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TRAVELS AND ADVENTURES  
IN EASTERN AFRICA.





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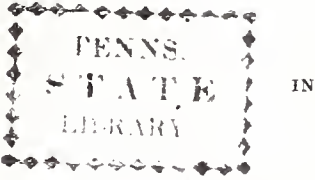


PORTRAIT OF OLD MAGELLA.

London, Published by E. Churton, 26 Holles Street.

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TRAVELS AND ADVENTURES



EASTERN AFRICA,

DESCRIPTIVE OF THE ZOOLUS, THEIR MANNERS, CUSTOMS,  
ETC. ETC.

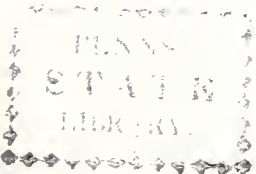
WITH

A Sketch of Natal.

BY NATHANIEL ISAACS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.



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# TRAVELS AND ADVENTURES,

ETC. ETC.

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## CHAPTER I.

AFTER our departure from Natal nothing of moment occurred. Our passage, to be sure, was not a pleasant one, though the weather was far from being unfavourable. We had occasional calms, light, and, now and then, baffling winds. Our crew was not the most orderly, and manifested a disposition to become refractory, but the resolute conduct of Mr. Farewell, and some determination on my part, to suppress any insubordination which might be attempted, brought them to obey, and to see the impropriety of any design they might have of rendering our short voyage painful.

It was evident to me that, from the time they had been without control, and from the unlimited command they were permitted to have in Natal, in consequence of the unfortunate and lamentable events

that had accrued, they assumed a sort of dictatorial power over all matters relative to the sailing of the vessel; but three of them, Nicolls, M'Koy, and the boy John Ross, whose conduct was highly exemplary, resisting all entreaties to join in their opposition, they thought it prudent to submit to the command of those into whose hands the power of directing the vessel had fallen.

We came to anchor in Algoa Bay on the 15th December, and I lost no time in getting on shore to announce the death of Lieutenant King to his anxious and confidential friends, whose solicitude I knew would be great to hear something of the proceedings of our mission, and the result of our subsequent operations. I applied, as I conceived it to be in the regular course of business, to the individual who, on my last visit here with Lieutenant King, seemed to be his most intimate friend, for such advice as my inexperience found absolutely necessary to carry into effect the instructions of my lamented friend. Mr. Francis (the gentleman alluded to) was at first exceedingly kind, and promised me every indemnification I might require with respect to the effects under my charge; I therefore relied on his assurances and those of my friend Mr. Chabeaud for everything relating to the affairs of Lieutenant King and myself being arranged satisfactorily.

After this preliminary matter had been concluded, my first object was to prepare a written detail of our proceedings in Natal, and submit it for the perusal and

information of the colonial government of the Cape, hearing it was the intention of the governor to send a mission to the Zoolas.

At this time, to the astonishment of almost every one, our little vessel, the Elizabeth and Susan, built in Natal by the labour of our own hands, and for the purposes of escape from that country, was seized, as it was alleged, for the purpose of securing for her a register, which, under her present character, she could not obtain. The seizing officer was Mr. Francis, who, on our previous visit to Algoa Bay, in her, accompanied by Lieutenant King, not only permitted an entry to the schooner, but allowed her to lie there three months, and depart again for Natal, in company with H. M. S. Helicon, without molestation, or any intimation that a vessel built under such circumstances could not be entitled to a register under the British Registry Act. She might be said to have been built of British materials, her keel and the greater part of her having been constructed from the wreck of the brig Mary; her upper works only were of materials of Natal growth. But what is more remarkable, on her first trip she obtained a sea-letter from the very officer who, on her return, seized her under the pretence just stated. Mr. Francis, however, with a seeming generosity and good feeling towards the friends of the deceased Lieutenant King, voluntarily assured me, by letter, that he should, as seizing officer, give up his part of such seizure in the event of condemnation;

but I have not heard, although the vessel has been sold, of any such generous intention having been realised. The conduct of Mr. Francis subsequently became equivocal, and not in accordance with his previous frank and generous assurances. I could not perceive the cause of such vacillation, and could only attribute it to the importance of office and to the power which official duties give. I received such manifestations of authority with perfect composure; they only excited in me a feeling quite the reverse of any thing I could have wished, but, without being contemptuous, I could not help regretting that a man should act so dishonourably from a mercenary motive. He promised me a letter to the Cape, for the purpose of promoting my views there, but it turned out to be merely a promise. I found that he was a man of professions and not of deeds—one liberal in assurances, but dilatory in performances—a sort of wholesale dealer in unredeemed pledges. From my friends Mr. Chabeaud and Mr. Edmund Francis, the nephew of the gentleman of the same name already mentioned, I received that kind attention which made me thankful for their friendship and sympathy; and I have great gratification in having this opportunity afforded me of showing how highly I estimate their generous feeling towards me in a moment of great perplexity and inconceivable depression.

I proceeded from Port Elizabeth to the Cape of Good Hope, where indisposition overtook me, and I

was strongly advised to go on to St. Helena; an opportunity presenting itself, I immediately embraced it. Innumerable privations, and the scenes of labour and difficulty in which I had been engaged, had so impaired my constitution, that relaxation was imperative before I could attempt any further operations.

I endeavoured to obtain an interview with the colonial government, for the purpose of submitting, for their information, my *viva voce* testimony and opinions with respect to Natal, thinking that it might be acceptable to those wielding the colonial power; but I found that my efforts were unavailing; and the state of my health not allowing me to tarry, I took my departure from the Cape, not, however, before I had called on Lieutenant King's agent, Mr. Thompson, who advised my handing over the effects of the deceased to the Orphan Chamber, which I designed doing, but could not find the agent for that office. My indisposition increasing, I was necessitated to depart for St. Helena, at which island I arrived on the 5th March, 1829.

After some difficulty and much care I recovered my health. The peculiarly fine air of St. Helena was congenial to me, and when I became convalescent, and could avail myself of some little recreation, I rapidly got rid of my debility, and soon recovered my wonted vigour.

While residing with my friends on this island, I became accidentally acquainted with an American

captain, who commanded the ship *Francis*: his name was Williams; he was a shrewd, intelligent, and penetrating man, who sought information from every one and everywhere. He seemed particularly desirous to acquire some knowledge of the eastern coast of Africa; and ascertaining that I had resided on the coast of Natal, he sought me, and expressed a great wish to gain information respecting that unknown and unfrequented port. I did not evince any disinclination to afford him all the information I could; I knew the enterprising spirit of the American, that he would, whenever a favourable opening occurred, boldly and adventurously enter, and offer his "notions\*;" and that if he once succeeded in bartering his merchandise with advantage, he would lose no time in making his own government acquainted with the new vent for American enterprise, which would greedily and thankfully receive every possible information that might enable it to extend its commercial intercourse with the eastern world. And I cannot conceal that I felt this desire the greater from the insufferable indifference we met with in the case of Chaka's mission †, at the hands of the Cape authorities, to whom I wished much to submit such information as might have been neither uninteresting nor unacceptable. I knew, or rather I could perceive, that no information was palatable, or conceived to be of a nature entitled to any favourable consideration, unless

\* An American sailor's term for his cargo.

† General Burke was acting governor.

it emanated from, or was communicated through the instrumentality of officials. This being the case, and as I felt no disposition to make any further effort to lay such information before the Cape government, I did not hesitate to make my American friend acquainted with all the advantages which Natal will, at no distant time, afford to the enterprising adventurer, who may seek to extend his commercial speculations to that country.

Nothing, in my mind, has so particularly exemplified the want of proper attention to the communications of individuals on the part of the government at the Cape of Good Hope, as its perfect indifference to the mission from the Zoola king detailed in the first volume, and the disregard of its functionaries to my several requests to be permitted to submit my communications personally on the subject of the country under the dominion of that chief. It is one of those unfortunate weaknesses so prevalent at all our colonial establishments, and evinces a want of discernment and true spirit for extending the commerce of the country, for the interests of which those establishments have been mainly created. No spot, no part of the coast, from the Cape to the Straits of Babelmandel, offers a more eligible surface for colonization; its local advantages present objects that cannot fail to convince the visiter that Natal may be converted into a colony; of the success of which, either from the culture of the soil, or from an interior commercial intercourse with the



natives, not the shadow of a doubt can be entertained. The work of preparing the natives for such an intercourse has been begun. Europeans who have been accidentally cast upon its coasts have laid the foundation for a barter traffic; upon this an enterprising society might construct an edifice, by which the commerce of Great Britain would acquire an extensive addition to her power, and the manufactures of her people receive an augmented demand by the additional vent which this newly discovered source so admirably furnishes.

I am not sanguine enough to expect that any thing I shall advance in the way of opinion respecting Natal will meet with a favourable reception, because it may be thought that, as a traveller in that country, I have made glossy and exaggerated statements for an interested purpose; or that I am anxious to induce the credulous speculator to adventure thither from mercenary objects, which I have not thought advisable to detail. I can assure my readers I have no such designs. I am actuated solely by a wish to point out such sources for enterprise, as I have had practical demonstration of being likely to reward those who may engage in any speculative undertaking to the country to which my details refer. No country, I think, can hold out a finer site for colonization, or for a factory for British residents, as the people have become familiarised to Europeans—as they have lost their savage leader, Chaka, and have now a ruler who has begun to govern with judgment, and to



exercise his power with discretion. He has also expressed his great anxiety for the residence of white people in his dominions, whom he pledges himself to encourage and protect. He likewise offers to promote an intercourse with the interior tribes, which must be advantageous and stimulating to those who may engage in it. I would not, however, be thought to hold out imaginary inducements to mislead the credulous, or make highly-coloured statements to entrap the unwary. I should regret exceedingly if I found that my humble details in the least actuated any persons to emigrate to Natal who rested their whole hope on that which I have submitted. I should rather they would seek other information, and give me their approbation if they find I am deserving of it.

My American friend felt much pleased with the communications I made to him on the subject of commerce in Eastern Africa, and determined upon proceeding on another voyage direct to the Mosambique coast, where he anticipated a favourable result in the disposal of his "notions."

Circumstances of no very pleasing nature led my valued relative to think of retiring from St. Helena, and either of proceeding to the Cape, or to the Mauritius. He proposed that I should go to the Cape by the first conveyance that might offer. A schooner belonging to the East India Company was the first vessel, but the pride of the Company's officer made him refuse me a passage. H.M.S. *Espoir* arriving, com-

manded by Captain Greville, a British officer and a gentleman, who soared above the littleness of the Company's skipper, did me the honour to offer me a passage. Just, however, as I was preparing to avail myself of this kindness, an American brig arrived, commanded by Captain Page, with a cargo destined for the island, with the exception of a small part, with which he proposed proceeding to Natal. This was a most fortunate event; it was what I fondly looked for. Captain Page being anxious to avail himself of my knowledge of the country and the people, he made me a liberal offer to accompany him in the capacity of supercargo, to which I cheerfully assented. I had nothing to detain me; my affairs had all been previously arranged, and my engagements settled. The vessel was soon discharged, and such things taken in, in addition to those she had brought, as we required, and we weighed anchor on the 18th February, 1830. Our voyage was pleasant. On the 2nd March I let a pigeon fly (having taken some on board with me for the purpose of propagation in Natal), but it returned at sunset. On the 3rd I sent off another, which, like the dove of the Patriarch, "returned not again unto us any more." We concluded, however, that we were too far from land for the bird to reach the shore; therefore, in all probability, it would fly until exhausted, and then sink into the sea. I regretted the experiment, but had anticipated that, like the first, it would

have returned. We stood in for the land, having fallen in with several vessels, among them the Upton Castle, Captain Thacker, bound for Table Bay; the Captain and four passengers came on board of us, and took each a glass of wine. From the 18th to the 30th, the weather was squally, with rain. On the 30th we found ourselves by observation, lat. 29°. 27'; made all sail with a light easterly breeze, and at sunset came to between the Bluff Point and the river Umgani, in ten fathoms, with a coarse sandy bottom.

31st March.—Light airs and pleasant weather; made preparations for running into port. Tipped the vessel to bring her on an even keel, and took all our reefs out, but as there was not sufficient wind to depend on at high water, Captain Page, accompanied by his second officer and three of the crew, proceeded to the bar for the purpose of sounding; at 10 A.M. they left the vessel; as they approached their object, I could perceive that one of the party was in the act of heaving the lead. For a moment afterwards, I lost sight of the boat, which, from a wave having caught her under her quarter, had capsized, but she soon arose on the surface of the water keel upwards. The captain and mate had succeeded in reaching her, and were clinging to the keel, and two seamen successively reached her also, while the other unfortunate fellow was caught by a shark, which seized him by his body, and the last his messmates saw of him were his hands above water, but he soon disappeared altogether.

The people on shore approached the water's edge, and proceeded slowly along, until they were opposite to our brig, when we could perceive them pull the boat up, and make her fast to some temporary mooring.

All hands after this having disappeared for about two hours, I was in some apprehension, but soon recovered from it by seeing five white persons come forward to show themselves, and as they stood conspicuously on a sand-hill, I concluded they were our friends, and safe.

April 1.—This morning I could distinctly perceive the boat receding from the shore, and she soon arrived alongside of our vessel: they brought with them a Portuguese seaman, one of the crew of a Portuguese sloop called the African Adventurer, of about 120 tons burthen, wrecked in January previously. It appears that this vessel had sailed last from Sofala, laden with slaves, and bound for Mosambique; the weather had been hazy, and an adverse current had occasioned their losing course. The first land they descried was that in the vicinity of Natal. As the passage from Sofala to Mosambique is only two days, and they had been out nearly three weeks at sea, they were entirely out of provisions, and had been *eight days* without water! A number of the slaves had died, and a great many had been thrown overboard, to shorten that term of misery to which they were doomed. Out of one hundred and sixty slaves, with whom they left

Sofala, only thirty landed at Natal !! Such a recital of human suffering, from the detestable custom of slavery, is enough to melt the mind to pity ; whilst on the other hand it excites horror, that such an execrable traffic should be permitted to be carried on by a nation which might be immediately annihilated by the British power. The few who had escaped the dreadful suffering of starvation, were in such a state of exhaustion, that, although the boat was sent over the bar for water, they ran the vessel on shore, without waiting to see what the boat could obtain.

There were several passengers on board, amongst whom was the wife of the commandant. She was a very delicate woman ; the Portuguese left her to herself, and even deprived her of a few trinkets she wanted to purchase a few necessaries. Mr. Fynn, however, with his accustomed hospitality and generous sympathy, provided for the passengers and crew during their stay at Natal (upwards of a month), and then supplied the lady with a pack bullock, and the party with an escort to Dingān's kraal, to which his brother was sent to accompany them. Dingān consulted Mr. Fynn how he should act towards them, observing that they were not King George's people ; but he was told they were the same, and that King George would be glad to learn he had treated them well. "Oh !" said the king, "then I will do with them as you please ;" and at once gave them an escort to the Portuguese settle-

ment at Delagoa Bay, at the same time presenting to them several head of cattle. The Portuguese, to show their gratitude, had all their baggage brought before him, and desired him to take what he pleased; but the monarch, with a feeling that did honour to human nature, said, "No, your vessel is lost, and you have been unfortunate; I cannot think of taking anything from you." This is an instance of the beneficial effect of the intercourse of Europeans with the natives of Zoola, who, from a state of savage ferocity, appear, by the conduct of their monarch, to have made some advances towards civilization.

It being now flood-tide, and a light breeze springing up, we weighed anchor and ran our brig into port. There were only ten feet water on the bar, but she went over (touching gently) with the assistance of the sea that always sets over the bar. We then rounded the point and anchored abreast of the sand hills, when John Cane, Henry Ogle, and Thomas Holstead, who belonged to the European party, came on board. My faithful native boy Nasoponga, whom I left at the kraal, came, with a great number of his companions, to see me. The meeting was agreeable, but I soon learnt that they had been quarrelling and had separated, some having joined Mr. Fynn, some the tribe of Cayles, and the rest had continued with Ogle.

The brother of Mr. Fynn arrived at noon to ascertain what vessel had so unexpectedly touched

at the port, and was greatly surprised to see me, as he had heard I was dead. This report I attributed to Mr. Farewell, who, conjecturing that I contemplated returning to Natal to erect a factory, on reaching the country of the Amanpontoes, told a Zoola chief that I was dead, hoping the latter might report it at Natal, and thus disappointing Mr. Fynn and the natives, induce the latter to join him. However Mr. Farewell never more reached Natal. Being invited by Catoe, a chief who had revolted from the Zoolas, to visit him, under the expectation of obtaining a quantity of ivory, he accepted the invitation, and set out (accompanied by a Mr. Walker, and a Mr. Thackwray) much against the wish of the natives. They took with them a present for the chief, and on their arrival were kindly treated, after the usual manner of the people, with a supply of cattle to kill for their sustenance. They passed the evening in conversation with Catoe, who wished Mr. Farewell to remain with him, but he obstinately persisted in proceeding to the residence of Dingān, thus evincing a partiality for one rival chief in the presence of another. The enraged Catoe, jealous of the distinction in favour of his enemy, and envious of the supposed advantages which the latter might derive from Mr. Farewell, ordered his best regiment to surround him and his party in the dead of night, as they were reposing in their tent. They first cut all the ropes of the tent unheard, and being entangled in



the drapery, Mr. Farewell and his companions were speared and mutilated in a most inhuman manner. The murderers then proceeded to plunder the waggon, taking from it their oxen and everything it contained, as well as the presents designed for Dingān, and what the unfortunate persons had intended for their own use.

It is inconceivable how Mr. Farewell, a person so conversant with the characters of the native chiefs, should have shown so little discretion as not to have gratified Catoe by halting for the night, instead of obstinately persisting in proceeding onwards to visit the very man to whom the chief had avowed the most implacable hatred. To persist, when within the grasp of the savage, was fatal; to have conversed with him on the necessity of proceeding the next morning, would have been judicious; and he might have accomplished, by skill and ingenuity, what he never could obtain by resistance from a savage, insensible to the feelings of aught but rapacity and violence. Mr. Farewell knew perfectly well that the infamous Catoe had imbibed all the ferocious propensities of his master (Chaka), to whom he was only inferior in power, and quite his equal in every inhuman practice.

Catoe had been one of the principal chiefs or captains of Chaka, and had run through a career of the greatest enormities under the reign of that despot. At the fall of his master, he refused to acknowledge



Dingān; but revolted from his country, the Zoolas, taking with him about five thousand followers, and proceeded at the head of them to the vicinity of the Amanpontoes, carrying on a sort of predatory warfare against that tribe and the Zoolas, committing rapine and murder wherever he could successfully perpetrate them. The followers of Catoe, now the Amaquabi tribe, after their chief had sought permission to settle in the territories of Fakoo, king of the Amanpontoes, and had met with a repulsive reply, became the most insatiable and implacable enemies of that nation, as well as of the Zoolas, defeating both of these powers successively in several conflicts, and displaying a spirit for war nowise inferior to the Zoolas under the despot Chaka in his most prosperous days.

The author of Caffrarian Researches, whose mission was to the country of the Amanpontoes, speaks of this melancholy event in detail. He says, alluding to Mr. Farewell and his party:—"From Amadolo, this company proceeded to the residence of Fakoo, on the 26th of August, intending afterwards to visit the encampment of Quetoo\*, whom Mr. Farewell knew while at Port Natal. Respecting this part of their design, the Umponedo chief warmly remonstrated with them, and represented it as an extremely perilous measure, that might not only endanger the lives of the party, but likewise involve them in

\* Catoe.

great trouble. Not being disposed, however, duly to consider either Fakoo's argument or recent events, and having received a message informing them that the Amaquabi had numbers of elephants' tusks which they wished to dispose of, they resolved on carrying their plans into effect at all hazards. Hence, after travelling with their waggons until within twenty or thirty miles of the place, Messrs. Farewell, Walker, and Thackwray, attended by interpreters, &c., went forward on horseback. Quetoo received them with apparent kindness, ordered a beeve to be slaughtered for their use, and gave them various other tokens of friendship. Scarcely, however, had night-shade fallen, before his mien greatly altered, as did that of his attendants also; for both words and actions then assumed an air of hostility. This was sufficiently manifest to our travellers themselves, but more especially to the interpreters, who repeatedly hinted that the aspect of things was indicative of evil. The chief seems to have signified a wish to prevent their procedure to Natal, being, probably, fearful that they might render Dingān assistance against him. After informing them of the wound he had received from the gun of a white man, Lochenburg's horses were brought and exhibited in triumph; and in their rage, the savage throng cruelly goaded and most barbarously treated the poor animals, as if to annoy their visitors, or induce them to say something on which a quarrel might be grounded. Messrs. Thackwray and Walker

now became considerably uneasy; but Mr. Farewell was still unwilling to believe that their host would venture to do them any personal injury.

“Their fears being somewhat quieted, and the natives having retired, they laid down to sleep, and all remained tranquil until near dawn of day the following morning. Their tent was then suddenly surrounded, and all three horribly massacred, together with five of their native servants who slept in a hut hard by! Three only escaped to tell the dreadful tale; and one of these was obliged desperately to fight his way through, in doing which he shot three of the barbarians, and received one or two slight wounds himself. The ruffians then set off to plunder the waggons, which they knew to be not far distant. On seeing them advance, the people in charge, both English and Hottentots, immediately fled into the woods, so that there was no further obstacle in their way. The draught oxen, thirty or forty in number, constituted the first object, and having secured these, they next ransacked the waggons completely. Here they found several thousand pounds of beads, which to them were, of course, more precious than gold; and likewise quantities of clothing, wherewith they dressed themselves as well as they were able. Ten or twelve horses also fell into their hands, together with several guns belonging to the party. Thus laden, they returned without doing any injury whatever to the waggons, or so much as attempting to

pursue the survivors. These, after remaining in the forests until their way out became quite clear, hastened back again to Morley, whence the intelligence of their misfortunes was first received in the colony\*.”

The melancholy catastrophe which befel Mr. F. and his party seems, according to Mr. Kay's account, to have been followed up by the savage Catoe, by an attack on the missionary station, when the family were placed in a most perilous situation; providentially, however, they were aided by the presence of some traders, who, with the male part of the mission, took up a position round the premises, and presented an attitude of defence.

It is to be lamented that the unfortunate Mr. F. displayed that impetuosity of temper and resistless spirit of opposition on this occasion, for which he was always remarkable; for his knowledge of Catoe, and the fact of this chief being in open revolt against his native tribe, and his having taken up an offensive war against the Amanpontoes, ought to have induced him to pause before he made any advance towards the rebel, whom he knew must be aware that his object was not to manifest his friendship, but to seek protection in the country of his friend Dingāu, to whom he was proceeding, to compliment him on his elevation to the throne of the Zoolas.

\* Kay's Caffrarian Researches, part 2, ch. 15, page 386.

Had he been less perverse and more wary, he might not have fallen thus untimely, but

“ he had not apprehension

“ Of roaring terrors ;”

and was resolute to a fault.

## CHAPTER II.

HAVING, in addition to the account of Mr. Farwell's death, heard of the events which had transpired during my absence from Natal, I shall, to keep up the chain of my narrative, mention one or two circumstances by way of connecting the time of journal.

Previously to the death of Chaka, that monarch, as I have related in the first volume, had sent off a considerable force beyond Delagoa, to attack a tribe whom he thought to be rich in cattle and other things. In about two months after leaving home, they arrived in the vicinity of their enemy, having on their way had some skirmishes with tribes whom they had subdued. From their position they could plainly perceive the kraals they were destined to attack. They accordingly made their arrangements for battle, disposing of their different bodies in such order that the attack should be simultaneous, and at the appearance of the morning-star. The night was dark, and the enemy perfectly still: the army of the Zoolas, therefore, retired to rest, anticipating, too

sanguinely, an easy victory. Their enemy, acting offensively, commenced an attack on the left flank of the Zoolas at the dead of the night, and put one of their regiments completely *hors de combat*. This unlooked for movement (the Zoolas not foreseeing the possibility of any offensive operation against them) for a while made a partial retreat advisable; recovering however, not only from the consternation into which they had been thrown, but likewise from the fatigue of a long march, they advanced again to the attack, and defeated their enemy, carrying all their positions and driving them in every direction. Many of them having escaped the spear jumped into the river\*, with an intention to cross, but were drowned from the force of the current. The Zoolas had been greatly astounded at the sudden irruption of the tribe they sought to subdue, and could not conceive how the enemy could have obtained information of their projected attack; but they soon ascertained that they had been betrayed by one of their own chieftains, who had, in the first instance, excused himself from proceeding with the army of Chaka from indisposition, but who, immediately afterwards, by a different route, arrived in the country of the tribe against whom the Zoolas were marching, and apprised their king of the intended invasion. The monarch was sceptical, and would not confide in the betrayer of his friends; he therefore had the informer secured, and sent out his spies to

\* A branch of the river Marfumo, that empties itself into Delagoa Bay.

reconnoitre; these returned and confirmed the information which the traitorous chief had given. This so elated king Sochunganne, that he created the informer a chief, put him at the head of one of his regiments, and, from his knowledge of his countrymen, exulted in the confidence of an easy victory. Although the Zoolas had defeated their enemy, they had obtained no positive advantage nor obtained any spoils. Being exhausted of provisions, and their enemies rallying and collecting their forces, their position was becoming untenable; they, therefore, found it advisable to retreat, and commence their usual predatory warfare among those weak tribes who had no means of resisting them. But here also the Zoolas were greatly disappointed. The different tribes, on hearing of their approach, sought safety in the thickets, taking with them their cattle, and setting fire to their corn-fields, leaving nothing which the enemy could capture. So great was the Zoolas' privation—their want of food—that they were driven to consume their shields (made of bullock's hide), and the sinews of the bullock, by which they fastened their spears in the handles, until they reached the neighbourhood of Delagoa, where they were refreshed by Mackasarny, a tributary chief. In this expedition the Zoolas lost 5000 men, besides upwards of 15,000 who perished from hunger, sickness, and fatigue. This was perhaps the most signal defeat the Zoolas ever sustained.

From this period the Zoolas may be said to have



begun to decline in their character as warriors, but to have improved in their comforts, and to have greatly progressed in those duties which in time were likely to promote a general improvement in civilisation. Left to attend to the labours of their little hamlets, to cultivate the soil for their support, and take care of their cattle, without being called upon, as in the days of the inhuman Chāka, to commit ravages on the innocent, and to annihilate man and beast without mercy, they made an advancement towards a state of society a little more humanised.

I found also, on my return, that one of Dingān's armies had been defeated by Catoe, and that the Zoolas were losing their reputation as warriors. The king had defeated some petty tribes, and destroyed most of the principal chiefs attached to his predecessor ; but he had Sotobe raised to be principal chief on the Natal side of the river Ootoogale.

Having now got over the voyage from St. Helena, and heard what I have detailed of the death of Mr. Farewell, and of the proceedings of the Zoolas since my absence from Natal, I shall proceed with my diary.

April 2.—I visited Fort Farewell, and found it a sad memento of its owner. A short time had made sad havoc in its appearance, and nothing seemed to remain, except the dilapidated walls and two or three old guns. It is evident, from the little love borne to the owner by his people, that revenge

had done more towards reducing this place to ruins, than time or the elements could have effected.

My old friend Fynn came to congratulate me on my return, and many reciprocations of good fellowship passed between two individuals who had encountered the buffetings of fortune together in this quarter of the globe.

3rd.—We proceeded together to Mr. Fynn's kraal. On our way thither we passed over the plain, which brought many pleasing associations to our view, and afforded recollections which at once compensated me for all my toils. We regaled at my friend's kraal upon new milk. Here it was that all my poor natives came to welcome me with hearty rejoicings at my return amongst them, and the grateful creatures seemed inspired with hopes of better times. We advanced; sometimes I rode a pack bullock, at others walked, until we arrived at our destination, the residence of my friend, where we enjoyed ourselves as well as we could have anticipated; what we wanted in the luxury of viands was amply compensated in the hearty welcome we received and the joy that seemed to pervade both Europeans and natives.

I now thought about commercial operations, and sought to communicate with the king, who, I found, had taken up his residence one hundred and fifty miles in the interior. My messengers were gone twelve days. This time was consecrated to friendship; we took a retrospective view of the past, and began to consult about the future, considering what steps we

should adopt, to engage the new monarch's admission of those rights, to which we thought we had some claim, for our steady and unexceptionable conduct to his predecessor, as well as for the injuries and inconveniences to which we had been subjected by his severe decrees.

My faithful boy, Nasapongo, brought me a fine fat cow; and Booty brought me another; other natives likewise presented me with evident proofs of their joy at my return. Our messengers had now returned from Dingān's, accompanied by one of that monarch's servants, with a fine present of cattle, saying that it was the king's mouth to welcome me to his country and invite me to his residence.

13th.—I returned to the vessel to make preparations for visiting the Zoola monarch. The next day we opened our cargo for the purpose of selecting a present for his majesty, and showing him the variety of our stock, designing to introduce such articles as would be of use to him, and of which he had yet no knowledge.

17th.—I obtained from Henry Ogle a pack-bullock for my journey, as I had not been able to walk since my return—my long absence having given me, as it were, new feet—and set off to his place, intending to rest there for the night.

18th.—To-day I proceeded on my visit to the king, accompanied by the Messrs. Fynn, and about fifty Caffres to carry the presents. Our course was nearly

the same as the one usually taken, and our obstacles somewhat similar to those we met with on our former journeys. Upon this occasion, however, I remarked that we fell in with more wild animals, particularly the buffalo, than we had done on any other visit through the country.

The weight of our several articles, designed as presents to Dingān, made our progress sometimes tedious. We arrived at the interpreter Jacob's kraal in the afternoon of the 19th, where we halted for the night. The chief was glad to see us, and treated us with great liberality and kindness. For several days we proceeded slowly, just as the weather permitted, which had become exceedingly stormy, and was attended with heavy rain.

22<sup>rd</sup>.—To-day we reached the kraal of an old friend, whose kind treatment we had often experienced. Although fatigued, by the hospitable treatment of Umgeneswa, we were soon refreshed, and laid down afterwards to repose.

25th.—Last night the wolves attacked the kraal at which we had taken up our abode, in such bodies as to alarm us considerably. My pack-ox was so bitten by them as to be rendered incapable of proceeding, so that I was obliged to walk the remaining part of our journey. We reached the residence of Cyehans, and put up for the purpose of drying the presents, all of which had become saturated with rain. This chief was poor, but fearing the anger of the

king, should he not find us sustenance on our way, he killed the only heifer he had remaining (but with some reluctance I must admit), for which I amply remunerated him.

27th.—Yesterday we crossed several streams, as well as the river Armaticoola. Our road lay over a mountainous country, until we reached the residence of Umbonda, by whom we were hospitably entertained. To-day, the weather having become more favourable, we pursued our course over one of those rich and fruitful grazing districts, which abound in this country, and only require the industry of the agriculturist to render them exceedingly productive. No part of the African continent could have exceeded the vegetation of the plains over which we passed; nor is it possible, that the varied scenery which presented itself could be surpassed in either grandeur, verdure, or interest. The landscape seemed to realise the pastoral fictions of Arcadia. The pasturage was generally occupied by the herdsman, and I could not help observing to my fellow-travellers, what an enchanting spot the whole surface exhibited for a settlement; so much so, that I almost envied the native his retirement and his home. The country here was quite free from those impenetrable thickets which so frequently obstruct the traveller, and protect the wild animals against the pursuits of the hunter. Nothing like jungle could be perceived, but fine extensive woods of thriving and valuable timber, suitable for all the purposes of domestic and naval architec-

ture. At night, having previously regaled ourselves with a pot of thick milk at the kraal of the king, called Issapaize, we descended from the summit of a mountain, the declivity of which was exceedingly steep, and crossed the river Umslatas, when we had to ascend another eminence still more steep and rugged previously to our reaching a kraal for the night; this we accomplished, but not without inconceivable fatigue and labour.

28th.—Our route to-day was new; it lay over a hilly part of the country, and presented some objects to which we had not been accustomed. All the eminences were studded with hamlets, exhibiting a busy scene between the natives and their respective herds, which are numerous, and evincing a care and management not common among the Zoolas. In this district we “fared sumptuously,” if beef and thick milk might be considered a sumptuous repast. At noon we reached the lofty woods of Maquasus, under the umbrageous foliage of which we reposed for a while from the oppressive influence of the sun, its rays being too powerful to admit of our proceeding until the evening brought with it some reviving coolness. At sun-set we arrived at the kraal of Schlofcwacaobus, where we halted for the night, to prepare for meeting the king in the morning. The messengers supplied us with a fine cow, which we ordered to be killed. We ate heartily of it, although we had nothing but a little tea, as a substitute for a more congenial beverage.

29th.—We commenced our journey early, and proceeded until we reached a waterfall at the distance of a few miles. Here we stopped to bathe, and prepare for approaching the royal residence. Having performed the usual ablutions, and put ourselves in our best trim for saluting the Zoola monarch, we moved on in regular order, under the wise and sage suggestions of our messenger, who was no novice in these matters. Our native attendants, carrying the presents, marched in single files, so as to exhibit to the king a more distended front as we appeared in sight of the royal residence; whilst the Europeans advanced in front of the whole. This, our sagacious messenger said, was to give the presents an air of grandeur, and excite the admiration of the king and his attendants, at our reverence and consideration for his majesty, who retained a lively respect for his “Maloongoes,” or white men of Natal. We approached the royal kraal, advancing in line until we reached the lower avenue leading to the palace, near which the king was seated, attended by a chosen body of his subjects, who surrounded his person.

The people, as we approached, gave way to enable us to pass towards his majesty, who looked at us sternly. The messenger, “Intobaler,” made a short address to the sovereign by the way of salutation for us, while we seated ourselves, or rather squatted, on the ground like the natives, until he had concluded his speech, which was favourably heard.



The king, Dingān, then addressed me, and said with a smile, "Tambooser Umtavata (my Zoola appellation), I see you." I replied, "Yabo Baaba," (yes, father); he then desired us to approach him, and produce our presents. The eyes of the monarch and of his people were immediately directed towards the several articles we had to present, and, as they were unfolded for his majesty's inspection, an expression of admiration burst from the whole multitude by whom he was surrounded, and their eyes glistened with evident anxiety to become the favoured partakers of the white men's bounty. Dingān, after having minutely inspected the whole, began to distribute the blankets and cloth very liberally among his favourites; but the beads and trinkets which so greatly attracted him, were ordered to be taken to the palace for the royal use, and for distribution among the members of his household. He then expressed his regret that the vessel had arrived at a moment when he was so unprepared sufficiently to remunerate us for so valuable a gift, rendered the more so, from its being presented to him thus unexpectedly, and from his not having had the least intimation of my intention of returning to his country. Now, however, he apprehended that, even should he send his people to hunt the elephant, as I had taken him as it were by surprise, he might not be able to meet my expectations, nor accomplish what his inclination prompted him to do his best to perform.



He immediately, and without any hesitation or delay, sent out in every direction to collect all the ivory that could be found within his dominions, which he feared was very little, and that little only the produce of such beasts as had been killed by accident. There had been no order to hunt for some time, from the political state of his country, which had otherwise occupied the whole of his warriors and people; but, said he, "whatever I can collect you shall have."

Dingān now evinced a particular solicitude to ascertain the news from the "other side of the water," and showed manifest symptoms of regret that he had not known my design of returning to Natal; for in such case he would have been prepared to receive me with that respect and friendship which he should always show to such Europeans as might settle with him, particularly if they were subjects of King George; as he wished much that my king should know how powerful and rich his country was, and the advantages he could offer to British subjects to trade with him.

I could easily perceive, from the manner and professions of Dingān, that he had an implicit confidence in the white people who had settled at Natal; looking upon them as beings whom he might, without apprehension, permit to have intercourse with his subjects (in the way of traffic), which might be highly beneficial to his country.

I saw he was strongly impressed with a deep sense of the advantages that would, in all probability, ensue from granting to European settlers an unlimited right of commercial enterprise, and such other operations as they might be inclined to carry on.

His predecessor, Chaka, had no feeling in favour of commerce; he manifested an opposite opinion of its effects, and exhibited an invincible distaste for any thing approaching to a traffic with his subjects; conceiving that it enervated them, and unfitted them for war. Chaka thought it impossible that his country could advance in greatness by any other means than by the physical power of his people; that the moment they were permitted to relax from a rigid system of warlike discipline, they would become the prey of the tribes around them, whom he had subdued in detail, and then dwindle into an insignificant power, and become tributary to those whom he had laid prostrate at his feet. Dingān, on the other hand, sought repose, evincing an eagerness to see his country tranquil and his people happy. He thought that by means of traffic, his dominions would become known to the only power with whom he wished a friendly intercourse—namely, the English, towards whom he decidedly and indisputably maintained a degree of friendship, which ought to be valued by those who participated in its gifts.

The Europeans—and I speak as one who indulged

in his good opinion—are bound to admit that Dingān is a man differently constituted from his predecessor Chaka. The warring elements in the latter made him a ferocious savage; whilst the calm and reflecting Dingān, his successor, is deliberative and calculating, though bold and energetic. He never sought to gratify the feelings of revenge from the mere love of cruelty, though at times he was implacable, and perhaps unrelenting; on the other hand, he had those perceptive powers, that were likely to promote the ultimate good of his people, of which Chaka was destitute. Thus the one was hated by his subjects, whilst the other is likely to be esteemed, for although they may fear him, they will still love him.

The king, who had retired to his palace after seeing the presents, sent us two bullocks to kill, accompanied with plenty of milk and beer.

30th—A servant arrived from Dingān to summon us to an interview. The king was seated at the head of his kraal, with only two or three attendants near him. Mr. Fynn took this opportunity of communicating to him the case of Kelimba, a native whose cattle had been taken away, and nearly all his people and wives killed by the malice of Sotobe, the principal chief. Kelimba and his brothers saved their own lives by flying to Mr. Fynn's protection. Dingān having attended with some earnestness to the recital of this tragedy, desired that the brother of Kelimba should return to his kraal, collect all his people

who had escaped, proceed with them, and build habitations near to the residence of Mr. Fynn, through whose instrumentality their lives had been saved. In the afternoon there was a good deal of dancing and singing, when the king sent for us to look on. A Chinese\* exhibited his long black tail, which was greatly admired, and attracted the admiration of the sovereign and his people.

1st May.—As the vessel would be increasing her expenses by any delay, I sought to ascertain what was likely to be the result of our expedition: we consequently went to the palace, and saluted his majesty, who was standing outside. He requested us to enter. As he was alone, we saw that it was a favourable moment to enter on the subject of our visit. The interview lasted nearly four hours, and was highly satisfactory.

We could easily perceive, that the king was more than ordinarily anxious to have white people establish themselves at Natal, for the purpose of commerce. He again repeated what he before assured me, that if I would remain with Mr. Fynn, he would give me plenty of cattle, and turn his attention towards hunting the elephant for me: he further said that, if I liked to send the vessel to get the articles he required, he would fill her on her return. “Look round,” said the monarch, ignorant

\* This man was servant to one of the passengers that was wrecked in the Portuguese sloop.

of the capacity of a vessel, "see the mountains and forests; their extent and their productions; they are all mine, they contain innumerable elephants, and my rivers the hippopotami. I have given up going to war; I mean to cultivate peace, and live on terms of good-will with all my neighbours, as being more congenial to my feelings, and more conducive to the welfare of my people. I shall then hunt the elephant and the hippopotamus, which will be an amusement for my subjects and enable me to remunerate my friends." He stated his resolution to inculcate among his people a love of peace, and a wish to acquire a knowledge in tilling the soil; as he was confident, from the assurances held out to him by the European settlers, that his country was capable of being made highly productive, by the steady and constant attention of its inhabitants.

He also stated that he would have all his hides collected and sent on to me. Having frequently perceived horns of slaughtered bullocks lying in heaps, and at times burnt in large quantities, I sought to procure them, but found it not an easy matter. It appears that a superstitious idea prevails among the Zoolas, that any person abroad, who may be in possession of the horns of dead cattle, has the power given to him by the Spirit to kill those that are living; but after some little explanation on the fallacy of such an opinion, I saw that these absurd notions were soon removed. When this interview was

concluded we retired to our own hut, where my friend and myself began to talk over the events of the day, and the probability of opening a commercial intercourse which in time might be ripened into something highly advantageous.

We were taking our supper, when a messenger arrived to summon us to the palace: we attended, and found the king amusing himself with his females, who were numerous. We saluted him, and seated ourselves in the customary way; I then informed him that I wished to return to Natal in the morning. He asked us if we had seen him dance; I told him I had never had that pleasure: he immediately called all his girls, and repaired with them to another apartment in the palace, requesting us to follow. The females having arranged themselves as is usual on such occasions, the king began to exhibit his skill and agility. He displayed extraordinary power in throwing himself into particular attitudes, which must have required great muscular strength to have accomplished, and this in fact his frame evinced.

Dingān had a fierce, penetrating aspect; his eye was keen, quick, and always engaged, nothing escaping him, but every movement and gesture of his people was readily caught, and immediately noticed. He was excessively open to praise, and courted our approbation exceedingly; our applause appearing to be the very acme of his ambition.

Dingān certainly is destined to please his people,

for he has the ways of a savage courtier, and seeks every moment to show that he wishes rather to reign in the good opinion of his subjects than to rule over them with the arm of terror.

We retired to repose, being much fatigued by the events of the day.

### CHAPTER III.

MAY 2nd.—To-day Dingān sent for us, and gave us a large calabash of thick milk ; he afterwards presented me with sixteen elephants' tusks, sixteen head of cattle, and twenty hides, which, said he, "are all I can collect from this short notice." He then appointed a chief to accompany us home, and select two cows to kill at every kraal in which we slept. He asked me for more goods, and pledged himself that while my people were bringing them he would despatch his to collect all the ivory and hides in every direction, and send to us. He detained us until near three o'clock, conversing on the subject of my remaining permanently in Natal, and sending away my vessel, expressing his desire to have some one at Natal who would report to him all that transpired. He offered to make Mr. Fynn his agent at Natal, promising that the people should belong to Tomboozer and Umbulaso\*. He also desired Mr. Fynn to take possession of all the cattle belonging to the late Mr.

\* An appellation the natives had given to Mr. Fynn.



Farewell, which had been taken by Cane and Ogle; “for,” said he, “they had no right to take them without my permission.” Mr. Fynn objected to this, and observed, that he had no wish to be agent, as it was not the custom of his country, neither would his countrymen obey him. “But, however, if your majesty wishes,” said Mr. Fynn, “I can have no objection to become your agent for the purpose of reporting to you what takes place from time to time.” Dingān would not listen to this proposal, and seemed a little excited at what he thought folly in Mr. F., his refusing the cattle and objecting to become a chief. I could not help thinking myself that it was a poor compliment to Dingān, to refuse so generous an offer. The character of agent, however, Dingān thought so nearly allied to that of a tributary king, that he insisted on my friend becoming sovereign of Natal; “and,” said he, addressing himself to me, “to whom does all that country belong?—have I not given it to you?—and are not the people who inhabit it yours?—When, then, any of those people die who belong to your dominions, their cattle becomes your property, agreeably to the customs of the Zoolas.” The original grant of the tract of country before ceded to me by his predecessor Chāka was, it will be perceived, recognised by Dingān and confirmed to me; and the appointment of my friend Mr. Fynn as king over this territory originated from a suggestion of mine; knowing that the people esteemed him, and that his character for hu-

manity made him exceedingly popular with the natives, who looked up to him with a sort of veneration. He well deserved it, for he has often stopped the bloody decrees of the Zoola monarchs, and even of some of the chiefs, and saved many innocent natives from an inhuman death. After a long debate, in which my friend Fynn endeavoured to assure Dingān of the absurdity of such a distinction being conferred on him, as he could not exercise any authority over Europeans, and after pointing out to him the consequences that might ensue (to which he would not attend, nor yet be induced to waive the intended honour), we took our leave of him, reached our residence in six days, and found our friends all well.

8th.—I now prepared another present for the king, with which I sent the brother of Mr. Fynn, who was absent twenty-three days. The captain of our vessel and myself, with the crew and our natives, began to cut wood\*, for ballasting the brig on her return.

1st June.—To-day Mr. W. Fynn returned from the king, and in a day or two after the natives arrived with fifty elephants' tusks, forty-two hides, and eleven oxen. His majesty had given twenty of the latter, but, from a misunderstanding with the chiefs, nine of them were lost. This being all that the Zoola monarch could furnish in return for our presents—at least at

\* Ship-timber; such as knees for boats, and for other purposes of ship-building, intended for the St. Helena market.

the present moment—and having got on board about fifty tons of wood, the brig was prepared for sea. On the 23rd current she weighed anchor, and proceeded for Delagoa Bay to dispose of her gunpowder, of which she had a considerable quantity on board of inferior quality, suited only for the Portuguese in the Mozambique.

I had now determined to remain permanently in Natal, and endeavour to push an intercourse with the neighbouring tribes, in fact, as far into the interior as we might find practicable. For this purpose Mr. Fynn and myself came to a mutual agreement to unite our interests in our territorial grants, and in our commercial pursuits. I now began to look out for a convenient residence for myself and my natives. In the mean time Mr. Fynn proceeded to the country of the “Botwas,” who are hunters that live on the elephants’ flesh, to whom he had sent presents of beads, cloth, and cattle, with the view of encouraging them to visit Natal and trade with us. Our messengers despatched with the presents returned with two of the Botwas people, who brought a present of ivory, and invited Mr. Fynn to proceed with them, for the purpose of trading.

The “Botwas” are a people whose sole occupation is elephant hunting; they have no fixed settlement, but move as circumstances render it necessary, in search of the elephant. They are separated in four divisions, and take four distinct routes on their hunting excursions.

sions. When they have found a herd of these animals, and succeeded in killing some of them, they erect temporary huts, and remain until they have consumed all the flesh and secured the teeth. These latter they usually bury in the soil until an opportunity offers for disposing of them; and for this purpose some of these people find their way to the frontier tribes, where they obtain a sale for their ivory; while others again, who are scattered inland, have no means of disposing of any teeth they may collect unless from those opportunities which might arise from our sending messengers to them.

Mr. Fynn undertook to trade with these people, while I confined my operations to the Zoolas: we therefore started for our respective destinations not a little elated with our regulations, as being indicative of a successful result.

28th.—To-day I commenced my journey to the country, and, after a few days' travelling on foot, reached Congella, the residence of the king, to which place, about one hundred miles from Natal, his majesty had removed. It was nearly sunset when I arrived: he was sitting in the cattle kraal, admiring a large herd of about 3000 bullocks, mostly white, and a few spotted. I could not but express my surprise at seeing so fine a drove of animals, which would have done credit to any country, either for size or beauty. The king immediately sent me a cow to kill, and two baskets of sweet potatoes. After inquiring

the news, he sent for two large elephants' teeth and set them before me, as well as four smaller ones, which he said had been sent as a proof that his people had begun to hunt, and that he anticipated he should have an immense quantity by the time the vessel returned. He gave me the present lot, but told me to leave them in my hut, as "they might breed," meaning that he would shortly add to them.

July 5th.—This day was a peculiarly brilliant one; the atmosphere was light and clear, and every thing seemed, during the morning, more than usually tranquil. In the afternoon the king sent for me to the palace, and requested me to bring my musket. I thought this somewhat strange, but loaded it, and went to him, as he commanded. He was sitting near his palace, with a body of people round him, and two fine-looking women sitting immediately opposite to him. They appeared very melancholy, and had interesting countenances; so that I was exceedingly moved for them, fearing their fate. I saluted the king and took my seat, while the warriors eyed me with a look which indicated that my musket put them in fear. I soon found out that the two females were Catoe's wives, who had returned to their friends after the revolt of that chief, as had many more, whom Dingān ordered to be sacrificed. This he had done to every one who had revolted with his enemy, except about one hundred, who had sought

refuge with Mr. Fynn; these had obtained their pardon, and were living under my friend's protection.

The chiefs were engaged in talking with these two innocent women, who had been forced to follow their rebel husband, and were now about to be executed. They excited all my sympathy—they occasioned an involuntary impulse in me to try to save them from death—to appeal for mercy, and snatch them from the grasp of the wretches who were tantalising them in a way that made my very soul stir within me, and wish that I had but power to do justice upon the unfeeling miscreants. But, alas! no human appeal could save them—the die was cast, and the Zoola customs could not be dispensed with; no mitigation, no mercy, no pardon could be granted; the chiefs and warriors sought their execution, and Dingān gave the motion for them to be *sent home*. The unhappy creatures knew what was meant by the signal, and fell on their knees before the king, supplicating mercy; but it was of no avail, the signal for death had been given, and could not be recalled. As these doomed and unoffending women walked away towards their home, as it was called in derision, the king ordered five or six of his own men to go with them. Immediately they had turned their backs, the king said to me, “They are the wives of Catoe, who killed Mr. Farewell,—go and shoot them.” I refused, bluntly telling him that were I to do such a thing I

should be liable to be punished by my king the moment I appeared in his dominions at the Cape ; and that the governor would be sure to hear of it. He immediately replied, in a stern and resolute manner, — “ They killed one of your countrymen, and I insist on their lives being taken by the musket.” I then, in a mild, entreating, and supplicatory address, appealed to him to consider that the two women had no more to do with the revolt, and the subsequent conduct of their husband, in the affair of Mr. Farewell’s death, than his own girls would have if he (Dingān) had done the deed ; that as Catoe was now dead, and the white people sought no longer to bring the offenders to punishment, I trusted he would not think of spilling more blood on that account. After this he became angry and sulky, at not having his orders obeyed, and said no more to me, but desired his servants to have the two women taken to a conspicuous elevation contiguous to the kraal. The chiefs then ordered my boy, Nasapongo, to take my musket, and go immediately and shoot the two women, that they might see the effect of the “ issebum,” or musket. The boy took hold of my piece with a trembling hand : I took it from him, and said, “ that muskets were not invented for shooting the innocent in the hour of peace ; they were only intended to use against enemies in time of war.” The chiefs, these savage and merciless chiefs, seeing the king vexed, and likely to be enraged, excited his anger, and then, with a



ferocious smile, as if exulting at their success, turned towards my boy and told him, in a stern and threatening tone, to go and take the musket and shoot them. I saw that all my efforts, all my entreaties, were vain—that no alternative remained but to give up my piece, and permit my own boy to be the executioner of the unhappy victims of Zoola vengeance, or subject myself to a similar fate. I gave the boy my musket and pistols, and told Dingān, in a way that he could not mistake, to put the wretched and devoted women to death without subjecting them to the torture of a second fire. By this time they were seated on the spot designed for their execution, with about ten people to secure them from running away. My boy, Nasapongo, an unwilling instrument of the savages, went to the spot, when the eyes of all the sanguinary warriors, with Dingān in their centre, were fixed intently on the devoted objects of destruction. The boy approached them within ten yards and fired; the ball fortunately passed through the breast of one of them, and the woman instantly became a corpse. I say fortunately, because I could not but think it better to suffer instant death, than that the poor creature, if only wounded, should afterwards be subject to torture and mutilation. This had an effect of even striking terror into the people who were sent to guard them—they ran some distance, being in a panic, and knew not what they did; while the other woman, innocent of the power of arms, put her mat



before her, as if she thought that it might save her from the fate of her companion, and waited the effect of the next fire. Nasapongo, with a pistol, fired, and wounded her in the back. She started from her seat, running backwards, looking on her executioner with terror and anguish, while he loaded his musket. He fired at her again, and ended her miserable existence. The king and his savage warriors, from whose imprecations I am convinced this execution emanated, were astounded at the effect of fire-arms, for at each report they shook their fore-fingers, and simultaneously exclaimed "eezee!" an ejaculation in battle signifying contempt. After this Dingān, although he had indulged in the sight of this barbarous act, evinced his joy by a flow of spirits which he did not usually manifest, and immediately sent me a vessel of beer, containing at least five gallons, when I took the opportunity of going to my hut, to ruminate on the horrid scene of which I had been an unwilling spectator; but I could neither find repose nor comfort. I enjoyed this consolation, however, that I had tried every thing within my humble means to save the poor creatures who had been the victims of so much wanton barbarity.

6th. — I arose this morning with feelings far from enviable. I thought the savage days of Chaka had passed, and that a revival of his atrocities would no more disgrace the reign of a Zoola monarch: nay more, I anticipated from the

conduct of Dingān, that he had become so far civilised that any wanton or inhuman sacrifice of the native people would not again pollute the Zoola sovereign's reign : but I have been deceived ; though I ought not to have contemplated so sudden a change from a state of barbarism to one of comparative civilisation. I am, however, inclined to think, that Dingān's warriors had influenced him in the late execution, and, as he has given us, subsequently, many proofs of it, he may become divested of all that innate ferocity which seems to have been inherent in him and his progenitors. Still I think, from the efforts the Europeans have made in Natal to promote so great an object as that of bringing these people to a state of society (rational and free from those ebullitions which have so often been witnessed, and which have placed many of us in great jeopardy), that something more must be done to accomplish so desirable an end. What Captain Owen has very justly observed in his work \*, appears to me the only feasible way by which civilisation may be fully effected. He says,—“ But after all, it is doubtful whether civilisation can be imported—whether it is not a spontaneous growth, which must first be planted by the hand of an all just and wise Creator. The mind of the savage must be prepared by a modification of the fiery passions of his nature before he

\* Owen's Narrative of Voyages, vol. 2.

changes his state ; he cannot at once see the advantages of a civilised over his own wild life, and must, therefore, by a gentle and well directed hand be subdued to reason ; for to try at once to introduce civilisation into the mind of the savage, is like breaking the shell of the chrysalis in order to extract the dormant moth. It is one of the operations of nature which time alone can accomplish, and which any hasty and premature attempts serve only to destroy.”

I can take upon myself to say, that my European friends at Natal made great efforts to effect an improvement in the natives, so as to lead them by degrees towards civilisation, and that so far as my humble aid could contribute, I sought to impress, not only the king, but his chiefs, with a due sense of those feelings of regard for their fellow-men, which might advance them, in the progress of time, to that condition in which all the benefits of intercourse might be perceptible to them, and by such means effect a change in their characters, their customs, and propensities, beneficial to themselves and agreeable to the world.

7th.—This was a day so remarkable, that it is worthy of being recorded. The whole vicinity of the king's residence was overrun by swarms of locusts, consuming all before them, as in olden times, when they scourged the Egyptians, as a retribution for their monarch's disregard of the commands of his Creator.

The king and his attendants were engaged in destroying them. Their efforts were of little avail; they had spread their destructive influence throughout the royal hamlet. I was deeply impressed with the scene, and could not but think it an awful visitation of Divine power for the manifold enormities of the people. The visitation was as frightful as it was sudden, and not more alarming than pernicious to vegetable life.

8th.—To-day the spies of Dingān returned from the country of Ingnapie, a chief, whose tribe dwell inland, on the borders of the St. John's river, and who had recently defeated Catoe, the revolted Zoola chief, from whom they captured the whole of his cattle; a part of which, having been taken by Catoe from the Zoolas, Dingān sought to recover.

9th.—The king summoned me to-day, and gave me nine head of cattle and a large pot of beer: in the evening he sent me four loads of Caffre corn, which I found acceptable, and thanked him for the timely present.

10th.—The country was again annoyed by another visitation of locusts, which the king and his people were all occupied in destroying. It is a singular fact that these destructive insects were not known in this quarter before 1829, or early in 1830; and the Zoolas superstitiously attribute their visitations to the power of Sochunguny, the nation whom the Zoolas were sent to attack by Chaka, in the district of Delagoa,

and whom they followed on their retreat, after having been defeated by that chieftain.

11th.—The king, forgetting his declaration that he had done with war, consulted his chiefs to-day about attacking Ingnapie, to recover the cattle which Catoe had taken from the Zoolas. Dingān had become enraged at the proceedings of some bush-rangers whom he would not permit to reside within his territories, but ordered them to find a retreat somewhere, and not have any intercourse with the Zoolas. He suspected that the Europeans had communication with these people, and he said to me, “I know you Malongoes are in the habit of protecting the ‘Issequaligualies’ or bush-rangers, and I have never been against it; but as you are my people, your people must be so too; you are also in the habit of giving goods, and as your property is mine, and handled both by you and by me, I must request you will have nothing to do with these people who made their escape from Inyarka-mooley\*, or I can have nothing to do with you. You must not even allow them to enter your kraals, for they must be banished from my country, or some evil will befall me.”

11th.—The king designed to execute all those followers of the chief Catoe whom he could discover; care however was to be taken that no white people were amongst them, they not being of the country, but

\* The place of Chaka's sepulchre.

belonging to another race. The warriors were sent to the kraal to which the two executed women belonged, with directions to destroy it and to bring away the cattle.

12th.—The king sent for me to the palace this morning; we were almost alone, there being, beside ourselves, only my native boy and a female of his establishment. He conversed with me unreservedly on the subject of the bravery of the Malongoes or white people, and of the difference in the system of fighting between them and his warriors. He at once acknowledged it to be his opinion that no power he had could combat with another that used fire-arms; but added, he did not believe any people could conquer the Zoolas excepting Europeans.

He gave me a small pot of beer, and said that on the return of his warriors from Ingnapie, he would give me a quantity of cattle, as they were only gone for the purpose of supplying my kraal, so that the people of the vessel might see I was residing with a great king, who was amply supplied with all the means of subsistence. In the afternoon Dingān assembled his warriors; seeing them muster at the head of the kraal, I went thither and seated myself among them. He talked to us as in the morning, on the subject of fighting with the white people. It was the chiefs' opinion that they could conquer us by attacking us in the night; they said, "When the white people discharge their muskets, we could go and

spear them before they re-loaded." I contended against such an idea; the king agreed with me, and said, "If the white people were to come here to fight us, they need not fire *at us*, as the report from their pieces would strike you with terror, and while you ran one way, the Malongoes would drive off your cattle the other." All the chiefs except one agreed with the king; this fellow was considered a sort of Zoola Ajax, "the bravest of the brave," and spoke of our system of fighting as well as of our courage and capability somewhat contemptuously, as being infinitely inferior to their own, and remarked that he only desired the king's sanction to show the white people the courage of the Zoolas, meaning at the time that the forces of Chaka were recalled from Hinson's, on the frontiers. This fellow went on to such a length that I felt disposed to dispute the palm with him at the risk of my life. I therefore told him to get his shield and spears, and that I would get my weapons, and meet him on the hill, where the king might have an opportunity of witnessing our combat, and decide who was victorious, and which pursued the best method of fighting. This unexpected challenge struck him with terror; the chiefs unanimously declaring that they would never dispute the bravery of a white man. The affair of seven white men attacking "Batcher," was sufficient to establish the fame of the Malongoes. My antagonist agreed with this, and by way of cover-



ing his own cowardice, remarked that he only spoke in a strain of jocularitv, and meant not to question the superiority of our system of warfare. Seeing his vaunted courage, like that of Acres, "oozing out at his fingers' ends," I assumed an offensive attitude, and told him he must now fight, for the mere pleasure of fighting, and to gratify my propensity for it. To carry on the artifice, and make this vaunting hero of the Zoolas tremble from apprehension, I sent for my double-barrelled pistol and musket, and told my opponent that I was now ready for three such. The king laughed heartily; so did I inwardly, but displayed a forced rage, which at length compelled the fellow to acknowledge that he was afraid; he then made an ample and abject apology before his sovereign and his brother chiefs.

The king after this got up and walked away, but could not abstain from laughing at the fallen visage of the intimidated champion. The sun was now setting, and I got up to go to my hut, saying, however, in the hearing of the champion and his comrades, that, if the king would permit it, I would settle the business in the morning. I then retired, secretly exulting at having succeeded so well, and receiving the compliments of the warriors, who were flattering me not from pleasure but from fear. The champion came abjectly sneaking into my hut just as I had entered, and entreated me not to introduce the subject in the morning, as the king might compel him to fight with



me : I thought so too ; and as I had got off so triumphantly, and considering with Falstaff, that “discretion was the better part of valour,” I was quite willing that my choler should be tranquillised by my opponent’s submission, not forgetting, however, first to let the intimidated chief know that such another provocation might be attended with serious consequences ; and that, should he ever combat with a white man, the strife would be mortal.

13th.—This morning the people caught a wolf, and tied the sinews of its hind legs, so that it had no use of them. The king came to see his people set the dogs at the prowling marauder. The Caffre dogs did nothing but bark at the animal ; I tried mine, which attacked it so furiously and fearlessly, that the wolf bit her sharply ; this only enraged her the more, and made her fight desperately. The king was pleased at the courage of the dog, and entreated me much to give it to him, which I did, though somewhat reluctantly.

14th.—The king sent for me this morning to fire at a tree, that he might see the force of the bullet. The tree I selected was not very hard ; I fired with my fowling-piece at a distance of thirty paces, and the ball penetrated nearly half through it ; but on firing with my musket at the same distance, the ball went quite through, and could be heard after it had passed, which astonished the ignorant Zoolas, who, at every future experiment, seemed to be more struck with surprise ; “the more they gazed, the

more their wonder grew." They were unanimous, however, in declaring that it would be impossible to fight against such weapons. The king had often asked me for a musket, and did so again to-day; but I told him my king would perhaps charge me with cowardice, and kill me, were he to find that I had parted with a musket. He said he only wanted one for himself to frighten away the Umtagarties\*, people who came near his hut; however I thought it most advisable to keep him in the dark respecting the power of muskets, as the more familiar they should become with their use, the less apprehensive they would be of their effects.

In the afternoon the king called his warriors together to converse about the intended attack on Ingnapie. I took my seat among them "to kill time," and presently came a drove of thirty cattle, taken from the kraal of a chief who, for an offence, had had his eyes put out. The cattle were distributed by the king to his people; after which six fine milch cows came; these were given to me, and I was promised more from the cattle of Ingnapie, when they should be taken. I thanked him in the usual manner, and with the rest of the people who had received cattle, namely, by each holding up the fore-finger, and simultaneously exclaiming "eezee" three times consecutively. The ceremony is performed as often as the

\* Witches—people not fit to live, or evil doers.

king makes presents. To-day Dingān gave me permission to return home, and I retired to my hut to prepare for my journey.

15th.—I arose early this morning to proceed homewards. The dog I had given to the king followed me, but his majesty who was up, seeing it, sent some boys after it to bring it back. The dog would not follow them, and they were afraid to touch it at first, but being more afraid of the king's anger, they at last forced the animal along.

Proceeding on my way, on the 18th I met four girls and two boys from my kraal, that came to meet me with beer and provisions. I put up here, set off early next morning, and proceeded over the beach, continuing my progress homewards until I reached the head of the bay, where I was surprised to see two huts recently built. I went there and found that Cane's cart had broken down, and that he had erected his tent for the purpose of repairing it. The good and faithful Rachel, whom I saw, told me they had met with the accident to their cart, on their way to the colony.

20th.—My people came to me, as is the custom, to pay their respects to their chief; the principal brought me a fine cow to kill.

23rd.—The last two days, accompanied by William and Frank, two of my people, I set about in good earnest, laying out my new kraal and erecting my residence. The wind being fresh from the westward,

two of my people came to inform me that a ship and a brig had appeared off the coast, standing to the eastward.

In the evening, Cane, Ogle, and Holstead, arrived at Mr. Fynn's residence; they were proceeding to the Cape on the mission before mentioned from Dingān. I walked with Cane the next morning to Insimbere, spent the day there, and returned.

25th.—This party started on their mission to the Cape, or rather to Graham's Town. At noon Jacob the interpreter came to me, and in the evening Umsega. The former said he was going on the mission with Cane, much against his will; that he had no one to thank for it but Cane, and that when he reached the colony he would complain to the authorities respecting his conduct towards him; he moreover evinced a strong desire to be revenged. I wrote to my friend Mr. Chabeaud, at Port Elizabeth, and gave the letter in charge of Jacob.

27th.—The spies of Dingān passed my residence to-day on their way to the territories of Ingnapie, to make their observations on the extent of his country and power, and take a survey of the passes best suited for the advance of troops. At noon messengers came from Umseboachers to report to us that some white people and two waggons were near Natal. William and Frank set out to meet them, and in the evening I received a piece of paper with the names of "Biddulph and Collis" written on it,

which the messengers said were the names of the Malongoes.

28th.—At noon these two gentlemen arrived on horseback, and towards sunset an old man named Oughton, accompanied by five Hottentots, made his appearance, the latter had charge of the luggage. They had two waggons and five horses; they had been near six months from the colony, and were on a trading and speculative journey to Dingān.

I sent to apprise the king of their arrival, and intimated to him what I conceived to be the object of their journey, as I knew he was anxious always to have the earliest information of the arrival of strangers in his dominions.

29th.—To-day I had the pleasure of entertaining the strangers. I saw their articles for barter, principally beads; and ascertained by a sort of side wind that they were in search of the Botwas, the identical people who had sent for Mr. Fynn two months before to trade with them. Mr. Fynn was at that time about to proceed to their country for that purpose; they promised to reward us for the trouble we had taken in seeking for them. We passed the night jovially, and enjoyed the meeting exceedingly.

30th.—To-day the rain fell in gentle showers; after it had subsided, the strangers and their retinue proceeded to Fort Farewell.

31st.—I sent off seven boys to-day with muskets

to hunt the elephant, and penetrate into the country to discover some of the scattered Botwas of whom we had heard. The women began to plant their corn and to engage in preparing the soil for such esculents as we were wont to produce. The natives have peculiar superstitions relative to the commencement of planting, which I tried to remove, but this must be the work of time.

Their notions lead them to decline commencing planting until a certain bird, which they call the harvest bird, of the migratory kind, not unlike the crane, makes its appearance, which it periodically does about the month of July or August, whereas corn planting ought to begin in May or June; but we could not prevail on them to make any attempt, so obstinately wedded were they to their superstitious customs.

## CHAPTER IV.

SUNDAY, August 1st.—Notwithstanding my most strict and earnest assurances that I would not permit any labour on the Sabbath day, my people commenced planting early in the morning, saying, they knew nothing of Sunday, and that if they did not continue to plant now, their crops would all fail. The Europeans, as usual, had prayers; the natives came to us and remained tranquil during the solemn scene, noticing our manner to be different from other days.

2nd.—I was much delighted this morning to see all my natives busily engaged (so contrary to their indolent habits) in planting in every direction around me, and with so much good humour withal, that I am not aware I had met with anything of the kind in Natal that afforded me such gratification. The scene was interesting, both as it evinced happiness in my natives, and was illustrative that example had already effected a change in their habits, and that they were progressing gradually towards civilisation.

Some of them I set to build me a native hut at Mount Pleasant, near to the burial-place of my late friend, Lieutenant King.

3rd.—To-day reports came that my party hunting the elephant had killed a buffalo. The chiefs of Issiburmene and Insimbene came to discuss matters relative to the regulation of their respective kraals.

4th.—A Hottentot arrived from Messrs. Biddulph and Collis, to get some saltpetre from us. Spent the day practising the most active of my native boys in firing at a target. The progress they had made was prodigious: five lads out of the seven whom I had instructed in the use of fire-arms, hit the target at a distance of sixty paces, nine times out of ten. I attributed their success to the quick sight and strong nerve they have, which is peculiar to the blacks in almost all parts of the African continent.

5th.—My copartner Mr. Fynn set off this morning, accompanied by a body of armed natives, with a quantity of goods to barter with the Botwas, who had arrived at the river Umcamas expressly to meet him, and had invited him thither.

In the afternoon we had a grand display of a marriage festival or ceremony, at which had congregated an innumerable body of natives of either sex, and of all ages. It commenced by the bride exhibiting herself, attended by a numerous train of females dancing up and down the kraal. She was attired in a short habiliment reaching from the waist to the



knee. Her hair was decorated with feathers in imitation of a coronet. Her skin shone with brilliant lustre from having been *greasefully* prepared for the purpose. On her sable breast, she had hung, in rows tastefully arranged, beads of various hues to adorn a bust of more than graceful shape and symmetry. From her neck she had suspended a selalo, or ornament, forming a cross,

That Jews might kiss, and infidels adore.

There was, altogether, something so engaging in the bride, that she seemed like a black fairy, or something superhuman. Though black she was lovely, and though of a savage race she was as meek, gentle, and tender, as any reasonable savage could desire. Had she but been attired in the costume of our European beauties, she might have been thought elegant, though it could not be said that

Angels were painted *fair* to look like her.

The old females who had assembled sang their croaking strains, in admiration of her grace and attitudes during her dancing.

After this preparatory ceremony, the bride approached carelessly the feet of the anxious bridegroom, to whom she threw, with great *nonchalance*, a few strings of beads, and, with graceful indifference, danced away to the middle of the kraal, when her attendants distributed a few beads to all the friends of the happy husband; the old females made congratu-

latory speeches, and, with occasional significant glances towards a fat cow that was near, intended for the wedding repast, indicated that their minds were more occupied about the beast than the bride, and that they anticipated more solid pleasure from the cow than from the bridegroom. The cow was then killed; the bride and her female friends, with great formality, approached the bleeding animal which they touched and retired. The mother, or queen of the kraal, now concluded the marriage ceremony by placing a piece of cloth on her breast, indicating that the matrimonial ties were designed to cover all their youthful follies, and that they had to enter into a state of indissoluble friendship, which could not be cut asunder as the cloth could be rent. The bride and her friends now divided the flesh of the cow, which was soon consumed, and as it is not the custom of the Zoolas to cohabit on the bridal-night, the bride passed the evening with her female friends in singing and dancing; while the bridegroom, somewhat sullen, entertained his male friends, of whom I was considered one.

8th.—To-day, being Sunday, prayers were read as usual by the Europeans. An alarm was given by the running of our natives; this was occasioned by an enemy (as they supposed) having been seen on the banks of the river Umpocote. I was a little surprised at this information, and apprehended that it might be the Botwas, who perhaps having destroyed

Mr. Fynn and his party, intended to attack us in our peaceful settlements.

I sent out spies to reconnoitre, and bring us intelligence of the position of the enemy, and made preparation for repelling our invaders. Everybody was in great and unspeakable consternation; not one of the natives could be seen without terror depicted in his countenance. The females were to be seen in the act of fastening their children to their backs, and getting their little materials collected, ready for proceeding to the thickets for security. My musket party were from home, hunting the elephant; the natives belonging to Mr. Fynn were with him, so that we were weak in arms. I equipped myself, and, with my musket and pistols, got ready to advance against our enemy; William and Francis Fynn did the same. The natives of Issiburmene having now taken the alarm, came to head-quarters, armed with spears, assuring me that the tribe of Schlongwas had sent their cattle to the bush, and were gone in search of the enemy.

I had no time to reflect or deliberate, but thinking that the "first blow half wins the battle," and knowing that my natives were always to be stimulated by a display of alertness on the part of the Europeans, I set off with my party to the river, which was about three miles off, for the purpose of attacking the supposed invaders. I divided my force into three divisions, in order to assail them on their

flanks as well as in front. We advanced in order. I ascended an eminence with my division, when my spies came running to me, with inconceivably happy countenances, to tell me that it was a false alarm. They informed me that the Schlongwas had seen two persons with shields and spears, and apprehending they were a party of warriors, the tribe had driven their cattle into the bush, and had fled, with their families, thither. This had created the consternation, and made the people apprehend they were about to be invaded by some powerful enemy. I thought of administering to the Schlongwas a salutary punishment for their conduct, but upon reflection judged it better to leave the matter to Mr. Fynn. We returned, not a little rejoiced to find that our apprehensions for our friend were premature.

This afternoon some messengers arrived from Dingān, with orders to have a boy killed, who had deserted from the Zoolas, stolen the king's cattle, and debauched the wife of a chief. He had been sentenced to die, but had escaped. Having no wish that such a deed should be committed by my people, or on my premises, though I knew the consequences of a refusal, I went privately and apprised the lad of his danger, so that he might make another effort to avoid it, by going to a place which I pointed out to him, until the return of Messrs. Biddulph and Collis, when I promised to prevail on them to take him to the colony.

9th.—My elephant hunters returned to-day, having

been unsuccessful in obtaining ivory; but they had, however, killed several buffaloes.

11th.—Early this morning I was awakened by the report of a musket, which was followed by a hideous howl. I leaped from my bed, and ran towards the mob, who had collected at the bottom of the kraal, and there beheld a most painful sight. A poor boy was lying prostrate on the ground, his arm nearly shattered off, with a deep wound in his belly that exhibited his entrails, and the upper part of his thigh lacerated. He was bleeding a good deal, and faint from loss of blood, with which he was covered. In fact, the poor creature was so mangled that I had no hopes of relieving him. The natives began already to howl, conceiving him to be dying or dead. William and Francis Fynn, like myself, were inexperienced, and knew not what to do. We sent for Shingarn, the old native doctor, and then looked into medical books for information. My own judgment was, that the arm was too much shattered to be in any way set again, and that nothing would do but amputation. The doctor came, and displayed his knowledge by saying that he could do nothing for the dying youth. William Fynn resolved on cutting off the arm from the elbow; accordingly, we gave the sufferer forty drops of laudanum, and drove all the natives away. I went to keep his friends from approaching, who were coming to mourn, while William, with his razor, operated; and as soon as the arm was off, I sewed the

parts together, dressed the wounds, then lodged the lad in a hut, regulated his diet, put three boys to superintend him, and left him as well as could have been anticipated from his mangled condition.

The boy had been sitting at the entrance of the hut of another who had been trained to the use of the musket, and was cleaning it. The musket, being loaded, accidentally went off, and the poor boy, while looking at his companion cleaning the piece, received its contents in his arm and body.

13th.—My friend Mr. Fynn returned to-day from his journey to the Botwas. He had purchased a large quantity of ivory from them, entered into a friendly alliance, and made such arrangements with them for the future as to fix them firmly in our interest. We had no cattle nor beads at this time, but they had such confidence in us that they agreed to collect all their ivory and send to us, we undertaking to pay them for it on the arrival of our vessel. They had large quantities lying scattered in various places between the Umcamas and Bloody Rivers, which they were anxious to dispose of, and we agreed to receive it all.

I went to attend our patient, and found him as well as could have been expected. I gave him some salts, and saw that it was occasionally repeated.

20th.—For several days I applied myself to domestic matters, building a hut, attending my garden, corn-fields, and household affairs.

In the evening some messengers arrived, to inform

us that the Zoola commando had returned from an unsuccessful attack upon Ingnapie, being in a half-starved and otherwise deplorable condition. My patient still improving.

21st.—At noon a few warriors returned, nearly exhausted from hunger, and apparently in a pitiful state from privation. They informed me that Ingnapie had taken the alarm at their approach, and fled into the interior; that they had followed his track, overtaken his rear division, had a running fight with it, and captured seventy head of cattle. They then waited the arrival of the rest of their army, who were far behind, exhausted from hunger and fatigue, as it was only the stoutest of them that could go in pursuit of the foe. On their arrival they feasted on the seventy captured cattle, and afterwards pursued their enemy until they reached a very cold country, where a great many of the Zoolas died. The chiefs about this time, it appears, also had a dream: Morpheus stayed their warlike arm for a while, and made them dread an advance. They said “that the spirit of Chaka had appeared to all the principal chiefs in one night, and demanded to know from them what they were doing at such a distance from their own country, since they had killed him, in order that they might enjoy peace and tranquillity. He reminded them of their present king Dingān’s oath, “to lay down their spears and shields and go to war no more.” They had then another dream: the



spirit of Chaka returned, and said, "Where are the Zoolas going?—are they going to destruction?—if they go on they will surely die." At this period they were in a cold country, destitute of provisions, and dying daily in great numbers. From the communication and warnings of the spirit of Chaka, they retreated, trusting to chance for such sustenance as they could obtain from roots and wild vegetables which they found in their way. We directed these stragglers to retire to Umjulaler's kraal, and desired the people to supply them with food. A short time only had elapsed before we heard the death howl of the natives, and saw the women running over the hills, crying as they went, and making sad lamentations. We immediately armed ourselves and ran to the spot, to ascertain the cause of the noise and confusion. As we were going a man came running, nearly out of breath, to tell us that the Zoolas whom we had sent had killed Umjulaler, the chief of the kraal. We did not listen further, but rushed forward, resolutely determined to punish the ungrateful villains and murderers. On questioning the savage wretches, they became so abject and supplicatory that it partly abated our anger and rage; we paused, and heard what they had to say why summary justice should not be inflicted upon them for their ungrateful conduct, so infamously requiting the hospitality which the Europeans had designed for them. They told us the cause of the dispute, which was, that they had



asked a boy to give them a mat to sleep on, and on his refusing to do so, they beat him, and this had led to the disaster. We could only forbid them not to touch the people again at our place: we could not condemn them, as it is the custom of the Zoola warriors to demand such things wherever they go, and to take them if refused. I sent messengers to all the kraals to collect food for them, so as to prevent their plundering the natives on their way.

22nd.—The people brought in about ten bushels of corn. At noon two or three small divisions of the army arrived; we gave them provisions, and sent them to the outer kraals to repose. I went to Mount Pleasant, and set all my people to clear the land and prepare the soil for receiving seed. On turning it up, it appeared rich and likely to be highly productive; it was so mixed with animal and vegetable matter which had, from time immemorial, decomposed on its surface, as led me to anticipate a bountiful supply and an abundant return for the husbandman. Both the soil and the seasons are highly congenial for cultivating corn and vegetables; and even many of our European plants would produce luxuriantly if attended with proper care.

23rd.—Kelimba sent to report that two elephants had been in our vicinity. I sent off a party to shoot them, and Mr. Fynn accompanied them. His dog started one of them, which became so enraged that the party were obliged to retreat with all possible speed.

The dog gave up the chase, when Mr. Fynn returned, leaving the boys to pursue the huge beast. Hearing that the chiefs of the Zoola forces were coming towards our residence, Mr. Fynn sent them seven loads of provision to meet them on their way. At noon three chiefs arrived (Umtobaler, Zooloo, and Cocaler) with about two hundred people; in a miserable state, from hunger and fatigue. We gave them some corn, which they soon consumed; and to each of the chiefs we gave a cow.

26th.—The Zoola chiefs came to us to-day to take their leave, and, having thanked us for our hospitality, assured us that they would make it known to the king, who would liberally remunerate us. In the evening more Zoola warriors arrived, all in a state of exhaustion from want of food.

28th.—To-day Booty, the queen of Tars' Retreat, came to see me. Umlabelaler and his people brought me sticks, and came to build my hut. I left Fynn's place, to reside in my own kraal at Mount Pleasant, which was now nearly finished.

30th.—A strong westerly breeze made the weather pleasant. I sent for the people to dance. At noon three of the Botwas elephant hunters arrived with Umseboacher's people, to report that they had brought eighteen small tusks to purchase corn. One tusk they gave us as a substitute for a bullock, and reported that another party of Botwas (Dameser) had come for the purpose of joining Mr. Fynn, they

having heard of his good treatment of Kegoo's party.

September 1st.—Yesterday the natives came to my residence to congratulate me, having completed my new abode. They had congregated from the whole of the neighbouring kraals; and seemed to enjoy their excursion.

2nd.—To-day I received a message from Messrs. Biddulph and Collis, who wanted the loan of my boat. In the afternoon the Messrs. Fynn repaired to Umpenduin to celebrate the nuptials of a chief and Ningwas: all the inquosegoses\* were present, also my ingnackoos (housekeeper), and the day went off pleasantly. In the evening it came on to rain heavily, and I remained all night at Umpenduin.

3rd.—I returned home this morning, and found messengers from Messrs. Biddulph and Collis, who had come to buy spirits.

4th.—All last night it rained incessantly and unusually heavy, so that the morning was extremely unpleasant, and not suited for my agricultural avocations at my new abode, which I had so great a desire to bring into some order and neatness.

5th.—This was a most unpleasant, windy day. Messengers came to report that the lightning on the preceding night had burnt down Umseboacher's kraal. The lightning was doubtless very awful and dangerous. We received to-day from Umbondene,

\* All the queens.

eleven tusks, which he had purchased from the Botwas. To-day I made a pair of trowsers of a thick stuff, to enable me to penetrate into the bush.

6th.—To-day some people arrived from Fodo, king of the Botwas, to inform us that Dingān having heard, through his warriors, that the Botwas had joined us, had given Fodo orders to go and ask them for ivory. We refused to let them depart, thinking it only a scheme of the chief, with a view of bringing him here.

10th.—Yesterday Messrs. Biddulph and Collis returned to our place from Fort Farewell, and we passed the day together. Before they left the colony they were told to inquire into the affairs, and collect the effects, of the late unfortunate proprietor of their residence. I purchased a share from Mr. Collis for fifty pounds of ivory; after which they returned to Fort Farewell. William Fynn sent off fifty of our natives to the mouth of the Umgani river, near to which a whale had been washed ashore, as we designed to secure the blubber. Our people returned in the night, when the whole of them took roots—a superstitious custom of the Zoolas, who apprehend that touching a whale would occasion them all to fall sick and die: nor would they have touched it, but from the fear of displeasing us. Whales frequently abound on this coast, being driven here by the whalers disturbing them in the southern latitudes; and, in fact, there are a great many natives of these seas.

11th.—The day opened exceedingly fine, and I

anticipated accomplishing a good deal of agricultural labour; I was, however, disappointed. Jutondo returned from hunting: he had not seen any elephants, but had shot two buffaloes. Some straggling natives arrived at our place to-day; they sought Natal as a place of greater security and repose, knowing that we always sheltered our people against the hostile attacks of other tribes.

We had daily additions to our people; our settlement had now become somewhat formidable, and had an appearance of great harmony. The natives were seeking, in families, to be admitted into our tribe, and to become "our people." Natal exhibited, what it had never done before, a scene of order and regularity among its population, as well as manifestations of their entering into pursuits alike beneficial to themselves and to those whose protection they had sought. Natal from this time seemed as if emerging from the savage aspect of its more primitive days. Its plains, its savannahs, its eminences, and its undulations, all had an harmonious appearance. Hamlets, with numerous inhabitants pursuing their avocations of guarding their herds and cultivating their patches of land for corn and roots, could be discerned from every quarter. They were under no apprehension of invasion; nor did they dread the visitations of neighbouring tribes: the Malongoes were too terrific to any tribe to render incursions probable, and their people, who had joined them, lived without dread,

and therefore lived happily. The whole presented a cheerful combination of human beings colonizing for the good and for the happiness of all. The whites sought to teach their natives a proper degree of submission to them, at the same time judiciously and humanely to instruct them in those duties which lead to civilisation; while the ignorant and untaught semi-barbarian, sensible of the ease he enjoyed and the protection he received, looked up to his European commanders as beings beyond his comprehension; he feared their power, and loved them because they protected him against tyrannical chiefs and kings.

The whole landscape around Natal became changed, from one of a wild and savage description to a busy and industrious scene of natives, engaged in that to which before they devoted but little of their time—the labour in the soil. Nothing like cultivation, carried on systematically, or under judicious regulations, was, until lately, anywhere to be seen. Now, however, the eye is pleasingly gratified to see it progressing; and although I do not mean to say that it is extensively carried on, yet enough is done to show that the European settlers in Natal, even in so short a period, effected that which ought to entitle them to approbation.

It is true that in the work of religious instruction they have not been able to accomplish so much as they could have wished; but neither have they been

altogether negligent in so important a duty. Their colony will show that their native people begin to feel a little light; a ray of knowledge has beamed upon them, and they now seem to feel the influence which its warmth has inspired. They have opened the way for spiritual teachers to complete what they have successfully begun. The road is free from interruption; it has been made clear by their exertions, and if they do not effect the diffusion of knowledge, and the dissemination of light, among the heathen of Natal, the fault will not be attributable to the Europeans settled there; for they have left ample evidence of their labours in teaching the ignorant natives. So much have the Europeans accomplished; and though they do not seek the approbation of their fellow men, yet they hope they may escape those illiberal censures which the enthusiast has thought proper to bestow on their exertions.



## CHAPTER V.

As our colony had now become one of some magnitude, and as the settlements were almost daily increasing, not only in number but in the strength of the natives;—as complaints were occasionally made, from some cause or other, amongst the latter, and finding as they increased in number that they began to exhibit less inclination for labour, we saw the necessity of adopting such rules for their future government as should preserve order and promote industry;—such discreet and rational local laws as might tend to remove all superstitious notions of the natives, prepare them for enjoying those blessings which industry would enable them to procure, and point out to them distinctly that they would not be permitted to settle in the vicinity of Europeans, without a rigid adherence to their customs,—without an unqualified submission to their laws and regulations.

To attain this, although we anticipated considerable opposition, we nevertheless looked forward with



confidence to its final accomplishment, convinced that eventually it would be not only beneficial to the natives, but likewise to ourselves.

For this purpose, therefore, we set about assembling the principal persons of our establishment, and deliberately discussed the subject, minutely looking into all the consequences of such a measure, examining it in all its bearings, and through all its ramifications. Arguments were not wanting to show the efficacy of what we proposed, and to produce a proper impression of its necessity for the future well-being of all. We resolved, as a preliminary step, then, that two of the principal individuals and most competent persons of every party, should meet twice a week, to form something like a senate, before whom all matters should be discussed, to hear all complaints, and remedy all evils existing among the whole community;—their decision to be submitted for our fiat before any sentence could be carried into execution. This pleased them exceedingly, and as they were jealous of each other when they saw any particular attention paid by us to any one of them, they perceived that this would place all on an equality in our estimation.

We imposed a tribute of two bushels of corn on every married woman who was capable of planting, and one bushel on each of the old women and girls during the season, which the senators were to collect and deliver to us when called for; at the same time,

we abolished the custom of making presents to obtain a favour; and held out rewards for industry, and punishments for indolence. We also pointed out certain work to be exacted for the benefit of the establishment, for which they were to be paid. This regulation met with the unanimous assent, not only of the senators, but of the whole body of natives. We led them to understand explicitly, that they were not slaves; that we had no control over their remaining in our colony, and that they might go where they pleased, if they did not approve of the conditions which we were determined to impose, in the event of their deciding to remain under our protection. Of their wish to withdraw, they were to give us notice, and receive the assent of the senate before they presumed to depart. Some of the rules they immediately approved of, but of others they asked time to consider; at the same time they all admitted they were indebted to us for their lives, and, therefore, bound to serve us in every possible way. The senators were all of this feeling; but although they thought that our propositions were reasonable, and would promote the general interest of the community, they nevertheless considered it would be but discreet to discuss them, and not too hastily acquiesce, lest they should not be able fully to carry them into operation. This sensible request pleased us; it evinced a rational feeling, and a desire to do that which was fair and consistent. It showed much

penetration, and an evident improvement in their characters; and indicated that we might yet be able to bring them to a social and rational order of living, and in time advance them to that state of civilisation which may make them a body of humanised and happy beings. Without the least hesitation, we gave them time to consider all our propositions maturely and deliberately.

The business of the day having been thus so far settled, the senators retired to their respective homes, after having sat four hours to ponder over, and digest everything we had submitted for their consideration, in the way of a code of laws.

In the evening William Fynn returned from the whale, where he had been to secure the blubber; and I sent off Nasapongo with some beads, bugles, and cloth, to barter with the Zoolas for cattle.

13th.—Some Zoolas arrived, with five calves, to purchase beads and cloth: I supplied them; and they were pleased with the exchange. I saw at once that they seemed disposed to become residents in our colony, if they dared; but apprehensive of their king's tyranny they returned with their goods.

14th.—To-day I set my boys to work, clearing land for cultivation, so as to have the whole round my residence ready for any purpose to which I might be disposed to appropriate it. At one end of my lawn, I planted some melon-seeds which grew prodigiously fine in a short time.

15th.—I arranged our affairs with Messrs. Biddulph and Collis, and bought a horse with saddle and bridle from them for 180lbs. of ivory. John Cane, with Holstead and his natives, set off to-day for the Cape colony. John Botwas came to us to-day to ask permission to trade with the white people, for the purpose of procuring cattle and beads, which were scarce with us. We did not very willingly consent to barter with them, but found it politic to do so at last, in order to encourage their trafficking with us at Natal.

We passed the evening in hearing the opinions of Messrs. Biddulph and Collis, and their future designs and speculations. They seemed to have fixed on returning here. They saw distinctly that Natal promised to open an extensive field for enterprise and commercial operations; and so firmly were they convinced of their predictions being realised, that they had actually selected a spot on which to erect a dwelling. They said that they had presented the king with some beads, and he gave them thirty head of cattle in return. They expressed themselves surprised at the hospitality of the Zoolas, and at the order everywhere observed among them.

16th.—The morning was unpleasant, and foreboded tempestuous weather. I wrote letters to the Cape; meanwhile the dark clouds dissipating, our guests sent on their waggons with their Hottentots and old Oughton; and after taking a farewell dinner

with us, we accompanied them to their waggons. Mr. Biddulph and myself rode ahead about five miles, and losing the track of the waggons, we ascended a hill to look out for them, and perceived them at some distance behind. We soon reached them, and found them in a critical situation; the oxen were being led by two natives, the whole of the Hottentots being more or less in a state of intoxication, and incapable of attending to their duty. Mr. Biddulph, with the assistance of our Hottentot (Andrice), got the waggons down the hill, when one of his Hottentots approached him in a very insulting manner. Their conversation being in Dutch, I could only occasionally understand a word; but I perceived that Mr. Biddulph was greatly incensed, and that the fellow must have been abusive from his gestures; for Mr. Biddulph struck him violently, when his comrades came up to aid the fellow against his master. They showed that venom which is so characteristic of the Hottentots. One of them, an old soldier, tried to get the musket from the waggon, which compelled me to interfere; and while Mr. Biddulph prevented the fellow from getting the musket, I kept the others off. At length they became unpardonably abusive; the old soldier was accused by the others of cowardice, and as being unworthy of the name of soldier; this greatly irritated him, and made him threaten to strike Mr. Biddulph. Seeing Mr. Fynn and his natives at a little distance, I rode to call

him and his people to dispossess these fellows of the goods they had taken from the waggons: Mr. Fynn with his natives came and frightened them, agreeable to my instructions. We now drove on the waggons to the mouth of the Amainsic Batotic river, where we halted and remained for the night. The Hottentots lodged themselves under the bush a little distance from us, and continued their abuse until they fell asleep.

17th.—The Hottentots started off early in the morning, and deserted the waggons; Mr. Fynn, however, sent to order Umseboacher's people to go in pursuit of them, and bring them back to their masters.

We advised Messrs. Biddulph and Collis to get under weigh, and lent them boys to lead their oxen. Mr. Fynn and myself rode ahead. Jacob overtaking us, we sat down until the waggons came up, and conversed a little. He told us a pitiful and lamentable tale about being compelled to go to the Cape colony against his will, and the animosity of his companion in the mission, John Cane, against whom he swore to be revenged. We used dissuasions enough to appease him, and told him the impropriety of contending with his companion. He asked us to take charge of his kraal, and protect his women and children until he returned. The waggons now coming, up we outspanned (unyoked oxen) at the river Ooloaf. Here messengers came up

to tell us that Umseboacher had overtaken the Hottentots, and had brought them all back; but that they could not cross the river, it being high water. Towards sunset Ogle arrived, and it being now low water, the Hottentots came. They were hungry, having travelled the whole day without food, which calmed them a little and subdued their turbulent spirit.

18th.—We rose early, and Mr. Fynn, at the request of Mr. Biddulph, reprimanded the Hottentots severely for deserting the waggons; they expressed their sorrow, and said they did it under the influence of intoxication, and knew not what they were doing. As they manifested their regret, and set to work heartily, their employers promised to overlook their conduct, provided their future behaviour merited forgiveness of the past. We spoke to Ogle respecting the conduct of his people towards ours, and of their shamefully outrageous proceedings towards those of Farny, whom we considered to be neuter, but whom he considered were his until this time. After a long and abusive contention, he consented to give up the beads and picks, but would not relinquish the corn, so the matter was compromised.

We saw our friends fairly under movement with their train, when we took our leave of them, and rode round to Umseboacher's kraal. I was surprised to see the progress made in his establishment. We remained here two hours conversing with him and his



tribe, then rode home. The country of this tribe is part of that track granted by the king to Mr. Fynn, and is highly rich, fertile, and picturesque. Under that gentleman's proprietorship, with a willing chief to attend to the natives, it will, doubtless, become a productive spot, as the soil seems capable of being converted into all the uses of cultivation. It is finely wooded with valuable timbers, and the plains display herbage in constant verdure. It is delightfully varied in its scenery, and intersected with small streams issuing from the innumerable springs which everywhere abound. As a grazing district, it is peculiarly rich; for the cattle may find shelter from the noon-day sun, and indulge themselves in the streams when they are disposed to do so. In the evening we caught a "salie\*," an animal that destroys our fowls.

20th.—Umsboacher sent to report to us, that the white people were trading with the Botwas, and that Fodo was the means of their meeting. We sent messengers to demand the cattle of Fodo which we had paid him, as a contract that they should not trade with any one without our permission.

We had given Keegor the liberty to trade, but Dameser had never asked the privilege. We sent, consequently, to demand the reason from Fodo of this breach of contract and of confidence.

\* Or ant eater.



23rd.—The weather, the last two days, had been unfavourable; at daybreak it looked more auspicious, and Mr. Fynn and myself took a survey of our domain in this vicinity. Our gardens were highly promising; everything we had planted, both indigenous and exotic, was growing prodigiously, and indicated that the soil was quite congenial for the latter. We visited most of the kraals around us: at that of Issiburmene, we were agreeably surprised to find the people so comfortably settled, and so well provided for. There was everywhere the appearance of satisfaction and tranquillity, and the people seemed happy under our arrangements and protection. They had about forty huts, and the owners were all engaged in planting; their children were numerous and looking well, and came skipping playfully towards us. We passed on to my old kraal of Tars' Retreat, which, from the neglect of the people, had gone into disorder. The people had become negligent; I reproved them for it, and demanded more attention. All our cattle looked well and were thriving finely, owing to the pastures being so rich and so well watered. I returned home through the kraal of Nasapongo, and arrived at Insimbene at sunset. Found our patient gradually recovering, and the amputated arm doing exceedingly well.

24th.—I employed all my people at Mount Pleasant in clearing land and planting. They worked well and cheerfully; and I found they did it without any

manifestations of displeasure. They wanted nothing to stimulate them, but seemed all to be actuated by one natural impulse,—that of seeing this spot perfectly cleared and planted, so that we might make it our permanent residence.

Our messengers having returned from the Botwas, we were happy to learn from Fodo that he had not been guilty of the charge imputed to him, and that it was not possible he could have had anything to do with Messrs. Biddulph and Collis, as he had taken an inland road; but Umseboacher, however, accused Umbondene of receiving a cow for bringing the Botwas to trade with them. We thought this might not be true, but an accusation emanating from envy at the success of the person charged, and from seeing that he was noticed by us.

25th. — To-day we received a rather unfriendly communication from Messrs. Biddulph and Collis; not only unfriendly, but accusatory and unjust; charging us with having sent on spies to watch their movements and overlook their trading operations with the Botwas. We were not a little astounded at these allegations, but the more so, when we understood that they apprehended we sought their death also. This was not to be borne with impunity, by men conscious of having shown these persons, not only hospitality, but those civilities and attentions not always to be met with in similar encounters; and when also, so far from manifesting any dis-

pleasure at their commerce with our people, we had expressly and explicitly consented to their engaging in it.

This being the fact, after answering their letter in terms that could not be mistaken, we determined on following their course, and overtaking them if possible; so that the matter might be personally explained and all suspicion removed. We proceeded, and after travelling a few miles met several natives from Umseboacher's kraal, who informed us that the white people had gone on, and intended to trade with the Botwas, the other side of the Umsimcoola River. Finding it therefore useless to attempt overtaking them, we turned back towards home, arrived at Fort Farewell, and took up our residence at the abode of the "good and faithful Rachel," our old Hottentot female, whose conduct cannot be too highly appreciated by the European settlers.

26th.—This morning I arose and walked to the residence of the deceased Mr. Farewell. The place brought to my mind mingled associations of pleasure and regret. In viewing the ruins of the spot, I felt no ordinary sensations; I was at once assailed with the reflection that here the unfortunate owner concocted all the strife which separated two warm friends and made them miserable: while, on the other hand, the pleasing retrospections of the harmony and good-fellowship that reigned at Fort Farewell in days gone by, induced me to heave the sigh of sorrow

when I viewed its ruins, and saw no one disposed to preserve it as a memento of its unfortunate proprietor, who had taken indescribable pains in its erection, and sought to make it a habitation of security and comfort.

We returned to Rachel's and got our breakfast: the good creature, ever solicitous to do a kind office, evinced her pleasure, and sought to make us welcome. Would that every one were like her, in her unceasing efforts to do good! There is something so truly generous and hospitable in this poor Hottentot woman, that I often blush for many of a fairer caste when I think of her kindness and care.

The person of our sable hostess is far from being engaging; although Nature, however, has not been liberal to her person, she has gifted her with far greater blessings, for she has made her to sympathise with the misfortunes of her fellow-creatures. I proceeded after breakfast to penetrate through the bush to the wreck of the Portuguese sloop, to see if it was possible to get some iron to make picks to dig the soil; but I found that what had been secured and deposited on the shore by Mr. Fynn's party, had been taken away. The vessel was heaved on the beach high and dry, and the sight of human bones lying near to her was distressing. It was a shocking spectacle to see so many human frames together, the sad remains of the starved people who had belonged to the vessel. I returned home by the tomb of my late

friend Lieutenant King, and arrived in the evening, when all the natives of the several kraals congregated. I talked to them, encouraged them to labour, by setting one party against another for a small amount, which pleased them, and contributed greatly both towards accomplishing my object and improving their condition.

28th.—To-day my people assembled at Mount Pleasant, to pay their visit of ceremony to sick Porter, the wounded boy, who was getting gradually better. In the evening one of my boys ran away; and joined the "impee" (army) which had lately passed.

29th.—The senators, twelve of them, that is, two from each division, met to decide on the proposals submitted to them, and to discuss other matters respecting their services in making two gardens for the establishment; likewise about trading with the Botwas. It was agreed, unanimously, that every one should have the liberty of bartering his corn for ivory, but that all now collected, and that might be collected hereafter, should be placed in the store of the establishment, and for every hundred weight the possessor should have a cow.

October 2nd.—Yesterday I attended to the corn-fields, and looked at our cattle. To-day my boy, Nasapongo, returned from the Zoolas, and brought five head of cattle and two sheep.

5th.—Two men came to us to-day from the tribe Cayles: they informed us that the Zoolas had been

defeated with great loss at Umboachers, a small tribe residing on the rocks near Umbatio's place, and where I escaped so miraculously with my life. In the afternoon, as Mr. Fynn and myself were riding across the flat, we met two natives, their wives, and a train of children; they had come from the tribe of Sischlanslo to seek a home with us. This tribe was attacked by the Zoolas at the period of my last arrival at Natal, when the discomfited people fled to the thickets and jungles to save their lives. This attack on an inferior force must be noted as the only successful effort of the Zoolas since the death of Chaka; this conquest, however, although greatly superior in number to their enemy, they would not have achieved had it not been for the surprise of Sischlanslo: as it was, they sustained a considerable loss, and took but few cattle. This cowardly effort of the Zoolas to attempt to annihilate a weak and harmless tribe, says little for their bravery, but, on the contrary, speaks much against their characters for courage. I regret exceedingly the death of one individual, the brother of Sischlanslo, a brave and intrepid fellow, who, seeing the Zoolas driving off some cattle, and not knowing the cause, as his tribe was tributary to them, armed himself with his weapons and pursued the cowardly marauders, who were exulting in their success. His people were few only, but those few, on peceiving the danger of their chief, followed him, with a determination to rescue their cattle or die in the attempt. The brave

chief, not looking behind, nor waiting to see his people come up, but depending entirely on his own personal courage and physical powers, rushed onwards to the attack, and killed several in the rear of his enemy's force. His people afterwards coming up, put the Zoolas to flight, but these afterwards recovering from their consternation, arranged themselves and the young boys ("inyosee") speedily commenced the action, but were soon compelled to give way with great slaughter. At this moment, the well known invincibles of Chaka's time, the Umbalibale, moved to the attack, with great vigour, and overpowered their feeble but brave opponents. Many of them fell from fatigue, and were speared—they had become exhausted in their attack on the boys, whom they nearly destroyed. The brave chief after performing the most extraordinary acts of strength and bravery, being overwhelmed by numbers, fell from numerous wounds, and his followers were compelled to fly to the bush for safety. Had their king (Sischlanslo) made efforts at all approaching to the gallantry of his brother, the Zoolas must have been defeated, and their few cattle consequently saved; but the monarch, from the surprise, seemed to have lost, not only his confidence, but his courage, and sought to save by flight what he feared he might lose by fighting—his life.

It is evident that the Zoolas, as warriors, have greatly degenerated, and that they are as often subjected to defeat as they were wont to conquer. The



spirit of the bold, daring, and insatiable Chaka left them no alternative in all war expeditions—they were either to return triumphant or not at all.

For several days I and my friends endeavoured to make some progress in cultivating our lands, clearing, burning off, and preparing the soil for seed, being determined to make our settlement present to visitors a busy scene of husbandry—a regular Natal native farm.

The two families which had just arrived, we agreed to receive into our tribe; they seemed quite elated at the thought, and I was not displeased, as it evinced the confidences the poor creature had in us, and of their knowledge of the comforts which our colony afforded.



## CHAPTER VI.

I HAD occasion at this time to proceed on a journey into the interior, though not to any great distance; but as I had not penetrated that way before, I thought it might be interesting to take notice of it, not so much from the interest which a new track excited, as from the cause that rendered it necessary for me to undertake the journey.

At the settlement of the tribe of Kinkwas the chief of my natives had a daughter, who, in compliance with native customs, had been withheld from him for a considerable period. She was merely a child, but the parents felt a solicitude for their offspring keen, and, when I heard their supplications, to me sorrowful and heart-rending. I promised to recover their child; and proceeded to the kraal of the chief for that purpose. My course lay over an undulating country of considerable beauty and richness, through the whole of which I could perceive a fertility equal to anything I had seen in the several tours I had taken into the interior. The usual casualties on journeys of this kind accompanied

the present, and similar adventures and obstacles were met with and overcome on our way. Before we arrived at our destination we had to ascend hills and to penetrate thickets of some obstruction and difficulty. Our journey was extremely laborious. The miserable kraal was situated in a glen, near to the river Inyarty, and surrounded by mountains, wild, barren, and terrific.

“Beneath the mountain’s brow, the most remote  
And inaccessible by *natives* trod,”

the chief’s residence could be discerned, and I hastened to approach it. He welcomed me on my arrival, and offered me what his slender means afforded. His abode was humble, but it was all that his enemies had left him. He had been rich in territory and in cattle; but the revolted chief, in his marauding expeditions, had plundered his people, driven him from his native abode, and compelled him to seek shelter in this secluded spot, to avoid similar attacks, and to be free from those visits of the travelling tribes who are ever ready to levy contributions where they find they can do so successfully. It is, moreover, the custom of their country to furnish food to the traveller. Having ascertained here that the child of whom I was in pursuit had been removed to another kraal, I arose early the next morning and proceeded thither, reaching it before the natives had risen, as I had been led to apprehend they might attempt to secrete the girl if they were apprised that I was in search of her.

The chief of the kraal refused to give her up, declaring he had a claim to her. He said the mother had lived in his kraal, and the child was born during her servitude: that during her accouchement she, being ill and despaired of, they had been obliged to call in the "inyangers" or prophets, who suggested that a cow should be sacrificed to appease the Spirit for her recovery. With this the chief complied, and when the mother married the man, who had become my chief, a claim had been made for the cow; but the parents, not having one to give, according to the laws of the Zoolas were obliged to give up their child. From the account of the mother, she had been the wife of the "induna" or captain, who had died in this chief's service, and, consequently, she ought to have received a cow; she had been compelled, however, to throw the corpse of her husband away, and the cow was never forthcoming.

The mother became ill, and the inyangers predicted that the spirit of her husband had caused her indisposition, as she had not sacrificed a cow to the Spirit after having handled her husband's dead body; and that if a cow were not forthwith sacrificed the Spirit would visit the kraal and cause others to be sick.

As there appeared a great deal of equivocation and trick in the conduct of the chief, I assumed a tone that could not be mistaken for anything but a determination to take the child to its parents, whatever circumstances might ensue, because I saw that the

disposition of the chief was inhuman, and his conduct in direct opposition to the Zoola laws and customs. I therefore at once demanded that the child should be delivered over to her parents, with which, to prevent further efforts, the chief complied. However, on perceiving some submission, as a remuneration for having supported the child I agreed to give him something for his trouble.

The child having been delivered over to my people, we returned to the kraal of Kinkwas, whence I proceeded homewards, but, not knowing my path correctly, I mistook an elephant track for the course, and found myself, after travelling for a time, in a sort of maze, not knowing which pass to take. After some difficulty I ascended a hill, and could then see the track I had to follow pointed out by two singularly large trees, standing near each other, and forming a sort of landmark; towards these I bent my way, and before I reached them was unexpectedly overtaken by a storm. The clouds were heavily charged with the electrical fluid—the thunder rolled, and the lightning encircled me in vivid flashes—my horse became at times alarmed, and I could scarcely get him on. My boys, with the child, either intimidated by the appalling effects of the lightning or from being completely saturated with rain, had become benumbed, for they shivered like the aspen, and stood with their arms folded, dreading the tempest's power. The scene was indeed awful, and I could

easily feel for my ignorant companions as they occasionally held down their heads, as if apprehending the lightning's blast and the thunder's roll, every peal of which reverberated from the mountains in terrific volleys. For some minutes I stood in silent amazement; but the clouds soon began to dissipate, when

“ Straight towards heav'n my wandering eyes I turn'd,  
And gaz'd awhile upon the ample sky.”

The sun began to shine again with transcendent brightness, and my natives, as he shot his rays upon them, recovered their spirits, and with joyous looks proceeded homewards with our little charge, until we arrived at Umsega's kraal, where I delivered her into the care of the queen, and set off to Rachel's house to halt for the night. On my way, the rain having fallen heavily, and beaten down the high grass, so as to make the passes not easily discernible, I had some difficulty in advancing, and encountered six buffaloes, indulging themselves after the storm in all the wild pranks of their nature, which, to my great comfort, permitted me to pass on without molestation, and even with indifference. My horse was not one of the most willing of his species, and I had some trouble at last to get him on; he had all the stubbornness of his breed\*—he would rather be led than ridden. I got, however, at last on the summit of the hill on which the two trees

\* A Dutch animal from the Cape.

stood, where I could view Fort Farewell; this was quite enough "for man and horse," for the former saw his home, and the latter instinctively knew his approach to it. I then became elated, and my Rosinante, as if having received additional power and spirit, set off across the flats with more than his usual courage and fleetness; and in a short time we reached our hostess Rachel's abode, where I equipped myself in female apparel, until I could dry my own, which had become saturated with rain.

15th.—After a good night's repose, I arose quite refreshed, and took breakfast; when William Fynn, who had waited here while I proceeded on to recover the child, rode with me to our home, and after getting again severely drenched with rain, and receiving several falls from the slippery state of the paths, we at length arrived at Insimbene.

At this place I met part of the senators, and a group of natives collected in a body, some of them armed with their spears and shields; their countenances bespeaking something sad and unusual. I remarked that none of them saluted me, which was a singular occurrence, and made me eager to learn the cause of this strange assemblage. I rode by them with equal indifference to the place we had erected for our office, where my friend Mr. Fynn accosted me as usual, but afterwards told me all was not right, and that "Umtondese," (one of the senators, and our principal chief as well as favourite,) had

killed, accidentally, one of Issiburmene's men, whose friends and comrades had come to be revenged; they were seated on the ground, and everything bore the appearance of a civil war.

It appeared from the evidence elicited, that two of our musket party having been sent to the Cayles, they went to Umtondese's kraal to beg some corn from their sister, who was the chief's wife. Entering the hut of the chief's brother, where some females were sitting, who asked them what they had got in their horns, Nonqua took a little powder out and set fire to it. The women's curiosity not being satisfied, the men put some more on the ground, forgetting, at the same time, to put the stopper into the horn. As soon as it had ignited it communicated with that in their horns, when a violent explosion took place, which blew up the hut. Both the boys were burnt, and the people became greatly alarmed. The chief perceiving the hut on fire, and not seeing his brother, thought, from the cries of Nonqua, and observing the other running away, that he had killed his brother; he therefore, without considering, ran after the boy, who was dreadfully burnt, and himself and people beat him. One of them struck the boy on the temple, (but which of them could not be ascertained,) and the blow proved fatal. Issiburmene's people wanted to prove that the boy had been maliciously and wilfully killed, for the purpose of creating dissensions and occasioning a fight, with the view of annihilating them. This



they assigned as the reason of their coming armed. I proceeded to the place where the corpse lay, and found that the boy had received two mortal blows, one on the mouth, and the other near the temple. He had also been so severely burnt from head to foot, that to all appearance he could hardly have survived such an accident. However, from the knowledge I had of Umtondese, and from the evidence adduced, I gave it as my opinion, that the boy's death was accidental, but insisted on its being investigated by the senate.

Mr. Fynn was apprehensive of serious consequences arising from Umtondese appearing, as the people were armed, and were in a great rage. Their wrath too seemed to have increased on the arrival of a brother of the deceased, in a state of extraordinary excitement, to demand the aid and interference of his tribe. I, however, caused the prisoner to be sent for, commanded all the people to disarm themselves instantly, severely expostulated with them, and reprimanded them for presuming to come to head-quarters to seek satisfaction in so hostile a manner. After much reproving from us, they began to see that they had committed an error, and tried to atone for it in the best way they could. I wanted to take an opposite course of proceeding, and to try the leaders of this body for their outrageous and illegal meeting, and assembling with a hostile intent; but my friends were averse to it, on



account of their having been so recently punished by losing their cattle. The accused, Umtondese, declined appearing, but sent by the native messenger two head of cattle after their manner, saying, "that they were his mouth-piece to speak for him." We would not, however, submit to this absurdity and want of submission to our authority, but sent to insist on his appearing before us immediately. He then appeared approaching the kraal, followed by all the tribe of the Schlongwas—armed. The people of Isseburmene were sitting at the same time before us, excited with wrath and burning to be revenged on the supposed criminal. We gavet he Issiburmene people to understand, that the first of them who made any hostile attempt would be shot instantly: we then sent to order the Schlongwas people to remain outside the kraal and disarm themselves forthwith;—that we had come to the resolution of shooting the first man who conducted himself improperly. We now ordered the accused Umtondese and the other chiefs only to enter and approach us. This was a most efficacious proceeding; it struck terror into the people, and prevented, in all probability, a scene of bloodshed.

Umtondese appeared greatly agitated and depressed; his countenance bespoke that he was overwhelmed with sorrow for the unfortunate event of the boy's death. He spoke low, but greatly to the purpose, and perfectly satisfactory to his judges,

that the late melancholy event was not the effect of design, but of accident. The senators, after an hour, decided that the fatal affair was caused by the "Issetuter" or Spirit, but that the prisoner ought not to have beaten the boy when he found the latter had been so dreadfully burnt. They, therefore, adjudged him to pay a fine of two cows.

During the whole period of this deliberation, Mr. Fynn had great difficulty in preventing the brother of the deceased from stabbing or insulting Umtondese. We were obliged to forbid his entrance into the kraal, and, finally, to eject him from the kraal to which he belonged.

This affair having been thus adjusted, and the people ordered to go tranquilly to their respective kraals, the senators retired, and I proceeded to my residence, much gratified to find that we had concluded this unhappy case with so much facility. I was pleased at finding that our people were obedient to our commands, even on an occasion likely to cause excitation. This was some proof too of our having brought them to a knowledge of their duty, and to a sense of conduct which alone can make them live in good fellowship with one another.

16th.—The senators met again to-day to discuss, and make atonement for the improper conduct of their people in assuming a hostile appearance yesterday, when they presented themselves to seek satisfaction at our hands for the loss of the boy. After two hours

deliberation, the matter was satisfactorily adjusted, the proper concessions made, and assurances given that a recurrence would be strictly avoided; they then returned to their homes to pursue their avocations in their grounds.

17th.—My chief and his wife, whose little girl I had recovered, came to me with more than common delight to thank me for my trouble: I assured them how much gratified I felt at having restored her to them, and trusted that they would make themselves happy together. This was only the common office of man, and I performed the duty with more gratification than I can easily describe: to rescue an innocent child from the grasp of a savage master, and place it under the fostering care of its parents, was an achievement of which I shall always retain a lively recollection.

27th.—For the last several days, indisposition rendered me incapable of any exercise, having been slightly attacked with dysentery, which reduced me considerably. I felt much debility from it, but was soon convalescent again. The locusts came about us to-day in clouds, and our people were hotly engaged, warring with, killing, and driving them away.

28th.—We had another visitation of these destructive insects. Last week they had been about Fort Farewell, and had done great damage. To-day our corn fields felt their desolating influence, and every

vegetable was more or less injured by their noxious touch. Our natives laboured hard beating their shields and driving them away, which they at last effected, but not without prodigious labour.

We had long designed to erect a town, so that we might have all our natives congregated within it, both for their comfort, and for general defence against predatory tribes, as well as for political purposes; Mr. Fynn and myself, therefore, set off to-day to fix upon an eligible site. We found one well calculated for the purpose, from its peculiar elevation, and the richness of the soil through the whole district. It appeared to possess two great advantages for the erection of a town intended for defence—the place being elevated and commanding, and well supplied with water. It might be so well laid out, and become so fortified by art, as to render it impregnable to the attacks of native tribes. We fixed on this spot, and contemplated beginning early to carry our object into execution.

November 2nd.—To-day, and for several days past, we had some superstitious ceremonies of the inyangers, or doctors, on two or three children who dying, and had been indisposed for some time. All their skill and charms availing nothing, they wisely, at last, attributed their death to the Spirit not wishing to abide with them, from some misconduct of their fathers. I made many efforts to show the parents of the children the absurdity of their

idea of charms either affecting their life, or preserving it; but all my efforts were unavailing, and for this reason, that they always benefited by the sacrifices which the doctors ordered. The children, doubtless, died from worms; and no persuasions of mine, not even threats, would make them administer the medicine which I proposed; they would confide in the doctor's charms, to which I at last was obliged to assent, and leave the poor suffering innocents to the care of the superstitious mothers, and the equally absurd and ridiculous native doctors, whose apparent and affected gravity would have made even Heraclitus smile.

I now determined upon another journey to the Zoolas, and, consequently, went over to my residence at Mount Pleasant to equip myself for the trip. Here again I found the locusts in swarms, and my people at war with them; they had even set fire to the grass around them, and kept walking amidst the corn fields beating their shields and driving the intruders away. They destroyed an immense body by burning the grass, the smoke of which suffocates them.

3rd.—To-day being ready for my journey, I set off to Fort Farewell, when messengers arrived to announce to me the death of some more children. Seyapo, the doctor, had disappeared, and strong suspicions were entertained that he had administered poison. I went to investigate the affair, and found incontestable evidence of the infamous man

having administered to each of the children two seeds of "insimbete,\*" which, it is said, is enough to kill any grown person, so powerful are its poisonous properties. The fellow having absconded made his guilt the more apparent; and it was subsequently proved, that the wretch had been guilty of similar delinquencies among the Zoolas, from whom he had escaped and sought refuge among my people. The villain had gone to Ogle's people, and as one of our senators was absent, we sent to inform those who had the criminal with them, that they must attend the trial, which would take place the next day, when the absent senator would return.

11th.—The senators all met in congress to-day, to deliberate on the case of the children, and Ogle's people arrived, but the criminal refused to come. It is true, he had run to them for security, but it was against their wish that he should remain among them, as he made several sick under the pretensions of curing them.

This wretch was at last taken at the kraal of Mataban, by the people of that chief. Having received intimation of his offences, when he appeared among them they secured him, and in a short time he confessed having poisoned the children. The chief and his natives, rather than risk bringing the culprit to us for trial by the senators, anticipated his sentence,

\* The nut of a tree of a deadly poison.

and at once put it into execution, and thus ended his iniquitous career.

The fellow was a rank impostor, and imposed on the credulity of the weaker natives, who relate many instances of his successful imposition. One of them, so peculiar to the natives, I shall relate, to show his art, that is—the “nookering,” (smelling) of Umtugarties, (witches). I shall give it literally as detailed to me:—“a person was sick, and Seyapo being applied to as ‘inyanger,’ (doctor,) he commenced by smelling, and said that the sickness was caused by an ‘Umtugarty,’ who had taken a pot that the patient generally used for drinking milk, and filled it with roots with a view to kill the owner.” He then observed, “the Umtugarty is not far off, but lives in the neighbourhood, and if you will give me a cow and some beads, I will smell him out.” It so occurred that the pot alluded to was put into a barrel and missed; the person being sick, and everything appearing suspicious to the superstitious natives, they gave the required fee to the impostor to enable him to find the Umtugarty of whom they stood so much in awe. No sooner was he pointed out by the inyanger than they immediately made preparations for performing the ceremony of nookering the Umtugarty. Thus, from this villain’s arts, some poor innocent person was about to fall a sacrifice to the rage of the indignant natives. Fortunately, however, the pot was found with the impressions of a dog’s teeth on



it, which proved that the animal had been partaking of the thick milk it had contained, and thus did away all suspicion, at the same time showing the shameful inyanger's guilt. The senators, on hearing the evidence against Seyapo, sentenced him to be put to death by the people of Tars' Retreat, who, as has been stated, were saved the duty of carrying the sentence into effect by the summary proceedings of the chief of Mataban's tribe.

13th.—The late affair of the impostor being over, I thought again of my journey to the Zoolas, but the weather not appearing quite favourable I delayed it for a while. I enjoyed myself with William Fynn at his residence, and bathed in a stream near it, beautifully shaded by the umbrageous fig-tree, which, after the fatigue of the last two or three days, made it refreshing and exhilarating.

21st.—For these last several days I attended to my people, planting beans and other things, and in looking to our corn-fields, which bid fair to realise my anticipations of a good crop; the plant looked healthy and strong, and had not suffered so much from the locusts as I at the time apprehended. The rains had been productive of great good to our crops, and our women, who were all employed weeding, could do their work easily. My hunting party had returned, having killed four hippopotami, an alligator, and a wild boar.

The senators assembled again to-day, to try the



wife of Nongue, who had been charged with using poisonous roots to secure her husband's affections. She had occasioned his young wife to lose her hair by the application of some pernicious preparation, and otherwise to disfigure herself, and to destroy her young child. Her trial was, however, postponed, for want of positive testimony.

22nd.—The trial of the woman was resumed to-day, and, after five hours' investigation, it was proved, and to our entire satisfaction, that she had in her possession those poisonous roots which were produced, and which, after some questions put to her, she confessed having used to make the "impete" (or ornamental patch of hair) fall off, and disfigure Noie, the young wife of Nongue, so that she might enjoy more of his company and Noie less of it. Other similar offences were proved against her, which left no doubt of her guilt; and that her aim was avowedly to poison her rival, which was forbidden by the laws we had enacted. Both Mr. Fynn and myself tried, but vainly, to prove her innocent; her guilt was too manifest to admit of any attempt being successful to avert the consequences of her conduct. We were obliged to acquiesce in the sentence pronounced by the senators—death—our laws making any attempt to poison a capital offence; and had this not been the case, these occurrences would have been as frequent in our tribes as among the Zoolas and others.

When the sentence was announced to her, the hardened criminal smiled, and said, "What a pity it is to be friendless;" she then walked away with her executioners quite unconcerned, bidding the people adieu as she passed them. We thought it advisable to have her secured, as she passed through the kraal; so that the example might deter others from subjecting themselves to a similar fate. The fatal practice of using poisonous roots was so prevalent among the natives that, from long experience, we found nothing but great rigour would put an end to such a fatal custom. It became a law, therefore, amongst our tribes that any persons found with poisonous roots in their possession, except the Botwas on their hunting excursions, who used them for killing elephants, should suffer death. We felt conscious that the two executions would have such a salutary effect that, finally, we should not have occasion to put the law into operation any more.

23rd.—Mr. Fynn applied blisters to the head of the unfortunate Noie, who had been so disfigured, with a view of extracting the poison, and to endeavour to recover her from her dangerous condition. In time he was successful.

25th.—Being now likely to have fine weather, and my horse having recovered from his lameness, I set off on my journey to the Zoola monarch, and proceeded to 'Tars' Retreat to halt for the night. In

the evening the people of the kraal assembled to greet me, and sung their songs of gladness, which they had newly composed.

26th.—I set off early, passed Nasapongo's kraal; on cantering along easily, my horse made a stumble and threw me on his neck; but, on recovering himself, threw me back again into my saddle quite good-naturedly. It was not a very pleasing thing, but better than having been thrown entirely off amongst the stumps of trees and bushes that abound on the road. I got to Fort Farewell to breakfast, which I enjoyed after my ride. My companions (Messrs. Fynn) arrived at noon, and we spent the day pleasantly at our hold hostess's Rachel.

29th.—We had proceeded leisurely the last two days; to-day looking favourably, we set off earlier than yesterday, and reached the kraal of Cocalers, where we put up, in consequence of the heat. The chief returned in the evening from paying his brother a visit, and sent us a cow to kill; but we had killed one previously, sent to us as a peace-offering by one of the Umporcelas, who had robbed our boys, taken their beads, and abused us, and whom we had intended to chastise for their thieving propensities.

30th.—We rose early this morning, and proceeded till we reached Slome-en-line, where we arrived before our people; saw the chief (a Zoola), who received us very hospitably, and gave us a quantity of sour milk, of which we partook heartily. Our people

coming to us at this place, we advanced to Toogooso by the old road. Looking over the old huts of Chaka, we found a quantity of old iron, some spears, and a few trifling curiosities. Our party coming up again, we moved on towards Nongalasse's, which we reached before sunset. The people here, as usual, refused to give us any food, when we directed our lads to milk their cattle: a quarrel ensued, and the consequence was, that they gave us a cow as a peace-offering, to prevent us from communicating their conduct to the king.

December 1st.—Remaining this morning unusually late before we began to move on our journey, our people had an opportunity of satiating their appetites before we started. Having taken a hearty breakfast, we all moved off at nine A.M., designing to reach the Ootoogale before we halted. Having reached it at noon, and finding it impassable, we took up our abode at a small kraal on the banks of the river. The natives had congregated here in great numbers, waiting until it was rendered fordable. We had some trouble also, and were obliged to employ a good deal of alertness, to keep the wolves from making a meal of our horses; nor was it until we had used some powerful and conclusive arguments that they desisted from their attempts to furnish themselves with a meal from their haunches. Our shot told among them, and they found it advisable to sheer off.

The rainy season had set in much earlier than

usual. It fell also much heavier, and was of longer duration at its intervals, than had been known for several years past. The inyangers, or river doctors, led us to understand that we should be obliged to remain here, in all probability, for three months, or return home. We, therefore, began to devise some plan to cross the Rapids. After a night's rest, and some deliberation, "necessity, that kind mother of invention," suggested to us the practicability of constructing a boat, in which to ferry over. We at once resolved upon it, set to work in earnest, cut the limb off a tree for the keel and stern, and sought for other pieces for the remaining parts of the work. As we were likely, therefore, to remain here for some time, I sent off my boys to hunt the buffalo for food; they were gone the whole day, and returned unsuccessful, not from the want of game, but for the want of courage. The beasts were plentiful enough in this vicinity, but they were exceedingly wild, and most terrific to encounter; some little consideration, therefore, under such formidable obstacles, was due to the poor fellows. We made every allowance, knowing they did all they could, but a herd of buffaloes is enough to intimidate stouter hearts, and the want of nerve in a few boys was quite pardonable.

## CHAPTER VII.

HAVING modelled our boat, with which to cross the wide rapid stream of the river Ootoogale, we began to put her together by boring holes in the keel and thrusting stieks through them, at the same time fixing the other extremity to the rope that was secured fast to the stem and stern. This being accomplished, we were ready for putting on her covering, for which, instead of plank, we intended green bullocks' hides; this we soon had the satisfaction of seeing completed. The evening of the day turning out unfavourable, we were obliged to take shelter for the night.

4th.—We perceived with sorrow, that the river was filling rapidly; the water had already risen to an alarming height. Having covered the boat with hide, it being dusk we removed it to the kraal for safety, fearing that in the night the wolves might eat the hide off again. We sent to Umslangas to ask for food, and our people returned with a cow, which we soon slaughtered. The night again became

excessively unpleasant, the rain falling in torrents, and almost inundating us in our huts. Towards day-break it cleared up, and the weather seemed inclined to be fine.

5th.—The day opened brilliantly, and travellers had congregated on the banks of the river in great numbers, but all fearing to pass. The current was running with great impetuosity, but what we apprehended most was the alligators, which infested the bed and banks of the river, and made any attempt to cross dangerous in the extreme. After some pause, however, during which we looked first at the river, then at our boat and singularly constructed paddles, being nothing more than pieces of wood tied together with slips of hide, I took, what is denominated at the Cape, a little Dutch courage, namely, some strong grog, and with my bold Hottentot, and two native boys, endeavoured to get a rope across the river. At first we were unsuccessful, and nearly gave up all hopes of accomplishing our object, but on making another attempt I succeeded with much ease, returned and took over the Messrs. Fynn, and successively our natives and baggage. Our boat, which we had named the “Adventure,” now got water-logged, so that we hauled her up on the bank, and slung her between two trees, to prevent the skin being devoured by wolves, and to preserve her for another such occasion, having proved on the present her valuable services.



The hippopotami were exceedingly numerous in the river, but made no effort to molest us. We shot one, and afterwards seated ourselves under the shade of the spreading fig tree, indulging in its delicious fruit. We put up for the night at the etanger, or cattle kraal, in the neighbourhood of the river, and got a cow to kill for our evening's repast. The rain poured down in torrents the whole night, and the wolves and other wild animals howling and roaring hideously, our rest was perpetually broken. We were greatly concerned about our horses, having been obliged to leave them on the other side of the river, and, consequently, feared that they might become a repast for the wolves, hyenas, panthers, leopards, and other beasts which are extremely numerous through the whole of this part of the country.

7th.—Yesterday and to-day were so unfavourable, that we found it impracticable to proceed from the rain, and the state of the ground in our vicinity. We went to the river to see our boat, and found that the wolves had succeeded in climbing the tree, and had eaten the hide off the stern. Getting our people together, we took it to the kraal, where we fenced it round to secure it against being consumed by these rapacious animals.

8th.—The weather cleared up to-day, and we set off on our journey, though we did so under many disadvantages. The water ran down the narrow paths



in rapid streams, and prevented me wearing shoes. The day being hot and sultry I greatly regretted the loss of my horse. All the small rivulets had increased into deep and impetuous currents; and every channel or dike had its stream. The whole of the flats were in a state of inundation. In this way we moved on until we arrived at Umgeneswa's kraal: it was early when we reached it, we therefore rested some time and regaled ourselves with some sour milk. We afterwards proceeded, and ascended a steep mountain, to the kraal of Pupoomer. When the cattle came home, the king's messenger (our guide) picked out a fat cow and gave to us, on which we made a hearty supper and retired to rest.

9th.—We continued our journey to-day over a pleasant, uneven country, displaying a rich and prolific soil, with highly productive pasturage. Occasionally there were some corn fields in the vicinity of the several hamlets, which we could perceive around us as we advanced. We reached the river Arman-ticoola, and were detained until we could get the inyangers to come and take us over. In the mean time, however, we were not a little amused by some "tombesans," or girls, who assembled and danced round us, indicating their pleasure at seeing white people among them. We left these sable nymphs to cross the river, our guides taking us over at a place where the current was rapid, and the bed rough, being a part where alligators will not lie.

We however found on our arrival at its banks, the whole of these damsels had anticipated our object, and by a nearer pass got there before us, "to see the white men enter the water." Having crossed, we travelled to the kraal of Umboodo, the king's doctor, arrived there at sunset, and took up our abode for the night.

10th.—We pursued the beaten path to-day until we reached the river Umslata, where we performed our customary ablutions, under the shade of the spreading branches of the fig and other trees, whose leaves are so thickly set that they are almost impervious to the sun's rays. Here, also, we regaled ourselves with some sour milk, sent to us by Seetoi, an eminent chief, remarkable for his bravery. He had been long renowned among the Zoolas, and was the father of Boper, whose conduct, on the death of Chaka, tended mainly to place Dingān on the throne. After some little labour we ascended the mountains, which, in this district, are lofty, and over which our course lay. Their altitude is considerable, and commands an extensive view of the landscape below. These mountains contain a great variety of valuable minerals. Marble is found here of pure quality, and iron ore in abundance, with silver and other metallic matter, of the value of which the natives are entirely ignorant. Iron, it is true, they do convert to some use. We descended these mountains, and reached a kraal at their base, the queen of which

treated us with great civility and kindness. Like the Zoolas generally, she was hospitable, and gave us a cow to kill; in return we gave her some beads. This appears to be somewhat an anomalous description of Zoolas—savages, yet hospitable; but it is nevertheless true, with regard to their conduct to white people. They are, naturally, savages; their general habits partake of all that is savage; at the same time they hold white people in great respect, even to veneration, and seek with infinite labour and delight to comfort them in the hour of sickness or fatigue. We rested for the night under the auspices of our guardian queen, and reposed with tranquillity. Being fatigued from our march, “sleep, Nature’s soft nurse,” we courted with more than ordinary eagerness.

11th.—This morning was beautiful, and having enjoyed a tranquil night I awoke quite refreshed. We commenced our journey early, and passed through a fine grazing country which had the appearance of busy industry; the natives were engaged with their cattle and in their corn fields, with great appearance of zeal in their agricultural avocations. We journeyed to the lofty wood of Marquasser’s, under the shade of which, and near to the limpid stream that issues from it, we seated ourselves, and partook of some cold beef which we had brought on with us from the queen’s kraal. The sun being particularly oppressive, this repast was most agreeable,

and though before somewhat languid, we were enabled to start again quite renovated. In the afternoon we pursued our journey, and on our way met with a great number of females, who were equally curious with the former in scanning us, and in expressing a desire to minutely examine us, to see whether we were men or something else. We left them; and they were not a little sullen at our want of gallantry on the occasion. The sun declining, we thought it advisable to put up at the first kraal for the night, which we did at that of Umslarker, where we were entertained.

12th.—To-day we travelled about fifteen miles, and came in sight of our goal—Goobinschlofe, the king's residence. In a stream at this place we bathed, and prepared ourselves to enter the royal demesne. We arranged our natives, who carried the presents, in martial order; then proceeded for two or three miles on a very stony road, and arrived at the lower gate of the kraal. His majesty was sitting in front of his palace with about two hundred warriors; the messenger saluted him, while we seated ourselves with the natives, or rather squatted, as is their custom. After giving an account of our journey thither, we introduced our present of three hundred yards of checked and white cotton, three snuff boxes, and twelve iron spoons. His majesty received them with his accustomed indifference—not from their insignificant value, which was small enough, certainly, to present to a king,

but from our not having sent them before, although he was aware that we had not received a supply since we visited him last, when he knew we had presented to him all we had at that time. It is not, however, usual for the Zoola kings to manifest any pleasure on the receipt of a present before their warriors, but they always assume an aspect of contempt for such things, with an idea of commanding respect from their people, and to prevent any jealous or envious feeling being excited. In his palace, however, when no one is present, his majesty is always familiar, pleasant, and entertaining; evincing his gratification at seeing us, and appearing pleased with our little offerings. He seemed also to estimate our superiority over his natives, and valued our society, but Chaka valued us more than the present king, and although the ferocity and despotism of the former made him terrific to his own people, he invariably showed, in their absence, that he held us in a good deal of estimation, and felt himself happier than on ordinary occasions when he could devote two or three hours to converse on state matters, or on those relating to war. Chaka sought our presence for information at all times, while Dingān only seeks it for the value of our offerings. Chaka never discoursed on frivolities; he was anxious to acquire information relative to England, and the power of our king, and would, on all occasions, express his rude and singular conceptions of both. War and dominion were the ruling passions of

Chaka; while women, luxury, and ease, absorb the whole mind of Dingān. Chaka was the bold and daring monarch of the Zoolas, whose name struck a panic among the neighbouring tribes; Dingān, on the other hand, is too inert to be feared, and too compliant to be obeyed. Chaka was born and nurtured in war, which was his darling aim; but Dingān cultivates the repose of peace, and only wields his spear when necessity compels him: he is no warrior—he is a man whose soul seems devoted to ease and pleasure: the former will eventually dwindle into indolence, the latter will soon hurl him from his throne. Dingān is certainly impressed with an extraordinary idea of the power of a British monarch, and seems much to delight in discoursing on the extent of his might and means; but he will then, as on every other subject, waive it for the purpose of introducing something relative to his women and his sensual propensities. There is nothing firm in the capacity of Dingān; he is too vacillating, too capricious; and, to use an old phrase, there seems in him “nothing constant but his inconstancy.” There is, however, one trait in the character of this monarch, which may, in some measure, be offered in extenuation of his want of energy in the executive duties of his kingdom—he is less a tyrant than his predecessor; he thinks his people will be happy in unlimited indulgences; and that, while permitting them to traffic, they will be tranquil. In this latter he has judged



fairly, but he will find that, however humane the feeling may be, indulgences to his people, in their present condition, will neither make them happy, nor himself secure. I will concede that Dingān gives every encouragement to his subjects to trade, and affords every facility to Europeans to trade with them: he levies no imposts to injure or to check a commercial intercourse; but he expects to have homage paid him, and his sanction to barter with his people must always be obtained by a present. This is no great thing, certainly, to require from persons who design to traffic, when they can do so afterwards without restraint—without being under the surveillance of a host of hungry and greedy officials, in the character of Custom House cormorants, who are ever ready to pounce on their prey with insatiable avidity.

There is nothing to be apprehended in the way of security for that which one purchases—all is barter; the native produces his ivory, and the European his beads; there is the mutual *quid pro quo*, without any vexatious quibbles or exactions; and the native and the foreigner may barter agreeably together, without fear of obstruction or of plunder.

I must now return to our interview with the king, who, after having conversed with us in his palace respecting our presents, ordered a fine ox to be prepared for us, and sent his chief to find a hut for our accommodation.

13th.—This morning his majesty refused us an interview: we thought it strange, and felt some uneasiness from its being an unusual circumstance. We mentioned to the chief our regret at not being able to see his majesty, as we had arrived expressly to visit him; and as our business was of some moment, we required to have as many interviews as should be convenient to the king, so that we might discuss the affairs which induced us to wait on him. In the afternoon four servants came to us from his majesty, bringing with them about seven gallons of thick milk and a quantity of corn. They informed us that they had brought these at the king's command, and were desired to tell us that his majesty had said "his malongoes (white people) were not to be displeased at not having an interview; he was aware they had come for the purpose of conversing with him, and it afforded him much pleasure to talk with them, but he was sorry that urgent business prevented him seeing them at present." This was satisfactory to us, and we desired the servants to thank his majesty for his attentions and liberal supply of food. All this night we had very tempestuous weather; the rain fell heavily, and the thunder and lightning were exceedingly appalling: we rested but indifferently.

14th.—The weather having cleared up this morning, the king, as usual, came out to bathe: after he had performed his ablutions, we took an opportunity of



paying our respects to him. Mr. Fynn entered on the subject of Umseboacher, and stated our claim to that chief's services, not knowing whether the king considered him as tributary to the Zoolas, or as part of our people. This person was a chief who had about two hundred natives under his command, and sought leave to live among us; but as Chaka had lent him fifty cows, the Zoolas were entitled to his services; Dingān however gave us both the cattle and the services of the tribe. "I consider him and his people," said the king, "to belong to you; your claim is perfectly correct, and I now concede to you the cattle which Chaka lent to him; but he is still under my government, and I have the privilege of killing him if he offends me, because he is of my country, and you are our friends." We were well pleased, and thanked him for his present. He then ordered us a bullock to kill, and retired to his palace.

15th.—We proceeded to the palace to pay our respects to the king. He invited us to enter; we seated ourselves on the ground opposite to his hut. William Fynn showed him some drawings, representing a Zoola warrior, a young Zoola girl, and a common woman, and told him that he had drawn them for the purpose of transmitting them to England, to give the people there an idea of his subjects. The king was highly pleased, but remarked that they were not showy enough, and that he ought to represent them

as the most common people among the Zoolas; so as to give an idea of the splendour of the higher class. Some messengers came to tell us that the lightning had fallen on a kraal, killed two cows, and hurt several people.

16th.—The day being fine we walked into the kraal; the king saw us, and presently afterwards a servant came with four cows and calves as a present to Mr. Fynn. We turned, and proceeded towards the palace, in which the king was sitting, to thank him. Having seated ourselves at the usual distance of ten or twelve paces, he began to talk familiarly, and compared himself to King George, of whom he always spoke in terms of admiration, and intimated a desire to be in amity with so powerful a monarch. Our conversation was interrupted by the arrival of the induna\*, Amastanger, with seven head of cattle, which the king gave to me. This chief reported that he had destroyed the "Umtagarties" (witches) who had been suspected of practising witchcraft, and supposed to have been the cause of the lightning destroying the kraal a day or two preceding. The cattle which belonged to them were detained by the overflowing of the river; the few he had brought were the means of himself crossing the stream, he having taken hold of a cow's tail while she swam and supported him. The chief, after sitting awhile, retired; and the king requested us to follow

\* A captain.

him. He proceeded to the head of the palace (directing us to follow him), where no males are permitted to enter, it being his seraglio: on approaching it, he desired us to sit down

“ Where nature's green mantle was spread,”

whilst he passed on and entered the gate by himself. In a few minutes there came out, in parties of fifteen to twenty in each, young women and girls, decorated with various coloured beads, neatly and tastefully arranged on their bodies, giving them a pleasing appearance, and at once displaying the superiority of the Zoolas, in point of dress and figure, over the females of the neighbouring tribes. Some of the girls wore two brass bangles on each arm, and four round their necks, which had an appearance of being painful, as we could perceive that they occasioned the flesh to be injured by chafing the skin and causing inflammation. These ornaments they are not permitted to remove until the king pleases.

They began to dance, and his majesty commanded them to approach us and pay their respects to us. They came up, one division after the other, and we had an opportunity of seeing some most beautifully featured girls, and finely formed, even to symmetry. We were struck at seeing so many engaging young creatures incarcerated at the will of their master, and only permitted occasionally to enjoy the sweets of liberty.

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Their singing and dancing were performed with great correctness—their note was far from unpleasant; it had a melancholy strain, and excited sympathy, which became the more acute in us when we knew their situation and their fate. Their attitudes in dancing displayed agility and discipline, and what it might have wanted in grace it compensated for in singularity: it was doubtless peculiar but appropriate to their uncivilised customs and manners. I could perceive—and it confirmed me in an opinion I had previously formed—that the Zoola females far exceed those of all the African tribes I had seen, in either dancing, singing, or agility; as well as in their personal charms. Their features were more attractive, and their bodies not disfigured by tattooing.

The king was particularly talkative during this exhibition, and did not forget to tell us that the songs which the females had sung were of his own composing, and that the designs for arranging their beads were all his own. He continually observed that the afternoon's performance was not perfect, as they were only practising, or rather rehearsing, their songs and dances; "but as to fashion," said the king, "the koobers will show our splendour, and how much superior are the Zoolas to other tribes. You will now be able to draw better pictures, and give the white people on the other side of the water a better idea of us."

After Dingān had seen the drawings, and under-

stood that they were to represent the Zoolas to the white people, he took inconceivable pains to set himself and his people off to the best advantage, and enable Mr. Fynn to take another sketch if he were so inclined; telling him to be sure to inform the white people that he was the greatest black monarch known; that he had more cattle than any other nation; and that the "koobers," or fashions of his people, were superior to those of other blacks. We sat until sunset, conversing with him respecting his splendour and his power; and he took no little trouble to impress upon us, that having seen his females under every disadvantage, he apprehended we should not be able to give a true portrait of them; he, therefore, expressed a wish to see the drawings when completed. Our day's conference here ended, and we retired to our hut. The rain again fell heavily during the night.

17th.—The king's servant came to us very early this morning, and requested us to attend to the summons of his majesty, who wished to see us. We followed the messenger. Dingān was seated at the gateway, with only one servant, and looking at a herd of calves which had been brought to him. He asked me for my burning-glass, and called his servant, upon whom he designed not only to try his skill, but to astound the poor fellow by his wonderful art, and let him know that he had acquired superior knowledge to any of his people. He ordered the simple and trembling domestic to put forth his hand; then apply-

ing the glass to catch the rays of the sun, in a few seconds he began to make the tortured lad writhe with pain, but the latter dared not remove his hand, nor exhibit a sense of pain, lest the king should consider him a coward and order him for execution. He asked us of what elements the glass was composed, which Mr. Fynn was about to explain to him, but the king interrupted him, and said, "You malongoes have your ideas, and we have ours; the 'zoola,' or skies, is a combination of dust and smoke, which moves by the interference of the wind; if not so, where does the smoke go?—the dust, you will say, settles on the ground; but the smoke, you know, ascends." This is their idea of the formation of the heavens, and Dingān would not be convinced of his error. We persisted in pointing out to him that the vast expanse of the skies, studded with heavenly bodies and constituting distant worlds, were known to be the work of a Creator—God; but we could not remove his impression that the skies were a body of smoke which had accumulated from time immemorial, and become fixed and impenetrable.

With respect to the elements of which glass was composed, we did not persist in describing them, as we had matters of much more urgency to arrange, and any explanation we could have given would only have confounded him without producing conviction.

To attempt to explain, or to instruct him in the

works of art or of genius, would require time and application which we could not devote. As he could not be made to comprehend, by simple demonstration,

“ How poor ! how rich ! how abject ! how august !  
How complicate ! how wonderful is man !  
How passing wonder He who made him such ! ”

we therefore deemed it advisable to leave the work of conversion to persons whose spiritual duties better qualify them for such a labour.

## CHAPTER VIII.

As we saw but little probability of making any impression on the king respecting the works of creation and the formation of the skies, he still stubbornly maintaining the absurd notion that they were a mere compound of smoke and dust, we asked his permission that I, individually, should return home. He looked confused, told the only person then present (except ourselves) to take a pot of milk to our hut, and hastily called the interpreter to drive the drove of calves to the upper road. We knew well what this meant, and understood it to be his majesty's desire not to let his people know his liberality towards us; as his chiefs were seated at his gates, his policy was easily discerned, and we at once comprehended it. The whole drove of sixty-seven calves he presented to Mr. Fynn, directing him to supply us with some. He now told us to retire to our hut, and partake of our milk, which we did, and began to make preparation for our return home.

We were soon surprised by the sound of muskets,



and, proceeding to the quarter whence it came, found it to have been occasioned by some blacks from Delagoa Bay with a present of beads and brass bangles (carried by six natives) from the Governor to Dingān. These people informed us that an English bark was at Delagoa, trading with the Portuguese. They told Mr. Fynn that all the shipwrecked people who had been sent on by him to the king, and thence to Delagoa, had arrived in safety, and had expressed themselves very gratefully towards the Europeans at Natal for their protection and hospitality. The Governor desired them to say, that if the Messrs. Fynn wanted anything, that he should have much pleasure in sending whatever they might require. They further said that they had brought a letter for Mr. Fynn on a former trip, but not having seen any one to whom they could deliver it, they had taken it back to Delagoa.

The king came to bathe, and we approached him to take our leave: he ordered a person to accompany us, and obtain for us seven head of cattle on the road. The day was sultry, and I found much difficulty in travelling; but we reached Marquasser's kraal about sunset.

18th.—To-day we resumed our march, but found, from the excessive rains, that we should be obliged to change our course of country in order to cross the various rivers at places where they might be more likely to be passable. We reached a kraal

belonging to the king's sister, where we halted for the night. She was gone on a visit to her brother; but we were hospitably entertained by her chiefs, or principal people. Our road was not very pleasing to wearied travellers; the track was narrow and stony, and, from not being a frequented one, difficult to trace and laborious to penetrate, in consequence of the obstruction of the jungles, which every now and then painfully obstructed our progress. We had to ascend a mountain of no ordinary altitude, on the margin of which our pass led, and we had the terror of a precipice on our side of at least three hundred feet perpendicular height; so that at times I was wont to exclaim with the poet,

“Come on, Sir; here's the place; stand still.

How fearful and dizzy 'tis to cast one's eyes below!”

We arrived, however, after some difficulty, at the banks of the Umslats, which we had to trace for at least three or four miles for a convenient fording; and what made it the more annoying, it was not only an execrable pass to pursue, but we were opposed every now and then by wild animals, which disputed our advance, and not until we had forced our way were we permitted to move on. We at last, however, succeeded in driving them off, and reached a convenient place for fording, which we accomplished successfully, the water reaching to our breasts. Our natives came up soon after, and crossed also, with our stock, when we all proceeded to Seetoi's kraal,

where we refreshed ourselves with some thick milk, and then continued our journey. We had now arrived at a part of the country more than usually overspread with jungles, thorn-bushes, and every sort of dwarf shrub. Here we had to keep in close order, from the numerous tigers that sought shelter in the thickets around, and which are exceedingly destructive, not only to the domestic animal, but to human life also. We escaped, however, without any accident; our party was too formidable and too well prepared for defence to dread much, and the wily beast was afraid to make his spring or attack his prey.

We had to ascend a mountain, which, although not very agreeable, nevertheless it pleased us altogether better than the flats, because we had not so much to fear from the voracious beasts which infected the thickets beneath. As we ascended we were delighted with the appearance of the plain below, and of the mimosa tree, which grew spontaneously in every direction on our way. It imparted an agreeable variety to the scene, and enlivened the sombre gloom of the wild forest shrubbery on the plain. On the summit of the mountain we had a most commanding view of the interior, which here exhibited considerable verdure, the scenery on each side of us being rich beyond description. I cannot fancy a more charming spot; I think I scarcely ever saw one exceeding it; it really looked like fairy land, with Arcadian beauties on every side: the scattered huts of the natives—the cattle indulging

in the rich pasturage—cultivated patches rising ever and anon on the inequalities of the surface—the adjacent hills towering one above the other in all the magnificence of picturesque form—presented such a combination of objects that we were almost perplexed in admiration of their variety. Here,

“Where active fancy travels beyond sense,  
And pictures things unseen,”

we halted and refreshed ourselves, contemplating the beauties of nature scattered over the extended scéné.

We moved on again; the heat, as we began to descend from the high lands into the plain, became excessive, and we felt it the more from the temperature of the air above; our natives carrying our luggage, poor creatures, bore it well, and were cheerful withal. They never murmured, but plodded on their weary way with mirth and glee: the poor fellows now and then indulged themselves, while I sought the shade of a neighbouring tree. In this way we travelled five or six miles, until we arrived at a stream of water, limpid and pure as crystal: it was partly overhung by trees, which afforded a delightful retreat from the sun's rays. Here I indulged—in fact the whole of us, taking the advantage which the shade offered, bathed and refreshed ourselves, and never were fatigued travellers better gratified than we were with the treat which we had received. Here we remained until the sun began to lose its influence, when we resumed our march. A little breeze

now sprung up, which greatly contributed to cool us on the way, and enabled us to travel briskly until we reached the kraal of Umboodo, where we put up for the night. My faithful native boy, seeing me much fatigued, and my feet considerably swollen, rubbed them with grease; I was soon in a sound sleep, and did not awake until the morning.

20th.—We arose and set off early with Mr. Fynn and two natives, leaving the rest of the party in quiet repose, not being disposed to quit their place of rest. The morning being cool and pleasant, we travelled rapidly while we were able, crossed the river Armanticoola, and pursued our way over an inclined plane, gradually descending to some small streams. After fording these we reached the hamlet of Cychas before the cattle were milked, which gave us an opportunity of procuring some new milk warm from the cow. Our host kindly and liberally supplied us with a delicious repast of it. Here we halted some time in expectation of our party coming up; but not perceiving any signs of their approach, we proceeded until we arrived at the etanger, or cattle kraal, on the banks of the Ootoogale, which we accomplished by 3 P. M. We sent some of the people who were with us to the kraal of Umgeneswa, for the cattle which the king had promised us. We were eager to cross the river, but found it again too high to ford; we had the pleasure however of ascertaining from our steward, whom we had left in

charge of our horses, on our way to the king, that they were safe. We then returned to the kraal, where we had determined to wait the coming up of our party, who arrived in a short time.

21st.—We began to seek for our boat, the Adventure, which had wafted us across the river on our way hither, and found that the skin having become dry, the seams had opened, and, consequently, she would not float. We set about repairing her in the best way our scanty materials would admit. Having done this, we took her to the river and launched her. We put our luggage into her, having made her as buoyant as we could; and after some little exertion and care, got safe over this impetuous stream; which is rendered the more dangerous from the innumerable alligators with which it is infested. She was sent back again under the charge of the Hottentot, and two of my faithful native boys, to bring our own people. I gave them strict injunctions how to manage her, and that they must pull with vigour to guard against her sinking, the consequences of which I explained. They got part of the way over with twelve people in her and some baggage, and not pulling with that force which we so particularly desired them to do, she began to leak. They being alarmed, pulled with such irregularity, as to get the head of the boat against the stream, and when in the middle of the river she sank to the bottom. The poor boys were immersed in the river, sinking and swimming



alternately amidst a great many hippopotami, which allowed them to pass by them with apparent indifference. Some of the stoutest boys swam to the shore without difficulty, but the weaker ones were carried with the stream, and we gave up all hopes of seeing them again. We ran along the river side, but all our efforts to aid them were unavailing, and we returned to regret the loss of our faithful and intrepid boys. Having sat down lamenting the supposed catastrophe for some time, we began to make preparations for resuming our journey; when hearing some shouts from the banks of the river, and going to ascertain the cause, we found, to our great joy and astonishment, that our poor boys, whom we concluded to have been lost, from the force of the current in the river, and from the alligators and hippopotami, had safely reached the shore notwithstanding the extreme peril to which they had been exposed. They came to us, and we gave them the only remaining spirits we had, to prevent their getting sick from the effects of fright and exertion.

Francis Fynn, who had had a fall, felt a severe pain in his side, and was unable to proceed; his brother therefore bled him, which relieved him a good deal.

We now mounted our horses, which, from having rested while we had gone to the king's kraal, were fresh and somewhat gay. We then proceeded. I took my steward with us, who was accustomed to the pass, knowing the country well; thus we got on rapidly,

passing the ruins of Toogooso, and crossing the river Mafootie, after which we cantered across the plain until we reached the kraal of Slome-en-line, where we unsaddled our horses, and partook of some thick milk, being the first time we had eaten to-day. Although the day was far advanced, we had our horses saddled, and set off again. We crossed the Alligator river just as the sun had sunk behind the cloud-wrapt hills, and night was about to spread her dark mantle over us. Notwithstanding the badness of the road, the roaring of the wild beasts, and other obstacles, we pushed on to the kraal of Cocalers, where we lay down upon the floor of earth to repose; our mat and blanket being behind under the charge of my servant.

22nd.—Our night was not one of much enjoyment; and as we were not likely to profit much by sleep, we got up early and prepared our horses for starting. As they were quite gay, and had been supplied with plenty of food during the night, we rode on rapidly until we reached the native blacksmith's, of whom we learnt that our people had passed on in the night. We rode on to Umkodooker's kraal, and waited their arrival. It being yet early in the day, we turned our steeds out to graze, while we refreshed ourselves with some new milk. Our "inqousegosc" (hostess), with her accustomed smile on her sable countenance, welcomed us back after a long and dangerous journey. Our people now came up and we were anxious to



learn if they had met with any casualties on their way.

We now began to look anxiously towards home, and consequently moved on again at noon, viewing, as we passed, the thriving plantations of corn, which looked fine, and promised a productive crop. We reached the river Umslatas and bathed, then proceeded to a neighbouring kraal, halted for the night, and turned our horses into safe pasturage.

It is somewhat remarkable that in this district the elephant and buffalo, the leopard and panther, and other animals of the feline species, abound, except wolves and the laughing hyena, which never approach it, although in the adjacent districts they are innumerable and destructive. This, in a distance only of from three to ten miles, seems strange for so sudden a distinction. That there are no wolves where we halted is evident, as our horses could range in the pastures without molestation. The natives could assign no cause for this, and the only one we could conjecture was, that the leopard and panther being too powerful enemies, effectually drove them from the thickets where they themselves inhabited.

23rd.—After having rested tolerably well, in spite of an occasional attack by rats and mice at my toe-nails, I arose and breakfasted on prepared Indian corn, after which we started homeward. We arrived at the Umgani River early: it was full, and our people we had left to come on leisurely. Thinking, as we

had crossed the river so often, we knew the proper place for fording it, we selected a place, and entered fearlessly, although our horses hesitated, and required considerable spurring to make them move on through this dangerous stream. It was running with great impetuosity, and we got on the sand-bank without much difficulty; but by doing so we lost sight of the drift, and entered a wrong passage, out of our horses' depth. They plunged exceedingly, and got entangled; the fore-legs of my companion's horse coming in contact with the hind ones of mine, the terrified animals nearly threw us; at the same time we were being rapidly carried down by the current. I thought, at first, the horses had been bitten by an alligator, and my companion, who thought so too, and became more alarmed about it than myself, sprang from his saddle into the water. I caught the reins of his steed, hoisted myself off the back of my own, and hung by its mane, by which means I got myself and the two horses safe to the other bank, where we had greater difficulties to encounter than before. To attempt to go back was as dangerous as to try to go forward;—of the two therefore we chose the latter. We had now to pass over, or rather through, an almost impenetrable bed of reeds, growing out of a space entirely of thick and deep mud, into which the horses sank at every step nearly to their bellies, and we almost despaired of getting them out. But dame Fortune, in the midst of our

struggles, did not forsake us; for at this peculiar crisis two of our boys, who were going to the Cayles, came to our aid. They, knowing the course, directed our steps, and soon delivered us from our perilous situation. On reaching the bank of the river in safety, we took off our clothes, which were very wet, wrung the water out of them, put them on again, and galloped over the flat, our horses being as eager to reach home as ourselves. In a short time, we got to the house of old Rachel, who gave us a most comfortable dinner, and welcome reception: what could the faithful creature do more for two wearied travellers! In the evening all our people having arrived, we past the first part of the night in recounting the adventures which had befallen us.

24th.—To-day we went to our respective homes, Mr. Fynn to his farm at Umpenduin, and I to mine at Mount Pleasant, which is immediately opposite. My people were rejoiced at my return. As was customary, after a journey to the Zoola monarch, our natives congregated to know what success we had met with respecting cattle. The people of the outer kraals also generally come to “conser,” (pay their respects,) with the view of getting cattle; after having on this occasion sat some time, and not finding that we had been fortunate in obtaining any, they all walked off very leisurely.

27th.—The day being fine, I took a ride round my premises, visiting all my corn fields, which I was

glad to find looked thrivingly, and seemed to promise me an advantageous return. I employed myself also in directing some things which I wished to be done in my garden. Everything I had planted or sown looked fine and healthy, and many vegetables were nearly fit for my table. The little girl belonging to my chief, whom with so much difficulty I had released from the person who held her in bondage for claims on her mother, was drowned to-day while bathing with some other children. I had a great deal of trouble to make the natives bury her, but at length succeeded in compelling them. I did this in order to eradicate the absurd and superstitious idea, that touching the dead would entail on them sickness, unfit them for being warriors, and blight their corn. I therefore made them dig a grave for the corpse, commanding them to aid the mother in burying the child, and not allow such ridiculous customs any longer to exist, nor such weak apprehensions to disturb them, as that touching a dead body would affect their future pursuits.

It is one of the Zoola customs, handed down from their forefathers, for every mother to throw her dead child away, also for every wife to do the same with her dead husband, and for every nearest relation to perform the like office to the next akin. This is done not by digging a grave and interring them, but by dragging the corpse on the ground to the nearest thicket, where it is left to be devoured by wolves

and hyenas on their nocturnal visits. Thus it is that these ferocious animals always surround the habitations of the natives on the approach of night, and take up their abodes in the thickets in their immediate vicinity; these wily prowlers of the forest evince the deepest cunning, and their sense of smelling is so extraordinarily acute, that nothing can escape their discovery when in want of food.

29th.—As harvest was fast approaching while I was at Umpenduin, to-day the natives congregated to sing some new songs of rejoicing for the near approach of gleaning time, and to exult at the abundance with which nature seemed likely to supply them. On these occasions they endeavoured to display their powers, and a great deal of emulation was shown among them to excel in these native accomplishments. The scene is far from being uninteresting, as their songs have something harmonious in them. The words are neither poetical nor elegant, but generally appropriate and applicable to the cause of the festival.

30th.—I rode to Tars' Retreat to view the corn fields, and the land cleared for planting. I found that my natives had not been indolent: my chiefs had kept them at work, and more labour had been performed than I contemplated. I expressed my great satisfaction, telling them that their labour was for their own good, and that by industry they would be able to live well and procure everything they

might require. There cannot be a greater excitement to labour, than to tell a native that it will procure him some beads or other ornaments, and that in time he will be able to obtain all the necessaries for dressing like a European. To instil into them a knowledge of artificial wants, and a desire to satisfy these wants, is the only way to stimulate them to labour, and in the course of time will lead them to civilization. I have endeavoured to impress them with these feelings, and have found it efficacious; for I perceive that the difficulties of getting them to labour have subsided greatly, and that many of them are found going regularly to their daily avocations.

31st.—I set off with a few chosen people along the borders of the river Umlass, to select a site for building another kraal, as our natives began to increase by emigration from other tribes. I determined, after looking at the situation, to take possession of the deserted kraal of Umpenduin, and rebuild it, as the site was very favourable. It is about five miles from the anchorage, and eligibly situated on an eminence, commanding on one side a delightful view of the country, and on the other the bay of Natal and the coast contiguous to it. Round the base of the elevation, on which I designed the kraal to be erected, runs the river Umlass, the water of which is not only highly advantageous to the property, but adds exceedingly to the beauty of the landscape. The country in the vicinity produces timber of

magnificent growth, which would be valuable were its properties known and brought into use. The soil through this district is extremely fine, of great depth, and apparent richness; altogether presenting a spot which may be converted into a productive and flourishing hamlet.

I returned to Nasapongo's kraal, summoned my people to sing, and told them not to let their neighbours excel them at our harvest home. I always permitted this amusement, and rather encouraged it, as it was rational, and kept them from mischief; besides giving them a greater zest for home after they had done their daily duty, and keeping them united in their friendship for each other. My people of Mount Pleasant exceeded my expectation in the performance of their favourite amusements. I complimented them for it, and afterwards proceeded to Tars' Retreat, where I stopped the night.

January 1st, 1831.—To-day we proceeded to view the cattle which Dingān had presented to us, consisting of fifty-five cows and calves, which were in the possession of Umseboacher; we brought away two of the bulls, and left the remainder under the chief's charge.

The weather at this period was highly favourable for our agricultural and horticultural avocations, and we had our people engaged in both. It kept our natives from those bickerings, and disagreeable contests, which indolence always generates, and which



at times, from the habit these people had of making frivolous complaints against each other, brought their European masters into disputes that were always unpleasant, and often caused divisions which were painful. The art of the native in detailing the object of his complaint is, indeed, almost incredible. Without minutely examining him, you may be led to conclude that everything he asserts is indisputable, and that he has been grievously wronged; but on interrogating him closely you will soon discover that the fellow's tale has been a fabrication, designed to get you to punish his enemy, and to exact something as a peace-offering for himself. Nothing can be more common than impositions of this kind, which required our attention to guard against. I found less of them after I had got my people into regular order.

12th.—For the last several days I could perceive our corn rapidly ripening. Observing these indications of approaching harvest, our natives were eagerly looking out for the appearance of their periodical visiter the “harvest bird,” a species of crane. None however had yet made their flight hither, although it was the season for them. To-day we had a boy drowned in a pond near the kraal by which he was playing; this caused some interruption to my labourers.

13th.—Yesterday and to-day my people were all engaged planting a field of corn for the establishment, which they completed much to my satisfaction; although the usual season for planting is about May,



yet the seasons are so regular, and the soil so exceedingly fertile, that two and sometimes three crops a year can be obtained as easily as one. The stalks, after the corn is cut, become manure for the soil. They are collected in heaps after the American custom and burnt; the ashes are then strewed upon the land.

20th.—The harvest-bird had made its appearance, which the natives hailed with joyful acclamations; and to-day they began to cut and to garner their corn with every demonstration of delight at the favourable season. It was a pleasing sight to contemplate, and what Natal never could boast of before; namely, the ignorant, untaught, wild, and unsocial savage, industriously labouring in harmony with his fellow man, in the highly valued occupation of reaping the fruits of the soil, which his own efforts had sown. To me this was a consummation almost inestimable. It revived in me many pleasing anticipations, to the realising of which I began to look forward with strong and confident expectations. I had ever been impressed, that if the natives could be brought to congregate in bodies, settle near us, and live in social order under our protection, in time we might present a little colony which would become flourishing, and realise much benefit and happiness to the whole of its inhabitants. That we might by example, and the enforcement of consistent rules and regulations, in time so improve the moral condition

of our natives, as to remove them altogether from the darkness in which they had been born and nurtured; and finally pave the way for the religious instructor to pursue his pious course without danger or obstruction.

Thus their harvest began; the natives all anxiously labouring to secure

“What Heaven to all bestows—

Children of want, for you the bounty flows!

And every cottage from the plenteous store

Receives a burden nightly at its door.”

## CHAPTER IX.

22<sup>ND</sup>.—OUR natives were actively engaged garnering their corn, and their industry elicited our warmest praise. A body of the people in the neighbourhood came to us with pensive looks, and complaining in a pitiful strain that sickness had invaded their families. They seemed to think it singular that they alone should be sick while all the people around them were enjoying good health. They had been to the inyanger or doctor, who told them there was an Umtugartie (a witch) who occasioned their sickness, and that the doctor wanted a cow before he would point him out. I could perceive their sickness had arisen from eating green corn, but told them I had no objection to give the cow, provided it would discover the object which caused such superstitious notions to affect them, or if it would recover the sick. They assured me it would, and I was induced to promise them a cow.

24<sup>TH</sup>.—The day being wet I employed myself in serving out blankets for trading, and other matters

connected with commerce. The people of my principal kraals assembled to-day at Prosperous, to plant a field of corn of some extent. The native system of planting corn is singular, and to a European would be novel and amusing. They do not make any previous preparations for receiving the seed by tillage; the land is in no way wrought, if I may use the term, for the purposes of culture. Their usual custom is to select a plot unincumbered by any bush, to save the labour of clearing, and enable them to sow without obstructions. They have no correct idea of the properties of the soil, nor are they sufficiently skilled to select the most fertile and favourable spots for their purposes of cultivation. Contiguity to their kraals, is their only guide in a choice of land for agricultural purposes; and they usually choose that upon which the grass grows strong and rank. Here, without any tilling, they scatter the seed in all directions, amidst the high herbage. Having done this, they proceed to turn up the ground, about three inches below the surface, covering the grass with the earth, which causes it soon to ferment and decay, and its decomposition tends to enrich the soil, besides keeping the surface light on the seed, which soon after begins to send forth the plant. As soon as the corn has sprung, the dews, which are highly conducive to vegetation, tend to nurture it exceedingly, and its early growth is surprising. When it has reached about sixteen or eighteen inches

in height, the ground being then so covered with grass or weeds that the corn is scarcely discernible, they set to work with great care, and clean it; extirpating everything inimical to its growth, and carefully preserving it against any further obstructions. After this has been accomplished the grain strengthens prodigiously; the weeds being removed, the corn receives all the nourishment which the prolific soil can afford, grows not only luxuriantly but rapidly, and gives evident signs of speedy maturity. By this means the industrious natives are enabled to secure, without great labour, two crops a year, and in some instances I have heard of three. This system of planting appears to the European husbandmen not only strange but tedious; nevertheless for the production of native corn it is quite consistent, and in a country where European implements of husbandry are not known, it is carried on with more rapidity and ease than is easily imagined. It is quite evident, that the principle of covering the grass with the earth, which the natives do, after they have sown the seed, is not new. Even in this great agricultural country, England, it is common for the farmer to plough in the grass, which, by its decomposition, enriches the soil, and preserves the earth loose, so as to enable the seed to derive every advantage from the effects of dews or rain, which alike promote its germinating.

25th.—The day was exceedingly hot, and my people having laboured surprisngly, I sent them several pots of beer, with which I had been furnished by the queen of the kraals. After having partaken of it, several became sick, and vomited a good deal. They attributed so unusual an occurrence to poison being put into it, and were anxious for the doctor to be sent for. I told them it arose from other causes, not from poison, and that the inyanger had no power in these matters: after some little argument they seemed satisfied. I gave them a calf to kill, which they soon despatched near my garden; and all their apprehensions of poison were smothered by the soothing power of the veal on their stomachs.

27th.—Having found out that our steward, in whom we had greatly confided, had been exceedingly negligent of his duty, and otherwise highly culpable, we judged it advisable to degrade him. We presented him to the people whom we summoned, and stated his faults;—among other things, his wilfully allowing our horses to enter the cornfields of the people, and his having been guilty of gross fabrications. They were very sore on the occasion, and manifested great indignation at his conduct. I sent for my boys to seize him and administer to him a wholesome flagellation; to do which, they expressed great gratification, and I believe they obeyed

my instructions to the very letter, as they never would permit any impropriety towards us to be committed with impunity.

The induna or captain of the kraal came to inform me, that the steward had armed himself and decamped. I reprimanded the captain for his negligence in allowing the man to go away, and directed him to send some chosen and trusty boys in pursuit of him.

29th.—To-day we had a visit from the deceitful and blood-thirsty Umsega, who came with a pitiful tale, like the arch fiend into Paradise, to destroy if he could. Declaring, with a hypocritically submissive countenance, that he always thought us his friends, he implored us to interfere and deliver him from the power of the Umtugarties, as they were killing his children and destroying his kraal. He said that an "Imparker", a tiger cat, had visited his kraal in the night and scratched his child's face; that his dog had died, and an owl perched upon the top of his hut; all of which were serious omens bearing dreadful interpretations, and indicating his end. He had applied to several inyangers, and they all agreed that an Umtugartie, or witch, was the occasion of it: he therefore requested we would send a man with one of his people to the inyanger to pay attention to the "nookering" of the Umtugartie, so that when the inyanger found him out, we should be satisfied, and not accuse him (Umsega) of



having committed murders, as he was now anxious to reform.

Umsega was a complete savage; ferocity, and a thirst for human blood, were the most prominent features of his character. His evincing a wish to reform was, therefore, we thought, and justly too, a mere pretext to cover some savage design; for any remorse on account of his innumerable massacres, I do not believe, for a moment, ever entered his heart. His inhuman pursuit of the bush-rangers (who never invaded him, or molested his tribe), from the Omzimvoobo to the Umtugarty rivers; his cruelties and executions of his own people to the number of at least one hundred and fifty; and, above all, his sacrifice of his three wives, and several confidential relatives, of which I was a spectator, in my mind make this savage the last who ought to seek for the interposition of any power to shield him from the destruction which his execrable crimes merit. I say, let retributive justice overtake him, and let him endure what he has compelled others to feel. The miscreant is of too monstrous a character to be entitled to pardon—for mercy he cannot hope. He is, in fact, a ferocious and inhuman chief of a savage and merciless master. He was second only to Chaka, whose vices and enormities he sought to imitate; and that fate, doubtless, awaits him, which brought his tyrannical master to an end.

30th.—To-day I accompanied Mr. Fynn and the

savage, with a few of our principal people to the inyangers, to watch the manœuvres and arts of these self-efficient diviners—these impostors, who lead the credulous natives to despair until their deluders are propitiated by a sacrifice. I was elated with the hope that I might expose them, and thus extirpate the superstitious impressions of the ignorant by holding up the impostors to execration. Everything favoured my anticipations. Near to my place, Prosperous, we met two of the inyangers, one of whom I found resided near Tars' Retreat, and the other somewhere in the vicinity of this place. The former had heard of the people being sick at my kraal, and the latter of the misfortune of the wretch Umsega. Beads were distributed to them liberally, with the usual salute of "Atum gurn," (we want your news). The prophets\* took the beads: after making a few gestures, and indescribable attitudes, they disappeared, and shortly after returned with painted faces, not unlike that of the clown in a pantomime. They were, on their reappearance, accompanied by a middle aged female, who joined with them in their chant, or song to the Spirit; and people were selected, to whom were given short sticks, with which they were to beat the ground in token of praise of everything these impostors uttered. However, one of them

\* These inyangers are designated both prophets and doctors; the words are synonymous with the natives.

seeing me there, conjectured that I came to discover their mystic art, and ascertain the cause of the proceedings at my own kraal. He expatiated on the cause of that visitation, but finding that the people did not beat with their usual fervour, nor manifest any emotion or surprise, he retired. The other now made his debut to perform his part, changing the subject. He mentioned what was current respecting the kraal of the monster Umsega. The idea of finding out the Umtugartie, or witch, so pleased the poor deluded natives, that they beat the ground with their sticks, and evinced their joy in the most extraordinary way; so much so, that Umsega could not abstain from making some remark, which led the inyanger to conclude they had touched the proper chord, and that the savage apprehended they would advert to matters not palatable; namely, that his wives had been cohabiting with his brother, and that this was the only sickness which prevailed in his kraal. After some hours of such preposterous absurdities, these "wise men of the East" with profound gravity dismissed us, saying, "that the Spirit would not impart anything to them on that day."

This gave us an opportunity of attempting to impress our natives with the absurdity of these fellows possessing the power of divination, or that there exists a possibility of such a thing as witchcraft being practicable. We assured them the professions of these inyangers were all villany and imposition.

Our natives, on hearing our observations, made too from having seen the facts of these fellows' impositions, became delighted, and could not help acknowledging their conviction of what we stated. They said however that in former times there did exist such men ; but the only person now living, who knew anything about it, was a woman living at Ogle's kraal. We agreed, therefore, under the idea of exposing this woman also, to refer the case of sickness at my kraal to her. The night setting in I retired to my residence, and Mr. Fynn to his, leaving the savage Umsega chagrined at not having the pleasure of killing some innocent wretch whom these impostors might fix upon as a sacrifice to their abominable profession. He presumed to visit me in the evening, and had the assurance to tell me that the inyangers knew the Umtugartie, but were deterred from pointing him out in our presence, thinking we should defend him. " Then," said the blood-thirsty fellow, " I know him too, as one of my people saw him with an imparker\* in the night." He described the man, who proved to be one of the persons beating with the stick in approbation of the prophet's wisdom.

February 2nd.—I thought that the late exposition of the impostors would have sufficed my people at Tars' Retreat, but it appears that their impressions

\* The tiger-cat, much dreaded by the natives.

have not been completely removed, as I had another application to-day for my interference. Several persons being sick, the inyanger wanted a cow to sacrifice before she could find out the Umtugartie, who had caused this sad affliction among them. We had now a female prophet whose garrulity I apprehended would be more difficult to silence, and whose impositions might require more ingenuity to expose; therefore to contend with her demanded some little deliberation. She sent to me in the first instance rather an insolent message, to say that she knew my obstinacy very well, but would convince me of the truth of all she uttered; and that I might be present when she dug from the huts the pernicious roots that were destroying my people. I willingly gave them the cow, as I thought it would be worth one to see the ceremony, and expose this female searcher into hidden things. I told them, therefore, to let me know when the ceremony commenced, and not to begin until I was present.

4th.—Messengers came to-day to inform me, that the female inyanger, or prophetess, had refused the cow sent by me, and that I must send a larger one, as she wanted to sacrifice to the Spirit. In the event of not sending a larger one, the difference must be made up in cloth. I sent this female diviner about four yards of check, when they informed me she would be at 'Tars' Retreat to-morrow, but that she wanted Maslamfoo, one of my men. This I objected

to, as I imagined she would be cunning enough to elicit from him many things which might gain her credit with these ignorant and credulous people, and more firmly fix these superstitious notions in their minds, while my object was to root them entirely out, induce them to view sickness as a natural occurrence, and submit to it as rational creatures.

7th.—Yesterday being an unfavourable day the prophetess could not attend; it was not one of those days in which her olfactory powers could be of use to her. “Nookering” or smelling, perhaps requires a particular temperature and a brilliant sun to aid her in her secret and mystic art. This morning was auspicious, and the sage damsel attended at Tars’ Retreat in all her paraphernalia of office, surrounded by the people of the neighbourhood, who had come to behold the deed of divination and to hear the communications of the Spirit. A sort of gloom hung on the features of every one: they all looked pensive, and were profoundly silent. Their countenances bore such evident marks of deep interest, that I could not help smiling at them, and at their solicitude to know the result of the inyanger’s “nookering.” Messengers were passing to and from the various tribes, and a great number of people approached from the borders of the river Umlass, who were announced to be the tribes of the Fynns, accompanied by the chiefs of the different kraals under our command. Forerunners, announcing the

advance of the prophetess were numerous, and soon returned to report the eagerness of the people for her arrival, until we began to manifest some impatience, and grew wearied from suspense and delay of the ceremony. At length, however, the sun beginning to decline from his meridian splendour, and the evening creeping imperceptibly upon us, I sent to request that the pythoness would hasten her steps, and not keep us any longer waiting. She sent to inform us, "that the Spirit would not permit her to move on unless something more was given to her." Her demand was soon complied with by the chiefs sending her some beads which they procured from the people belonging to the kraal, who contributed more or less according to their means. The inyanger now made her entry into the place appointed for the ceremony, followed by forty native men belonging to Ogle and Cane. They were all armed with shields and spears, and marched in procession with great solemnity, until they arrived at the lower end of the kraal, where they halted in line, resting on the ground their shields, which nearly covered their bodies, and having their spears in their right hands. This had such a hostile appearance, that I was induced to stop the sybil, until I made some inquiry into the cause for such an extraordinary movement; but I found it was customary for her to be attended in this way, upon all solemn occasions. Her person, also, did not less attract my attention







*by A. Bay*

*Engraving by Grafton*

A ZOLU PROPHETESS.

than the hostile attitudes and habiliments of her guards. Her head was partly shaved, as is the custom of the natives. Her hair was thick, and seemed besmeared with fat and charcoal. One eyelid was painted red, the other black; and her nose was rendered more ornamental than nature had designed it, by being also blackened by the same preparation. She was attended by the wife of my captain, (who is a descendant of white people,) and her husband, my man Maslamfoo, which was directly in opposition to my strict injunctions; however, I did not inquire the cause of his breach of my orders, not wishing to impede the ceremony. By this time the woman had taken her stick or wand, with a black cow's tail tied to the end, which she flourished about with infinite solemnity, frequently approaching within a short distance of the faces of the spectators.

Having made several advances towards the gate, she suddenly stopped, and demanded more beads before she could commence. A dispute now arose between my people and those of Ogle, when many illiberal hints were thrown out by the latter, which annoyed us much. Had it been at any other period, I should most certainly have interfered: but the prophetess, seeing every one deeply interested in the result of her occult art, wished to impose a further demand on the people before she would enter the kraal; I, therefore, took no notice of their conduct. My captain now offered her his blanket, which she refused.

I gave her some beads, which I borrowed from the mistress of the place, who would have given all she possessed rather than the inyanger should refuse to "nooker" the Umtugartie. The pythoness soon renewed her gestures, and displayed such agility as she entered the gate, as astounded every one; she danced from one side of the place to the other, and sang in a language which had no meaning, or was incomprehensible to the natives; and her party joined in chorus. She would frequently break off, and make some attempts to smell, as if disturbed in her olfactory senses by something disagreeable. She then affected to smell several huts, and other such absurd and ridiculous tricks, occasionally drawing back to make the credulous and superstitious natives believe she had discovered by her sense of smelling something pernicious, which caused the sickness so prevalent in the neighbourhood. After raising the expectations of the people to a state almost bordering on phrenzy, she addressed me, and said, "that it would be offending the Spirit to attempt digging up the pernicious roots which were destroying the kraal, unless I gave another cow." I remonstrated against such an imposition; but, finding all arguments useless, I consented, on condition that she would perform the ceremony to my satisfaction, without any further demands. After several severe expostulations with my people respecting her enormous charges, she addressed the eager and ignorant

assembly, and said: "You see that I have come here to serve the kraal and not you, as all belonging to the kraal, except the children, are Umtugarties; this day, before the sun sets, will decide your fate." Then, turning towards me, "As for you, do you doubt the charms that the Spirit has given to me? You are cunning, and it is I that have made you so; I have brought you forward, and caused you to know all and everything; this day you will know more, as I intend to lay all doubts aside, and satisfy you as to my abilities and power." At this address, delivered in an energetic tone, and without any faltering or hesitation, our natives were nearly paralysed. They sat in silent amazement, without apparently having the power to move a muscle of their bodies. An occasional glance at me involuntarily escaped from them, to see if I was affected by such absurdities. The enchantress frequently called for snuff, which she applied to her olfactory organ with more than usual eagerness, and which, I observed, was invariably handed to her by my man Maslamfoo, who appeared a sort of secondary performer in the spectacle. After using it in quantities far from moderate, for streams issued from her eyes in consequence, she elevated her voice, as if she had received additional eloquence from its properties and power.

The ceremony soon began by her pointing out a man to dig up the fatal roots: he was a huge muscular fellow, who, from his exterior, might have impressed

the ignorant with a strange apprehension of his being more than "mortal man." He had no doubt become so skilled in the art, as to be an impostor of some consequence, and had brought many an innocent native to a premature death. This monster approached his mistress with a trembling step, and a countenance not unlike the painting of the "Saracen's head;" his face changing from a sable hue to a dirty yellow. When he approached near to her, with an exulting tone and gesture she desired him not to be alarmed, as she did not intend to hurt him. She then ordered him to throw off the few ornaments that were suspended from his waist downwards, and he at once became in a state of nudity, with the exception of a small bandage round his loins. She now put a spear and a broken pot into his hands, chewed a root, and then very unceremoniously caught him by the head, and ejected the contents of her mouth into his ear, and on the left side of his face and neck; turned his head, and bespattered the other side of his face in a similar manner, as well as both his arms. By this bedaubing he was made invulnerable to the effects of the pernicious roots. The man changed countenance, and appeared more firm; when she desired Umlambale to turn his face from her, and was going to pull off her petticoat, to convince the people that she had nothing about her in the shape of roots, as a deception; but the willing and believing natives forbade her. Proceeding to the

outer kraal, she pointed out three huts, which, after smelling them a little, she ordered to be unroofed, and cleared of every article within. This done, she ordered the man to put some ashes in the pot, and enter the hut for the purpose of digging up the roots. I was going into the hut that I might be able to watch more minutely the manœuvres of this wholesale impostor; but, in a tone quite pathetic, she pressed me to remain outside, saying she was afraid to enter the hut, and related several instances of people having been struck dead by the effects of roots buried by the Umtugarties. All this was confirmed by innumerable voices around me, which only added to my eagerness to enter the hut. However, my people begged that I would not, and, as the prophetess had refused to “nooker,” I was compelled to desist, and submit to their entreaties to stand outside with the Messrs. Fynn, and look through the parted sticks of the hut. The inyanger now presented the fellow with a stone, standing herself about three yards from the hut, and with her wand pointing to the upper part of it, where the man, as directed, beat the floor with the stone, dug up a little of the earth, and put a handful into a pot. In the same manner, he took a little earth also from above the fire-place. She next proceeded to another hut, and operated as before; and so on to the third. In the interim the natives were consulting each other, whether she had found the roots or not; most of



them said that the roots were put into the pot with the handfuls of earth, but both Messrs. Fynn and myself were confident no roots had been dug. After the prophetess had in vain searched the three huts, she suddenly turned, and walked quickly out of the kraal, followed by her operative man, with the pot full of earth, her husband and Maslamfoo, who were the whole time at her elbows, and proceeded to Mattantarny's garden, where she threw a spear, and desired the man to dig on the spot on which her weapon had fallen, still no roots were found. Being now outdone, and closely followed by us, and finding all her efforts to elude our vigilance vain, for we examined into all her tricks with the most persevering scrutiny, she suddenly turned round, and in a quick pace proceeded to the kraal, where she very sagaciously called for her snuff-box. Her husband ran to her and presented one. This attracted my notice, as Maslamfoo had hitherto performed the office of snuff-box bearer, and I conjectured that, instead of snuff in the box, the husband had presented her with roots. I did not fail in my prediction; for, as she proceeded to the upper part of the kraal, she took the spear from the man appointed to dig, and dug herself in front of the hut, where the people had been sick, took some earth and added to that in the pot, then proceeded as quickly as possible to the calf kraal, where she dug about two inches deep, and applied two fingers of her left hand

to scrape a little earth out, at the same holding the roots with the other two fingers; then, in a second closed her hand, mixing the roots with the earth, and putting them into the pot, saying to the man, "there are the things you have been looking for." This was performed in so bungling a manner, that I could not give this impostor any credit for her skill and adroitness. So little dexterity was displayed, that even my poor credulous and panic-stricken natives at once discovered the imposition. The principal senator, Soputa, became enraged, took the four roots that had recently been sewed in dirty leather, and said, "these roots have not been dug from the ground." I desired him to be silent, as I wished to see her "nooker the Umtugartie." Putting the roots into my pocket, I followed her to the gate of the kraal, where she took the pot of earth, turned it on the ground, and with great precaution took a little stick, gently turning the earth over with a view of showing the roots, which, alas! she could not find; I now took them from my pocket.

Soputa, excited beyond control, asked her how she could think of practising such impositions, and thus deceiving the natives and swindling them out of their means. This was followed by a general murmur of disapprobation, and a confusion of tongues, so that I could not obtain a hearing. After silencing them, however, we missed the inyanger and her



attendants, who had made their escape during the uproar which her impositions had excited.

The people, whose huts had been pulled to pieces, now called aloud for vengeance on the inyanger, and my people were struck with shame at their own want of confidence in my assurances. I, however, was pleased at this exposition, because I saw that it would have a most salutary effect in allaying those inconsistent apprehensions in cases of sickness, which usually prevailed, and finally remove their weak and absurd impressions relative to the existence of any occult power, or witchcraft. I would not have permitted so ridiculous a farce to have been acted, but for the purpose of exposing the impostor, and of convincing the natives that the existence of a witch is nonsense.

They now seemed satisfied of the imposition that had been practised on them, and began to call for retribution on the offenders, who had thus so shamefully deluded them out of their property. To appease them, I directed my captain to pursue the impostor, and recover all that we had presented to her. Meanwhile the owners of the destroyed huts came to demand justice on the witch, and satisfaction from the armed party who had guarded her. Two of my people challenged these latter by putting themselves in an offensive posture; the forty men presently formed a line for defence, when the Messrs. Fynn and myself, regardless of peril, at once commenced an

attack on them, gave them a severe castigation, drove them in all directions with great panic, and left them to enjoy the pleasing reflections which the amusements of "nookering the Umtugartie" at Tars' Retreat might afford them.

I now desired all my people and others belonging to our several kraals to retire; and told them, that whenever sickness happened among them, we were the proper persons to whom they ought to apply for relief, and that in future we commanded them not to entertain so absurd an idea as that of the power of witchcraft. I then desired my steward and some chosen boys to go in pursuit of Maslamfoo, who exhibited in the farce as one of the principal actors, and to bring him before us; this they did (nothing loath, but delighted with the command to do so,) in about half an hour, but, as it was late in the evening, we ordered him to be tied, and guarded until morning, when he should be examined.

## CHAPTER X.

THIS morning we assembled the people, and formed a circle, with senators in the centre, for the purpose of trying the prisoner Maslamfoo, who was brought into the presence of his judges. He was commanded by them to state, without equivocation, the particulars of the proceedings of the “inyanger’s nookering” yesterday, and all her witchcraft, operations, arts, and devices; this he declined doing. His judges threatening the offender with death, and his hands being tied tighter, he began to speak, but said nothing to the purpose, endeavouring to confuse us. People were ordered to stand over him with spears pointed at his breast, and to look with an eye of unspeakable ferocity. This had a surprising effect;—he became terrified, and at once began to tell the whole of the inyanger’s art. He said, “she brought the roots with her; I saw her husband sew them up in the leather bag: I had no hand in it, my occupation being to attend her with water to wash herself, and I generally carry her snuff-box; it is my opinion she

always imposes her own roots as those of the Umtu-gartic." Being asked, "who she intended to fix upon as the witch;" he said, "Mattantarny was to have been the victim of her 'nookering,' and every one belonging to the kraal knows that Sow's wife saw him with a cat, (or, as the natives have it, imparker, which they hold in great dread); they likewise know that he puts roots into the people's calabashes to poison them."

Sow's wife was now called and seated opposite to Mattantarny. From her simple and plain story, it appeared, that one night having gone into the woods to get fuel, she suddenly perceived the captain feeding an "imparker," the sight of which so terrified her, that for some time she was afraid to move; but recovering herself, she walked cautiously backwards, keeping her eyes fixed on Mattantarny, who, lifting up his eyes, looking round, and perceiving her, pushed the animal aside, approached her in a confused state, and said, "what have you to say? You have been lately picked up by me, and when you were sick I went to Tambooser, and got you medicine." He then went a short distance, returned with sugar cane, gave it to her, and told her not to notice anything, as she was a stranger and knew not the customs of the place. She now departed, and had not recovered her fright when she reached the kraal. Her husband, perceiving a difference in her countenance, and asking her what was the matter,

she let her bundle of wood fall, and said "Oh, dear! I shall never forget this day." Her husband thought she alluded to the fatigue of getting wood, as she had lately been delivered of a child. However, she went and informed the "inquosegos," (mistress of the kraal,) and by whom it was communicated to the principal captain, Umlambale, and was kept a secret, under the idea that the inyanger, when applied to, would "nooker" him. The accused could say nothing in vindication of himself, and the woman further attested, that ever after, when she met him in the gardens, he gave her either corn or sugar cane.

The whole affair, after this, appeared mysterious to me. The idea of a man having a wild cat to kill people, was absurd; yet the natives believed this, and it was evident that the accused felt he was guilty. It was agreed, that Maslamfoo, after this explanatory statement of the woman, should be discharged, and Mattantarny was ordered to attend in the morning, before the senate at Mount Pleasant, for the further investigation of the affair. I had ordered my horse, and was about to return home, when the prisoner accosted me, and said: "I cannot remain here, having been wrongly accused by strangers. I am an old servant of yours, and no one has ever seen me do an improper act, therefore I shall go and find a home elsewhere." "If you do," I replied, "this will at once convince me of your guilt; wait your trial, and if

you are innocent, you will be acquitted—if you are proved guilty, you will be punished.” After this, I rode off to dine with my companions, the Fynns. Our dinner was late, and we stood in need of it. I rode home afterwards to Mount Pleasant.

7th.—The morning was exceedingly fine, and the senators assembled to resume the investigation of the affair of the previous day. They assembled after breakfast. Mr. Fynn and his brothers having arrived, the prisoner was again brought in. The witnesses were all in attendance. The prisoner appeared dull and unusually stupid. He saluted the captain, and observed, “I have been maliciously accused of a crime that I know nothing of. I have now come to stand my trial before unbiassed men, and trust to them for justice. If I am found guilty, I expect to meet death; but if innocent, I hope to receive such redress as you may think fit to give me.” So saying, he went and took his seat. Boys were sent to bring his two wives, and the trial proceeded. Sow’s wife was placed opposite to the prisoner, and she corroborated the statement of the preceding day, with the addition that she had heard it stated in the kraal, that Mattantarny had put poisonous roots into the calabashes of Pambo and Mac Kowan, whose wives had been sick for a length of time, and had the appearance of being poisoned.

She further stated that Mattantarny and his eldest wife had been disputing a few days before, when the

former beat the latter, and she said, you are an Umtugartie, and it is known that you put roots into the calabashes; he replied, if I am killed for being one, you will meet the same fate for assisting me. The prisoner sat quite unconcerned, taking prodigious quantities of snuff, and forcing a smile when called upon to state what he had to offer in his defence. His reply was short.—“ I deny the whole.” But his manner and appearance betrayed his guilt. A great deal was afterwards elicited about the cat, which is too frivolous to detail.

His young wife was sent for, and severely interrogated as to her knowledge of the conduct of her husband, but she evinced a great disinclination to give any testimony tending to criminate him. She spoke of some conversation she had heard between Mattantarny and his elder wife, in which the former had said, “ I do not think they have found us out, they only want to take our corn.” She mentioned several other similar instances of conversation, but as they all tended to the same point, their details would only be a repetition of the evidence against him, and need not be mentioned. The evidence she did give, and to which the senators paid great attention, was quite enough to satisfy any unbiassed mind, that Mattantarny was guilty of having made every effort to poison the people in the kraal, by administering poisonous roots or some poisonous matter into the calabashes of the natives,



who, innocent, and confiding in him from his station in our service, little thought he was plotting their death for the worst purposes. Messengers were sent to bring the elder wife to be examined without a knowledge of her husband being near. When they told her that he was executed for having been found guilty of witchcraft, she said, smiling, "Oh! there are plenty of men left for me." On entering the gate of the kraal she smiled and sat down. Being desired by the senators, her judges, to relate what she knew respecting the statements of other persons, which were explained to her, she replied with great levity, "nothing." The senators then asked her "if she recollected quarrelling a few days back with her husband?" she replied, "I do not recollect any instance of quarrelling with my husband." The next question was, "what did you say to your husband when he came in the night and asked for nourishment for the child?" She answered, "I don't know." "What did he beat you for?" to this she replied—"he never beat me." She was now pressingly urged to speak the truth, and afterwards threatened with death if she did not comply; but nothing made any impression. The young wife was then confronted with her; her testimony was incontrovertible, and perfectly satisfactory to the judges, to whom was referred the question of the guilt or innocence of the prisoner.

The senators having paid great attention to the

testimony of the witnesses, retired to deliberate on their verdict, and on returning declared it to be their opinion that Mattantarny was guilty of having kept a cat, or imparker; and likewise of having used poisonous roots to intimidate and affect the people. They then passed their sentence of death, and that he should be forthwith executed. The people appointed to be his executioners were directed to take him from William's kraal, to pass Mount Pleasant to the flat, and there execute him in the customary manner. This was done in the presence of his two wives. The young one could not smother her grief, but the elder seemed indifferent to the scene, and evinced no emotions either of sorrow or apprehension. The senate now began to question her, when she, without hesitation, requesting they would kill her, some were for complying with her wishes, others for having her put to the torture until she confessed. After a short debate they came to the determination that she should die. She was immediately taken away and executed. When the executioners were doing their duty, and in the act of lifting their hands to strike her, she said, "Cajola, you can get my beads from Pambo's wife, and Tambooser can take my corn;" they then killed her with their clubs without her making any resistance.

This melancholy affair being concluded, I sent a party of people to take Umlambale's cattle, for having endeavoured to secrete it at a moment when

he knew the people of Tars' Retreat were labouring under the effects of poison administered by the criminals who had been executed. The senate, who afterwards met on the subject, could not be brought to approve of this, as Umlambale had not done anything contrary to their customs; for it is the custom of their people not to report the existence (or suspicion rather) of a witch, but leave it to be discovered by the inyangers. It was requested, therefore, that his cattle should be restored.

The investigation of this business, which I have detailed at some length, finally tended to remove a good deal of the superstition of my natives, and to impress them very strongly with the absurdity of their notions of charms and witchcraft. I moreover had the gratification of finding, in a few days after, that they all became perfectly tranquil, from the effects which this exposition had produced. The whole of those who were indisposed I took great pains to cure, by medicinal applications; and had the happiness of finding that, in the course of a short time, we were enabled to bring them quite round, from the consequences of their superstitious apprehensions.

It was clearly exemplified by the preceding facts, that the power which these professors of the occult art have over the weak and timid minds of those who have been taught to believe in their mysteries is inconceivable, and consequently that anything tend-

ing towards removing their ignorance must be of great good, as contributing to their comforts, instead of disturbing their quietude. Feeling this very strongly myself, I was the more encouraged to carry the investigation to the extremity we did, for the sake of example, and to deter the cunning from any further impositions of a similar nature. That it did infinite good we had innumerable proofs afterwards; and that our natives were less apprehensive and more tranquil, has been demonstrated often, from their manifest enjoyment of their new mode of living, their willingness to pursue such avocations as are pointed out to them, and their generally good and regular conduct in all their duties towards each other.

Thus did this serious investigation, which brought these impostors to punishment, and all their hidden designs and machinations to light, render an inconceivable service to the people. It contributed not a little to enlighten them, and prepare them for receiving those more important blessings which civilization give.

11th.—To-day we collected all our people to dance, to show the Botwas, who had arrived, our strength. Dumeser, the chief of that tribe, with whom we had had some traffic, was astounded at our power, not being aware of our numerous force. My people were gone to recover one of my musket party, who had refused to obey orders. They brought him back, and I reprimanded him severely. I took the musket

from him, and allowed him to return whence my people had brought him.

I had some days contemplated a journey to the Zoolas, but the arrival of Dumeser's tribe of the Botwas made me deem it advisable to direct my attention to another quarter, of which my companions also approved. I began, therefore, to make arrangements for starting, and ordered my boys and Hottentot to get ready for our departure the next day.

12th.—After breakfast I equipped myself for my journey inland to a tribe of the Botwas, where our traders had purchased some ivory. Having sent on my musket party in advance with my baggage and articles for trading, I proceeded to Mr. Fynn's to confer with him, and afterwards to Fort Farewell, whence, after halting a short time, I went to the kraal of Umsega, with whom I spent the evening. This savage was in deep remorse for his manifold iniquities, if such a feeling as remorse could be felt by such a savage. He was submissive, pensive, and liberal, something out of his usual way; but knowing the rascal, I had no confidence in his professions of amendment and sorrow for his past offences. He was a consummate hypocrite.

13th.—I sent my horse home, and set off from this place with a pack bullock. I mounted my pack ox, and my party being ready we started together. The weather being favourable, and my people merry and

elated, I anticipated a pleasant trip. Anticipations, however, are often fleeting, and it proved so in the commencement; for in coming to the thickets of the forest through which we had to pass, the thorn bushes so terrified my poor bullock, that I could not restrain him from kicking and jumping most unmanageably, —so much so, that I began to think of dismounting; but the unruly animal saved me the trouble, by throwing me off *sans ceremonie*. I fell on my head, and was, for a time, injured by the fall. My situation was now one of considerable peril, for the bullock becoming infuriated, attempted to gore me, but could not effect his aim, although he trod on my knee and hurt me a good deal, as he was driven forward by my people. I continued my journey after having somewhat recovered from my fall, but abstained from making any attempt to remount the refractory beast. We arrived on the banks of a pleasant rivulet, shaded, and its stream pure as crystal; I halted here, refreshed, and sent one of my boys back to bring my horse again, as I had had quite enough of the bullock. After remaining here for some time, I proceeded: the day was excessively hot, and it was by great exertion only, that I reached Kinkwa's kraal before sunset, where I designed to remain for the night.

14th.—I sent a messenger to order my captain, Mitchain, to come to me, and resolved also to wait for my horse, finding that I should not be able to

accomplish my journey without him, from the heat of the weather, and from my fall.

15th.—I waited to-day until noon, expecting my captain to arrive with my horse, but finding the day passing rapidly away, and as they did not make their appearance, I left instructions for my people to follow with the horse, and proceeded to the tribe of the Cayles, crossed the Inyarty river, and continued my course over an irregular surface of country, neither interesting nor attractive, but more mountainous than otherwise, and not affording anything to call for condemnation. We saw nothing on our way that seemed rich in soil, or picturesque in landscape; but rather a monotonous country, without the busy hamlet scenery, or anything having the least appearance of local comforts, or native mirth and amusements. We reached an etanger of the Zoolas, where we refreshed ourselves with a repast of sour milk; thence we journeyed on, over a more fertile and champaign country, studded here and there with little villages or kraals, until we arrived in sight of the residence of Umconto; here everything presented a new face, every quarter to which the eye could be applied had something new to attract us, and much to command our attention. The country lay within the circumference of a range of mountains, and the access to it was by a pass of singular beauty; the mimosa seemed scattered spontaneously on our sides, and the willow groves studded here and there in clusters of



peculiar elegance. As we rode along, we crossed several small streams, whose pebbled beds and limpid water so much reminded me of similar ones in my native soil. We saw a variety of the deer species; and the little antelope, whose beauty is the admiration of travellers, was to be seen indulging in the rich pasturage which the whole surface afforded. On the other hand, we every now and then passed the tracks made by wild beasts made through the thickets, on their way to the rivers; these tracks often reminded us that we were yet in the wilds, where even our momentary admiration might be interrupted by the sudden spring of a lion, or the approach of a ferocious tiger, whose prowling nature frequently leads him into the plains in search of food.

We entered the kraal just as the sun was setting. The king Umconto and his people were amusing themselves in dancing, desiring to excel Umjohn-duna, the people of a neighbouring kraal or village, in a trial of their respective merits. In the evening, the young king and his chiefs came to see me, and spent some time with me: he was quite kind, and gave us a heifer to kill. After he retired, the princesses, seven of them, came to pay their visit to me. They were most agreeable young creatures, and far surpassed any of the Zoola beauties I had seen. They sang, and amused me by their little stories, which they told with great simplicity. Their songs were harmonious, and their vocal powers pleas-

ing. Their tales consisted of their own amusements, and conquests of the hearts of some native princes.

I sought to retire, but before I could do so the king came to me again, and offered me his sister in marriage, provided I could conform to the customs of the country. This, however, not being disposed to do, his majesty and his sisters retired and left me to indulge in a sleep of which I stood in great need.

17th.—Yesterday we reached a kraal in the vicinity of some pleasant and rich pasturage, with delightful streams or small rivulets intersecting various ways. Here were groves of willows, and the spreading fig. The flocks and herds to be seen in the neighbourhood of this place, gave it a most rural appearance. To-day we began to ascend the rising grounds which lay on our course. As we emerged from the verdant pasturage on the plains, and from the refreshing waters that wandered through them, the highland we were ascending bore so strong a contrast, that what before gave us pleasure now became a toil. Travelling was irksome to us; we had nothing but terrific precipices and appalling chasms, which, to a wearied party on their way, offer nothing consolatory or amusing. The passes on the mountains, too, were rough, rocky, and so irregular, that it was with the greatest labour and difficulty I could get my horse to follow me. To ride him was impossible, and I, being tender-footed from having walked a great way, was obliged to rest frequently. As we had to pass

through an immense defile in the mountains, we were shut out for some hours from any view of the plain below; but on proceeding a little further, the plain opened suddenly before us. Its green surface, studded with innumerable hamlets, herds of cattle, deer of all descriptions, and the distant sound of the natives singing their wild notes, was a most delightful contrast to the sombre scene through which we had just moved. We had now descended to the foot of the mountain, and with the delightful valley before us, we proceeded to the residence of Umkileeper, a poor tributary chief to the Zoolas, who having been subdued by Chaka, had never been able to recover his former wealth and greatness. He had little or no food, but he gave me a pumpkin, which was all he possessed, and I received it with as much satisfaction as the gift from his more wealthy, but yet less liberal and less kind-hearted neighbour. The females at this kraal came to me in the evening, to compliment me on my arrival with their singing and dancing, which lasted the greater part of the night.

18th.—Continued our journey at daybreak. We occasionally caught a view of the Mafootie, and soon reached its banks, along which we afterwards pursued our course. The exceedingly picturesque scenery in the vicinity of this river, and the foliage on its margin, rendered our march interesting. The mimosa trees, for a considerable distance, spread in all directions on these plains, forming a very striking con-

trast to our dismal and gloomy journey of the day before, amidst the sombre recesses of the mountains, and the dark chasms which every now and then interrupted our progress. We had to cross the Mafootie several times during our advance, its serpentine course intersecting our road in many places; but the crossing was attended with nothing difficult nor dangerous, the alligators not frequenting the rivers in shallow places, but confining themselves to those parts where there is a greater depth of water.

Having crossed the valley of the Mafootie, we had to ascend again into a mountainous part, which we did not accomplish without some exertion. My horse climbed the various precipices with more ease than I anticipated, and on reaching its summit we were amply compensated for the toil we had encountered on our way. The scene from this eminence was really enchanting,—the landscape below exceeded anything I could have expected. In the midst of our wonder, we did not heed an approaching storm which appeared to be gathering. The wind began to increase, and blew from the westward a smart gale. Rain beginning to fall also, we were induced to quicken our pace to reach a kraal for the night. As we moved on and were about to cross a small rivulet, we perceived a large serpent; one of my people, with surprising agility, and disregarding the dangerous reptile, ran towards it, and with one blow killed it instantaneously. It was spotted, about twelve feet

long, and its diameter three inches. It must have been a species of the boa constrictor from its size, and from the description given of it by the natives. The natives are great enemies to these serpents, always attack them, and invariably kill them without apprehending any danger from the combat. We continued to travel over valleys, and by the margins of the mountains until noon, when we reached the kraal of "Noparpes;" the natives being evidently cold and shivering, from the effects of the mountain air, which descends after sunset. Having now travelled a good day's journey, and wishing my natives to have that repose which I was confident they needed, I resolved to halt here for the remainder of the day and night. As the master of the kraal was the king's doctor, I thought I could not select a more convenient place for that purpose, because we might command accommodation should any disposition be shown to refuse it. Moreover the commands of his majesty respecting accommodation to us whenever we might be passing through his dominions were peremptory, and, if disobeyed, it was known that the consequences would be fatal.

## CHAPTER XI.

OUR resting-place of last night was far from being enviable, and I arose with a headach just as the sun could be perceived peeping over the distant mountains. His influence revived me a little, and after obtaining a cup of new milk we set off on our day's journey.

We had to pursue our way through another of those fine grazing districts which abound in the interior of the Zoola country. A fine savanna, rich in corn-fields and pasturage, that would have been a sight for a Buckinghamshire grazier, lay on each side of our line of march. I could at once perceive that no part through which we had travelled could produce corn so fine as in this district: it was growing in all the luxuriance of vegetation, and had reached a surprising height, so that on passing along the fields we found it several feet above our heads, and throwing out the ear exceedingly full and productive.

We could hear the distant sound of the cataracts, which abound in this neighbourhood. Their waters descend from the high mountains in the vicinity, and falling over projecting rocks with great violence, the sound reverberates like distant thunder. We approached one of them very near, and the scene was truly magnificent. Our natives, either from awe or superstition, or from that circumspection peculiar to them on all occasions when approaching any object to which they had not been accustomed, were reluctant to advance to the margin of the stream into which the waters from these falls flow. They repeatedly wished me not to venture too near, for not only were the precipices dangerous, but near the brink was often the abode of the Spirit. At last, however, they all simultaneously halted, and entreated me to do the same, as few people ever had approached it with impunity.

This fall was a rapid on the Mafootie, which, from the river being considerably contracted at a short distance above, occasioned it to rush down with great impetuosity, over the black protruding rocks, into a chasm of great depth, emerging again, with surprising force, foaming and sweeping along in its course below. The effect from the fall of this mass of water, at least one hundred and fifty feet perpendicular, caused a tremulous motion of the rocks on which we stood, and we could sensibly feel the vibration.



The scene far exceeded my expectations: it appeared to me to be a Niagara in miniature. I looked on it with delight and amazement. The height of the fall, the body of water, the natural protruding of the stupendous rocks, the foam produced in its disturbed course, the mists from the waters (spreading like vapour before the sun), with the luxuriant foliage around us, formed altogether such a combination of grand and interesting objects that will, I think, scarcely be ever effaced from my memory. They were really sublime, and I withdrew from the scene with inconceivable regret, but not until the setting sun reminded me that we had yet to go a considerable distance before we could find a shelter for the night. Below these falls (for there are several others of a minor description) the river runs in a regular and pleasing course, through a fine and fertile country, in which its waters are exceedingly valuable to the cattle of the natives, which seek its stream during the heat of the noon-tide sun, and for that shelter which the trees that overhang its banks afford.

We proceeded onwards from this place to the abode of a small tribe which had been subdued and nearly annihilated by the Zoolas in the reign of Chaka; they were poor and harmless, depending entirely for food on the little corn and esculents they can raise. It is true they do raise but little of either, for were they to possess the most flourishing crops, instead

of eliciting the commendation of the sovereign, to whom they are tributary, it would be the signal for their execution. The Zoolas would take their all, and executions of the poor wretches immediately follow. Their poverty preserves their lives. They have selected this remote spot in order to evade the predatory visits of their victors; and from their seldom or never being subjected to the call of the traveller, they are shy and apprehensive of strangers. They would have willingly joined my party, had we held out to them the least encouragement, from the fear in which they live of the Zoolas, and the anxiety they manifest to be protected. I continued travelling until late, when I reached the residence of Gahooka, where I put up for the night, and despatched messengers to the Botwas, to invite them to come forward with their produce. In the night I took some medicine, feeling myself indisposed, and retired to repose as well as I could.

21st.—My messengers returned to-day from the Botwas, and informed me that those people were coming with their ivory. We were obliged to live here on the most scanty pittance, as we could only obtain one meal of Indian corn a day. That article grows spontaneously; no exertion or labour of the natives being applied in cultivating it.

22nd.—To-day the weather was wet and otherwise unpleasant, and not being well, I continued within

my hut. The Botwas arrived with their ivory, which we had previously purchased, and with which I sent my people home. I also bartered with them for a few small teeth, giving them in exchange beads and tobacco. The large ivory I could not obtain, as they wanted a cow for every tusk of about sixty pounds' weight, and I had no cattle to give them. They informed me that they had fifteen large tusks besides many small ones at their place, and intended hunting again, when they would trade with me. They hinted that they would join the white people, if I thought we could protect them from the Zoolas, whom they detested, although they did not fear them. As they are a wandering tribe, their home is wherever they can fall in with elephants, and having no settled habitations, the Zoolas could not much injure them.

23rd.—I sent off a letter to my copartner Mr. Fynn, having only my chosen musket boys and two youngsters, with the boy who had been wounded and had now recovered, and who assisted in carrying my mat and luggage. I resolved to shape my course for the river Ootoogale, and to pass over Job's, for the purpose of purchasing goats and cattle. I heard that the country which I had to traverse had lately been plundered by the Zoolas; but I apprehended no difficulty from that circumstance, as my retinue was small, and our wants could easily be sufficed for a few days; we therefore started.

The face of the country over which we had to

travel was undulatory, and free from wood, thicket, or jungles; it was quite clear as far as the eye could reach; abundantly supplied with springs and rivulets; but wood, even for fire, could not be found. From the constant and heavy rains, the passes were rendered exceedingly unsafe for travelling, and our progress was greatly impeded by the roughness and irregularity of the paths; we managed, however, after having travelled about fifteen miles, to reach a small kraal, at which I put up, perceiving that the gathering clouds indicated bad weather, which afterwards increased into a stormy appearance. It soon began to pour forth its violence. The sun set gloomily, and not with its accustomed brilliancy; the rain began to fall heavily, the wind to blow, the thunder to roll clap after clap in regular succession, and the lightning to dart its awful and forked flashes around us. My hut was not an enviable one, for it was quite pervious to the rain, which came through the roof like water through a colander, rendering my abode in it not of a character to enjoy sleep, or receive refreshment.

24th.—The morning set in with occasional showers. At noon it cleared up, when I was enabled to continue my journey until I arrived within four miles of the territory of the chief Sichslanslo. A sudden change, from a smooth and even surface, easy to the traveller, to a hilly, barren, rugged, and stony course, irksome and fatiguing to both man and beast, now opened before us, and I sought to pass over with as much haste

as possible. We could not ride rapidly, from the tremendous stones that lay almost hidden in the path by the high herbage which grew about them. At last, however, glad enough I was, as well as my native boys, to arrive at a resting-place for the night. Having got to a small kraal that had been ravaged by the Zoolas, one of its brave chiefs having been killed in its defence, I obtained the best accommodation I could; though from the wretched condition of the people since their defeat, and the plunder and devastation to which they had been subjected, I could get but little food, nor did I expect to obtain so much as they kindly gave me.

Here the natives live in terror of the Zoolas, and have doubtless great cause for their apprehension, for they have been most inhumanly ravaged and barbarously persecuted.

25th.—I continued to move on through the territory of this chief. At several small kraals the natives presented me with some of their beer, and sugarcane in abundance. These people expressed an earnest desire to join me; they would have collected their little materials and followed me, had I manifested the smallest desire for their doing so. I certainly felt that I should have been glad of such an accession to the strength of our respective tribes, but was apprehensive that such a proceeding might incense the Zoola monarch; therefore, when the poor creatures begged me to take them under my protection, I was, with great

regret, obliged to refuse, but told them my reason, and dissuaded them from wishing such a thing. Several accompanied me till I reached the banks of the Ootoogale, when they returned to their homes.

I could perceive some time before I arrived on the banks of this terrific river, that it was impassable from the velocity of its stream, and the alligators which are so numerous in its waters. Its appearance was appalling, and quite unnerved me and my natives, particularly one or two of them, who had miraculously escaped the jaws of alligators on a former journey. Two natives had been carried off the preceding day; I, therefore, thought it better, under such circumstances, to retrace my steps and steer my course towards home. Bidding the natives in the neighbourhood adieu, I set off at once to a kraal near the residence of Sichslanslo, whom I intended to have visited; but, hearing that he was still secreted in the bush, from apprehension of the Zoolas, and that he had sent his son to Enslaler, the Zoola Minister of State, with a peace-offering, and to supplicate a home with him, I deemed it advisable to avoid a meeting, and therefore halted for the night. From my heart I pitied the tribe of Sichslanslo, and could not help lamenting the persecutions to which they are subjected. They are a kind, hospitable people, and deserve to be protected, not to be so mercilessly pursued, and hunted down, as it were, upon every occasion, when their rapacious invaders feel a disposition to attack them.

26th.—To-day I was obliged to travel slowly, the road, or pass, being very rough and stony; and, having encountered a great many such on our way, my people had become sore-footed, and could get on only with difficulty. The heat of the sun being excessive, the day was altogether sultry and fatiguing. I resolved on halting at a kraal before us, situated on a pleasantly rising ground, and surrounded with pretty clusters of trees, which gave it an attractive appearance. I proceeded thither, and found it to be the residence of a Zoola chief. I met with a welcome reception, a hearty regale, and a comfortable hut to repose in. The chief himself was absent, but the queen was very kind and hospitable; she gave me plenty of sour milk and corn for myself and people.

27th.—The morning opened very fine, and looked auspiciously for travelling. Our course lying through a rich country, beautifully intersected with streams of pure and limpid water, we made rapid progress, so that by noon we reached the kraal of Sotobee (the chief who went on a mission to the Cape in the reign of Chaka). Here I was received kindly, and admirably entertained. The old chief, who had recently been raised by Dingān to the dignity of a king of this territory, loaded my hut with every kind of provision, and gave me a cow to kill for my people. In the afternoon he invited me to see him dance against the Cayles, which was to take place in the evening, when the old chief amused me much,



talking about our missions to the Cape colony. Im-tombintomby, his wife, who also was with us on that occasion, and the remainder of his wives, nine altogether, came to greet me, calling me their son. I was delighted with their winning ways, and pleasing conversation, until a late hour, when they retired to rest, and gave me an opportunity of doing the same.

28th.—The old chief informed me that he had sent for some cattle to give me, as a return for the several presents I had made him. After waiting some time, he gave me a young heifer and a bull calf; but not, however, without begging for a blanket, which was worth full as much as his gift. I rejected his present, but gave him a blanket. I had before given him goods to the value of ten cows, and of course expected something more than two calves. I took leave of the old chief and his wives, and proceeded on my way to the Zoola chief, Magnondoes. Our road lay over a plain much similar to yesterday: it looked exceedingly fertile, and cattle were to be seen in every direction. We met very large herds of deer, which ran off on our approach, bounding over the surface with surprising agility. We saw others of a different description, apparently not unlike the springbok and the koodoo, mentioned by Mr. Thompson:—"The koodoo is one of the most remarkable of the South African antelopes, but is now too well known to all lovers of natural history to require minute description. The horns of the male are sometimes upwards of four feet

in length; yet he is a lover of the thorny brakes on the river banks; the female is destitute of horns \*." A smaller species of the antelope abounds here, is extremely beautiful, and remarkably light and timid. We reached Magnondoes' kraal, and halted until the sun began to decline a little from his meridian splendour; after which we resumed our journey over a fine pasture and plain country, in which the grass grew to a prodigious height, and seemed of a very fattening quality, as the cattle we saw were healthy and fine looking beasts. It came on to rain again in the evening, in such torrents, that no part of my hut was dry. I got into one corner of it, there fixed myself with a fire, the smoke of which was as annoying as the rain.

March 1st.—To-day our course lay towards the river Mafootie, which we had to ford; but the heavy rains had rendered it impassable, without the assistance of the "inyangers of the waters," or water doctors, whose business it is to act as ferry-men, to convey travellers across the river. Two of them soon came, and took over my baggage and my people: but, to the surprise of them all, I would not permit them to convey me. I swam, and landed on the other bank, higher up the stream. The vicinity of this part of the Mafootie is far from being an agreeable district. I had considerable difficulty in

\* Vide Thompson's Travels, &c. vol. ii., page 14.

getting my horse over the streams and ditches which every where abound; their perpendicular banks making it in some places a labour of no ordinary toil, from the apprehension of the poor animal, which was, on several occasions, precipitated into the stream, from a height of fifteen to twenty feet. The buffaloes abound all over this district, and are formidable animals to encounter in a herd. Wild animals also of almost every description infest this part, making it dangerous in the extreme, and compelling the traveller and his guides to be ever on the *qui vive* lest they should stumble on the tiger in his lair, or the buffalo hidden in the fastnesses of the surrounding jungle. Venomous reptiles and insects of various denominations are to be found; and the serpent, "moving its slow length along," may be seen frequently in the line of the traveller's progress. The boa-constrictor, the monster of the serpent species, is a native of these regions; and the cobra-capella, the formidable snake of Africa, whose bite is fatal to human life, frequents the base of the mountains, and is the terror of the natives; while the puff-adder, another member of this venomous tribe, may be met with in the thickets and jungles. The smaller species of reptiles also are numerous; the tarantala, and other spiders, whose bite is so powerful as to occasion a temporary paralysation, or even death, have been found in the immediate vicinity of the native hut. Instances of fatal effects from insects are not

wanting to prove their existence. Mr. Thompson speaks of a case in his valuable detail, and says, "I was told of a woman who had been recently bit by a very small spider in the toe, and had in consequence fallen into convulsions, and died in a few hours \*."

Serpents of even the length of forty feet have been spoken of by the natives, which have swallowed the antelope, and have attacked the wild animal in his range; but I never came near any of such a prodigious size. The natives are impressed with a belief, that in the dark recesses of the rocks, or in the chasms and interstices of the mountains, reptiles of the most dangerous species are to be found, which appear when the Spirit calls them forth, or, from instinct, leave their abodes, to inhale the pure air, and attack man for food. The iguana is common, but quite harmless.

Scorpions and centipedes are general; but they do not excite the apprehension like the larger species of reptiles.

The mimosa, or gum-arabic tree, is thickly scattered about this part of the country. The gum is seen to exude in considerable quantities, and the natives collect it for domestic purposes.

As we left this district, and approached towards the residence of Issepingo, the chief of the Zoola army, the country had an appearance of greater fertility'

\* Vide Thompson's Travels, vol. ii., page 66.

and less of the wild aspect than that which we had left. The soil here became changed into a deep strong black mould of great strength, producing crops of Indian and Guinea corn, in the most luxuriant state of vegetation, and of a prodigious height; and vegetables that are indigenous were seen in every little hamlet in great quantities, growing, as it were, almost spontaneously; for the art and labour of man is but little applied in their cultivation. The rain began to set in with its usual impetuosity; but we reached the kraal without getting our accustomed drenching. Issepingo and his people came out to admire my horse; but the females having never seen either a horse or a white man before, did not well know how to divide their attention. Sometimes the horse seemed to engage them, then alternately I came in for a share of their wonder and admiration. They scanned me from head to foot with indescribable minuteness, and with so prying a curiosity, that I could scarcely refrain from blushing. The chief at last invited me into his hut, when I lost sight of the sable damsels, and instead of their importunities, I was pleased with the sight of some thick milk and edibles, a much more gratifying amusement to me, than being the sport of the nymphs of the Mafootie.

The chief and myself entered into a discussion on the merits of our respective countries. He was big with the importance of his power, and thought the

Zoolas stood unequalled in courage, strength, discipline, manners, habits, and splendour; and that no nation could excel them in the science of war. The arts of peace did not seem to have been a Zoola study; for our chief had not much cultivated them, having, as he said, been all his life engaged in the conquests of those various tribes whom Chaka had subdued; he admitted, however, that since the death of the late king, they had begun to decline in their warlike renown.

2nd. —The weather being very favourable this morning, we set off, travelled slowly, passed several kraals we had not touched at before, and arrived at the residence of Umconto in the afternoon. Here we witnessed a grand dance; it was performed in a very masterly way, by the young king and his people. At sunset I went into the hut; but, finding that his majesty's sisters had gone to another kraal, I took my horse and rode thither, though it was dark, and the wolves were numerous. The tiger-wolf is common here. This ferocious ranger of the forest, and invader of the peaceful hamlet, is a formidable antagonist to contend with; but, nevertheless, I thought it would have been ungrateful not to have paid my respects to the ladies, who had so courteously entertained me, when I last paid a visit to their royal brother. The princesses had just arrived from a visit to their uncle, and were fatigued;

but I sought to prevail on them to honour me with a visit, and amuse the wearied travellers with a display of their vocal powers. After some persuasion, they were induced somewhat reluctantly to come. They soon, however, retired, and I lay down to repose after the fatigues of the day.

3rd.—The princesses paid me a morning visit, as did the chief and the young king. His majesty sent two of his people to accompany me on my way. We took our leave of the king and his sisters, and pursued our journey. It was excessively hot, and, reaching the “Etanger,” we took shelter under an umbrageous fig-tree, until a cool breeze sprang up from the westward, when we continued our march till we arrived at the residence of Kinkwas. It was yet early; I put up for a while, understanding that the river Umgani was high. My steward arrived, and informed me that the woman he had been in pursuit of belonged to Dansaler, a tributary chief, who, with part of his tribe, was coming to seek a home among the white people, in consequence of Sotobee having laid a plot to kill them. He requested me to send messengers with such instructions as I might have to offer him for his future proceedings; and desired that I would take charge of his cattle which were at Kinkwas.

4th.—Having been reinforced by the party I had sent forward with the ivory, we set out early and



travelled quickly; passed numerous elephant-tracks in all directions, and saw trees and shrubs that had been rooted up by them. My boys being flushed with success at having killed a tiger the other day, were anxious to pursue the elephants, which, from the appearance of the tracks, could not be far off. However, as I anticipated much difficulty in crossing the Umgani, and thought their services would be required, I objected to pursue the animals at this time. We hurried on, and, as the wind was cool, reached the river without much fatigue. My lads hesitated to enter the water for some time, until two boys came, who led the way; but the water was too deep, and they were obliged to return. I, however, continued, and getting out of my horse's depth, he plunged about, and I had nearly been lost; but in a second or two touching the ground again, I succeeded in reaching the reeds and mud bank in my way, where I had to remain until my boys came to my assistance. The horse was then enabled to get through the mud, and I to find my path to the bank. I thought my escape a lucky one, and felt grateful for it. It now began to rain again with great violence, it fell in torrents, but I travelled on and reached Umsega's kraal, where I intended to have put up; but hearing of the return of Ogle and Jacob from the Cape Colony, and that John Cane was detained by the rivers, I was resolved to go on with only two boys as guides, leaving the remainder of my party by

a large fire, to recover themselves. We took an inner path, that led directly to Jacob's kraal. The road was very slippery, some part of it being nearly stopped up by thorn-trees, and the latter part nearly covered with long grass that greatly impeded my way; consequently, I did not reach Jacob's kraal until nearly sunset. He greeted me kindly, and asked me to partake of a basket of boiled beef, which he had placed before us. The hut was filled with his wives, there being not less than nineteen, all of whom, with their husband, kept eating beef, while I was anxious to hear the news from the Cape. But as all the mouths were occupied with the meat, not one could be found to communicate good tidings from the colony. The beef however, after a little time, being disposed of, Jacob began to detail the adventures of their mission. I regretted to find that it had been an unpleasant one. He still breathed animosity against Cane, who had not treated him well. I could not learn anything of importance from him, so I saddled my horse and rode home to Insimbene, where I met my friends, who hailed me on my arrival. I now heard of the death of George the Fourth and the revolution in France.

I found also, by advices brought by the people who had returned from their mission, that speculations were greatly abroad at the Cape, and that I, a poor sojourner in Natal, was an object who had excited a

strong emotion among the Cape colonists. It had been given out that I was an American consul, engaged in training the natives to the use of fire-arms, for the purpose of defending Natal until the Americans arrived to take possession of it; with other similar absurdities, fabricated for sinister purposes, to interrupt a few individuals in the pursuit of that commercial enterprise and speculation which accident had thrown in their way. It was stated, that we had created a feeling among the authorities of the Cape, and that something was in contemplation to check our progress—that an expedition was fitting out, to be under the command of Colonel Somerset and Captain Campbell—and that an entire expulsion of the European settlers at Natal was its object! This I could not credit; there was too much absurdity in it: the gallant Commander in Chief at the Cape was too much alive on all occasions to protect the trading interest of his people, and to give an impetus to commercial enterprise, to lead me for a moment to pay any attention to such an inconsistent project. That Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole would send an armament to Natal, to drive about half a dozen ivory and gum traders from their huts, was too absurd to be believed, and I treated it, as it deserved, with indifference. I had heard enough of the envy of the colonists, but I thought that an expedition against us was a little too much for credulity to gulp. It would be, as Dr.

Johnson has somewhere observed—"placing a twenty-four pounder at the door of a pigstye." After having heard all this compound of nonsense brought by the mission, I rode to Mount Pleasant, where my people were glad to see me.

## CHAPTER XII.

ALTHOUGH my friends for a moment paid some attention to the details brought by the mission people, they were, after deliberating a little, too sensible of their absurdity, and too much impressed with sentiments of respect for his excellency Sir Lowry Cole, to imagine that such a project as expelling us from Natal could ever have been in contemplation by that gallant officer. Although, perhaps, two or three individuals from Graham's Town had visited our settlement, who might have been envious of our little success, and of the power we had over the natives, yet we could not be brought to think so illiberally of man as to imagine they would propagate unfavourable reports of our conduct, when they must have had ocular demonstration that our establishments were purely commercial—all speculative;—that we were British subjects, who, in the pursuit of mercantile avocations, endeavoured to extend the commercial character of our country, and to make it known among the tribes with whom we had held an intercourse, that, as far as we could

effect it, we were eagerly exerting ourselves to spread civilization, and bring the natives, especially the king Dingān, to entertain a proper respect for the Cape authorities, likewise to check the disposition of the Zoola monarch whenever he designed an attack on the frontier tribes in amity with the colonists. On no occasion had we been diffident in avowing to strangers our views of commerce in Natal. We were more than ordinarily anxious to encourage settlers, and afford every information within our limited means to give. We kept nothing from the eye of the curious, but cheerfully aided the envious who might feel a desire to commence similar pursuits. Conscious of having made this a rule of conduct from which we never departed, we rested in perfect tranquillity from any apprehension of an expulsion by the Cape authorities; and had that confidence in our natives not to fear any excitement from them likely to endanger our repose or to interrupt our pursuits.

We never dissembled, never sought to deceive the stranger by any representations either to deter or encourage his sojourning amongst us. We had nothing to conceal, but gave free access to those who sought information whenever they were disposed to enter our dwellings. We were not pursuing a political object, but one entirely of a commercial character, by which we were trying to accumulate comforts for a future day. We had surmounted many difficulties at our onset, but Providence had been kind to us; we had

combated with many obstacles, and have made such progress in our settlement, as leaves us but little to regret the toil we have endured; and now, thank God! like the simple shepherd—"I am a true labourer; I earn that I eat, get that I wear; owe no man hate, envy no man's happiness; glad of other men's good, content with my own: and the greatest of my pride is, to see my ewes graze and my lambs suck."

Thus are we progressing in our colony at Natal; we instruct our natives, teach them to be industrious, and to eradicate their primitive vices; we traffic with the interior tribes; hunt the elephant; attend to the increase of our cattle and our flocks; our lands are put into cultivation, and our gardens present objects that might not be displeasing to the horticulturist; and though our system of culture has not arrived at that point of perfection which our sanguine hopes had contemplated, yet we have accomplished enough to encourage other efforts; and we see in the past that which leads us to anticipate for the future.

10th.—To-day we sent off Cayola with five head of cattle to the Botwas for ivory. In the evening John Cane, who had been detained by the rivers, arrived from the Cape Colony, and stopped at Mr. Fynn's. I rode over to see him, and spent the day there, with the Fynns, Cane, and Holstead. Cane was more reserved than usual, and, what was not a common thing with him, he evinced some civility. He



said a report had reached Graham's Town that an American vessel had been to Natal, landed a Mr. Isaacs (meaning me) at that port, with a quantity of ammunition, to enable him to defend the place until her return; that Captain Campbell was only waiting for government instructions to proceed hither; and that Mr. Collis, who had disposed of his farm, was about to leave Graham's Town the day after he (Cane) left, with ten Europeans, ten Hottentots, three waggons, fifty horses and breeding mares, and a number of choice cattle, for the purpose of settling in Natal. He thought that the overflowing of the rivers, and the present state of the country from the heavy rains, would detain them, and that, probably, they would not get here until the dry season set in.

11th.—In conversation with Cane to-day, he informed me that Jacob had taken a letter out of his bag, and presented it to Colonel Somerset, when he (Cane) said, "Sir, I will thank you to let me see that letter;" to which the Colonel replied, "Yes, John, I think it ought to have come through you: here, take it, it is not proper to receive letters from that fellow Jacob." He, therefore, had brought them back, but could not deliver them, because they had been carried on to his own residence. I ascertained, also, that the Cape Government would not receive any present from Dingān, nor return any to that chief, through the agency of Cane; that the latter had sold the

ivory intended for the present, and had purchased goods for the king.

April 5th. — For many days past we were all engaged in our agricultural pursuits, attending to the extension of our settlement, and preparing for the reception of natives, who were almost daily seeking our protection. A few days ago Dansaler, who had sent to me at Kinkwas, arrived with part of his tribe to join us. My friends arranged with him, and we set people to assist in building huts for the reception of these new comers. His party consisted of sixteen men, two boys, thirty women, and three girls; we gave them provisions, and ordered them to take possession of a kraal near mine as a temporary abode. To-day Mr. Fynn and myself had a consultation respecting my accompanying his brother to the king, for the purpose of arranging with his majesty about the ivory (the debt of fifty tusks), and getting it sent on to Natal as early as possible, to be in readiness for the return of the vessel, which, although we had no right to expect for three months, we thought might by chance be earlier, and not wish that she should be detained by us. Resolved on losing no time in putting the project of getting it into execution, and urging the king for it forthwith, I made my arrangements for the journey.

To my surprise, and the astonishment of every one, John Cane, instead of proceeding to the king to

announce his return, and the particulars of his mission, had gone hunting the elephant, whilst Jacob and Ogle remained at home, without evincing any intention of going to his majesty to communicate the result of their journey to the Cape authorities.

9th.—The day being favourable, Mr. W. Fynn and myself proceeded to Fort Farewell on our journey to the king. From hence, having sent off messengers with cattle and cloth to trade with the Botwas, we reached the Umgani, passed it, and arrived at the well-known spring on the beach, where we refreshed ourselves and horses. After this we pushed on to the river Isseloache, whence we took an inland course for about five miles, and reached the ruined kraal of Umpeepes. Here we saw Cane, who had just returned from hunting, partook of some boiled buffaloe beef with him, and spent the remainder of the day together.

11th.—This morning early, after taking leave of our friends, we crossed the river Umslati, stopped at the kraal, inquired for our messenger, and were surprised to learn that he had started at dawn of day. Continuing our course, we travelled slowly, owing to the long grass and hidden holes made by the wild animals. We arrived at the chief Umkodookers at noon, regaled ourselves with some green corn, and hurried on to the king's kraal (Umjolmdunah) where we put up for the night. The chief Cocaler was, as usual, haughty and imperative,

yet had condescension enough to invite us into his hut, where he was seated on the ground surrounded by young warriors. I asked him for the two head of cattle which the king had desired me to get from him the last trip, and which he had agreed to send on to our place. His refusal brought on a difference of opinion respecting such conduct, which had nearly occasioned a rupture; it ended, however, in words. I offered to fight the fellow and his army, and have no doubt of my having been able to drive him from his territory, for he is a second Bobadil, and his people would rather fight against him, than for him.

12th.—This morning I saw the chief sitting outside his kraal; I mounted my horse, rode up to him, and insisted upon his contradicting the report that I had seven of the king's boys. He did so to my satisfaction, although he was surrounded by a body of Amabootoes or young warriors. We took leave of him and travelled on. Our messenger having left word that he had proceeded to Slome-en-line to procure food for us, I was induced to go there. Having crossed the Alligator river, we found that our messenger had gone on to the residence of Nongolasses, whither we also proceeded.

13th.—We arose early, just as day began to dawn, and soon reached the kraal of Amastanger, where we ascertained that the river Ootoogale was only passable at the lower drift. Proceeding thither, we crossed with some difficulty, travelling on the borders of that

river until we regained our regular course, then passed on to Umgeneswa's kraal, which we reached at dusk. We were exceedingly wearied and faint, not having eaten anything since the day before. Fortunately, we entered a hut where the natives were partaking of some parboiled beef. I soon joined their mess, exhibited my alacrity with thumb and finger, and thus blunted the keen appetite with which I had entered. I heard that my friend Intobaler was here on his way to our residence; this report was soon confirmed by his sending me a basket of beef, and inviting me to his hut. He sent to say that he could not enter my hut at the kraal's head, having married the sister of the master of the kraal. I went to him, and he greeted me kindly. He said that the king had sent him to call the white people together at his residence, and request them to bring their muskets and fight Umseboacher, who had got possession of a rock, so fortified by nature that it had only one entrance to it; that the regiment of Umlumbale, or the invincibles, had been defeated with great loss, but that another had been ordered to attend us, and be under our command. He also informed me that the messenger sent to accompany us passed early on the preceding day; and that he had gone forward, to report that John Cane was waiting for the army said to be coming to subdue the Zoolas. I was much surprised at this news, and asked where the man could have obtained such infor-

mation, which I said was a most gross and notorious falsehood, as no such design was ever intended by the British authorities at the Cape;—that the government there never contemplated any hostility to the sovereign of the Zoolas, so long as his majesty respected the frontier tribes, and abstained from any hostility towards them, knowing them to be under the protection of the British power. The chief, with that good nature and kindness,—with that candour and truth, which I always found in him, told me, he never apprehended such a thing himself, but, thinking it calculated to rouse the fiery spirit of some of the chiefs, who are more impetuous than rational, and do not often consider the nature of the information before they break out into turbulence, he privately cautioned me, and put me on my guard, that I might be prepared for anything that should occur. The messenger had said, that Jacob desired him to make all speed, and announce to the king that John had called an “impee” (armed force) to take the cattle and invade our territories.

After this communication I retired and wrote a letter to Mr. Fynn and John Cane, to apprise them of the matter, resolving myself to go instantly to the king, and at once expose so shameful an exaggeration, knowing that my returning would be a proof of so strong a nature, that the Zoolas would conclude it to be true.

14th.—The morning was inauspicious; it began

to rain heavily; the roads were rendered dangerous from it, and the mountainous course we had to pursue made it neither a pleasant, nor an agreeable thing, to get on our journey at all. At noon, however, it began to clear up, when we set off, and in a few hours reached the kraal of Cychans, where we intended to halt for the night; but it being yet an hour before sunset, we determined to ascend the mountain in front of our pass, which we accomplished, and continued to move on until we reached another kraal. Here we began to unsaddle our horses, and were in the act of turning into a hut, when the people of the kraal came to inform us that a dead man was lying outside of it; therefore, according to the superstitious notions of the Zoolas, we could not enter, as we might convey the disease of which he died to the king. We were then, to our great mortification, obliged to saddle our steeds again, and, to prevent any disturbance, we pushed on to the next kraal, which we reached after dark.

15th.—We set off early, and having travelled some hours, descended from the mountains into the plains, and arrived at Umbondene's, after having crossed the river Armanticoola. Here we put up for the night, fatigued, our horses jaded, and our attendants not able to go any further until they had obtained some rest. The roads we had taken, or rather the passes we had traced, were not only fatiguing, but from the state of the weather had become so



dangerous, that it was with difficulty we could keep our horses on their legs. The chief of the kraal sent us a fat ox to kill for our evening's repast.

16th.—The day opened dull and gloomy, and far from encouraging for travellers; but our anxiety to reach the king was so great, that we were induced about noon to move on, when we crossed the river Umslati, and began to ascend the Longooie mountains. It began to rain heavily, and, as usual, we got a complete drenching, but proceeded, nevertheless, until dusk, and arrived at a convenient hamlet on the pass, where we halted for the night.

17th.—To-day we renewed our journey, and got into the plains again, which for scenery was pleasing enough, but the paths were slippery, partly covered with grass, and rough and large stones every now and then greatly impeding our progress, occasioning our horses to stumble. At noon we reached the lofty woods near Goobenschlop, under the shade of which we halted and refreshed ourselves; after which we moved on, and at sunset approached the royal kraal. We could perceive his sable majesty standing on an elevated spot in front of his palace, apparently admiring our horses. Wishing to show the animals to advantage, we galloped towards the king, leaving our people in the rear. The monarch and his attendants were surprised at the speed of our horses, and remarked that our way of saluting their sovereign was pleasing to them. After having saluted him we were

about to gallop back to our people, when we heard the natives calling out to us to return; we complied, and, on looking round, perceived the king beckoning to us to approach him. He was then standing in the palace gateway, profusely decorated with pink and white beads, which had been lately brought from the Cape colony. The pink ones were suspended in continued rows from his neck to his knees, and so arranged as to imitate a cross in front. On his arms and legs were beads of a dull white hue; these, with other decorations of bugles and brass, made him look singular indeed. We dismounted, and saluted him after the Caffre custom, by bringing our hams to the ground.

He inquired what things we had brought for him, when we showed him the tools for house-building, and a white mouse, which he admired very much, and had it taken into his palace. He then expressed a wish to see our horses run. They were both fatigued, but, being anxious to gratify him, we mounted them, and galloped round the cattle kraal, to the inexpressible astonishment of himself and his wondering people. He remarked, that it would be impossible to make a stand against such animals, as they carried terror in their very appearance, and were calculated to do considerable execution.

By this time a large body of warriors had arrived, and formed themselves into a circle in front of the king, who desired one of them to find us a hut. I

was somewhat surprised he did not say anything on the subject of the communication made to us on the road. Knowing the messenger had arrived, we thought it looked suspicious that we had not seen him. As we went towards our hut, the young warriors followed us, which made me apprehend that some treachery was going on; I, therefore, did not like to dismount: but on our reaching our hut they went away, and we entered. The king did not send us anything to eat, which was an unusual occurrence, and, we thought, forbode something wrong. We were, therefore, in dreadful suspense all night.

18th.—Early this morning we saw the king sitting in front of his palace. We approached, and he desired us to come near to him. We were not in a very good humour, having fasted so long that we were unfit for discussion. A good repast would have been more desirable than an interview with an African king, and the compliment of a sirloin more gratifying than his admiration of our steeds. We did not wait long before we opened the business of our visit, and expressed our uneasiness at the report of an “impee” (armed force) coming from the Cape colony to attack him. I told him, that we had heard it on the road, and was much surprised he had not mentioned the circumstance to us on our arrival, knowing that a messenger from Jacob had been here with such intelligence. The king interrupted

me, and said, "I intended to have spoken to you about it. Is it possible that such a report can be true?" I told him, it was impossible such a design could have been contemplated (much less be on the eve of execution) without our having been apprised of it; and that if hostilities had been in agitation, it was not probable we should have presented ourselves before him. "But," said I, "if your majesty have an idea that our countrymen are about to proceed here in any other character than as friends, we will remain with you until your majesty shall be convinced that the report is a gross fabrication." "I am perfectly satisfied," said Dingān, "of your innocence, as I am aware that you malongoes do not tell lies; but I am angry with John Cane; I think he might deceive you as well as me. His Caffres came here with goods from the British colony. I was surprised he did not come with them, when they told me that he remained at home on account of Thomas Holsted's indisposition. The next day my man, the messenger, arrived, and informed me, that John was at the river Umslati, hunting the elephant: I then concluded that Jacob's report was true, and that John was waiting for the commands, under the cloak of hunting. I did not care about the present, and should not have blamed him if he had returned without any thing; as I well knew, if the people on the other side of the water would not give him any thing for me, that he could not execute his mission. I blamed him

for not coming, as he well knew that I was always anxious to hear news from the white people; but when I considered the matter, I saw that he was afraid to come, and that instead of attending to the mission he had undertaken, he has tried to injure me, by inducing the white people to prepare to fight me. I, therefore, told the messenger to return and summon the boys of Slome-en-line, proceed to his place, and take his cattle away; but I gave orders to them to go forward and apprise Mr. Fynn previously, that he might acquaint the malongoes and prevent any alarm. I further desired that Mr. Fynn would drive the fellow away from Natal, as he would be disturbing the peace we have so long enjoyed."

The king delivered this address, not with any angry gestures, but in a calm deliberate way; convincing us that he had confided a good deal in the integrity of Cane to conduct the mission, and found his confidence abused. That Cane was censurable for not going forward to his majesty, to report the result of a mission, of which he was the principal, cannot be denied; but that he should so far have forgotten his situation, as to lose sight, not only of his duty, but his security, was surprising. With respect to Thomas Holsted, I knew he was ill and incapable of further travelling. I, therefore, told his majesty, that I thought Jacob had borne animosity against Cane, and that a demand, made on the former trip against the latter, had occasioned a strife between

them, which might have been the cause of the indifference of Cane in the present instance; that I felt positive, as soon as he heard of the king's wrath, he would at once arrive, and give him every necessary explanation of his mission, and of the feelings of the people whom he visited. Dingān observed, "I do not want to see him again, I wish you very much to drive him away."

The king manifested an almost unappeasable anxiety to hear news from the Cape colony. I, however, softened his apprehension, by assuring him that I conceived it totally out of the power of any one individual to fabricate information, sufficiently powerful to induce the colony to send an army to invade his dominions. This seemed to tranquillize him exceedingly, and we then began to talk on other subjects. I told him of the death of George the Fourth, our late king; and that his brother, William the Fourth, now filled the throne, as his hereditary successor. He asked if the late king had any sons, and if a prince of England could dethrone his father. We assured him that there existed in England such affection between king and subject, as made the former adored, and the latter respected; that the monarch, as the father of his people, sought to rule over them, not with the rod of terror, but by laws mild and efficient; whilst his subjects submitted to those laws, as became a people who admired their sovereign and loved their country; the king of

Great Britain reigned in the hearts of his subjects, who were happy, because they were secure; and it was their union, the love borne by the people to their monarch, that made England invulnerable. Dingān sat for a few seconds, as though in thought, and ruminating on our description of England and the English monarch; but, looking at us again, he said, with a smile of pleasure, "Ah! your king must be a happy monarch, when he has to reign over such faithful and brave people." After this colloquy, we retired; the king gave us a pot of beer, which he desired the servant to take to our hut, and afterwards sent us a fat cow to kill, with which we made ourselves comfortable, not having eaten anything for thirty hours.

We took our seat, during our repast, under some shady trees, and had a fair view of his majesty's girls, about four hundred of whom were carrying corn to him. Towards sunset the king sent his servant to say, that he regretted he could not have another interview with us to-day, as he had some urgent and important business to occupy his attention. We expressed our sorrow at this, as our object in coming was merely to see him, and have the honour of his presence.

19th.—To-day we observed the people congregating from all quarters, and their howling and yells made the kraal ring. On inquiry, we ascertained that a sister of the king had died. His majesty, in consequence, confined himself to his palace.



20th.—A servant from the king came to us, to express his majesty's wish that we should return home, on account of his inability to see us for some time, being obliged to eat roots for the loss of his sister. I sent to say, I was sorry for his majesty's loss, but that on account of the distance I could not return; and requested his majesty's permission to remain until it was convenient for him to honour us with an interview. The messenger soon returned with a command that we should attend the king; we followed him towards the calf kraal. About twenty yards up the kraal stood the warriors, with their arms folded, their eyes fixed on the ground, and the chief making a speech of condolence on the death of the princess. We passed by, imitating the natives by exhibiting a melancholy aspect, folding our arms, and then took a seat by the servants who were sitting outside. The king was inside the cattle kraal. A motion for us to come near the fence was made by one of the servants. The king spoke to us through the fence in a low and pensive tone, and requested us to go home, as it would be unpleasant for us to remain here and not converse with him. "I have sent for Mr. Fynn," he said; "if you meet him on your way, I wish you to return together, and come to me again when your vessel arrives, or when the next moon sets in. I am sorry," said he, "for what has happened; but you have to blame John Cane, and not me." He repeated, that he had sent to Cane's to have his cattle

taken away, and to drive him out of his country. "If you see him in the bush," said Dingān, "tell him to come here with Jacob, and his case shall be settled; but time will prove if false information has been sent to me; if it be false, Jacob shall not go unpunished. I assure you, if I knew that a malongo 'impee' was coming against me, I would distribute the cattle to my people, and tell them to separate in all directions; and for my part, I would take only five men, and go where you should never find me; and then what would your soldiers do for food? Besides, I would poison our waters, which would be fatal to them." I said to him, "as you have not commenced hostilities with us, you have no danger to apprehend from the Cape colony forces: if they come at all, they will come as friends." "Well," said Dingān, "I am always glad to see white people, but I have given up all idea of fighting. I wish to enjoy myself with my nation, who have been fighting all their lives under Chaka, to cultivate the blessings of peace, and do every thing to promote the prosperity of my long harassed country. This is now my sole object; and nothing else occupies my mind, than how I shall govern in peace."

### CHAPTER XIII.

WE were much gratified at finding that the king entertained such a warm feeling for peace, and such a decided aversion to the further spilling of blood in war with his neighbouring tribes. We could not resist the impulse which momentarily pervaded us, of applauding him for a resolution which redounded so much to his honour. His motive since the death of Chaka for going to war with Ingnapie was, to retake the cattle of his father, which had been carried off by the revolted chief Cato, and afterwards got into the possession of Ingnapie, whom Fakoo had fought. Having destroyed the revolters, he left the cattle, knowing them to be mine; and now only wished to subdue the people in the rocks, as they were encouraging Umsaleegoss to attack him, whose position commands his possessions; it was, therefore, imperative that he should not allow it to remain in the hands of so powerful an enemy. This was all he now seemed to desire, and wanted our aid to accomplish: after which his determination was

to seek peace and avoid war. Though his enemies might deserve chastisement, he was resolved to spare them rather than again declare war. Dingān was avowedly desirous of cultivating peace, and indulging in the sweets it afforded; for war and strife were ill suited to a mind in search of ease and tranquillity.

We could not, we assured him, think of again taking any part with him against his enemies, however anxious we might be for his welfare and for the security of his throne, because, on the former occasion, when we aided his predecessor so signally, we were greatly censured by our countrymen, and subjected to severe animadversion; and it was only from the knowledge which was afterwards acquired by them, of Chaka having compelled us to engage in the war, that we could hope for justification. Such being the fact, his majesty would see that we could not possibly give him the least personal aid whatever. However, as Mr. Collis and his party were now soon expected, when they arrived we would consult them on the subject; and should they manifest no indisposition to join in assisting him, we might then see cause for acceding to his majesty's wishes, and drive his enemy from the position which so much annoyed him. Dingān observed, that the cattle his people had taken were put into a separate kraal, and should remain until our return; that we must assist him, when they should all be delivered over to us. We told him again that we dared not act with hostility against any people;

that our country was at peace with the whole world, and we might be giving great offence to the authorities at the Cape Colony were we to engage in arms against any of the native tribes, or in aiding one tribe against another. The chief Tombooser observed, "that as we were in the country, and under the protection of the king, we ought to abide by their laws." Dingān immediately interrupted him, and requested the chief not to urge us to do anything that would injure us in our own country. He then requested us to return home, and let him see us again at the commencement of the following moon. He gave us four calves, and said, "he intended to give us a great many more when we came again." He also directed one of his people to go and procure us three cows, that we might have plenty to eat on our road home. At noon we took leave of him on our return to Natal, and, on going out of the kraal, the chief Tombooser, who appeared to have been waiting to speak to us, requested us to stop; then driving all the people away, he said, "it is the wish of the son of Esenzingerona (Dingān) that I should impress you with the friendship he bears to the white people, and how he wishes to renew and cultivate that friendship; he trusts, therefore, you will not be displeased with him if he sends to take away John Cane's cattle, as that person has irritated the king, and compelled him to do what he is sorry for. We are the conquerors of the blacks, but know nothing of the system of fighting

of the white people, and are afraid to learn; you have been in our country ever since the first war with the Amanpontoes, and we have never molested you in any way, but have always esteemed you as friends." After he had concluded, we told him that so long as the conduct of his majesty and his subjects was consistent and friendly towards us, they might expect from us in return every possible respect and goodwill; but we could not help apprehending, that taking away Cane's cattle, without apprising him of their intention and the cause for such a measure, might be attended with consequences which they did not foresee, but which we could predict; because we knew no white person would allow his cattle to be taken from him without resistance, and more especially if he had given no cause for it. Cane would doubtless defend his property if any hostile attempt was made to invade his rights; therefore, the king's people would find an opposition of such a nature as might end in bloodshed, and the destruction of those who made the incursion. He replied, "Losing people on such an occasion is usual and to be expected, and the chance as much in our favour as in Cane's." I said I trusted, however, if his majesty did persist in the attempt, and any of his people should be killed, that he would not resent it, or wish to be revenged on the other white people; for we had nothing to do with Cane, although we were on fair terms of intercourse with

him, and knew enough of him to assure the king that he would not allow his cattle to be taken with impunity, or become a quiet spectator while he was being dispossessed of his property. After assuring us that the affair was entirely with Cane, and any consequences resulting from it should in no wise interrupt the friendship between his majesty and ourselves, I took leave of the chief with great satisfaction, feeling quite convinced that, from John's force, something bloody would ensue, and that the Zoolas would have a more fatal proof of the power of fire-arms, and of the irresistible superiority of British courage, than any they had yet witnessed.

Our people by this time had got on ahead, and we were obliged to advance at a brisk pace to get up with them. We met large bodies of warriors proceeding to the king to mourn for the loss of his sister. We came up to our people at Maquosers, and as there was yet a full hour to sunset, we moved on some distance to a kraal, where we took up our abode for the night.

21st.—We pursued our old beaten path back to our friend Umbondene, where we regaled ourselves with some good substantial beef, sweet potatoes, and beer. The king's elder brother arrived, and was particularly sociable: he sat some time and conversed familiarly respecting the superiority of the English over the Portuguese. We continued our journey, crossed the Armanticoola, and reached Cychans in the evening.



The chief sold us two fowls, which afforded us an excellent meal, and we retired to repose.

22nd.—We shaped our course for Umgeneswa's, and waited for our people to come up, when we all proceeded to the Ootoogale, which we heard was impassable, and that a girl, the day before, had been devoured by an alligator in attempting to cross the lower drift of the river. The middle drift was too deep for the inyangers to attempt crossing. We had, therefore, only the stony drift by which we could make the attempt, as the alligators are said not to frequent this part. Here, however, it was impassable for the horses, on account of the rocks on the bed of the stream. We resolved, nevertheless, to attempt it, even should we be compelled to leave our horses; and as we were going towards the drift we were hailed by two people on the hill just by: they said they belonged to us and were from home; they would not come near to us, but requested we would go to them. We discovered, on reaching them, that they belonged to Slomeen-line, and were proceeding from that chief to the king, to report that the Zoolas had attacked John's kraal, and found it deserted; that he had gone to Mr. Fynn's, and that his cattle were in the bush at Ogle's place: that messengers having been sent to apprise Mr. Fynn of this affair being about to take place, he had taken alarm, and gone to the westward with his people; and that all his kraals as well as ours were abandoned. They also mentioned that the army

was encamped at John's kraal, waiting for further orders; and that there was a vessel off the port which had fired several guns, and appeared to wish to come in. This unpleasant information made us the more anxious to get home; and telling the messengers to let the king know they had met us, and that we regretted much he had taken such hostile steps on the vague report of Jacob, as it might be the means of our vessel, if she arrived just now, leaving the port without landing her cargo; at all events it would alter the good opinion the malongoes entertained of him; and that those in the vessel, when they landed, would be struck with fear and astonishment to find the whole of the people had deserted our settlement; and should they find we had fled, and that an army had encamped at Natal, they might be induced to fire into them from the ship, when inevitable destruction would ensue. With this information from us the messengers went their way, and we proceeded to cross the river. The sun was declining on the horizon when we made an effort to cross; it had an appalling appearance, and was almost enough to deter the boldest of our party from attempting so dangerous a project. Supported by two stout and powerful natives, one on each side, I entered into the stream, and after considerable difficulty arrived safely on the opposite bank, as did my companion Mr. W. Fynn. Our natives followed in the like manner. Our horses, poor animals, were much knocked

about against the rocks and greatly bruised; but ultimately all of our people, horses, and baggage got safely over. The sun had sunk, and darkness was fast approaching, when we had to penetrate through the forest on our way; to mount rocks, to cross rivulets and ditches, to guard against jungles and pitfalls; the whole surface of the forest being besides over-run with wild animals of every denomination. The night was bleak and cold; tiger-wolves, which abound in the neighbourhood, came close to us, but our appearance was too formidable for their attack, and on giving them a shot they took leave of us: buffaloes could be heard, though, from the darkness of the night, we could not perceive them. We obtained a guide from the inhabitants to a small kraal close to the middle drift of the river. Here we thought of halting for the night, and lay down to repose, but in vain; we therefore travelled on, taking with us, as guides to lead the way, our stoutest boys, whom we had inconceivable labour to get on; at length the moon, which had risen but a little before, became enveloped in a dense cloud, and all was darkness again. The wolves had also collected around us, and our situation was far from being enviable. We had also deviated from the beaten track, and had some difficulty in recovering it, having got entangled in reeds, and afterwards in the midst of the native gardens. At length ascending a hill, we descried a brilliant fire at some distance, to which we directed

our steps, and, on arriving at it, found it to be the kraal of Nongolasses. Here we made ourselves at home, roused the natives, took possession of one of their huts, got a good fire, and sat round it until daybreak, when we started again, and reached Zoola's kraal just as they were milking their cattle. We got a pail of new milk and regaled ourselves. After being somewhat refreshed we set off again, crossed the river Mafootie, and afterwards the Alligator river, where we intercepted two boys, with an implement of war, not unlike a lance, jagged nearly to the point. We asked them the news, which they declined telling us, and made an effort to pass by us. We insisted, however, on their telling us, and, after a little hesitation, they said "they had left Cane's place yesterday with the Zoola force, which had taken sixteen head of cattle from Thomas Holsted. They knew not where Mr. Fynn and John Cane had gone, but that Holsted and the Hottentots were in Ogle's kraal." Proceeding on our way, a native man came running up to us, to say that the Zoola chief wanted to see me: we repaired to the nearest kraal, and in a few minutes the chief arrived. He saluted us—"I see you; give me the news from the king." We said that we had no news. He then wished to know if we were hungry, and on answering him in the affirmative, he sent for some green corn, ready prepared, and some beer, which he ordered to be set before us; of this we cheerfully partook. He still kept asking us for the

news, when I told him what the king had mentioned to us on the 18th and 20th current, and he detailed to us his operations and the particulars of the instructions he had received. I could perceive, evidently, that the king's instructions were solely against John Cane. Messengers had been sent to Mr. Fynn, before any movement took place, to apprise him of the king's design, and to assure him there was no cause for alarm, as strict injunctions had been given that neither the other white people, nor their property, should be molested. The messengers, however, had not gone to apprise Mr. Fynn, as directed; consequently hearing of the march of the Zoolas towards Cane, and that individual having sought shelter with him, Mr. Fynn thought it advisable to leave Natal. The whole of our people immediately fled to the bush for safety. Upon my asking the Zoola chief what he meant by surrounding the premises at the dawn of day, he said "that he would have killed every soul in it."

I was now most anxious to reach Natal, to see what was to be done in our dilemma, arising from the treachery of the villain Jacob, the profound ignorance of the messengers, and the impetuosity of the Zoola commander: I, therefore, although we had had no rest the night before, travelled until late in the evening, when it came on to rain, and we put up at the kraal nearest to the beach.

24th.—We set out early, and proceeded rapidly

until we got to the Umgani, where we halted until William Fynn came up, and crossed the river together. Perceiving the brig *St. Michael* at anchor off the port, we quickened our pace, to arrive before high water, fearing that she might not enter if they did not see some one on the shore. On approaching Cane's residence, the first thing that attracted my notice was a few sheets of an *Encyclopædia* scattered along the path. The kraal had been burnt for fuel; the cat had been speared and skinned; the ducks were scattered lifeless about the place. In fact, not a living creature could be found:—all was devastation, and destruction marked the course of the insatiable warriors; for even the growing corn was levelled in waste. One thousand of these savage wretches had been bivouacking here for two or three days, and had left painful demonstrations of their plundering propensities.

As it was of the utmost importance that I should get to the point before high water, I could not minute the misery which the place exhibited. The loss of human life we could not of course ascertain, as not a living creature was to be seen until we were about to leave the scene of havoc, when a dog, evidently in terror of us, came gently crouching round us, as if supplicating our protection, and wishing us to notice the misery around him.

By this time our Hottentot whom we had left behind arrived, when William Fynn proceeded to the

westward in search of his brothers, and I went with Andria to the point. The tide was flowing, and we had to wade knee-deep to get to the sand-hill, where I fired my pistols, and held up my blanket as a signal. Shortly afterwards I saw the brig tack and stand into port, and soon had the gratification of shaking my old friend Captain Page by the hand. I remained on board the brig: not a soul came near the beach until sunset the following day, when I observed two natives on the rocky point, with spears and shields. I hailed them, and, finding they were my own boys, went on shore with Captain Page and took them on board with us. They informed me that Mr. Fynn was on his way home; that they had travelled about thirty miles that day. Our party had halted about eighteen miles to the westward of Natal. In the evening both Mr. Fynn and John Cane arrived, when the unfortunate subject was discussed.

It appears that the chief Intobaler had arrived at Mr. Fynn's place with two oxen as a present for him, and to call upon him and our party, generally, to fight Umseboacher with their muskets. Mr. Fynn conceived that there was some treachery, as he had just received my letter communicating to him the report of a force coming from the colony.

The next day a man arrived to inform them of the approach of an "impee;" that Cane had, consequently, deserted his kraal to join us. Intobaler averred he knew nothing of it, neither did he, as



he met the messenger of mischief on the road, as before mentioned; but what looked suspicious was, a man of Intobaler's going to Frank's kraal, and telling a little girl she had better go with him, as the "impee" was coming. Mr. Fynn, therefore, to avoid the chances of fighting, left the premises, as he apprehended that, had he beaten off the Zoola force, which he could easily have done, his brother and myself might have been sacrificed by the king, as we were at the time with him, and within his grasp. Spies were sent out in all directions, and a report circulated that the "impee" was close to our kraal. Mr. Fynn, therefore, was obliged to fly, but before he did so, he distributed our property to our natives; about thirty pieces of cloth, fifty sables, seventy blankets, and a quantity of beads. My private moveables were taken into the bush by my people, but Mr. Fynn broke open my writing desk, and took out my papers to secure them from being destroyed. Mr. Fynn's object unquestionably was, to have proceeded to the Cape colony at Graham's town the following day, but our messengers had stopped him, and changed his resolution.

The conduct of the king in this transaction at once shook our confidence, and led us to apprehend that he was a complete dissembler. His affectation of sorrow, his desire for peace, his anxiety for repose, and his determination to cultivate a good understanding with Europeans, we now conceived to be so many arts

to delude us from apprehending any offensive measures beyond the merely taking of John Cane's cattle, who had excited his wrath by not having performed his mission to his satisfaction, and for having very indiscreetly, and it must be said, unaccountably, forgotten how important it was that he should have gone on to the monarch, and have rendered some explanation of the failure of this mission.

Hence we began to despair of effecting the great object of our anxious solicitude, namely, to establish that free and unrestricted trade with the people, which we had fondly hoped we should have done on a safe and advantageous footing. Everything now, however, looked gloomy, and although we were fully aware that the infamous Jacob was the cause of the late havoc, yet we doubted whether we should be able, finally, to accomplish a safe footing of commerce, if the monarch were subject to be imposed on by the arts of such designing villains as the one who had influenced the late outrage on our establishment.

Our minds were fully made up to retire, but as we had property yet scattered, it was desirable to collect it, if we found that a calm was likely to ensue after the storm which had laid waste all our hopes and prospects. Our vessel, too, had arrived two months earlier than we anticipated, and we had only with us about two tons of ivory. Ever since the vessel had left us, our time had been wholly occupied in laying

out new sources of trade, and in effecting a good understanding with the hunting tribes, so as to be able to get from them all their ivory. In this we had expended all our means, our property had become scattered in all directions, and everything had borne a most favourable aspect until the flagrant conduct of Jacob, to gratify his revenge against Cane, had involved it in jeopardy. To remain here, we thought would only increase our danger, as it would exceed the height of human credulity to expect any protection from Dingān; yet to leave without our property would be an act of folly and weakness. We resolved, therefore, on sending a message to the king to announce the arrival of the brig, as this would have, in all probability, a twofold good effect: it might, in the first place, deter him from any future annoyance, so long as the vessel lay, and he might, as we demanded it, send us the fifty elephants' tusks with which he had engaged to furnish us. In the second place, it would afford us an opportunity of sending off to collect our scattered property free of molestation; for so long as a gun from the vessel could be heard on shore, the spies of the king would be in a panic, and would make such communications as would keep his majesty in a state of terror, fearing the consequences of the resentment of the white people. While the brig remained, there was no danger to be apprehended.

26th.—To-day two natives arrived, Kelimba and

Umsega. We instructed them to go to the king and inform him of the vessel being here, and that we were about to quit his country, as we could no longer confide in him or his people;—that his majesty had grossly deceived me, by saying he only designed the capture of Cane's cattle, when Zoola, the chief, told us, that he had instructions to surround the kraal and kill every soul within it;—that having been a witness of the destruction committed on the premises, and of the panic spread through the whole of our kraals, I could not come to any other conclusion, than that the whole of his majesty's conduct was premeditated, and undertaken from the representations of the archfiend Jacob. We also directed them to inform the king, that we should wait his reply to this our communication; that we should not arrive at any hasty conclusions respecting our departure, as we felt ourselves perfectly free from any alarm for our safety under the cover of the guns of the vessel. The two natives then left us, not a little astounded at the effect likely to be produced by the message, and not less sensible of our security against any attack of the Zoolas, from the powerful consequences which the vessel's guns were likely to occasion.

May 5th.—For these several days past my mind had been a good deal agitated at having been subjected to such a scourge, as that which we had sustained from the duplicity of Jacob; and I had reflected

on the step to be taken in the event of not obtaining some assurances of being no more molested in future. We sent messengers to the Botwas about the ivory, and received a communication from our chief, Umseboacher, to say that Kegu's party had arrived with it at this place. Mr. Fynn went thither and obtained what they had, about a ton, and sent them in pursuit of more. In the afternoon, Ogle and the chief Tobaler arrived from the king, to induce us to send for Mr. Fynn (whose return they had known), as his majesty had expressed some sorrow for the occasion of his leaving; and to assure him and the white people of Natal that he had no bad intentions towards any of them, except John Cane, whom he had punished for not having executed his mission, and for his disrespect in having sent the presents by the natives, instead of accompanying them himself, which conduct had corroborated the report of Jacob, of a force being on the way from the Cape colony to attack the Zoolas, and that he (Cane) was waiting their arrival to be their conductor. His majesty, therefore, wished Mr. Fynn to return to his habitation, and not be under any apprehension; or if he pleased, he might drive away his cattle, clear his kraal of his effects, and proceed to his own country without fear of molestation from the Zoolas on his way thither, Ogle being sent by the king to show the monarch's good feeling towards him.

## CHAPTER XIV.

WE had no very great confidence in the representations of Ogle and Tobaler; and could pretty well fathom Dingān's design. His affecting sorrow for what had passed bore an aspect more to be feared than respected. I thought with the poet,

“When sorrows come, they come not single spies,  
But in battalions!”

and my predictions in the sequel were realised to the fullest extent. This dupe of the king, or, more likely, his minion, (after finding that Mr. Fynn had returned,) began to state, that it was his majesty's wish that Mr. Fynn would send to the royal residence his blacks, who had been trained to arms, with their muskets, to assist his majesty in his attempt to dislodge Umseboacher from the position he had taken up in the rocks, and that he (Ogle) had agreed to go with them. To this I at once gave my unequivocal dissent, upon the ground of my objection stated to the king on the

20th of April, when I had a personal interview with him on the subject, and which objection seemed then to be satisfactory to his majesty, who said to his minister Tombooser, "Don't urge them to do anything that will injure them in their own country." I therefore expressed myself strongly against the interference of Ogle on the one hand, and with the agreement into which he had thought proper to enter on the other. It was engaging us to send our party without our knowledge, and compelling us to aid in a conflict, when he knew our resolution to remain neutral, on all occasions, between the Zoolas and their enemies. I at once declined sending my people, nor could I bring myself to forget the scenes which the king's duplicity had occasioned. In the evening Ogle and the chief Tobaler left us. We had mentioned on their parting, that we would reflect on their sovereign's request to send our people, but that his majesty must be aware he had forfeited all the respect and aid which we might be disposed to pay and afford him in any of his disputes with his neighbours, by having proceeded against our property, after having pledged to us his protection.

11th.—Until to-day I had occupied myself in my domestic concerns, in trying to tranquillise our people, and in getting in our ivory with as much haste as I could, as our only chance now lay in having our vessel as a protection. In the course of the day our messengers returned from the king with one of



his majesty's domestics. They informed us that their master still manifested inexpressible sorrow for the past, and often repeated that he had never contemplated the injury of any white person. What he had directed to be done was against Cane individually, and even against him he designed nothing personal, his only object being to take his cattle, and thereby to bring him to a proper sense of his duty, and that nothing was further from his intentions than to have given the other white people even the most remote cause for apprehension. Dingān requested Mr. Fynn would pay him a visit, promising to give him the strongest demonstrations of his sincerity, and punish the author of all the mischief which had occurred, namely, the ungrateful dissembling Jacob.

It may not be uninteresting to my readers to submit for their notice some little details respecting the character of Jacob; and who this person, who has exercised such influence on the present monarch, actually was, before he became so prominent an individual in the proceedings of the Zoola government.

Jacob, or, as Captain Owen has designated him, Jacot \*, afterwards, as a *nom de guerre*, called Stambarnzie, or swimmer of the seas, from a circumstance that will be hereafter named, was taken on the frontiers of the Cape of Good Hope, in the act of

\* Owen's Narrative of Voyages, vol. 1, chap. iv., page 82.

stealing cattle He was sent to Algoa Bay, and from thence to Cape Town, by the brig Salisbury, which vessel had been engaged to convey troops. The voyage was a boisterous one, and occupied forty days. As Jacob suffered severely from the inclemency of the weather, the commander of the vessel, Lieutenant King, knocked off the irons with which he was manacled, gave him clothes, and otherwise occasionally indulged him with an allowance of grog. The feeling thus shown towards him was not ill bestowed: for, although he was literally nothing more than a savage, he took the earliest opportunity with which he was favoured of showing his gratitude. After his arrival at the Cape, he was tried, and sentenced to be transported to Robin Island, where he remained until Captain Owen took him as an interpreter on a surveying voyage to the eastward of the Cape. Jacob had often told me, that he had been very comfortable on board the *Leven*, and considered himself "Umpuggarty-umeooloo" (a great warrior), as the English officers had made him a sentinel. However, after proceeding along the coast as far as Delagoa Bay, they returned to Algoa Bay, when he was to have been sent back to his country. At this time the brig Salisbury was chartered by Messrs. Thompson and Farewell to explore the coast to the north-east of the Cape. They put into Algoa Bay, where they found H. M. ship *Leven*, and applied for interpreters to Captain Owen, who very readily agreed to fur-

nish them, provided the people consented to accompany them. Accordingly Lieutenant King went on board with Mr. Farewell to engage with these people. At first they refused to go, and expressed a wish to return to their own country; but Jacob, on seeing Lieutenant King, without the least hesitation consented to join him, as did also his companion, Fire, who had been transported at the same time and for a similar act. They joined the *Salisbury*, therefore, and sailed for the river *St. Lucie*, where, after encountering many difficulties, the party landed. Previously, however, one of the boats under the charge of Mr. Farewell foundered in the surf, when Jacob distinguished himself as an expert swimmer, and not only saved his own life, but that of Mr. Farewell also. From this event he was called by the natives *Stambarnzie*. Here, it appears, the party commenced trading; but Mr. Thompson, one of the supercargoes, having struck Jacob, and the latter, fearing a repetition should they return to the vessel, sought rather a living on shore, than a return to the vessel. He accordingly shaped his course inland, in a north-westerly direction, travelled about fifty miles, and reached *Nobampa*, the principal kraal or village of *Chaka*, the then king of the *Zoolas*. At this time, it may be remarked, that *Chaka* had been successful in subduing all the surrounding tribes; by which means he had acquired considerable forces, and made the *Zoolas* the most powerful nation on the south-east

coast. Through their own manœuvres, they suspected all strangers as spies ; and, in consequence of this suspicion, Jacob was nearly losing his life, and was kept in apprehension for a considerable time : from his natural shrewdness, he at length, however, found out Chaka's weak side, saw his disposition, and how to flatter his desires. He devised many plans which pleased the despot exceedingly, by which he was elevated above the ordinary warriors.

The manner in which he first brought himself into notice was as follows : finding Chaka very suspicious of his subjects conniving at his destruction, he related to him many stories of the white people ; first, how the king was guarded by sentinels ; then, that he (Jacob) had been made a sentinel, and while on board of a king's ship, the *Leven*, had paraded before the captain's door, in the dead of night, while he was sleeping ; the reason the captain assigned for choosing him was, that he, Jacob, being a stranger, would be vigilant, as his life depended on that of the captain. To verify these things in Chaka's mind, he asked, "what would become of him now, if the king did not protect him—would not the king's subjects destroy him, on suspicion of his being a spy?" Chaka felt the force and plausibility of his story, immediately raised a party of sentinels, and placed them under the command of Jacob, at the same time taking him by the ear, (a custom they have of impressing any thing on the mind,) saying, "Recollect

if any thing happen to me, my people will kill you for being in my favour; your prospects depend upon my safety." Chaka then told one of his ministers, Umbequon, to take care of him, and furnish him with three wives and some cattle. Stambamarnzie had now frequent opportunities of conversing with his sovereign, and relating stories concerning the malongoes, or white people. The king found him an amusing fellow, with whom to pass an hour or two at night, when all his attendants had retired. Chaka, ignorant of Europeans, and never before having had intercourse with any one who had known them, found what Stambamarnzie related exceedingly interesting; particularly as their manners and appearance were so different to any thing the savage mind could fancy. The king had always thought there was no other land but that which himself and his people inhabited, and that he was the only great king in the world.

He caused Stambamarnzie to build himself a kraal, that he might be nearer to him; he increased his cattle and his wives, the latter to the number of ten, which ranked him as a minor chief. Having now ingratiated himself in the favour of the king, Stambamarnzie became popular among the chiefs, and from the opportunity he had of conversing with the Zoola monarch, he acquired considerable influence in the government, so that at the period of Messrs. Farewell and

Fynn's arrival, he had it in his power to serve them, which he did by recommending the white people to the consideration and respect of the king, who, from the information thus communicated respecting them, excited in Chaka no ordinary anxiety and solicitude to see them. The arrival of the white people, therefore, in 1824, was conceived to be a good omen.

Mr. Fynn was the first who penetrated into the interior; he was treated well, but ordered to return until the pleasure of the king was known. Chaka sent his principal chief, Umbequon, to see him, who made a favourable report; and the whites were permitted to accompany him to Gibbeduck. On their arrival, they were received by the sovereign with an air of surprise and amazement, but with a civility which they little contemplated, and which they attributed to Stambamaruzie.

His career, from the time of the white people settling amongst them, became evidently more useful and important to the king, to whom he not only acted as chief sentinel, but became also interpreter to his majesty on all occasions in his interviews with white people; and the latter had great reason to be satisfied with him, as he evinced a desire to promote the object of their visit to Natal. He now had address enough to prevail on Chaka to induce Mr. Farewell to give him a musket, which gave him an opportunity of not only proving his own value, but

of showing the deadly weapons with which the white people fought, and which exalted us as warriors in the Zoola monarch's estimation.

Jacob had now become a great man : he had arrived at the acme of influence with the savage monarch, and on the arrival of Lieutenant King and myself, in 1825, he came to Natal on purpose to greet his old master (Lientenant King), as a manifestation of his gratitude for having been released by him from transportation. It is not easy to describe the joy he evinced on seeing us, and of the care and anxiety he displayed on hearing of our disaster of being shipwrecked. He sought to aid us in every way ; sent us a bullock for food, offered to Lieutenant King a quantity of ivory, and accosted him as his father and protector, compelling his wives as well as his people to do the same.

Both Lieutenant King and myself had no reason to be displeased with the conduct of Jacob, until the return of the first mission to the Cape (on which he acted as interpreter), when he plotted with the Zoola chiefs, Sotobee and Umbosom Boser, to give Chaka an unfavourable opinion of the Cape authorities, and to bring the failure of that mission on Lieutenant King and myself. From that period, Jacob created in us a suspicion that he was a dissembler, and that it would be dangerous to repose any confidence in him in future ; and after-events proved that our inferences were not erroneous. He became the perfidious and designing villain which we had predicted.



The death of Chaka lost Jacob a good deal of his power and popularity; his place about the person, Dingān, the successor of Chaka, gave to another, and Jacob then retired to his kraal to enjoy the quietude and repose of privacy, as a minor chief. Having, however, been called to accompany John Cane on another mission to the Cape colony, at the suggestion of the latter to the sovereign, he became incensed to a degree against Cane, which no persuasives from us could in the least assuage. He went, however, and the mission, as might have been expected, met with no better success than the previous one; arising from the impression of the avowed hostility, and the insatiable desire of the Zoola monarch, which was thought to be implacable, for the subjugation and extinction of the frontier tribes in amity with the Cape colony, and receiving their protection. On their return, Jacob had influence enough to effect what he had long contemplated and digested, namely, the destruction of Cane and every thing appertaining to his establishment, and which, as I have before detailed, wrought that devastation in our kraals, which afterwards induced us to concert measures for the protection of our persons, until we could collect our property and take our departure.

I shall now return to my diary, which will show the end of Jacob, and that he met with a just retribution for all his duplicity and revenge.

12th.—The king's servant, after having assured us

of his master's great anxiety for the presence of Mr. Fynn, further observed that Dingān trusted we would send on our musket boys to assist Ogle in his expedition to dislodge Umseboacher. We discussed the matter some time, and thought we had better accede to the king's proposal, under such peculiar circumstances, and from Ogle having pledged himself; we, therefore, sent word to say, that his majesty might expect them. We seemed also to have recovered confidence in Dingān's assurances of protection, and began to believe his expressions of sorrow for the late disasters; and thought that, as he was anxious to see Mr. Fynn, there would be no impropriety nor risk in that gentleman going to his residence, in order to receive the *amende honorable*, and at the same time to demand from the Zoola sovereign the amount of our claim of ivory, so long due to us.

14th.—Our natives came for the purpose of carrying the present to the king, which we had imported in the *St. Michael*. That vessel hoisted her colours, and the king's people were taken on board to see her. We fired three guns to try their effect on the natives, who became extremely alarmed and could not be comforted by us, though we assured them of their safety. Cane hoisted the union-jack on shore, and returned our salute; and we were pleased to find terror and dismay depicted in the countenances of the king's people, as it might have a salutary effect, and

deter his majesty and his tribes from any further molestation.

At 9 A. M. Messrs. Henry and William Fynn with the natives, about eighty in number, carrying the present, moved off, on their way to the king; and we now set to work to prepare our musket boys for their journey to assist Ogle. They at first refused to go without me; but, after some remonstrance, and seeing the impossibility of my leaving home, and the necessity of their following Mr. Fynn, they cheerfully set off. I gave them positive instructions for their travelling until they should overtake Mr. Fynn. However, after being out two days, it was reported, to my astonishment, that they had returned. I expostulated with them on their shameful conduct, and pointed out to them the situation in which they would place Mr. Fynn, who had gone on in the expectation of their overtaking him, and for the avowed purpose of bringing Jacob before the king, and to demand justice for his flagitious conduct. But notwithstanding we took these inconceivable pains, all were unavailing; and, although the senators had met, and made an example of the principal of them, Masetta, by sentencing him to be killed, we saw that it was useless to persist.

19th.—The senators met again to-day, to deliberate on the steps to be taken with the refractory musket boys, who again persisted in returning. I desired they should not be permitted to enter the kraals; and took their arms and ammunition from them, for

the purpose of appointing another party in their stead. Finding the perplexities I had to contend with, and the impossibility of getting the musket boys to proceed, I sent off Nasaponga with a letter to Mr. Fynn, to apprise him of the circumstances, so that he might be able to explain to Dingān the cause of the musket party not following him.

25th.—For several days various and conflicting accounts arrived of the disposition of the Zoola forces, and of the probable object of their destination; one conjectured they were designed to attack the tribe of Nomalalus, and to endeavour to extirpate them; another account led us to expect that the chief of Slome-en-line was preparing to pounce on us by surprise. To-day this latter information was improved upon by some natives, who told us that the attack would actually be made either to-night or to-morrow. We were at a loss how to decide; at all events, we thought it would be but discreet to prepare for the worst. I consequently went home, stowed away all my moveables in the bush, and sent my natives to 'Tars' Retreat. I then collected the men from Insimbene, gave the necessary orders for defending the place, and repelling the invaders. I sent off spies to the drifts of the river Ungani, to watch the enemy, by one of which they must pass, on their advance towards us; and I gave them strict injunctions not to move from their post, until they saw that the Zoola forces were advancing.

My rest having been a good deal interrupted for several nights past, I lay down to repose a little. As soon, however, as the moon began to shoot her horns, and show

“ Her silver visage in the watery glass,”

I was awakened by a distant murmuring noise, which, as I listened, I thought was the sound of human voices and footsteps; so much had my bewildered fancy pictured to me the approach of Slome-en-line, and so little could I confide in my spies, that, on finding the noise had quite subsided, and all was still and tranquil, I armed myself with a pair of pistols and my cutlass, mounted my horse, and, with two boys with muskets following me, set off for John Cane's kraal, where I expected to have found Slome-en-line's force encamped. As I began to think that the account we had heard of the object of the Zoola force was not to attack us, I returned and arrived whence I had started at four A. M., and found all asleep, except “Old Skipper,” a Hottentot elephant-hunter, who accosted me on my approach with “Who comes there?”—“A friend.”—“Advanec, friend; all's well.” Seeing there was nothing to apprehend, the veteran again turned in to bury his care in those sound slumbers so peculiar to that class of people, even in the wilds of the forests, and amidst the haunts of those ferocious animals of which they are in search.

26th.—The captain of the brig had most judiciously fired a gun during the night, to apprise the enemy that we were on the alert to receive them, in the event of their manifesting a desire to pay us an unfriendly visit. I got all my fire-arms in order, not being able to rest easy under so many conflicting accounts. To-day our Hottentots shot an elephant near the Umgani river. I went to the spot to see them cutting it up; the natives loaded themselves with its flesh, which they consider delicious. As I returned, I saw a leopard, which seemed disposed to attack us; we soon put an end to his intentions, and left him. Drove of buffaloes had just passed: we could perceive their track in the high grass. The country here abounds with them, and their beef is not bad, though coarse: I reached home again at sunset.

29th.—At midnight I was awakened by two of our native boys, who brought me a note from Mr. Fynn, who had halted at the river Umslati, requesting me to go to him without delay. I was greatly agitated by it, as it appeared to have been written under hurried circumstances. Many unpleasant thoughts pervaded me;—I could not sleep. I, therefore, sent off to get my horse, and prepare at once to start, which I did an hour before day began to dawn. At mid-day I met my friend on his return, looking somewhat gloomy. He was walking, and a native was leading his horse. His pensive appearance was indicative of great chagrin, and foreboded no good. After

shaking hands as we met, he said "We have no further hopes in remaining here." We mounted our horses, and rode gently over the beach, when he related what had occurred with Dingān. "On my arrival, the king greeted me kindly, and was much pleased with the present: all the people were surprised, and observed they had never seen such a present before \*. The king was rather angry at not getting more than eleven muskets, as I had told him that fifteen boys were coming; but when I stated the cause he seemed pleased. He only gave me about 2600 pounds of ivory and twenty head of cattle. I remonstrated with him, and used every argument to show the impossibility of the vessel returning as he wished, unless he was more generous. He then said 'You are never satisfied. Last year the vessel went away dissatisfied, and it is the same this year; therefore I shall not depend in future upon any little present you may send me.' Jacob had reported to the king that as he was going to the colony he had met a frontier Caffre, who told him he wanted to find a home with the Zoolas, as there was no living so near the white people:—that at first the white people came and took a part of their land; they then increased, and drove them further back, and have

\* It consisted of beads of various descriptions, brass bugles and other ornaments, snuff-boxes, iron pots and kettles, rugs, blankets, printed cottons, white and blue calico, Scotch plaid, and woollen cloths, to the amount of 2000 dollars.



repeatedly taken more land as well as cattle. They then built houses \* among them, for the purpose of subduing them by witchcraft;—that at the present time there was a malongoe, or missionary-house, at every tribe;—that lately no less than four kings had died, and their deaths were attributed to the witchcraft of the malongoes, as all the inyangers had predicted it;—that during his stay at Graham's Town the soldiers frequently asked what sort of a country the Zoolas had; if the roads were good for horses; if they had plenty of cattle; and had said, 'We shall soon be after you;'—that he had heard a few white people intended to come first and get a grant of land, as Mr. Fynn and Tombooser had done; they would then build a fort, when more would come, and demand land, who would also build houses and subdue the Zoolas, and keep driving them further back, as they have driven the frontier tribes;—that when they left Graham's Town to return here, John told him that Mr. Collis and a number of people were coming to settle at Natal, because the country was much better than their own; that Colonel Somerset, who is the terror of the frontier tribes, was about to advance with some soldiers to see Dingān; and that the Zoolas having heard so much about them, he thought John had remained at home to guide them." After this, Mr. Fynn sent to inform his majesty, that when it was

\* Missionary establishments.

convenient to him he would like to be admitted to an audience to disprove Jacob's report, and convince his majesty that Jacob was a consummate villain and an atrocious character, and that his majesty would find he was a dissimulating wretch, who would lead him to do great wrong to the white people. The king sent to desire Mr. Fynn to talk over the matter with the chiefs. Accordingly Mr. Fynn, the chiefs, and Jacob assembled at the river, the usual place of debate, when Jacob related his story (before detailed), and called his servant and Ogle's man to confirm it. Mr. Fynn declared the whole to be a tissue of falsehoods, invented by the interpreter himself in order to be revenged on John Cane; and that time would prove the villain had long contemplated to induce his majesty to injure us; that he had neither regard for the king nor friendship for the Zoola nation, but would, when it suited his purpose, betray the king as willingly as he had attempted to destroy us. Mr. Fynn then gave them instances of Jacob's treachery and enormities, and called Kelimba and others to prove his worthlessness and his crimes.

The chiefs now observed that they had heard enough, and were perfectly satisfied; but Mr. Fynn felt differently, for he could plainly perceive they were prejudiced from the effect of Jacob's report, and implicitly believed all he had asserted. The chiefs returned to the king, and Mr. Fynn fol-

lowed them, when he was directed to sit outside with Intobaler while the others went in to converse with his majesty.

Mr. Fynn went in the morning to take leave of his majesty, when, to his astonishment and dismay, he found Kelimba addressing the king, giving him a history of his life, and supplicating a place to which he might retire from the malongoes. The conduct of this native was a striking and conclusive proof that the king had been influenced by the wretch Jacob, who had spread a feeling hostile to the white people, and had been the means of corrupting those in whose conduct before we placed every confidence, and in whom we had reposed every trust. His remorse and contrition for having acted with such duplicity towards his master and protector, made him apply to Nasapongo to intercede with Mr. Fynn for forgiveness, and to give him (Kelimba) an opportunity to speak with Mr. Fynn, when he would relate to him everything which had transpired, and the reason that had influenced his conduct to appear before the king in the way he had done.

Finding that our residence for a time might be attended with some risk until the ferment, which the wretch Jacob had created, should subside, Mr. Fynn and myself concluded on arranging and adjusting our matters, and for a time to withdraw from Natal, he designing to go to the westward with his people, and I determining to proceed in the brig. For this

purpose Mr. Fynn sent to apprise his brothers of his intention, and to request them to return forthwith. William Fynn was at the time with the king, and on receiving the summons from his brother he lost no time in taking his leave of Dingān, who gave him five head of cattle, which he said he had sent on the road. Mr. Fynn had seen quite enough while residing with Dingān to convince him that Jacob had been the cause of driving the Europeans for a time from Natal;—that the execrable villain had poisoned the mind of the king and his chiefs to be revenged on Cane, and would make every effort to excite the wrath of Dingān against the Europeans, fearing an exposure by them, when his fate would be inevitably sealed.

When the brothers had joined, and all our respective affairs were arranged, we made preparations for our departure. The Messrs. Fynn proceeded in search of a habitation to the westward, to wait the result of the present ferment, while I took my passage in the brig for the English River at Delagoa Bay.

Cane, in the first instance, flew to the bush, and remained there, with the view of waiting for Ogle and the others; after which, should affairs not take a different turn, it was his intention to make his way to the English colony on the frontiers, and from thence to Cape Town.

The resolution of Cane to wait the result of the present storm, and avoid leaving if it were possible, was wisely adopted, and it proved in the end judicious, for it will be seen that in a short time afterwards

Dingān had discovered the villainy of Jacob, and had declared him to have been the cause of all the mischief which had occurred. No sooner had his majesty received proofs of Jacob's treachery, than he sought to make atonement to the injured. Instead of a force being sent after Mr. Fynn, as was reported, messengers were dispatched to entreat his return, and to assure him of protection; that the fiend who had been the prime agent in all the schemes laid for the destruction of the white people, should be killed; and that his majesty would also punish other chiefs who were privy to his designs. This pledge was realised; for after Dingān had induced Cane to return, the monarch told him—"I see now the untruth of Jacob's statement, and I have allowed time enough for the commando to arrive; therefore go down to the other white people, and kill Jacob, and you can take his cattle." This was soon done: Cane got Ogle to see the king's command executed, when the former took possession of about eighty head of cattle.

My copartner Mr. Fynn, with his natives, after hearing of Jacob's execution, and the destiny of the chiefs who had been the cause of the proceedings of Dingān against our settlement, returned to Natal, to take possession of our kraals, and resume those labours which we had before pursued with some avidity. The king expressed to Mr. Fynn particular solicitude for my return, and intimated a wish that I should be written to on the subject,

for that he should not feel easy until he saw me again. This being promised and my return pledged, I have made up my mind to redeem this pledge at as early an opportunity as my arrangements in Europe will permit, because I feel that Natal offers advantages for colonisation which ought not to be disregarded.

## CHAPTER XV.

AN impression was at one time I believe prevalent, that my companion Mr. Fynn had been expelled from Natal under circumstances somewhat mysterious, and that the Zoola monarch had ordered a force to pursue him to the frontiers. That a few ungenerous individuals had fabricated the story of my friend's expulsion, and that they should have reported it as an affair involved in great mystery, I can easily conjecture; but I must take the liberty of most unequivocally declaring, that both these reports are without a shadow of foundation. My friend Mr. Fynn was not expelled from Natal, but apprehending that the Zoolas might invade our settlements, through the atrocious conduct of the interpreter Jacob, (who by the most infamous representations, not against us, but against the British authorities on the frontiers, led the king to imagine a design was in agitation to attack the Zoolas, and that John Cane was to be engaged in it), he retired with his people to the westward, and took up his abode at



Ingoma\*, with the design of waiting the result of the conduct of the execrable Jacob, who had incensed his master to pursue Cane, with a merciless determination to annihilate him and his people. This was the cause of Mr. Fynn withdrawing from Natal and taking up his residence on the Unzimvooboo, and which impelled me also to take my departure in the brig St. Michael.

Insinuations as illiberal as unfounded, and conjectures as weak as malignant, were not wanting to asperse the reputation of my friend, to give a colouring to the whole affair of our withdrawing from Natal, and envelope it in a cloud of doubt and obscurity. But subsequent events have exposed the fallacy of their conjectures, and the return of Mr. Fynn to his possessions is indisputable evidence of their insinuations having been premature. There are, however, people who delight in fabricating falsehoods, who indulge in ill-timed asperities, and censure when they ought to commiserate,—

“ Men, that make  
Envy and crooked malice nourishment,  
Dare bite the best,”—

whose propensities I do not envy, but whose aim I trust, if it were designed to injure my companion, may be averted by the fact of the object of their notice being in the undivided confidence of the

\* Near the Amanpondoes, or St. John's River.

Zoola monarch, whom he prematurely apprehended might annihilate the Europeans in the moments of wrath, from the intrigues of the atrocious Jacob, and others, who have since met a just retribution for their enormities.

In looking retrospectively into the affair at Natal, and at the interruption of our pursuits in forwarding our commercial arrangements, I am free to admit that our departure was as premature, as it was afterwards found to have been uncalled for; and that had we not been led by the devices of the chief of Slom-en-lene, (who assailed us with frightful representations of an indiscriminate massacre of our people, and the Europeans who protected them), but remained under the cover of our vessel for a time, until something might have been devised for appeasing the monarch, all the inconveniences and losses to which we were subjected would doubtless have been averted. It was impossible, however, at the moment of continually conflicting communications, to discriminate the true from the false; and knowing that the monarch, like all savages, acted without reason or deliberation, we deemed it the most secure, if not the most advisable plan, to leave Natal until an opportunity might offer of renewing our intercourse under more favourable auspices, and of resuming our commercial operations, when they might be less likely to meet with such sudden and unfortunate interruptions. John Cane, as I have before remarked, sought

shelter in the woods, until the storm had blown over, and the infamous Jacob, and his equally savage compeer Umzagale, had been killed by the king's orders. He then emerged from his hiding place, and the king not only commanded him to retake possession of his kraals and his people, but also ordered him to take the cattle he might find at Jacob's, which amounted it is said to eighty head. John Cane, in his letter to the Rev. Mr. Boyce, says: "It all turns out to be an alarm of our own; had Mr. Fynn only staid a few days more he would not have been assegaied. His majesty (Dingān) has sent to me to send after him, to say that if he should be inclined to return he may." This was only a short time after our departure from Natal, which took place on the 24th of June, as will appear by a letter received at Cape Town from Mr. Fynn, dated Bantong, the 10th of August, in which he says:— "Since my last writing, Zachee's people have arrived from the Zoolas, bringing a note from John Cane, assuring us of their safety, and the Zoolas' regret at our leaving. It appears, we were decreed by Kelimba and Umzagale; and our own doubts exaggerated the affair. The Zoolas rejoiced at Kelimba's death\*, and Dingān has killed Umzagale. Cane has been in the bush ever since, till the king quieted his fears. Dingān invites me to return. Mr.

\* He had resolved upon Mr. Fynn's death, and was only stopped in the execution of his purpose by that gentleman shooting him.

Collis has been here some days, but will proceed on to-morrow with us."

After this Mr. Fynn lost no time in preparing to return to Natal, and expressed no little regret at having quitted it, although under such apprehensions; but assailed as we were, by people completely under the control of the villain Jacob, it was a step which prudence would have suggested to any one similarly circumstanced; and if it was not a measure that called for an immediate departure from our settlement, it was, nevertheless, one that needed considerable precaution, and pointed out to us the necessity of preparing for strong defensive operations. To be exposed, therefore, to daily attacks from a body of predatory savages, as we were led to anticipate (for such are the Zoola warriors), or to avoid them by a departure from the place, was our only alternative; and as we had been taught, "that discretion was the better part of valour," we decided on the latter; nor have I yet been convinced that such a step was not rational, although it might have been hastily acted upon.

In dealing with Dingān we had to deal with a man possessing all the attributes of the savage, just emerging from the darkness of his nature, and balancing between ferocity and reason. With not enough of the latter to teach him to discriminate between right and wrong, and too much of the former to preclude the possibility of his not reverting to his primitive

habits. We had had, it is true, peculiar opportunities afforded us of ascertaining his weaknesses and his propensities, that while we perceived the former we might have guarded against the latter; but it was not the king only with whom we had to contend, we had his chiefs and his warriors to combat, who were ever intriguing against the white people, and manifesting their jealousy, though they feared the consequences of declaring their hostility. At the head of these was the notorious Jacob, who, while fawning and submissively professing his attachment towards us, was poisoning the mind of his master, successfully corrupting the people, and progressively leading them on to destroy us, when his villainy was discovered, and he became the victim of the monarch whom he sought to mislead.

That savages are susceptible of every thing which may tend towards feeding their ferocious appetites, was clearly demonstrated in the intrigues of Jacob with the king and his warrior chiefs; but it is to be hoped, since the example afforded by the death of this execrable character, and his coadjutors Umzagale and Kelimba, that recurrences of similar duplicity and atrocious thirst for human life may not again disgrace the Zoola monarch's reign.

As I have stated in some of my preceding pages, that Dingān might be made sensible of the advantages to be derived from a commercial intercourse with the Europeans settled at Natal, and of the value to him

of a friendly understanding with the authorities at the Cape ; I am yet, notwithstanding that he has shaken my confidence by the affair of Cane, willing to concede a good deal in his favour, and to believe implicitly that that event would not have occurred, had it not been for the circumstances which I have just detailed. With this impression, I shall repose some trust in Dingān's assurances for the future, because I can perceive that the fiends who had roused his expiring ferocity, have, by the example which their death affords, made the remaining chiefs fear a similar fate. I shall, therefore, return again to Natal, to resume my commercial avocations, without allowing any recollections of the past to deter me from prosecuting the designs which my friends and myself had successfully commenced.

Dingān is, doubtless, like his predecessors who have wielded the Zoola sceptre, a despot ; but he has many redeeming qualities ; and, like tyrants of other countries, he is surrounded by dependants who never fail to find objects on whom to exercise his sanguinary propensities. Remove the cause which spurs and goads the monarch to acts so revolting to human nature, and the effect will no longer manifest itself in those outrages which belong only to the savage. To eradicate all his barbarous propensities must be the work of time ; civilization cannot be supposed of momentary growth ; but a good deal has been done, and much, I trust,

is yet in contemplation to be effected, for the good of those who may seek Natal as a place for mercantile operations. For my part, I entertain the strongest hopes that such a change will be worked, not only in the king, but in the Zoola people generally, that may tend to promote the interests of those who seek to penetrate into the interior of their country, and that man may be able to pursue his course without apprehending any molestation from his fellow men.

One of the great checks to the advancement of the Zoola monarch in cultivating the sweets of peace, and in encouraging commerce, are his warriors; a powerful body of savages trained up to war from their youth, and to indulge in all the rapacity to which their various predatory excursions naturally tend. These, under the command of chiefs, whose ferocity is almost unrestrainable, keep the monarch always in awe of their power, and goad him to the commission of deeds, which I feel persuaded he would not have executed, but to keep them tranquil. As I have stated before, they consist of about fifteen thousand men, destined solely for war. They were not permitted to marry until Dingān, after the death of Chaka, abolished this law; they live entirely on plunder, and, such being the case, it is not a matter of astonishment that they are always elated with the thoughts of war. The king having changed the constitution of this force, gives them certainly an opportunity of ac-



quiring subsistence without plunder, by the labour of their wives in cultivating their kraals; but they have been so habituated to plunder, that it has become a gratification rather than a toil; and what they gather by it gives them more satisfaction than that which they obtain by peaceful or honest means. Their insatiable thirst for the blood of their enemies is inherent, and as they are destined from their boyhood to wield the spear, "it grows with their growth, and strengthens with their strength," making them, before their maturity, ferocious by profession, and savages from example. With such a body of people continually encircling the king, and urging him to pursue some warlike object, the Zoola monarch has merely the shadow of power. He is called upon indeed to refuse or assent, but under circumstances so peculiarly awing, he usually assents; though, with Dingān, I believe this proceeds, not from choice, but from apprehension. Thus all the tribes, both independent and tributary, live in a state of continual alarm lest the Zoola warriors should visit them on some of their desolating incursions, capture their cattle, spread havoc through their territories, and indiscriminately massacre all whom they meet in their course.

That Dingān has been less inclined than his predecessor to gratify the propensities of his warriors, is indisputable; and his motive for abrogating the custom of compelling them to abstain from all sexual intercourse emanated from a wish he evinced of, in

some measure, tempering their natural ferocity and eagerness for war, of attaching them more to their homes, and of creating a disposition for the comforts of domestic life. That this may be yet accomplished, is the wish of the Europeans; because the removal of such an incubus from the king, would be the first step towards civilization in him and his country, and would bring it into something like a state of security for all classes of its inhabitants. Until this shall be partially effected, the monarch will always be existing between two opposite elements; that is to say, between his warriors vehemently urging him to engage in hostilities to gratify their propensities; and his people (under the influence and direction of the Europeans, whom they respect), who call on him to cultivate the sweets of peace, to enable them to live in repose, and to pursue those habits for which they now begin to feel a desire, being indebted to the European settler for their present knowledge.

Dingān has a commanding appearance; he is tall, at least six feet in height, and admirably, if not symmetrically, proportioned. He is well featured, and of great muscular power; of a dark brown complexion, approaching to a bronze colour. Nothing can exceed his piercing and penetrating eye, which he rolls in moments of anger with surprising rapidity, and in the midst of festivities with inconceivable brilliancy. His whole frame seems as if it were knit for war, and every manly exercise; it is flexible, active,

and firm. He is reserved, even to the extreme, and in speaking he seems to weigh every word before he utters it, often displaying an impediment in his speech, although he has not any such imperfection, but from a desire to be distinct and to be understood. He, however, speaks often parabolically, and with more circumlocution than is desirable, until his searching eye has discovered the motives of the individual to whom he may address himself; then he speaks fluently and pointedly, suiting the action to the word. His language is impressive, but more like that of a courtier than a warrior, as he generally discourses on domestic subjects and but little about war. He is neither so credulous nor so superstitious as his people, but is very susceptible of any want of respect, when he evinces his displeasure in a tone which cannot be mistaken. He is exceedingly anxious to acquire information, manifests a great desire to be taught himself, and to have his people taught the knowledge of creation; and thus continually expresses a wish to have missionaries settle amongst them, who, he assures us, shall have encouragement and protection. Ambition is very conspicuous in him, and induces him to aim at improvement in those arts of government which may enable him to acquire renown amongst the monarchs of the world. This he fondly anticipates, and hopes to effect when the missionaries shall arrive to diffuse knowledge amongst his subjects, and give him

that instruction which he is so anxious to obtain. His sensual desires and habitual propensity for corporeal pleasures are unlimited; and a large portion of his time is occupied with his females, either in dancing and singing, or in decorating their persons. His other amusements consist in planting and gathering corn, in which he engages personally to stimulate his people, and in herding his cattle; occasionally also he makes hunting excursions, either in pursuit of the elephant or the buffalo. Conversing with his warriors, too, engages him a good deal, and he takes at times pleasure in hearing them detail their feats of arms.

Dingān may doubtless become, in no great distance of time, so far advanced in civilisation, as to make his country a favourable spot for colonising, and for commercial operations with the interior tribes. Even now I must again repeat my conviction, that in his territories Europeans have nothing to apprehend from violence to their persons. So long as they abstain from intrigue, or from those petty jealousies among themselves, by which one attempts to impugn the other before the king, for the purpose of exciting his wrath, they may be enabled to settle at Natal, and pursue their occupations unobstructed and without the least possible molestation. Dingān unquestionably courts the presence of white people, and although commerce is not a thing which the Zoola monarchs have ever permitted in

their dominions, yet it is evident that this is one of those customs the folly of which will soon be made manifest to the king, and that, instead of interdicting it among his subjects, he will be induced to encourage it.

The Zoolas, from their first emerging from the country of their primitive abode, were, doubtless, a race of savages, who lived by plunder; and their having penetrated to Natal, taking a south-westerly course, and subduing every tribe in their way, strongly evinces their predatory character, and their predisposition for a wandering and warlike life. Led on, too, by a chief whose character has been before delineated, they may be said to be with difficulty brought to such a state of improvement as may render them tranquil and industrious, and make them perceive the substantial advantages to be derived by following, with zeal, that beneficial system of cultivation, of which the settlements of the tribes under the white people at Natal furnish so admirable an example.

Nothing can afford a more striking illustration of the good effects which the Natal settlers have produced, than a view of the kraals under their control, and of the condition of the people under their command. The surface of the country appears in a systematic state of cultivation; and the people are to be seen pursuing their daily avocations with that order and precision which is essential for their well

being, and so conducive to their domestic comforts: it is, I think, likely to tend greatly towards their change from a state of perfect darkness to the light of civilization and knowledge.

I am fully aware it is a generally received notion, particularly with those who strongly support all Missionary expeditions into the interior of Africa, that civilization cannot exist without a knowledge of the existence of a Supreme Being, and I am free to admit the fact that such is likewise my impression. The Natal settlers have therefore sought strenuously to inculcate in the Zoolas a knowledge of a Maker: we have, however, found it advisable, in the first instance, to bring, or rather lead, them to some settled habits, from which, in time, when Missionary teachers shall settle amongst them, facilities may be afforded for moral and religious instruction.

The Zoolas are, in my opinion, not deficient in capacity for acquiring knowledge, they are not destitute of acuteness and penetration: they evince, at times, minds susceptible of improvement, and capable of expansion, requiring, perhaps, the application of tuition only, to raise them from their condition of ignorance to a sphere of improved understanding. They have nothing of the sullen, morose, atrocious vices of the inhuman warrior in their nature; they seem to have imbibed feelings as distinct as their modes of life are opposite; for they are cheerful, sprightly, and although prone to vice, are nevertheless

sensible of kindness, and not backward in showing their gratitude.

The Zoola men are, without exception, the finest race of people which Southern or Eastern Africa can furnish, or that I have ever seen. They are tall, athletic, well-proportioned, and good featured. They are cleanly and respectful. War seems their prevailing passion, and an insatiable thirst for the blood of their enemies, their predominant vice. They are momentarily violent, even among themselves, but their passion soon subsides, and their rancour softens into friendship. They are generous in the extreme, in the distribution of their means amongst each other. They are capable of enduring great fatigue, both in war and in their hunting excursions, and their agility is almost beyond comprehension. Dancing and singing are their chief amusements, on which occasions their females are permitted to be present, who usually sing, while the men exhibit their attitudinal graces. Their songs of war, both in their note and the gestures of the singer, are calculated to strike their enemy with awe, as they avowedly did us with terror: they were indescribably ferocious, and indicated a savage eagerness for slaughter. They have nothing to do with the domestic duties of their families, their sole occupation being to attend the king on all public amusements, and to accompany the warriors to battle in the capacity of servants or attendants; as well as to proceed on all occasions,



when his majesty commands, to hunt the elephant. They occasionally amuse themselves in making wooden spoons, fabricating earthen vessels of various discriptions, for the culinary purposes of their females, and in making musical instruments peculiar to their country, the sounds of which are neither harmonious nor pleasing.

They keep their heads continually shaved, except a ring on the crown, from which is suspended a bunch of feathers on each side. Every other part of the body is left quite naked, save so much of it as decency demands should be hidden, which is done by means of strips of manufactured hides and skins of wild animals, fastened tastefully about the waist, and reaching to the knees. They are generally decorated with beads, and often with brass bangles when they are at their own kraals; but in the presence of the king they are not permitted to wear the latter without special permission.

They are allowed wives *ad libitum*; their number depends upon their means of purchasing them; their value is in their age, the highest price seldom exceeding ten cows. They cannot dispose of them again by sale, but may dismiss them if they become refractory; this is, however, seldom resorted to, for the most trifling offences are punished with death. A chief frequently is to be found with eighty or ninety wives, whom he governs with great austerity; they are immured in his kraals, not being permitted

to go out except at particular seasons, such as planting or gathering their corn, when he is vigilant in looking after them. The same is practised by all ranks, they rule over their wives with a despotic sway, and constantly put the poor creatures' lives in jeopardy.

The females are generally of a middle stature, and rather prepossessing than otherwise, their figures inclining to be somewhat graceful, and their features pleasing and regular. The stoutest are considered among themselves the handsomest, and are generally more attractive to the males; although to the Europeans they do not appear so engaging. They are exceedingly generous to strangers. On arriving at the kraals, they never failed to place before us milk and Indian corn, or any thing else they had in the shape of food. They are not much gifted with the softer passions; they have none of that feminine sensibility so engaging in women; they are rather forward and bold, and we could not mistake the expressions and gestures by which they manifested to us their sensual depravity; but such customs are prevalent among all the savage tribes, and not peculiar to the Zoola females. Those who are married are said to be faithful to their husbands, but I apprehend that this arises not so much from their inherent purity, as from fear of the consequences to both sexes, in the event of any breach of their nuptial vow;

which, if discovered, subjects the wife and her paramour to instant death. There are no rules for restraining the unmarried females from sexual intercourse, except it be the power of the father or brother—the mother never presumes to control them; the disposal of the daughter being always under the direction of the male relations, who bargain for the virtue of their daughters or sisters with as much composure and indifference as they would for one of their cattle.

Their amusements are similar to the males, dancing and singing engaging most of their time when not occupied in attending to their patches of planted land, or to their domestic duties. In dancing, they doubtless excel all the tribes contiguous to them, many of their attitudes displaying great agility and grace. Their singing is far from being displeasing to the ear; they usually so regulate their tones as to make them harmonious; and keep time to their songs by occasionally clapping their hands with great precision. They move their bodies with their feet close together, in a kind of revolving figure, with such rapidity that they look like a piece of mechanism in full motion. The married are generally kind to each other, but are said at times to be jealous, though they dare not evince it in the presence of their husbands. The huts of the married women are always placed to the right and left of that of their husbands, at equal distances.

As I have said before, adultery is punished by the death of both offenders; but if the female can prove to conviction that her offence was not voluntary, but that she had been compelled, she obtains a pardon.

They have their heads shaved like the men, and leave a tuft on the crown of a similar shape. This they cover with red clay mixed with grease; the hair is then formed into round knobs, so as to imitate beads, and which they take great pains in keeping in order. They assist each other in decorating their heads every afternoon; it is a favourite occupation, and done under some umbrageous tree.

The females perform all the manual labour required in planting the land and gathering the crops—the men do nothing of this; and the boys only clear it of bushes and trees, and get it in a fit state for culture. Every thing relating to husbandry is performed by them;—they are, in fact, the only labourers.

They are not allowed to marry, or become the concubine of a chief, until they arrive at the age of fourteen. When they have attained that period they are distinguished by a piece of hide to cover their nakedness, until which time they remain in a state of nudity.

When a woman is enceinte she becomes serious, and does not enter into amusements as before. When she is near the time of her delivery she is attended by some of her own sex, and no ceremony

takes place; nor does she abstain from labour before or after the birth of her child, for in two days after her delivery she recommences her daily avocations without any apparent inconvenience. The child is not permitted to be seen for six days after its birth. A woman who was pregnant travelled in company with me for twenty-five miles. We reached Natal at sunset; in the night she was delivered, and in the course of the next day I saw her with her child at her back, in the fashion of the gypsies, carrying on her head a two-gallon pot filled with water. Both mother and child are besmeared with red clay the moment after the infant's birth.

The females too often fall a sacrifice to the ferocious passions of their husbands; who, under the most flimsy and weak pretences, put them to death. Many instances I have known of a husband having appointed a time for his wife to come to him to meet her fate, but prior to which, however, she has run to us for protection; when we have sent for the husband, talked over the matter with him, and for a string or two of beads have saved the life of his wife, which would otherwise have been taken from her. One case, the principal wife of our greatest chief (who at all times, we thought, evinced extraordinary attachment to his wives) came to inform us that she was going to be killed the same day. She brought her child, about a month

old. On inquiring into the nature of her offence, we found it to have been—cutting off a piece from her husband's carosse, or night covering. We expostulated with him on the shameful enormity of killing her for such an offence, and saved her life by presenting him with a few beads.

The Zoolas have peculiar ceremonies with regard to the planting of corn. They meet twice a year, from all parts of the nation, at the residence of the king, to plant two immense fields for his majesty's use. At harvest no one is exempt from working in the king's fields and gardens, and the monarch personally appears at the head of his warriors to aid in gathering the corn. No one is allowed to eat of the new corn before the king has commenced himself, or without his permission, and he is seldom or never known to partake of it until it is ripe enough for garnering.

In some parts of his territories the natives are in a state approaching to starvation; although they have a bountiful supply of corn in the ear in almost a condition of decay, they are not permitted to touch it until a general order to garner it is promulgated. This is not altogether an improvident measure, but rather one which discretion suggests; for were the people permitted to pursue their own course, one half of their productions would be consumed before it arrived at maturity; that is to say, they would consume it in its green state, when it contributes but little as an article

of food. They have no thought for the morrow; all the Zoolas think of is the present, and so long as they are provided with means for to-day, they give themselves but little concern about what the morrow may produce. From this want of providently securing for their future subsistence they are, in the interim of seed-time and harvest, at times greatly straitened for vegetable diet, and obliged, for weeks, to subsist solely on milk and such animal food as chance may furnish.

Before eating the new year's corn, the warriors all meet at the king's; when his majesty, decorated with herbs and corn leaves, and bedizened with beads and bangles, surrounded by his warriors and attended by a great number of boys, performs a ludicrous ceremony, and announces his permission for them to eat of their new crop. Standing at the head of the kraal he runs backwards and forwards three times towards the warriors, followed by the boys, whistling as loud as they are able; each time throwing a calabash, as indicative of his command for them to garner and eat of their new food. The person on whom a calabash may fall conceives himself to have been favoured by its touch, and exults not a little at his singular good fortune at being thus honoured. At this period the chiefs are allowed to converse unreservedly with the king, speaking with great freedom, and in some measure to be dictatorial. After this is done, the whole dance, disperse, and return to their respective kraals.



Both males and females are universally ornamented with a profusion of beads, and occasionally with brass bangles; the former they arrange with some taste, and they set off the females to great advantage, while the latter give them a glittering exterior when the sun shoots his rays upon them. The boys are permitted to amuse themselves as they please, except those who are destined to look after the cattle. The girls are very early employed in the field, and in domestic duties with their mothers, who gather various esculents, which grow spontaneously, as well as collect reeds, which they fabricate into baskets of different descriptions. Both father and mother appear more attached to their female than to their male children: as an instance of severity was scarcely seen towards the former, while the latter obtained often-times an immoderate share of chastisement. The males and females also go perfectly naked until the age of puberty.

They are, doubtless, the most extraordinary people in existence, if we look into all their peculiarities of character, and it is difficult to determine whether we should pity their ignorance or guard against their duplicity; for although they are proverbially in a state of perfect simplicity, yet there is a cunning about them, and an irrevocable desire for indulging in all their savage propensities, that makes it quite necessary, in their present condition, to be on the watch against their designs. But they do not want acute-

ness to aid their improvement, they only require example, and such examples as they may be able to follow without tuition, or any immoderate labour.

The colour of the Zoolas is a dark brown, approaching to a copper complexion, and much in appearance to the Sambo of the British colonies, or the produce between the Black and the Mulattoe. Their skin always looks quite shining from their anointing it so frequently.

## CHAPTER XVI.

THE Government of the Zoolas.—It would almost puzzle a De Lolme, or any of the ancient writers on governments, to define that of the Zoolas; and I may assert, without the least apprehension of its being controverted, that it is indisputably the most incomprehensible government with which any known nation on the face of the earth is conversant. In one part of this work I have, from not being able to find any thing approximating to it, among either ancient or modern states, designated it a Zoolacratical government—an appellation to which, from its inexplicability, I thought it entitled. Its outline, however, may be said to be perfectly simple—namely, despotic. The ingredients of which it is composed may not inaptly be called nondescript. It is monarchial, it is true; but apparently neither hereditary nor elective, the succession depending on the murder of the existing monarch, which usually takes place when he begins to exhibit either of those two signs of age—wrinkles or grey hairs. In this case, the crimi-

nal who performs the bloody deed, or directs its execution, is perhaps a son or some other member of the royal family. When the throne has become vacant by the sacrifice of the monarch, it usually happens, that civil disputes settle the succession, when the hereditary right may be cut off, and a distinct branch raised to the sceptre, or any person whom the body of warriors may think fit to nominate, as they wield the power of the state, and even awe the king.

When the monarch is firmly seated on his throne—which is seldom or never accomplished without, as it were, wading through blood to it—he becomes an absolute king, or “Inquose.” His name then becomes sacred, and adoration is paid to it. All classes swear by it, and reverence it, not from affection, I fancy, but from fear. The first act of the new monarch is the appointment of his chiefs, and on this depends the whole security of his future reign. He appoints two principal chiefs, who govern the two extremities of the kraal. These two appoint minor chiefs at all the kraals through his dominions. The two principal chiefs, therefore, may be considered his ministers; while the minor ones are to administer in the local kraals. All complaints, of whatever nature they may be, are first made to the minor chiefs, who report to the principal ones, or, as they are designated, “Indunahs Encoola.” These, if the complaint be unimportant, or of a mere personal nature, decide on the case; but if it be one of a

national grievance, they report it to the king; the parties on each side are heard, and he decides. Acquittal or death are his only decisions.

The power of the monarch is indeed not only despotic, but even atrocious; for he can command indiscriminate massacres by his nod; and as his chiefs and warriors are always by him, and as they reap the fruits of such atrocities, by taking possession of the cattle of the slain, they are always willing instruments at the command of the king, and his decrees are as faithfully executed as a tyrant could possibly desire.

The king (or his government) apprehends no danger from his civil subjects; the only check to his power is his warriors, who are formidable; and as they have been from their youth excluded from all intercourse with the common people, and having passed their days in celibacy, they are not susceptible of the sympathies of our nature, and are, therefore, as ready to execute the bloody decrees of their sovereign against their fellow subjects, as they are against his foreign enemies. They are a morose, sullen, savage set of monsters, fit only for deeds of darkness and for the devastations of war; and these are their sole occupations. The government of the Zoolas may, therefore, be said to be a compound of strange elements, all contributing towards occasional explosions, which cannot be avoided until the people advance

more into a condition that will enable them to perceive right from wrong. We are told, that "there is a state worse than slavery—liberty engendered by treachery, nursed by rapine, and invigorated by cruelty." In such a state have the Zoolas existed; but a ray of hope seems to shoot forth that it will be succeeded by a condition in which the people may begin to feel their own weight, and thus check the enormities of despotic power.

Crimes and punishments.—The Zoolas are not of that vindictive disposition so characteristic in most savage tribes; were it not from the decrees of the king, and the ferocity of his warriors, murders would be rare occurrences. The common people—namely, those whose occupation is not war—live in a state of good fellowship with each other. Their private differences are usually adjusted by the chief of the kraal to which they belong; his decision is always final, and his award in most cases satisfactory, which seldom exceeds corporal chastisement, or perhaps fines of cattle, according to the means of the offender.

All capital crimes are alone adjudged by the king and his chiefs; and they consist in rapes, adultery, murder, deserting, witchcraft, treason, cowardice, and becoming spies. These are all punished with death, either by stoning, strangling, twisting the neck, or beating with clubs. But it has often happened, that,

after the culprit has been left for dead, he has recovered, in which case he is empaled.

Lying, stealing, disrespect, errors in judgment, mistakes in delivering messages, violating laws or customs, want of attention in dancing, are all punished as it pleases the monarch's whim or fancy; sometimes death is awarded, but in most cases the offender receives an immoderate castigation with sticks.

Coughing, spitting, belching, sneezing, blowing the nose, &c. while the king is eating, are considered crimes, and are at times punished with death also; but generally the chief domestics beat the parties away; when, if he be a master of a kraal, he will offer "schlowoola" (a peace offering), by sending a young heifer to the king, when he may consider himself in favour again. Should any one, however, involuntarily commit the slightest offence, or displease his majesty, it would be unsafe to appear in his presence without having previously sent his peace offering.

If a chief, a master of a kraal, commits a crime and is punished with death, all the people belonging to such kraal are also killed, and their cattle taken to the king. He distributes them to his warriors, who execute the blood-thirsty decree of their savage master.

To partake of the new corn before the king has issued his decree to do so, is punishable with death.



If the cattle of one native are found trespassing in the corn-fields of his neighbour, he must make reparation, by giving a cow or a calf, according to the extent of the damage they have done; while the herdsman is punished by being beaten with sticks in a way that generally makes a lasting impression.

If one person offend another, the party so offending must send a peace offering to the offended, when it is expiated, and they become reconciled again.

In investigating any crime committed, they minutely examine the parties on both sides, as well the witnesses *pro* and *con*. These are also sworn to tell the truth, by an appeal to the "Issetator," or Spirit of their forefathers, which is their most sacred oath. Perjury would, after this, be a heinous offence, and is punished with death.

In such a rude state of society the penalty (death) for crimes of a capital nature, does not differ from more civilised nations; but the execution is exceedingly revolting, and only to be found among barbarous hordes.

The executions follow the sentence "quick as the thunderbolt pursues the flash," and often ten minutes are not permitted to elapse between life and eternity. The bodies of the executed are left to be devoured by wild animals.

Religion.—They have none. The Zoolas have no idea of a Deity, no knowledge of a future state.

They cannot comprehend the mystery of creation; they ignorantly conceive themselves to spring from reeds, as in a windy day the clashing of these supposed genii of the mud they aver to be like the noise produced by the collision of human voices. They sacrifice to their departed friends, whom they conceive to be in existence, and living with the Issetator in the enjoyment of all human comforts. If they are indisposed, the inyanger, or doctor, will attribute it to the "Spirit of their progenitors," or "Issetator," when a cow will be killed as a sacrifice, and a speech made to invoke the spirit to relieve the patient.

I have mentioned in the earlier part of this work, that, on conversing with the late king Chaka on the subject of religion, and speaking to him of the prophets in sacred history, in contradistinction to his inyangers or prophets, and in pointing out the awful assurance of an hereafter, of which he could form not the slightest conception—it appeared evidently to us, that, after several repetitions of our explanatory discourse, he began to evince some glimmering of light on the subject, and wished much to have his people conversant with the mystery of a first cause, "the Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible;" for, as he quaintly observed, there must be something good in what the white people believe, and there could be nothing wrong in teaching his people to do as we would have them to do. At

all times of our sabbath-prayer-meetings in Natal, our natives made it an invariable rule to attend our devotional exercises; and though they could not comprehend the worship of an invisible Creator, they seemed to be somewhat convinced that our motives had more in them than they, poor illiterate beings, could possibly fathom or divine.

The Zoolas are unquestionably the most superstitious creatures on the face of the earth, and innumerable instances might be detailed of the effects of their weakness, in addition to those already offered through this work, and of many who have absolutely died from its influence on their susceptible minds. The king himself, Dingan, labours as much under its powerful agency as the most simple of his subjects; and it appears an almost irrevocable failing, or, at all events, not likely to subside until the diffusion of knowledge becomes more general among them. The most singular of their superstitions is certainly that which arises from the appearance of an "imparker," or tiger cat. The appearance of this animal, whether from accident or design, is the cause of universal lamentation and woe; it being an omen that witches are near, and that they have brought the imparker for the purpose of destroying some one in the kraal. Nothing can remove this apprehension and superstitious impression, but the presence of the inyangers or prophets, who affect to expel the animal and discover the witch.

But these superstitions not only exist among the common people, they even operate on the warriors in all their predatory excursions, and in many cases deter them from their designs; and until the cause be removed, the effect of fear is so strong with them, that they cannot be brought to make any offensive movements. The warriors are even led to apprehend that if they touch the marrow of any animal, partake of fish, or of any of the feathered tribe, they will lose their courage and their estate, conceiving them to be food destined for devils. To touch a corpse and to give it burial, except it be the king, would, they conceive, not only take from their courage, but make them, they say, like an old woman.

Their expiation for all offences against the spirit, and their mode of allaying all superstitious apprehensions, is the sacrifice of a cow by the inyangers, who are the principal cause of the weakness of the people.

Soreery may be said to be a prevailing superstition among the African tribes, and the calamities arising from it excite often the greatest regret that some knowledge presenting the effects of its power is not diffused more extensively than has yet been accomplished. But it is evident to me that the effect is heightened by the witch doctors, or inyangers, who profit by the weakness and credulity of the natives. With the Zoolas it is certainly unexampled in its power and consequences, and smites the ignorant and innocent native with as much dread and terror as

the charm of Obeah does the nude negro of the Gold Coast.

The Rev. Mr. Brownlee, in his manuscript notes of the Amakosæ, or Southern Caffres\*, says of sorcery :—“ The mode in which this delusion usually operates is as follows. Disease, especially if of any unusual description, is commonly ascribed to sorcery. A witch-doctor is immediately sent for, and these imposters never fail to encourage such a belief. The sorcerer is believed to effect his malignant purposes by hiding some charmed thing about the hut of the person afflicted. Search is therefore made for such objects, and the doctor digs up, or pretends to find them ; they consist of bits of horn, hide, or any thing else that can be discovered, though of the most ordinary description. Some person is then fixed upon as the sorcerer. The accused is seized, and if unable at once to repel the accusation, is put to the torture by some of the modes formerly mentioned, in order to force a confession. This is generally extorted ; for few of the poor have resolution to persist in maintaining their innocence amidst the torments to which the cruel ingenuity of their persecutors subject them. Conviction thus obtained, the culprit, according to the enormity of his supposed crime, is condemned either to a cruel death, to corporal chastisement, or to a fine of cattle. Sometimes the accused escapes, even after confession, without any other infliction but

\* Vide Appendix, Thompson's Travels, Vol. ii.

that of a bad character, for he must ever after suffer the opprobrium and dangerous suspicion of sorcery."

Among the Zoolas, the practice of sorcery is common, and instances are frequent of the offender, or Umtuggarty, as he is designated, being punished with death. The devices of the inyangers to discover, as they pretend, the sorcerer, are certainly ludicrous yet ingenious, and delude the credulous natives into a belief of the power of the enchanter. They commence with great solemnity. This important personage is usually sent for when sickness assails a family; and he is, on entering on his official avocation, attended by two messengers, who follow him until he requests them to be seated. When he arrives at the hut of the party afflicted, he affects to smell around him, and afterwards delivers an address to the Issetator or Spirit. He then observes "There is some one ill;" to which the messengers respond "Eegee," and beat the ground with sticks. He afterwards asks certain questions, to which the messengers, who are instructed in their duty, usually give replies in affirmation of the question asked. By these means he is not long, through his messengers, before he finds out whether the person sick be man, woman, or child; and the surprise of his credulous people is at once evinced. He then demands beads, and a cow to be sacrificed to appease the Spirit, or Issetator, who has doomed sickness to visit his patients, from their having neglected to kill a cow as a sacrifice previously.

He then administers some decoction of roots for the complaint, for which he makes another demand for beads.

An extraordinary instance of the imposition of the inyanger, and the weakness of this people with respect to the power of witchcraft, I have already detailed. In that case, the art and deception of the prophetic impostor was detected, and so effectually exposed, that we had no occasion afterwards to be apprehensive of any other similar visitation in our kraal. The detection of the offender, who, in that affair, had imposed on the trembling natives, and his subsequent conviction and execution, completely eradicated the practice of trying sorcery under our command; and our people became convinced of its being nothing more nor less than an attempt to impose on them, for the purpose of exacting something from them in the shape of beads or cattle.

Circumcision was, at one time, a rite invariably practised among the Zoolas, as it is at the present day with most of the Caffre tribes. In the reign of Esenzengercona, circumcision was performed in all cases; but when Chaka obtained possession of the throne it was dispensed with. The former held it to be impossible that procreation could ensue without circumcision, and consequently the rite was most implicitly attended to. The latter, having forbidden marriage to his warriors, and commanded celibacy, from an idea that sexual enjoyments relaxed the animal spirits, and



enervated them, abolished the custom of circumcision throughout his territory.

It appears in earlier times, with the Zoolas, to have been attended with some ceremony. The youths were usually admitted to the rank of manhood after the operation; and for three months succeeding it, were permitted unlimited indulgences, in dancing, singing, and other amusements.

The operation was never performed until the age of puberty, and therefore not in accordance with the Mosaical custom, or among some other Eastern nations; who circumcise the infant on the eighth day after birth. The custom, however, now, among the Zoolas, is exploded, nor do I recollect perceiving any instance of it during my residence among them; they have nothing approximating to any ceremony among the boys, when they approach the age of puberty; it is entirely confined to the females.

Marriage was prohibited by the predecessor of Dingān, but the latter abrogated the law of celibacy which Chaka had instituted. In the time of the latter, the chiefs and middle-aged people were permitted only to marry. As polygamy, however, was freely allowed, and no limit as to the number of wives prescribed, they took as many as their means would enable them to engage. Yet I perceived that instances were rare where one individual had more than twenty wives, exclusive of concubines.

Girls were considered the property of the father, brother, or next nearest male relation, who is also called brother after the death of the father and brothers. If a man see a girl whom he would like to take for a wife, he must not sup milk in the kraal to which she belongs. His first essay after this is to send her a snuff box filled with snuff, or a small roll of leaf tobacco; if she accept it, he then conceives he is favoured, but if she reject it, he discontinues his suit; when he may possibly bedizen himself, and repair some evening, with two or three of his friends, and stand at the gateway of the kraal, with their arms folded across their breasts, their hands on their shoulders, and their eyes fixed on the ground; one of them will then "calacker" (or salute) and flatter the chief or master of the kraal.

They next appear in front of the chief's hut, and ask his permission to speak with or *schlabonka*\* the girls. The chief will then appoint them a hut, when the young females decorate themselves, and accompany the males to the hut, where they commence dancing and singing together. The languishing and rejected lover then takes the opportunity of displaying his personal accomplishments,

\* This means to play with the girls in the huts; to lounge on their mats, and under the same earosse. It seems a lascivious custom, but with them there is nothing criminal designed; besides, the females greatly apprehend being "emectee," or *enceinte*, in which case the parties are punished with death.

and of endeavouring to persuade the object of his affections to crown all his hopes by accepting his hand. Should he, however, meet with a second rejection, he usually makes some effort to intimidate her into a compliance with his wishes. If he be a chief he may, in all probability, resort to compulsion, or threaten her with a destruction of the kraal.

Should he fail in his stratagems and devices to obtain the girl by persuasions and threats, he proceeds to the father and represents his desire to take his daughter for a wife; to which proposal, if he consent, the female is, without hesitation, ordered to the kraal of the intended husband, accompanied by the whole of the girls belonging to her place.

The "Umlobogos," or bride, is ornamented in her most brilliant attire, and each of her attendants has a long stick or reed. The father of the bride at the same time sends a cow with his daughter, indicating that he expects a return of cattle in payment for his daughter. After this, the festivities commence, which I have before described in the course of this work.

The Zoolas are somewhat scrupulous, and observe with great niceness the ties of consanguinity, taking especial care that no intermarriages ensue between persons who are descended from the same line of progenitors, except they be of a very remote degree.

The wives hold the marriage tie in great estima-

tion, and few instances are known of their violating the nuptial vow. The penalty is assuredly one, the weight of which is enough to deter them; but exclusively they are exceedingly faithful and correct in their habits.

## CHAPTER XVII.

THE skill of the Zoolas, in either surgery or medicine, is exceedingly limited. I have seldom seen any operations performed by them, although I understand that they do occasionally perform them, at the same time evincing an expertness that does them credit. They are expert, it is said, in cases of dislocation and fracture, and have a manner of binding up the limb with the aid of dried hide or bark, which secures it well when set. Wounds received from the spear are closed, and a powder of some description of dried roots applied to them, when nature is left to perform the rest, and effect a cure.

Their method of bleeding is doubtless a painful one to the patient. It is done by puncturing the flesh and sucking the blood from the wound through a horn perforated for the operation. They usually make several incisions, according to the nature of the complaint.

They pretend to have some knowledge of the virtues and properties of various plants and roots, and

apply them medicinally, in cases which call for purgatives, emetics, or carminatives ; and for the healing of wounds they have recourse to various leaves, whose properties are congenial. They have two species of roots which are effectual in cases of bowel complaints and constipation. One of them they call “ Cartazsa ;” it is a black root, about the size of a kidney potatoe, of which they make a decoction, and apply it internally as a strong purgative. On one of my journeys I was much affected by a remittent fever and disordered bowels, when the hostess of the kraal at which I had halted advised me to take some of the decoction of this root: I did as she suggested, and found inconceivable relief from it. This root the natives also dry, and reduce it to powder, which they apply to the nose like snuff, as a remedy for the headache, and it effectually relieves the pain.

The other root they call “ Umcomum Como ;” this is also, in shape, similar to the preceding, but is of a brown colour. It also gives a decoction of some virtue, and is efficacious in expelling the tape worm ; but they have various other roots which they use for the several complaints incident to the country. The natives are at times greatly troubled with boils ; to cause suppuration they apply the excrement from the cow, made hot ; and to reduce the inflammation they use a lotion, made from the decoction of roots. They vainly affect a knowledge of a root, that when prepared, and administered

through the olfactory senses, will induce young females to elope from their homes. I have seen it practised with success among the tribes tributary to the Zoolas; but it is said only to have the effect when applied by the gallant himself. Such a power may be possessed by roots, in their opinion, but I thought at the time that the power lay more in the persuasions of the lover than in the efficacy of the root. Though it is somewhat remarkable that the Malays, at the Cape of Good Hope, affect to possess the knowledge of a similar power.

The dress and ornaments of the Zoolas may be said to be peculiar to themselves, as I have not perceived any similar among the natives of other countries I have visited.

The men wear "Umtchas" and "Senanies." The first are strips of skins of animals, neatly fastened to a small strip of hide, reaching from hip to hip, fastened in front by cords. The second are strips of skins, reaching from the waist to the knees.

The women wear an "Issecarker," a sort of petticoat, fastened round the waist, and descending to the knees; and sometimes a piece of skin, made flexible, is worn to cover their breasts. Both sexes wear a profusion of beads round their heads, necks, waists, legs, and arms; they also wear brass and copper armlets, and brass balls, and collars for the neck. Boys under ten have no ornament, but go perfectly naked. Girls of that age and above it,



wear a sort of fringe (manufactured from roots) round the middle, about four inches deep; the other parts of the body are quite naked and unornamented.

The war dress of a chief consists of a cap or ring of otter's skin round the forehead, and just above the eyes, in which a crane's feather is introduced in front. A tippet, made of a white cow's tail, is worn on the shoulders, and breast, and back. A large cow's tail is worn round each arm and wrist, and another above each ancle. An "Umcooboola," or kilt, made of the skins of the civet cat, is appended to the waist, and descends to the knees. The dress of the warriors consists of a cap and feather, tippet, and cows' tails, similar to those of the chief, but with an addition of a piece of hide in imitation of these tails behind. The dress of the principal women, on occasions of festivities, is the skin of the buck, with the hair scraped off the middle, fastened under the arms, so as to cover their breasts; two rows of brass balls at the bottom, and the top ornamented with beads. A petticoat, manufactured from bullock's hide, which fastens round the waist and reaches to the ancles, with two strips, of about a yard long each, drawn on the ground; the whole of it coloured black to resemble black cloth, or duffle. Two negligées of seed beads, four feet long each, are tastefully thrown over the shoulders, forming a cross behind and before, with four rows of beads round the forehead. Some beads round the arms and wrist, and some round the ancles. The *tout ensemble*

of this dress must be quite elegant for a savage: and for a view of it I refer my readers to the plate.

The Zoolas have no funeral rites that can consistently be so designated. They have a dread of touching a corpse. When a man dies, the body is dragged on the ground by his wife, or mother, or nearest female relation, to the thickets or jungles, where, the first night after it is so deposited, it becomes a repast for wolves, and other wild animals.

When, however, a principal chief, or the king dies, he is interred in the hut in which he breathes his last. A deep hole is dug, and the body put into it, standing erect, with the head out of the ground. This being done, the hut is fenced round, and people are stationed night and day to guard it for twelve moons. These are the only funeral rites, and it is to be regretted, as nothing can be more offensive in travelling through the various parts of the forests, and their defiles, than the innumerable human skeletons which every now and then are to be seen. The superstition of the natives is quite inconceivable with regard to their dead, and instances are not rare in which the dying are carried off and left to perish in the jungle, rather than they should be taken away after death. They have some ceremony of cleansing themselves after a death, but it is simply by ablutions, and burning the decorations of the deceased.

Hunting.—This is a favourite amusement with the Zoolas, and it is a profitable one. They are expert and dauntless in their pursuit of the elephant, which they attack with great intrepidity. They ingeniously, if possible, get the beast into the defiles, where he is not the easiest of access, and where they can assail him with less danger from the bushes around him, provided these are not too thick, and in this position they do not fail to make their assegais effectual. The elephant, however, in these situations, will often escape from his pursuers, who at times feel the effect of his rage and power.

The buffalo is another formidable animal, and much fiercer than the preceding, though not so difficult to kill. He is generally the assailant, not waiting for the hunter's attack; his activity is surprising, and often fatal to his pursuers. The natives eat the flesh, and it is far from being unpalatable, as it has much the quality of coarse bull beef.

The rhinoceros approaches the elephant in point of strength, but being a remarkably heavy, stupid, inert animal, the hunters have no risk or difficulty in killing him.

The hippopotamus the natives generally secure by digging pit-falls in his tracks, with a large stake in the centre. When he emerges from the water to graze on the river banks, they endeavour to drive him into the paths in which the pit is prepared, covered over to elude his vigilance, when he is pre-

cipitated into it, and the stake pierces his body, so that he is immediately killed by the natives. The teeth of this animal produce a superior quality of ivory to those of the elephant.

The wild deer they are successful in pursuing, and kill them with their assegais : they usually endeavour to get them into the narrow passes, where they previously station some of their party concealed, who easily spear the animals as they pass. They generally set traps, gins, and springes, for the smaller animals; and the wolf and hyæna they destroy by means both of spear and traps.

The Europeans, on their settling at Natal, became powerful enemies of these latter, both by shooting them, and by the regular trap of the native, in which they placed a loaded musket, so fixed with a catch on the trigger, that when the animal approached towards the entrance of the trap it drew the trigger and the beast at once became prostrate.

The Zoolas, never engage in hunting any animal that is not profitable to them; the elephant and hippopotamus produce them ivory, and the buffalo hide and flesh. The deer also furnish them with skins for their own wear; they do not preserve them for an article of barter. In fact, as it has been before detailed, their aversion to bartering renders it useless for them to hunt for skins; but this prejudice arises, no doubt, from the example and representations of the European settlers greatly subsiding. Our own

people have now become fully sensible of its advantages.

I have before adverted to agriculture in too many parts of my diary, to need much to be advanced respecting it in this place; I shall only submit one or two of the singular customs of the people, in illustration of their rude and superstitious notions concerning it, and detail the several articles of culture to which they usually confine their labours.

In the first place, they bestow but little pains in preparing the land for cultivation. The boys cut and clear off the bushes or underwood; they never extract the roots, nor turn up the surface. The wood or bush is burnt on the land, and the ashes are strewed over it. This is all the preparatory labour for sowing. Afterwards the women commence their labour by scattering the corn on the surface without order or precision, but most irregularly and injudiciously, and in many instances leaving the ground without any seed being strewed upon it at all. The ground, after the work of sowing is completed, is turned over on the seed, leaving much of it uncovered, which the boys are obliged continually to watch, driving away the birds, who would otherwise destroy the whole. After germination, and when the blade begins to strengthen, say in about a month after sowing, the women and girls clear it, and dispossess it of all its weeds and grass, and anything tending to decrease the nurture which the corn requires. In two months

after sowing, it begins to ripen, so rapid is its vegetation; and at the end of the third month it is firm and hard, and fit for garnering. Thus, with an industrious people, three crops of corn each year might be easily raised. They plant both the Guinea and Indian coca. We introduced at our settlement at Natal, a regular system of husbandry, and our natives had become so accustomed to it, and so familiarised, that we had but little difficulty, latterly, of preserving our crops in regular succession. We were also exempt from the Zoola custom of not garnering before the king, as his majesty had given it as his opinion that we were not amenable to such law or regulation; and we effected another alteration in the superstitious objection on the part of the natives—namely, that of not beginning to plant until particular signs appear, or some indication of its being the approach of seed time, by the arrival of a certain species of birds; these absurd notions we effectually eradicated, and the natives saw that they were ridiculous, and afterwards willingly submitted to our commands.

The natives have several sorts of beans or pulse, all differing from the European bean; they grow productively, and are an agreeable vegetable. They also cultivate a seed called the “Loopoco,” it is not dissimilar to rape in size and colour. Of this the natives make their beer, which is produced by fermentation. It contains very powerful fermentative

properties, and when drawn off from the vessels in which it has been prepared, it is of a red or light brown colour; an excellent beverage, both potent and stimulating.

They raise four sorts of potatoes, red, white, pink, and brown, all of them sweet, and not of the European description, but a very good vegetable for culinary purposes. Pumpkins and water-melons grow spontaneously, and are also cultivated to great perfection; while they have an excellent vegetable both in its appearance and flavour like spinach; it grows also spontaneously.

They have a great variety of wild fruits, some of which I have noticed before, particularly the Auman-tingoola, about the size of a plum, rich in flavour, and with seed instead of a stone in the body of it. This makes a most excellent and a highly flavoured preserve.

The sugar cane is wild, and, I suppose, an indigenous plant. They do not cultivate it, though the soil seems adapted for its growth, as it runs to a prodigious height, and the cane is of large dimensions. They have two sorts, one grows larger than the other; the former the natives call "Moaba," and the latter, "Sinpha." The plantain is also another native vegetable, which with the edoc and yam are substitutes for bread; although they have a bread made from Indian corn, pulverised and made into a sort of thin cake, which they bake by putting it into hot ashes.



Every sort of European seed for horticultural purposes which we had brought from the Cape, grew exceedingly well, and produced luxuriantly, particularly the smaller sorts of vegetables. Sallads we raised prodigiously fine, and rapidly. Cabbage lettuce grew in great perfection, as did the peas, beans, and kidney beans, and a variety of other seeds, particularly spinaeh.

The fact is, the climate of Natal is congenial to vegetable life, as is proved by the rapid germination of the seed, after it is sown; the seasons are also exceedingly encouraging to the growth of all descriptions of vegetable productions; the dew, during the intervals of the periodical rains, being extremely fertilizing and nutritive. There are, at times, checks to vegetation in Natal, as in all other parts of Eastern Africa; but they are far from being common visitations. The principal is the locust; they now and then spread their destructive influence, and their devastation is great, but only one or two instances occurred, during my five years' residence, of their appearance amongst us; those I have already detailed, and even then I was somewhat surprised, from the prodigious flight of them, that they did not do more damage.

The country of the Zoolas, eastward of Natal, it must have been seen in the preceding pages, is much infested with wild beasts, and those of every species indigenous of the African continent: at Natal,

however, and for a large space round it, they have been greatly disturbed, and have gone farther inland, fearing the effects of our fire arms, and the force of people collected and settled within a small circumference. In my various peregrinations I have met with Elephants, Buffaloes, Tiger-Cats, Leopards, Panthers, Hyænas, Wild Boars, Wolves, Jackalls, Iron Hogs or Crested Porcupines, Monkeys, Ant Eaters, Civet Cats. The foregoing animals at one time were very numerous in the vicinity of Natal, but from the causes stated above are greatly decreasing. The Spring Bok, and various species of the Antelope, are common. Otters in the rivers are to be seen commonly, which the natives hunt, and catch in their traps.

To the eastward of Natal, there are to be found in addition to the above,—the Rhinoceros, Lion, Camelleopard, Zebra or Quacta, Baboon (both black and dog faced), Vivira (these animals burrow in the ground), Kangaroos, Gnoos, and Hares, as well as the Hippopotamus and Alligator, and other amphibious animals.

Of domestic animals, they have Horned Cattle, being the great object of their various contests, namely the Beeve, the Cow, and the Bull, in their various degrees. They have also Sheep, and Goats, and the domestic Dog. Hogs are only to be found among the Europeans, who have imported a few for breeding.

Their cattle are not large, but exceedingly good meat, and the Sheep are of the Cape species, with

broad tails, and with fine hair instead of wool. The Goats, like the Sheep, are used for animal food, and are very fine eating. That faithful guardian of the husbandman's fold in civilized countries, the domestic dog, is also the guardian of the native's hut; it announces the approach of the howling invaders at the kraal, with an echoing sound, awakening its slumbering master to force the marauder from his door; it is generally found in every native's kraal, and is deserving of his care. They are the most useful creatures to the natives, who would otherwise be exceedingly troubled with vermin. They manifest some regard for their dogs; and indeed, from my personal knowledge, the latter are highly deserving of their master's kindness, for nothing can exceed their attachment. Nay, I do not know a more useful servant in the kraal than the native dog, and his deeds are worthy of notice. I must be permitted to speak of these creatures in terms of some praise from knowing their usefulness: and I cannot but think that while travellers are seeking for something to extol or eulogise, they often forget their faithful companion the dog.

“An honest dog's a nobler theme by far,”

said the poet of nature, Bloomfield, and I accord with his opinion, from the practical instances I have had of its services.

Of the feathered race there is a great variety, wild

and domestic. The wild sort are easily obtained, and often killed by the natives, in their way, with a sort of small club, which they throw with great precision.—The Crane (Numidion or Demoiselle), Baleari or crowned Crane, Black Eagle, Vulture, Heron, Flamingo, Wild Turkey, Wild Goose, Wild Duck, Partridge, Grouse, Galina or Guinea Fowl, Owl, and Dove of various descriptions, are common, besides birds of varied plumage, but none with any note. The domestic fowls are the same as others in the British settlements of the Cape.

The natives calculate time by the sun and moon. From the rising to the setting of the sun, they call a day. From the appearance of one new moon, until the arrival of another, is their month, and twelve moons form their year.

They have no written language, nor have they any knowledge of characters; and it appeared always a matter of great astonishment how the Malongoes, or white people, conveyed their thoughts or wishes to each other by means of letters. Nothing excited so much curiosity, and anxiety to have a knowledge of letters, in both Chaka and Dingān, as the letters that passed between the white people at the different times they received them, while at the king's residence. In fact, the latter has often expressed a more than ordinary desire to be instructed in the art of letters, so as to be able to communicate his ideas by the same means as Europeans, and to have his native language submitted

to a fixed grammatical character. Their language is, without doubt, capable of being modelled into a written one. It is susceptible of inflections and combinations; it is also ductile and often mellifluous; not too much aspirated, and with but few gutturals. The labour of construing the language into grammatical sentences, would no doubt be one of time, and require the application of individuals abstracted from all other pursuits, but it would greatly tend towards improving the people, and aiding the advance of civilization.

I was not able to form the least possible estimate of the extent of population of the Zoolas, nor have they any knowledge of it themselves; the incorporating of so many conquered tribes must make their aggregate large. It is true their savage laws and customs are a ruinous check on increase of population, but the females are exceedingly prolific. It may be concluded that the country must be pretty thickly inhabited, when the king can summon one hundred thousand men to the field, besides his fifteen thousand warriors. There is a great excess of females over the males, and doubtless will be, so long as that propensity to war prevails among them, which takes off a large proportion of the male population annually.

It is quite clear, also, that the people must be numerous from the thickly settled hamlets which the face of the whole country exhibits; and those

hamlets appear to contain, each of them, a great many persons of all ages. Within a short period, our settlement which was somewhat circumscribed, contained upwards of two thousand persons; and this number naturally augmenting at a rapid rate, in a few years of peace, and when civilisation begins to spread, may, in all probability, increase by almost geometrical progression.

The Zoolas cannot be said to be without their manufactures, although they are not very skilful in their fabrications. They smelt the iron ore, in a soft porous stone hollowed for the purpose.

From this metal they fabricate their hoes for turning up the soil in their gardens or corn plats, and although these hoes are of rather rude construction, they are effective enough for their limited state or knowledge of husbandry, and are useful for such purposes in the absence of more eligible implements. They also make very small spoons and skewers, and other articles similar to them. The former of these are for a peculiar purpose; the handle, which is made flat, is used in scraping the perspiration from their faces, when the pores send it forth too copiously; and the bowl for the more delicate operation of cleansing the inside of their nostrils; both designed in place of a handkerchief, the use of which they have not yet acquired. The skewer is not fabricated for the European office, but as a substitute for a needle in sewing their clothes. The softer sex have

not yet arrived at the refined taste of ornamental sewing, and, consequently, a skewer supplies the place of a Whitechapel needle. They first make a hole with their skewer, and then pass the thread through, the skewer not having any eye to it. They also make copper ornaments, such as arm and neck bangles, and balls, by which the females ornament their clothes: and they manufacture horn and wooden spoons, milk-pails, which they neatly carve, and small wooden ornaments for their ears. Mats to sleep on, and pillows, they make from rushes; and very neat baskets, of various sizes and designs, from grass.

They make also a hat of the same material, in shape of the Malay hat, which is very useful, being impervious to the rays of the sun, and therefore saves the head exceedingly. They are extremely clever in making a variety of pots and jugs from different coloured earth or clay: these they prepare very neatly, in different shapes, figures, and sizes, and intended for domestic uses. Their implements of war, like those used by all other savage nations, are, of course, of their own invention and manufacture; and these weapons, particularly the assegai, they ornament.

They have been taught by Europeans the use of many sorts of tools used by carpenters, masons, &c., which they afterwards sought with extraordinary avidity. Dingān, and his predecessor Chaka, had imbibed



a strong desire to have a house built after the English fashion, which was destined to be executed, but the temporary rupture which occasioned my leaving Natal put a stop to it for a time; on my return, however, it will be attempted, if it should not have been accomplished in the interim.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

AFTER a careful perusal of the preceding details, I think my readers will be inclined to agree with me in my predictions, of the capability of Natal being made a most eligible spot for colonization, from the several circumstances which its localities present.

It has been made manifest, I trust, that the kingdom of the Zoolas—or, as the Portuguese have designated it, the country of fumo, or smoke—of which Natal is the port or bay for anchorage, is one not only interesting from the peculiar character of its people, but entitled to the consideration of an enterprising people like the British, from the variety of objects which it holds out as attractive to the speculator, and from its contiguity to their establishments on its western frontiers. It is clearly discernible that the colonization of Natal would tend greatly to strengthen the security of the native tribes in amity with the British Cape settlement; inasmuch as the Zoolas have always, from their predatory cha-

racter, made inroads on them in their various incursions, which have been destructive not only to the people, but to their property and possessions; and any measure, therefore, that might contribute towards averting similar events, it is thought might not only be worthy of the due consideration of the British authorities, but that such a proposition as colonization on the one hand, and a friendly treaty with the Zoola king on the other, ought also to be appreciated.

The practicability of establishing a settlement at Natal has been, it is presumed, clearly illustrated; and the possibility of inducing the Zoola king, Dingān, to submit to an admission of Europeans to settle in his territories for the purposes of traffic, pointed out to a demonstration. The residence of myself and others, who had been thrown on its coast, and for five years pursued an uninterrupted intercourse with the Zoola people, is, I think, a circumstance from which may be deduced the fact, that future adventurers like those now settled there may receive that protection and encouragement which had been conceded to those who had first set their foot on its unfrequented coast: and it may be averred with great truth, that the Zoola king, from the intercourse which he has had with the Natal settlers, who have made him sensible of the advantages to be derived from a friendly alliance with the tribes in amity with the British Cape colony, would be willing not only to be in amity with our

country, but to grant those exclusive privileges of commerce, which are always acceptable to a commercial and manufacturing people.

When my readers reflect, that seven years ago, or thereabouts, neither the Zoola people, nor their monarch, had held converse with a white person, they will, I am confident, admit that there can be neither difficulty nor danger in bringing the king to that friendly understanding which shall insure to us, for the future, the enjoyment of all those advantages every where produced by commercial intercourse. This inference is also further strengthened by the desire evinced both by Chaka and Dingān for such a good understanding as that to which I have adverted.

It then comes to this point:—Is it desirable to extend colonization? and, if so, is Natal an eligible site for such a design? Does the country, of which it is the chief or only port, hold out any such encouragement for commercial enterprise, as makes it in any way desirable for aught but accidental intercourse?

With regard to the first proposition, it may be advanced, that, to promote colonization where it can be effected without entailing on the state any expenditure; where it opens a new, and before unknown vent, for the consumption of the manufactures of our country, and by a lucrative barter traffic, can be made to contribute to its revenues, and to the

employment of its artisans; it is presumed, that under such circumstances colonization is rather to be countenanced than rejected. Any source of commerce, by which an impetus is given to the manufactures of our country, is a desideratum; and an incentive to seek for vents should be cherished, and not checked, by the representatives of the crown in such parts, where the enterprising are endeavouring to make the commercial greatness of their country known. Yet this was evidently the case, in two instances of missions from the Zoola monarchs to Algoa Bay; if they had received that attention which their importance needed, by this time their advantages would have been in full growth, and the little interruption met with by the settlers in the business of John Cane would never have occurred.

As it respects the other proposition—the eligibility of Natal as a place of commercial intercourse with the interior; and whether the country generally holds out inducements to settle for the purpose of traffic—I shall say, without hesitation, and from local experience, that Natal is an eligible site for a settlement, and that the inducements for commerce are valuable and flattering.

The Bay of Natal, it will be seen, is the only convenient place for anchorage; it is a secure harbour, and has water sufficient on its bar for the navigation of such vessels as commerce would require, those being of small tonnage, and requiring but a shallow

depth of water. There is no other bay on its coast that is eligible ; and, at the mouths of the several rivers, although these are large, there is no anchorage for vessels larger than boats or barges, from the estuaries being all intersected with bars of sand. The country also in the vicinity of Natal is fertile, luxuriant, capable of great agricultural improvement, and is most bountifully supplied with springs and streams of extremely pure water, with a soil of inconceivable depth and richness, all affording to the cultivator ample reward for his industry, and to the settlers a prodigious supply of vegetable and animal food, as well as of poultry and fish. These are the internal advantages which Natal presents, and I feel confident that the most sceptical of my readers will think they are such as cannot well be surpassed.

As a central port for commerce with those ports either to the westward or to the north-east, it is far from being ineligible, if even the country furnished another. It is a convenient distance, being about midway between Algoa on its west, and Delagoa on its north-eastern frontiers. The English River, which divides it from the Portuguese settlements, is not more than 300 miles distant ; and on this river are the most valuable places for commerce, belonging to that nation in this quarter, namely, Sofala, Inhamban, and Mosambique ; which, since our abolition of, and rigid search against the

slave trade, though fast going to decay, are still places of some commercial repute, and would be even of greater importance, were not the Portuguese inhabitants the most indolent people in existence. They are still, however, valuable from the influx of Arabs, who will, no doubt, succeed in expelling, with the aid of the aboriginal natives, the Portuguese merchants and authorities. Between these places and Natal, an intercourse with the whole of the tribes on the Mozambique coast, and even to the Red Sea, might be had, and a traffic carried on to a great extent, in all those productions which are so abundant in this vast extent of territory, and on which I shall have occasion again to advert in the succeeding pages. Further, I may observe that the coast of Natal, and the whole of the Mosambique channel, is a fine whaling position; the black whale being numerous, and the sperm whale often taken near to the shore. The black whale, too, is invaluable for its bone, of which the other species produce nothing approaching to it in point of utility or value.

With respect to the interior productions of the Zoola country, which, since the settlement of the few Europeans at Natal, have found their way to the latter place in barter, I must submit a few observations, explanatory of their nature, and of the customary method by which the bartering negotiations with the king or his natives are carried on. I trust I



shall sufficiently show, that the resources of the country are indeed of an almost incalculable value, only requiring the speculative genius of man to develop them.

The most important articles of commerce with the Zoolas and neighbouring tribes, are unquestionably ivory, gold-dust, gum-arabic, gum-copal, tortoise-shell, hides, pearls, coral, and marble; while the Longooie Mountains are said to contain the silver ore. But other articles might, by application and industry, be abundantly produced, such as indigo, cotton, and silk; the soil and climate, for the two former and the mulberry plant, being highly congenial; and the strongest testimony adduced in favour of cultivating the indigo and cotton plant is, that they now grow spontaneously and luxuriantly; an experiment has likewise been tried with the mulberry, and it grows prodigiously. The products of the Zoola country will, therefore, be seen to be various, and only requiring the enterprising speculator to take up his abode in the midst of them, and open communications, by which a reciprocal exchange may ensue between the European on the one hand, and the native on the other.

In exchange, then, for these, the indigenous productions of the Zoola country, the manufactures of Great Britain are alone required; as there is no circulating medium, no coin is needed, and consequently no drain of the precious metals takes place in purchasing the produce. The marketable or exchange-

able commodities are, printed, and white, and coloured cotton stuffs, of inferior texture; woollen stuffs of inferior quality, beads of various colours, pewter, brass, tin, iron pots and kettles, earthenware, looking-glasses, checked shirts, Policat and imitation Madras handkerchiefs, with various other things.

It will be seen, therefore, that a most important vent for British wares and articles of merchandize might, with very little encouragement, be advantageously introduced into the Zoola country, and be bartered for the indigenous productions of that kingdom; if those judicious and protecting arrangements were entered into with the king of the Zoola nation, which that monarch is so solicitous to effect, and for which his predecessor and himself have made overtures to the authorities at Algoa Bay, but which were either indignantly rejected, or received with indifference.

It is to be regretted that these overtures on the part of the Zoola king were not made during the government of Sir Lowry Cole, because I am conscious that the acuteness of that gallant officer, and his great eagerness to promote the commercial prosperity of his country, would at once have urged the acquisition of a commercial intercourse with Natal; he would have known its contiguity to those countries where a traffic might be opened, which would tend exceedingly towards the consumption of the manufactures of the United Kingdom, and afford a fine field

for emigration and for enterprise, without in any way touching or interfering with the interests of the East India possessions.

The trade at Natal, could it be established on a firm basis, would be also a home trade, because it would be exclusively British; as the Zoola monarch has offered an exclusive right of commerce to the British settlers, of which I am one of its earliest. The manufactures in barter would be the productions of British labour, and the articles in return would go to a British port. And more, the ports of the Mosambique Channel, the Comoro Islands, the western side of Madagascar, and even the country to the mouth of the Red Sea, might be advantageously entered in commercial trips, and prove highly productive of gain to those who might engage in extending their speculations into those quarters. It is quite evident, and generally known, that the Comoro Islands are inhabited by a race of people who are allied to the Arabs contiguous to the coast of Ajax, and that a powerful few of this race, who have emigrated thither in their prows, control the natives. These latter are an active trading people, possessed of many slaves, between the masters of whom, and the Europeans at Natal, a friendly intercourse might easily be effected. But in my diary of a voyage to those islands, and the Madagascar coast, I shall be able to particularise the advantages of traffic between them, and how it may be conducted with those facilities so favourable to the

success of all commercial enterprises—the only incentive for its being undertaken or engaged in by the trader of any country.

I shall now proceed to resume the diary of my proceedings after my departure from Natal, occasioned by the duplicity of Jacob and other chiefs, and to detail my observations in the Mosambique Channel and the ports on its coast, as well as other places at which the vessel in which I sailed had occasion to touch; where I sought to discover what advantages they offered in the way of traffic, and if it were at all practicable to open a friendly intercourse with them in any way likely to be productive of good to my future resolution of taking up my abode permanently at the Bay of Natal.

## CHAPTER XIX.

AFTER the affair of Jacob's treachery and the destruction of John Cane's kraal, I took my departure from Natal in the brig St. Michael. We got under weigh, and glided out of the bay, on the 24th of June. As we were receding from the coast I gave my "last, longing, lingering look behind," on our poor faithful natives, who had congregated on the point to catch the last glance of our bark before the setting sun.

I parted with these poor ignorant creatures with much sorrow; my mind was imbued with sad and melancholy forebodings, and when I told them my apprehensions, and that my departure was a measure which necessity suggested, but that I should return again as soon as the cause had subsided, they hung down their heads and grief pervaded the whole. I made every effort to cheer them, but nothing could remove the gloom with which all were stricken.

The captain of the vessel at length came to announce that all was ready, that the boat was at the beach, the wind fair and freshening, and that every

thing indicated a favourable passage over the bar. I now bid them farewell, advising them to fly to the bush for protection, little thinking that my apprehensions were prophetic: as I spoke, however, I could discern that

“ Fresh tears  
 Stood on *their* cheeks; as doth the honey dew  
 Upon a gathered lily almost withered.”

We soon lost sight of the coast, and on the 29th made St. Mary's Island, and at 10 A. M. Elephant Island, which we passed quickly, having a fine steady breeze at the time. In the bay we descried eleven vessels at anchor to the northward, which we took to be whalers; at 3 P.M. we entered the mouth of the English river. We anchored abreast of the fort, in from four to five fathoms water, with a muddy bottom. We were soon visited by a lieutenant, a custom-house officer, a serjeant, and two soldiers. The three latter remained on board to prevent smuggling, while Captain Page and myself accompanied the officers on shore, and proceeded to the government-house; a square built edifice one story high, with only three apartments, and a thatched roof. The governor, through our interpreter, told us that we could only lie there twenty-four hours, as it was the order of the governor-general of Mosambique that no vessel should trade there without a licence from him.

The governor was familiar, and conversed with us some time about Natal; he also told me that Natal

never belonged to the Portuguese, but that St. Lueie did.

The lieutenant invited us into his residence, and took no little pride in showing us all his domain, and particularly his stock yard, which he said was the most extensive in the town, except the governor's. It is beyond my powers of description to give even a faint outline of the lieutenant's residence. The house was a low mud-built structure, with two or three apartments situated on a piece of ground within an area of about a hundred yards, with a mud embankment round the whole. Detached were a pig-stye, fowl-house, a cattle shed; and a very incomprehensible culinary office, called a kitchen, formed the most prominent feature of the whole domain. We saw within, as inmates of these offices, four or five pigs, about two dozen fowls, and half a dozen cows; these comprised the gallant lieutenant's stock yard, which he exultingly reported was the largest in the place except the governor's! This officer was goodnatured; he set a supper before us consisting of a little fish and bread, and some pickles, with plenty of Lisbon wine, of which we drank a little, but he quaffed freely; and in a short time began to sing one moment, and abuse his slaves the next, as a sort of harmonious conclusion to our evening repast.

We found from the interpreter that the order for our not remaining more than twenty-four hours was not peremptory, but that the governor had a disere-



tionary power to admit vessels to an entry in cases where he deemed it expedient and advantageous. We therefore went on shore in the morning to try to effect some barter for ivory, but not being successful, we walked about the town, if that could be called a town which consisted of only a few irregular streets, with edifices more resembling barns than anything else, scattered indiscriminately without order or arrangement. We visited some of the European settlers, the most intelligent of whom was the commercial agent for the Lisbon Company. This company has the exclusive privilege of trading for elephant ivory for fourteen years, by charter granted to them by the king of Portugal; but a great deal is obtained by foreign vessels by means of an illicit barter.

July 1st.—To-day we went ashore again and visited the governor, and got permission to see the fort; a lieutenant was my escort, who could not speak English, nor myself Portuguese, we were therefore not very intelligible to each other.

On entering the fort its whole area could be seen at a glance. It seems to answer for a stock yard for the governor, for pigs and poultry were ranging within its walls quite secure and tranquil. The ramparts are constructed of mud, and never much designed for defence, except against native assailants; for I did not perceive a gun that was not in a state of decay: they were all honey-combed, and

most of them without carriages. The captain of our vessel bought a large quantity of ivory of the governor privately, which we got on board in the night. The only traffic here since the abolition of the slave trade by the British, is in ivory.

2nd.—To-day the lieutenant and the custom house officer came on board our vessel, when our captain paid him 5 per cent. import duties on the goods sold by us; and we had also to pay a dollar per day to the serjeant, and half a dollar a day to his men. We weighed anchor at nine A. M., and dropped down the river, but were becalmed; so we came to again in five fathoms water.

3rd.—The wind favouring us this morning, we got under weigh at daylight, and shaped our course to the northward of the bay, to learn the particulars of some wrecks we had heard of.

Spoke an American whaler, the "Sally Anne" of New Bedford, at anchor; passed the "Pioneer," and came too near the American whaler "Pacific," the master of which hailed us, and invited us on board, and sent his boat for us. He informed us that they had encountered a severe hurricane about the ninth of June, when the whaling ship "Martha," of New Bedford, parted from her cables; they endeavoured to beat off the shore, but finding it impracticable, and the vessel drifting to the northward, where the cannibal tribes dwell, they were compelled, as their only resource for their safety, to run her on the beach,

which they did just before sunset, when the captain and crew landed securely. Her cargo, consisting of six hundred barrels of sperm, and three hundred barrels of black whale oil, with the vessel and her apparel, were put up at public auction, and sold for twenty-nine dollars, by the master of the English brig, "William of Calcutta," last from the isle of France, bound to the Grozet islands. In the same gale, the English brig "Sarah," of London, parted from her cable, and went ashore with the best bower anchor at her bows, about a musket shot to the southward of the "Martha." The captain had been ill some time previously, and died the day after the wreck. At the time this vessel went ashore, the officers and the greater part of the crew were whaling, and could not get to their vessel; and it was by extraordinary exertion on their parts, aided by Captain Huskins of the whale ship "Bramin," that they were saved. Three of the crew died with fever, and four others were drowned in attempting to land in the surf. The mate and seven men remained by the wreck.

4th.—It being a calm day, we could perceive from the mast head a number of boats in chase of whales. There were no less than eight American and one English whaling ships lying here, as well as an English brig and an American brigantine.

7th.—The last two or three days we were engaged in going among the whalers, while our captain tried

to pick up a few "notions" from the wrecks, but was unsuccessful. We weighed anchor, stood to the southward, and came to anchor again off the river Magnise in five fathoms, muddy bottom. We took a few samples of beads, and in the whale boat went up the river to negotiate a traffic with the natives. We observed that the channel to the entrance of this magnificent looking river is to the southward of the mouth. We sounded at about half-flood tide, and entered in, about six feet water on the bar: but within the bar the water deepened exceedingly. The mouth is extensive, and has two branches, one leading towards the English River, and the other to the eastward, where the main stream takes its course.

About twenty-five or thirty miles up this river, and near the residence of King Mahoy, the land on each side is low, sandy, and covered with bush. After proceeding four miles, we fell in with a native canoe; the people in it directed us towards a kraal, half a mile from the river, where we saw some natives who had been amongst the Zoolas, so that I was enabled to speak to them. They informed me they had no ivory, but that their king, Mahoy, had abundance. We purchased from them some sweet potatoes and peanuts, for a few heads of negro tobacco, of which, like all the other tribes, they are very fond; but the principal articles of trade are coarse blue cottons, iron hoops, or pieces of old iron, which the whalers generally barter for provisions.

We returned to the boat accompanied by the men and girls of the place, who were remarkably friendly, bid them adieu, and pulled down the river, when, as the tide favoured us, we soon got on board our vessel.

We fell in with four whale boats, towing one of these Leviathans of the deep, and I had an opportunity of viewing it.

8th. — Yesterday I visited St. Helena. To-day the natives came off, with potatoes, fish, peanuts,\* and lemons in abundance: I bartered with them, and got also a quantity of fowls, at about the rate of two-pence each, for which I paid them in beads and tobacco.

9th.—A fine breeze from the north east; at sun rise got under weigh and steered due south: the tide running strong, we got over to St. Mary's Island at 1 A. M., and anchored in four and a half fathoms of water, with a sandy bottom. Here we met a captain M'Lean and a Mr. Lawson, who had been whaling, when they found the tide running too strong for them to return to their ship. We were compelled to sleep at a native kraal. Saw a native boat pulling towards the shore: we were anxious to see the natives, as we wanted a guide; so the mate and myself, and two of the crew, got into our boat and went in chase of them. They appeared frightened, as we were gaining on them, set their sail, and pulled quick right before

\* A vegetable substance peculiar to Delagoa Bay, and the coast adjacent.

the wind. We had the advantage of them in sailing, and soon got up with them. There were six of them pulling, and one in the stern sheets of the boat had a musket. I hailed them in the Zoola tongue, and they immediatly hauled down their sail, peaked their oars, and answered in the same friendly way as we accosted them. When I told them what I wanted, they were much pleased and began to sing.

They informed us there was plenty of ivory on shore; upon learning this and other particulars, we returned to our vessel. After dinner we prepared to go ashore; we saw the natives on the beach; they directed us to a kraal, about a mile and half from the water side, over a flat and sandy country. We had to cross a large marsh before we reached the residence of Queen Macooquan. We saw several people here who could speak in the Zoola tongue, and with whom I was soon familiar. This kraal was built in the same style as the Caffre villages; the huts are much larger, and more substantially constructed. The people, in stature, are not unlike the Zoolas; but differ in their manners and dress. They appeared evidently to be great thieves; one of them made an attempt to grasp Captain Page's pistol, that he wore in his pocket, but, being foiled, he made a speedy retreat. We remained here about an hour, and ascertained that they had ivory to barter, and would send and collect it, and trade with us in the morning.

10th.—The wind blew to-day from the southward

exceedingly fresh. Prepared our beads and cloth for trading. In the afternoon the wind lulled, the sea abated, and we went ashore in the whale boat, and walked to the first kraal. We met the chief and a number of people on their way to the boat. We returned together, and after a long talk, I began to be doubtful whether we should succeed in bartering. The natives drew on one side, and began to debate on the most advantageous way of trading with us. They at last resolved to offer to us a small elephant tusk, which I purchased without much hesitation; and they produced some sea-eow teeth, about thirty pounds' weight, which also I obtained on my own terms. They then left us, assuring us they had plenty to barter, but first wished to become acquainted with our ways and means of traffic, and would then be satisfied.

They said that they would not only bring their own produce, but send and inform their king Maekasarny, whose residence was situated about thirty miles up the Mafootie river, and who dealt largely with the Portuguese in ivory. After this, we purchased three or four dozen fowls with a few beads, and returned to our vessel.

11th.—The whalers left us this morning to return to their ship. We prepared our beads into small bundles for bartering, and pulled ashore. Met two boys, and sent them to call the chiefs and people with their ivory. We paraded to and fro on the beach



for a long time, until we almost despaired of their coming; but at length they made their appearance, bringing with them a quantity of fowls, and a little ivory, for which they demanded a greater price than yesterday, and I had much trouble in purchasing it; from their indifference to sell, I thought they had more in the bush, but was disappointed. They informed us, they had sent on messengers to announce to the king that we had arrived, that the latter would soon be here with ivory, and that they could not commence a regular trade until his majesty had sent his stock. We had often been deluded in this way, so we repaired on board. The natives appeared somewhat vicious, and surpassed the Zoolas in art and cunning, and shrewdness in trafficking; they were filthy in the extreme.

In returning to the vessel, seeing a little boy on Elephant Island, we repaired thither, under the idea that it might be inhabited; but as we appeared, the youngster disappeared. We walked up the beach, saw some straggling foot-marks, but could not discover any human being; we then pulled on to our vessel.

12th.—To-day we got under weigh, stood out to sea, with the wind from the northward. Saw a shoal of porpoises. One of the crew attempted to secure a black-fish; he got two irons into it, but it was too large and heavy to hoist on board, and after a struggle it got away.

15th.—The last three days light winds prevailed from the eastward. At seven A. M. saw land, about a point on the weather bow, and apparently about six leagues distant. At ten A. M. tacked and stood off shore. At noon, found it to be the land about Goldsdown river.

23rd.—The last week nothing remarkable occurred; we were standing on and off the coast. At day-break we found ourselves about four miles from the shore, and a point of land showed itself to the eastward, which we took to be False Bay. We tacked ship occasionally and weathered the point, when a dangerous reef presented itself, extending about a mile and a half from the western point, across the mouth of the river, the sea breaking over it violently. We passed it within two miles, having the advantage of a fine commanding breeze. The land on the west side appeared sandy, barren, and irregular; some parts of it were of an ordinary altitude; as we neared the bay, however, it appeared low, and several trees, like the cocoa nut tree, were quite perceptible on the banks, giving the shore a somewhat lively aspect, although the bay itself had a contrary appearance, being dismal and terrific from the breakers on the reef, which induced us to stand off, when we discovered from aloft a white square building, and shortly afterwards descried a smooth surface between the reefs. The boats were sent thither to sound, and they found on the north-east side a channel with not less than

four fathoms. This induced us to bear up, and we entered in smooth water. The breakers were tremendous on each side of us, at half a musket shot; but, as every thing looked clear ahead, and we were in four, five, and six fathoms water, we were sanguine, and not apprehensive. We steered for the white building, which by this time we observed had four ridges encircling it, not unlike steps. We kept regularly sounding until we came to a small bar, when two and a half fathoms warned us of the shallowness of the water ahead. A fine spacious river now opened to us, for which we steered; but suddenly the man with the line, sounding, sang out, "Quarter less two," and instantly the vessel struck. The heavy swell deadened her way; but she struck three times nearly in the same place, and knocked off six feet of her false keel. From the sudden jar, and depth of water, I should suppose it to be an unknown rock. We, however, made sail, a press of canvass soon cleared her, and we had then from five to thirteen fathoms of water, until we got abreast of Mafone Island, where we anchored in five fathoms, sandy bottom, about two miles and a half from the entrance. The land we passed to the eastward was a little elevated and broken, but seemed picturesque and studded with lofty trees. We perceived only two negroes on shore, who were passing towards the east, and did not notice us. In the

afternoon we saw several boats sailing in different directions; none of them visited us until the evening, when a pilot came to learn the vessel's name and business. He told us that we had entered by the worst passage, and that we could not trade unless we obtained permission from the governor. We showed him some samples of goods, and at eleven P. M. he returned to make his report.

24th.—The pilot came on board; he said that he was instructed by the governor of the place to tell us that we must get under weigh as soon as possible, and drop down to the Pedestal, or go to sea, as we could not trade here without a special licence from the Governor-General of Mosambique. Captain Page requested him to pilot us out, but he said the governor had forbidden him, saying, “that as we had found our way in, we might find our way out.” This man informed us, that orders had arrived from Mosambique not to allow foreign vessels to enter, under any circumstances whatever, not even when in distress for water! Such an inhuman order could have been given only by a savage; but the Portuguese nation is often disgraced by the acts of their colonial officials, who frequently forget the common kindnesses of human beings. The pilot, after pointing out our course to the Captain, left us, but observed, that he would return and pilot us out, if he could obtain the governor's permission. This order deprived me

of the gratification of personally visiting the town of Imhambana, and the country in its vicinity. It being full moon, I had an opportunity of seeing the time of high water. At the full and the change it is at  $4^{\circ} 30'$ , if the pilot's account can be relied on; it rises and falls twelve feet at spring tides. Latitude  $23^{\circ} 47'$  south; longitude  $35^{\circ} 52'$  east of Imhambana point. Looked out for the pilot all night.

25th.—Light airs and pleasant weather; we weighed anchor, dropped down with the tide, and came abreast of the Pedestal erected (the pilot told us) as a landmark, by which vessels might run in and out of the bay. We endeavoured to put to sea, but there was too little wind; this fortunately gave us an opportunity of sounding as we advanced, by which we discovered that the course the pilot had pointed out to us would have placed us between two reefs, where we must have been inevitably wrecked without any visible means of escape. This circumstance confirms what I have often heard in this part of the world, that the Portuguese inhabiting the Mosambique are only a step above the savage nations whom they govern.

26th.—Though intended apparently to have been the victims of Portuguese treachery,—to-day, from the wind being light and favourable, we got safely over the bar; and, having passed all the reefs, we shaped our course for Mayunga Bay, with a fresh breeze, but a heavy swell.

August 1st.—The last several days nothing occurred worthy of a line in my diary. To-day we saw a great number of whales playing about the vessel. At three P. M. made land on the lee-bow, apparently low and sandy, about five leagues' distance; tacked ship, and stood off shore. For two or three days the whales were very numerous about us, both the black and spermaceti species. It appeared evident to me that a few vessels might make a successful trip about this period on the Precilla Bank.

4th.—To-day sailed over the Precilla Bank; got uneven soundings at eighteen, twelve, and eleven fathoms; kept off, saw abundance of dolphins, and at noon land ahead; at four P. M. could distinctly perceive it to be Macumba Island, having seen the main land a short distance from it, which appears very low. At sunset the bluff point bore by the compass S., distance about four miles. Whales were playing about in all directions, particularly near the island; at six we got soundings, and they gradually decreased until eight P. M., when we anchored in seven fathoms, sandy bottom. At thirty minutes past eleven P. M. the wind increased and caused a heavy sea; one of the links of our chain cable gave way, parted from the anchor, and obliged us to put to sea, with the loss of our best bower anchor, and seven fathoms of chain.

5th.—We passed the island of Macumba, bearing south by east, distance twelve miles, and sailed along

the main land, which appeared low, with a number of straggling trees on it. The soil appeared of a red colour, and terminates in a bluff point on the west side of the bay, which we rounded, and came to an anchor in seven fathoms water, with a muddy bottom, abreast of the town and fort.

Some natives, who affected to be officers of the port, came on board, and, with great *nonchalance*, walked down to the cabin. Captain Page and I followed them, and soon ascertained that their duty was to take an account of the cargo and people on board, the number of guns, and other matters, in which they were not very particular, but appeared to act more as a matter of form than with any positive object. They exhibited a paper drawn up in a broken and unintelligible style, prohibiting the throwing of ballast or rubbish of any kind into the bay, under the penalty of 100 dollars, and the liability of the captain to be imprisoned until its removal. If this law were enforced I fear the imprisonment would be perpetual. No boat was allowed to come alongside until the officers had executed their business. Here we were visited by two American masters of merchantmen, one from Mocha, and the other from the United States.

6th.—To-day saw a vessel of the port; she showed English colours. The native officers were differently accoutred to-day, all of them being in uniform. When I asked the cause of this difference, I was told that they always paid greater respect to Englishmen than



to Americans. I learned that the vessel we saw was the whaling bark "Rover," of London, which had been out about eight months, and had put in for refreshments. In the afternoon messengers came from the governor to invite us to the fort. I went in company with other strangers: after walking about half a mile from the water side, up hill, we were stopt by the sentinels, until the governor was apprised of our approach. After this had been done, we were admitted through a walk defended on each side by square huts, until we reached the upper part of the fort; here we were introduced to the governor, who was sitting with his officers in a square in front of his house. He was dressed plain, and in the English style. He spoke to us through his interpreter, who had been in England; several of the officers spoke English well enough to be perfectly intelligible, having acquired it at the Cape, whither they had been with Captain Owen of H. M. S. Leven. His excellency was particularly good-humoured and affable; and after having sat some time, we took our leave. The officer arose, exercised his guard, as is customary with them, and dismissed them. He gave the word of command distinctly and soldierlike.

7th.—The weather was extremely hot to-day. I called to pay my respects to Armane, the Arab merchant, and negotiate some mercantile matters. After he had made his purchases we went on board the St. Michael. Had a good deal of conversation

with Mr. Bates, an American agent who has had a knowledge of the trade since 1820, when the Americans first discovered the place.

9th.—Went to the governor to introduce the doctor of the English bark “Rover;” his excellency received us courteously. Thence we proceeded to the cattle pound, to select some beasts for the whalers. The cattle are generally very fine here, and remarkable for the large protuberance on the shoulders; a common cow has this hump fully as large as the Caffre bull. Their skins will weigh nearly thirty pounds. In the evening I accompanied Mr. Bates to visit Abdallah Bedrew, whom I found to be a man of talent and extensive information. He had been formerly governor of this place under king Donzali, but was reduced to a private individual at the time Radamah took the place, of which I shall hereafter give an account. The communications of this good man were highly interesting and valuable, inasmuch as they tended to show me that a most lucrative commercial intercourse might be carried on between Majunga and Natal.

Abdallah was then engaged in writing a history of Madagascar in the Moorish tongue. He speaks English, French, and Spanish, so as to be perfectly intelligible; and he showed me several complimentary letters from strangers who had visited him. One in particular, from surgeon Hastie, who had

been here to negotiate a friendly alliance with the Abalamboes, on the part of the British government, spoke of him in terms highly flattering as a man of information, and capacity for business. After sitting some time with him we departed, returned to our huts, and passed the evening with the whalers.

10th.—We had made all ready for going to sea this morning, but the wind was adverse, for which I was not sorry, as I wished to renew my visit to the Arab merchant Armane, whom I found to be an hospitable man, and who is said to be strictly honest and punctual in business. He is extensively engaged in commerce with the Americans. This year he has made large speculations with the several American ship masters, whom he furnishes with gum, copal, and Columbia root, hides, and tortoiseshell. He is a sort of migratory merchant, if I may so designate him, for he does not remain long stationary, but returns periodically.

He sojourns alternately at Zanzibur, Humoo, and this place; and at the two former establishments he carries on a very considerable business.

The principal goods required at Majunga, are spirits, broadcloths, crockery, and glass-ware, looking-glasses, cottons, plaids, calico, muskets, coarse gun-powder, lead, small guns, swords, musical boxes, paints, and paint oil, &c. &c. The imports and exports are subjected to an impost of five per cent.

ad valorem. Harbour dues for a vessel about fifteen dollars, for which the governor gives a good bullock in return.

Having taken leave of all our whaling and other friends, we pushed off to our vessel with the view of getting under weigh in the morning, and proceeding on our course of visiting other ports in this vicinity.

## CHAPTER XX.

MAJUNGA is situated on the western side of the island of Madagascar; it is in latitude  $15^{\circ} 39'$  south, and longitude  $46^{\circ} 18'$  east. The town in front of the fort is irregular, and erected on a sandy site, which renders it exceedingly unpleasant for walking. The houses, or at least some of them, are built of stone, obtained from the neighbouring mountains, but the buildings display neither taste nor architectural design, the edifices are rude not only in structure but in workmanship.

The face of the country presents a barren and an irregular surface, displaying nothing either interesting or attractive;—nothing to engage the traveller in search for objects to enrich his store of natural productions, nor anything to elate the accidental visitor during his temporary abode. There is nothing displayed but a barren sameness, alike disagreeable to the eye and to the mind; nothing to contemplate but sand; nor anything to gratify one, unless a vertical sun in the day, and humid exhalations at night, will suffice, and where mud-houses will not be

offensive, nor musquitoes annoying. There is some traffic, it is true, with the interior, and its productions are brought to the port, consisting of bananas, sago, salt, rice, bastard sandal wood, and a variety of other woods, both useful and ornamental. Cattle are plentiful of the buffalo breed, the beef is nevertheless tolerably good, and the hides, which will weigh from twenty to thirty pounds each, are a great article of export, as well as tortoiseshell. The principal export trade is in these last two articles, which the Americans take off in return for piece goods, muskets, powder, clothing of all descriptions, as well as many other articles of American and European manufacture.

The first people who visited this place appear to have been the Dutch, who introduced fire-arms among the natives; then followed the French and Portuguese, whose traffic was mostly confined to slaves; after them the Americans in their commercial voyages, with their "notions," sought to visit it in 1819, and have, ever since, carried on a most lucrative trade with the people. A Captain Forbes, in that year, called at the port of Majunga, formed a commercial understanding with the people, and for several years the trade was confined to two American houses, who found it highly beneficial; one of the principal articles of traffic being jerked beef, which the natives prepared from their superfluous cattle, in large quantities, and which was even superior to that prepared on the banks of the

Rio de la Plata. This part of their return cargo, therefore, the Americans took to the Havanna, where it always found a ready market, being the most important article of food for the slaves in Cuba, and for which they usually obtained specie in payment. The Spaniards call the jerked beef "tassaja," and it is said the negroes are very partial to it, as it produces what they term "a good pot."

In the time of Donzali's government, cattle could be purchased in any number, at fifty cents each; but since the capture of the country by the Ambalamboes, it has been more open to intercourse and speculation; the natives have improved in civilisation, and know better the value of their products; consequently cattle are now worth six dollars each; tortoiseshell, six dollars the maun of three pounds; pigs, one dollar each; fowls, eight for a dollar; and other articles of food and poultry in proportion. The climate is said to be tolerably healthy, but rather hot in the summer season. Their rainy season commences with the year, and ends in April, or early in May; during which period strangers are attacked more or less with fevers, but these seldom prove fatal. Formerly, when cattle were slaughtered by droves and in almost countless numbers, for the sake of the hides, horns, and tallow, the flesh was strewed upon the ground, or left where the beast was killed, to putrify, and such was the effect of the effluvia from the animal's decomposition, that strangers were sorely



afflicted by it; but the process of jerking the flesh, which was introduced by the Americans, has greatly removed the cause of disease, and people are not now often affected. The prevailing complaint is a disorder in the eyes, said to be similar to the ophthalmia of Egypt, proceeding from the reflection of the sun from the sands and white roads, and the humidity of the night air, which is avowedly pernicious.

The former governor was Abdallah Bedrew, who ruled Majunga under King Donzali, the original monarch. His father was a Moor, and his mother a Saccalaver woman; he is of course a Manomedan. His natural sagacity, his shrewd and excellent understanding, his unimpeachable integrity, and his great love for research and information, have caused him to be much sought after by travellers who may by chance have touched on this coast. Abdallah is advanced in years, perhaps between fifty and sixty; he is of middle stature, and with features much resembling the generality of Asiatics. He wears the Arab costume, and is peculiar for the neatness and cleanliness of his person, as well as in all the departments of his household. He has only one wife, following the European custom in this instance, with whom he associates more than is common with these people, by whom he has several children, and towards them he manifests great parental attachment. He is now engaged, as I have before mentioned, in writing a history of Madagascar, in

the Moorish language, and designs to have it completed at the conclusion of the present war, between the Ambalamboes and the Saealavers, which arose respecting a right of territory. This war, it appears, has been one of some fury, and commenced on the former demanding some portion of the latter's country.

Radama, King of the Ambalamboes, the most powerful and warlike nation in Madagascar, sent to demand from Donzali, King of the Saealavers, his territories of Majunga, under the plea that he had been secretly engaged with the French in carrying on an illicit trade in slaves. The latter, knowing his own weakness and inability to compete with so powerful a nation as the Ambalamboes, was necessitated to submit to their request. Radama at once marched, to enter upon the ceded possessions of the weak Donzali, at the head of a powerful army (he was accompanied on his way by Surgeon Hastie, who was on a mission to him to negotiate a friendly alliance between him and the British Government;) and he took possession of the country without any resistance.

In order to defray the expenses of this expedition, his first object was to levy a tax upon the property of his new subjects, but the difficulty was, how to ascertain its value. This he attempted by a stratagem that finally succeeded. He had heard that among the people, many of them were ambitious to become governor. He, therefore, circulated a report that,

in filling such an appointment, the richest should have the preference; and to discover who was the most eligible, it was necessary for every one to send to him an estimated value of his property. This was complied with; and some, more ambitious than others, flattering themselves at the idea of becoming governor, designedly over-estimated their property, and were thus entrapped. Radama by this gained his object, and taxed them all according to their respective estimates, at the rate of five per cent, from which there was no appeal, immediately made Ramanataka, one of his generals, governor of the country, and retired with his army to his seat of government, Tananareevo, situated in the interior of the island.

The subdued monarch, Donzali, took up his abode on the other side of the bay, where he built a fort to reside in; and Radama stipulated to allow him an annual stipend, on his swearing allegiance to him as his king. He retained his empty title of royalty after being stripped of his power, which grieved him exceedingly, and sorely affected his people. But a little time had elapsed before he assembled his subjects, who were anxious to regain for him his country, and having acquired a few supplies of arms and ammunition, he sallied forth at the head of 4000 men to attack the fort. The long grass favoured them, and they got near the fort upon their hands and knees, before the guns opened upon them, which put them

in some consternation. At this moment Ramanataka sent a party of about eighty men, who suddenly assailed them with bayonet and spear, and soon routed them; the governor then sallied from the fort with a strong force, and put the greater part of them to death.

Ramanataka is a near relation of Radama, and it is said that the latter is mainly indebted to him for his kingdom. He is reported to be the most experienced and the bravest chief the Ambalamboes can boast of, and in this instance is said to have displayed great skill and intrepidity. Donzali had the character also of being a brave and good general, but reigning over a weak people had enervated him, which this affair seems to confirm, and to stamp his people as a cowardly set. They afterwards retired to a more distant part of the island, Majamba bay, about sixty miles to the north-east of Majunga, where they have ever since been at war; at the approach of the Ambalamboes they fly to the forests, and on their enemy retiring, they again take possession of the ruins that are left to them.

The king, Radama, died in the year 1828, and it was suspected through some treachery on the part of his queen, as the king had, through the assistance of Ramanataka, destroyed her relations to obtain his throne, and she ever retained a strong sense of the cruelty and injustice of her husband's conduct and

that of his relative; she knew moreover that the death the one gave her power over the other, which she was disposed to exercise.

Ramanataka apprehending this, retired from his government in his own drow or vessel, taking with him the government money, about 60,000 dollars, and retired to the island of Johanna, where I afterwards met him. The place was left for upwards of six months without a governor, when the queen, Ranabaloo, appointed Raneroo, one of the royal blood, to the governorship.

Since this appointment, the queen has sent an army of 5000 men under General Rantavoora to destroy Donzali and his adherents if they can effect it, she evincing the same disposition towards him as her deceased husband.

The Ambalamboes appear to have no regular system of government, but have ever been ruled by the caprice of a despotic king; and, as an illustration of his despotism, it may not be irrelevant to notice an instance of Radama's peculiarities of character. He was one day offended with some females who were of the first order of his people, from their not having submitted to the whims and caprices which he thought proper to exhibit, and, as a punishment for their *impropriety of conduct*, he ordered their heads to be shaved: this was an act of great severity, as they conceive it to be an ornament of great distinction to possess long and jet black hair. This, his first command, they resisted,

when he ordered an officer with a party of soldiers to repair to their dwellings, and shave their heads in such a way as to prevent the hair from ever growing again. The officer not being able to comprehend how this could be effected, had recourse to an expedient which he thought would not fail of its end, namely,—*he cut off their heads!!* and exultingly returned to Radama to report his operations, who expressed his approbation, doubtless, feeling the force of what Schacabac says in *Blue Beard*,

“That the hair grows again, but the head never will.”

The Ambalamboes are, in general, a fine race of people, tall, athletic, and robust, of a yellowish complexion with long straight black hair; they are capable of enduring fatigue, display much agility, and seem to have the appearance of being sinewed for war.

The females of this nation are rather short, but generally pretty, and their features quite European: they may be said to be rather attractive than otherwise, and are pleasing and good-natured.

Their religious faith it would be difficult to explain. They believe in a Supreme Being, but their mode of worshipping Him we could not discover. Some English missionaries, however, were said to be in the interior, who were making great progress in diffusing religious knowledge among them. Some of the natives in the vicinity of Majunga are Mahomedans.

If a European have a claim on a native, he usually meets with great justice from the legal authorities, provided he applies in a proper manner. Their decision is always prompt, and generally satisfactory.

There are a great many tribes on the island, and nearly all of them tributary to the Ambalamboes. The Geuricas are said to be a wild race, inhabiting the forests, and have never been reduced to any obedience or order, and differ, generally, from the rest of the Melegash (people of Madagascar). They resemble in stature the bushmen of the Cape of Good Hope, being small, and their customs and manners are not unlike them, for they have no government, nor do they acknowledge any superior power. In their peculiarities of ranging the forests, they may not be inaptly compared with the hyena of Africa; they go in droves, and molest every force inferior to their own. This part of Madagascar is infested with wild animals, particularly the jackall and wild dog, which are numerous, and afford good amusement in shooting. Serpents and other reptiles are not so common, but there are alligators, and plenty of scorpions, the greatest enemy of which is the mouse.

11th.—To-day we took our departure from Majunga, the wind east north-east. We sailed towards Mercumba island to fish for our anchor, from which we had parted when lying there; we could not find it, and at sunset we shaped our course for the island of Johanna, steering north by east. Saw the Complex



tack and stood into port again, concluded she had been waiting for Armane's dow.

12th.—The weather to-day was extremely sultry. In the afternoon we caught a porpoise. It was the first I had ever seen on board. I was induced from curiosity to partake of it, and to my astonishment I found it delicious, particularly the brains. The best way of cooking the flesh, is by making it into a sort of force meat balls, well seasoned with pepper and prepared with onion.

14th.—We had light winds yesterday, and the day before: last night saw land ahead, about seven leagues distant. At daybreak this morning, found ourselves within half a mile of the breakers which extend a league and a half from the south part of the island of Mayotta; the wind favoured us from south south-west, and we close hauled and cleared it at eight A. M.

This island is remarkable in its appearance from the sea, the land being high and irregular, with a mountain in its centre in the form of a sugar-loaf. The weather was somewhat hazy, and we sailed past with a fine steady breeze, and soon lost sight of it. Saw two vessels on the lee bow, they were cruising about; showed our colours, which they noticed by hoisting theirs: perceived them to be English whalers. Armane's dow passed astern of us; and we lay to for the Complex, to ascertain the particulars of Johanna, so as to approach at the best point. She came up to us in half an hour, found all well, and

sailed close together until eight P. M., when we both shortened sail, and lay to for the night.

16th. — At daybreak we made sail, as did the *Complex*: at seven A. M. passed the Saddle island, a small place about a quarter of a mile from Johanna. It looks like two hills covered with bushes, and is in the shape of a saddle. We sailed about a mile from the coast with a commanding breeze, until we came near the anchorage ground, when the wind became baffling, and we had some difficulty in gaining it; this difficulty we might have avoided by keeping along shore. The coast is bold, with a great depth of water, and vessels to get a good and easy berth ought to sail within about half musket-shot of the shore, until they are abreast of the town, where you may anchor, secured against the south-west monsoons in about eight and a half fathoms, with a hard sandy bottom.

After having anchored, the king's purser and pilot came off, the former to solicit our agency; he showed us a number of certificates and letters intended as recommendations, but they appeared to us little creditable to him.

At noon I went on shore with Captain Page, and the captain and supercargo of the *Complex*, Burnham and King; we were directed to the king's residence to pay the customary respect to his majesty, who was quite different to any other coloured monarch I had seen. His habiliments resembled those of the Arabs, being a loose gown and a turban. He is a Maho-

medan, and, like them, wears a beard. His countenance and his address were alike pleasing; his conversation free and communicative, his manners affable courteous. He spoke broken English, seemed to me an intelligent man, and free from that austerity so peculiar to the followers of Mahomet. After remaining some time with him we took our leave, and walked about the town accompanied by surgeon Lambert, who had been left here by Captain Thornton of the whaling ship *Coquette*, through some dispute between them.

The king sent one of his domestics to me to say, as he understood I was an English gentleman, he would be glad if I would take up my residence with him during my stay, or I could reside at the admiral's, where the doctor was staying. I hesitated for a moment, until Dr. Lambert assured me it was the custom of the king towards foreigners, and the messenger being somewhat urgent, I accepted the offer, and became a messmate of the doctor, whom I found a pleasant companion, which made my residence quite comfortable. Here we remained until the 23rd, our business being to get an interpreter whom the captain had known on a former voyage, and for whom he had to give the king eighty dollars' worth of goods, it being the custom of the port, together with five dollars imposed on strangers for the pilot: but there are no duties chargeable on either exports or imports.

Johanna, like Mayatta, is one of the Comora islands, it affords, according to the king's account, but little encouragement for traffic, which he, no doubt, is capable of ascertaining, being himself the largest trader in it. About a thousand hides, a quantity of goat skins, and perhaps five hundred pounds' weight of tortoiseshell, may be annually exported. With regard to provisions, they may be had cheap, for the island is remarkably fertile; and, were the natives more industrious, might be made capable of producing many exportable commodities. With all their indolence, however, they are not deficient in cunning, and will not fail to take every advantage in their commerce with strangers.

Begging here is the greatest annoyance to which a stranger is subjected. If there were not such a number of medicants among them, the inhabitants would be bearable enough, and might be thought a harmless and an inoffensive race. They are of a copper colour and of a middle stature. I had only one opportunity of seeing their females, as their laws and religion preclude their being seen by male strangers. Every male native previous to his entering a house, must make a noise, to apprise the females of the approach of strangers. However, the first time was enough, I did not court a second interview with the feminine part of the inhabitants, for they are, without exception, the most repulsive, both in external appearance and habitual customs, of any people I ever saw. They chew the betel nut with a leaf, lime, and

tobaeco, which makes their teeth jet blaek, and their lips a deep red colour. They have another propensity which makes them look still more hideous, namely, they bore their ears with several holes, from which they suspend silver ornaments, the weight of which makes the ear hang over the cheek, and what is strange, without thus disfiguring their person they cannot be admitted into the rank of ladies.

During my residence here, I became acquainted with Prince Ramanataka, whose flight from Majunga I have previously related. He took up his abode in the south-west side of the island, where the king has permitted him to settle, with about two hundred of his followers, who are armed Ambalamboes. He never walks about without a body guard. The king, who knows him to be of a restless disposition, and never easy unless at war, is much afraid of him, and would be gratified at his leaving the island, but he dare not order him away. The king begged us not to sell him arms of any description.

Ramanataka is, nevertheless, a good man, and generally spoken of with respect. He has adopted the English costume, in which he is somewhat extravagant, and Surgeon Hastie has taught him the British discipline. He is particularly anxious to emigrate to Natal, or any country in which he might be able to push his designs of colonising. He observed to me that if he thought the English government would not interfere with him, he would raise an army, proceed to Natal, and settle the place with all the despatch

possible. He was exceedingly solicitous that I should write to the Colonial government of the Cape, and express his desire to be permitted to take Natal, and become an ally of the British, similar to that which his nation had become at Madagascar; and if it met their approbation, he would lose no time in proceeding thither. He entertains a high idea of the English character, and it is only the fear of exciting them, and raising their hostility towards him, that deters him from at once taking possession of Natal.

As the commerce of Johanna is so very unimportant, it is needless to enter into detail of the articles required for barter with the people; but, generally speaking, those things which have been named for other places would, at times, to a limited extent, find a market there. Mohillo, an island of little note for commerce, or anything else, is under the government of Johanna.

Mayatta is dangerous to approach, the inhabitants being hostile to Europeans: but a good voyage might be made to Comoro, the principal island of this group, as it is very productive, and the natives friendly. Bales of coir-yarns are to be got there very cheap, and in any quantity; turmeric, ginger, and arrow root, all grow spontaneously. Some tortoiseshell can be obtained, and a few hides. It has hitherto escaped the keen eye of the enterprising American, the general commercial searcher of the globe; and the trade, therefore, is carried on by the

Arabs, who transport the produce to Zanzibar; from thence it finds its way through Bombay to Europe, a strange circuitous way, and attended with an expense of transshipment through so many intermediate ports, that must be highly injurious to any traffic; it is a folly too when it might be obtained at first hand.

The land of Comoro is very rich, much higher than any I had seen in these latitudes; and on the 23rd, after having been out some time, we had a distant view of the land of three of the Comoro islands at the same time.

30th. — At daylight we again saw land, distant about seven leagues; as we approached, it appeared low and sandy. At nine A. M. we noticed a sudden change in the sea; towards the land there was a great ripple that lasted about half an hour, at the same time it was quite smooth water seaward; this the interpreter told us was occasioned by the ebb tide from a large river near Lamoo, that runs with great velocity. At noon we were in latitude  $1^{\circ} 16'$  south by observation; we experienced a strong current setting to the northward at the rate of two miles and half an hour, and as we approached Brava, we found it running with greater rapidity. In the day-time the wind was moderate, but at night it freshened. The interpreter informed us that the monsoons blow very regularly: they blow alternately four days strong and four days light, until they cease in October, when the north-east monsoons set in.



31st.—At daylight we were about six miles from the land, which we passed at the rate of ten knots an hour. It appeared regular, but barren, and sandy, and of an ordinary height. About half a mile from the south end of the town, I noticed a round building on a prominent spot, projecting into the sea, which has been erected as a land-mark, or as a guide to the dows on their return from their trading excursions. We came to an anchor under the lee of the north end of the island, and in front of the town, and had four fathoms water with a sandy bottom. When we anchored, the pilot came off to get his pay of four dollars, and by his directions we fired a salute of four guns, although they had none on shore to answer us. The first persons who had traded here were the Americans, and on our arrival we found the mate of a vessel called the *Black Warrior*, who had been left here while the ship went to Mocha to procure a cargo of coffee: this individual had collected about four thousand hides at the rate of four for a dollar.

Brava being in latitude  $1^{\circ} 6'$  north, and in longitude  $43^{\circ} 58'$  east, may be supposed from its proximity to the equator, to be warm and even unhealthy, but it is the reverse. The wind, at all times, blows from the sea or along the coast, which renders the air cool, and prevents anything exhaling from the sandy beach, being offensive or in any way injurious. The natives are sorely troubled with boils and almost incurable

ulcers, the effect, it is conjectured, of their mode of living. They subsist principally on beef, corn, and milk, but use large quantities of "gee" or rancid butter, not unlike oil; and they are so partial to it, or to any other unctuous or greasy liquid, that they frequently immerse their meat in it, and eat it altogether as if it were soup. They have neither knives nor forks, but use the right hand as a substitute for them; the left they reserve for other purposes.

The inhabitants of the town are descendants of Arabs, and of a yellowish complexion; but the aborigines of the interior are black and of a slender form. Their features differ from the generality of the coloured race, and bear a strong resemblance to the European countenance, with the slight exception of a tapering forehead. They are well made, and good looking, and exceedingly nice in keeping their teeth white, for which purpose they use the twig from a tree that grows here, the properties of which are preservative of both teeth and gums, and supposed to be like the "chewstick" of Jamaica, with which the Creoles keep their teeth of an exquisite whiteness. In their houses they are filthy in the extreme.

The women are generally pretty, and may be seen by the males, although they seldom go out of doors until they are somewhat advanced in age, when it is supposed that they are no longer attractive. Their

dress, or rather the only covering made use of by them, is a loose gown. Their fine black hair is combed back and worn in a knot behind.

It is the custom to shave the head, with the exception of a small fringe in front, until the girls arrive at the age of maturity, when they are allowed to ornament themselves by letting it grow. They are particularly fond of both silver and gold ornaments, which they wear, in the form of bangles, round their arms and ankles; but gold coins they wear suspended either by a silver chain or a string of beads round the neck. They have ornaments in their ears, but their love of finery is not carried to such excess as it is by the Johanna females.

The men continually keep their heads shaved, and ornament their face by leaving a small part of the hair like a fringe on their forehead. Their dress is a "seakie," a piece of white or coloured cloth worn round the waist; but the more respectable class wear a white gown, and a turban of the same, with red sandals, in imitation of the Arabs. They are exceedingly indolent, except a few in the town who are traders, and are both keen and shrewd.

All the domestic duties are done by the females, and almost every family is furnished with a loom for the girls, whose daily occupation is weaving a sort of coarse cloth for the use of the males, and to trade with.

In general they marry young; if the parties be at

all respectable or otherwise wealthy, they are united at twelve or fourteen years of age. Courtship is not known among them, and it frequently happens that the lady is not seen by the gallant until after their fathers have made the arrangements for their union. When the business is concluded, the sum of about sixty dollars is given to the lady, or such other sum as may have been agreed upon, which is designed for purchasing her a dress and ornaments for the occasion of her marriage, to which is added a female slave servant. The business being thus arranged, the bridegroom with his family repair to the residence of the bride, where he takes up his abode, unless he has more wives, for they are polygamists; in this case he visits them at pleasure, and makes the house of each wife his home for the time. The female never separates from her mother, who provides for her as long as she is able to do the domestic duties of the house.

The nuptials are a ceremony of some form and festivity; the neighbours and principal people of the town are invited, and those who can afford it contribute a dollar each towards the feast, which is generally continued for a week. The males and females enjoy themselves in distinct apartments; and for two days after the nuptial vows are exchanged the husband and wife are not permitted to see each other: and for one week he is obliged to confine himself to the house, after which he repairs to the

mosque, where the priest performs or pronounces some oration, and the bridegroom appears in public again, and first commences to wear a gown, a turban, and his sandals.

To say anything complimentary of these people would be a libel on their characters, which are a compound of vice and immorality. Their persuasion is Mahomedan, which encourages them in every act of lying, stealing, cheating, and sensuality. They believe that by praying five times a day and attending mosque regularly all their sins will be forgiven them. They are superstitious, as well as vicious. On the launching of a dow, for instance, when the inhabitants all meet to pray for the safety of the vessel, or in stepping the mast for sea, a religious ceremony is performed: a quantity of rice, eggs ready cooked, and melasses, are put into the step previous to the mast being placed in it, as a charm against the vessel being in want of provisions. Should this ceremony not have taken place, inconceivable difficulty would arise in getting men to navigate the vessel: many other ridiculous ceremonies, all emanating from their superstition, might be related; but one thing may be advanced on the contrary side, namely, that during the three months I resided amongst them, I never heard of a murder having been committed; but this may be attributed, perhaps, to their inherent irresolution and natural timidity.

The Bravamese have no established government, nor do they command their own town, having allowed themselves to become tributary to interior tribes, who visit them at their pleasure. There are two powerful nations inhabiting the country from Zumoo to Merreeca, that have imposed on the town five governors and five deputies. These officials are a compound of cunning, art, deception, and imposition; they will take advantage not only of the simple inhabitants, but even of their own people by whom they have been appointed, and especially strangers, whom they cheat, and conceive it to be a virtue. White men, or "mazoongoes," as they call them, are also their objects of plunder; and they never forget rigidly to support their reputation for thieving, when they can do it with impunity. To cheat a white man without being detected, is a sort of step towards Mahomet's paradise. Such are their propensities, that, were it not for the trade in hides and other native products, which are engaging, no one would enter their town.

It may not be uninteresting to give some little idea of the rapacity and intrigues of these officials, as a sort of guide to those who may trade there; as probably, when one is prepared by a knowledge of their intrigues, efforts may be made to counteract them. In the first place, the governor will try to impose an agent on the person who has business to transact. This man is irresponsible; it is, therefore,

always advisable to reject one so recommended: besides, it is no more than an act of discretion, to make your agent responsible for all losses; otherwise, at the period of settlement of your accounts, you will be told that some persons, who have been purchasers of your goods, have absconded, or that they have been robbed of a portion of them, and various other pretexts and devices to cheat the importer; and the only satisfaction that is obtained is a shrug of the shoulder, and an assurance that it was "done by God's will."

The most safe, commodious, and convenient house for business, is the one nearest the mosque and the beach, in the centre of the town. It belongs also to one of the best and most opulent men in the place, Shaoo Ascan; the usual prices in which are, for rent six dollars per month, and an additional six dollars for the use of slaves, to salt hides and ship them. Hides were bought at four for a dollar; goat-skins twenty for a dollar; sea-cow ivory four dollars per frassilla of thirty-six pounds; elephant ivory, under eight pounds, eight dollars the frassilla; from that weight to fifteen pounds, ten, eleven, and twelve dollars, per frassilla of thirty-six pounds, and all above that weight, from twenty to thirty dollars per frassilla; gum Arabic of an inferior quality may be had in small quantities, at a dollar the frassilla of thirty-six pounds; and bullocks' horns may be had at your own price—we paid fifty cents per hundred. If there be competitors in the market purchasing, the



natives are ingenious enough to league together and enhance the price of their commodities; the only way to avoid their demands in these cases, is for purchasers to arrange with each other, and avoid competing for any description of produce that may be for sale; not to appear anxious to buy, but to purchase when circumstances make it advisable and judicious.

Provisions are to be obtained here very cheap. A bullock may be bought from two and a half to five dollars, according to its size; goats and sheep (the latter of an inferior kind) from half to one dollar and a quarter each; fowls thirty for a dollar; eggs 200 for a dollar; and water melons, which are the only fruit or vegetable, except the musk melon, are about sixty or eighty for a dollar. The water about the town is bad; it is hard and somewhat brackish, and exceedingly relaxing to the system; but good water may be had at little expense, by sending into the interior for it, whence it is brought by means of camels and asses.

The articles of barter here, and which are generally in demand, are common white cottons, calicoes, and plaids; leaf-tobacco is also an excellent article, the consumption of which is prodigious. The Americans, who are the general traders here, have often obtained four or five dollars per frassilla of thirty-six pounds; but the natives pay the Arabs ten or twelve dollars for the same quantity. There are other articles which are at times saleable, but cannot

be so much depended upon, such as red beads, coloured prints, large and small looking-glasses, glass ware, and large sword-blades. But *Spanish dollars*. are the principal article to ensure a cheap purchase. These never fail in their object, both as to purchasing cheaply and expeditiously; with the Arabs they are a sort of talisman, and the Arabs are traders. These chafferers are so much attracted by their influence, that at their sound

“ You shall perceive them make a mutual stand,  
 Their savage eyes turn'd to a modest gaze,  
 By the sweet power of (*their*) music.”

They are nice, even to a scrutiny, in rejecting any that are defaced; it is, therefore, necessary to be particular as to their being good. The Prussian dollar, or the American, is liked, but the Spanish is most common.

Brava does not depend on its own resources for commerce, but carries on a considerable intercourse with the ports contiguous to it. Those which may be visited (but vessels must take care to provide good anchors and cables for this iron-bound coast, if they wish to guard against casualties) are called by the natives Quayermer, Toilee, Tala, Razinna, and Kezinggateena, to the southward, or between this port and Lamoo; and to the northward are Merrica and Coclishoo. In the latter place,

the people are said to be savages, and hostile to white people.

Having adverted to the trade of Brava, and other incidental matters connected with it, I shall now submit a few remarks on the conduct of its governors, who are remarkable for their duplicity. These fellows, under the cloak of being protectors to strangers who visit their ports, are the most consummate impostors and cheats in the Eastern world; and instead of shielding one against imposition, are themselves the greatest adepts in the art. As they have no regular port dues, their attempts at exaction are shameful; for instance, they will claim or demand, in the first place, fifty dollars for anchorage; but, on expostulating against such enormous charge, they will be contented with twenty, which is the standard charge, and all, in fact, that is usually paid for a voyage; for, as it is dangerous lying here at times, from the nature of the coast, it is usual to establish an agent on shore to collect hides and produce, and to dispose of goods, while the vessel proceeds further to the eastward to dispose of the remainder of her cargo, and obtain a portion of her return freight; and, therefore, to pay these charges on every time of anchorage, would be an unwarrantable impost; but they will exact it if they can. A most lucrative trade might be carried on between this port and the Mauritius, and Mabea; anchorages would be frequent indeed,

and the charges for it enormous; but, in such cases, you would only have to pay once. A duty of five per cent. is levied on all imports and exports, the adjusting of which is annoying, as they cannot keep a regular account, and are so addicted to cheating that they suspect strangers of profiting by their example. To avoid, therefore, any of these contentions, great care should be taken to compare notes of deliveries and receipts, or by handing over the portion of a twentieth part for the impost duties. To these imposts, they formerly charged fifteen dollars for protection of hides which they never saw; but on making it known to them that we could protect them with our guns, they desisted from demanding it.

The old governor is a great expectant of presents, and never forgets to hint to you that it is a custom to make them; but we were insensible to his insinuating manner, and although we did present something, it was so insignificant in value, that it was scarcely worth accepting. As, however, ten or fifteen dollars may do a vast deal of good, it is well to keep him in expectation, as it will probably facilitate your departure a little.

The inhabitants have no power to act against strangers, neither have the governors much influence with the formér, nor do they even command respect, and scarcely obedience. But if they fancy you are not prepared for defence they will be troublesome. It is a custom, and a very salutary one, to

fire a salute on coming to an anchor, by way of signifying your power of defence; and it is expedient also, inasmuch as it deters the people from paying too many visits to the vessel, as they are apprehensive of guns, or any thing like fire-arms. They have no guns on their fort, nor any other implement that could touch a vessel in the offing; their only weapon in war is the assegai, or spear.

I had a great desire to penetrate a little into the interior, for the purpose of minutely examining it, and looking into the condition of the people residing out of the towns; and into their manners, customs, characters, and other things connected with their history; but the townspeople made great objections to my going, and deterred me from my design by representations that almost unnerved me. Whether these were true or otherwise, from prudential motives I gave up the thought of making the attempt, as I found it not agreeable to them in the first place; and in the second, I might perhaps have been subjected to much annoyance and inconvenience.

I was informed that the people in the interior were a wild race, and would greatly molest the Malongoes, or white people; but had no opportunity of viewing either the scenery or surface of the country, except what I could discern from the hills near the town; where it seemed, as far as the eye could range, to be low, flat, and overrun with a sort of dwarf shrub

or bush, without any vestige of cultivation ; the whole soil appearing to be of a sandy nature.

I could perceive a number of baboons and large deer, and the natives told us that the country was greatly infested with wild animals, particularly lions, tigers, and wolves.

## CHAPTER THE LAST.

HAVING finally arranged all our business with the Bravamese, and succeeded in cherishing a hope of a future intercourse with the principal people of the town, we repaired on board our vessel, and on the 17th of December weighed anchor, and put to sea in company with two Arab dows, commanded by two brothers of the name of "Shatric," who carry on a considerable trade in this neighbourhood, and at Cape Delgado, or Devil's Point, lat.  $10^{\circ} 41'$  south, long  $40^{\circ} 35'$  east. In the latter place they resided in the months of January, February, and March, for the purpose of collecting ivory, gum copal, and gum Arabic. They gave me to understand that large quantities of columbo root might be collected there, and that the principal articles for barter were coarse cloths and beads. The aboriginal inhabitants are negroes, formerly dependent on the Portuguese at Mosambique, but since the slave trade had been abolished they have had but little intercourse with their former oppressors, and have now become



independent, but are perfectly friendly with all European and American vessels, which at times touch there to barter for the native produce.

Three days' steady sailing brought us to Lamoo in latitude  $2^{\circ} 15'$  south, and longitude  $40^{\circ} 51'$  east, when we ran up the river without a pilot, and anchored a-breast of the town, in three fathoms water, with a muddy bottom. The entrance to this river is bold and of a most inviting appearance; strangers, however, may be deceived by an opening, not unlike Lamoo river, a little to the northward, that leads to a small town called "Patta" which is a dangerous navigation; therefore, as we found the instructions of Captain Millet\*, of the course of the Lamoo to be correct, it may not be uninteresting to insert them. "A vessel," he says, "proceeding to Lamoo should not attempt to go in by the inner channel without a pilot, unless well acquainted with it, as the passage between the island 'Keloo' and 'Lamoo' is very narrow, with reefs on both sides; and with a strong tide and heavy swell setting in, and the wind from the sea, it is very dangerous. Vessels, therefore, bound for Lamoo should anchor outside the entrance of the island, which forms the channel, and go in with your boat to 'Shatla' or to 'Lamoo' for a pilot. It is also somewhat intricate to get out of it in the south west moonsoons." Vessels of a great draught of water ought to pay

\* He was the master of an American trader.

attention to the preceding directions, but it would not be advisable for those drawing less than ten feet to lose any time in waiting for a pilot, or to come to in the offing, as great risk is incurred of losing an anchor from the heavy swell: and as the tide rises eleven feet, it is enough to take you clear; at low water every danger is visible, and when inside you lay perfectly secure, and well sheltered from all winds.

There are conveniences at Lamoo for over-hauling a vessel, for heaving her down, and doing any repairs she may require on her hull, as the beach is composed of a moderately hard sand, and slopes to the water with an easy and gradual descent. At high water you may haul close in upon the beach, and at neap tides or low water the vessel will lie dry. They have here an excellent cement, called "chunam;" it is a composition of lime and grease, and has been found to be an excellent substitute for copper. The native vessels, or dows, have a coat of it on their bottoms; and as the copper had worked off our vessel in several places, we stripped off the upper streaks, applied composition, and found, after three months' wear, that it was firm and good. The natives calculate on its durability for twelve months.

The port of Lamoo is free to all nations, but few have visited it, except the enterprising American, whose star-spangled banner may be seen streaming in the wind, where other nations, not excepting even my own country, would not deign to traffic. Ame-

rica is the fore-runner of commerce in new countries, and she enjoys the sweets which they afford. Having effected this, more supine nations may venture, but it is to partake only of those after-advantages which are too inconsiderable for the notice of the primitive discoverer, who seeks other vents, and finds other resources to reward him for his spirit of enterprise, and for his inimitable commercial sagacity. At this port he will call in and dispose of his notions in barter for columbo root, hides, tortoiseshell, and ivory; and in the months of December, January, and February, he will get Muscat dates and Mocha coffee at reasonable prices. His port dues are inconsiderable, his crew can get wood and water, or he can purchase them cheap, and animal food and poultry are moderate, though not so cheap as at some other ports. The articles for traffic which I have detailed as suitable for Majunga, are also in request here, and with dollars he may purchase without labour, and on advantageous terms, so that he may not be under any alarm about a cargo.

The inhabitants are Arabs; there is a tribe also called the "Lowhilla," who are tributary to them, but they are of the same persuasion—Mohammedans. They are artful, shrewd, and cunning, and require one to be unceasingly on the *qui vive* against their intrigues and peculations. Business is their sole study; it is their only resource for subsistence, for they have no land to cultivate, nothing by which

they can obtain the means of life, but by commerce ; and in commercial operations they are certainly not novices.

The whole business of government is conducted by Banyans, who are a shrewd people, and quite *au fait* in all the details of their official duties. Like officials in other countries, they are not the most civil and obliging individuals with whom one meets ; and to be consistently and characteristically the " man dressed in a little brief authority," they display as much arrogance, as any accomplished scion of an official stock in any nation in Europe. It is necessary to avoid them as much as possible, and never to appear anxious to have any dealings with them, for they possess neither principle nor common honesty.

Our object in going to Lamoo was to repair our vessel, the place affording peculiar facilities for heaving her down ; to effect which we remained there until the 26th of January, 1832, during which time we succeeded in getting about 900 frasillas (36lbs. each,) of columbo root, and a quantity of hides, which are brought here by small vessels from the adjacent ports or inlets on the coast. Vessels bound to the Red Sea, or to any ports in the vicinity of Lamoo, should call in outward bound, and leave a person to conduct any business they have to transact, and call on their return to take in such cargo as he may have for the vessel. Without this precaution, and leaving their agency to a native trader, would be attended

with inconceivable hazard, and cause delay in getting your returns, which will be ruinous indeed.

I shall not attempt any statistical account of Lamoo, it is so approximated and allied to Brava that a detail of the latter will equally apply to the former. The people have the same peculiarities and properties; and the only distinguishable difference in them that I could discover was, that the Lamoos were more extravagant in their habiliments; their style was similar in all its departments, and the apparel of a "Lowhilla" peasant of the middle class is considered intrinsically worth one hundred dollars.

Being prepared now to return to St. Helena, we took our departure from Lamoo on the 20th of January, and arrived at that island on the 2nd of March, where I was received by my friends with their accustomed cordiality; and I could not but enjoy their congratulations, because I was sensible they emanated from the heart, and that there was nothing but sincerity in their feelings towards me.

I have now brought my adventures to a close, and I trust that, although they have been humbly detailed, my readers will find enough of novelty in them to make them acceptable; and that the merchant, the speculator, and the capitalist will perceive new sources in which commercial enterprise may be successfully attempted; and new vents for the consumption of the manufactures of the United Kingdom, of which it is desirable to have some clear and unquestionable information.

It is, I am aware, a general remark, and well received, "that travellers see strange things," and that their details are subject to great suspicion and doubt: more especially by the commercial part of the community, who are not often disposed to have sufficient faith or reliance on the details of travellers to induce them to enter upon speculative voyages, founded on their suggestions. I do not aim at confidence being had in any thing I have submitted; all I wish is, and it would gratify me exceedingly to see it accomplished, that a proportion of the advantages accruing from an intercourse with the native tribes, in those countries which I have pointed out, and with which I have had personal communication, and acquired a practical knowledge, should be enjoyed by my countrymen; and not that the whole benefits should be reaped by our enterprising opponents, the Americans, whose zeal in commerce is seen greatly to outstrip ours in those seas to which I have adverted.

The whole of the eastern coast of Africa, from Point Natal to the northern extremity at Cape Guardafui, at the mouth of the Red Sea, has been but little frequented (with the exception of the Mosambique) by any nation except the Americans. Occasionally an English whaler may have put in, not for any direct commercial purposes, but merely to refresh with water and provisions, in case of her requiring them. The whole of this large extent of country, and the western coast of Madagascar, with

the islands in the Mosambique Channel, are therefore but little known, as possessing commercial advantages, by any but Americans; and they, doubtless, enjoy all those beneficial returns which adventuring thither justly gives.

In my remarks on the productive means of the several places visited by me, I have set down nothing from vague report, but all from ocular demonstration; I have minutely looked into their resources, and sought to acquire such information as should enable me to state, without the fear of censure, that Eastern Africa offers a scene for commercial enterprise which ought not to be neglected by so extensive a commercial and manufacturing nation as Great Britain.

For a settlement, therefore, aiming at embracing an intercourse with the tribes in the several countries to which my details refer, Port of Natal seems to me the most eligible spot for a settlement. Its contiguity to the Mosambique, to Madagascar, and the Comoro and other islands, undoubtedly manifests its peculiar advantages over any other part of the coast for the purposes of a factory. It is, if I may be permitted to use the term, the *point d'appui*, from which commercial adventurers may take their departure to the north east, and even to the Red Sea, in vessels of such draught of water as may be able to enter the various ports, where ships of larger burden are not able to get to an anchorage; and I have often been convinced



of the truth of what the American ship-masters have declared to me, 'that with a few small craft drawing but little water, we might enjoy most of the coasting trade from Natal Bay to the Straits of Babel-mandel.' Natal also lying so immediately in the course for the Mauritius, all the accumulated produce would find its way to England without any variation of the course of such vessels, which might, on the voyages out and home, be disposed to touch to obtain homeward freight, or to land outward supplies.

The possession of the coast of Natal would not be a disputed one; it has been shewn in these pages that the king of the Zoolas, under whose government it is, had granted to one or two individuals the right of settlement and an extent of territory, and that that monarch had expressed a wish for Europeans to reside in his territory, to whom he pledged protection and the exclusive right to trade not only with his own people, but with the neighbouring tribes. His efforts, and those of his predecessor also, to be on a friendly footing with the British authorities at the Cape of Good Hope, is, it is assumed, a sufficient guarantee for the security of settlers against the encroachments of his people. From the tribes, however, tributary or contiguous to the Zoolas, or even from the Zoolas themselves, little need be apprehended; for so long as the king and his warriors are kept at peace, the natives innocent, tranquil, and inoffensive, will offer no molestation to white people; but rather

seek their protection and become their allies. It is, as I have shewn, the natural propensity of their warriors to make inroads on the peaceable, but their power and influence are alike rapidly diminishing from the predilection of the king, Dingān, for white people, whom he regards with respect, and whose power he greatly apprehends.

Such an opening for the consumption of the produce of the labour of artisans of Great Britain, I can venture to assert, does not often occur; and a finer illustration of its advantages, I think, cannot be given, than by adducing the rapid progress made in commerce with native tribes in the vicinity of Graham's Town, as stated by Mr. Kay \*, who resided in the country: he says, "The traffic with the native tribes has increased in a surprising degree. The value of native produce brought into Graham's Town alone is estimated for several months past to have amounted to from 700*l.* to 1000*l.* weekly." And, again, in another place, he observes—"The commercial prospects of Albany have improved beyond all expectation; and its trade with the Caffre and other tribes is annually becoming more important."

From the amazing increase and facility of traffic with the tribes in the vicinity of Albany and Graham's Town, spoken of with so much truth and clearness by Mr. Kay, it is fair to anticipate a much more extensive increase at Natal, from the nations

\* Kay's Researches in Caffraria, page 450 and 448.

around it being now made to feel some confidence in Europeans; and from the extent of population, most of whom begin to entertain a desire to obtain those little articles of European fabric which the white people possess; these they now perceive can be acquired in exchange for their ivory, hides, and other native productions which, if they will only seek for, they can easily obtain.

Every new settlement on the African coast has advanced in commerce only by teaching and encouraging the natives to have artificial wants, and instructing them how those wants are to be supplied. In every place I visited in the vicinity of the eastern coast, and on the coast itself, the inhabitants all seemed to have acquired this desire for procuring any thing that attracted the eye, by means of barter; and they were never long without satiating their wants, by producing articles of their native produce for making a purchase. The same facilities of acquiring a knowledge how to obtain such articles as the European settlers at Natal had to dispose of, has been afforded to the Zoola natives, and other tribes near them; they now are becoming conversant with the modes of barter, and their system of receiving and giving presents has nearly subsided. It is almost inconceivable to individuals who have not had an opportunity of making themselves personally acquainted with the disposition of the native tribes of Africa, that any people should suddenly have so great

a predilection for changing their habits, and a desire for things the use of which they cannot comprehend, but it is nevertheless the fact; for the untaught native, like the infant, is "pleased with a rattle, tickled by a straw;" and more, whatever the fancy of the former leads him to be pleased with, he will try to acquire. With this impetus so strong, and encouraged as it has been by the Europeans at Natal, among the Zoolas, they are becoming such consumers of those articles of British manufacture which I have before enumerated in this work, as makes it desirable to cultivate a good understanding with them.

That a most lucrative commerce might be carried on, I think I have now sufficiently shown; and that Natal offers the most convenient spot from which communications may be held with the interior: but it still requires a protection—the adventurer and the capitalist, before they seek to invest their property in countries where no constituted authority exists, and where no protection against casualties is afforded to them, usually look around to see what security they have for their capital, and if they can adventure with any chance of success; but if they find that their own country affords the protection needed, then their speculations are commenced with vigour, and they prosecute them with all that fervour and industry so peculiarly the character of a British merchant.

It is this assurance of protection that the British settlers at Natal so earnestly desire from their govern-

ment—it is the countenance of the colonial minister to their object of colonisation and settling in the Zoola country, they are so anxious to obtain should the former be granted to them, and the latter receive that consideration which its importance merits, they would be enabled to pursue more successfully two great objects of their design, namely, an extensive interior commercial intercourse, and an advantageous traffic with those nations and tribes between Point Natal and the entrance of the Red Sea, with the islands in the Mosambique Channel, and with the Western Coast of Madagascar, now almost all exclusively enjoyed by the Americans, with whom we should then be enabled successfully to compete.

To presume to offer any opinion on the propriety of withholding from enterprising men such protection as may be needed for pursuing their adventures and speculations, so essential, and contributing to our national character, would be vain in me, and I shall abstain from it, under the hope that the advisers of the crown will not lose sight of any thing that may contribute to the national good.

THE END.

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