the right filling up of his allotted space in society requiring this; thus imposing obligations which would not otherwise exist. And the writer is unable to see why the same obligations may not be im-

posed upon the Fingoes and Kaffirs in the colonies,—the youths being subjected to it, whilst the men are exempted,—especially when the labour market is requiring a supply. I am aware that many will object to this proposition as interfering unduly with the liberty of the native; and, indeed, I was myself long in arriving at the point at which I could see the reasonableness and propriety of this course. But after long and careful thought and investigation, I have arrived at the conclusion that, whilst there cannot and ought not to be any slavery, serfdom, or vassalage, there ought to be a course of obligation imposed, by which these wild sons of nature—capricious, idle, and ignorant, the victims of their passions, and often guilty of the most revolting crimes—should have the power of evil checked, and be brought under healthy and powerful restraint. In making this proposition, nothing approaching to slavery, or serfdom, or feudal vassalage is involved. Each of these, even the mild serfdom of Russia, *involves property in the person, and the power of disposing of that property at the will of his lord; but in this nothing of the kind takes place. As we have before said, the interests of black and white are one.* The white needs labour to enable him to carry out his projects: the black has that labour to give, for which he may receive fair and full remuneration, and learn the arts of life as well as form habits of industry: in this manner the rival interests of both are mutually advanced, and the prosperity of the state greatly accelerated.

In order to carry out such a project, the magisterial staff ought to be very complete; the census of each kraal or village should be carefully kept; the number of young men available for service being distinctly noted, who should be liable to be called out for twelve months or more, as may be found needful. This condition should be fully explained when the lands are given out, and then, as need requires, be strenuously enforced. But, in order to this, *the staff of industrial agents should be regularly formed, who might undertake this part of the business, as well as collect the annual taxes; as for these things to be in the hands of the magistrates is most objectionable.* If any

case of litigation arise, he has to be witness, jury, and judge; so that, however fair his decision might be, it would not give satisfaction, but leave considerable soreness in the breast of the party punished.

We think these are conditions which the government is fully authorized to impose upon all to whom it gives ample portions of land for them and their children to live upon; as they are partakers of the common stock, they must be contributors to the general benefit: if they cannot contribute in one kind, they can in another, and the well-being of all requires each to contribute its fair quota.

This course, too, would very considerably assist missionary operations, rather than retard them; for nothing operates more unfavourably against the success of Missions than the lawless manner in which the natives are allowed to follow the course of their own indolent habits and corrupt passions.

But then an important question arises as to when this mode of action will terminate, as in process of time the condition of this people will be greatly altered, and probably elevated; and then the exaction of what is here required would be felt to be an intolerable hardship. We might reply to this, in general, that when the condition of the people is thus altered, it will be competent for the government to alter the law as the advanced state of improvement requires; and that, during the interval, it should be competent for those who desired to be free from these restrictions to purchase land at a moderate rate, upon which no such exaction should be imposed. And, further, that the government should have such spots or tracts of country selected as would be suitable for this purpose, when the applicants might at once obtain, at a reasonable charge, all that they required. The bugbear of "class legislation" will here be erected by some; but I maintain that what is set forth so alarmingly as class legislation is only *legislation of equality*. So soon as they are *equals* in intelligence, industry, and social position to their white neighbours, let them by all means have the whole of the mild and liberal treatment of the English; but, until then, equal legislation is not that which is adapted to their state and circumstances. It is, in fact,

most unequal. Scarcely any European nation can understand, appreciate, and wisely use the unbounded liberty of Great Britain; nor will they be able so to do, until great advancement has been made in knowledge and the general relationships of society.

Having thus dwelt upon some general principles, I now proceed to consider some distinct points consecutively:—*First*, as to *what should not be allowed*, thus removing impediments to their advancement. *Second*, point out some things which are absolutely needful *to be done*, for the purpose of bringing about their improvement;—the one being negative, the other positive, action.

I. First in order I place the righteous settlement of the land question. So long as this is not done, there exists the most effectual barrier to their improvement. The subject of their land grants was treated upon in the last chapter: *there it was to establish their rightful claim; in this place it is to show what effect the settlement or non-settlement of this subject has upon their improvement or advancement.* Some think this a point of small importance; stating that they can as well occupy and cultivate one piece of land as another, and from their wandering mode of life it matters but little where they reside. It would be possible to show, on the best authority, that such is not the true state of the case; but that they have a very strong desire to remain on the lands where their fathers lived before them, and that they will not remove, except under the pressure of great necessity, or with the object of decided advantage.

But, apart from this consideration, how does their uncertain tenure of land affect their improvement and advancement? Allow me to ask how this question affects the civilized white man? Is it not a certain fact that so long as he is a mere “squatter,” or “tenant at will,” who may be removed at any time, he will make no improvements on the estate of another, or of the government, from which he may derive no permanent advantage. The writer has often heard European farmers say, who have been living in great misery on government lands:—“We have no stimulus to improvement, either in the construction of

dams or the cultivation of the lands, as we may be ordered away any day; and then, instead of reaping the reward of our labour, we only give it to another." So also with the natives; but remove this uncertainty, and *let him feel that what he has is his own*, and he at once feels a stimulant to labour, to make it minister to his wants, or supply him with comforts.

Quotations could be extensively given from continental nations, especially from Russia and Denmark, in confirmation of what is here advanced; but one upon Denmark must suffice:—"On most estates the peasants have no property, but seemed dependent on the will of the lord; and it was manifest, in the misery I found in the cottages, that the system of villanage is pernicious to the interests of the country. But in other places, where the peasants were the personal possessors of the soil, the contrast is most marked:—The labourers have all a small piece of land, and are all contented and happy. There are scarcely any burdensome to the rest; no old peasant that has not saved enough during his youth to maintain his latter days, with the assistance of his little domain; many, before that period, have improved their condition so as to become little farmers. The example of this prosperous district is sufficient to show that if you give the people an object to work for, the most idle will be converted to industry. There are no people more naturally indolent than the common people of Denmark; but in the most populous parts of Holland they are not more active and industrious than the people on this estate, which change has been effected by throwing them merely in the pursuit of gain, and letting them quietly enjoy it. Throughout all Denmark, where the people have property, they manage their little spots of ground in such a manner as shows that under more favourable circumstances they would equal their neighbours in everything regarding cultivation." *

I am quite aware that there is a considerable difference between the inhabitants of Denmark and the Kaffirs of South Africa; but the illustration goes upon the *general*

* ALISON.

principle, and takes the character and habits of men as they exist and are operated upon through all the grades of society, from the lawless savage to the highly civilized; and proves what is the effect produced by having a certain and fixed possession of, and interest in, the land. You cannot govern or improve a mass of vagrants, or a wandering horde of Gypsies. The Tartars, who migrate around the mountains and plains of Persia and Tartary, are the same now as they were in the days of Abraham and Lot, in their general habits. The Bedouins of Egypt, Arabia, and other countries, also remain unchanged. They make no advancement in their temporal condition, because they are fixed to no definite locality.

At present cattle are the only real property the Kaffirs have. They are the *current coin* of their nomadic heathen kingdom. These are the only articles of permanent value which can be removed with them as they wander or migrate from one place to another. They are also one great source of strife and quarrel amongst themselves, and constitute one great barrier in the way of their improvement. Such being the fact, which cannot be successfully controverted, the first aim of a wise and vigorous government should be to attach them to certain fixed localities, by giving them the undisputed right and title to the land assigned them, which they may call their own, and which, from that moment, assumes to them the position of fixed property, and upon which there may be a fair basis for all the motives and stimulants to improvement; by adopting the best and easiest modes of cultivation; erecting houses, and obtaining those various domestic, artificial comforts, in clothing, furniture, cooking utensils, &c., which can only be created by this mode, and arise out of it. Their relative position to the government is, also, by this means, changed; they become attached to it as being considerate and humane, feelings of loyalty are generated, and a willingness to submit to its just laws is produced. The government has also acquired a new power over them, as having another article of value besides cattle, which the Kaffirs could drive away in a night, and deposit with those who were their accomplices in wrong-doing;

but landed property and domestic comforts could not thus be sent on migratory tours, to be recalled when convenience dictated, or necessity called for them. They would, also, by this means, be the more disposed to unite with and assist the government against the aggressions of foreign foes, *as they would have something of their own for which to fight, and which they would strenuously defend.*

II. *The prevention of witchcraft.* The Kaffirs are eminently a superstitious people: the belief in supernatural agency is deep and universal. Affliction, bereavement, death, loss among the cattle, drought, success or defeat in war, any, all, are attributed to the secret, powerful working of ghosts, or the spirits of departed chiefs. This belief is further kept up and increased by the cunning and necromancy of the *izanuzi*, or "witch doctors," whose special province it is to devote the whole of their powers to the maintenance and extension of superstitious dread; all their art, cunning, treachery, cruelty, &c., is directed to this end, by which it acquires all the uniformity and solidity of a matured system, and becomes a powerful instrument and engine for evil amongst an ignorant and blinded people; producing the most dire calamities, and leading to the most frightful deaths, as may be seen in the chapters upon that subject. This long-standing heathen system cannot be eradicated by government proclamations, legislative enactments, or magisterial acts: no, it is only the *outward act* which becomes amenable, and, assuming a tangible form, may be prevented by a diligent use of these means. Some would say that it is better not to interfere with it, as, by this means, you only aggravate the evil. But if the practice is cruel and revolting to humanity, if its continuance becomes a powerful engine in working upon the fears of the people, producing a magic effect more powerful than that which any other agency can exert, strengthening and upholding a public evil, maturing and perfecting the habit of the people in a vicious course, then should its *outward act* be condemned by law, and the breach of that law be followed by punishment. It thus assumes that distinct form which calls for legislative

enactment and magisterial interference. Let it not for a moment be supposed that this is a trifling or ludicrous subject, only to be regarded in the light of affording a little amusement to the civilized, or foolishly affecting the native in some personal squabble or clannish feud. No! On this subject alone depends life or death among themselves, peace or war with adjoining states, and tribe against tribe arrayed in deadly strife. A glance at the history of the colony will fully confirm this remark. The first deadly attack upon Graham's Town, then only a small garrison, was made by the effect produced upon the minds of the Kaffirs by Makana, or, as he is more generally known by that appellation, the "notorious Lynx." But this man was a "witch doctor," and by his professed mysterious connexion with ghosts and spirits worked upon the ignorant minds of his deluded people so as to induce them to make the assault which led to their destruction, and his being sent as a convict to Robin Island.

Again, in the war of 1850-2, the chief instrument in working up the Kaffir nation to the fighting point was the "witch doctor," Umlangeni; who, through the powerful spell of sorcery, induced the people to believe that they could drive the white man into the sea, and take his goods and his lands as lawful spoil. This ended in a war which cost the British treasury £2,000,000, and the loss of much of the best blood of her soldiers and subjects; added to which a fearful loss of life and property to the colonists.

And now (1856) another of these mysterious beings stalks forth (Umhlokaza), making announcements of the most absurd and revolting nature, but leading to results of a very alarming and injurious kind, of which the following quotations will give a tolerable idea.

"Besides the information in the above we have other intelligence from Kaffirland, all relating to the fanatical proceedings of the Kaffirs, arising out of the ridiculous absurdities of the notorious witch doctor, and which, unless the parties are blinded by insanity, must be

speedily exploded. He has, we are told, predicted, for instance, that very shortly two suns will be seen at one time, that a desperate battle or collision will take place between them, and that then will ensue a time of profound darkness; that after this all, whether white or black, who wear *trousers*, will be swept away by a whirlwind, the lucky *sans culottes* being left in the undisturbed possession of the whole country. These are only a few of the gross absurdities by which this wretched impostor is deluding his countrymen, who seem to be worked up by him to a pitch almost of frenzy. The stupidity of all this is so manifest, that it would amuse rather than excite anger, were it not for the direful effects produced, not merely in Kaffirland, but in the Colony. Scores of the homesteads of our industrious farmers are already abandoned, property is disposed of at a ruinous loss, all the ordinary pursuits of industry are at a dead lock, and an anxious apprehension of impending danger is felt by every family on the immediate border. Let us hope that this state of things will not be of long duration. Open war, much as it is to be deprecated, would be far preferable to such a state of suspense; and the sooner, therefore, that matters are brought to a crisis, the better for all parties.”*

“That a most remarkable and ridiculous, though lamentable, infatuation, at the present moment has fast hold upon the Kaffir mind, and induces a wasteful expenditure of the means of subsistence, is proved by the many strange and remotely suicidal acts that are daily committed around us. During the past week, cattle which a short time ago would have realized three or four pounds, have been sold for something less than the value of the hides. An instance of the potency of the prevailing influence may be brought forward in the case of a native man who drove some fifteen or sixteen oxen and cows to East London, and offered them for sale at a nominal price, but was unable to dispose of them. Instead of offering them at a more ready market, as one would

* “Graham’s-Town Journal,” August 16th, 1856.

naturally suppose, he drove them to a neighbouring hillock, and slaughtered them, merely flaying the carcasses and disposing of the skins.

“According to accounts derived from credible sources, this virulent moral epidemic has sprung from the heated imagination or duplicity (probably suggested) of a Kaffir girl, who, in her midnight visions, had the supreme happiness of beholding some of the deceased prophets. These, it appears, whispered into the ear of the sleeping maiden certain facts and instructions, which, when handled and acted upon as directed, would have a specified result. The matters thus communicated were imparted by the favoured possessor to a native man, who thereupon set himself up as a person endowed with a prophetic vision, and immediately commenced the work of instruction and prediction. In accordance with the mandates issued by this individual, the Kaffirs were to slaughter all their cattle, and to construct capacious kraals for the reception of innumerable herds that he continually heard bellowing under ground. These they have been doing for some time past with much zeal, bringing the hides accumulated in consequence to this place, where as many as eight hundred have been purchased in a single day. These hidden cattle were to rise as soon as the commands of the prophet had been thoroughly fulfilled; and simultaneously a resurrection of the righteous dead will take place.

“Some of these reports have already run sufficiently long to expose their true value. Saturday last was currently reported to be the day set apart for the capture of King William’s Town, but gossip has now postponed the exploit until Friday (to-morrow).

“The T’Sambies and the Galekas appear to be the tribes that have been wrought to the highest pitch by the witch doctor. It is by them that the greater number of the hides have been brought into King William’s Town; and with the little money they have received in return, they have purchased axes, pocket-knives, &c.

“When and how the gilt iron chain of this mischievous influence is to be broken, is a problem yet to be solved.

“Thus far had we written when we were called upon by

a gentleman residing in Kreli's country, and by him were informed that in his neighbourhood the natives are busily engaged in slaughtering their cattle and making themselves merry; and he was convinced that war would not take place for some months to come, but that the Kaffirs will eventually assume a pugnacious attitude,—when they begin to feel the pangs of hunger. The person alluded to is one of unquestionable credit, great native experience, and a resident on the spot that is now the great point of attraction; and we should therefore be extremely unwilling to create a false security in the breasts of those who will be most exposed in the event of war, by casting the shadow of doubt upon his prediction; but may we not suggest one or two questions for the consideration of those who are thus interested in the state of affairs here? If the withering curse of war should not immediately fall upon the land, (and we now hear that it is becoming the general opinion of the most experienced colonists and authorities,) is it not possible for time to weaken the influence of the prophet? And should starvation stare the natives in the face, is it not likely to necessitate them to hire themselves as farm and other servants, and compel those who act not thus to pay more attention to agricultural pursuits? Some may think that instead of the Kaffirs resorting to these expedients, they will be impelled to robbery and murder; but we have ever observed, in connexion with the native character, that lean and starving men are always tractable and civil, but the well-fed and sleek are impudent, and easily led to mischief. And, above all, may not the advent of the Germans have a most powerful and salutary influence in subduing the rising spirit of the various tribes?" *

III. But the question is, Can any thing be done? and, if so, What? That there are serious difficulties attending any legislative action relating to it, we admit; and that violent measures should not be at once adopted, is equally plain; but that it should be left untouched altogether, we

* "King William's Town Gazette," August 14th, 1857.

think, is a course to be deprecated on every ground, and must be attended and followed by disastrous results. If we have succeeded, in the chapter on polygamy, in showing that it is a great evil, and must operate most unfavourably upon the well-being of both the native and the colonist; we have placed the subject in the same light as the lieutenant governor did cattle-stealing. And if cattle-stealing is of that dangerous character and fearful magnitude, to require the stringent laws to be made and enforced which are advocated; we also hold that the cases which call for the making of such laws should be dealt with at *their root*, and that this powerful *temptation* to cattle-stealing, "the *treason*" of South Africa, as it is called, ought to be removed as quickly as possible; and that it should call forth an equal amount of attention, application, and effort, to that bestowed upon the other subject; and then we doubt not that it will be found out that something *can be done*, and that something *will be done*, to remove the evil.

Amongst other methods which might be adopted, we would suggest, *first*, that as among them the "great" wife is, in the most emphatic sense, *the wife*, or, *the great wife*, and the others are placed in a subordinate position; this should be the only one acknowledged by the government; that we should know no other person in the sight of the law, and treat with them concerning no other. *Second*, that *this one* they should be allowed to obtain free; but that for every succeeding one a heavy *fine* should be levied, and the annual tax increased in a proportionate ratio. *Third*, that though we did not at once interfere, so as to say that there should be no more than one woman taken, and that they should not purchase with cattle; yet, the number of the cattle should be limited to four or five, by which young men could get the girls they loved, and the girls have the youths they preferred, instead of old, withered polygamists taking the girls, because they could pay so many more cattle than the young men for them. This would also tend to check the propensity to stealing cattle; it would also *reduce the relative value of cattle* amongst them, which is an object of great importance. *Fourth*. *Allow no compulsory marriages*. If the girl strongly

objects, let her be allowed to make her case known to the magistrate, and let him be empowered to afford protection when it is sought, and even to make inquiries, when he thinks there is reason to think that trickery is going on, as these things are often done so secretly as almost to exclude detection.

Fifth. Let widows be allowed to marry a second time, without the payment of cattle a second time for them. By this means many poor men could get wives who now can do nothing more than live with these widows as concubines; and the offspring of their marriages should be their own, and not the property of the heirs of the deceased husband. *This may appear a small matter in itself, but it is not so as affecting the social state of this people. It is only second in magnitude to the burning of widows in India, which was put down by the strong arm of the law.*

IV. Another serious evil and source of danger, if allowed to exist and remain, and which therefore ought to be removed, is *Kaffir chieftainship*. My written views upon this important subject have been before the public since 1850, and upon it I have seen no reason to alter the views set forth in my pamphlet at that time; but, on the contrary, everything to lead to their confirmation. And from the present state of the question, and the extent to which the danger still exists, the subject needs to be watched with unslumbering vigilance, and be treated with great seriousness. This is the more needful, because it so silently and gradually, almost imperceptibly, works itself into existence, without being observed; and then is tolerated on the ground of expedience and the "do-nothing" principle.

In treating upon this subject, we beg most distinctly to state that our remarks are intended *to apply only to the natives in the colonies*. We maintain that their relative position is essentially different from the *independent tribes beyond our borders*; where we have actually no control, and no right to interfere with their internal policy, so long as it does not place in jeopardy the relations of peace subsisting between us, or may be necessary for the perpetuation of peace. But the case is far otherwise

with the *natives in the colony*: they are *bonâ fide British subjects*, to all intents and purposes, part and parcel of ourselves; and that there should be *imperium in imperio* we think is impolitic and dangerous. When Imperial Rome was fast declining, towards the end of the fourth century, the Goths having more or less ravaged the country, these northern barbarians were at length allowed to remain in the country, and the arrangement made under Theodosius was:—"The Goths had lands assigned them in the Roman provinces, and submitted to the Roman government, but were governed by their own laws, forming an *imperium in imperio*."* But the result was, that they soon became undisputed masters of the country, and gave their own laws to it, so far as suited their purpose. Not that we anticipate a similar result in Africa, but that the *principle is false*; and, if allowed to work itself into the general system of management, will occasion difficulties of a very serious nature, and possibly lead to war, in which both parties must be great losers, and "the weakest go to the wall." This will be apparent, *first*, because, by its continuance, a distinct, independent, antagonistic power is created and consolidated. So long as the people are without chiefs, they have no centre around which to collect,—they have no bond of union by which to unite and combine their energies: they are consequently powerless. The bundle of sticks cannot be broken, when all are bound together; but, take each separately, and the task is easily performed. Besides, the admitted chief has a love of power, the love of power is natural to man; and therefore he will do his utmost to increase that power, in order to increase his own weight and importance in the body politic, and in proportion to the increase of that power will be the increase of his own self-importance and insolent bearing. And as more favourable facilities are afforded for entering into new arrangements and combinations, that which was at first trifling and gave no serious ground of apprehension becomes formidable, acquires fearful momentum; and

* BIGLAND, p. 249.

possibly, in the end, breaks forth in an irresistible flood, or a crashing avalanche.

Second. Nearly allied to the foregoing is a second evil arising out of chieftainship; namely, that of collecting and fostering whatever is calculated to keep up a spirit of rivalry, by an enumeration of acts of wrong and oppression, to create and magnify grievances, to dwell upon and enforce rights; and thus to foster a spirit of dissatisfaction towards the government, and alienation from it, by which their orderly and peaceable management becomes very difficult, as they assume an attitude of determined hostility, instead of grateful dependents and happy imitators; and, towards the colonists, by whom they are surrounded, become insolent neighbours, or haughty compeers. But if I urge a line of policy which would make them powerless for defence or war, this very act renders the obligation so much the stronger upon my part, and that of every honest colonist, to take the more care that no wrong is done them, either thoughtlessly or intentionally. But be the matter as it may, for them to take the righting of what is wrong into their own hands, or for them even to be placed in a position to think they are able to do this, would be the worst evil that could befall both them and us; and, therefore, every possible means of preventing it should be adopted.

Third. A third great evil and danger arising out of Kaffir chieftainship is, that in order for them to maintain their position, and increase their influence among their own people, it is necessary that the vast fabric of heathenism which gave them birth, and on which they depend for political *status*, should be maintained and perpetuated intact; and, consequently, they must, from the force of circumstances, place themselves in direct antagonism to whatever would reduce this formidable structure of barbarism, and annihilate that system upon the preservation of which their existence and importance depends. Their means also of working out their own ends are very ample; time and space are things of nought to them. The little king gets his trusty amapakati or counsellors around him, in whom he can confide; they consult together for days, or months, or years, upon topics most in accordance with

their inherent wishes and interests ; they watch for transpiring events in the social and political state, in the relation of the government to themselves or the tribes around them ; and are ever ready to seize upon any advantage real or supposed, which they think will advance their interests, and contribute to bring about their ends. They can in the most secret manner spread abroad and put one force after another into motion, with untiring effort and ceaseless activity, until the under current is so strong as to defy resistance, and effectually to counteract whatever is done for their improvement ; and, from personal observation and actual experience, I am of opinion that the power for evil thus fostered is beyond conception great ; whilst, by a fair show and specious appearance they effectually impose upon our credulity. But, remove the cause from which these dangers and obstacles arise, and at once a vast mass of obstructions falls to the ground.

These are some of the dangers and difficulties attendant upon Kaffir chieftainship ; and the reader must judge whether they are not of sufficient magnitude to induce the government and colonist to say, *Kaffir chieftainship in the colony cannot, shall not, be.*

Those who have heretofore been Kaffir chiefs or head men should not be discarded altogether ; they might be employed, in a subordinate capacity, in the pay of government, under the magistrates, to great advantage, and for the general benefit. To attempt to discard them, and place them on a level with their inferiors, would be to offer them a deliberate insult, and call into existence the most violent passions, possibly leading them to attempt to organize systematic resistance.

Some have alluded to India as an example and illustration of the manner in which vast numbers of natives may be governed by chiefs in British pay. But the analogy will not hold : the nature and habits of the two races are essentially different. Besides other differences, there "caste," with an iron grasp, has fixed its hand upon every new-born infant, and bound him to the state and *status* of his ancestors. Freedom of thought, and feeling, and action is unknown. Those aspirations, that have

such vigorous play in other countries, have no existence there. He is a mere physical machine,—mental and moral he can scarcely be called; and he is kept in his place and operated upon as a mere machine,—break it you may, but alter it you must not. But the African Kaffir, whether Amazulu or Amaxosa, Natal or Fingoe, is another being in another place. He has been accustomed to snuff up the wind and bound over the plain,—to bask in the sun and plunge in the stream,—to debate in the council and fight in the field. His mien is haughty, and his bearing defiant. *You must take him as he is, and try to adapt your treatment accordingly. He may die in the battle field, but will not become a crouching sycophant or an abject slave; and any methods to rule him on these false premises must prove utterly abortive.*

V. The fifth and last preventive measure I would urge is the prevention of crime, so far as may be. My remarks here chiefly apply to the theft of stock. In the colonies, thefts in horses and cattle have been carried on upon a large scale, and life and property have been in constant jeopardy. Sheep-stealing has also latterly been added to all the rest, as the wool has been found profitable.

The punishment for the crime of theft was perfectly ridiculous, until the last session of Parliament, when a law was enacted, that the *minimum* punishment for sheep-stealing should be three years' imprisonment with hard labour. This is surely little enough, when it is in the recollection of the writer, that in England the crime was capital, and the punishment death. Formerly, in this country, three months' imprisonment was all that was often given; and when the difficulty of catching the thief was considered, it was like offering a premium upon crime, as being put in prison was no degradation to a Kaffir. Hence, the best methods should be adopted for detecting theft, and inflicting speedy and severe punishment on the offender. Theft is no crime in the eye of the Kaffir,—it is only the cleverness of the thief that is extolled by his own nation. If he succeeds, it is all gain; if he fails, the loss is not very great. This subject will now, however, be under the

control of the Colonial Parliament to a great extent, and will be treated upon its own merits.

What has been advanced relates chiefly to those *hindrances to improvement* which the government is called upon to remove or check to the greatest possible extent. What now remains to be done is, to point out some of those things which *ought to be done*. The former bears the character of the negative, the latter of the positive. But here I am met at the threshold with the repelling conviction, that whatever may be written will produce but little effect upon government action. This is something like the woes and ills of Ireland, generally admitted, but little done. My duty, however, remains the same; and certainly nothing will be gained by preserving entire silence; but the hope may be entertained that the whole will not be without salutary effect.

My task is the more difficult at the present time, on account of the almost total failure of the late governor Sir George Grey's "Industrial Institutions." This subject will be treated upon more fully in another place. For the present I merely observe that, had Sir George Grey remained to carry out his own measures, the results would probably have been very different. But as he was removed to New Zealand, the institutions were allowed to pine away for want of attention and support. *The native question is the question to every governor of South Africa*; and without attempting to cast reproach upon others, I am bold to affirm that Sir George Grey was the only governor whom I have known in this colony who had the *will and ability* to deal with this important subject. I do not attempt to endorse all he did; but I state, as the result of careful observation, my conviction, that he not only kept the country in peace, and arranged for peace for many years to come, but further greatly advanced the material interests of the frontier natives, both Kaffirs and Fingoes. Besides the institutions referred to, hundreds of titles were issued to small plots of land to the Fingoe Kaffirs, and other steps taken which gave security and satisfaction to the people.

I. *Education*. This is the first *positive* subject upon

which I shall treat. Education in all civilized countries is placed in the van of those duties which an enlightened government owes to the ignorant population under its control, whether white or black. This has not been wholly neglected by the government in this Colony and Natal; but has been aided and promoted to a very limited extent. By education I do not mean that which relates to the higher branches of what is termed a "liberal education," but that which embraces a knowledge of reading, writing, arithmetic, &c., and, if possible, a knowledge of the English language.

As a rule, this should be given in connexion with the various religious bodies whose missionaries are employed among the natives. I am aware that in India and some other places government has its own educational establishments and apparatus; but, without stopping to discuss that subject here, I may observe that, in this country, the only probable successful mode is in connexion with Christian Missions. Nearly all these societies have done something, without or apart from government aid; but it has been on a very limited scale, not nearly commensurate with the demand, or with the advanced state of preparation of the people. I am not aware that anything has been done systematically in British Kaffraria. On the frontier of the Cape and in Natal something has been done, but needs to be very greatly extended. The government feels the pressure of the subject in India and England, and why not in Africa, where the barbarous ignorance of the people on the one hand, and the duty of the government on the other, are so loud in their demands? The assistance could be given in assisting to erect suitable buildings for school purposes, and paying the salary of the teacher, at least in part. *But the aid should not be given to any one religious body exclusively or mostly; but according to the particular facilities which any may have for doing the work in the best manner, at the cheapest rate, and to the largest extent.*

The writer was once in the office of the lieutenant governor of British Kaffraria when the schedule of allowances for ecclesiastical purposes was put into his

hands, in which some £14,000 figured away for the Episcopal Church and £150 for the Wesleyans. The Wesleyans were not only first in Kaffirland, but for thirty years before the Episcopalians had set foot on it had been spending thousands of pounds annually upon the Kaffir tribes; and at this very time were crippled in their operations, especially school operations, for want of funds. The Episcopal Church is not the Established Church of this Colony, and the bishops and governors have no right to attempt to establish a claim to superior privileges and state funds on the ground of their being Episcopalians. They do this as far as they can, and often succeed to an extent which is decidedly prejudicial to other labourers who are at least equally worthy. They then make their boast of what great things they have done in a short time, and that those who came before them were either incompetent, or did not use the proper means to insure success; forgetting the rough work of the pioneers, and how they had actually prepared the way for those who came after them under more favourable auspices.

There is often considerable reluctance on the part of the natives themselves to submit to the irksomeness of learning. This is not to be wondered at, when it is remembered that even in old civilized states the same reluctance has to be encountered; so that in many parts of Germany coercion is resorted to in order to secure the attendance of the children of the poor in the established schools; and even in England and France, those lands of liberty, the question is being gravely discussed.

If such, then, is the state of things among those where the value of education is more or less understood, no wonder that the same reluctance should prevail, only to a greater extent, among those who are only just emerging from barbarism. This, instead of being an argument for diminishing effort, is a very strong one in favour of putting forth more systematic, persevering effort, and carefully and judiciously adapting that effort to the peculiar state and wants of the people. When you have a difficulty of colossal magnitude to encounter, the means used should be on a corresponding scale of magnitude.

The following remarks, addressed to the governor, Sir P. Wodehouse, by Mr. Brownlee, Ghika commissioner, are important and valuable. They frankly state the total absence of *stimulus* on the part of government by which the natives might be induced to value and seek education. These remarks also supply some valuable suggestions as to the various ways in which the government might stimulate the natives to *value education*, not merely for its own sake, but more especially by the advantages it would secure to them. *This appeal to self-interest as motive power is what I have so strongly urged through the whole of my observations in these chapters.*

Dr. Dale, the superintendent-general of education, is not only a thoroughly efficient officer, but he has displayed very commendable zeal in the discharge of his important duties; but what can one man do in a colony of such extent, and among such masses of Kaffirs as occupy the frontier? Mr. Brownlee's suggestions upon the increase and extension of this agency, at comparatively little cost, are of special value.

“TEMBANI, December 3rd, 1864.

“It being both our duty and interest to advance the civilization of the natives under our rule, and to adopt every measure calculated to diminish the chances of war, it becomes a matter of great importance to inquire what are the chief obstacles which retard the progress of the natives in civilization; what can be done to remove these obstacles; and, in general, what are the various ways in which the moral and material advancement of a barbarous people can be promoted.

“The moral progress of the natives may be promoted and the chances of war materially diminished—

“1st. Through the righteous administration of good laws.

“2nd. Through Missions and schools.

“Passing over the first of these as altogether too extensive to be examined at present, I wish to offer one or two suggestions on the second.

“Considering that the missionaries have done so much for the natives, that their adherents have been either

friendly or neutral in the various wars, and that rarely or never has one of them been convicted, or even justly suspected, of sheep or cattle stealing; considering, also, that Missions cannot well prosper where the missionaries remain simply on sufferance, and where no land is set aside for the purposes of the Mission; I beg to suggest that in locating natives, whether within or without our borders, certain suitable localities should invariably be reserved as sites for Mission stations, though the various Mission bodies should not at once be in a position fully to occupy all the land.

“With regard to schools, the most serious barrier to the advance of education (independent of the very limited means at the disposal of the Mission bodies) is, that there is no encouragement offered to native youths to obtain a good education, there being no field for the exercise of their acquired talent; and, in the absence of such stimulus, most, even of the few who have applied themselves, obtain no advantage from their having done so, and the labour and expense bestowed on their education are to a great extent lost.

“If the government were to appoint a certain number of duly qualified natives as district teachers, although the salary should be small, a great stimulus and encouragement would be presented to youths to educate themselves.

“The sum required to carry out such a scheme would be small and positively trifling, compared with the benefit to the country which would result therefrom.

“To avoid waste of the public funds, the appointment to schools might be decided by the results of periodical competitions, limited to youths of good character; and if the inspection of these schools could not be overtaken by the superintendent-general of education, they might be placed under the supervision of the Mission bodies under whose care the youths were educated, or under that of the nearest missionaries; and it might be required that the magistrates should periodically inspect and report upon the schools within their several districts.

“Again, the hut tax may be regarded partly as a quit rent for land cultivated, and partly as a direct tax on a class of people who consume so little of imported goods, that

they do not fairly contribute, through indirect taxation, their share to the support of government. If, then, any natives have advanced so far as to live in furnished houses, and to wear European clothing, the latter moiety of the tax might fairly be regarded as not due, or rather as indirectly paid. At present, only purchasers of land are exempted from the hut tax; but it would afford a considerable stimulus to advancement in general, and education in particular, if the tax were partially or entirely remitted to all who habitually wear European clothing, live in a house of a certain value, and, further, can read and write. The benefit and encouragement would be much more than the mere amount of ten shillings per annum indicates; for those exempted, with the purchasers of land, forming a sort of privileged class, would come to be looked upon as an upper class, and, therefore, apart from any pecuniary gain of ten shillings per annum, admission into the class would become an object of ambition.

“Lastly, if the government should think it fit that in the future appointment of head men a marked preference should be given to men of good character, who can read and write, a *status* would be given to all possessed of that qualification for such a post, whereby youths would be led to avail themselves of such opportunities of education as might be afforded them. An additional recommendation of this scheme is, that it would cost nothing.”

It has been, again, affirmed that the natives ought not to receive assistance from the government, seeing they are brought under instruction by Missionary Societies. Thanks to the Missionary Societies for doing what they have done for the natives, or otherwise it would have been a sad affair for them. But these Societies have not been able to do half what might have been done, and ought to have been done. Besides, the monies thus expended ought to have been employed in direct evangelizing efforts; otherwise, how are the masses of the heathen to be reached?

It has been complained, again, that the government instruct the black and neglect the white. This remark is not correct, but *vice versâ*: the white have had much at-

tention, to the exclusion of the natives, in many parts. I write this in Lower Albany, where the first British settlers were located in 1820. Now, in 1865, forty-five years later, there are six day schools for Europeans, but not one for coloured. These six schools are aided by government to the amount of £370 a year; but not one pound is expended on the natives; and yet the natives are three or four fold as numerous as the white children.

II. *Industrial agencies.* As before intimated, I shall be here confronted by those who, since Sir George Grey's removal from the Cape Colony, have in the local papers, as well as in general conversation, held up that able governor's Industrial Institutions to ridicule and contempt, as being not only a large expenditure of money for chimerical purposes, but followed by humbling and perfect failure. These worthy gentlemen, however, sometimes travel a little too fast, or make assertions which can by no means be borne out by fact. Very often they close their eyes willingly against facts. "There are none so blind as those who will not see." Like the Jews of old, when anything related to the despised Gentiles, they could not, or would not, be convinced. So many strive to resist or pervert the evidence of their senses in reference to the natives of this country.

The Industrial Institutions, established by Sir George Grey on the frontier of the old Colony, were Lovedale, Heald Town, Lesseyton, Salem, and Peddie; to which must be added the large hospital at King William's Town. For although this last was not established for direct industrial purposes, it was established with the laudable design of providing for the native sick, and treating them according to the enlightened methods of English medical practice, and by this means to afford relief to the sick, but more especially to undermine the native practice of witchcraft or sorcery, and prove to them not only that the custom and belief were false, but that our modes were vastly superior to theirs. This was done in many instances, but especially in connexion with the small-pox, which raged fearfully in 1860, when multitudes of Kaffirs were preserved alive through vaccination. But in one place where the writer travelled,—for he lived in King

William's Town at the time,—there was a large number of kraals or villages, over which a witch doctor had control; and he induced the people to follow his directions, when he had recourse to the usual methods, as described in the chapter on witchcraft: the result of which was, the ghosts of their forefathers could not, or would not, protect them, and nearly the whole were swept away by this fell disease, the doctor among the rest; and the writer several times passed over these desolate villages, with the houses burnt or falling to the ground. The shock given to native belief and practice, by this one instance of the triumph of our medical treatment over native practice and the doctor's witchery, was very great.

This hospital, which was not confined to natives, but afforded the best provision and medical treatment to Europeans also, is now declining for want of support. Two Kaffir youths, who had been educated at the Lovedale seminary, and had displayed equal ability with white boys in acquiring a knowledge of the classics, were sent to this hospital, to study medical practice under the very able direction of Dr. Fitzgerald; but it was feared they would not be able to remain, from want of funds for the support of the hospital. This will give the reader some idea of the difficulties and discouragement under which those labour who strive to improve the natives. After years of anxious toil and considerable expense, the prospects for good are often blighted and disappointed by a change of a governor, or a dash of the home secretary's pen.

Of the five Industrial Institutions established, only one remains,—viz., that at Lovedale, connected with the Scotch Mission. The others continued for a longer or shorter space of time, and carried on their operations to a greater or less extent. In these institutions the various trades were taught under European masters. There were smiths, carpenters, waggon-makers, builders, and shoemakers; and in these various trades the apprentices displayed equal ability with European youths. Some would say that all that now remains is only a monument of the weakness and folly of those who were concerned in the erection of the buildings at a costly rate, and the other

expenses of the establishments. Not so. Every true well-wisher to the natives who understands the facts must admit that, whilst all the good hoped for has not been effected, yet much improvement has taken place; and I venture to affirm, without fear of successful contradiction, that civilization advanced to a greater extent during those few years than in the whole of the other years together. The effects are by no means lost in the present day. Many still follow their trades, under very discouraging circumstances, whilst others are greatly advanced above their former state. The improvement does not appear so much on the surface, as it affects the body of the people and the *status* of their habits.

What, then, is now to be done? Is the whole thing to be abandoned? Are they to be left to themselves, and remain in the same state of barbarism in which we found them? Because these first attempts have partly failed, is the government to attempt nothing more, but to allow evil to work its own way? I hope not. Probably these Institutions were on too large a scale, and the expenditure too great.

Let wisdom be learned from past mistakes; and as the local governments of the Cape and Natal have now the management of these matters, let them not for a moment suppose that no duty or responsibility devolves upon them. The duty and obligation have been removed from the shoulders of the imperial government to their own, a solemn trust is deposited in their hands: let them then prove that they are neither unconscious of its existence nor indifferent to its claims.

Natal derives an annual income of more than £20,000 from the native hut tax alone: let it then act justly and liberally towards those from whom it derives this large revenue, and in return give them that which is essential to their well-being and improvement.

In addition to the direct hut tax, they of course pay all the taxes which fall upon Europeans on imported goods, of which they have now become large consumers.

What should be done, and how it should be done, are questions which would not be so difficult of solution,

if the disposition and ability were at hand to make the attempt. Without the former expensive establishments, industrial agents might be dispersed through the land, both in Natal and the old Colony; they might collect the hut tax, which is now done by the magistrate, and is very objectionable in that form; they might also be empowered to watch the incipient stages of civilization,—to assist with ploughs, seeds, &c.,—especially encourage the growth of cotton and other products for export, which might be received as payment of the hut tax, and would be a benefit to the colonies as well as the natives; might direct and assist them in the erection of the houses and the improvement of their dwellings; and also might employ tradesmen in some places to direct and assist promising youths in the attainment of a knowledge of the various kinds of handicraft. This is the more needful, inasmuch as their inclination does not naturally lead in this direction, and yet it is that which is of special importance. In these and other ways great improvement could be effected at but little cost. The industrial agents might be connected with the residence of the magistrate, or reside on Mission stations; where, I presume, they would find enough to do, as the natives there, under the influence of Christian instruction, are generally anxious to make advancement in civilized habits. The missionaries have done a little in this way: *indeed, all that has been done, has been done on their stations*; but, as I before said, this is not their province: they are either overwrought, or are deficient of means, time, and men, and cannot attend to these things as they need attending to. I doubt not but if what is here advocated was carefully adopted and carried out, these agents would soon be supported by means and profits arising out of the improved state of the people.

Since the above remarks were penned, I have met with the following very just and pertinent remarks from the pen of Mr. Brownlee to the governor, which illustrate and confirm what I have written; and, farther, prove how advantageously industrial agents might be employed, as well as show the large and varied scope for their oversight and operations:—

“Turning to their material improvement, two great obstacles which retard the progress of the natives in civilization are the small inducements they have to industry, and the unsettled state in which they at present live, there being little inconvenience attending their movements. Further, the great facility with which they can rapidly remove most of their valuables from one place to another, and the fact that they attach but little value to their individual gardens, so long as they can obtain land elsewhere, remove some of their most serious objections to war.

“When wood in any particular locality becomes exhausted, a movement is made, if possible, to where it can be obtained; and when the soil becomes impoverished through long cultivation, a piece of new ground is broken.

“The adoption of measures, therefore, which would show it to be manifestly to the advantage of the natives to remain in one spot, would counteract the desirability of their moving from place to place, would exercise a beneficial influence on their minds, and would, of itself, encourage them to improve their lands; while every measure that would tend to increase the value of their immovable, or not readily movable, property, would so far raise their social position as to check their stealing propensities, and would afford a material guarantee for peace.

“For the attainment of these objects, the most valuable measure hitherto inaugurated is the permission granted to natives to become purchasers of land. Hitherto, only Fingoes, as a rule, have availed themselves of the privilege, and they have done so to a very considerable extent; but the scheme contains an element which may counteract its beneficial working, and even lead to its destruction.

“Certain localities have been pointed out where land may be selected by intending purchasers, and the land not sold, including all not fit for cultivation, is in the mean time used by the natives for grazing their stock. Now, there is nothing to prevent white men from purchasing eighty-acre sections in the same localities; and when so much of the good land has been bought here and there by the Fingoes, that no piece so large as eighty acres of even

tolerably good land could be had in one place, it is difficult to see how these purchasers can turn the land to any account, other than impounding cattle from the adjoining Fingoe lands. In this way these purchases may turn out a very profitable speculation, but in all other respects nothing but evil can result. The Fingoes themselves are strongly opposed to being thus hemmed in by white men in their small lots. This should be guarded against as much as possible; for while the Fingoes may quarrel fiercely among themselves about cases of trespass, these cases would lead to no serious consequences, as far as the government was concerned; but it would be far otherwise should they come into constant collision with white neighbours.

“The issue of individual titles is, perhaps, from its wider application, also an important measure to secure the desired object. This has to some extent been carried out in the Colony, but has not yet been introduced into British Kaffraria; and as, even if this measure may be decided on, it may not be expedient at once generally to introduce it, I would beg to suggest for the consideration of the governor, the desirability of at once adopting some other means of encouraging the natives to improve the ground they now occupy, and of fostering in them habits of industry.

“1st. In order to induce natives to improve the land in their possession, it might be provided that, should the government hereafter decide upon granting individual titles, care would be taken to secure as much as possible to the improver such improvements as he had made; and further, by way of premium, other things being equal, that the extent of the plot should be made in some measure to depend upon the value of the improvements.

“2nd. The most fertile and productive parts of this district are the low-lying valleys of the principal streams; these are, however, so liable to frequent droughts, that the crops are very uncertain, and fruit-trees will not thrive; but where one good crop is secured, it is found to be quite sufficient for two or three years' consumption.

“ In localities of this nature several persons are desirous of cutting watercourses ; one cutting has to a great extent been completed, and is in use ; but from the want of proper levels, and through the inexperience of those engaged on it, it has entailed at least three times the amount of labour really required to have finished it.

“ Other two courses have been commenced, but, though quite practicable, they have been abandoned ; the people employed on them having become disheartened at the deep cutting among stones, occasioned by their having led the course above the water-level. I do not view these failures simply with reference to the parties concerned, they are more to be regretted with regard to the people generally ; for had these men succeeded, others of their own race would have been induced to follow in their footsteps.

“ The advantages to be gained by such works are, that the people would be fixed to particular localities ; their ground, when exhausted, would not be abandoned, but would be manured ; and instead of depending on the uncertain rains, and, on the average, reaping only every second crop, a succession of crops could be calculated on with a good deal of certainty ; wheat and other crops that the natives rarely cultivate could be raised, fruit trees would be planted, and the people would find employment during the whole year in their gardens ; whereas at present they can only avail themselves of the summer rains, and have no employment for the rest of the season, even though they should be disposed to work.

“ If the government, therefore, would render assistance to such as are desirous of undertaking such works, by having levels taken for them, and by the loan of tools, many persons would soon follow the first successful undertaking. For the three cases specially mentioned above, the surveys, and an expenditure of about £10 in tools, are all that is required, and most of the tools would be available for other work after the completion of those cuttings.

“ I would use no persuasion to induce any one to undertake such works ; but would simply assist those who see

the great advantages to be secured, and who of themselves are anxious to do their best. Though the benefits of the suggestion may not for some time be manifest, I am confident that in time, if judiciously worked, the country will, without a great outlay, be amply repaid for the expenditure.

“3rd. Of all live stock, it is most for the interest of government that the natives should be possessed of sheep, adding to their material wealth, and, by the exportation of wool, to the wealth of the country, far more than the possession of cattle. The sheep enables the Kaffir, by its wool, to pay his taxes without selling any of his live stock, a procedure to which he is very averse; and through the difficulty of conveying it rapidly from one part of the country to another, the possession of it by the Kaffir affords one of the best guarantees of peace. Accordingly, seven years since, I suggested that a sum of money should be intrusted to the various magistrates wherewith to purchase sheep, distributing them amongst some of the most deserving of the people, who should after a period pay for them with interest. The suggestion was approved of by Sir George Grey, but, owing to want of funds, was not carried out.

“There is not now in my district the same necessity for such a scheme, seeing that most of the men whom I had in view have already become small flock-masters at my personal risk; and the rest of the people see so plainly the advantage of having sheep, that they are anxious to obtain them. To encourage these to procure sheep in every lawful way, and to prevent those already flock-masters from allowing the breed to degenerate, I would recommend that native agricultural shows should be inaugurated in the several districts, under the presidency of the various magistrates, and that a small amount should be annually appropriated to be distributed as prizes on these occasions. What the government would in this way expend in prizes would be well repaid by the increased value of the exports in wool alone.

“I would also beg to suggest that at these shows the government should offer prizes for all productions, the

raising of which adds to the immovable or not easily movable property of the natives, or tends to generate in them habits of industry.

“The categories include sheep, Angora goats, fruits and vegetables, and unginmed cotton, while they need not include cattle or horses.

“As regards cotton, it remains to be yet decided whether, owing to the expense of labour and the uncertainty of procuring it at the precise moment when it is required, it can be profitably grown in this Colony by white men; but in whatever way this is answered, I have no hesitation in saying that, in localities suited for its cultivation, it would remunerate in the hands of natives, provided they knew what must be done. Indeed, considering that their own or their wives' labour would prepare the crop; that they and their children would gather it; that this labour causes them no loss, seeing that they otherwise would have been idle; and that the area of land under cultivation for food would, in all probability, not be materially affected, the proceeds of their small cotton plantations would be nearly all profit.

“While I have suggested several methods for the elevation of the natives, I consider the one in reference to education of the greatest importance; and, above all others, I should desire to see it initiated. The suggestion in reference to watercourses, while not of such great importance, would not entail great expense; and the government, after giving assistance to a few, might at any time discontinue further assistance.

“I have, &c.,

“CHARLES BROWNLEE, Gaika Commissioner.”

The remarks made by Mr. Brownlee as to watercourses being of great importance, and their abandonment after having been begun, and the breach of promise on the part of the government, in connexion with the Annshaw station, disclose some painful facts.

The remarks upon the growth of cotton are not less important, and are in perfect accordance with what I advo-

cated in my "History of Natal" some years ago. The subject is one of great magnitude.

III. Establish a strong, firm, well regulated English government over them. As in another part of this chapter I have advocated the abolition of Kaffir chieftainship in the colonies, so here I urge, with equal earnestness, the establishment of thorough English authority, which they should be compelled to respect and obey. To be at loose ends, and for every one to do that which is "right in his own eyes," will not do here. *If you remove one kind of pressure, you must place on another pressure, that may and must be felt,—authority that must and will be obeyed.* The necessity of this is being better understood by the English authorities than in former years, and magistrates are appointed to a much greater extent than formerly. Great care should be taken in the selection of the magistrates, as their influence for good or for evil is very great. An incompetent, injudicious, angry, headstrong magistrate may set the kingdom in a blaze, and produce untold mischief. Or, if an ungodly man, moral pollution may flow from his establishment in a ceaseless stream of infecting poison, or rise as a deadly malaria, and impregnate the moral atmosphere with the seeds of political and moral death.

When crime is committed, the most vigilant and untiring efforts should be made for its speedy detection and prompt punishment. If "sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily, the heart of the people is fully set in them to do evil." *A mild despotism* is much better adapted to their state than a weak, vacillating course of conduct. Not the despotism of passion and caprice, but the despotism of rigid and full punishment for wrongdoing, by which the offender shall find that he is the gainer by keeping the laws and avoiding crime, rather than a gainer by insolence and transgression. The native will respect the man who is not afraid to punish him for his just deserts, whilst he will despise the man who, under affected justice, lets him go free. If any one thinks the Kaffir does not detect these things, he is greatly mistaken. He is a keen and penetrating observer of men and things, and adapts his course accordingly.

In treating upon the province of the government in this chapter, I have in the first part urged, 1. The speedy, righteous settlement of the land claims. 2. Putting down witchcraft. 3. Abolishing polygamy. 4. Setting aside Kaffir chieftainship; and, 5. Punishment of theft. In the latter part I have advocated *education, industry, and English authority*. I have sought to set forth my views as briefly and clearly as the subjects allowed; and, in closing this part of the chapter, have only to state that the frequent removal of governors has the most pernicious effect upon the management, or mismanagement, of the natives, that can possibly be conceived. Every new governor sees things in a different light to what his predecessors did,—thinks he can make alterations advantageously,—adopts another mode of conduct,—unmakes what his predecessor made, and pursues a new line of policy altogether. This does not so much signify to the civilized white colonist, who is subject to uniform laws, and understands the why and the wherefore of the changes; but to the native it is far otherwise. He has neither the light to see “the reason why,” nor the power of appreciating what is done. He is often perplexed, sometimes angry, and in many instances dissatisfied and injured. I know not that recording this fact will accomplish any real good, as the changes will still go on; but possibly some who read these pages may be disposed to modify their views somewhat, and adopt a course of action more in accordance with the state and wants of the country and people.

THE DUTY OF GOVERNMENT.

If there be no duty, all that has been advanced as to the desirability of what should be done, falls to the ground. If there is *no duty*, there is *no responsibility*; but if duty exists, then obligation is involved. If there is no responsibility, it matters not what we do or how we act. The wild horse may plunge and dash as he pleases,—he has no rider to throw; the fearful torrent may roll along in foam and fury,—there is no person to drown or city to submerge:

the threatening avalanche may break, and fall, and crash, —there are no helpless victims at its feet to destroy; the fierce volcano may vomit smoke, and ashes, and burning lava from its fiery mouth,—there is no Pompeii at its base to entomb; the earth may quake and open wide its yawning mouth,—there are no terror-stricken beings to swallow up; the Kaffirs of South Africa may remain barbarian and savage,—there are no wars to be feared, no lives to be sacrificed, no houses to be desolated, no homesteads to be wrapped in consuming flame, no cattle to be driven off, and no expense to be incurred! No, it is not so! All these dangers must either be encountered or avoided; and the one or the other depends mostly upon whether the government will efficiently discharge its obligations or not.

The government is called to duty—

I. BY POLICY.—I shall here quote an apposite passage bearing upon this subject, from “Notes on South African Affairs,” by the Rev. W. B. Boyce; a book that ought to be more generally known and extensively read than it is. He says:—“That the system of colonization here advocated, contrived with a just regard to native rights and the operation of efficient instrumentality for their spiritual and temporal benefit, would occasion the government, whether of the Cape or Natal, much trouble, may be readily admitted. Duties of a complex nature, differing considerably from the ordinary routine of official life, are the result of our position on a vast continent, with powerful and barbarous natives in our vicinity. We are to *them and their future interests* a power mighty for good or for evil, for their conservation or their destruction. Were we now merely contemplating a scheme of colonization *in a new country*, conscientious and timid men might be expected to shrink from the undertaking, the benefits of which were encumbered with so tremendous a responsibility. But in South Africa we are already committed. We cannot recede. One power *will* advance, and that within a few years, as far as the tropics. It rests, in fact, upon our present measures, whether this power, in its triumphant march, exercises a malign and withering influence, or whether it shall disperse in its train the blessings

of Christianity and civilization, which are for the healing of the nations. To adopt the powerful language of Dr. Philip,* as just as it is eloquent, in reference to this very subject,—‘An able governor of the Cape might in twelve years influence the continent of Africa as far as the tropics; influence it for good, make every tribe to know its limits, to be content with its own, to respect its neighbours, and to drink with eagerness from the fountains of our religion, civil policy, and science. The missionaries have already done enough to prove that all this is not only possible, but easy; much easier for a wise man to accomplish, than it is for a fool to render the whole of this part of the continent not only more barbarous than it is at present, but hostile to us, and ever ready to combine for our destruction, and the destruction, for a time, of their own chance of civilization. What a responsibility, then, rests upon the British government, even in the management of this apparently insignificant colony; and how anxious and persevering ought the friends of religion and humanity to be in saving us from the perils that threaten us!’”†

These were the sentiments of men on the spot, who were well able to form a correct opinion upon the topics upon which they wrote. Not many years have passed away since the above lines were penned; but how rapid has been the march of events since that time! The Orange River Sovereignty has been abandoned to the Boers, Natal and British Kaffraria have been added to the British empire, many thousands (almost hundreds of thousands) have passed away in these regions by war and famine, and multitudes more now rising up enforce with emphatic voice the language of those just quoted.

How stand matters in highly favoured Britain? Do not legislative bodies, with royalty at their head, acknowledge the claims of the poor and peasant population upon their consideration? And do they not enact laws for their special benefit and preservation? Have they not entered

* “Evidence of Aborigines Commission, p. 631.”

† “Notes on South African Affairs. By Rev. W. B. BOYCE,” pp. 193-5.

crowded factories, and rescued the victims of overwrought labour from penury, sickness, and death? Have they not penetrated the haunts of ignorance, and by legislative enactments provided for the instruction of the ignorant and poor? And in doing this they have been highly applauded; the nation and the cabinet rising with a brighter, bolder form than ever before, and consolidating the power of the empire by these means.

But the part thus taken did not arise solely from sentiments of humanity and philanthropy, but by many able statesmen was adopted from motives of *political expediency and economy*. They saw that either something must be done to remove ignorance, vice, poverty, and wretchedness from the masses; or that these evils left to work their legitimate results unchecked must produce consequences endangering the peace of the nation and the prosperity of the empire: and that the punishment of crime and the maintenance of order would be *more expensive* than to go to the origin of the evil in the ignorant, degraded state of the pauper population. Hence, better spend *one thousand* pounds in the erection of schools than *five thousand* in building prisons,—better spend one thousand in instructing the ignorant than five thousand in maintaining a police force,—better encumber the state with one thousand in removing pauperism than five thousand in supporting a starving people. So with the natives of Africa:—better pay forty thousand pounds in instructing the Kaffirs than four hundred thousand in destroying them,—better spend forty thousand pounds in industrial operations than four hundred thousand in “the horrid alarum of war,” with its inseparable concomitants,—disorder, loss, blood, and death.

Some have affirmed that the zenith of Great Britain was attained, and that her sun must soon decline; that the warmth of youth and the vigour of manhood were past, and the decrepitude of old age fast creeping over her. But, instead of this, the vigour of manhood is only just being permeated with a knowledge of her duty, and some desire to perform it. Only at this late hour of the day are her spirit and polity becoming impregnated

with the spirit and principles of true humanity,—that whilst it is the province of the minister of religion to visit the sick, the poor, and the ignorant ; it is the province of the minister of state to apply those remedial measures by which the ignorant may be instructed and the fallen raised ; by which crime may be prevented and happiness increased and perpetuated.

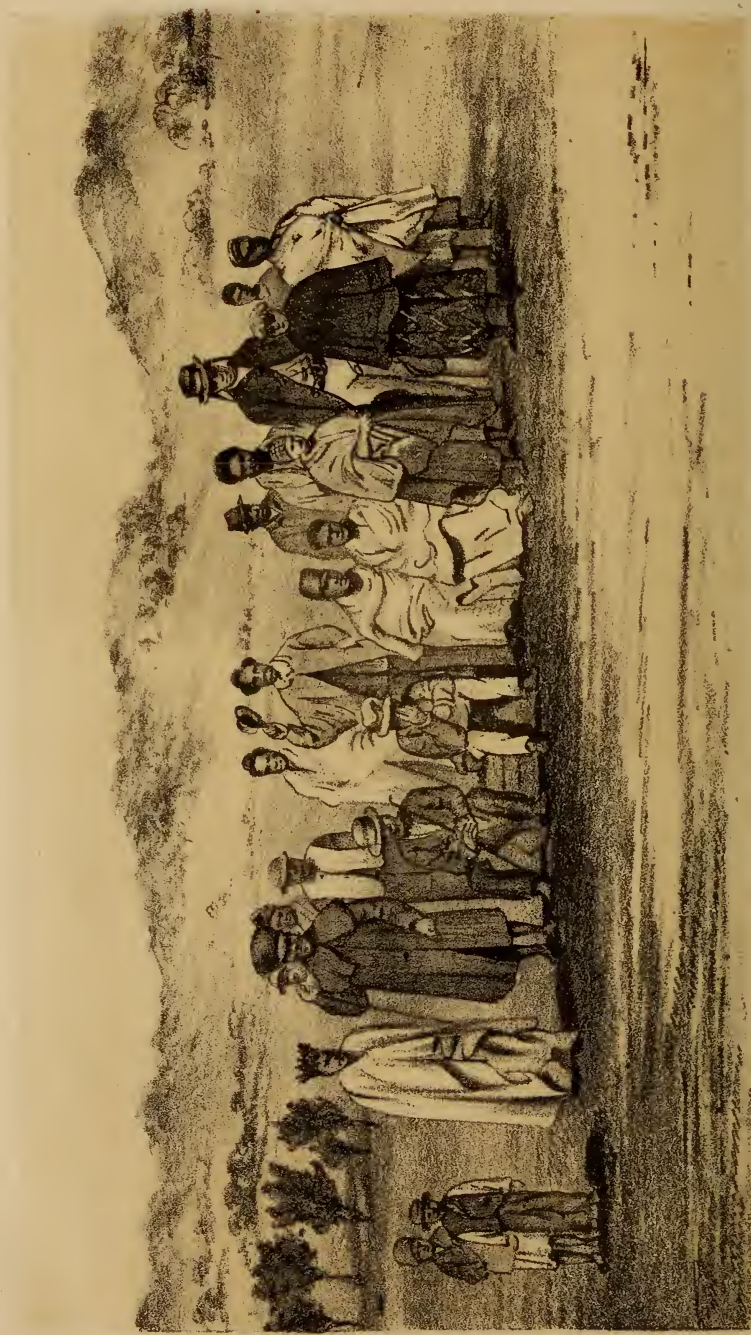
What is thus acknowledged to be the duty of the state to her abject white population, we claim on behalf of the ignorant coloured barbarian of this land. Why should the colour of the skin interfere ? why should distance from the heart of empire thrust into the shade ? why should the evil *unseen* fail to affect the eye, hand, and heart of the state ? nay, rather strike at the root of the evil, stanch vice in its fountain, penetrate the depths of heathen darkness, barbarism, and sin ; enlighten, raise, purify ; and the God of nations shall smile, and say, “ Well done.”

II. I maintain the obligation of the government to educate and civilize the native on the ground of NECESSITY. Some, on the contrary, maintain that no such necessity exists. This must arise from exceedingly contracted views, or, what is worse, a recklessness about consequences of a very lamentable nature. The necessity is founded upon the law of *self-preservation*. It is a positive fact that barbarism and civilization cannot amalgamate ; cannot unite and blend ; the one being fused in the other. The chemist does not find two substances in nature more antagonistic,—the oil and water will not mix. Consequently, we must either remove barbarism, or barbarism will remove us. Let the opposite states of the two parties remain unaltered, and collision must succeed collision, war succeed war, shock roll upon the heels of shock, until “ the weakest goes to the wall ; ” and in this life and death struggle the native disappears. That such will be the result requires no great acumen to tell ; for although the blacks have the advantage of numbers, yet our war tactics are so superior, and our instruments of death so much more effective and fatal, that ere long the barbarian retires from the scene of conflict ; his name and place are blotted

from the political map; and a few scattered remnants or isolated wanderers remain to tell the sad story of civilized progression and barbarian annihilation. If such fatal results transpire, the native is not the only sufferer; for before these consequences are consummated, the colonists and the imperial government must have had their resources largely drawn upon, property and life must have been sacrificed to a great extent, and evils many and great endured. I therefore still maintain, better reclaim the savage than shoot him.

In this chapter I may observe that probably too desponding a tone prevails. If so, this arises from a course of long and painful observation and experience upon the shortcomings of the government. I cannot, however, dismiss from my thoughts the fact that the government is *professedly Christian*, and therefore is bound to give serious consideration to the subjects discussed. If it was only a civilized heathen government, as ancient Greece and Rome, what I have written would not only be useless but absurd. But it is the *Christianity* of the British government which has raised it so high, and placed it on a pedestal so elevated; then, on the ground of having to do with a *Christian government*, I urge all that I have written, and trust I may have a fair hearing and a hearty response. For this response I am encouraged to look, from the temper and spirit of British statesmen. The late noble Duke of Wellington, in his place in Parliament, said, "It is primarily incumbent on a government to see that the humblest of its subjects are taught their duty to God and man." And again:—"If the vagrant children of the country were only got hold of, and reclaimed from ignorance and vice, Parliament would no doubt cheerfully strengthen the hands of government by voting the requisite supplies."





A LA RIVIERE, LIHO, 18, CLIFTON STREET, E.C.

GROUP OF KAFFIR FIGURES PARTLY CHRISTIANIZED.

CHAPTER III.

THE PROVINCE AND DUTY OF THE COLONISTS.

PROBABLY many of the colonists will be amused or startled at the title of this chapter, and will scarcely know whether to ascribe it to the weakness or the boldness of the author, or to both. They can conceive of the duty and province of the government and of Missionary Societies towards the natives; but as to any *province* and *duty* of the colonists towards them, that has never entered their minds, except that the natives have a right to work for the colonists, and the colonists a right to pay and feed them for it. Just so. And it is because the colonists thus speak and act that I compose this chapter. But do not let the colonists suppose for a moment that I am about to represent them as treating the natives with harshness and severity. *As a rule, they do not*; but, on the contrary, pay and feed them for what they do. I will go further than this, and affirm that the coloured people often try the colonists to the last degree, by their idle and thievish propensities, together with the most deliberate and barefaced falsehoods. Not that all do this equally. A very large number are of necessity employed by the colonists, as sheep and cattle herds, general servants, waggon drivers, &c.; and among the large aggregate many do well, considering their circumstances; and a large amount of service is obtained on the one part, and rendered on the other. But, considering the subject as a whole, the colonists have much to try and irritate them; and under excited feelings they are in danger of speaking words and performing acts which cannot be reconciled with their duty to God and man.

The *first* great danger of the colonist is, that of dealing unjustly towards them in reference to the land question. The government is the party chiefly concerned in this subject, as is shown in the chapters on the land question and the duty of government. But the government is influenced and acted upon by the colonists, and it is often to meet their views and wishes that the government acts.

It yields to the pressure from without, and if that pressure be improper and unjust, the action produced thereby must be wrong and unjust too. There are many intelligent, honest colonists who would not willingly inflict injury upon the natives; but there are many others, especially Dutch, who think that the native has no rights, except to work for the white man, and under this conviction can only act according to its dictates. Now, what I have pleaded for has been a fair share of land for the native, whilst the European has had his many broad acres; and I have a right to look for and receive the approval and support of every honest colonist in urging this righteous claim. I therefore claim the consideration, sympathy, and aid of all *truthful, honest colonists*, in the righteous settlement of the land question.

Another danger of the colonists is that of regarding the natives as a "doomed race," designed only to serve, but never to rise. This sentiment and conviction I believe pervades the Dutch population of South Africa to a large extent. My impression is, that I do the Dutch no wrong, when I state that most of them regard the natives as "the cursed sons of Cain," designed only to serve the superior race either as slaves or as menial servants; and that they ought not to be instructed, or have aught done to raise them in the scale of being. Mr. Schiepers, before the Natal commission, said,—“I am of opinion that white and black men cannot live together in peace in the same country, unless the black man is in a state of subjection to the white.” And again:—“I would have all the blacks removed beyond that line, except those who would remain as servants of the whites.”* This doctrine they

* "Evidence," &c., Part I., p. 49.

profess to draw from the Old Testament, and hold it with considerable tenacity; designating missionaries "*Zendlings*," by way of contempt. I fear that some of the English colonists are in danger of imbibing the same sentiments and acting accordingly. *They would not look upon the coloured population as mere working machines, but as those animals who were destined to work, but not to rise.* And unless a warning note is sounded, they may go further in this direction than they designed, and in their calmer moments approved.

The ground, then, of the following observations will be to show that they are human beings, not oxen, or horses, or machines; and that, according to the *constitution of the British government, not Missionary Societies*, (this ground will be taken in another place,) they are capable of improvement,—capable of rising to the highest *status* and station of civilized society. Many persons of considerable intelligence and respectability have doubted or denied this. I shall therefore prove, first, their *capacity*; second, that this is the *order of the British Constitution and the English nation*.

I shall prove what I affirm not by theory, in words, but by facts, for facts are stouter,—they are "stubborn things," though all people will not admit them. But where they deny them, they deny all that is capable of being produced, and that which they admit in other cases. The first quotation I give from the Hon. Mr. Everett, an American gentleman of considerable knowledge and observation:—

CAPABILITY OF THE AFRICAN RACE FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT.

At a meeting which has just been held of the American Colonization Society, the Hon. Mr. Everett observed:—
 "All doubts of the capacity of the African race for self-government, and of their improbability under favourable circumstances, seem to me to be removed by what we witness at the present day, both in our own country and on the coast of that continent. Notwithstanding the disadvantage of their condition in this country, specimens of intellectual ability—the talent of writing and speaking—

capacity for business—for the ingenious and mechanical arts—for accounts—for the ordinary branches of academical learning—have been exhibited by our coloured brethren which would do no discredit to Anglo-Saxons. Paul Cuffey, well recollected in New England, was a person of great energy. His father was an African slave, his mother an Indian of the Elizabeth Islands, in Massachusetts. I have already alluded to the extraordinary attainments of Alderahman. A man of better manners or more respectable appearance I never saw. The learned blacksmith of Alabama, now in Liberia, has obtained a celebrity scarcely inferior to that of his white brother, known by the same designation. I frequently attended the examinations at school in Cambridge, at which Beverley Williams was a pupil. Two youths from Georgia and a son of my own were his fellow pupils. Beverley was a born slave in Mississippi, and apparently of pure African blood. He was one of the best scholars: perhaps the best Latin scholar in his class.

“These are indications of intellectual ability afforded under discouraging circumstances at home. On the coast of Liberia, the creation of this society ought to put to rest all doubts on this question. The affairs of that interesting settlement, under great difficulties and discouragements, have been managed with a discretion and energy, and, I must say, all things considered, with a success, which authorize the most favourable inferences as to the capacity of the coloured classes for self-government. It is about thirty years since the settlement began; and I think it must be allowed that its progress will compare very favourably with that of Virginia or Plymouth, after an equal length of time. They have established a well organized constitution of republican government. It is administered with ability. The courts of justice are modelled after our own. They have schools and churches, the soil is tilled, the country is explored, the natives are civilized, the slave trader is banished, a friendly intercourse is maintained with foreign powers, and England and France have acknowledged their independent sovereignty. Would a handful of Anglo-Americans,

from the humblest classes of society, have done better than this?"

Dr. A. K. Johnston gives the following account of this Republic:—

“**LIBERIA.** An independent Negro republic of Western Africa, established 1823. Extends along the coast of Guinea between lat. 4° 50' N. and lon. 6° 50' and 12° 39' W. Its seaboard extends from the Shebar river in the N.W., to the San Pedro in the Gulf of Guinea, 500 miles, including the colony of Cape Palmas, with an average breadth of 40 miles; and 20,000 square miles. Population, 200,000, of whom 6,345 were free blacks from the United States, and the remainder Aborigines, or captives released from slavers. The country has been purchased from time to time by the American Colonization Society, and its climate has improved greatly by a systematic drainage and clearance of woods. Palm oil to the value of 150,000 dollars was shipped from it in 1847: camwood, ivory, gold-dust, coffee, indigo, ginger, arrow-root, and hides, are other principal products. Cocoa and sugar thrive; and it is expected that cotton will soon become a principal export. Mandingo horses and native cattle are used for draught; but much of the camwood exported is brought two hundred miles on men's backs. It is estimated that two millions of the inhabitants of the interior now obtain supplies of European goods from this republic and Cape Palmas. In 1847, eighty-two foreign vessels visited the coast, and carried away merchandise to the value of six hundred thousand dollars. Liberia, formerly a dependency of the United States, was recognised as an independent republic in July, 1848. Government vested in a president, vice-president, and a senate of six members, and house of representatives of twenty-eight members, elected by all possessors of real estate to the value of thirty dollars. Annual revenue, about 20,000 dollars, derived from sale of land and duty on spirits. About fifty thousand of the population are said to use the English language; and children are sent from the surrounding countries, four hundred or five hundred miles distant, to

attend the schools of the state, which also supports two public journals. In 1843 there were sixteen schools, with an attendance of five hundred and sixty-two pupils; and it had twenty-three places of public worship, with 1,474 communicants. On the whole, the establishment of Liberia is a most successful experiment for the colonization of Western Africa. The seaport and capital, Monrovia, has a population of two thousand. The other chief settlements are Bexley, Edina, and Cresson, the latter situated on a fine bay, and affording abundant supplies of wood and water."

A fear of extending my remarks to an undue length must deter me from commenting upon the many important facts in the above quotations. But the above only relates to about the year 1850, since which time the state has advanced steadily and rapidly in population, in material wealth, in *the value of its exports*, amongst which cotton has largely figured. The government and ecclesiastical and school departments have become more consolidated and extended, and its value and importance to the western part of the African continent greatly increased.

I presume no one will attempt to object that the Kaffirs of the eastern coast of Africa are not equal in mental power to the Negroes on the western coast. Their own laws and customs alone are sufficient to refute such an objection. Besides, if needful, abundant proof could be given at this early stage of civilization to prove their mental power. Tiyo Soga is a pure Kaffir, has been educated to be a regular minister, and been employed as such. He has had the sole charge of an important Mission station among the Ghika Kaffirs for years, and has in every respect proved himself to be an educated Christian minister and gentleman.

The Lovedale Seminary is the only one in which the higher branches of a liberal education have been tried, where Kaffir and European youths have competed together *in the same class*; and the native youths have been quite equal to the white pupils. My own son is not remarkable for dulness, and has been to school all his life; but he is bound to admit that he cannot outdo these Kaffir boys, either in the classics or mathematics.

I could amplify and extend proof, if needful; but what has been advanced will prove to all unprejudiced minds that the black races are fully capable of self-government, and of rising to the highest state in the civil and ecclesiastical world.

I now proceed to show that what they are capable of, the British government and the habits of the English people provide for.

The glory and stability of Great Britain, as distinguished from other nations, consists in the number, wealth, and intelligence of the "middle classes." These form the connecting link betwixt the highest and the lowest, the richest and the poorest; no links are weak—none are wanting; but the whole being united, one strong natural compact is formed and consolidated; or, to use another illustration, the condition of the nation is like a ladder, the first step of which is the poor peasant or toiling artizan; the top stave, the powerful nobleman or the wealthy manufacturer. But all the intervening staves are occupied; there is no break, gap, or gulf betwixt the highest and the lowest; so that, if the poor peasant has not the prospect of obtaining the highest point and first place, he has the opportunity, by care and industry, of rising to the step above him, and so on, through all the intermediate stages, until his heart swells with the proud emotion of standing next to royalty itself. The impulse, the swell, is from beneath, upward. In this state of society there is always something to supply motive power; to call forth thought, effort, industry; to develop the innate energies of man in outward onward action; whilst, on the contrary, Russian serfdom and Indian caste damp every rising aspiration, crush every vigorous thought, and effectually bind the powers of man's freeborn rising soul. Good King George III. made his boast thus: "No British subject is by necessity excluded from the peerage." And again: "What signifies a man's trade? A man of any honest trade may make himself respected."

Lord Tenterden was the son of a barber whose pole stood near Canterbury Cathedral. When one of his legal

friends twitted him on the lowness of his origin, he replied, "Yes, Sir, I am the son of a barber: if you had been the son of a barber, you would have been one yourself." The great Duke of Wellington said: "I have passed my life in foreign countries, in different regions of the earth; and I have been in only one country in which the poor man, if sober, prudent, and industrious, is quite certain of acquiring a competence. That country is this. We have proofs that persons in the lowest ranks can acquire not only competence, but immense riches. I never heard of such a thing in any other country."

We append an apt confirmation of this noble avowal: "THE REAL RAILWAY KING.—The 'Times' makes the following remarks on the erection, in the great hall at Euston Square terminus, of a statue to George Stephenson: 'In early life a collier, working for his daily bread in the bowels of the earth, he mended watches in his leisure hours, that his son might have the blessings of education. While his fame as a mechanical and civil engineer was still in its infancy, he elaborated experimentally the same result as to the safety lamp which Sir Humphrey Davy reached by the process of philosophic induction. The tramways of the coal mines, and the rude forms of the first locomotive engines, grew under the strokes of his vigorous intellect into a mighty system, which has already exercised an incredible influence upon industry and civilization. That one who when a boy was a 'hurrier' in a coal pit should, by the force of native genius, rise to a position such as that which the statue in the hall of Euston Square commemorates, may well be regarded as a proof that the days of romance are not yet over, nor the giants of an elder world without their types in modern times. Perhaps it is also to be viewed as characteristic of the age that the fame of such a man is so quietly left to the keeping of the works which he has achieved. The traveller on his way should pause at Euston Station to contemplate the masculine form and massive, energetic features of him who, by combining the blast pipe with the tubular boiler, first endowed the locomotive with its tremendous speed,—who during his busy manhood superintended the construc-

tion of more than two thousand five hundred miles of railway,—who thought out everything connected with our first iron highways,—and who engineered lines extending in unbroken series from London to Edinburgh.”

I think I have now proved, to the satisfaction of all impartial persons,—1. That the Kaffirs, *including* the Fingoe Kaffirs, are capable of taking their stand by the side of their European compeers. 2. That the constitution of Great Britain provides that it should be so. 3. That the stability and prosperity of the English nation arises out of the successful elevation of the poorer classes. Where this is not so, there is the skeleton,—the framework of the body politic; but the skeleton is dry, hard bones, without life and vigour: impart flesh and infuse life, and then you have a full, living, powerful body politic.

In connexion with these observations, it is with feelings of no small gratification that the writer has marked the commencement of a new era among the Fingoe Kaffirs and the Frontier Kaffirs, in the establishment of agricultural Societies, through the medium of colonists and missionaries chiefly. The first of these was formed two or three years ago at Peddie, and was a success. The second was established a few months ago at Alice, and was a great success. The third was established at Kamastone, near Queen’s Town, and was also a success. I should like to have given some account of the two former, but space will not allow. I must, however, give some notice of the last; and, instead of doing it in my own words, will do it in the letter of a “correspondent” of the “Great Eastern:”—

“KAMASTONE NATIVE AGRICULTURAL EXHIBITION.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

“THE first annual show of the Queen’s-town Native Agricultural Society was held at Kamastone, on the 27th ult., and was pronounced by all who attended it to be a most complete success.

“The first effort that was made towards the establishment of this Society was by Mr. E. C. Jeffrey, of Kama-

stone, about twelve months back; and it was in a fair way of being established, when the governor stopped it, took the matter out of his hands, and requested the superintendent of natives to form a society. Very shortly afterwards this officer was removed, and the whole affair fell to the ground. About two months ago the project was again revived by Mr. Jeffrey, and with better success. A provisional committee was formed, subscriptions and donations were invited, and in less than two months the association was formed, rules framed, and the first show held, which has given great satisfaction to all concerned; and this all through the energy and determined perseverance of a man who *knows but little about a horse, less about a beast, and nothing at all about a sheep.*

“The object of this association is to include all natives in the district, whether resident at missionary institutions or not; to introduce, by fresh seeds, the growth of something more than wheat and mealies, and to improve the growth of those cereals, to induce them to improve their stock, and the getting up of their wool. The association at present numbers ninety-two subscribers, who pay annually three shillings each; the donations for the year amount to almost £16; the government grants £20, making a total to work upon of £59. Of this amount, upwards of £41 was distributed in prizes, about £6 in refreshments for the subscribers; and, after paying other incidental expenses, a balance of about £8 will remain in the hands of the treasurer.

“Although a great deal of trouble was taken by the secretary and committee to explain the object of the association to the natives, they could not be made to understand the object in view; and, as they naturally look with suspicion upon any new move, many and curious ideas were expressed among themselves, with regard to it. Nevertheless, the gathering of the people on the 27th was great, and the display of stock good. Upwards of five hundred head of stock were brought forward: amongst which were sixteen spans of oxen, a fair collection of sheep and goats, and the largest number of good pigs ever brought together in the district.

Twenty-seven bags of grain were exhibited: amongst which there was some wheat that was admired by every one present; and would have done credit to any agricultural exhibition in the Colony. A prize was also offered for the best ploughman; consequently, a ploughing match was one of the sights to be seen: this, though not quite up to the mark as regards good work, still caused first and second prizes to be awarded; and has caused more than one of the young men to say, 'Wait, I'll see next year.'

"There was also a good show of ornaments and articles of their own manufacture, which, at the close of the exhibition, were sold by auction; and the prices they realized quite astonished the natives, and will most likely have a beneficial effect, by inducing them to employ their leisure time in making up many more articles for next year's show.

"The first show has removed all doubts from the minds of the natives. The fingering of hard cash in the shape of prizes they seem to understand and appreciate (one man carried off nearly £12). They all say they will do their best next year, and many have offered to double their subscription.

"The weather was not quite of the right kind for a show-day: the morning set in and continued bitter cold and damp, yet there were a large number of visitors of both sexes from a distance; and one thing was very clear, that there were no attempts at 'misrepresentation' or 'molestation,' with regard to the Fingoes. On the contrary, every encouragement has been afforded them; and they have sense enough to see that the only desire is to promote their welfare. Let such associations be started in every district where natives are located, and they will soon see the benefits to be derived. Let the government issue titles to the Fingoes, and fix their minds as to the certainty that the land they occupy is their own. Let the government fulfil its promises to these people, by giving land to those deserving, who were long since promised land, but have not got it: this would be a measure that would move the agitators, the idle, and

restless, from the midst of the steady and industrious,—a measure which the latter would certainly desire. It only remains with the government to fulfil its reiterated promises to the Fingoes, and we shall have little to fear from them as enemies or disturbers of the peace.

“At the close of the meeting, three cheers were given by the natives assembled, for ‘The Queen,’ and C. D. Griffith, Esq., our respected civil commissioner.”

I should like to have quoted more, but, for the sake of brevity, only state that there were exhibited, horses, cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, poultry, wool, grain, dried fruit, boers’ tobacco, meal, alum, leather harness, (by a Basuto, good,) waggons, ploughs, and agricultural implements, besides many articles of native manufacture. Frederick Xama, of Lesseyton, showed an entire horse, cost £50. The wool was well spoken off, and the “grain was clean, full-eared, and by far superior to any exhibited at the Queen’s-town show. Farmers must look out, or they will have the natives coming into the next show, and taking the prizes from them. We have heard of something of the kind.” Mr. Griffith, the magistrate of Queen’s-town, in distributing the prizes, said:—“The object which the promoters of this society have in view, is to teach you habits of honesty and industry, by pointing out to you the particular heads of stock, and description of agricultural produce, best adapted to the wants of the country; and, consequently, most to your advantage to breed and produce. The stock and agricultural produce which have been exhibited to-day have been pronounced by the judges to be very good; but do not rest satisfied with this. You must continue to improve your stock and agricultural produce, so as to enable you to compete at Queen’s-town with your European friends.”

As some persons may be gratified by seeing a list of the successful competitors, we give an extract from the “Queen’s-town Free Press.”

“The following is a synopsis of the articles exhibited:—Number of exhibitors, from Lesseyton, 10; the

Moravian station, 28; Ox Kraal, 17; Kamastone, 31; total, 92. Stock exhibited, horses: stallions, 8; mares, 24; riding horses, 32; total, 64. Cattle: bulls, 22; cows, 45; heifers, 21; slaughter cattle, 54; total, 142. Spans of oxen, 8 in a span, 16. Sheep: rams, 9; ewes, 36; hamels, 35; total, 80. Angora goats: rams, 7; ewes, 11; total, 18. Colonial kapaters, 48. Pigs: sows, 6; barrows, 7; total, 13. Pairs of fowls, 16.

“The following is the prize list:—

	£.	s.	d.
Best stallion, Fred. Xama, Lesseyton	2	0	0
Best mare, Langa Dondola, Kamastone	1	10	0
Best riding horse, do. do.	1	0	0
Best bull, Dondo, Kamastone.....	1	10	0
Best 2 cows, Jan Kuta, Ox Kraal	1	10	0
Best 2 heifers, Cimeli, Shiloh	1	0	0
Best ram, Joshua Sishuba, Kamastone	1	0	0
Best ewe, Plaetje Nyatele, Kamastone	1	0	0
Best 5 hamels, Jonas Mkljma, Kamastone	1	0	0
Best Angora ram, Booy Golitili, Ox Kraal	1	0	0
Best do. ewe, Johannes Siyengo, Kamastone.....	1	0	0
Best 5 kapaters, Jonas Mkejima, do.	0	10	0
Best sow, Jan Smit, Kamastone	0	10	0
Best hog, Hans Lottering, Newstead.....	0	10	0
Best 4 bales wool, J. Sishuba, Kamastone.....	5	0	0
Second best do., Willem Maholona, do.	2	10	0
Largest quantity of wool, J. Sishuba, do.	1	10	0
Best sack wheat, W. Luta, Kamastone	1	0	0
Second best do., Amos Litch, Shiloh	0	10	0
Best bag mealies, J. Sishuba, Kamastone	0	10	0
Best bag beans, Amos Liteli, Shiloh	0	10	0
Best bag peas, F. Hendricks, Kamastone	0	10	0
Best bag potatoes, John Nakin, Ox Kraal	0	10	0
Best 5 pumpkins, H. Lottering, Newstead	0	10	0
Second best do., Thos. Sokabo, Kamastone	0	5	0
Best 10lb. dried fruit, F. Ruiters, do.	0	5	0
Best 10lb. tobacco, John Nakin, Ox Kraal	0	10	0
Best bag meal, Thos. Sokabo, Kamastone	1	0	0
Best pair fowls, J. Siyengo, Kamastone	0	5	0
Best waggon, Hans Lottering, Newstead	2	0	0
Best plough, Thomas Sokabo, Kamastone	0	10	0
Best span oxen, H. Lottering, Newstead	2	0	0
Best 2 slaughter oxen, Umgojwa, Ox Kraal	1	10	0
Best slaughter cow, J. Dyubisa, Ox Kraal	0	15	0
Best ploughman, Galawa, Kamastone.....	1	0	0
Second best do., Tom Sokabo, do.	0	10	0
Best servant, Joshua Toleni, do.....	0	10	0

	£.	s.	d.
Second best do., Jantje at Zeiler's, Fordyce	0	7	6
Best snuff-box, Jephtha Mlandu, Shiloh	0	2	6
Best pipe, Balawo, Dondu, Kamastone	0	2	6
Best hat, Gomba, Ox Kraal	0	2	6
Best dressed man, Piet Siyengo, Kamastone	1	0	0
Best set harness, April Olifana, do.	1	0	0

“John Dondo (I presume, one of the exhibitors) then addressed the meeting. He felt pleasure in being present on that occasion. The whole of the natives were very thankful to so many people for coming to see their exhibition; and it showed that the English took great interest in their welfare. He concluded by proposing ‘Three cheers for the Queen, and we serve the English!’ which was responded to in such a manner as we thought Englishmen alone could; but we found the natives imitate.”

The above report came into the writer's hands *after* he had prepared his chapters on *the land question*, and the *province and duty of the government*. Also, *after* he had written the former part of *this* chapter. It cannot, therefore, but be gratifying to him to read how fully his own sentiments are confirmed by the sound well-wishers of the natives on the frontier. The following remarks are especially in point. “Let the government issue titles to the Fingoes, and fix their minds as to the certainty that the land they occupy is their own. Let the government fulfil its promises to those people by giving land to those deserving, who were long since promised land, but have not got it: this would be a measure that would remove the agitators, the idle and restless, from the midst of the steady and industrious, a measure which the latter would certainly desire. It only remains with the government to do its part by fulfilling its reiterated promises to the Fingoes, and we shall have little to fear from them as enemies or disturbers of the peace.” How fully do these remarks illustrate and confirm all I have before written!

Of the exhibitors, there were from the Lesseyton Mission station, 16; the Moravian, 28; Ox Kraal, 17; Kamastone, 31; total, 92. *Observe, reader, these ninety-*

two all had their lands made over to them ; and hence one ground of their sure and steady advancement. Why, then, should the writer urge upon government the fulfilment of its engagements to the Fingoes ? Why ? because not a moiety of them have yet received their lands in perpetuity, and cannot advance. Whilst, however, some of the Fingoe Kaffirs have received titles to their lands, *the vast majority of the Kaffirs*, Amaxosa, in British Kaffraria, Tembookies in the Tembookie Location near Queen's-town, and many of the Kaffirs in Natal, HAVE NOT ; well, then, may the writer repeat, in the language of the colonist, " Let government do its part by fulfilling its reiterated promises to the Fingoes." I add, *to the Kaffirs also, both in Natal and on the frontier*. This ought not to be an open question ; but so fully settled as to admit of no discussion. " Let the government fulfil its promises to these people by giving land to the deserving, who were long since promised land, but have not got it." I may here remark that the Lesseyton people are not Fingoe Kaffirs, but *Tembookie Kaffirs* ; and they had their station and lands given them as a reward for their loyalty in the last Kaffir war. I mention this, because it is often said that only the Fingoe Kaffirs are advancing ; and that the Kaffirs proper are still wild and barbarian. Not only Xama gave £50 for a horse, but one man at Glen Grey had before given £150 or £200 for an entire horse. In this, as well as in other respects, they have greatly advanced.

It is greatly to be regretted that the Industrial Institutions have declined. This is not the fault of the government solely. The colonists have had to do with it more than they suppose. When native youths were prepared for apprentices, often places could not be got for them, and in many instances, after they had learned their trades at the Institutions, they could not get work, and were not able to set up for masters, especially as blacksmiths and waggon-makers. Hence, many who have learned trades are now not following their trades ; whilst the few that are have great obstacles to overcome. But some do successfully battle with these obstacles, and overcome them. Once,

when the writer was travelling, the tire of his cart-wheel broke, and he was in danger of being long delayed by it; but his native servant found out a *native blacksmith*, who repaired the wheel, and enabled him to proceed on his journey with only a day's delay, instead of a much longer time.

Some are continually upbraiding missionaries for teaching religion, and not civilization. They exclaim, "Civilize! civilize! civilize!" but, as stated in the preceding chapter, this is not their province. But in the next chapter I shall show that they are really the only civilizers in the land; but they never undertook it, and cannot be responsible for it. Let those do it who are so eloquent in talking about it. *It is their province, and the province of the government at least to help.* But what do they mean by civilize? Simply, "make them work?" Yes, but how? Can you tame them like a wild colt or a wild ox? making one carry his master, or the other weary in the yoke? Can you make them slaves, or make them hard labour men, as prisoners? No! What can you do? As Argyle Adah, the Bedouin Chief, said, in reference to the Turkish government: "The Bedouin is a devil; you cannot put him into a sack." Now, we don't say that the Kaffir is a devil; but we do say he is a barbarian, and if you could put "him into a sack," ay, and tie up the mouth to make him sure, he would soon make a hole in the side, and force his way out. *What can you do? You can supply motive power to action and labour.* The whole philosophy of the subject and question is summed up in the answer of the young ploughman at the Kamastone show,—“Wait, I'll see next year.”

Just in proportion to the extent in which this takes place will be the real advancement of the native: or, on the other hand, keep away the motive spring to labour, self-denial, and sacrifice; and just in that proportion will the interests of both colonists and natives be retarded. In the providence of the All-wise God we are thrown together. *Our interests are identical, not antagonistic*, for better or for worse, to be practically beneficial or inimical to each other; carrying on bitter feud and destructive war on the one part, or

promoting the interests and happiness of all on the other.

Drunkenness.—This chapter would be by no means complete without some notice of the appalling amount of drunkenness in the land : by which many of the colonists are depraved and destroyed, and the most deadly effects produced on the different classes of natives. The name of this monster is “legion,” and the destructive effects upon the bodies, souls, and property of the people are frightful. If the number who die every year, whites and blacks, could be told, it would make some stand aghast. Time was, when it was confined to the white population, with the exception of a few depraved Hottentots and half-castes ; but that time is now gone by, and Kaffirs and Fingoe Kaffirs swell largely the followers of Bacchus. I treat not here upon the religious aspect of the subject, but upon the civil and socially degrading effects of it ; and the manner in which it injures and degrades the white man in his temporal estate, and helps the native to graft all the vices of the white man upon the native stock, and make that tenfold more depraved and devilish. All regard for the decencies and proprieties of life is thrown off, and the victim revels in callous security. Poverty, blasphemy, rape, and murder, disease, delirium tremens, and horrid deaths fill up the category of this tremendous self-made, self-inflicted curse.

“Canteens,” or spirit-shops, the “gin-palaces” of South Africa, are now numerous, are spread through the land : they are next door to the grave, and close by the gates of hell.

Hotels are needful in the land, as travellers and others require accommodation ; but the “canteen” is altogether a separate affair. It is, literally, the “spirit shop ;” and, when kept in connexion with an hotel, is ordinarily kept in a back room or some obscure corner, as though ashamed of the light of day and the sight of honourable men. Here, when a poor fallen wretch gets threepence or sixpence, he can purchase a *soupie* “glass of brandy,” or “Cape smoke,” or “infernal fire,” as it is sometimes called ; and can do it so secretly and quickly, as for others

to know nothing about it. Some say that an hotel or an accommodation house will not pay without a "canteen." The writer has only known one instance in which the trial has been made, and it was and is a complete success, and receives the honourable commendation of all travellers.

The time was, in the recollection of the writer, when the *Fingoe and other Kaffirs would not spend their own money in the purchase of spirits*; but it is far otherwise now: by degrees the taste and thirst have been *created*,—in some instances, it is to be feared, by Europeans giving them wine or brandy out of mistaken kindness,—until the desire for it has been fully generated; and now thousands of pounds are annually spent by the natives,—yes, and by raw Kaffirs in red blankets, too,—in the purchase of this spirit-fire. Many of these, along the frontier line and in the neighbourhood of frontier towns, will lie about the canteens all the day, get half drunk, and return home in the evening. If there was a society for punishing cruelty to animals, these half mad men, half mad with brandy, would be incarcerated in prison; for they ride home like furies, up hill and down, flogging their panting horses, and when they arrive at their dwelling, deal out the same fare to their hard-working wives, who, if supper is not quite ready, must receive many blows, as well as hard words, from their hungry lords; and then, when they have eaten to the full, their poor wives must take what is left, or go without.

But these canteens are kept by colonists, multiplied by colonists,—kept by those who have been baptized in the Christian name, and profess to stand infinitely higher than those whose money they take to destroy their bodies and souls. These canteens are kept for the purpose of *making money*; but upon every piece of coin thus made is written, "This is the price of blood."

Let the colonists set their faces against this crying evil as far as possible; let them not give intoxicating drinks to natives in any instance, but set their faces against the practice like flint; and as canteens will not be prevented, let them do everything in their power to check the evil

by preventing licences being issued, when practicable, and discouraging them in every *possible* manner, when issued. Perhaps your person is in danger of being insulted, or your daughter abused, or your property stolen by these depraved natives; *but remember that black, depraved man was worked up to the crime-committing pitch by the brandy sold to him by your white neighbour*; and most of the criminal cases brought into court are connected with drink. The drink, the canteen, then, is a *public foe*,—*a foe to the European and to the native, a foe to the individual and to the community, a foe to the civilized, and a foe to the savage*. Let every enlightened, honourable colonist, then, treat it accordingly.

But if I thus record the sins and dangers of some colonists, I must not forget the worthy deeds of others, as the native agricultural societies prove. In addition to this, many give freely of their money to carry on missionary operations; and some members of Christian churches give their time and labour on the Sabbath day as local preachers, class leaders, and Sunday School teachers, &c., &c. To do this in this country to the natives, is very different to doing it in England: there, considerable *éclat* is connected therewith,—here, often much odium; and much moral courage is required by those who do it. Besides, I have known a magistrate discourage polygamy by *refusing to treat with any other than the first wife*; also, gentlemen on public works refusing to employ men who had more than one wife. And there are many ways in which colonists, in their various spheres, may promote the civilization of the natives and the general interests of the Colony; and each one is bound by the laws of the moral Governor of the universe, and the relation in which he stands to those around him, and the general interests of the Colony, to do what he can.

The present state of the natives is one of transition. This state is admitted by all competent judges to be one in which the real advantages to be obtained are often greatly hindered from being effected speedily, by serious objections and grave obstacles. This remark applies to all

the various phases of society under which the transition takes place: whether it relates to transition from heathendom to Christianity, from barbarism to civilization, or from boyhood to manhood. The late Dr. Arnold, Master of Rugby School, no mean authority on such a subject, was painfully conscious of this in the changes which passed before his eye, in relation to the youths under his charge. So much so, that sometimes he wrote and spoke despondingly upon it. More especially so in reference to the changes which the parents observed and noted in the altered dispositions and habits of their sons. Boys who, before they left the paternal roof, were modest, obedient, and kind, on their return from school had strangely altered for the worse. True, they had acquired a considerable amount of knowledge; but they had also thrown off the submissiveness and obedience of their former dispositions and modes of action. They had become bold, independent, and self-willed; refusing to submit to the mildest restraint, or obey the most reasonable injunctions; so that, if their fond parents had rejoiced in their advanced learning, they had also mourned over their proficiency in evil, and, may be, the development of the worst passions in their nature.

So forcibly had these facts been brought to bear upon the worthy Doctor's observant eye and feeling heart, that it became needful for him seriously to compare the advantages derived with the evils apparent, and carefully to weigh, in the balance of truth, which preponderated. The result of this investigation was, that the benefits of public schools were more than counterbalanced by the evils connected therewith; that it was better for the good and the bad thus to be brought into actual contact, and for the best methods to be adopted to lessen the evils and increase the advantages of public education.

That which thus forced itself upon the attention of this distinguished instructor of youth on a limited scale, has forced its attention on multitudes of less observant and philosophic minds. Thousands of parents have observed the changes for worse in their children during the transition state from youth to manhood.

But as these evils were inseparable from the transition state, who ever supposed that the children were always to remain children; or that the most zealous and persevering efforts were not to be made to lessen the amount of evil, and increase the amount of good? Just so, the Kaffirs of this country are now in the first stages of their transitive career; and many of the worst forms of their heathen education and vicious habits develop themselves in connexion with the first stages of incipient civilization. Thus, they are often idle, bold, and reckless; so much so, that the author has been told in scores of instances that the natives were worse for missionaries, schools, and education; and that they would rather have raw Kaffirs from the interior than those who had been taught at schools, and were beginning to speak a little English.

Much of truth is contained in this statement; and yet these children of nature cannot always remain children; the transition must go on; and the apparent, or partial, or short-lived evils must be endured, until a more complete renovation can be effected; just as in the changes which take place in the transition from youth to manhood. This fact being admitted, so far from weakening the force of that which has been before advanced, only strengthens the whole, and makes it more incumbent on the colonist to do his utmost to lessen the evil and strengthen the good.

I will, however, venture to affirm, without fear of successful contradiction, that the evils above noticed prevail in their most objectionable and most intensified forms among those who have been employed as servants among the English; and have learned a little of their language, and a few of their habits, without having been corrupted by attending Mission schools. *These are the progeny of civilization without Christianity*; and it is from among these, that the ranks of black drunkards, swearers, adulterers, thieves, and murderers, are swelled. They have taken their first lessons in connexion with civilization, and finished their education, in the canteens, and closed their godless lives on the gallows: such a transition is all evil, without any mitigatory feature to relieve the dark picture. But, on the contrary, let the objectors to improvement

bring all the cases they can collect of natives convicted of various crimes in connexion with Christian institutions, before any of the tribunals of justice, and they will find the number small indeed. Let every colonist aid, then, in this good work, the men who are lovers of order, sobriety, honesty, industry, and social comfort. Surely if they were savages before, we should not seek to transform them into fiends, or make their savagism tenfold more intense, by their contact with us.

I cannot better close this chapter than by the following appropriate, eloquent passage from Dr. Cumming :—

“ If we are the children of Japheth, let us recollect that we are the partakers of great privileges, and have therefore higher, loftier, and less exhaustible responsibilities. Why does God make one man stronger, and another man richer, than his fellow? Not that they may exact more, but that they may give and sacrifice more. Why has God made Japheth so great? That Japheth may be the instrument of greater good. Why is the English tongue the possession of America, and of India, and of Palestine, and of vast sections of Africa, and increasingly so? It is, no doubt, that this tongue, inspired by the riches of Divine light, and life, and grace, may be the means of countless benedictions to all the ends of the earth. There is nothing we may look to with greater hopes than this, that our country’s power is spreading every day; and there is nothing we should pray for with greater fervour, than that where our country’s power is felt, mankind may taste and feel her mercy too. Wherever the roll of our conquering drum is heard, may the glad voice of the Gospel be heard also! On whatever strand, or in whatever harbour, our ships may drop their anchors, may the glad tidings of a Saviour be heard! God grant that Englishmen may go forth to the ends of the earth, not like the locusts of Egypt, to blast and blight every green and beautiful thing; but the pioneers of good, the lights of the world, to shed the splendour of the Cross upon all mankind; as the salt of the truth, silently, but no less effectually, to saturate all that are in contact with them, or under their influence. If we are exalted in privilege as the descendants of Japheth,

there is no room for pride. Our privileges and our sins should equally humble us. Our privileges are not our own, therefore they should humble us. Our sins are our own, therefore they should humble us. And as to our blessings we should ever feel, 'Who has made thee to differ?' And as God has made us, not by our own desert, but in His own sovereignty, to differ, it is that we may be a blessing in proportion to the extent of our prosperity unto all that come in contact with us." *

* CUMMING'S "Church before the Flood," pp. 276-7.

CHAPTER IV.

PROVINCE AND DUTY OF THE CHURCH.

IN the two preceding chapters I have sought to point out the province and duty of the government and the colonists; in this, I take the Church. The two former have their legitimate part and province, which cannot be ignored or set aside; each is important in its place, and should be carefully attended to, according to its relative importance. But I further maintain, *that all improving processes, in order to be thorough and permanent, must be based on Christian principles.* Christianity is the only true conservator of the human race; and nations become strong, and prosperous, and happy, so far as they are imbued with its doctrines, spirit, and principles: and if barbarous nations are to be effectually raised and improved, it can only be in proportion to the extent in which this purifying and vitalizing religion is brought to bear upon the means used.

In a previous chapter I stated that the business of the missionary was not to civilize; but I now further affirm that all civilizing processes, to be successful, *must be based upon religious instruction and moral culture;* and it is only so far as religion is taught, understood, and embraced, that a true and strong taste is generated for the industrious habits and elevated relationships of civilized life. Then only it is that the government, the colonist, and the church have sure ground on which to act. When Archimedes had discovered a lever by which to move our globe from her orbit, he wanted a spot on which to place it, and from whence to take his fulcrum power; so also, those who would raise the barbarian and the savage

into the position of industrious, healthy, happy beings, must have a point from which to start, and a base on which to operate, otherwise nothing effectual can be done.

The child of nature, the denizen of the wilds of South Africa, *prefers his own mode of living to that of the civilized man.*

The sports of the chase, the sensuality of polygamy, and the laziness of plenty, with wants few and easily supplied, without moral constraint or coercive labour, is a state infinitely preferable to him, as compared with ours; which requires care and forethought, and continued labour, to supply wants and provide comforts, the nature of which he does not understand, and the necessity of which he does not feel. So that, instead of our state and mode of life being attractive to him, they are positively repulsive; instead of exciting desire, they create disgust; instead of calling forth imitation, they raise opposition. *You have therefore to create the tastes and desires for the conveniences and comforts of civilized life,* to produce that change in his views and tastes and habits, which shall lead him to understand and value our improved modes of agriculture and living. In this manner you must bring into existence a number of artificial wants, which by degrees may acquire all the force of real wants; and which, consequently, from necessity, he must have supplied. It is only so far as you succeed in effecting this change, that you are able to call forth continuous action and submission to the pressure of constant labour. But, when this is done, there is a certain basis upon which to act, you touch a chord in his nature which vibrates, operate upon a nature which has life, and in proportion to the extent of the demand thus made, the supply will be forthcoming, and only in that proportion. And although some may differ from us in opinion, we are nevertheless bold to affirm, that it is only as the mind is enlightened by religious truth, and the conscience roused by a sense of moral obligation, and the responsibility of present action; in fact, as the soul feels its lost condition in the sight of God, and the necessity of salvation through a Divine Mediator, that man begins to feel the necessity,

and desires the possession, of the decencies of civilized life.

The writer has known many instances,—and could produce them, if it was not for extending these observations to undue length,—of natives having been civilized, so far as the outward man is concerned. They were taken when young, separated from barbaric life, trained in the performance of domestic duties and the enjoyments of domestic comfort; were taught to speak, read, and write the English language; and all this for a long space of time, extending through many years: and yet, no sooner were they liberated from the restraints of civilized society, than they returned to the unrestrained wilds of nature, threw off European clothing, smeared themselves with red clay, put on the kaross, and, sinking into every sensual indulgence, “gloried in their shame.” They were like wild beasts in a menagerie; you may tame these ferocious animals by confining them in a cage, and subjecting them by restraining power; also teaching them certain tricks and arts, so as to make it safe for their keepers to take some liberties with them, and visitors to look on without alarm; but the *nature* of the lion is still *unchanged*. He is the lion still, though confined in a cage; the hyæna darts his deadly scowl; whilst the tiger howls for his prey. Let them loose, and they bound to the forest, sport and gambol with frantic delight, hunt their prey with savage appetite, triumphing in their new-found liberty. Precisely so with civilized but *unchristianized* savages; you confine them for awhile, tame them to a certain extent, and teach them the arts of civilized life; but let them loose, and they haste to the more congenial soil and society of savage life, stand forth naked barbarians, smeared with dirt, and polished with grease,—bask in the sun, or lounge in the shade,—sing, dance, play, swear, lie, steal, murder, and get drunk,—sport with the girls, and lie with their neighbours’ wives,—spear bucks, and knock down birds with keries. Thus, they sport with unbounded delight; they are washed only to dye themselves with fouler stains, and plunge into depths of vice which make their old fathers blush, and turn aside with disgust from these prodigies in loathsome crime. This repre-

sentation is not sentiment, but truth, not theory, but fact, —positive, stubborn fact. In addition to numerous proofs which might be supplied from South Africa, let us take an illustration and confirmation from New Zealand. The following harrowing scene is from a New Zealand paper, and tells its own tragic story:—

“Kawiti accompanied this extraordinary man in several of his campaigns after his return from England, on a visit to his Majesty George IV. During his absence, one of his relatives was assassinated by the people of Mercury Bay; and the chief, dreading the consequences of war with the northern tribes, endeavoured by a variety of means to conciliate his adversaries, in order to avert the threatened storm; but Hongi refused to entertain his proposals.

“‘He had recently left the fair scenes of social elevation and of Christian peace in England,’ writes one of the early missionaries, ‘but the example of civilization, or a simple view of its effects, failed to civilize him. All the pride and ferocity of the savage returned, as he scoured over his native plains, marshalling his fighting men; and after he had collected three thousand of them, he commenced his march from the more northern parts, which were then under his protection, and went at once into the shock of battle. The unfortunate adverse chief fell by a shot from Hongi.

“‘The victor, half maddened by excitement, cut off the head of his prostrate victim, caught the streaming blood in his hands, and drank it with the utmost eagerness. Hongi and his party slew upwards of a thousand men; three hundred of these they roasted and ate, before they left the field of battle. The forsaken ovens, or holes dug in the earth, and the ghastly remains which were spread over the entire tracts of the struggle, after all was quiet, told an eloquent tale as to the terrible orgies which had been celebrated there; a scene over which the old murderer, Satan, might gloat, and hardly be able to wish for more.’”

If the reader desires to see the converse of this in New Zealand and the Polynesian Islands, he may find it in Young’s “Southern World,” and other publications.

The writer, however, has no need to refer to distant lands and foreign tribes, except for illustration and confirmation, as he has abundant materials and facts at hand for his purpose. Take, for instance, the case of the two chiefs, Pato and Kama, of the Amagqunukwebi tribe. These two chiefs resided where the Wesleyville station was first formed by the Rev. W. Shaw. Pato resisted the claims of Christianity, Kama yielded thereto. The first was superior in the tribe, and had every opportunity of becoming a civilized Christian man; but by refusing to embrace Christianity, his nature was closed against its softening, purifying, elevating influences. He remained a degraded, selfish savage, until 1846, when, with other tribes, he rushed into the shock of war, and, after desperate struggles, was finally reduced and conquered. Subsequently he was transported with others, as a convict, to Robin Island, where he sank lower still. When his term of transportation expired, he returned; not to his old haunts, but to a small tract of country near Fort Murray, not far from King William's Town; having only a few wandering followers left. On the contrary, Kama embraced Christianity, was persecuted by his brother Pato, left him with only a few followers, wandered about the country until after the war of 1852; and was placed in his present locality on the Keiskama river. Pato is now utterly unknown and unrecognised as a chief, miserably dragging out his dotage, craving for intoxicating drinks, despised of men, and forsaken by God. How striking the contrast! Kama is a respectable, civilized, Christian chief; sitting at the head of sixteen thousand people, the largest number of any tribe in British Kaffraria. His people are happy and prosperous, and many of them Christians. He dwells in a comfortable cottage, the missionary and the church a short distance off. He comes down to the grave in a good old age; but his sons rise up to "honour him in the gate;" two of them being Christian evangelists among the tribe. It is *Christianity*, not *civilization*, that has made the difference, placing one on a pinnacle of honour, sinking the other into a dungeon of shame. *Give us Christianity, and the efforts of governments and colonists as hand-*

maids and auxiliaries, and we will thank you. The latter changes the dress, the former new-makes the man.

I will here adduce some more facts, not theories: theories are often no better than the "baseless fabric of a vision," which vanish into "thin air" when tested by practical application. When I commenced my ministerial labours among the Kaffirs in Natal, in 1847, truly they were "wild as the untaught Indian's brood;" more wild than any I have seen in any part of Kaffirland, and, humanly speaking, incapable of improvement. They were a multitude of naked savages, probably not one clothed person among them. In process of time the Gospel began to take effect; the result was first seen in their persons being washed, instead of smeared with offensive grease. The next step was to obtain shirts; shortly afterwards, some damaged soldiers' jackets were sold for a shilling each; they mounted the red, and came trooping up on the Sunday, like a small regiment of soldiers, bearing a part of her Majesty's uniform.

A few years ago, one of the above miscellaneous group wrote me a letter relating their altered condition. He says, "Mr. Gaskin is now our teacher: we have not got any land yet, only a few small pieces we have bought ourselves, and land is now very dear. Cornelius has given £60 for forty-five acres. Mr. Allison's people have done well, living on their own farms; but we have no cause to complain, for we are doing well, and have a school for our children, both boys and girls. The girls are taught to sew five afternoons in the week. We have many waggons and carts; I have a waggon, so have Moses and Petrus, and many have carts; but we have lost a great deal by lung sickness, which has kept us back a little."

The Cornelius here spoken of as giving £60 for forty-five acres of land, was a wild Zulu Kaffir when I began. After embracing Christianity, he was the first to be married according to the rites of the Christian church. He paid the stipulated number of cattle for his wife, and everything was arranged; the day arrived, when they should be married, but the friends of the girl would not allow her to be married after this sort. He came to the writer

on the morning which should have been his wedding day, but without the lady to whom he should be wedded. He was very downcast, told me his story, and asked my advice. The ground of their refusal was, that it would make so great a breach upon their old standing institutions, &c. I was considerably perplexed to know how to advise the man. I, however, said he had better wait a little while, and probably all would come right. He did so; and in process of time, when they saw he was firm, they yielded, and the first Kaffir marriage was celebrated after the Christian form.

Another man here mentioned was also a wild Natal Kaffir. He was there when our troops took the country from the Dutch, and by the soldiers was called, "Kaffir Jack." Amongst his own people he was called the "Elephant hunter," being one of the most daring and successful sons of Nimrod; some of his dashing exploits and wonderful escapes being well worth recording. He also wished to become a Christian: the subduing power of the Gospel being greater than the bold sporting power of the hunter. But his difficulty was, not the want of a wife, or being unable to get one at all; but having one already, and having been betrothed to a second, whilst she was young, and the match being a good one for her friends, many cattle being engaged, they insisted upon his taking the girl for his second wife; and so binding was the betrothal, that he endangered his safety by refusal. He came to me in his difficulty; I advised him firmly to refuse taking the second, and risk the consequences. But at this stage of the proceedings I had another difficulty to encounter, that was, the opposition of his present wife; who rated me soundly for advising her husband not to take a second. An English lady likes to have her husband all to herself, and the house made great by the possession of wealth; but a heathen Kaffir regards his home as being *great* in proportion to the number of his wives; for the wives are the wealth of the establishment, and make the "house great." Added to which, the toil of labouring to support the husband is divided, and

becomes less to each in proportion to the number. Notwithstanding all my endeavours, Kaffir Jack took the second wife, and for awhile I heard nothing more of him, and gave up the case as hopeless, as I had done in many interesting ones before. But, at length he arranged to give the second wife to his nephew, who was a poor youth, and unable to buy one for himself. This was equal to giving ten or fifteen cattle: a much greater sacrifice than many white men would be willing to make in order to embrace the Gospel. He joined the church, as did afterwards his wife, who stated, as a proof of the *great change* which had been effected in her by the power of the Gospel, that *she was now anxious for her husband to have only one wife*. The fact was, *the man had now to work to support his wife*, instead of having three or five to support him. I left Natal shortly afterwards; and the written testimony here given years subsequently was, that Moses, the name I gave him at baptism, had his waggon amongst the rest.

The others, referred to as having "many waggons, carts, and cattle," were in a similar state of wild heathenism; but, O! how changed by the softening, humanizing power of religious influence! "The girls were taught sewing five afternoons in the week." Had these girls been heathen, the only covering they would have had on their bodies, would have been a little platted girdle round the loins, about three or five inches deep.

But see here also how government might have been the helper, the auxiliary, in civilization. "*We have not got any land yet.*" When Natal was taken from the Dutch, the government gave them the best farms, from six to eight thousand acres in extent. But these Boers had been in rebellion, had shot down the British soldiers, pillaged the houses and stores of British subjects. Englishmen were taken prisoners, and marched to Maritzburg. They had besieged the small band of troops in their little camp, and reduced them to "eating horse-flesh and forage corn." And yet, forsooth, these gentlemen must be rewarded with six-thousand-acre farms, of the best land, whilst many

of the peaceful, working natives get none at all. Is this "petting the natives," and "helping them at the expense of the white man?" I trow not. Then these gentlemen, with some English gentlemen united with them,—a powerful, imposing "commission,"—have the unspeakable liberality, in their "Report," to recommend that the natives of Natal should have a grant not exceeding "three acres each." Is this right? Is this justice? Is this the manner in which the English government is to treat the peaceful possessors of the soil, who occupied it ages before the English saw it? The said Cornelius fled into what is now the Colony, at the massacre of Utshaka; but now, to get the small pittance of forty-five acres, he must pay sixty pounds to those who probably got this land and much more for nothing.

Their temporal condition is improved; and they say, "We have no cause to complain;" but how, and by whom, has this improvement been effected? By Christian ministers battling against difficulties from a Christian government, which only such as the writer can understand and appreciate, and which ought never to exist.

Whilst the above facts have been more immediately connected with the writer's own personal observation and experience, results still more favourable have been effected in connexion with the Missions of the American missionaries, of which the following "Report" will give some idea. The operations of these missionaries have been directed to the natives exclusively; so that they have been able to bend their whole energies to their welfare; whilst the Wesleyan missionaries have had to devote a large portion of their time and energies to the English-speaking portion of the community.

The sugar mill at the Umvoti Mission station has been working for some years successfully, and the fact of sixty "wild natives, waggon-drivers in the employ of native planters," will give some idea of the extent to which sugar-making is carried on by native planters. This is in addition to the one herein described:—

"The annexed report will give your readers some idea

of the labours of the American missionaries in this field:—

“The Anniversary Meeting of the band of American missionaries has just been held at the Amanzintote Mission station. The meeting came to an end on the 4th instant. Ten missionaries were present, and the meeting possessed an unusual interest in one particular—the assembly took place in a new building, which has been completed for the accommodation of a native training school. The building has been erected at a cost of £150, and consists of two large central class rooms, and six surrounding dormitories. The Rev. W. Ireland, who has been so long favourably known as an enlightened and energetic member of the American Mission, has been appointed master of this school. It is intended to draft off the most promising boys from the other stations to this school, and to receive any lads who may be nominated by the lieutenant-governor. The Rev. missionaries have for some time been in cordial accord with the views of the superintendent of education, and Dr. Mann had with them on Saturday evening a consultation regarding the organization of the school. There is also now a common native day school of a very good class at this station, conducted by an English teacher, Mr. W. Watt, and attended by fifty-five boys and girls, the elder of whom are now able to perform the advanced operations of arithmetic with facility, to read and translate simple English books, and to write plain English. The Amanzintote Mission station is further remarkable as having now in full operation within its precincts the first steam sugar mill owned by natives, and entirely managed by native hands. This mill belongs to the natives Nembalo and Ncaijana; and has been purchased and erected by them upon their own responsibility at a cost of seven hundred pounds. The mill will manufacture seven tons of sugar this season, and has power adequate to the production of twelve hundredweight per day. Nembalo only had three days’ instruction from an engineer in the management of his machinery, and now works the mill entirely himself. All the knowledge he has, beyond that which he gathered in his three days’ formal instruction, he

has gathered by visiting the largest mill in the neighbourhood. Nembalo is an old servant of Dr. Adams; and his mother was the first native convert to Christianity in Natal. The old lady is quite blind, and very much crippled; but on Sunday last came a distance of half a mile from her son's house, and hobbled into the Mission church with the aid of friendly hands, to hold communion with the American missionaries. More than a hundred Kaffirs joined also in this communion, and at the end of the evening service a contribution of nineteen shillings and sixpence was made by the natives, as their monthly tribute to the American Board of Missions. The Amanzintote station is only second in interest to the Umvoti Mission station, where there is now a large native school lately under the charge of an English teacher, Mr Hugh Smith; and where sixty wild natives, waggon drivers in the employ of the native planters, are assembled in the evening, with any of the other residents in the station who may please to attend, for instruction by Mrs. Lloyd, a lady of independent means, who devotes all her energies to this work, and exercises a surprising influence over her rude pupils. Mrs. Lloyd also assembles an afternoon class of young women; and on the Saturday teaches singing to more than a hundred boys and girls. A very large and fine chapel, which has been built by the contributions of the natives, will be open for service at the Umvoti Mission station in the course of a few days. The natives at this station contribute seventy-five pounds per annum to the support of the teacher of their day school.**

Another hand writes:—

“On Saturday morning the report of the various stations and out-stations was given. The number of conversions reported was much greater than in any former year, and the general civilization of the stations greatly encouraging. On Saturday afternoon most of the missionaries accepted an invitation to visit the sugar mill erected and owned by Nembalo. This is the first and only mill built by the

* “Graham's Town Journal,” July 21st, 1865.

enterprise of a coloured man. It is a steam mill of five or six horse power, and its appointments appear correct. The mill is in operation, and is worked wholly by natives, no white man being employed in connexion with it. The sample of sugar produced would compare favourably with the best mills in the Colony. Nembalo remarked,—out of compliment to his visitors, I suppose,—that he was going to erect a sign-board over his mill with the inscription, ‘Result of Missionary Work.’”

To the members of the Anthropological Society in England, as well as the traducers of Missions in Africa, we say, Take these facts, and test them by all the rules of evidence which apply on other subjects; and unless their conclusiveness is admitted, we maintain that evidence allowed to be demonstrative in other matters is rejected here. When the evidence of the senses and of facts is resisted, then no other remains; and the cause must be a desperate one which requires to be bolstered up by other methods. All such must enter the Greek school of Sophists at once, and affirm that nothing like truth or fact exists.

On the frontier of the old Colony, the Industrial Institutions established by Sir George Grey, were established where? On, or in connexion with, Mission stations, Peddie, Lovedale, Heald Town, and Lesseyton. The one at Lovedale still continues; the others have done much good, but, for reasons before stated, have declined, after the first difficulties had been overcome, and when a little patient fostering care and governmental liberality might have made them efficient and permanent. But it was the previous improved state of the people which enabled Sir G. Grey to do what he did; and this improvement was the result of Christian Missions.

Again, as before recorded, Agricultural Societies have been formed for stimulating the natives, in which magistrates and colonists have united with missionaries in bringing out and developing the native resources. But where did they begin? In connexion with Mission stations: the first at *D'Urban, Peddie*,—very properly so, as this was the first Fingoe-Kaffir settlement on the frontier. The

second at Alice, being the second great base of missionary operations, in connexion with the Lovedale (Scotch) Seminary; being also midway betwixt Heald Town and Annshaw. This, as might be expected, was the greatest success of all. The *third* at Kamastone, as already described. This also has long been a Mission station, where the Christian chief Kama was first located by the government; and when he was removed to his present location on the Keiskama, it was retained by the Fingoes, under the superintendence of the venerable William Shepstone; and, as before stated, in the Report of the show by, I suppose, a colonist, Mr. Jeffries, who has scarcely any knowledge of horses, cattle, or sheep, was the chief instrument in getting it up. Who were the exhibitors? *Sixteen from the Lesseyton Mission station, twenty-eight from the Moravian Mission station, seventeen from the Ox-Kraal Mission station, and thirty-one from the Kamastone Mission station, being ninety-two in all.* It was rightly called the Queen's-town Native Agricultural Society; but let the town and district and country observe that *every exhibitor* was from a *Mission station*, and consequently the district is most intimately associated with the progress of Mission labours in improving the natives, and is thus bound in honour to advance their interests to the utmost.

In a discussion on this subject in Queen's-town a short time ago, the writer made the following statement:—
“Why go so far, when we have such striking proofs before our own doors? My friend, Mr. Leach, when pleading for the advantages of commerce, and stating how many ploughs he had sold at Kamastone, forgot that it was not commerce that *created the want* and *demand*ed the supply; but that it was only commerce that supplied the demand which *Christianity had created.* Had the people at Kamastone not been Christianized, he would have had no market for his ploughs. So that Christianity has first civilized, and then created and fed commerce; and thus put the money into the pockets of manufacturers and merchants.

“Take again Lesseyton on the one side, under Mr. Bertram, and Glen Grey on the other, under Mr. Warner, and what do we witness there? Passing by all the array of

facts which arrest the eye and impress the heart, in the many proofs which abound of the improved state of the people, I will only allude to a scene which took place two weeks ago, when I married the son of Bambani, the head man of Lesseyton, to the daughter of the head man of Glen Grey. The morning broke forth with the busy excitement of preparation, all was astir. At an early hour the waggon with the bridegroom and party wound its way down the rugged road through the mountain, and soon all was ready. The bride and bridegroom, with their friends, were neatly dressed in costly apparel, as they appeared before the hymeneal altar, and presented a very interesting appearance. They proceeded through the ceremony with as much order and decorum as any civilized English bridal party could do; and, at its close, the wedding breakfast was conducted in the best English style,—the repast was sumptuous: the only difference which would be observed in the whole affair being, simply, the colour of the skin. One further fact ought to be noted, which was, that the father of the bride had purchased a seraphine as a bridal present for his daughter, who had before learned to play that instrument.

“Another fact connected therewith must not be left unnoticed, which was, that twenty years previously both parents were raw, heathen Tembookie Kaffirs; the father of the bridegroom being a polygamist only sixteen years before.”

These facts prove to a demonstration that Christianity, whilst it enlightens the mind and renews the soul, brings in its happy train all the blessings of elevated, civilized, progressive life. The contrast betwixt this happy bridal scene, and the low, filthy, disgusting scenes of heathen life, is greater than can be described.

The question may be asked, What is my object in all this? is it merely to record facts and convey information? Certainly not. My object is twofold:—*first*, to explode the fallacy of pretending to civilize barbarians before Christianizing them; *second*, to show to the Christian and the church that the only way to conserve the Kaffir races is to bring Christian teaching and religious influence to bear

upon them ; indeed, that this is the only mode by which their extirpation can be prevented.

In reference to the first of these objects some may reply, that the dogma of attempting to civilize the natives before seeking to Christianize them is exploded, and the ground abandoned. It may be so in England, but not in Africa. Many gentlemen, of considerable intelligence in other respects, either cannot or will not be convinced here. To all such the request is made that they will carefully and candidly read these pages, and possibly after an impartial perusal they may alter their views. But if they still retain them, are they consistent with their principles in doing nothing to carry them out? Surely they should establish a Civilizing Association, send forth agents, and set in operation all the apparatus needful to accomplish their purposes ; if not, let them give their countenance and aid to those who are doing the thing, and probably it may be done better, and more efficiently, and more extensively.

But further, much of the improvement which has been effected, does not appear on the surface,—in the erection of houses with four corners, and furniture of costly dimensions. Many cursory travellers and others have done both the missionary and the natives an injustice by gauging the results by this test ; whereas, it is a very false one, and the result must be erroneous. The fact is, that these things, so essential to white men's comfort, and so desirable in their estimation, have never been learned to be appreciated by the natives in the form of actual comfort ; and, so far as they have been brought into use, have been made by way of imitation rather than personal enjoyment. Nay, in many instances, I have known natives who have had their old round house and a square one by its side ; but the square one has only been used on state occasions ; the other being preferred for all the ordinary purposes of life. Therefore to attempt to form a criterion from such data must be absurd as well as false.

Let such objectors go into the numerous places of worship on the Sabbath day, and see the many thousands of devout worshippers decently clad in European apparel ; the multitudes of children in the numerous schools, learn-

ing to read and seek God, and rise to the *status* of men and Christians; and try to calculate the amount of money spent in the purchase of clothes alone; and a better idea may be formed. "Yes," says the objector, "they love psalm-singing, &c., but they won't work." Nay, but they must work, even to get the clothes they wear, as probably £100,000 a year is spent by them in the purchase of articles of dress alone. Some may treat the statement with a sneer, as an exaggeration; but when they have referred it to the test of facts and figures, as the writer has done, they will find the truth of what is stated.

Besides this, they now subscribe thousands of pounds annually towards the support of ministers, schools, and places of public worship, all of which must be the result of work in one form or other.

And last, but not least, consider the amount expended in ploughs, waggons, purchase of superior stock, woolled sheep, coffee, sugar, meal, meat, &c., &c., and their altered modes of domestic living, cultivating the ground, &c., &c.; and when all are put together, the aggregate is very large, and is increasing every day.

The following facts and reasonings taken from a local paper, speak their own language, and need no comment on my part, being so clearly and strikingly illustrative and confirmatory of the principles, reasoning, and facts of this volume.

AMERICAN MISSIONS.—The most important result of this annual Zulu gathering is that spontaneous effort to organize and sustain a Missionary Society among the Mission churches already in existence. Not prompted by any extraneous influences, this association has already reached fair and goodly proportions. Two qualified Zulu missionaries are already in the field: one at Itafamusa, the station of the late Rev. Mr. Marsh; the other in the Inhlambiti Bush, near the Umvoti. Already has one of these labourers been cheered by success, nine or ten having during the year nominally embraced Christianity. Each missionary receives thirty-six pounds per annum. The contributions towards this fund, paid down in cash, have been as below:—

	£	s.	d.
In 1861 (its commencement)	46	13	3
„ 1862	39	15	3
„ 1863	40	7	5
„ 1864	69	14	9
„ 1865	63	16	4½
Total.....	£260	7	0½

Here, then, we have a fact. The Zulu or Kaffir is naturally most avaricious and grasping; this is one of the great besetments of his nature. Whatever, therefore, unlocks his purse-strings, or uncloses the iron grasp of his tenacity and greed, shows a power at work in his heart. Deeper than the mere intellect, deeper than the mere emotional nature, does that power operate when once such a result is accomplished in the Kaffir nature. And while the missionary sees much in his dark-skinned *protégé* over which he has to mourn; much evil arising from his ignorance, his imperfect education, his semi-civilization, from the hold which evil superstitions still have on his nature, he must nevertheless rejoice in such fruits as these. "Rome was not built in a day." It has taken more than one thousand years to rear the noble fabric of British and American Christianity, to shape its living form, and to inspire its elevated and unselfish genius: to institute a comparison between ourselves and those who but yesterday groped in the deepest darkness of heathenism, is altogether unfair. Results like these yet show that to Christianize is to civilize. While the advocates of "civilization before Christianity" cannot point to half a score of individuals in Natal, who, by their philosophic exhortations, good example, and self-denying charity, have been made frugal, industrious, and orderly—in a word, *civilized*; the advocates of the other system can already point to hundreds whose moral nature has been reached, and whose material nature has been elevated and improved. The whole result speaks, as it ever has spoken, in a voice which says, *Christianize; for in doing so you civilize.*

My second object in writing this chapter is to present to the Christian and the church, as strongly as possible,

the fact, that the Kaffir race must *pass away* unless preserved by Christian effort and Gospel influence. I am not here discussing the philosophy of Missions, the wants and woes of the heathen world, and the duty of the church to give them the Gospel; this would require a volume; but only notice one of the consequences following in the train of Missions. Some may think this of small importance, yet many seem to deplore the sweeping away of this fine and numerous race of barbarians; but they fondly hope and wish that such a catastrophe may not occur, and that my forebodings may not be realized. I have only to say, that the history of the past and the state of the present, as recorded in this volume, will all go to prove that such must be the result, and it is utterly fallacious to talk about hopes and wishes in the face of stubborn facts.

“*Savageism is degeneracy, not fatalism.*” We are not believers in *Hindoo caste*. This savageism is therefore capable of being operated upon and removed. It is being operated upon, and has been removed, so far as the appliances have been of the right kind, and brought into effective operation. There is only one thing which can remove savageism,—that is *Christianity*. The result is, that if this is not brought to bear upon it, savage nations must eat out their own bowels, or be made mincemeat of by a stronger foreign power. I therefore say to every Christian and every Protestant church that desires to prevent such a dark, sad result,—*adopt the only rational and effective measures by which it may be prevented*. Send out more missionaries, employ more agents, conduct more schools, and make more efficient every means already in operation. Allow not the solitary missionary to sink alone beneath the pressure of a mass of heathenism he is not able to sustain, or the solitary station to pine and sink for want of sufficient support. Let all be increased, multiplied, strengthened. Let the superincumbent weight of Christian influence be a little more in proportion to the oppressing and resisting power of heathenism. Save the souls of these lost ones, and preserve their bodies alive.

India and China have their teeming millions, and, as such, make a loud demand upon the church; Italy and

other continental nations have their peculiar and special claims; but they have not this, *Christianity or annihilation!* Years will roll away, and generations sink into the tomb; but India and China and Japan will have their millions still. Italy and Turkey and Greece may go through various transformations, but will not perish from the soil. Not so the native races of South Africa and New Zealand; these must disappear unless Christianity come to their rescue, and preserve them alive. I therefore say, *Africa has special claims; let them be promptly met and responded to.*

It has been said of Italy, that "she has a history, but no conscience." We may also say of the government and the colonists, that they exist in their corporate or collective capacity, but you can find no individual conscience upon which to act. When you attempt to point out duty, fix conscience, or express strong and just complaint, the government blames the colonists, and the colonists the government, and both of them the home authorities. And thus they bandy about complaints, whilst a war is brewing, and the rumbling of distant thunder is heard; the heavens gather blackness, and the storm bursts. The shock of war rages, treasure is expended, the colonists are pillaged and murdered, British soldiers are killed, and Kaffirs perish by the thousand. At length the Kaffirs are beaten, driven back, and tens of thousands of acres of land added to the Colony. In this manner, one war succeeds another; and you may write, and talk, and advise, and complain, but all in vain.

Let the church, then, bring all her moral and spiritual resources to bear upon this mass of disorder, and crime, and darkness, and blood, and death: and though the land may bleed, and reel, and groan, yet a large remnant shall be preserved, as has been shown in the case of Kama and his people, many of the Tembookies, and thousands of Fingoe Kaffirs.

In closing these pages I submit with all deference, that I have pointed out the province and duty of the Christian government, the Christian colonists, and the Christian churches. And I maintain that the whole of these are bound by the God of the families of all the earth, to do their utmost to preserve and raise these people, and to

prevent such calamitous results from taking place; and to bring into operation those remedial measures which God has ordained for their preservation and salvation. If this is not done, the solemn interrogatory will be proposed in another place, "Where is Abel thy brother?" and though we may profess to "know not," the terrible announcement will be made, "The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto Me from the ground." And although we may seek to shift the responsibility now, it will meet us again at a time and in a place where all our present expedients and considerations will be swept away, and only stern reality remain.

"Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. Amen." (Matt. xxviii. 19, 20.) Abundant proof could be given that Great Britain was once as low and degraded and warlike and savage as Africa is now; and the same means which have raised her so high in the scale of civilization, prosperity, and glory, when applied to the Kaffir races, will produce the same results.

APPENDIX.

Kama and his Slanderers, page 163.

IN order that the reader may have a clear and consecutive view of the subject before him, I shall quote such portions of the "Reminiscences" as bear immediately upon the points at issue; and then give such explanations, answers, and strictures, as they may naturally call forth.

"It is a well-known fact, that the tribe under the Kaffir chief Kama have never purchased sheep in the Colony or elsewhere, and yet they can boast of thousands of the very best description. How is this? Simply answered,—they take right good care to help themselves. Kama's kraals are very convenient to the Colony. An expert thief can manage to drive a flock of sheep a distance of thirty or forty miles in one night; and within a circle of this distance, the number of farmers' sheep at the mercy of the plunderers is considerable. It will readily appear, to any observant reader, that the moment stolen sheep are driven within Kama's boundary, the chances of detection or recovery are meagre in the extreme. In the first place, the ears, which are marked by the careful and cautious farmer, are speedily removed. Secondly, the police in Kama's neighbourhood (eight in number) are all natives, and of Kama's own tribe. Indeed, the sergeant and the corporal are related to the old chief: they are sons-in-law! Add to this that Kama's country is a sort of forbidden territory, on which the frontier armed and mounted police or the colonial police have no right whatever to set foot,—at least, in an official capacity. No wonder, then, that sheep by the hundred are lost, and no clue ever found to them. No wonder that the unfortunate (I use the word advisedly) farmers lose cattle and horses by wholesale. And it is not to be wondered at, that Kama and his thieving tribe should feel contented and happy, when they can fatten on the reserves of the Colony."

Again: "I cannot speak as to the perquisites of the missionaries, but they live in substantial and fine-built houses, and seem to fare sumptuously; at all events, the inner man is not neglected."

Again: "No cases of theft are ever traced to the Missionary station at Shiloh. Other stations, more favoured, cannot say so much. I will take, for example, the Missionary station at Middle Drift, in Kama's country. Here the natives have all that they could possibly desire. The land they possess is far superior to the generality of land in the Colony. It is, for the most part, a rich loamy soil, well watered; the pasturage cannot be excelled; horses, cattle, and sheep thrive well upon it. With all these advantages, the occupiers cannot refrain from stealing. They are too lazy to till the land, and rely for immediate wants solely on the small crops of mealies their wives may succeed in growing."*

The number of misrepresentations and false statements contained in these extracts is very great, which, for the sake of explicitness, I shall group under the following heads:—

- 1st. "Kama and his thieving tribe."
- 2nd. Missions.
- 3rd. Missionaries.

1st. "Kama and his thieving tribe."—According to the general drift of the above quotation, Kama and his people are placed in the most favourable locality,—in the midst of surrounding farmers,—for making plundering forays, and "helping themselves to the cattle, sheep, and horses" of their neighbours.

Further, it is alleged that the arrangements of the location are made in such a manner, as to afford the most favourable opportunities for forming, maturing, and carrying into successful execution the thieving propensities of this people. "The armed police are not admitted officially therein." The native police, being eight in number, living on the location, are Kama's "relatives," two of them being "sons-in-law." Consequently, by induction, the government has entered into complicity with "Kama and his thieving tribe," for the purpose of enabling them to break the laws of the land, and inflict injury upon their neighbours by numerous instances of theft. That, consequently, the tribe has become notorious as a thieving tribe; and Kama unites with his people in receiving, enjoying, and glorying

* "Reminiscences," pp. 173-176.

in the stolen booty. "It is not to be wondered at that Kama and his thieving tribe should feel contented and happy, when they can fatten on the reserves of the Colony." This is certainly a full-drawn and black-drawn picture of Kaffir cupidity and governmental complicity; and if true, and borne out by facts, calls for more serious notice and decided action than that of a single police officer. The accusations are not overstated by me as given in the quotations, but might be drawn out to much greater length. However, seeking to avoid prolixity, I offer the following explanations and denials, hoping they may give a more favourable aspect to these imputations.

Whatever the locality may be or may not be, I presume this police officer will not dispute or deny what is stated in the foregoing chapter, as to the fact of Sir George Cathcart placing Kama and his people in this position, as a reward of their loyalty and fidelity to government, in the various wars which have desolated the frontier; and, that they were placed in this particular locality, not for the purpose of stealing the stock of the surrounding farmers, but to form a breakwater against any surging flood of future barbaric war which might threaten to deluge the colony. During *fourteen years* of subsequent peace, this people have remained in the locality thus assigned them. During these years of peace, changes have taken place on a large scale; not the least being that of the Kaffirs having obtained many sheep, which they value not only for the flesh, but also for the wool, which they have found to be a very valuable article of commerce, and from which they now realize large returns. Mr. Wilson says, that the tribe under Kama "can boast of thousands of the very best description,"—that they "have never purchased sheep in the Colony or elsewhere;" and then goes on to point out how they have stolen them from others, being placed in the most favourable circumstances for doing this. Surely the records of modern times do not supply a similar instance of villany and theft. But let us see how far this is substantiated by fact. Not confiding in my own personal knowledge alone, or that of the testimony of missionaries in general, I made particular inquiries of a gentleman who lives near the place, but has no connexion whatever with Kama's people, except mercantile transactions with them. He knows all the parties well, the places where they reside, the language they speak, and the habits they follow. He also knows the magistrate of Middle Drift, the cases brought before him,

and the punishments inflicted. He also knows the missionary and trader connected with the station, and is in no way disposed to give the most favourable verdict to things connected with Kama and his people.

From this witness, then, I learn that there are about two or three hundred of Kama's people, who live on the right-hand side of the old road, leading from King William's Town to Alice, "who are very troublesome," and steal when they can, but that this is the whole that can be said; but how can this apply to a population of nine thousand people? But even they steal more from the Fingoe Kaffirs near them, or passing through the country, than from the surrounding farmers. Besides this, there will be occasional thefts in the tribe which neither Kama nor his people can prevent; but the otherwise general honesty of the tribe stamps the man with the character of libeller, who would designate them—"Kama and his thieving tribe."

Having thus given the writer the full benefit of all that the facts will allow, I must now show how utterly unfounded and untrue some of his statements and conclusions are. He declares,—“It is a well known fact that the tribe under the Kaffir chief Kama *have never purchased sheep in the Colony or elsewhere.*” The underlining is my own, and made for the purpose of pointing to the particular part of this statement. But how does this accord with the facts? I will give two, out of an indefinite number which might be produced. The first is, that Mr. Sparks, Junior, a sheep farmer residing in the neighbourhood, sold to Mgeza five hundred woolled sheep, at, say, twelve shillings each. I could not affirm that this was the exact price, but it was the price at which Mr. Sparks was selling them at the time. The second is, that of Mr. Garner, son of the late Rev. G. H. Garner, who sold two hundred to another of Kama's people, named Badda. I need not multiply instances, as these are enough for the purpose of proving the utter falsehood of Mr. Wilson's statement; upon which he grounds another false statement and accusation,—that “they take right good care to help themselves;” and “no wonder that the unfortunate farmers lose cattle and horses by wholesale.”

Then, again, in reference to detection, when stolen,—“It will readily appear to any observant reader, that the moment stolen sheep are driven within Kama's boundary, the chances of detection or recovery are meagre in the

extreme. In the first place, the ears, which are marked by the careful and cautious farmer, are speedily removed," &c. This would appear to be final and conclusive, if it was not for awkward, stubborn fact proving the contrary. The fact is, that no man, police officer or otherwise, is prevented from going through the tribe, if he has sufficient reason to suspect that stolen property is there, and recovering that property if he is able; and the successful action of Mr. Sub-Inspector Wilson himself, as recorded in his own book, is proof of what I thus affirm. Then, in reference to the mutilation of cutting off the ears, in order to prevent detection, it is not true. I question whether this officer found a single sheep thus mutilated; for if one such sheep is found, it is *primâ facie* evidence that it is stolen, and, if the case was brought into the magistrate's court, would be sufficient to convict the thief. This was tried by Mr. Amos in the Chalunna, and the verdict was given in his favour. The result is, that stolen sheep must, as a rule, be either slaughtered or secreted. I have thus, as briefly as possible, proved, not given *ipse dixit* affirmation, that these "thousands of sheep have been purchased in the Colony or elsewhere." It is to be hoped that if this gentleman writes again upon this subject, he will either be better informed, or avoid untruthful and injurious accusations.

2nd. Missions.—In order to refresh the memory, and prevent confusion, I quote again the paragraph upon this point:—"No cases of theft are ever traced to the Mission station at Shiloh. Other stations, more favoured, cannot say so much. I will take for example the Missionary station at Middle Drift, in Kama's country. Here the natives have all they could possibly desire. The land they possess is far superior to the generality of land in the Colony. It is, for the most part, a rich loamy soil, well watered; the pasturage cannot be excelled; horses, cattle, and sheep thrive well upon it. With all these advantages, the occupiers cannot refrain from stealing. They are too lazy to till the land, and rely for immediate wants solely on the small crops of mealies their wives may succeed in growing."

I will first treat this quotation in its general aspects, and then in its more particular application; and I presume it will be found that it would be almost impossible to compress more untruthfulness, mis-statement, and slander into a smaller compass.

As to its general aspects, Mr. Wilson selects "Shiloh" as his model station to place in honourable contrast against "Middle Drift." It so happens that I am intimately acquainted with both. Far be it from me to say a disparaging word of Shiloh, or its *four* estimable, plodding, laborious missionaries. There is much connected with the ecclesiastical polity and the self-supporting character of their institution which I admire; so that if I allude to anything which may appear disparaging, it must be placed to the account of being called forth in reply to what requires refutation.

Shiloh is the Moravian Mission station near Queen's-town; Kama's is the Annshaw station near Middle Drift, midway between King William's Town and Fort Beaufort: the latter is connected with the Wesleyans. In many respects the two stations will not bear comparison. For instance: as to population, Shiloh must have six or ten times more people upon it than Annshaw. Shiloh must have some seventeen thousand acres of land, whilst Annshaw will have only about five hundred. Shiloh has been established many years; Annshaw is of modern origin. Shiloh has *four* missionaries upon it; Annshaw one. Shiloh has one of the most magnificent streams of water in the country, taken out of the Klip river, turning a fine mill, and irrigating hundreds of acres of fine land: Annshaw has no stream, but the land has been burnt up with intense drought the last two years, &c., &c. This gentleman speaks of the excellence of the land, but it is not better than the surrounding country: indeed, in Keiskama Hoek and the Amatola Mountains close by, they can get fine crops of corn from the rains which fall on the mountain summits and slopes; whilst the people at Annshaw are burnt up with drought, and cannot reap a grain. So much for superior advantages in reference to land.

How stands the case at Annshaw? Why, Sir George Cathcart, when he placed Kama and his people there, solemnly engaged to make a dam over the Keiskama river, so as to lead out the water over a large breadth of land, and thus place the people in a position by which to secure a living in the season of drought; but this engagement, like many other engagements of the government, has never been fulfilled; the result of which is, that in dry seasons the people cannot get crops of corn to supply their wants. Of course, one would infer that this notoriously "lazy people" will do nothing to help themselves, especially when they can live by stealing from their neighbours. But is it so? Facts

answer,—No ; they did try to help themselves : a supposed competent surveyor was engaged ; at great expense prepared plans and specifications, &c., for a dam ; and when the work did not succeed, made himself scarce, in a manner which must throw back upon the white gentleman some of the odium which Mr. Wilson tries to fix upon this Mission. Large sums of money were expended, and a vast amount of labour bestowed by these “lazy,” “stealing” people, in order to do that which the government had promised to do, but had failed. They battled hard with difficulties, expended three or four hundred pounds, bestowed a large amount of labour, and had advanced far with the work, when a flood came, made a new course for the swelling stream, and rendered the work abortive, which, being ultimately abandoned, left them worse than before. But do such a people deserve to be *thus* represented ? —“With all these advantages, the occupiers cannot refrain from stealing. They are too lazy to till the land,” &c. Shame upon their slanderers !

“They are too lazy to till the land, and rely for immediate wants solely on the small crops of mealies their wives may succeed in growing.” It is difficult to conceive how a writer could deliberately pen such a statement, when the facts are so glaring which prove the contrary. The English plough is now brought so fully into use here as to supersede the woman with her pick, except on the summits and slopes of hills, or in nooks and corners where the plough cannot enter. I have seen several ploughs at work on this station at one time. And, as to the “small crops,” when the season is favourable, the rains being sufficient to nourish the plants, one of the finest rural sights ever beheld is, to see the broad lands of the Annshaw station, with their fine crops of *wheat, maize, Kaffir corn, pumpkins, &c., &c.*, in all stages of growth, spreading out to view ; *the industry* of the people having one crop of wheat or corn half grown, whilst the first is ready for being gathered, which is to be succeeded by a second crop in the same year.

I have only just touched upon the superior agricultural advantages of the Shiloh station to those of Annshaw ; but, with all these advantages, how did the people of Shiloh act in the last Kaffir war ? Why, to the distress of their missionaries, the damage of their station, and the injury of the colony, they joined the rebels, drove their missionaries from the station, took possession of it themselves, and were only dislodged by the superior force of the colonists and

levies. But who ever heard of a person connected with the Annshaw station who thus acted? Certainly the writer has not! Perhaps this detective police officer may be able to find one.

In addition to laziness, this writer accuses them of *theft*. "With all these advantages, the occupiers cannot refrain from stealing," *i. e.*, on the station. The writer who makes so grave and libellous an accusation, should at least be prepared with some definite proof; but, as he gives none, I take upon myself to deny the statement, and challenge proof; and, until it is given, must hold him guilty of libellous accusation. One thing I can confidently affirm; that is, that, in the course of my own experience, extending over twenty-six years, I have not known a single instance of any native member of the Wesleyan church being accused before the colonial tribunal, although so many thousands of others have been accused, convicted, and punished.

3rd. The Missionaries.—A very few lines must suffice for this. I am quite sure that the Mission-house at Annshaw is neither very fine nor very substantial. Besides, when people place themselves down in the midst of heathens, probably for life, it is no very great thing if they should seek to have houses in which to live with a little comfort; but some have only mere hovels, not so good as the cow-houses in England; and, before they can get any place at all, have often to endure much privation and suffering.

As to faring "sumptuously," I do not think the writer knows much about it; nor should I notice it, was it not for exposing the mean and unworthy conduct of some so-called gentlemen, who have sponged upon lone missionaries in their solitary stations. When travelling among the natives, there are no hotels or houses of accommodation where the traveller may turn in for refreshment, food, bed, and provender for his horses and attendants; and, consequently, the Mission house and family have had to supply all these *gratis*. The Mission family have not forgotten that part of their Divine teaching which enjoins "hospitality to strangers;" and have often deprived themselves of household comforts in order to provide for their stranger visitor. And, in addition to this, "the good housewife," not wishing to appear the most destitute person in the world, has brought out a few choice things which were reserved for special occasions. The visitor, after having had all his wants supplied for one, two, or three days, as the case

might be, takes his departure, giving "many thanks for the kindness received," &c., &c. Probably the next time the missionary sees or hears anything of this worthy guest is, to find that he has been writing or talking about "these missionary lords," living in "fine substantial houses," "faring sumptuously," and looking after the "inner man." Possibly the next thing is, the missionary is informed that his allowances are too large, and he must give up a part of his income. It is difficult to restrain a burst of manly indignation against such dastardly conduct.

Having thus discussed the merits or demerits of these quotations, I may now ask, What could be the motive or motives which induced Mr. Wilson thus to write? It could not be because of any impediment that had been placed in his way in the course of his official duties, or of any attempt being made to conceal the criminal or defeat the ends of justice; for, the veritable thief "JACK" was sought and found, and he did with him as he listed, no one attempting to interfere, according to his own showing. In matters of police or detective ability, I accord to the police officer the merit of cleverness; but in matters relating to Missions, he must be a novice, having been only five years from England, and not at all mixed up with missionary operations.

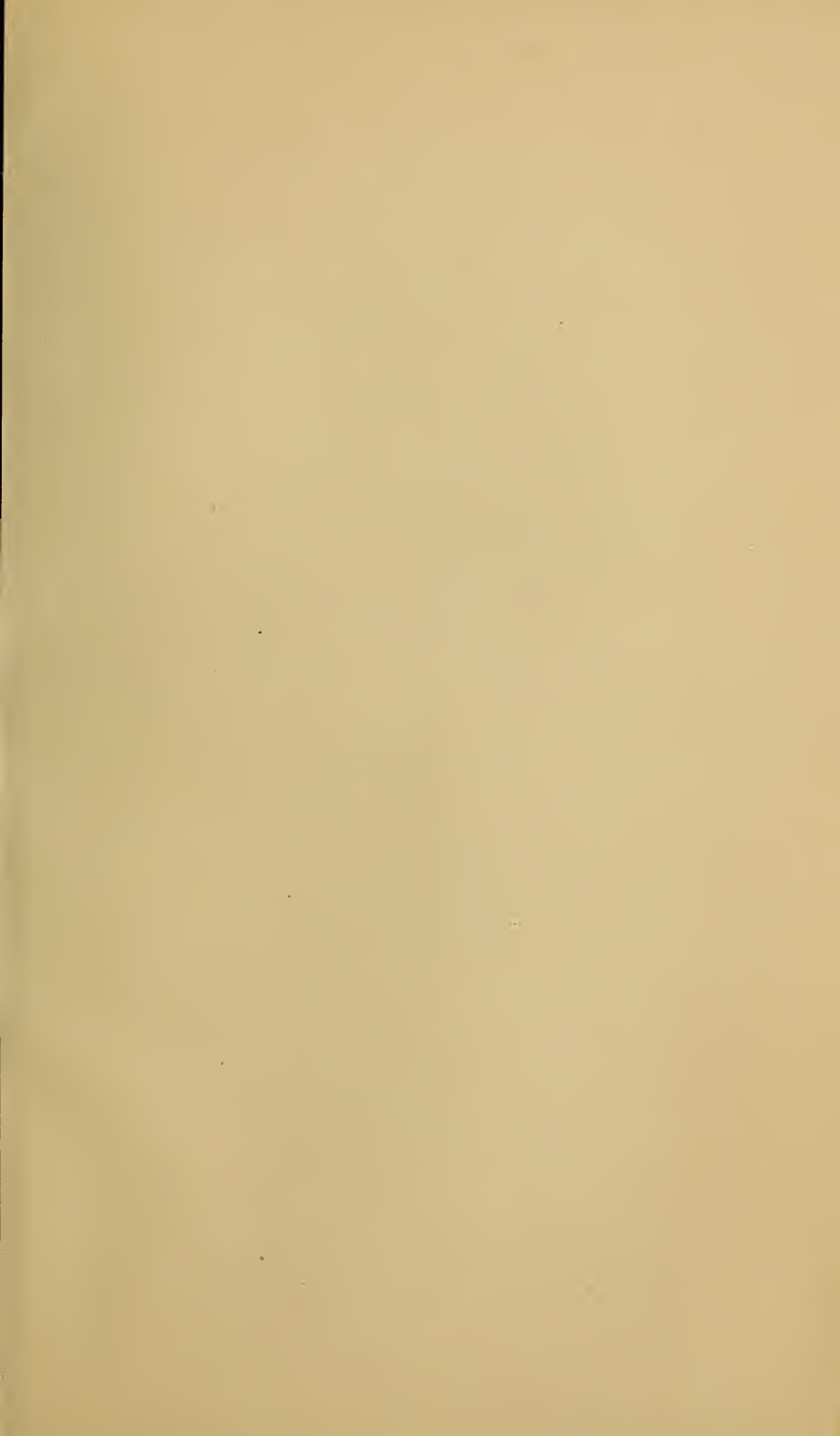
The only reason I can conceive is, that, in order to make a book palatable and popular to a large number of police and colonial readers, it is needful to have it well spiced with racy things against natives, Missions, and missionaries. It is with regret that I make such a supposition; but my impression is that such is the truth; and a book of this kind will be well received and lauded, whilst one of an opposite kind will scarcely be tolerated, whatever its excellencies may be. Many worthy men have often to labour under a large amount of discouragement from those of whom they had a fair right to expect better things.

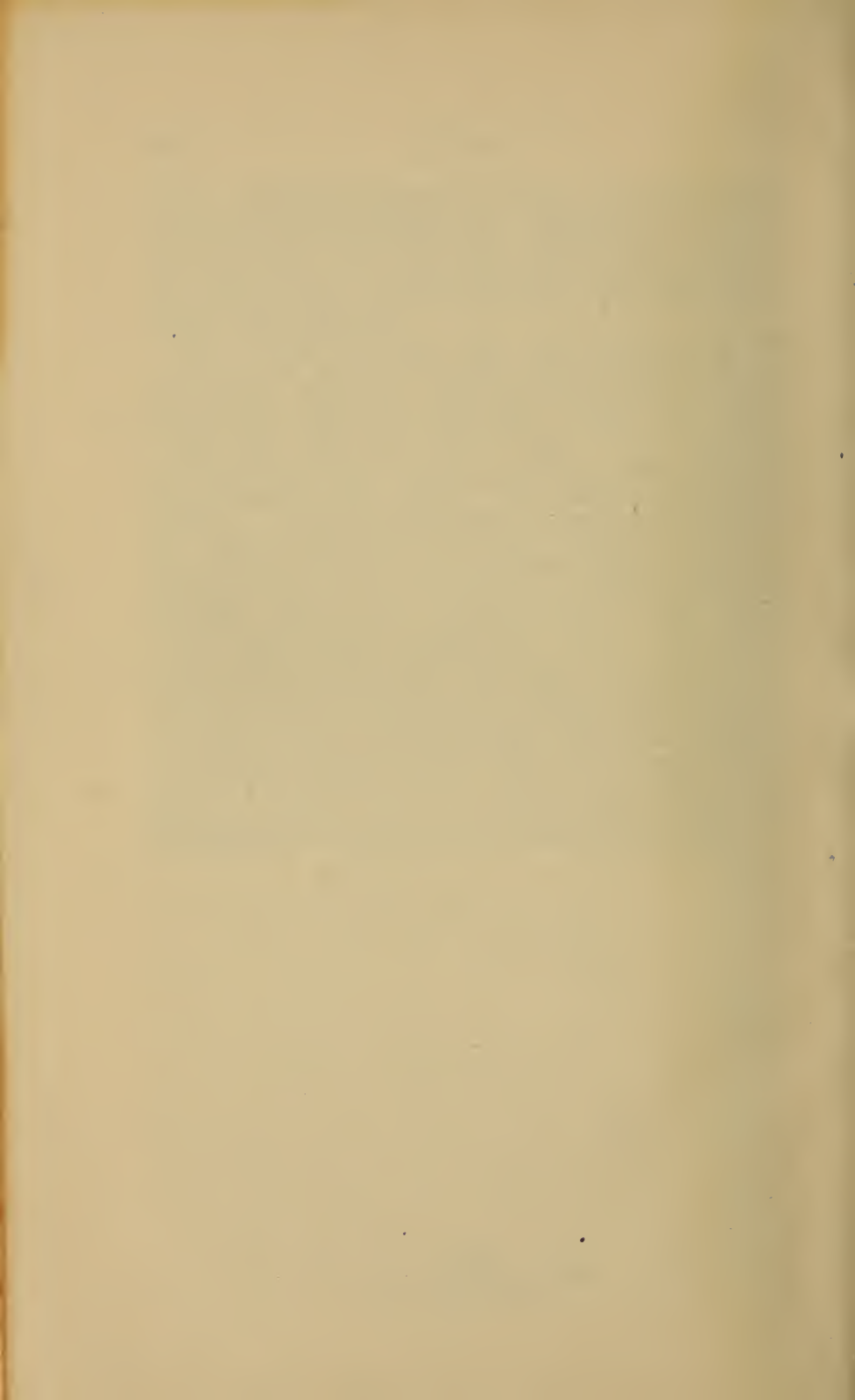
In illustration of this, let any one take up and read not only books in general in the colony, but even the newspapers of considerable respectability; and he will find that the cant phrase for anything philanthropic is "*Exeter Hall*;" and men who can hardly write their names in "original correspondence," become quite grandiloquent on this subject.

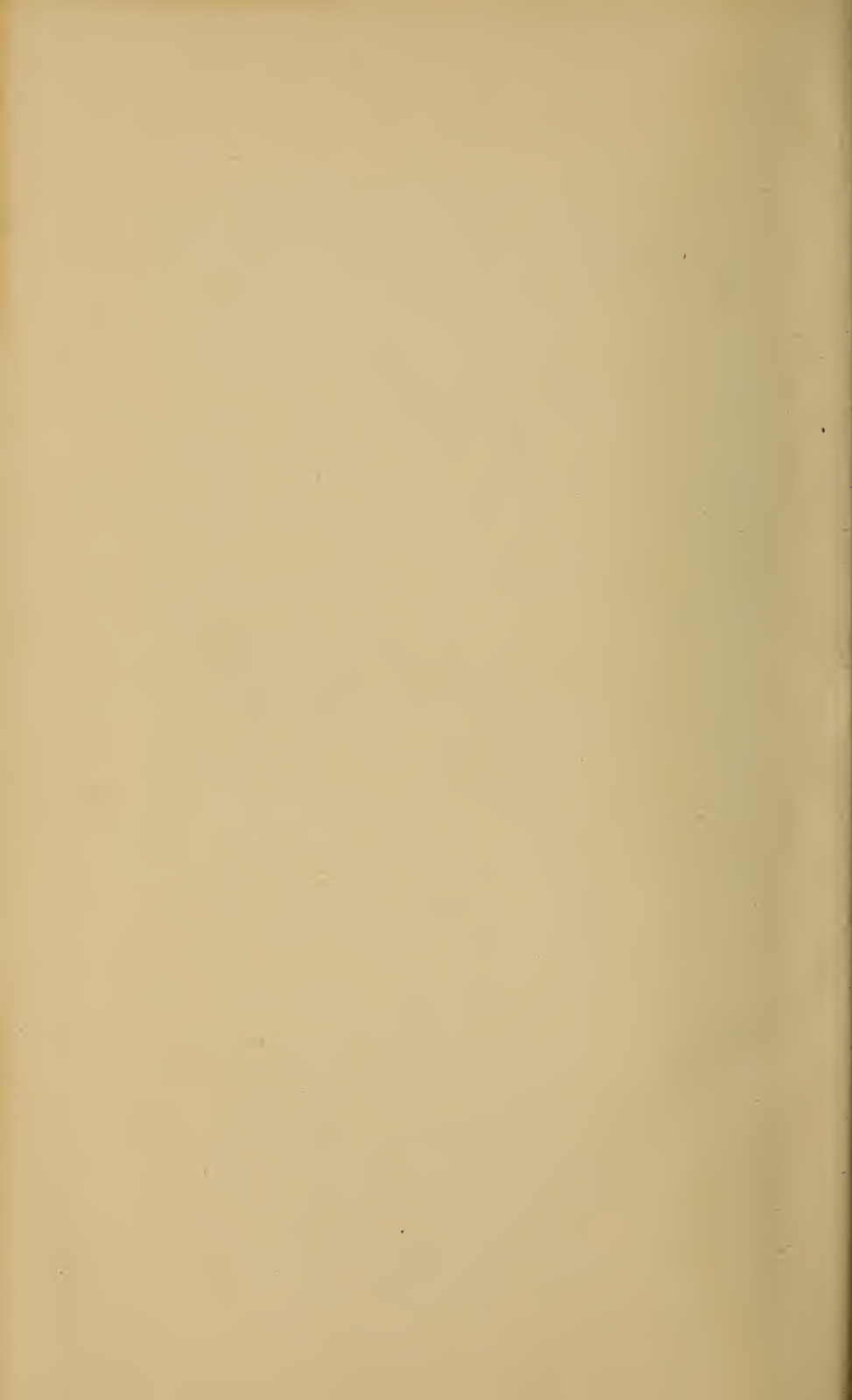
But let me quietly ask, What is the meaning of all this? Do they mean to hold up to public scorn those benevolent institutions which are the glory of good old England, and

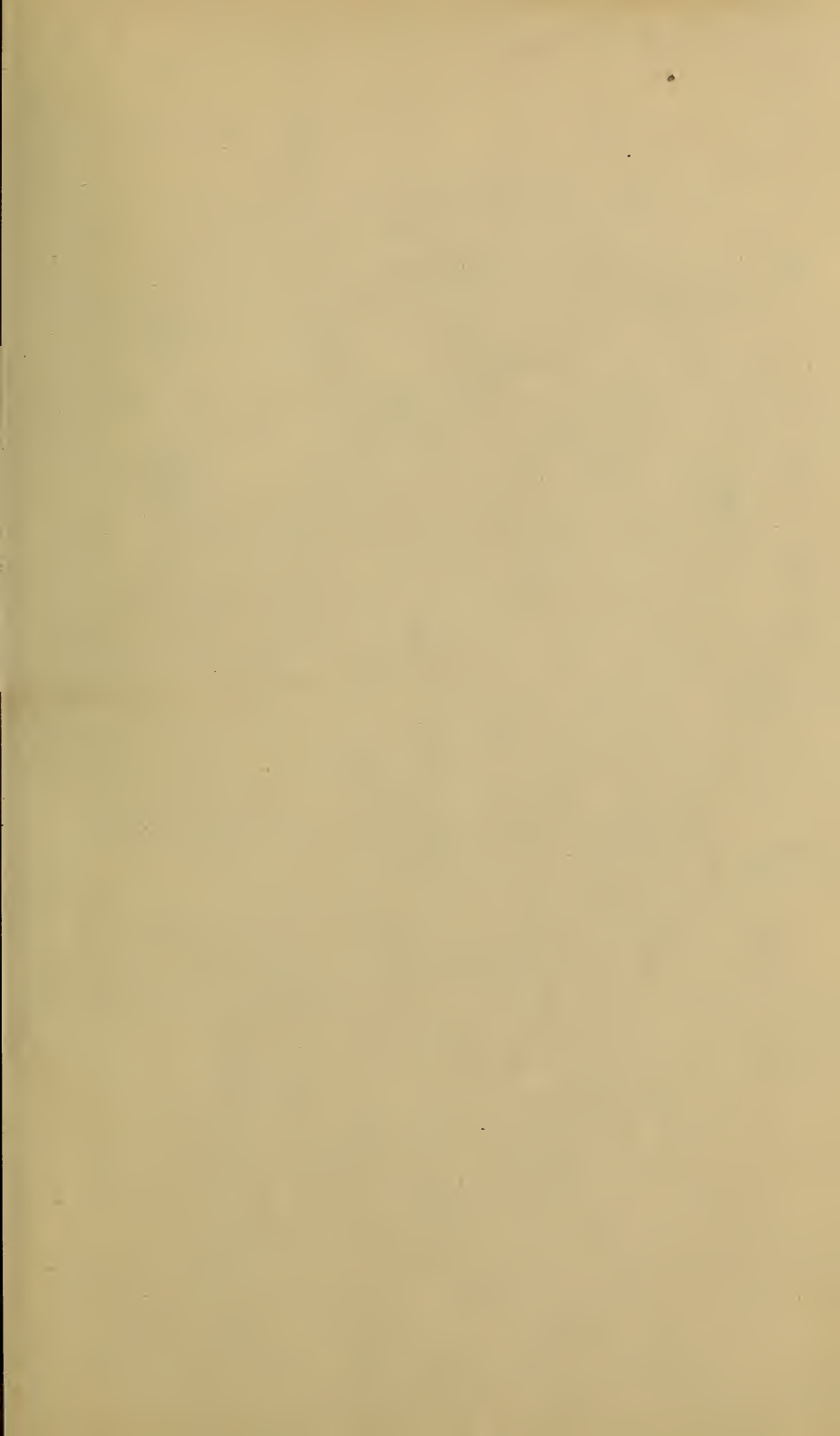
which contribute so largely to lessen the temporal and spiritual woes of the human race? Exeter Hall is, indeed, the centre and focus where these institutions are created, fostered, and fed; but, surely, they should attract admiration and command support, rather than have their benevolent streams dried up.

But do those who play upon this cant phrase at all consider what is implied therein, so far as South Africa is concerned? I trow not. Take only one of these institutions,—the Wesleyan Missionary Society,—and what would have been the religious state of the European population of South Africa without it; setting aside all that relates to “the blacks,” “the niggers,” and “the darkies?” It is well known that the Episcopal Church did but little for the colonists for years; and since it has done something, it has had to look to Exeter Hall for aid, or to some other such unconscious building used for philanthropic purposes. What, I say, would have been the state of the Colony without these institutions? No one will venture to affirm that too much has been done or is doing; but, on the contrary, too little has been done, and too little is still doing, for the education and salvation of the colonists. Then why attempt to lower the good influences connected with Exeter Hall, instead of sending back a warm vote of thanks for benefits already received, and desires for further supplies? Let us repudiate and no longer use this phrase in so objectionable and offensive a manner,













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