

ANDREW SMITH AND NATAL



Mateku Falls, Pondoland (The 'Waning Fall' of Allen Gardiner). Photographed by the author in 1940.
See pages 23 and 33.

ANDREW SMITH AND NATAL

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE EARLY HISTORY
OF THAT PROVINCE

SELECTED, EDITED AND ANNOTATED BY

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'In the history of colonization there can be few examples
of a colony more reluctantly inaugurated than Natal, or of
one whose development gave less satisfaction to the Colonial
Office.'

H. M. ROBERTSON

THE VAN RIEBEECK SOCIETY

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PREFACE

Of the documents reproduced in the present publication only those in Part I were originally prepared for it because at first the volume was intended to be a miscellany. But, at the suggestion of the Council of the Van Riebeeck Society, in order to throw into relief the part played by Andrew Smith in the early history of Natal, I added those in Parts II and III to replace others which had been proposed for inclusion in the book.

I have made no attempt to write history, but merely place before the members of the Society some historical 'raw material' which may possibly illumine several rather obscure phases in our country's story. I have, however, permitted myself the luxury of introducing connecting links between the various sections of the book, and also between the various documents themselves. Possibly some of these links may be found by professional historians to be somewhat weak, though I hope not made from unsound metal; but, if so, it will be a comparatively simple matter for such readers to forge new and stronger ones for themselves with the documents before them.

These links, together with other explanatory matter which I have added, have been set up in type of a size smaller than that used for the documents reproduced, with the exception of the Preface, Acknowledgments and Introduction. The extracts from the Drège diary in the Natal Itinerary have also been set up in the smaller type to distinguish them from Smith's entries.

The spelling of words as they occur in the original documents has been retained, except in the case of obvious slips; punctuation has been amended occasionally in the interests of clarity; and the old-fashioned practice of giving many common nouns initial capital letters has not been followed.

Finally, the quotation on the title-page, which seemed to me to be singularly appropriate to this book, was taken from Professor H. M. Robertson's 'The 1849 Settlers in Natal', which was published in *The South African Journal of Economics* for September, 1949.

Grahamstown,
August, 1955.

PERCIVAL R. KIRBY

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Once more I am glad to pay tribute to the National Council for Social Research of South Africa, which has, through its generous grant to me, enabled me to continue my study of the byways of South African history, of which the present volume represents a further contribution.

I am grateful to the Trustees of the South African Museum for giving me permission to transcribe and print the Andrew Smith material relative to his visit to Dingane in 1832, to Rhodes University for enabling me to photograph Smith's Natal Itinerary in the *Graham's Town Journal* of that year, and to the staff of the South African Public Library for generous help in many directions.

I would also express my gratitude to the Public Record Office in London for permission to reproduce the various documents preserved there as well as the two maps by Smith and Alexander.

Then I wish particularly to thank Professor H. M. Robertson, of the University of Cape Town, for putting me on the track of the activities of the South African Land and Emigration Association, and for giving me his own précis of the report of the Commissioners of Colonial Lands which is printed in full in this book.

To Mr. R. F. M. Immelman I am indebted for permission to quote from his book *Men of Good Hope: the romantic story of the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce, 1804-1954*; to Mr. Victor de Kock for the transcript of Sir Benjamin d'Urban's letter of 17th June, 1834; and to the late Mr. G. N. Mellor, of London, who on my behalf searched for and identified most of the material for Part III.

Finally, my thanks are again due to the Van Riebeeck Society for including this volume in their series of historical publications.

P.R.K.

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PART I

ANDREW SMITH'S VISIT TO DINGANE
1832

INTRODUCTION

There are in the history of South Africa few official expeditions about which less is known than that of Dr. Andrew Smith to the Zulu monarch, Dingane, in 1832. The reason for this probably lies in the fact that the real motive for the expedition, which had very far-reaching results, was as far as possible kept secret, and any official report that may have been made by its leader was either delivered verbally or, if written, was treated as confidential and therefore never made public. No official reference to it is to be found in either our South African Archives or in the Public Record Office in London, and no report of it exists in either institution.

Andrew Smith, no doubt acting on instructions, appears to have endeavoured to create the impression that his journey to Natal was being undertaken for scientific purposes only, and in this he certainly succeeded. For, apart from a few statements made by individuals who may at the time have divined that there was something 'in the wind', or to whom Smith may have privately confided the truth—statements which have been overlooked by most historians—he himself when publicly alluding to this particular expedition invariably emphasized the scientific discoveries which he had made while engaged upon it.¹

The very dates of the expedition have repeatedly been misstated, and it is perhaps quite natural that, when an historian of the authority of George McCall Theal should go astray in this respect, others, with less access to primary sources than he had, should also err. Theal,² in discussing the life and times of Dingane, stated categorically that Dr. Andrew Smith visited him in 1834, and actually quoted from his 'report'. This date is 'out' by two years, and the quotation is certainly not from Smith's report of this journey which, as I have said, is not to be found, but from a later document by Smith. Graham Mackeurtan,³ who seems to have suspected that there was something wrong, played for safety by saying that Smith left Grahamstown for Natal in January, 1832, and returned to Cape Town in 1834, and added that his report had not so far been discovered. Even Henry

Cloete,⁴ His Majesty's Commissioner for Natal, who ought to have known better, confused Smith's journey to Natal with his later great expedition to the north; and John Bird makes no mention of it at all except in so far as it was hinted at in the petition of Cape Town merchants which was submitted to the King in Council in 1834.⁵ Finally, J. C. Voigt⁶ produced an unbelievably muddled account of the whole affair.

The true facts about Smith's visit to Dingane in Natal are to be found scattered throughout a number of official communications, personal diaries, newspapers and the like which, so far as I know, have never before been collated. But even when this had been done it was evident that there were still many gaps left in the story, the most serious being the almost total lack in print of descriptions of Smith's experiences while on the expedition.

Fortunately, however, there are documents in existence which enable most of the gaps to be filled in. Foremost among these is the collection of autograph notes made by Smith during his journey and while in Natal. These are contained in one of the fourteen bound volumes of his unpublished manuscripts which I was lucky enough to trace to their present-day repository in the South African Museum in Cape Town in the early nineteen-thirties.⁷ It was upon the material contained in these notes that Smith must have based his report.

This material, which appears under a general title 'Notes relating to Natal', occupies ninety foolscap pages in the volume written on paper watermarked 1828. The notes are not set out in the form of a journal, but appear to have been made at various times 'in the field'. Some of them were written during the forward journey to Natal, some while Smith was there, and others during the return trip. They include information of all kinds about all the tribes that Smith met with while on the expedition, for he was not the man to lose such a heaven-sent opportunity of securing first-hand material which he could later use for comparative purposes.

There was, of course, no real 'road' to Natal. Apart from the rude trail that had been 'blazed' by the early nineteenth-century missionaries and a few stray travellers, and which had been followed wholly by Cowie and Green in 1828 and partially by Andrew Geddes Bain in 1829,⁸ there was nothing, and the enterprising explorer had to rely on such native guides as he

could get and on the advice given to him by such settlers as he might chance to meet on his way. But beyond the Umtata River there were no settlers, so that each individual who attempted the journey had to do so in almost complete ignorance of what was before him.

This is why Smith, who undoubtedly realized that Natal had a great future—an opinion by no means shared at that time by those in authority—was public-spirited enough to publish a detailed itinerary of the whole route from Grahamstown to Port Natal for the benefit of anyone who might wish to undertake the journey.⁹

For us this is indeed fortunate, but by another stroke of good luck we have been vouchsafed a parallel account of the same journey which is complementary to that of Smith. This occurs in a manuscript diary, written in German, by a certain Carl Friedrich Drège, who, with his brother Johann Frantz, combined the occupations of itinerant apothecary and professional museum collector.¹⁰ These two men, who had for long intended to visit Natal, discovered while on their way thither, and just before they reached Uitenhage, on 10th December, 1831, that Andrew Smith, who was at that time at Port Elizabeth, was also about to trek to the eastward, apparently in order to collect natural history specimens. Elated by the idea of being able to accompany a brother scientist, Carl Friedrich rode to Port Elizabeth on 15th December to appeal to Smith for permission to join forces with him and go with him to Natal, and Smith immediately acceded to his request. It says much for Smith's discretion that there is not the slightest hint of the real reason for his mission in the Drège diary, in which there is a wealth of detail on most other matters.

The Drège brothers spent four days at the 'Bay' in purchasing supplies for the journey, and on the evening of 19th December they set out for Grahamstown in order to call on the Civil Commissioner for Albany and obtain his sanction for them to proceed over the border. On 27th December Carl Friedrich showed his passport to the magistrate, and was dumbfounded to learn that, since smallpox had broken out at Theopolis, an outpost of the London Missionary Society, ordinary travellers had been forbidden to cross the frontier. His only hope, therefore, lay with Dr. Smith, who had 'a special pass from the Government at

Cape Town' to enable his party to go to Natal. When Smith arrived in Grahamstown, he himself saw the Civil Commissioner, and had the Drèges' passports suitably endorsed. But not immediately. Since it was the beginning of the New Year, 1832, Grahamstown was, then as now, very quiet, many important officials, including the Civil Commissioner, being away. However, the Drèges must have been assured by Smith that all would be well, for they set out for the eastward on 7th January, making for the farm on the Cap River belonging to the elder Cawood, whose three sons had gone to Natal as traders, and thence to the Great Fish River, which they crossed at Trumpeter's Drift, meeting Smith's party at noon on 10th January. From that date onwards the two itineraries run parallel with each other.

With typical Teutonic thoroughness Carl Friedrich entered in his diary not only all the stages of the forward journey, but also those of the return one, and, in addition, recorded a number of events which occurred during the trek which Smith naturally omitted from his published itinerary. Among these are particulars of the personnel and equipment of the party and of individuals whom they met on the way.¹¹ By combining the two itineraries an excellent idea is obtained of the nature of the road which was for years to be the standard route to Natal until superseded by our modern highway which, nevertheless, often follows the old and well-tried trail.

Smith's information about the native peoples which is contained in his 'field notes' is both interesting and valuable. Some of it he undoubtedly collected himself with the help of interpreters. But the bulk of the material which concerns the Zulu he acquired, either in conversation or from written notes, from Henry Francis Fynn, the pioneer of Natal. And in this connection it is important to realize that whereas the manuscript notes from which Fynn's published diary¹² was compiled were not the actual ones made in the early eighteen-twenties, but were rewritten by Fynn from memory after the originals had been buried in the grave of his brother 'Frank',¹³ those which were examined and in part copied by Andrew Smith were unquestionably the first drafts.

Apart from the passages relating to Natal which Smith obtained from Fynn, there are several in the manuscript which are manifestly from another source. These appear to have come

from the journal of Francis George Farewell. Since, apart from one or two quotations, this journal has not come to light, the preservation of even considerable fragments of it is eminently desirable.

Smith's notes, however, were not written down in chronological order, though sections of them are occasionally in sequence. He seems to have collated them roughly for binding, and subsequently to have added the pagination. But he never wrote them up for publication, as he did many of his other notes. This is proved by the fact that, when he made use of any of his rough material, he invariably cancelled the pages he used by a bent line drawn down them.¹⁴ Such cancellation lines occur only on a dozen of the ninety pages of his 'Notes relating to Natal'.

Smith's visit to Dingane influenced the course of South African history in several directions. In the first place, he had with him as a member of his party a young man named Hermanus Barry,¹⁵ the son of an English father and a Dutch mother. This young man was so enthralled by the verdure of the well-watered 'Garden Colony' that he exclaimed: 'Almighty! I have never in my life seen such a fine place. I shall never again reside in the Colony if the English Government makes this a Drosdy.'¹⁶ And it is also clear that Barry's views must have reached the leaders of the famous Uys family, for some time after this they decided to trek to Natal, and practically followed in the footsteps of the adventurous medico and his party.¹⁷ So much for the material. Now for the history of the expedition on which it was collected.

From the year 1824 various individuals had appealed to the Governor of the Cape for permission to trade in Natal, alleging that it was the wish of the natives that commercial intercourse should be established with the Colony. But at the end of November, 1830, Captain Duncan Campbell, the Civil Commissioner of Albany, wrote to Sir Lowry Cole, informing him that John Cane, a resident of Port Natal, accompanied by a youth named Thomas Holstead, and seven Zulu, had come to Grahamstown as a deputation from Dingane, with four elephant tusks as a present 'to the Colonial Government' (for which he expected a gift in return), and a message to the effect that the chief wished to live at peace with neighbouring natives, to enter into trade with the Colony, and to receive a missionary who

might instruct his people. About the same time Captain Campbell received similar information of the supposed wishes of Dingane from two traders from Natal named Collis and Biddulph, with whom he was 'well acquainted', and this also he made known to the Governor.¹⁸

On receiving this news Sir Lowry wrote to the Colonial Office in London, informing the British Government of it. He pointed out that normally he was 'not disposed to give credence to reports of this nature', but that he was so impressed with the opinions on the matter which had been expressed by Captain Campbell that he asked for official permission 'to send some person in whose judgment I can place full confidence, and one who can have no interested motive for deceiving the Government, to ascertain the real wishes of Dingaan, the Zulu Chief, as well as the nature and capabilities of his country'.¹⁹

In due course the desired permission was granted, and Dr. Andrew Smith, the individual whom Sir Lowry Cole undoubtedly had had in mind, was instructed privately to get ready to visit the Natal despot. Since I have not been able to discover any hint of written instructions given to Smith by the Governor, I expect that his orders were verbal and, of course, confidential. He must have been advised to 'keep his own counsel', both on the road and in Natal, and doubtless because of this he kept his scientific work well to the fore. The reason why Sir Lowry Cole chose Smith for this particular service will, I think, be found in a letter which the doctor wrote to him in 1829, and which is reproduced in the appendix to this book.

On his return to the Colony, Smith must have reported officially to the Governor, but whether verbally or in writing we have now no means of knowing. But everyone in Cape Town must have heard a good deal about his journey, and have become acquainted with his views about Natal and its possibilities, for the interest aroused thereby grew to such an extent that, in the early part of 1834, one hundred and ninety merchants and other residents of the town drew up and signed a 'memorial' to be transmitted to His Majesty the King in Council, petitioning that steps should be taken for the setting up of 'a Government establishment at Port Natal, with an adequate military force for the protection of the trade with that place'. The memorial contained nine clauses, in the seventh of which Dr. Smith's visit to Natal

was mentioned. Further, the petitioners invited Smith to prepare an historical précis which should accompany their 'memorial', and this he did, writing a concise commentary upon each of the nine clauses in turn. This précis was dated 6th May, 1834.²⁰ There is no doubt that Smith anticipated the move, for on 20th May, 1833, he had sought and obtained the permission of the Governor to examine the records contained in the office of the Civil Commissioner of Swellendam, as he was 'engaged in compiling a history of this Colony'.²¹

It is Smith's précis that has usually been regarded as his official report on his visit to Dingane, which it certainly is not, the date alone being sufficient proof of this. But it nevertheless contains material which was acquired by Smith during that visit; and it is likely that it enshrines the opinions of Natal which he must have previously expressed to the Governor who had sent him thither.

Sir Lowry Cole, however, had in the interim been succeeded by Sir Benjamin d'Urban, and he it was who forwarded the 'memorial' to London. Needless to say, nothing came of it. But an interesting sequel to both Smith's visit to Dingane and to his support of the merchants' 'memorial' was suggested by his nephew, Alexander Michie, in a short biography of Sir Andrew which he wrote in 1876. There he stated that when, in 1842, the Colonial Office eventually decided to form a colony in Natal, 'the position of Lieutenant-Governor was offered in the first instance to Dr. Smith, which, however, he deemed it to be his duty to decline'.²²

NOTES

1. See, for example, *The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette*, 1st August, 1833.
2. Theal, G. M., *History of South Africa since 1795* (Allen and Unwin, Fifth Edition), ii, London, 1926, p. 338 and f.n.
3. Mackeurtan, G., *The Cradle Days of Natal*, London, 1930, pp. 169-70.
4. Cloete, H., *Five Lectures*, etc., Cape Town, 1856, pp. 61-2.
5. Bird, J., *Annals of Natal* (reprint), i, p. 254.
6. Voigt, J. C., *Fifty Years of the History of the Republic* etc., London, 1899, i, pp. 204-7.
7. See V.R.S. 20, p. 12. The particular volume is No. 14, 'Memoranda'.
8. See V.R.S. 30, pp. 79-124.
9. *Graham's Town Journal*, 24th August, 1832.
10. See the author's 'Early Professional Museum Collectors in South Africa' in *South African Museums Association Bulletin*, ii, No. 16, pp. 393-401, Durban, 1942.

11. I am indebted to the late Mrs. Rosenbrock-Drège, grand-daughter of Carl Friedrich Drège, for photostatic copies of the section of the diary which deals with the journey to Port Natal and back, and for a draft translation of it.
12. [Fynn, H. F.], *The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn*, ed. Stuart, J., and Malcolm, D. McK., Pietermaritzburg, 1950.
13. [Fynn, H. F.], *op. cit.*, p. xii.
14. See V.R.S. 20, Plate I.
15. Not 'William Berg', as in [Fynn, H. F.], *op. cit.*, pp. 311-12.
16. *House of Commons Papers*, for 1835, No. 252, pp. 99-100.
17. Since it is generally stated, and without authority, that the Uys 'Commissie' set out from Uitenhage in February, 1834 (e.g. by Preller in his *Voortrekker-mense*), it is desirable that the correct date, 8th September, 1834, should be recorded here (see Cape Archives, C.O. 771, Letters Received, Uitenhage and George, 1835, No. 84, declaration of P. L. Uys). The Uys party had asked for official permission to leave the Colony temporarily for trading purposes, and this had been granted.
18. Bird, J., *op. cit.*, i, p. 196.
19. *ibid.*, pp. 195-6.
20. *ibid.*, pp. 252-69.
21. Cape Archives, C.O. 704, No. 35.
22. See V.R.S. 20, p. 17.

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NATAL ITINERARY

When Dr. Andrew Smith sent his 'Natal Itinerary' to the editor of the *Graham's Town Journal*, he sent with it a covering letter in which he explained his motives for submitting it for publication.

Port Elizabeth,

13 August, 1832.

Dear Mr. Editor,

In forwarding you the accompanying Itinerary for insertion in the *Graham's Town Journal*, I wish it clearly to be understood that it has been constructed solely for the use of persons who may be about to visit Natal, and who may be ignorant of the nature of the road, and of what is necessary to enable them to travel it with safety, comfort and convenience. From a perusal of it they will be enabled to form a pretty accurate idea of the distance they will have to travel; of the character of the road; of the difficulties they will have to encounter, and of the means best calculated to overcome them. They will see that they must not trust for every article of diet to the Caffers; that they must be particular in the selection of articles for traffic; and that, though in the land of savages, they have ample opportunities of having injuries avenged whenever such are properly represented. They will moreover perceive that the utmost caution is necessary to guard against thefts, and that a watch during the night is of the greatest importance. They will find that the road between the Umzimvooboo and Natal offers much at any time to try the patience, but that it is particularly harassing if travelled during the rainy season, namely between September and April. The latter circumstance naturally will direct to the months of May, June, July and August; and if the journey be made during any part of those, fewer delays and difficulties will be experienced

than at any other time. The Colony ought to be left towards the end of the first quarter of a moon, for reasons which will appear evident to the traveller during his progress.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,
Andrew Smith, M.D.

Smith's Itinerary contains nothing of his observations of native life; these are to be found in his unpublished manuscript notes. The Drège diary, on the other hand records not only the route followed by the party, but occasional descriptions of noteworthy occurrences. The two itineraries are therefore complementary to each other. Again, Smith confines himself to the forward journey, whereas the Drèges add particulars of the return trip. The latter circumstance enables us to know the exact time spent on the expedition.

The scientific work accomplished by both Smith and the Drège brothers during this journey will be found in various zoological and botanical publications, and will not be considered here.

Jan 8. Forenoon. Travelled 6 and a half hours, or 19 and a half miles; halted N.W. of Caffer Clay Pitts¹—A small portion of the latter part of the road, consisting of the descent from the hilly range that extends to the eastward of the Governor's Kop,² very bad—the rest all good.

Afternoon. Travelled half an hour, or 1 and a half mile; halted at New Clay Pitts—Road good, rained early in the afternoon. Travellers would do well to halt upon such occurrences, in order to guard against the oxen suffering from abrasions or inflammations of the neck, which more or less are always occasioned by the friction of wet yokes. When such delays are inadmissible, and the oxen become sufferers from either or both of the complaints just stated, care ought to be taken to have the affected parts well rubbed with tar and fat upon outspanning, and if, as sometimes happens, great swellings occur, the oxen so circumstanced must be permitted to travel loose for a time, else the formation of matter will commonly be the result.

Jan. 8. Drove 7 hours to Kap River.³ Beside this river lives the old weak Cawood.⁴ On asking him the way, we by chance got to know that four of his sons had travelled to Port Natal, and were trading there with the natives. I promised to look them up and give them his greetings. Rain this morning.

9. *Forenoon.* Travelled 6 hours, or 18 miles, halted at Trum-peter's Drift⁵—Independent of the long and gradual descent to the Fish River, there are, besides, several short and steep ascents and descents in the course of the road, but none of them offer any particular difficulties. The river, where it is crossed, flows over a nearly horizontal sheet of rock, that in some places is rather irregular from the disintegration of portions of the strata. The eastern edge of the stream is margined by a sort of quagmire, which is not to be crossed without caution, and occasionally not without much trouble.

9. We drove 4½ hours this morning,

Afternoon. Travelled one hour, or 3 miles; halted at a small river—Road good. Unless during rain or soon after it, water will seldom be found nearer than six hours from this. It will, therefore, be advisable, particularly as the ascent from hence to the flats above is long, and, in many places steep, to leave this river in the morning, or at least on the same day that the descent to the Fish River has been effected.

and in the afternoon 4½ hours to the Visch River. Rain in the morning.

10. *Forenoon.* Travelled 2 and a half hours, or 7 and a half miles; halted at the flats—In a wooded ravine immediately to the right of the road, after reaching the flat country, a small quantity of water was found, but not sufficient to furnish drink for the oxen. The road in many places is much broken, and the ascent is long, and in places rather steep.

10. Half hour to Trompetter's Drift. Ascended the hill for 2½ hours until we reached a plateau,

Afternoon. Travelled three and a quarter hours, or 9 and three quarter miles; halted at Buck Kraal⁶—Road very good, water abundant. Caffers inhabit this part of the neutral territory, and many visited our wagons for the purpose of begging, as well as for bartering corn and milk. Yellow ball buttons and thick brass wire were the articles which procured us most readily the supplies we required. Some desired beads, but they were so particular as to their tints and shapes, that it was scarcely possible to please them; and hence we found all but those which were in exact accordance with the fashion of the moment, of but little value. Dark coloured handkerchiefs, of the most common quality, as well as knives and tinder boxes were also asked for.

Though the traveller would do well to supply himself with a small quantity of the various articles mentioned, yet the buttons and wire ought to constitute the principal stock, as he will find that they are the staple articles for barter throughout all Cafferland. On the north of the road, close to the Clusi River,⁷ is the house of a trader.

and in the afternoon, between 3 and 4, we met Dr. Schmidt, Minting, a soldier and servant of Dr. Schmidt, a good shot and a taxidermist. Terrie, a soldier and servant of Mr. Edie, William Parkins, a young Englishman in the company of Dr. Schmidt, five Hottentots. Hermanus Barry, a trader (whose father was an Englishman) and four Hottentots (he was born at the Cape), Frantz and I and four Hottentots.⁸

2 wagons (Dr. Schmidt) — 24 oxen,
 1 do. (Herm. Barry) — 14 do.
 1 do. (mine) — 14 do.
 5 horses belonging to Dr. Schmidt, Mr. Edie and W. Parkins, Geduld (my horse), Frantz's horse, and several dogs.

Watches (see the 12th)

1st watch	Dr. Smith and Mr. Edie	10.30 to 12.30.
2nd watch	C. F. Drège and J. F. Drège	12.30 to 2.30.
3rd watch	Minting and Terrie	2.30 to 4.30.
4th watch	Parkins and Barry	4.00 to daylight.

We drove 3½ hours until we reached a Kaffer kraal.

11. *Forenoon.* Travelled 3 and a half hours, or 10 and a half miles; halted on the flats—Descent to the Keiskamma gradual, and the road pretty good: river is crossed with difficulty from the great number of large stones that occur in the drift.⁹ Ascent from the river steep, but the road good; water in most of the ravines immediately before reaching the flats, and during or soon after the fall of rain, fleys occur close to the road.

Afternoon. Travelled 2 and a quarter hours, or 6 and three quarter miles; halted on the flats—Road very good, some slight ascents. It is only during the rainy season, that this can be made a halting place; in the dry season it will be necessary to travel at least an hour farther before outspanning.

11. Early in the morning 1½ hours through Keiskama Drift. About 2 hours to the first kraals of Kafferland. On the left the high Chumie mountains.¹⁰ Thunderstorm at midday. We drove past the kraals (Kaffer huts), giving them a wide berth. The Kaffers came running in front and at the back of the wagons to exchange sour milk in

baskets for our wares. From afar echoed their cry 'basela' (give me a present).¹¹ When we outspanned we soon had a Kaffer market around us, with milk in baskets and Kaffercorn. They are tireless in their begging. In the afternoon [we drove] 2¼ hours, and outspanned in a valley near a kloof above the Chalumys River.¹²

12. *Forenoon.* Travelled 4 hours, or 12 miles; halted at the Buffalo River—Road in general very good. Two or three small streams, flowing over rough rocky beds, require to be passed. The ford of the Buffalo River, where it is crossed, is thickly strewed with large stones.¹³ Here we endeavoured to purchase an ox or cow for slaughter, but could not succeed. They demanded most enormous prices, and even when acceded to, they never produced the cattle. Travellers desirous of having a regular supply of butcher's meat, ought to provide themselves with cows, before leaving the Colony; because there is little chance of getting them from the Caffers, particularly if it be necessary to enquire for them. A trader resides here, and the London Missionary Society has also an institution below the drift.

12. Last night we kept our first watch, always one Christian and 2 Hottentots changing every two hours. Our watch was the second, up to 2.30 o'clock every other night. Yesterday it was rumoured that a neighbouring kraal intended attacking us, so we watched. This morning, however, we found out that the Kaffers had left before us. The kraal was empty. A little rain. We drove 4 hours to the Buffels River. Here there is a mission station of the London Society (Messrs. Brownlee and Kayser) at the foot of the Chumie Mountains.

13. [At the Buffalo River].

13. Dr. Schmidt is waiting for an interpreter. He gave me a letter from the government about the bontebok. The fine (license) of each hunter has been reduced.

14. [At the Buffalo River].

14. Black clouds threatening. Hot.

15. [*Forenoon:* At Buffalo River].

15. Had a visit from a Kaffer Captain, Jacob.¹⁴ He has been baptised by the missionaries. He was covered with lice. Kafferland is rich in grass and is even now pretty green; there are wide expanses of it. The valleys are covered with trees and there are but few steep roads. The rivers have water in plenty, though the smaller ones are not running at present. The water has already dried up in the low-lying

areas. The Buffel River has the greatest supply of water just now. In the valleys and on the slopes of the mountains are many Kaffer kraals and gardens.

Afternoon. Travelled 2 and a half hours, or 7 and a half miles; halted at Yellow Wood River¹⁵—Ascent from the Buffalo River short and gentle, road very good. Fine water and grass at halting place.

In the afternoon we drove 2½ hours to Kachu—also Encho or Geelhout River. The rain prevented us from going further.

16. [*Forenoon:* At Yellow Wood River].

In the afternoon. Travelled 3 and a quarter hours, or 9 and three quarter miles; halted near a trader's—Road very good, water only found here during the rainy season; some throughout the whole year at the trader's residence which we passed nearly a mile [away].

16. Rain all night.

In the afternoon we drove 3¼ hours, and outspanned at a wood.

17. *Forenoon.* Travelled 3 and a quarter hours, or 9 and three quarter miles; halted at a river—Road good, with the exception of two rocky drifts, near the halting place; abundance of water and grass.

17. In the morning 3¼ hours to Zandplaats¹⁶ on a river. A deserted Kaffer kraal.

Afternoon. Travelled 5 hours, or 15 miles; halted at a river—Road good, with the exception of the ascent of a low hill, which is rough and stony.

In the afternoon we drove through the river, ascending continually, thereafter descending to Komgha;¹⁷ 5 hours.

18. *Forenoon.* Travelled 5 and a half hours, or 16 and a half miles; halted at the Kei River¹⁸—Road pretty good, excepting the latter part of the descent to the river, which is stony and rocky. After reaching the bed of the stream, the road extends downwards for a little distance along its western edge before crossing, which is accomplished with difficulty, on account of the great number of large stones that are everywhere strewed in the drift, and which cause the oxen frequently to fall.

18. In the morning we descended for 5½ hours to the Kei River, and outspanned on the river bank. It is one of the largest rivers in South Africa. The grass is still nice and green.

19. *Forenoon.* Travelled 1 and a half hours, or 4 and a half miles; halted at the flats—One or two deep gullies occur in the course of the road, otherwise it is good; but the ascent is in places very steep, and from its tortuosity and length, it is very fatiguing for the oxen. Water in the ravines to the right and left of the road, before reaching the flats.¹⁹ At this halting place one of my iron rem-schoens was stolen by the Caffers. To guard against such occurrences, travellers would do well, never to permit Caffers to come close to their waggons, particularly as they are always anxiously looking out for iron. Before journeying into Cafferland means ought always to be adopted for preventing the linchpins from being carried off, whereby serious accidents have occurred.

19. 1½ hours uphill in the morning. Outspanned on top of some Kaffer kraals.

Afternoon. Travelled 1 hour, or three miles; halted at a trader's residence²⁰—Road good, with several slight ascents. Mr. Jolly, a trader, resides here, and as we had not been able to obtain a cow from the Caffers, he was good enough to sell us one. From the number of traders now actually resident in Cafferland, every article fitted for bartering with the natives, can be readily purchased, at least as far as the Imtata River, and at but a trifling advance upon the Graham's Town prices.

In the afternoon, one hour further, until we arrived at a Kaffer trader. Here Dr. Schmidt bought oxen for the company, for which each wagon had to pay its share. The meat was divided into heaps and distributed.

20. [*Forenoon:* at Mr. Jolly's residence].

Afternoon. Travelled 5 hours, or 15 miles; halted at a trader's residence—First part of the road rather bad, a deep ravine to be crossed, the ascent rough and rocky.

20. Drove 5 hours in the afternoon.

21. *Forenoon.* Travelled half an hour, or 1 and a half mile; halted at Butterworth Institution—Road very good; this is a Wesleyan missionary station, and also a trader's residence. A regular post goes, and returns from Graham's Town, once every month.

21. In the morning [we drove] ½ an hour to 'Gaikau ('Gelau) Aftrek or Middeldoortrek,²¹ a mission station and the seat of the Kaffer chief

Heinza.²² He has 8 regular wives and several concubines; 30 children. He is an elderly man and rich in cattle. Here live the children of the murdered Lochenberg.²³

22. [At Butterworth].

22. Dr. Schmidt unloaded his 'schuit' [a kind of trailer].

23. *Forenoon*. Travelled $2\frac{3}{4}$ hours, or 8 and a quarter miles; halted at a Caffer kraal—First part of the road middling, rest very good. Water in a fine valley to the right of the road.²⁴ Wood is here very scarce, and to avoid delay and inconvenience, some ought to be carried in the wagon.

23. Drove $2\frac{3}{4}$ hours.

Afternoon. Travelled 2 and a quarter hours, or 6 and 3 quarter miles—Road very good.

In the afternoon up and down a difficult road. Outspanned on the heights.

24. *Forenoon*. Travelled 3 hours, or 9 miles—Road good.

24. In the morning 3 hours downhill. Outspanned at a kraal.

Afternoon. Travelled 1 and a half hour, or 4 and a half miles. Road good.

Drove $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours in the evening. Severe thunderstorm and rain.

25. *Forenoon*. Travelled 5 and a half hours, or 16 and a half miles; halted at Bashee Drift²⁵—Road good, descent to the river long and gradual. The Caffers here are very troublesome and great thieves; so far as this, there is not the least difficulty in discovering the road, it being as distinctly marked as almost any public road in the Colony.

25. Rain at night. [Drove] $5\frac{1}{2}$ hours to Baschi. The river is full and has a strong current.

26. [At Bashee River].

26. Raining.

27. [At Bashee River].

27. Cloudy. We slaughtered a cow which a Kaffer trader had given us.

28. [At Bashee River].

28. Cloudy.

29. [At Bashee River].

29. Stormy weather.

30. [Forenoon: At Bashee River].

Afternoon. Travelled half an hour, or 1 and a half miles—The ford by which the river is crossed, is very strong, and some large rocks project in several places, which renders the driver's task far from an easy one. At this place considerable trouble is often experienced before getting through the gardens, which lie along the edges of the rivers; and the Caffers are even in the habit of sowing directly in the road, so as to have an excuse for exacting something from travellers. A little determination must be evinced, and that will soon overcome every obstacle. As soon as they become aware that it is known to their visitors, that the Caffers themselves consider it the king's road, ever since the commando passed, they no longer claim the right to inclose or cultivate it. During the summer season this river is very often impassable for weeks together.

30. In the afternoon some fine rain. We drove $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour through the river, which came over the planks of the wagon. We outspanned across the river.

31. *Forenoon*. Travelled 1 and a half hour, or 4 and a half miles; halted at a river—Road moderately good, except where it approaches and crosses the small river where we halted. Grass here rather indifferent.

31. Dr. Schmidt bought 2 small cows and a large calf this morning, which, when we have returned, will be paid for 'in natura' in Grahams-town, or at 12 Rds. We drove for $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours through the Tscheschala River.²⁶

Afternoon. Travelled 3 and a half hours, or 10 and a half miles; halted at a river—Road good.

In the afternoon we drove for $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours, and outspanned at a small river. Rain in the evening.

Feb. 1. Forenoon. Travelled 2 hours, or 6 miles; halted on the flats—Road good, some attention is now required to follow it.

Feb. 1. Drove 3 hours in the morning.

Afternoon. Travelled 2 and three quarter hours or 8 and a quarter miles; halted on the flats—Road good, slightly undulating.

[Drove] 5 hours in the afternoon. Outspanned near a small river near a sea-cow's hole.

2. *Forenoon*. Travelled 2 hours, or 6 miles; halted on the flats—Road good.

Afternoon. Travelled 1 and a half hours, or 4 and a half miles; halted on the flats—Road good.

2. [Drove] 1½ hours to the mission station Male²⁷ on the heights of the 'Nu River.²⁸

3. *Forenoon*. Travelled 2 and a half hours, or 7 and a half miles; halted at the Imtata River²⁹—The banks of the Imtata River are rather high, but the descent is gradual, and for some distance it is necessary to travel along the banks of a subsidiary stream,³⁰ and through clumps of thick bush. Several small tribes inhabit this part of the country, and as they are generally ill disposed towards each other, and even some of them not particularly friendly to strangers, it will be prudent to observe particular caution in passing through them.

3. [Drove] 3 hours until we had crossed a small river. Drove back, as Male lies far off the road, and only Dr. Schmidt wished to go there.

Afternoon No entry].

In the afternoon we outspanned at a height.

4. [At Morley .

4. In the morning we for 2½ hours descended a steep hill, with brakes on 2 back and 1 front wheels.

Afternoon [we drove] 2½ hours until through the Omtata River,³¹ after we had crossed several small but bad drifts.

5. *Forenoon*. Travelled 2 and three quarter hours, or 8 and a quarter miles; halted on the flats. Descent long and gradual, most of the road good; some places rocky, and in other places through thick bush or long grass. Water in the ravines, just before reaching the flats.

5. Morning 2¾ hours up to the heights of the Omtata.

Afternoon. Travelled 5 and a quarter hours, or 15 and three quarter miles; halted at a river—Road generally good, and mostly over an undulating country. One river with steep banks was passed during the latter part of the day, and another, close to which we halted, was approached by a rather steep descent. The wagon road could now scarcely be distinguished.

In the afternoon, 5¼ hours to Tagatu.³² Outspanned at a small river.

6. *Forenoon*. Travelled 4 hours, or 16 miles. Halted at Turvey's Bush³³—Ascent from river gradual, on reaching the flats the road winds considerably, but is very good, unless at the halting place, where there is some marshy ground to pass.

6. 4 hours in the morning. Here we again saw the sea. The heights here too are abundant with grass.

Afternoon. Travelled 4 hours, or 16 miles; halted at the Bunting Institution.³⁴ From Turvey's Bush the country slants gradually off to the valley in which the Amapondas principally reside. The road is tolerably good, except near to the waterfall, which lies about a mile and a half to the westward of the Institution. The Rev. Mr. Boyce who resides at Bunting, has lately discovered a better tract for a wagon road, and by adopting it, the distance will not only be considerably shortened, but the bad road just alluded to will be effectually avoided. As the wagons of the institution now travel it, their traces will be discoverable where they join the old road, nearly where it takes a northerly direction towards Turvey's Bush.

Afternoon: 4 hours through bad, deep gorges. Through the Omgasana River to a mission station.

7. [At Bunting].

7. Dr. Schmidt and the missionary teacher rode to the Kaffer Chief Faco to greet him, and to ask permission to go through his territory.³⁵ They were not able to speak to him, and it is probable that he hid himself. At noon, thunderstorm and rain.

8. [At Bunting].

8. [No entry].

9. *Afternoon*. Travelled 3 hours, or 9 miles; halted at a river. Three small streams require to be passed, the road at the two first is very bad, and the ascent, at least from the second, is very steep. Several other parts of the road are bad, and all the caution of the driver will often be required to guard against accidents.

9. Hot. In the afternoon, 3 hours up and down steep hills to a kraal belonging to Faco's Kaffers.

10. *Forenoon*. Travelled 2 and a half hours, or 7 and a half miles; halted at Faco's kraal³⁶—The road passes over the tops of some small hills, and along the sides of others, and the descents from one or two are very steep, so as to require two wheels to be

locked, and if the wagon be heavily loaded, a fore wheel ought to be one of them. Near to this, the principal chief's kraal, two Caffers were detected attempting to steal oxen from the wagons of a trader during the night.

10. $1\frac{3}{4}$ hours heavy road up a hill. Outspanned near one of the kraals of Facó's Caffers. On another $\frac{3}{4}$ hour to Facó's residence. A great number of round straw huts are here clustered together. Dr. Schmidt, Mr. Edie and others brought the Kaffer Chief a present of beads, yellow buttons and other things.

Afternoon. Travelled two hours, or 6 miles. The descent from Facó's kraal to the Great Umgaza River is steep, and the road rather bad. The crossing of the river is effected with considerable difficulty in consequence of the number and size of the stones which cover its bed, as well as its immediate banks.³⁷ The ascent from thence towards the mountain range, which forms the western walls of the Umzimvooboo River, is gradual. Some deep ravines require to be passed, and the ascent from one of them, at least, is so steep that a single span of oxen, with even a moderate load, will with difficulty pull a wagon up.

In the afternoon we drove 2 hours, firstly through the Kaffers' gardens planted with vegetables and Kaffercorn, and then over a difficult road for the oxen.

11. *Forenoon.* Travelled 2 hours, or 4 miles; halted on the top of a range—Ascent rather steep, and road bad. After crossing the top of the ridge, the first part of the descent is very steep. After that is effected, the road extends for some distance along the sides of the mountains, and is in some places extremely bad.

11. Drove almost all day, and got hardly an hour further on, partly [because of the] bad road and [partly because we] drove in a circle.

Afternoon. Travelled 1 hour, or 1 mile—Descent very steep, and in one place the road is along the side of a hill, and with such a slope that the wagons require to be kept from overturning by means of riems attached to their upper sides, and strongly pulled by eight or ten persons. Three wheels require to be locked during most of the descent, and even then there is great danger, as the road is in such a situation that if the wheels deviate but a few inches from the regular tract, all would be destroyed. This portion of the road might perhaps be better and more safely effected by removing the two hinder wheels, and fixing under

the axil a quantity of bushes, thus allowing the wagon only to run upon the fore ones.

Outspanned on the last height before the Omsomwoebo. The river is full.³⁸

12. [On the heights above the Umzimvubu].

12. [No entry].

13. [On the heights above the Umzimvubu].

13. [No entry].

14. [On the heights above the Umzimvubu].

14. For 3 days [we have had] storms, rain and dull weather.

15. *Forenoon.* Travelled half an hour, or three quarters of a mile, halted on east bank of river. Descent from the halting place to the river steep and rugged, in one place three wheels require to be locked. The crossing of this river requires great caution, particularly if it is at all flooded; the road, till near the eastern bank, is directly across, and then in a direction down the stream for nearly three hundred yards. The latter direction is unavoidably pursued in consequence of the banks opposite, where it is necessary to approach the river, not being passable. When we crossed the oxen had all to swim, the water reached considerably above the sides of the wagons, and the strength of the stream nearly carried one away.³⁹

15. [No entry for the forenoon].

Afternoon. Travelled 1 and a half hour, or 4 and a half miles. First part of ascent pretty gradual, except in one or two places where for short distances it is very abrupt. There is no regular road, and it is necessary to pursue a winding course through a scattered bush; all the time great care is required to avoid the trees.⁴⁰ Water is found in the bottoms of the deep ravines which occur on both sides of the ridge along which it is necessary to travel.⁴¹

In the afternoon drove down to the river, crossed it, and outspanned on a hill near a Kaffer kraal. Got the wagons through safely but all the goods got wet. The water came well over the ladder steps of the wagons, and the oxen had to swim for an hour. When we had been $\frac{1}{2}$ hour in the water, and were almost on the other side, we drifted down stream and managed to get out at a good place. In the evening we followed the other wagons but outspanned by ourselves some distance from the others.

16. [Encamped].

16. Drove for $\frac{1}{2}$ hour, and outspanned beside the other three wagons. Fine weather for drying the wet things. Heavy thunderstorm in the evening.

17. *Forenoon*. Travelled 3 and a half hours, or 10 and a half miles; halted at a river⁴²—After an hour and a half's travelling the summit of the range which forms the eastern walls of the Umzimvooboo was reached; the ascent was in some places rather steep, but the road was everywhere good. From the top of this range the country slopes off to the eastward. At first the descent is steep, and requires two wheels to be locked, but after that it is gradual, and the road, except where it approaches and passes the river, is good.

17. In the morning, $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours over a difficult road crossing hills, then down through a small river with a bad crossing.

Afternoon. Travelled 2 hours, or 6 miles; halted under a hill—Road extends along the top of a winding ridge, which stretches from the river to the heights above. The ascent is at first rather steep; but afterwards gradual, and nearly constant. In the kloof on each side of the ridge is water, and in those the grass was literally trampled flat by elephants. The vicinity of this spot would form a good hunting station.

In the afternoon, 2 hours over a difficult road.

18. *Forenoon*. Travelled 2 and a quarter hours, or 6 and three quarter miles; halted at a river—Road on starting extends along the side of a steep hill, and from the greatness of the slope, it is necessary to support wagons by means of riems attached to their upper sides, in order to prevent them overturning; the remainder of the road is good, except where it crosses the river, whose bed is rugged from projecting rocks and large loose stones.

18. In the morning, $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours up and down hills.

Afternoon. Travelled 3 and a quarter hours, or 9 and three quarter miles; halted on the flat—Several steep ascents are encountered in the first part of the road, which is along ridges with deep kloofs in each side of them, which are the haunts of numerous elephants. The latter part of the road extends over nearly a flat country; water in a wooded kloof to the south of the road, and everywhere fine grass.⁴³

Afternoon, $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours; low hills, on one of which we outspanned.

19. *Forenoon*. Travelled 3 and a quarter hours, or 9 and three quarter miles; halted on the flat—Road very good, a few trifling hollows require to be passed, elsewhere it is quite level. Water in a kloof to the north of the road, and also in a fley near to a small bush close to the road.

19. In the morning, $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours. Flat hills. Outspanned at a bush.

Afternoon. Travelled 3 hours, or 9 miles; halted at a waterfall⁴⁴—Road good. This halting place may be reached by two routes: the direction of the one is nearly east, till the precipitous banks of the Umsecaba come in view, when it changes to south; that of the other is a little to the east of south from the very starting place, and continues so with but little change till the waterfall river is discovered. The last is the shortest, but the river is not so easily passed.

Afternoon, 3 hours along the Omsomcaba.⁴⁵ Outspanned at a small river near a high waterfall, the river forming the fall. When it is running strongly it must be a magnificent sight.

20. [Forenoon: At the waterfall].

20. [Forenoon: At the waterfall].

Afternoon. Travelled 3 and a half hours, or 10 and a half miles; halted at bush on flat—Two portions of the road require attention, one a rugged stoney descent, soon after leaving the waterfall, and the other the descent from the tableland that lies on the south of the waterfall to the flats below. The last requires three wheels to be locked.

Afternoon, $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours not far from the Omsomcaba, towards the ocean.

21. [Forenoon: Encamped].

Afternoon. Travelled 4 and a half hours, or 13 and a half miles; halted at mouth of Umsecaba—Road winds in a north east direction, and is for the most part good. One small stream with a deep, marshy bed requires to be passed and that is not to be accomplished without considerable caution, and some difficulty during the rainy season.

21. Rain all night.

Drove $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours in the rain over wet plains and swamps to the height at the mouth of the Omsecaba.

22. [Forenoon: At Umsikaba mouth].

22. [Morning: At Umsikaba mouth].

Afternoon. Travelled 1 hour, or 3 miles; halted on the flats—The river is passed near to its confluence with the sea, and in order to effect that it is necessary to take advantage of low water, when wagons will for the most part be able to cross without the articles contained in them getting wet. The road extends close to the beach, and in several places is rather marshy; water and grass everywhere abundant. Here the traveller will find abundance of rietboks, orabies and tigers, also some bosch boks. The bed of the Umsecaba is fine sand; but the immediate approach to it is over large stones and rocks, which require to have the interstices between them filled up before wagons can pass over them.⁴⁶

In the afternoon, successfully crossed the mouth of the Omsomcaba. Proceeded for another hour to a height near the sea and outspanned.

23. *Forenoon.* Travelled 1 and 3 quarter hours, or 3 and a quarter miles; halted on the beach. Here we were forced to halt, as the water was too high to permit us to follow the road which was along the beach. Four rivers require to be passed, but the road in many places rugged from the number of rocks which almost everywhere project above the surface of the soil.

23. Morning, $1\frac{3}{4}$ hours along the sea across flat country, every $\frac{1}{4}$ hour a small river.

Afternoon. Travelled half an hour, or $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles; halted at Imlendo⁴⁷ [*sic*] River. Road good, mostly along the beach; one river to be passed. We afterwards found that it was possible to travel inland of the sandhills, and thereby completely avoid the beach.

Afternoon, $\frac{1}{2}$ hour from the beach to a small river, the Omtendo. It is too stormy and the river is too deep to drive through.

24. [*Forenoon: Encamped*].

Afternoon. Travelled half an hour, or $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles; halted E.N.E. of river.—This river even at low water is difficult to pass, and whatever is likely to suffer from getting wet, must be removed from the wagons, and conveyed across on men's shoulders, or by means of a raft or boat. The immediate approach to the stream⁴⁸ is very rugged and rocky, and the water when we passed (though the tide was out) rose above the sides of the wagon.

24. We bound together a raft to bring over the goods, some of them being carried over at a shallow place. In the afternoon, at low

tide, the wagons were driven through. The water reached over the wagon steps. We drove up a bad, rocky road, covered with large boulders, some of which the wagons managed to avoid, others they were compelled to pass over. Barry's wagon got up safely, but one of Dr. Schmidt's was half way up when the trek rope of the oxen broke; but the wagon came to a stop before a huge boulder, otherwise it would have fallen down the precipice. Our wagon and Dr. Schmidt's second one remained at the foot for the night.

25. *Forenoon.* Travelled 1 hour, or half mile; halted on flats.—The ascent from the bed of the river is short but steep, and extremely rugged. Though all the loose stones were removed by the people, yet the number and size of the rocks which projected in every direction, rendered it necessary to place two spans of oxen before each wagon, and even partly to unload one.

25. In the morning all successfully drove to the summit. Part of the trek rope was torn to pieces.

Afternoon. Travelled 3 and a half hours, or 10 and a half miles; halted at a river.—Crossed three rivers. Road good, though sand bars frequently form across the mouths of the smaller rivers, in consequence of which great accumulations of water take place, by which the road is completely interrupted. In such cases nothing remains but to open communications to the sea, and those if made only deep enough to permit a very small stream of water to flow, enlarge with such amazing rapidity, as to permit the proceeds of months to escape in a few hours.

Afternoon, $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours, most of the time along the beach. Through two rivers, and, as the third was too deep, we outspanned.⁴⁹

26. *Forenoon.* Travelled 1 hour, or three miles; halted at a river.—Several marshy spots occur in the course of the road. Three rivers were crossed, and in the bed of the last were several large rocks, which were with difficulty avoided by the wagons. The descent to this river was also very rugged.

Afternoon. Travelled 1 and a quarter hours, or 3 miles; halted at a river.—Road pretty good; some marshy spots to be crossed, and also two small rivers.

26. Took the empty wagon through the river, which was not deep. The load was unnecessarily carried through the river.

27. *Forenoon.* Travelled 3 and a quarter hours, or 9 and 3 quarter miles; halted at a river.—Road moderately good, and

in several places upon sand which the sea was actually washing; country broken, with many small hills; five rivers crossed.

27. Morning, 3¼ hours through 4 rivers.

Afternoon. Travelled 1 and a half hour, or 4 and a half miles; halted at a river.—Road good; two rivers crossed.

Afternoon, 1½ hours. Outspanned near a great river.⁵⁰ An Englishman⁵¹ and several Kaffers coming from Port Natal went past us.

28. *Forenoon.* Travelled 2 hours, or 6 miles; halted near river.—Road tolerably good. Several marshy spots occur, and three rivers require to be crossed; country still broken and hilly.

28. Morning, 2 hours.

Afternoon. Travelled 2 hours, or 5 miles; halted near river.—Road good, partly on the beach and partly inland. Several marshy places require to be crossed, and also four streams, two of some size, the other rather small.

Afternoon, 2 hours.

29. *Forenoon.* Travelled 2 hours, or 6 miles; halted near river.—Road in several places rather steep, otherwise good. Two rivers crossed.

29. Morning, 2 hours. Bad dangerous roads and through many rivers. Today we again dried goods that had been wet.

Afternoon. Travelled 2 hours, or 6 miles.—Three rivers require to be crossed; two of them have rocky beds, and from that circumstance are with difficulty passed.

Afternoon, drove 2 hours.

Mar. 1. Forenoon. Travelled 1½ hours, or 4 and a half miles.—Two rivers occur, the bed of one of them where the road crosses it is very rocky, and with some difficulty passed.

Mar. 1. Morning, 1½ hours. Barry's wagon fell down a sandy height at the mouth of a small river without being damaged.

Afternoon. Travelled 1 and a half hour, or 4 and a half miles; halted at a river.—Several ascents and descents, otherwise the road is very good. One river crossed.

Outspanned in the afternoon between the sea and the mouth of a river. Terrific thunderstorm. Today we shot our first elephant which ran across the road.

Drove only 1 hour.

2. *Forenoon.* Travelled 1 hour, or 3 miles; halted at a river.⁵²—Road along the beach upon loose sand. One river crossed.

[*Afternoon.* No separate entry; see entry for Mar. 3 in Drège.]

3. [No entry].

3. Practically everyone engaged in elephant hunting.

4. *Forenoon.* Travelled 1 and a half hour, or 4 and a half miles; halted at Umzimvoobo⁵³ [*sic*].—Road just inland of the sand hills, and good. Several marshy places occur, and one small river requires to be crossed.

4. Morning, 1½ hours to the mouth of the Omsomcoelo.

5. [No entry].

5. Again all the servants went elephant hunting to procure meat.

6. [No entry].

6. [No entry].

7. [No entry].

7. Made a raft, using the trek-rope to pull it through. We ought to be able to cross successfully. The river, however, is too broad and the current too strong.

In the afternoon we drove for 2 hours up the river in order to find a shallow place.

8. [No entry].

8. Returned in the morning, as we could not get through the thick bush.

9. [No entry].

9. [No entry].

10. [No entry].

10. Almost all the servants hunting elephants and hippos.

11. [No entry].

11. [No entry].

12. [No entry].

12. [No entry].

13. *Forenoon.* Travelled through a river⁵⁴ [*sic*].—When we arrived, the Umzimvoobo [*sic*], which is a large river, was flooded from inland rains; and after waiting for eight days we were forced to convey our baggage, etc., over upon a raft, and then drag the empty wagon across by means of two spans of

oxen. The passage of the river is always attended with considerable difficulties, and when it is not flooded it must be crossed close to the breakers, and at low water.

13. The empty wagons were drawn through early in the morning. Two capsized in the water without being damaged. The loads were taken over on a raft, the oxen swimming through. A sick ox of Barry's was drowned. In the afternoon everything was on the other side of the river.

14. *Forenoon.* Travelled 2 and 3 quarter hours, or 8 and a quarter miles; halted at a river.—Road near the coast, and over broken country; one bad drift, several marshy spots and six small rivers require to be crossed.

14. In the morning we drove from the narrow sandy peninsula for $2\frac{3}{4}$ hours and outspanned at the second river.

Afternoon. Travelled 3 hours, or 9 miles; halted near river.—Road pretty good, and over a broken country. Two rivers occur. The water at the ford where we passed the last rose to over the bottom of the wagon.⁵⁵ On returning, we found a good road a little higher up the river, which ought invariably to be followed.

Afternoon, another 3 hours.

15. *Forenoon.* Travelled 2 and a half hours, or 7 and a half miles.—Road partly along the beach. Where the course is inland, several marshy spots occur, and some bad drifts; country irregular and broken.

15. Morning, $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours.

Afternoon. Travelled 1 hour, or 3 miles; halted at a river.—Road over broken country, but pretty good; river could not be crossed near high water.⁵⁶

Afternoon, 1 hour to a small river. Outspanned on account of the depth of the water.

16. *Forenoon.* Travelled 2 hours, or 6 miles; halted at a river.—Three rivers crossed, the first one near to which we halted yesterday, may be passed either close to the breakers or a little way up. The immediate approach by both roads is rocky, but the upper one is best, particularly for wagons travelling to the westward. The road extends close to the beach, and in some places winds through thick bush. Several marshy spots also require to be crossed.

16. In the morning we descended the rocky road to the river, went through it at low tide and continued for 2 hours.

Afternoon. Travelled 3 hours or 9 miles; halted at a river.—Four rivers occur. Country undulating, and road uneven, but pretty good, except where it crosses the first river whose bed is very rocky.

In the afternoon, another 3 hours.

17. [No entry].

17. Early in the morning a small hippo was shot in the sea at the mouth of a small river⁵⁷ and was dragged by the oxen to the wagons and slaughtered. What a feast for the servants! The whole night through there was boiling, roasting and stewing. Every available cooking utensil was used at the fire.

18. *Forenoon.* Travelled 3 and a half hours, or 10 and a half miles.—Crossed five rivers. Road tolerably good, partly along a sandy bed.

18. Each person took as much meat as he liked, and consequently most of the meat was taken along with us. Even part of the hide, cut into long strips to be used for sjamboks, was loaded on to the wagons. In the morning we drove for $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours always along the same road. Many times, deep sand, and hills and steep valleys alternating. Towards 11 o'clock, while I was busy at the back of the wagon, we felt a slight earthquake, which lasted for several seconds. Dr. Schmidt also felt it in his wagon.

Afternoon. Travelled 2 and a half hours, or 7 and a half miles; halted at a river.—Crossed five small rivers, and the road through several of them was very bad. In several places our course lay through thick bush, and in many parts the trees were with difficulty avoided.

Afternoon: $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours. We heard that the Omcomas was full.

19. [*Forenoon:* No entry].

19. Kaffers again assembled here and brought foodstuffs. From the Omsomwoebo to this place, that is, in Faco's country, there are few inhabitants; Chaka has driven away the natives.

Afternoon. Travelled 2 hours, or 6 miles; halted at a river.⁵⁸—Road pretty good.

Afternoon: drove 2 hours.

20. *Forenoon.* Travelled 1 and a half hour, or 4 and a half miles.—The river where we halted last evening required to be

crossed near to the breakers, at or about low water. The road was pretty good.

20. Morning, 1½ hours.

Afternoon. Travelled 2 and 3 quarter hours, or 8 and a quarter miles; halted at a river. After advancing a short distance, the road leaves the coast, and takes a northerly direction towards the lowest ford of the Umgamas River. The ascent to the river where we halted is steep, and the road close to it is through thick bush.

Afternoon, 2¾ hours. The road is getting worse and more dangerous. We have left the coast in order to get through the large river higher up.

21. *Forenoon.* Travelled 1 hour, or 3 miles; halted at a river.⁵⁹—Road moderately good.

21. Morning, 2 hours. A long, loose boulder got into the back wheels of Barry's wagons, lifted it and capsized it. We outspanned at a brook.

Afternoon. Travelled 2 and a half hours, or 7 and a half miles; halted at a river⁶⁰—After travelling about two miles, began to descend the banks of the Umgamas river,⁶¹ which are moderately steep, and the road pretty good. The immediate banks of the river on both sides are very steep, and one if not two wheels require to be locked till the wagons are actually in the water. On the west side, where it is necessary to unlock the wheels, the water when low is usually about two feet and a half deep. There are two roads from and to the river on the eastern side, both of which are readily observed as they are but little apart. The uppermost is the least steep, but close to the water's edge there is frequently a quagmire through which neither oxen nor wagons can pass; its state must therefore be ascertained previously to attempting to follow it. From the flat ground which immediately skirts the stream, the ascent is long and steep, and in several places the road is bad.

In the afternoon, 1 hour to the River Omcomas. Bad road through the river, the water rising a handbreadth above the planks of the wagon. Another hour's bad road [and then] we outspanned on a hill.

22. *Forenoon.* Travelled 4 hours, or 12 miles; halted at a kraal. Road over a broken country, but tolerably good.

22. Four hours over heights, deep gorges and valleys. Outspanned near a Kaffer kraal. Finn and Collis,⁶² two English traders of Port Natal, greeted our party. They remained with us to Port Natal.

[*Afternoon:* No entry].

In the afternoon Finn gave us an 'opera',⁶³ with dancing, executed by several hundred Kaffers and their wives. Their gesticulations were warlike. The singing was more agreeable than any we had previously heard from Kaffers and they kept time very well. The inhabitants of the kraal are Finn's 'property'.

23. *Forenoon.* Travelled 3 and a quarter hours, or 9 and 3 quarter miles; halted at a river.—Road very bad, most of its course through very thick bush. If it be the intention of the traveller to follow the lower road, he must, upon reaching and crossing the first river a little to the eastward of the kraal, proceed down its banks for a little distance before turning towards Natal. If he prefers the upper road, he must proceed directly east after crossing the river, and ascend the low banks which face him. Of the two the latter is, if anything, the worst, and certainly also the longest.

[*Afternoon:* No entry].

23. [See 24].

24. [*Forenoon:* No entry].

Afternoon. Travelled 2 and a half hours, or 7 and a half miles; halted at a river.—Road through thick bush close to the coast, and extremely fatiguing for oxen; 'that is the lowermost'.

24. [Entry for 23 and 24]. It took 5 to 6 hours to get to the next river Omlas,⁶⁴ the residence of the brothers Finn.

25. *Forenoon.* Travelled 3 and a half hours, or 16 and a half miles; halted at Mr. Fynn's residence.—The last three miles of the road rather sandy, and part of it bad; elsewhere good.

25. [No entry].

26. [No entry].

26. [No entry].

27. [No entry].

27. We drove 3½ hours over an extensive plain not far from the sea to Port Natal, to the residence of Collis. Half an hour from here, and just opposite, across a swampy flat, live the four Cawood brothers. Three of them are married to Englishwomen.

28. *Afternoon.* Halted at Natal Bay. Road good, along it narrow strips of low flat country. Passed two small rivers. Between the Umzimvooboo and Natal, at some little distance

17. Some rain at night and in the morning. In the early morning we drove along the high mountain ridges by moonlight. In the afternoon we got to the heights above the Omsomwoebo.⁷⁸ Near this place the banished Nape,⁷⁹ feared by Dingan, is hiding. From the Omsomwoebo to the Omtata the Amapondos live under [the chieftainship of] Facó. They wear their hair smeared with red and hanging down the back in long tassels. The penis coverings consist of small hard nuts.

18. Through the Omsomwoebo, in which there is little water at present. In the afternoon we drove half-way up the steep mountain, with two spans of oxen to each wagon. The Amapondos received us this time in friendlier fashion, as we had not brought small-pox to them from the Colony, of which they had been afraid before.⁸⁰

19. Unloaded the wagons, and while it was still dark drove up the second half of the mountain.

20. In the morning we travelled over a difficult road to Facó's kraal. Here a Kaffer market was soon in operation. In the afternoon we continued [our journey] for a few hours up and down steep hills.

21. Towards midday we surmounted steep mountain ridges to the mission station.⁸¹ Here we heard that there was unrest among the Kaffers.

22-23. Made an excursion to a lovely waterfall which is hidden in the bush. Several nuts which I had found and eaten brought on a fever which lasted throughout the night. Dr. Schmidt advised me to drink as much warm water as possible and this proved effective. Four laxative pills completed the cure.

24. In the afternoon we drove through two smaller rivers and outspanned on a height.

25. During the morning and afternoon we drove through burned-down grass.

26. [No entry].

27. Drove through the Omtata to the top of a steep hill. The Tambukies live [in the country] from the Omtata to two days' journey from the mission station Male.⁸² They are under Wolvekros,⁸³ whom the Kaffers call Gubinuqua. His late brother was called Wedaan.⁸⁴ These Kaffers have short hair smeared with red like all the Kaffers we have seen previously. The penis covering is made from the skin which surrounds the heart of an ox. The thin strip of leather which is fastened round the loins is decorated with small brass rings. One sees more karosses among the Kaffers here, and the women have many brass buttons on theirs and pretty leather caps on their heads trimmed with white and blue. The Kaffers here steal with great cunning, like those we have previously seen. The country is very dry at present. We drove to the Baschi River⁸⁵ by a shorter road.

30. 1½ hours. Outspanned at the side of the river.

31. Dr. Schmidt and Mr. Edie, who had stayed behind on the 24th, caught us up again.

June 1. Through the Baschi. Country extremely dry.

2. In the evening to the boundary of the Tambukies' [country].

3-4. [No entries].

5. Between the mission station⁸⁶ and the Key River we remained alone and let the three wagons go on ahead. Arriving in the evening at a barren spot, the slaves had to fetch firewood from a long distance. Now they suddenly wanted to drive on without having told us about it. They drove off and we remained behind.

6. Rain in the morning. We drove to the 'Kaffer-trader' Jolly, and found the three wagons outspanned at his place.⁸⁷

7. A wolf gnawed Geduld's⁸⁸ tail during the night. Dr. Schmidt and Mr. Edie rode on ahead to the border. We also let the three wagons drive on.

8. We drove alone in the morning to the Key River, and in the afternoon through the river. Outspanned on the heights.

9. Rain during the night and until midday. We drove on until we met a trader who had outspanned. We bought from him a 'Kaffer crane'⁸⁹ and a 'Bromvogel'.⁹⁰

10. In the afternoon to the Komga River to the 'pondok' (straw hut) of a trader, where the three wagons had outspanned. By reason of the wet and cold two oxen had been lost and two had been stolen by the Kaffers. Here the nights are very cold. Late at night we drove to a near-by thicket, where the oxen could rest more warmly.

11. On either side of the road between Komga and Buffel River several chiefs reside who, at large gatherings, are subservient to Heinza.⁹¹ In the afternoon the three wagons set out, we following them shortly after, and outspanned at night in a little hollow.

12. This morning we killed Geduld. In the afternoon we drove for a few miles.

13. [No entry].

14. In the morning we drove to the house of a 'Kaffer-trader'. In the afternoon to Geelhoutbosch.⁹² Heavy fog.

15. Drove to Buffel River. Old Tzatzoe⁹³ has handed over the commando to his son. The Mantindis,⁹⁴ like all the Kaffers we have hitherto seen, wear more karosses, beads, yellow buttons and copper rings. The little leather strips which are attached to their penis coverings are often decorated with brass rings to a length of twelve inches. The trader who lives here invited us in the evening to have some sweet milk, plum cake and pancakes, which invitation we did not decline.

16. Through the Buffel River to the heights of the Keiskamma.
17. Through the Keiskamma into the bush of the Colony.
18. [No entry].
19. On the heights of the Visch River.
20. Through this river and up the hill.
21. To [the house of] a bankrupt English speculator.⁹⁵
22. Through the Cap River to Cawood's place.⁹⁶ Bought there half a muid of corn.
- 23-24. [No entries].
25. At Glen Villen.⁹⁷ Both horses are said to have been eaten by a wolf. Two oxen are dead. The wagon kists have been broken open and everything taken out of them. Bought pumpkin, mealies and one sheep, 3 rix-dollars.
- 25-28. [No entries].
29. Walked to Grahamstad in the morning. Letters from Eduard, Pallas and Polemann, Catorzia, von Wurmb[erg] and von Schönveld.⁹⁸ Heavy weather.

NOTES

1. The Clay Pits were almost due east of Grahamstown, and a few miles south of the present Fraser's Camp. Smith's route was practically along the present road which crosses the Great Fish River at Hunt's Drift.
2. The hill, a few miles out of Grahamstown, on which the well-known Collingham Tower stands.
3. A tributary of the Great Fish River, on its western side.
4. David Cawood, an 1820 settler. At this time (1832) he was 55 years old. Cawood's Post is on the Cap River.
5. A little to the north of the present-day bridge at Hunt's Drift.
6. Bakkekraal, a little to the north of Peddie.
7. I cannot identify this stream with certainty. It was doubtless a tributary of the Keiskama River, not far from Line Drift.
8. This is the only known list of the complete party. 'Minting' was John Minton, or Mintern, Smith's soldier-servant; 'Terrie' was Lieutenant Edie's 'batman'; William Parkins' father had a farm not far from Van Staden's River; and Hermanus Barry was the young man who was greatly impressed by Natal, and who told the Uys family all about it. (In the Fynn *Diary* he is called 'Berg', but that is wrong.)
9. Line Drift.
10. The Amatola Range.
11. *Basela*, which literally means to beg or ask for a present.
12. Chalumna River, which they did not have to cross.
13. At King William's Town.
14. Probably a petty chief of the AmaNtinde tribe, whose principal chief was the elder Tshatshu.
15. A little to the north of King William's Town.
16. In the neighbourhood of present-day Kei Road.

17. The river was the Gonubie, the route being roughly the same as the present one from Kei Road to Komgha.
18. The road ran from Komgha through Fort Warden to Beaconsfield Farm, where the Old Kei Drift is.
19. There are streams on either side of the ascent, which is very steep.
20. 'Springs'. There is still a store there, and also the spring.
21. An early name for Butterworth.
22. Hintsa, chief of the AmaGcaleka tribe.
23. Nicholas Lochenberg, who lived for long at Mazeppa Bay. He was murdered in July, 1829, by the AmaQwabe.
24. Probably near the source of the Nqabara River, not far from Idutywa.
25. Near present-day Bashee Bridge. The drift was known as the Umzola or Double Drift. From this point Smith parted company with the present road, and travelled in the direction of Mqanduli, but kept south of the Ngqungqu River until he got to the Morley Mission Station.
26. Cizela River, a small tributary of the Bashee, which it enters a little above 'The Colley Wobbles'.
27. Morley. This Wesleyan Mission Station was originally built on the north side of the Umtata River, at a spot named Amadola. But after its destruction by the AmaQwabe in 1828 it was rebuilt on the south side, at a place called Wilo.
28. Ngqungqu River. The road lay along the south side of this stream.
29. Umtata, named after the many sneezewood trees that grew along its banks. Hence the amusing error of the early nineteenth-century cartographers, who called it 'Nostril' River.
30. Ngqungqu River.
31. At the Ebb and Flow Drift, where there is now a causeway.
32. Umtakaty River.
33. Named after Edward Turvey, the artist who was to have accompanied Cowie and Green to Natal and Delagoa Bay in 1828-9, but who remained behind at this point in charge of two of their wagons.
34. There are almost as many Buntings shown on our modern maps as there are Morleys. This, the original one, was between the Umgazana and Umgazi Rivers.
35. Faku, paramount chief of the AmaMpondo.
36. A little to the south of the Umgazi River, and close to the drift.
37. The drift was about ten miles from the mouth, as the crow flies.
38. A photograph of the place where Smith crossed the Umzimvubu, taken by the present writer in 1940, will be found reproduced in V.R.S. 30, on Plate II, facing page 109.
39. At the Ebb and Flow Drift, where there is an island. Here the Podos opposed Smith in his endeavour to cross the river. But Smith armed his whole party and personally effected a passage, after which he intimated to the sullen tribesmen that he was leaving presents for them on the island (*The South African Magazine*, Cape Town, November, 1906, p. 7).
40. The present-day Willow Park Farm, belonging to Miss Gertie Clarke.
41. Near Ntili store.
42. Ntafufu River.
43. In the neighbourhood of Lusikisiki, the name of which means 'the murmuring of the reeds'.
44. Mateku Falls. This little-known but very striking waterfall is near the present road from Lusikisiki to the mouth of the Umsikaba River. In the early days all travellers camped there, including Allen Gardiner, who

- sketched it and named it 'The Waning Fall', since the wind blowing through the gorge intermittently caused the thin film of water to disappear. It is about a mile north of Carter's store, across country, and it is even today difficult of access.
45. Drège's description is misleading. He means that they drove along the Umsikaba Gorge until they came to the Mateku River, which drops sheer into the Umsikaba, a distance of some 400 feet. The Mateku can be crossed, even on foot, immediately above the fall.
 46. The Umsikaba had to be crossed at the bar at low water. There is no other way, and the descent to the mouth is very steep. From this point to the Umkomaas the road lay close to the sea-shore.
 47. Umtentu River. It is not possible to identify with certainty all the halting-places between this river and the Umkomaas. Some of the suggestions that I have made are merely tentative, though the places named cannot be far off the actual camping spots.
 48. i.e. the Umtentu.
 49. Possibly the Umnyameni.
 50. Umtamvuna, the boundary of Natal.
 51. It is difficult to say who this man could have been. He may have been one of the Cawoods.
 52. Umhlangeni (?).
 53. Umzimkulu. Smith was guilty of a slip of the pen here; Drège wrote down the correct name.
 54. Smith means 'the' river, and he repeats his slip about the name. Note that the crossing of the Umzimkulu occupied nearly ten days. They were doubtless glad of the excuse to hunt elephants.
 55. Umzumbi (?).
 56. Umtwalumi (?).
 57. Umzinto (?).
 58. Possibly the Umpambinyoni, called Bloody River on many old maps.
 59. Amahlongwa (?).
 60. Amahlongwana (?).
 61. Umkomaas.
 62. Henry Francis Fynn and James Collis. Fynn was, of course, the pioneer of Natal, and Collis, an 1820 settler, became the leading merchant of that Colony.
 63. To the German mind such a performance would naturally suggest an 'opera'. The locality was in the neighbourhood of Illovo.
 64. Umlazi.
 65. The Drège brothers remained at Port Natal until Smith's party returned from Dingane's residence.
 66. Cane's house was on the Durban side of the Bay.
 67. This is curious. Cane was an Englishman, who had come out to South Africa under the Somerset scheme, and who, on the failure of that enterprise, became a carpenter, later entering the service of Farewell.
 68. C. J. Pickman. He appears to have arrived in Port Natal shortly before Smith's visit.
 69. Henry Ogle was an 1820 settler who, at the age of 24, threw in his lot with the Natal pioneers.
 70. They were both enthusiastic zoologists.
 71. Umbulazi, often pronounced Umbuyazi, means 'The Killer'. This name may have been bestowed on Fynn by the natives either because of his autocratic manner, or because of his summary execution of the traitorous Kelimba (see p. 72-3).

72. Umkomaas.
73. Umtwalumi (?).
74. Umzimkulu.
75. Umtentu.
76. Umsikaba.
77. Mateku Falls, Pondoland.
78. Umzimvubu.
79. Ncapayi, a refugee from Natal, was a son of Madikane, chief of the AmaBaca. He helped Faku, the Pondo chief, to defeat the army of Nqetho, chief of the AmaQwabe, when he invaded Pondoland.
80. The reason why the Pondos had refused their help during the forward journey.
81. Bunting.
82. Morley. Smith had been taken ill, and had to remain for some time at this place, where he was cared for by the Shepstones. He took advantage of his enforced rest by collecting much information about the Pondo people.
83. 'Wolf-kaross' is a literal translation of the native name of the Tembu chief Ngubencuka, better known as Vusani.
84. I cannot identify this man.
85. Bashee.
86. Butterworth.
87. At 'Springs'.
88. Carl Friedrich Drège's horse.
89. Probably the 'Blue Crane' (*Tetraoeryx paradisea*).
90. The 'Bromvoël' or Southern Ground Hornbill (*Bucorvus caffer*)
91. Hints.
92. Yellowwoods, near King William's Town.
93. The father of the notorious Jan Tshatshu, of the AmaNtinde tribe.
94. AmaNtinde.
95. I cannot identify this man.
96. Cawood's Post.
97. The name of a farm belonging to a German apothecary, named Schmidt, whose dispensary was in Grahamstown. He was a friend of the Drèges, and looked after some of their property while they were on trek. His farm was near the Brak River, on the road to Fort Brown.
98. Friends of the Drèges. Pallas and Polemann were two apothecaries of Cape Town to whom Carl Friedrich Drège first came out.

NOTES MADE DURING THE JOURNEY FROM PORT NATAL TO
DINGANE'S KRAAL

These notes (190-199)* were manifestly made by Smith while he was travelling from Port Natal to Dingane's residence in company with Fynn, from whom he undoubtedly obtained much information. They are undated, but since we know that Smith left the Port on Wednesday, 28th March, and returned there on Saturday, 14th April, it is possible to suggest dates for several portions of them, and also to deduce from them the time that Smith spent with the Zulu chief.

I have added to these notes a few extracts from Smith's unpublished 'Journal of the Expedition' (of 1834), in which he recalls some of his experiences while in Natal in 1832.

[28th March, Wednesday]

The country from Natal to the Umgene consists of an elevated ridge thickly covered with bush and with trees in the kloofs and ravines.¹ After passing the Umgene the appearance of the country changes and becomes like what it is in Cafferland, undulating, with here and there deep wooded kloofs. Surface much broken with a gentle rise towards the north. The *Mimosa* has begun to appear again as in Cafferland, and are thinly dispersed over the surface. Only small in size. In addition to those there are here and there small clumps of bushes. About the 6 part of area may be said to be wood, sometimes extensive clumps, sometimes only solitary trees. Grass in some places long, in other places short. Water not so abundant.

[29th March, Thursday]

Slept at the 2nd captain of a regiment's kraal. He was very civil [and] gave up his own house. Had only a few cattle. He belonged to a tribe called Cailie.² Abundance of birds. Saw a buffalo.

* The figures within brackets refer to the pages of Smith's manuscript on which the various passages occur.

On the road yesterday passed the sepulchre of a chief. It appeared like a cattle kraal surrounded in a great measure with a species of *Euphorbia* which had been planted there. It is customary for the persons who have been appointed to watch the grave of a deceased king to be put to death after a certain time because they are considered as having too much the protection of the spirit of the chief. Most of those who watched Chaka's grave were killed. One man resisted strongly, and sprung on the top of a house and invoked the aid of the spirit. He succeeded in escaping and is now living with the white people at Natal. Dingane will not touch him.

The doctor often directs a person to kill a cow to satisfy the spirit of some dead relation.

[30th March, Friday to 31st March, Saturday]

The country continues very irregular with abundance of wood close to the coast and many kraals.

Where Chaka's mother is buried a plantation is over her.

Chaka was standing, leaning against the calf kraal, when he was first attacked. Some persons came in with a tribute of feathers; they had been later than fixed.³ The servant of Chaka, Imbop,⁴ who was in the plot, went out and beat them to attract the attention of Chaka, who enjoyed it. One brother, Machlangaan,⁵ at the instant stabbed him twice in the back. He ran out at the cattle kraal gate and cried out: 'Father's children! What have I done?' At the gate he encountered Dingane, who, some say, gave him another wound. From the gate he ran about 20 yards, then fell and died. Several of the favourite chiefs on his death fled to the bush and stopt there for several days, it being often customary when a king dies to destroy all that were particular friends of his, lest they should use an influence to oppose or counteract the successor.

The commander-in-chief of Dingane's army, Tamboza,⁶ is not a Zoola. He has great power, and if a man be sentenced to death he may, if he wishes, order him to be saved. He can also drive a number of cattle out of the king's kraal and give them to whoever he likes.

Machlangane, Dingane and Imbop, Chaka's servant, were the murderers of Chaka. The last stab was given by Dingane after Chaka was nearly dead and had fallen.

The corn is generally planted on the tops and slants of the low ridges.

They kill cattle by stabbing them with a hassegay just behind the shoulder in the region of the heart. The blood remains in the body. They immediately cut the extremity of the tail off.⁷

Dingan frequently orders the entire men of a regiment to turn away their wives and let their hair grow. The master of a kraal where we halted one night (Friday) once received such an order.

Chaka once upon being displeased with some boys ordered them to go to a captain who was at a little distance and desire him to kill them. They went and delivered the order and were immediately put to death.

A chief ordered a man to have connection with his wife on the high road, and whilst that was consummating he put a hassegay through both. [He] also ordered a man to have connection with his sister before he killed the man and took her.

Amongst the Zoolas each kraal has two head persons who are considered responsible for the good order, etc., of the community; one is called the master⁸ of the kraal, the other the mistress.⁹ The latter gets food ready for all travellers and has the care of the household goods; she has also much influence in the kraal with the chief of the kraal. Sometimes the chief's wife assumes the functions of mistress. They are always addressed as mother and much respect is paid to them.

The way in which they kill their cattle and handle them before they kill them hardens them and renders them indifferent to sufferings and familiar with cruelty.

Togaswaie,¹⁰ a chief under whom Chaka was reared, and who lived to the eastward of the Zoola country, was the first who regularly formed his people into regiments.

When on our way to Dingan's¹¹ and passing some of Cain's women they cried out: 'There goes our fathers [*sic*]! Oh, ye Zoolas, it is only on occasions like this that we see what villains you are'.

Chaka for his own amusement did often order a man to take emetics. He once asked a man whom he had beaten most unmercifully many times if ever he had beaten him. He replied: 'Oh, never, father'. Once he took a burning stick and placed it on his neck and kept it there. With a lens he burnt a man's

arm, and asked every moment if he should continue it. His answer every time was: 'Yes, if it please you, father'.¹²

[1st April, Sunday]

The country continues to exhibit the same irregularity of surface and is thickly studded with bush and trees. Water in moderate quantity.

After the death of Chaka's mother he called a regiment the 'Regiment of Tears' and another 'Eyes of the Zoolas'. The last was formed with the cattle that he got on being proclaimed king.

Early this day met a messenger from Dingan with a small party of men [and] five head of cattle for our use on the road.

Smith, while at Mosheshwe's kraal in 1834, was presented with an ox which was immediately slaughtered and the breast, together with one of the hinder legs and certain portions of the bowels, forwarded as a gift to the chief. Smith pointed out that, though the ignoring of this formality might be overlooked by the natives, its observance was invariably expected and ensured consideration and advantages which might be lost by its neglect. He described the custom thus: 'An ox so presented is expected to be consumed at one meal or at least the greater part of it, and the congregation which takes place upon such a donation being conferred sufficiently indicates that many expect to be partakers of the bounty of the donor. Such in fact is the intention of the latter, and at a time when I did not understand so much of savage customs, it was distinctly communicated to me in a message from Dingaan, king of the Amazooloo. After having sent an ox in the evening he repeated the present next morning, but as I found the major part of the first yet unconsumed, I sent him word that it was unnecessary, as we were still well provided. His reply was: He did not expect that I or my people would be able to eat all he might send; his object was to enable me to be generous to his people in order that they also might love me. Here was a man thoroughly acquainted with human nature; he knew well from experience that nothing secured the attachment of such persons as those he had to rule so effectively as an ample allowance of food; and it was from his liberality in that respect that he rendered his own residence which on other accounts was the spot specially desirable to his warriors.'

Again, in discussing the character of Mzilikazi, whom he met in 1835, Smith wrote: 'Whatever superiority he or others may concede to the system of the white man is generally to be viewed as an indication of deceit, for the barbarian is not to be found who does not consider his own system the best, and does not immediately advocate

and practise it the moment after he may from policy have been proposing an opposite opinion. In proof of this I may merely mention the following fact. While travelling from Port Natal to the residence of Dingaan, I had occasion to pass over a portion of road very hard and thickly covered with gravel. As may easily be supposed, shoes proved a great convenience, with which I endeavoured to impress the Zoolas who escorted me. They readily admitted the truth of what I stated. In a short time, however, the shoes I wore gave way so as to render it impossible to keep them on my feet, and, not being supplied with others, I removed them and gave them to one of my attendants for the purpose of getting them repaired when we should halt, and advanced in the best possible manner I could bare footed. The moment my condition was discovered a universal shout of joy proceeded from the escort, and the chief in command approached me, slapped me upon the shoulder, and said: "Now you are a man. Before, you were a woman. A man is disgraced by covering his feet!" And so much effect had this circumstance upon them that this was one of the things they communicated to their king, applauding me for having walked part of the way without shoes.'

Chiefs cannot drink milk at any kraals but their own or the king's; the messenger of the king could not use milk on the journey.

Girls often get married to men who are absent. They repair to the kraal if they fancy the man and wait till his return. They may send them away if they do not admire them.¹³ As soon as the girls are marriageable they wear the hair with a sort of circular patch on the top of the head; elsewhere cut close. They anoint their bodies all over with butter and each has a fat pot.

The people think the king has only the right to whistle as we do; they never attempt to do it.

[2nd April, Monday]

We rested last night at the kraal of one of Dingan's c[o]usins, a good natured liberal person. Wolves came close to the houses in which we slept. During the night the Hottentots lying by the horses fired several shots at them not more than 20 yards and wounded several. The people here are necessitated to keep their house[s] shut at night and the dogs require to be fixed inside of them to prevent the wolves from entering.

After passing the Imtogali¹⁴ the country becomes almost destitute of wood and rather more flat. The soil is blackish, and

every little hollow has generally a spring towards its origin which supplies but a small quantity of water. Towards the sea stripes of wood occur, and also here and there on the flats a dwarf *Mimosa* tree or a small clump of large bushes. Near the coast patches of red sand also here and there occur.

The Imtogali where we passed it was about 200 yards wide, with small sand islands here and there, and filled with quicksands. Abundance of crocodiles. Some were lying basking in the sun upon the islands of sand.

The banks on both sides where we passed gentle slopes. On the west side scattered trees to the very edge of the stream in considerable abundance. On the eastern bank a narrow stripe along margin of stream. A species of plover with spurs on wings killed here.¹⁵ Grass abundant.

After leaving the kraal where we slept we proceeded nearly north over gently undulating country with some low hills till we reached a high ridge which runs parallel with the coast. This may be about 24 miles from the coast. We ascended this, and on reaching the top of it found the face of the country irregular from low hills, deep ravines and kloofs. Small streams of fine water running in various directions over bare rocks. Abundance of long grass, fine and green.

Praise of Dingaan

Vasy¹⁶ (a bye-name of Dingaan) who produced cows, who followed the cows of Amjoquan¹⁷ (bye-name of Dingaan's father), which the Intetwas¹⁸ had taken away, who[se] neck is full of honors of his royal brothers who eat, who eat; Umclangarn,¹⁹ who was born of his father, who eat; Imchocho, who was born of his father, who eat the cows belonging to Betja²⁰ of Ingoma,²¹ who eat; Isoclando,²² born of Quabi,²³ who eat; Magi,²⁴ born of Tebenglalea,²⁵ who eat; Inzwakale,²⁶ born of Couchou,²⁷ who eat; Matuan,²⁸ of the Amaguans,²⁹ who eat; Numtanja,³⁰ born of Nomo³¹ of the Amapisins or Amapetsins,³² who eat; Umchocho,³³ born of Nomo, continually, continually who eat; Nomo, born of Caba,³⁴ who eat; Coogan,³⁵ born of Nomo, continually who eat; Umclonguan³⁶ of Imbellibellin;³⁷ the plot of Umboppo³⁸ and Togoloko,³⁹ who kept them hidden at Umclabinin.⁴⁰

They sing such as the above generally when in a state of great excitement from smoaking *dakka*.⁴¹

Chaka had a regiment composed of young women and had a woman as their commander. The latter was said to have cohabited with Chaka, and Dingaan attempted it whilst a commoner. She resisted, and he on becoming king, and finding her married, killed her husband and gave an order that should any other person ever be known to cohabit with her he should be put to death.

[3rd April, Tuesday]

Passed the site of a kraal where all the people had been destroyed by Chaka's order in consequence of supposing that the chief had connection with one of his wives who had visited there.

Chaka was the first that introduced one hassegay. One day he sent for all his people about the kraal and called in all their hassegays. He put all, excepting one for each, into the fire and gave each one. He then sent for some reeds and made them each take one and fight. After it was over he separated those that were wounded from the others. Gave them plenty of beef; the others he ordered to be killed (stand in original notes 'it must be reversed here').⁴² The regiment of women he called the 'English Regiment'.⁴³

When a commando is going out they kill a bull, then cut the meat up into long stripes and roast it. The pieces are then thrown about amongst the people. Each takes a bite. After that the doctor boils his herbs and takes a cow's tail and sprinkles the people with the decoction before and behind. Then they go off to war. It makes them brave, and prevents the hassegay from killing them.

Chaka put a man's eyes out for some crime, [and] ordered nobody to converse with him but to insult him in all ways. He died in about 14 days. He once had a man tied by the feet to a tree and a bone [*sic*] fire kindled under him.

The country travelled over yesterday and this day consisted of ridges and intervening valleys with here and there some very deep kloofs and these clothed with quantities of wood and supplying abundance of water. Formation coarse sandstone.

Chaka wished very much for the White King to send him a present of 6 young girls, and also for somebody to build him a house.

Had the first interview with Dingaan. When we reached the spot he was discussing the proceedings of the rainmakers and their merits. He thought they had been deceiving him. He first sent cattle, rain did not follow, then sent to know why. Rain-maker said the spirit wanted more cattle. Sent more. Soon after rain came. He decided to have the first back as rain did not follow them. He also told them he would not take the whole of their cattle this year, but if he was so much deceived next year he would kill them all. Some time ago a rain-maker said in order to produce rain he required black cattle. He got them. Rain did not arrive.⁴⁴ Then said he wanted white ones. Rain did not arrive. They said some person had taken away his power. They were by the king desired to point them out. They pointed out 4. He killed them all and said: 'Now your power must exist again'. Chaka had but little belief in rain-doctors.

A commando of five regiments went to destroy three or four kraals of a conquered tribe who had left Dingaan's country towards the eastward. He sent that number of regiments in order to surround the bush to which it was calculated they would retreat. Several regiments of young men were of the number. There was only one experienced regiment to instruct the others.

They are constantly giving utterance at Dingaan's to: 'Oh, pelican jalo';⁴⁵ that is to say 'This is what happens every day'.

Chiefs stoop as well as commoners on approaching Dingaan.

When speaking on particular subject[s] connected with the White King's⁴⁶ wish he called the acting commander-in-chief and another chief to be present.

The Zoolas are a more slender people than the frontier Caffers, shorter and not so round in the face. Have a particular sharp and intelligent expression and the lower part of the face is narrower, the cheek bones higher, the skin generally darker than in the Caffers.

There is a disease among them called *jovella*⁴⁷ which consists of an elongation and swelling of the penis. Women have a disease which produces it, but it is in them not visible outside. The men die from it, and all men who have connection with women so affected catch it.

*Thanking Dingaan*⁴⁸

'Thou that are black, thou that art frightful, thou that art like a lion, thou that eats Umfongos, born of Umbogas.'⁴⁹

One individual in thanking uses one set of expressions and another another set.

Salutation on arrival in Dingaan's presence

The most common salutation is 'Byatt'.⁵⁰ 'Thou the centre of the circle', 'Wild animal', 'Red calf', 'Thou that art black', 'Lion', 'Tyger of the people', etc., etc., etc.

On taking leave they make use of similar expressions.

On passing him on the road, they must perform a circuit of about 15 yards.

When walking behind him [they] must continue at a distance of about three yards.

When the sun is hot and he is out of doors, he has a man to hold a shield over him.

[It is] not permitted to spit, cough or blow the nose in his presence whilst he is eating; punishment for doing either the one or the other, death.

There is a woman living in Dingaan's kraal who was intended for the wife of his father who never had connection with her. Dingaan calls her his mother, and she can never have connection with anyone. She lives with the king.

The Zoola men allow their finger nails to grow to a very great length, and they pride themselves in keeping them very clean; sometimes an inch and a half long, the thumb ones in particular. They wear the gall bladder of a sheep inflated and attached to the hinder part of the head ring; the gall bladder of black cattle stuffed with fat round the arm. They sprinkle the bile over the body, and drink a little of it. When old men throw away the stuffed bladders others hang them up in their houses and others burn them. They think that by so doing they will have good luck and become possessed of many cattle.

When a woman has a difficult labour they tie a string round each ankle and put it out through the house. Then people pull at it till she is delivered. When delivered a charcoal fire is kindled behind the house and roots burned upon it. The child is then drawn through the smoak every day when washed until it can walk. When a woman is pregnant she goes to the doctor

and gets a root which she boils and carries about with her. She drinks a little of it till the child is born, then ceases herself and gives it to the child. When labour is tedious they often kill a cow and the moment the cow falls they say the child is brought forth. The doctor sometimes says that during tedious labour the spirit of the woman's father or brothers want more cattle, and then the husband must pay more cattle. Umbilical hernia is very common.

When going on to attack they advance in divisions in eschellon [*sic*]. When the first comes into action the second rushes up and so on. They have three sorts of noise they make in rushing on the enemy, one 'biz-biz' through the teeth like to a hive of bees in their flight, another 'hish' like to the sound arising from heavy drops of rain falling plentifully upon a dense foliage, and the third a tremendous yell. The 'biz' has the most depressing effect upon the spirits of listeners.⁵¹

When Dingaan leaves the spot where he may have been sitting, the people near where he passes rise up and stand half stooping as he passes and say 'Byatt'. A party immediately falls in behind him and follows him at a little distance as far as the gate by which he enters to his houses.

A woman was killed by order of Dingaan because she would not marry a man to whom the king had given her. Dingaan assumes the right of taking any man's daughter and giving her as a wife to any man he chooses without any return. The regiment of women named 'Englishmen'⁵² were ordered to marry by Dingaan.

The Umtetwas⁵³ were governed by Tingaswau.⁵⁴ Small pox appeared amongst them and destroyed many of them about 16 years ago. The Umtetwas lived between the Umclateuse⁵⁵ and Umfolosi⁵⁶ towards the coast.

Several men seen amongst the Zoolas are marked by small pox.

Amakinguani,⁵⁷ another king who supported Chaka in his claim to the Zoola chieftainship, was afterwards attacked and completely destroyed by him.

*Zoola Regiments*⁵⁸

Umbellibelli ⁵⁹	Unconq-inglof, ⁶⁰ overthrow of the Elephant. Named after Chaka's death.
Nobamba ⁶¹	Ungangla. ⁶²
Isaclepi ⁶³	Cloma inclin immeamo, ⁶⁴ black shield.
Umcantclu ⁶⁵	Cloma inclin ⁶⁶ . . . , white shields.
Injandana ⁶⁷	Soffansimba, ⁶⁸ means mist.
Intontala ⁶⁹	Ichlambecho, ⁷⁰ eyes of the Zoolas.
Madidapa ⁷¹	Sabisa, ⁷² destroyed for killing two of the king's cattle while there.
Inclangasa ⁷³	Kangilla, ⁷⁴
Impangiza ⁷⁵	Isinios, ⁷⁶ bees.
Uswaya ⁷⁷	Indabanculo, ⁷⁸ great mountain.
Isimpochlo ⁷⁹	Kaybabania, ⁸⁰
Tibinlanco ⁸¹	Inkobolonta, ⁸²
Ebolala ⁸³	Utigosa, ⁸⁴
Umfumandaba ⁸⁵

The regiment of Umbellibelli is one of the strongest and most esteemed regts.

Where cattle have been brought in by a commando or after killing any of the Zoolas, the king generally distributes a considerable portion of them amongst the people. This he either does privately or on his levy ground. When he gives them on the latter the man to whom [cattle] is given rises up and thanks him in a speech, and then all present rise up and point their fingers towards the king and say 'Byatt'.

For the corn which they require for immediate use they have small reservoirs constructed of reeds or mats like inverted cones. It is introduced at the top.

They have often cooking places behind their homes made in a circular form and formed of reeds neatly put together and about 3½ feet high.

Also several of their houses are surrounded, at least in front of the door, with a low fence as high as the door to prevent the wind blowing into the house.

At a dance on the road they put down a mat between the men and the women which the bride had slept upon.

They drove cattle and oxen all round the kraal and forced them at different places to leap into the kraal instead of entering by the gate.

The country between Dingaan's and the Imflateuse⁸⁶ is in part hilly and in part flat and is almost without trees, so that the people require in many places to burn cowdung which they form into cakes and dry in the sun. On the banks of the Imflateuse there is a good quantity of shrubs, etc., and on the western bank a considerable quantity of *Mimosa* trees.

Chacka offered to serve Dingaan as a most menial servant if his life could be saved after he had received the first wound. He prophesied that he would be killed that year, and that after his death there would be a scarcity of corn which happened. He made a new kraal that year and called it 'The bad year'.⁸⁷

Cain was forced to kill a calf at Dingaan's kraal gate and present him [with] an ox on the death of Farewell. The liver and gall bladder of the calf were required to be cut out at the gate and the gall sprinkled across the gate then round Cain: the other half required to be taken up to the king and sprinkled round him. The calf died from the wound in time and then the boys eat it; men and women (were) not allowed to eat of it. When persons of any importance die some person must always go up to the king and cleanse the kraal.

Their corn is sometimes stored in cylinders of reeds equal at both ends and covered above with cut sticks to keep off the rain.

[They] use small shields for walking about the country with. Those used in war are considered the property of the king; others of the people.

[They] bury their corn in the cattle kraal as in Cafferland, and they consider what has been for a long time there and acquired a taste and smell of the urine of the cattle as a great delicacy and they devour it with great pleasure, regarding it as a particular dainty. When very strong it is often sent as a present to the chiefs. At the king's kraal there is usually a great collection of corn for the use of the regiments residing there.

Dingaan considers that any man who climbs upon the body of a dead elephant in order to make himself strong against him requires to be punished with death. They sometimes do that and wash themselves with decoctions of herbs, or at least they

are said to do so. Perhaps when he wishes an excuse for killing a person he accuses him of that.

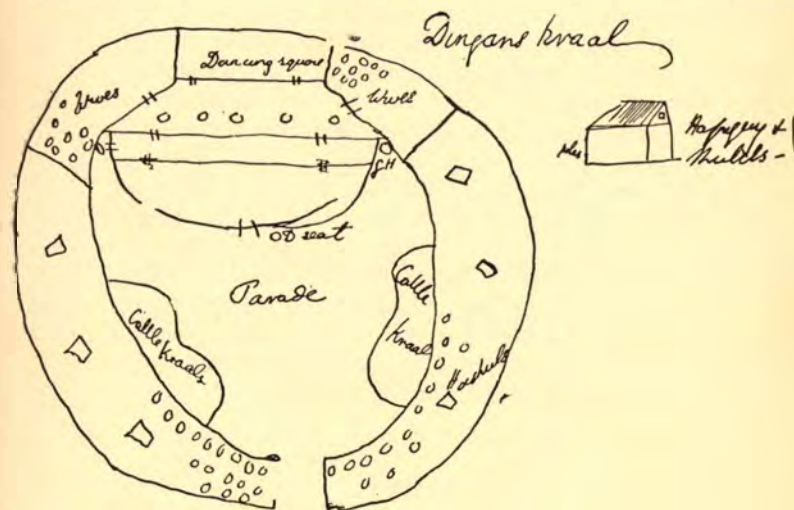
In describing an interview which he had with a cannibal in eastern Basutoland in 1834, Smith suggested that, in some cases at least, the superstition existed that something of the enemy who was eaten entered the being of the eater, and he said: 'What but the extreme of superstition could support the Amazooloo King in the belief that additional strength was to be gained for himself and his tribe by washing his body upon the back of a dead elephant. That, however, he considers as certain, and its efficacy he believes is so great that for a subject to practise it is esteemed one of the most heinous crimes he can commit; its being calculated to confer upon him that strength which may enable him effectually to resist his sovereign.'

And while describing the method adopted by a chief's messengers in retailing their news to their master, Smith quotes the following experience which he had in Natal.

One of the finest examples of this mode of communicating information I have yet heard, was afforded me while a guest of the Amazooloo king. While sitting in company with the latter and surrounded by some hundreds of his warriors, two fine soldiers fully dressed in their war accoutrements approached the exterior of the circle, and, on uttering the word "Byati", the salutation for the king, they at the same time raised their shields and placed them directly in front of their bodies so that their heads only remained exposed. In this position they stood perfectly tranquil, waiting an invitation to divulge what had brought them thither. After some considerable time they were desired to speak. Their object being to make the chief acquainted with the proceedings of an army that they had some days previously proceeded to the eastward to attack a neighbouring tribe, the principal (both standing in the position already mentioned) commenced his relation with the date of the receipt of the order for the expedition, went over what happened on the king's message having been received, then passed to a description of the first day's march, afterwards to the next and from that to the others in succession, minutely relating every little circumstance that occurred. He explained distinctly the reason which had delayed the attack, stated the period when the attack was meditated and why the particular time mentioned was proposed, then summed up with the grounds upon which it was expected the assault would be successful. During the time the speaker was occupied in the relation, his companion was observed constantly talking to him, no doubt assisting his memory, which seemed almost unnecessary, for not once was the correct succession of events for an instant broken. The narrative being concluded the warriors continued standing in the

attitudes they had assumed on their arrival, and after some minutes' apparent meditation the chief simply asked if the army was suffering from hunger. Now, knowing that Dingaan was peculiarly desirous of explicit information and ready by questions to exact it if not otherwise furnished, I could not but consider that the communication had

TRACING OF ANDREW SMITH'S SKETCH OF DINGANE'S KRAAL,
APRIL, 1832



It is obvious that Smith made this sketch in order to refresh his memory when he returned to the Cape. Note how only a few huts are indicated in four different areas. These were, of course, completely filled with huts. Note also the rectangular thatched sheds in which weapons were kept. Dingane's own seat is shown on the 'Parade'. Compare Gardiner, plate facing p. 28.

been made in such a manner as to leave it unnecessary for him to extract anything more than what an answer to one single question was calculated to apply. It certainly produced that impression upon me, and I should have found a difficulty had I been requested to ask for any information beyond what had been supplied which it could be of the slightest value to possess. On the question he put being answered, he continued for a few minutes as if considering if anything further could be exacted, and then observed, "your mouth has spoken well", upon which they laid their shields upon the ground, and seated themselves upon them.'

Apropos of a remark made to him to the effect that Mzilikazi would be very angry if the appearance of his party were delayed Smith said: 'The latter remark reminded me of what I had often heard in the country of the true Zoolas situated to the eastward of Port Natal. No party ever reached us by order of Dingaan, the king of that country, without giving us to understand that their life would be in danger unless we speedily complied with his wish, and from his subsequent proceedings we could clearly discover that he thought that his mere wish, if properly expressed and urged, would be sufficient to ensure its being complied with, and that non-compliance could only arise from the apathy of the messengers, who therefore were always blamed guilty or otherwise. So well do such messengers understand the dangers that await them that when they find the white man heedless of their importunities they fly to the best method of ensuring his compliance by telling him that their lives will in all probability pay the penalty of his inattention to the king's wishes. Had we been of their own colour no such attempts to persuade us would have been employed. Violence would have immediately have been had recourse to, and the necessary speed ensured by the liberal bestowal of kicks and blows, a species of argument we often saw employed when it appeared to Dingaan's subjects that any order he issued was not performed with proper alacrity.'

NOTES

1. Apparently the Berea is meant here.
2. AmaCele. This tribe then lived a little to the south of the Umvothi River.
3. Smith means that the men had arrived later than the appointed time. This version of the episode is slightly different from that in Fynn, pp. 156-7.
4. Mbopha.
5. Mahlunwana.
6. Ndambuza.
7. In all probability Smith had observed *en route* the slaying of an animal presented to his party by one of his hosts.
8. *Ummumzana*.
9. *Inkosikazi*.
10. Dingiswayo.
11. These notes have been rewritten, and in all likelihood condensed, from the original field notes. Compare Note 42.
12. Compare Gardiner, pp. 53-4.
13. The words 'they may send them away' are repeated here in the manuscript.
14. Tugela.
15. The South African Wattled Plover (*Vanellus lateralis*, etc.). See Roberts, A., *The Birds of South Africa*, London, 1940, No. 247.
16. I cannot trace this name elsewhere.
17. Ditto.

18. Mtetwa.
19. Mahlunwana.
20. Beje, one of Zwide's petty chiefs.
21. Ingome forest, in the north-west of Zululand.
22. Zihlandlo, one of Shaka's favourites.
23. Qwabe, from whom the tribe took its name.
24. Magaye, chief of the AmaCele tribe.
25. Dibandhlela, father of Magaye.
26. Nzwakele, a chief, tributary to Shaka. (Isaacs, i, 180.)
27. Khushwayo, great grandson of Qwabe.
28. Matiwane.
29. AmaNgwane.
30. I cannot identify this man.
31. Nomo, son of Kondlo, chief of the Qwabe tribe, of which his brother, Phakatwayo, later became chief.
32. AmaPhisi, a branch of the Qwabe tribe.
33. I cannot trace this son of Nomo.
34. Qwabe. Nomo was his descendant of about the sixth generation, and therefore 'born of' him.
35. I cannot trace this son of Nomo.
36. Mahlunwana.
37. Mbelebele, one of Dingane's military towns and his regiment of the same name.
38. Mbopha, Shaka's principal servant and his cousin, who, with Mahlunwana and Dingane, assassinated him.
39. I cannot identify this man.
40. I cannot identify this place, unless it was Mahlabatini.
41. Compare Gardiner, p. 106.
42. This remark shows that Smith prepared this abstract from his original field notes. Compare Note 11.
43. Compare Fynn, p. 30. The women's regiment was called uNkisimana, that is, 'Englishmen'.
44. These two sentences have been deleted in the manuscript.
45. *O, iphela kanjalo*, which means 'That is how we live'.
46. The Governor of the Cape of Good Hope.
47. *Jovela*. An internal haemorrhage in men, which the Zulu believed to be connected with sexual disorders.
48. *Bonga* can mean 'thank', but here it means 'praise'.
49. I cannot identify either of these men.
50. *Bayete*, hail.
51. Nyosi. Compare Arbousset and Daumas, *Narrative*, etc., London, 1852, p. 221, where there is an account of the bees who buzz (their war-cry) and sting (their assegaes).
52. See Note 43.
53. Mtethwa.
54. Dingiswayo.
55. Umhlatuze.
56. Mfolozi.
57. Macingwane, chief of the emaCunwini tribe. See Bryant, pp. 267 et seq.
58. Recent writers on the Zulu frequently state that several of the names given here are not the names of regiments but of military kraals. Smith's very full list, which is not to be found elsewhere, was manifestly collected by him deliberately for the information of the Governor and he obtained his facts at the fountainhead.

59. Umbelebele.
60. Umgungundhlovu.
61. Unobamba.
62. Doubtful; may be the same as 65.
63. Isiklebhe.
64. Uhlomendlini mnyama.
65. Nkandhlu.
66. Uhlomendlini omhlope.
67. Injanduna. Compare Gardiner, p. 145.
68. Ufasimba.
69. Izitontela.
70. Udhlambedu.
71. The 'Madadas' of Isaacs, i, 153.
72. Sepeze.
73. Udlangezwa.
74. Ukangela.
75. I cannot identify this name.
76. Isinyosi.
77. I cannot identify this name.
78. Undabankulu.
79. Izimpohlo.
80. Ugibabanye.
81. Udubinhlangu.
82. I cannot identify this name.
83. I cannot identify this name.
84. Dukuza.
85. 'Wo vuma ndaba.' Not a regiment but a war song of the Zulu. See Krige, E., *The Social System of the Zulus*, London, 1936, p. 256, quoting Lugg. Also Kirby, P. R., in *Bantu Studies*, Johannesburg, 1923, ii, I, pp. 31-3.
86. Umhlatuzi River. Smith appears to be describing the Umhlatuzi Valley, between Eshowe and Melmoth, on his return journey.
87. Nyakomubi, the 'Ugly Year'. See Fynn, p. 156.

TRANSCRIPTIONS FROM NOTES AND JOURNALS MADE WHILE
IN NATAL

A. Francis George Farewell

The following extracts, which cover the years 1824-6, are manifestly from the journal of F. G. Farewell. Smith did not copy them in chronological order; perhaps they were not so arranged by their author. The dates in Smith's transcriptions, which may possibly have been inserted by him with the concurrence of some local informant since Farewell had died in 1829, do not always agree with those given by other writers for the same events. But those writers do not by any means always agree with each other, and even their facts are not invariably completely concordant. This is hardly to be wondered at, when one remembers the conditions under which they made notes and kept journals. The marvel is that they have left us so much valuable material.

In reading these transcriptions of Smith's, one can accept the facts even though one cannot always accept his detailed dating. The latter is of less importance than the former, since we possess sufficient data to enable us to fix the year, at least, in which the various occurrences took place, and in several instances even the month.

I. *The landing in Natal, 1824*

In this extract (119-121) the writer describes the anchoring of his ship at Port Natal. Since the *Julia* was already there, the ship was the *Antelope*, and the presence of Peterson on board her confirms this, as he only visited Natal once, and then only for a few months.

The language of the extract is that of a mariner, and as King was in England at this time the writer must have been Farewell. The year was undoubtedly 1824, but the dates are, I think, incorrect.¹

'On Thursday² evening the 7th of May, we came to anchor in the Bay of Natal, which is formed by a point projecting out about 4 miles from the land which inclines to the northward just at this place, so that a vessel can be completely sheltered with the wind from the westward, and has a good berth with the

point bearing about S.S.W. The wind seldom blows any other way but right up and down the coast, the land breeze and sea breeze being light airs and of short duration. The port of Natal lies in about 29.58 Lat. N. It has a bar with only $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet [of] water at low water and from 11 to 12 at high water or spring tides. The bar is narrow and one or two seas carry a vessel over it and she then deepens her water from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 fathoms, and when inside lays as safe as in a wet dock, being secure from wind and waves.

On Wednesday morning the 8th Mr. Peterson and myself landed. Owing to a heavy swell outside from the eastward the bar was rougher than usual, but notwithstanding we were in a heavy long-boat filled with people and baggage we got in without the least wet or taking a drop of water in the boat. On being over the bar and passing a sandy point that runs out about half a mile within the entrance, we saw a beautiful piece of water being about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile wide and extending as far as the eye could discern. We had the pleasure of finding the *Julia*³ here. She had arrived 18 days previous, having experienced very bad weather, but sustained no casualty either in men or otherwise.⁴ They had pitched their tents about 5 miles up the harbour, but we landed our things on the sandy point for the sake of expedition, and dispatched the boat for another load. The port of Natal is an inlet from the sea with two small rivers⁵ running into it at low water. At the head of the bay a person can walk across nearly dry and a great part of the rest of it is the same, but there are two channels running up about 5 miles with from 16 to 18 feet water, and which are frequented by numbers of hippopotami of which we saw about 50 (after inlet read "There is hard sandy bottom inside as well as in the bays").

On Thursday it commenced to blow and lasted till Thursday afternoon without scarcely any interruption, and after we had such a continuation of hard gales from the westward that it was not till the 21st that we had all our things on shore. We lost two of our horses and several of our sheep in consequence of being bruised in the boats and having been some days without anything to eat on board, all the barley having been landed owing to a mistake. . . .

The place we selected for a garden and for which the ground was well calculated was sheltered by a wood on one side and

close to the river and a little stream of fresh water which was the reason of our choosing it for a temporary residence. We were very much annoyed by wolves of which there are great abundance and very daring. The natives frequently fell a sacrifice to their ferocity, having a very poor barrier against them in their miserable huts, which are merely a few branches of trees formed clumsily into a shape resembling the Caffer hut and thinly covered with grass.

We found the inhabitants of the S.W. side of Natal a most wretched set of beings,⁶ the men perfectly naked and the women, with the exception of a small covering of bullock's hide round their waist, are in the same situation. They smear their hair[?] with red clay so as to make the appearance of a number of red strings hanging down not unlike a mop with the exception of the colour and fierceness which the red clay and grease give. The men shave their heads with the exception of [a] ring which is plaited round the crown and which is done when they arrive at the age of manhood, and [is] so firmly and closely wove and worked together with grease and dirt as to form the resemblance of a leathern ring. This people were, I believe, formerly possessed of bullocks, but have lost them all; Chaka, who is the king of the whole country, having in consequence of some dispute with the former king to whom Matali⁷ was a servant who is their present chief. He took all their cattle from them and killed all with the exception of a few men, women and children who are now living with Mataban,⁸ and saved themselves by having taken themselves to the bush. Their only means of subsistence is fish which they take in a very ingenious way by means of placing stakes and reeds in the water extending some distance from the land and forming a large opening to the inside with a small one leading into another in which they sometimes succeed in taking large quantities of fish'.

2. Fynn's second visit to Pondoland, 1824

The presence of Davis, master of the *Julia*, on this expedition decides the date, since Davis presumably left Natal with his ship on 1st December, 1824, and she was never heard of again. In any case, so far as is known, he only went once into Pondoland, and then with Fynn. This extract (117) gives us the truth about the origins of the treacherous Kelimba.

'Mr. Davies and Mr. Fynn made another attempt to reach the Amanpontos, and they set out better provided than before, taking some cattle, etc., with them.⁹ They returned after having undergone very great hardships and after an absence of nearly a month. After six days travelling they fell in with a small kraal containing about thirty men, who informed them that they belonged to a king named Kelimba,¹⁰ a small chief, who had escaped from Chaka when he killed all the people in the country. They had never seen a white man before and were much surprised at them and their horses. They behaved very well to the party, but could not nor would not give them any intelligence respecting the Amanponto, and assured them that they would never reach their country as it was a very long way off and no people or provisions on the road, and that if they did the Amanpontos would kill them, and persuaded them all in their power to proceed home. They were determined to go on and accordingly set out, and after a journey of nine days through a country as described without people (Chaka having killed all) or provisions, they succeeded in reaching the Amanpontos who received them favourably, and they brought me favourable accounts about receiving ivory.

Had a pointer dog killed by a tiger¹¹ who eat half of it. The people encouraged it to go into a bush where one was during the night.

About Natal abundance of pa[r]tridges, bucks and all sorts of game.

Endeavoured to get a boat up Growler's river,¹² but so shallow, forced to drag it up, which they did twelve miles.

When Chaka's people communicate bad news they send at the time a present by the carrier.'

3. *A visit to Shaka, 1824*

This brief extract (118) records a few facts not to be found elsewhere. It clearly refers to the year 1824.

'Friday. Had a long conversation with the king, Chaka, who sent for me to eat with him (a great honour) and on my arrival at his house, pointing to some bullock's entrails roasted in the ashes on a stick, desired me to eat my bellyfull and I found it rather difficult to prevent being forced to eat, by saying I had just been eating as much as I could. He had a long discourse

about white men and Chaka said that a ship was once lost in his country before they had conquered it in his grandfather's time, and the people were killed by the natives who did not know what to make of them, as they could not talk or make themselves understood; and a chief, the father of a woman he pointed out, used to ride on a horse which no person knew where it came from or what kind of an animal it was.

It appears likewise before our arrival that natives generally believed that it was death to look at a white man, and no doubt many shipwrecked crews have been murdered from that idea.

He sent for some elephants' teeth, which arrived on the day I left, amounting to 40 which he told me were mine, and at the same time gave me 10 cows.'

4. *Another visit to Shaka, 1825*

This entry (118-119) describes the visit to Shaka which was made towards the end of 1825. The party on this occasion included Lieutenant King, whose ship had been wrecked at Port Natal on 1st October, of that year. The episode of the portraits has not been previously noted.

'One time when we were at the king's kraal the death of his grandmother took place, who was very old.¹³ He appeared very much affected, and all the people, as usual on that occasion, came to cry. On their arrival in bodies they went on joyfully enough until they came in sight of the king, when their features immediately put on such a cast as if some dreadful individual calamity had happened to them, and they commenced crying with all their might. I frequently saw some putting spittle to their eyes, and indeed their changing immediately by word of command from laughing to crying and wringing their hands, groaning, &c., for an old woman who not one of them cared a pin about, was a circumstance that made me keep in my tent as I could not avoid laughing. I suppose about 3 or 4000 people, principally women, assembled on this occasion. It is an established custom to make the king presents on such occasions. Some gave cattle and others what they could afford.

King¹⁴ made a portrait of his sister, with which he was much pleased, and he put on his war dress and danced, that he might have an opportunity of taking a sketch of him in that situation.¹⁵

Indeed, nothing pleases him more than for any person to admire his person of which he is very vain.

On our leaving, he gave King about 30 head of cattle and myself and Mr. Fynn about 80, many of which died from having been overdriven, having only be[en] recently taken from a native a long distance off.'

5. *Fynn, having returned from his third visit to Pondoland, sets out for Shaka's kraal, while Farewell explores the interior, 1825*

This long extract (121-124) gives us a number of facts hitherto unknown. Of these the description of Farewell's journey inland is of the greatest interest. The dates, however, are rather puzzling.

'August 16th. Mr. Fynn returned from his long residence amongst the Amapontos.¹⁶ He was dressed *à la mode* Caffer, which was naked with a caross made of bullock's hide thrown over his shoulders and which dress from custom he now finds no inconvenience in. As he has kept a journal of his proceedings which is annexed it will be useless describing further at present the different natives he met with.¹⁷ As Chacka has made so many inquiries for him I thought it best to send him up as quick as possible.

He brought with him about 30 men and women who had been living with him at the Amapontos, and whom he had picked up on the road, consisting mostly of one family, and from their behaviour whilst with Mr. Fynn and attachment to our party in coming such a way to live under me, I trust they will [be] a great acquisition, although I fear they will have little to eat but roots until I get some cattle.

August 18th. Fixed on the side of a hill about a mile from my place as a residence for them,¹⁸ and told them to plant Indian corn for which the place is admirably adapted, the ground having been before planted and inhabited until Chacka killed all the people, it being a fine and light soil, and where Indian corn thrives best especially when on the side of a hill.

August 20th. Mr. Fynn set out for Chacka's residence who was particularly anxious to see him.

[August] 22nd. The Caffers having completed their kraals and made their houses, I gave them six cows to milk which with the roots and crabs they pick up is all the food for 32 men and women and with which they appear quite contented until some-

thing better turns up, and [they] have set to making wooden spades for tilling the ground which are their only implements of agriculture, but the tribe use iron hoes which appear far preferable. Although both of them are miserable tools compared with European ones and require a great deal of labour to cultivate the ground which they do by first sowing their Indian corn broadcast and then digging just below the grass which is all left until the corn get about a foot high, when they clean the ground a little. As the Caffers here are particularly lazy and only work a few hours in the morning, they are a long time planting a little parcel of land, and as soon as the corn is eatable do nothing but eat and sleep until it is all consumed. It is no wonder that those that have not cattle fare badly a great part of the year and sometimes die of starvation, it being with them but a feast or a famine and no idea of providing for a future day which is now the case with Matatan's people¹⁹ who last year had three crops of mealies, being sufficient for ten times their number for twelve months; but as they consumed them all day long both by eating and drinking as buchuala²⁰ or beer, which takes a great quantity, and neglected fishing altogether and let their fishing kraals go to ruin, they are now in great distress and when the last grain of corn was expended [they] thought about repairing them and catching fish again which will be their only food when procurable for about two months longer, when the present crop of Indian corn will be fit to eat, when they will go on in the same way as they have always done and suffer again the same privations, experience not inducing them to act differently.

August 31st. Heard of a murder committed on a native called Clamprubel²¹ who had been for years with Umsega²² to whom he appeared particularly attached, but being for some time unwell and unable to work for him or run about for him excited his displeasure, and having by accident let some milk boil over on the fire Umsega took advantage to inform the king and a party of three were sent to kill him (it is observed in the notes speaking of the crime which appears to be a killing matter²³) which they did by calling on him as friends, and when in his hut eating with him [they] stabbed him with a hassegay. His son, a little boy of about three years of age, seeing them fall upon his father, took up a hassegay and tried to stick him but had only strength to make the blood just come. His widow with an infant at the

breast and two little children have come here and begged to remain with me as she and family are otherwise sure of being killed, and I have taken them with a determination to do all in my power to save the poor wretches from being murdered.

September 4th. Set off on an excursion²⁴ into the interior with John, Michael, Hottentot Frederick and about 10 Caffers to penetrate over the range of mountains at our back, taking our direction up Growler's river²⁵ which appears to run close to some very high table-land about thirty miles inland of us.²⁶ After three days journey over a very mountainous country with deep and frightful channels or kloofs between the mountains through which it being impossible to pass we were obliged continually to make circuits round which made our progress very tedious, we got to the river again which we had not seen since the first day, thinking of keeping along the mountains to cut off its many windings. We at first saw the river from a mountain that abruptly ended in a perpendicular rock about 2000 feet above a beautiful valley through which the river runs. We were forced to go a considerable distance before we fell in with a winding path in another mountain by which we descended and crossed the river abreast of the table-land. The country through which we had passed was a very fine one and had been very populous from the number of places where kraals had been and which were more conspicuous from the number of skulls lying near each (Chaka having killed all the inhabitants). But in crossing this river and going up towards the table-land the scene was shocking. It appeared as if thousands of people had been murdered in the numerous kraals that stood here and more recently than the others, as the whole of their bones were lying where each had been killed. A great number appeared to have been burnt in their huts as their bones were lying inside of where they stood, and we particularly noticed those of two boys and girls that must from their position have died in each other's arms. We could likewise see pots that were standing on the fire-places and many things that were placed by the inhabitants prior to their eating, and concluded that Chaka as is his custom must have taken them by surprise in the night-time. The whole country about these kraals was strewn with bones of those who I suppose had tried to escape up the mountains. As we proceeded, from seeing recent footsteps we supposed people were living here who

probably had escaped the massacre, and we had not journey[ed] far before the Caffers, who have eyes like hawks, saw the smook of a small fire coming from a little valley under the top of the table-land and for which we proceeded and got close without being discovered; but John and Michael, thinking to make sure of communication, having pushed on before myself or the interpreter to speak to them, the Caffers to the number of nine who had all shields and hassegays with them, seeing John alone sent one man from the party towards him, at which he without any apparent occasion took the alarm and very foolishly fired, notwithstanding I requested him not to do so, which they taking for a sign of war and seeing more people advancing went off calling out to their companions to come and kill us as we were few men, and prevented our having any communication. As we waited till near night without seeing any person and all our provisions were consumed, we were obliged to return as it would have been unwise sleeping on the top of the hill amongst a number of hostile Caffers. It appeared from their observations which we heard that they took us for Chaka's people, but did not know what to make of me or my horse which they took for a bullock. We slept that night near the river and, having nothing to eat, were obliged to return without enjoying the sight we had anticipated from the top of the table-land. Hunger pressed, which induced us to make haste home²⁷ where we arrived about 10 o'clock of the . . .²⁸

6. Occurrences at Shaka's kraal, 1826

In this extract (125-126) we are faced with a curious problem. We have here a series of episodes which took place during Shaka's campaign against Sikhunyana, chief of the Ndwandwe tribe.²⁹ In one of them Farewell describes how he had to leave Fynn behind because he was ill; but in Fynn's version we are told that *he* had to leave *Farewell* behind, as he had been injured by an ox. Both men undoubtedly went to Shaka's aid, and Fynn certainly proceeded beyond the military 'base' and has described the actual fighting, in which, however, he himself took no part. On the other hand, Farewell's descriptions are too circumstantial to be lightly set aside. Doubtless there is some truth in both versions.

'A message of the king requiring us to attend him in his expedition against³⁰ . . . I thought it best to take as few people as I could,

perceiving that should I take many we might be put to many inconveniences and be constantly involved in quarrels with the natives and at the same time³¹ . . . which I should be extremely sorry to do, namely, assisting them in their fights one against another. I therefore thought it best, to prevent his quarrelling with us, to go myself taking only Mr. Fynn, who was unwell but wished to go as far as the king's, and further one Hottentot, the interpreter, and an English boy and a native who we could depend upon³² from having been long with us, and who understood firing a musket well.

Started Wednesday, August³³ . . . , and after a tedious journey of eight days in consequence of Mr. Fynn's illness preventing travelling faster, arrived at the king's who received us very friendly and was most happy to see us. He killed a fat bullock immediately for us, gave lots of beer, and seemed perfectly satisfied at my excusing the rest of the party on account of having much work to do, but said he would have taken it very ill of me if I had not come. The next morning, according to custom, he had a look at all our things and got hold of a lancet with which he appeared much pleased when he was informed of its use, and on my giving it him presented me with a large elephant's tooth. He asked me if I would accompany him on his expedition and was much pleased on my answering him that I would, saying he would give me plenty of cattle, etc. We retired to breakfast and had scarcely begun when we were again summoned to the king who was trying the effect of the lancet on the backsides of some of his chiefs preparatory to his using it himself. Five of his chiefs were bled in this manner when after a great many attempts and no blood coming Mr.³⁴ . . . explained to him that there was too much flesh there. To cut a vein he then made him bleed him in the leg³⁵ . . . I know no other reason for his making the experiment. He was very liberal in giving us provisions.

Next morning, being Sunday,³⁶ the king set out taking a large party with him who had arrived the previous day consisting principally of very young men who he intended breaking in on this occasion.³⁷ As it is his custom never to let anyone know when he intends starting on an expedition I was ignorant of his intention and as Mr. Fynn had taken medicine was obliged to decline accompanying him that day, but said I would on the next. In the evening he sent two fine cows for us to eat on the road and

one to kill previous to setting out. As Mr. Fynn was very ill on Monday I deferred setting out till Tuesday morning, which I did leaving Mr. F. behind. We travelled about N.N.W. over high hills and mountains, and in the evening slept at one of the king's servant's kraals, who killed a cow for me and was remarkably civil, offering me anything his kraal afforded.

Wednesday. Arrived after travelling over a similar country in the same direction at a large kraal where the king had previously slept and where the Hottentot had a row with Umsequan.³⁸

Thursday. Commenced travelling in a similar direction over similar country covered with aloes and thorn trees with few wild fig trees of large dimensions and slept at a small kraal but a very neat and good one which is.³⁹ . . .

B. Henry Francis Fynn

The three following extracts appear to have been taken from the original notes made by H. F. Fynn. These notes, usually called his journal, were unfortunately buried with Fynn's brother, Frank, to whom he had lent them.⁴⁰ The date of Frank's death is not known, but there is clear evidence that he was alive in June, 1831,⁴¹ and a strong suggestion that he was still in Port Natal in 1838.⁴² So, as Fynn had of necessity to rewrite his notes from memory long after Smith's visit, it follows that the passages copied by Smith were from the originals.

I. *A visit to Shaka, 1824*

This visit (115-116) took place towards the end of 1824. It is alluded to in Fynn's published diary, where, however, no date is given.⁴³ But there we are told that Fynn set out for Shaka's residence on the day after Farewell formally took possession of Natal, i.e. on 27th August, 1824. Smith, however, gives October as the month.

'Friday. October.⁴⁴ Set off for Chaqua's residence with about twenty of my own people (natives), and arrived at Chacka's on the fifth day. Nothing particular occurred on my journey except not getting any bullocks killed for us during our journey, but we had a plentiful supply of milk, etc.

The king received me in a most friendly manner, and had me in a little place fenced round his house, which is his *sanctum*

sanctorum, and, after looking at my presents with which he was much pleased, would have everything belonging to me brought unto him to look at, and asked me the use of tea, sugar, etc., saying I must now live with him as he intended eating after our manner. I remained with him. He had a fine fat sheep killed for me, as he said he heard we liked it better than bullocks; and told me if I was hungry to go and eat and get my house put up close to his, as he wished me near him.

Wednesday. First thing in the morning sent for by the king who wished to see all my things again and particularly my musquet and bayonet. At this interview it was mentioned that a portion of Zuidi's people⁴⁵ were seen in the northern parts of his dominion. He told me confidentially to look at my book and tell him if it were true for he did not believe it. He thought we knew everything by our books. A comet had made its appearance some days before our arrival,⁴⁶ which they consider as the precursor of some disaster, and the news of the hostile force coming against them confirmed them in that opinion. I found out also that when it thunders Chacka has several men of his guard armed with hassegays to prevent it hurting him, and the natives have an opinion that if they put out some milk the thunder will come to it in a shape they are not able to describe, but by throwing a spear at it, it will kill it and prevent its hurting any person.

Thursday. A part of a force Chaka had sent out returned with a great quantity of cattle.⁴⁷ It appears that they were nearly as far as the back of Mosambique to a country whose king's name was⁴⁸ . . . , and found the people had gone with a view of plundering some other nation, so they had no fighting, but murdered all the women, children and people they could find and returned with the cattle.'

Smith added the following explanatory passage (114), apparently at a later date.

'Zuede was the chief of a tribe lying N. of Chacka called Indwande. His son succeeded him, called Isiconiana, who with his people were destroyed by Chacka in a pitched battle north 400 miles from Natal, not as the bird flies, road. That was quite an independent chief equal in power to Chacka, and his people fought in the same manner. They fought desperately, fought to

the last moment, not one run away. They had been in constant opposition to each other and both afraid.'

2. Occurrences at Shaka's kraal in May, 1826

The events described in this extract (128-129) are also described by Isaacs,⁴⁹ from whose account the precise dates can be calculated. It should be noted that Fynn uses the third person in one place, but this was not unusual with him.⁵⁰

'Large parties of men had likewise been assembling from other quarters by the king's order as he had heard of a neighbouring nation coming to attack him and wished to muster his men together to see them preparatory to sending a force to attack them.

In the afternoon⁵¹ he had a review of the whole and there were present, I should conceive, from 23,000 to 25,000 fighting men which formed a very grand and novel appearance. It was difficult to estimate the numbers because in some places they were 50 deep and in others 100 and all standing close together. They were most warlike-looking men, and according to their different coloured shields were distinguished. A large body of young men had hats made somewhat after the manner of the Hottentot hats at the Cape in imitation of one Mr. Fynn wore,⁵² and looked very well coming up to a point on which were a bunch of feathers, and the party wore immense quantities of feathers on their heads which had a fine appearance and indeed it would be scarce possible, in my opinion, to add to their fine, savage and warlike look by any other mode of dress, and as they were brought up from their youth to fighting and consequently employed against surrounding nations, I should think the force now mustered able to destroy all the nations on the side of the Colony, as they are well-trained men after their manner of fighting and are under the most complete command as it is instant death if an order is not instantly obeyed which is not the case with other nations, and if a man runs he seldom escapes death so that they have no recourse but to fight and that at close quarters, for they are only allowed to carry one hassegay to prevent their throwing at a distance, and this can only be employed in stabbing as, if thrown, it leaves the man without arms. Large bodies of them performed different manoeuvres and afterwards all the body formed into a circle and sang a song, the purport of which was that they would kill all the Amapontos

and that Fako⁵³ their king should darken the earth with his body. At night the king sent for me and asked me if I had not plenty of men, and whether he was not able to destroy all the white as well as black men if he wished it, which his interpreter to keep him in humour told him he was.

Saturday. Sent for by the king in the morning to give some medicine to a woman that was sick.⁵⁴ He told me I had cured one and he wanted me to save this. He also asked me if I saw all the men on the hills which were covered with them, and on my saying that he had plenty of people he told me that these were not the same men I saw yesterday but what I had not yet seen, which was not true as they were the same force only differently placed, which I suppose was done with a view to make me fancy that he has more men than what he has.'

3. *Why Fynn left Natal, 1831*

This statement (200-204) is dated precisely. It was obviously prepared by Fynn in reply to allegations which had been made to the effect that he had been expelled from Natal. It was written in Pondoland, where he had taken refuge, and may have been intended for publication. The events described in it were also described by Isaacs from his own point of view.⁵⁵

'Mr. Henry Fynn's account why he fled from Port Natal. Dated 21st July, 1831

Arrived on 17th July at the Amapondas. We have been living at Natal on the most amicable terms with the Zoolahs till the return of the last mission to the Colony.

Jacob, the interpreter, who was one of the party, arrived with Ogle, having left Cain on the road. We heard no other news than that [the] Gov[ernor] had refused the ivory from Dingan. Cane was forced to sell it to buy beads.

About 7 days after, Cain arrived, but the fullness of the rivers prevented his proceeding. At the falling of the rivers [he] sent by his people the things he had bought for Dingan. During their absence a messenger arrived from Dingan requesting a visit from my brother. Mr. Isaacs accompanied him.⁵⁶ 10 days after, Umlabales,⁵⁷ a Zoolah chief, arrived with a present of 4 oxen to me, and requiring I would call out all the white people with guns to assist him in attacking a party which had stolen some cattle.

Jacob had⁵⁸ sent a message to Dingan that an attack upon him was intended by the Colony. My brother heard that on the road and sent me a letter by Umlabaza. Cane arrived and told me that on the road he had heard that 2 Zoola regiments were on the road to attack us.⁵⁹ I removed people and cattle to a neighbouring bush. A boy whose relations were with me arrived, saying he had left one of the reg[imen]ts who were preparing to start just as he left to attack us. 4 days after, a messenger arrived from Dingan saying no harm was intended to me, and that Cane's kraals were surrounded, and as the people had fled to the bush they, Dingan's people, demanded the cattle which were given up, and that the *St. Michael*⁶⁰ had arrived.

We returned and despatched persons to ask particularly of Dingan as to the affair. They returned in 15 days, bringing good assurances that Kabendwana,⁶¹ who was the messenger, was in disgrace and not allowed to enter the king's kraal, having neglected his orders. Sent an order that we must send our elephant guns. Under circumstance[s] 4 of us proceeded with what of the cargo of the *St. Michael* was for the king, which was beyond his most sanguine expectations.

The following morning he requested me to go with 4 of his chiefs and Jacob to argue over the report Jacob had brought from the Colony.⁶² Jacob began by stating that he had been sent to the Colony by Dingan with a present to the Governor and to bring back what⁶³ might be sent. The Governor refused the present. Met a man of the Imdwando⁶⁴ nation on his way to the Colony who mentioned to him he had heard of an attack being intended upon the Zoolas, and that the 4 principal Kaffir chiefs Gaika, Slambi, Vosanie and Dushani⁶⁵ were dead and a consultation was about to be held by the remaining chiefs as to the best way of freeing themselves from the white people. A servant called in by Jacob repeated the same statement, and another man who had been with Ogle to the Colony repeated the same. Col. Somerset came unto Cane and asked who Jacob was. Said it was Jacob, when Col. Somerset replied: 'Oh, it is the villain? I will send him back to his chief Botman!' [He] did not do it because Cain remonstrated. Just said he had conversed with the Cape Corps men and they asked him about the Zoola way of fighting and said that Somerset, Stockenstroom and Captain Campbell would be with Dingan. That when they were leaving

Graham's Town Col. Somerset said: 'I will not be long after you'.⁶⁶

The chiefs agreed with him that it was suspicious. Understood [the death of] the chief who had died had been occasioned by poison or witchcraft. The chiefs went off to the king and returned saying that he wished [to hear] no more about the matter; that on the return of the army he intended Jacob to see no more suns. I saw one chief go and speak confidentially to Jacob and therefore suspected duplicity. I took an early opportunity of explaining to the king and asking why the white people should attack him. If they wanted cattle there were plenty nearer; if land the same. He perfectly agreed and insisted I should not speak more on the subject.

Next day our elephant hunter[s] 12 arrived, and also a company of Portuguese soldiers from Delagoa Bay.⁶⁷ Ogle and Jacob set out with the army.

Kalimba,⁶⁸ a man I had saved and who was living with me, came one evening to my hut at the king's trembling and spoke to me.⁶⁹ We went before starting to take leave of Dingan and then Kalimba proposed to be removed from me to another chief close [by]. Dingan permitted it. On the road Kalimba applied to be allowed to speak with me. I told him I could not trust him from his conduct. He said a scheme had been laid to take our lives when the vessel should sail from Natal. Said he was called one night with 4 chiefs, and Dingan told him that when he and Mr. Fynn came to take leave he must ask to be removed from Mr. Fynn; that at first he will refuse, then consent. One of the chiefs took him by the ear saying: "Rascal, do you hear, you dog that are admitted into the king's presence and honoured with the king's voice? I see into your heart. Dare, rascal, to divulge the king's bosom and you shall not see the evening setting sun! The whites do not keep these things secret, they face us with all they hear from us; and should Mr. Fynn keep this secret and you have told him, we shall see by his eyes." That was the reason why I told you that I had been sent to be reprimanded for not having collected all the people of my kraal.

Having left my brother with Dingan, Mr. W. Fynn, I wrote to him to come away as we were not likely to remain at Natal. On arrival at Natal we soon moved off to the westward. Seven days after leaving Natal we were attacked by the Zoolas and

had several killed and wounded. They took our cattle, 150. Kelimba was certainly in the plot, having a day or two after leaving been disinclined to go on. After a consultation with the people I shot him. Many of the Natal people had joined in the plot and carried off parties of cattle.⁷⁰

Kelimba was a Zoolo chief [who] revolted during Chaka's time, but joined again after his death. [He] was ordered to be killed but [was] saved by my interference.

Previous to this Mr. W. Fynn had gone to Dingan with Mr. Isaacs and had heard of the intended attack. Dingan was much enraged against Cane, and whilst we we[re] at the kraal sent a body of boys, as he called them, to attack Cane, two reg[imen]ts, Clomenthlen⁷¹ and Injanduna,⁷² but Cane had taken to the bush. Kebedwana was spie [sic] and messenger. The soldiers got some cattle but when a party of Cane's people, armed, came out against them they fled. Mr. Fynn after this returned to Natal and went in search of his brother, and Cane found them and returned to their homes.

The vessel, St. Michael, which was off the Bay when we returned, came and shortly after the message applying for the Europeans with the elephant guns came to Mr. Henry Fynn, which led to their going up as already mentioned in the preceding pages. He⁷³ said to Mr. Fynn "I have so often heard of your running away that I suppose one day I shall hear of your going altogether".

There are five other short fragments (115, 115, 126, 127, 127) but as they do not add anything of importance they have been omitted.

NOTES

1. The month, May, is possibly correct (Fynn, p. 58 and f.n.), but 7th May, 1824, did not fall on a Tuesday, but on a Friday.
2. A slip on Smith's part; it should be Tuesday.
3. The vessel in which Fynn had voyaged to Natal.
4. Compare Fynn, p. 58 and f.n., and Theal, G. M., *History of South Africa since 1795* (Allen and Unwin, Fifth Edition), London, 1926, ii, p. 325 and f.n.
5. Umhlatuzan and Umbilo.
6. A remnant of the AmaThuli tribe.
7. Probably Mathuli.
8. Matabane, an AmaThuli chief.
9. Compare Fynn, p. 94 et seq.
10. See p. 38, note 71.

11. Leopard.
12. The Umgeni. The name given to it by Farewell is curious, and doubtless commemorates some awkward incident. A 'growler' in maritime language is an argumentative sailor, who is restive under regulations, and therefore an undesirable character.
13. Compare Fynn, p. 121, and Isaacs, i, pp. 50-1.
14. Lieutenant King.
15. Isaacs, after the death of J. S. King, retained his journal and all the drawings that he had made (Isaacs, i, xxxi and xxxiii). The portrait of Shaka alluded to in this extract appears in Isaacs i as the plate facing p. 48, and I suspect that 'A Zoolu Prophetess' in Isaacs ii, plate facing p. 139, is the picture of Shaka's sister. It seems strange that King himself, whose description of the occasion is quoted by Isaacs in i, p. 50, made no mention of the portraits. It looks as though a paragraph may have been omitted by Isaacs.
16. See Isaacs, i, pp. 31-2. Isaacs, however, gives the date as 15th October.
17. This sentence may be an interpolation of Smith's. He certainly made elaborate notes on the AmaMpondo, some of which he doubtless obtained from Fynn.
18. Somewhere on the Berea.
19. The AmaThuli.
20. *Tshwala*, or 'Kafir-beer'.
21. I cannot identify this man.
22. Msika, an *induna* sent by Shaka to serve Fynn.
23. Smith's gloss.
24. This expedition is described nowhere else.
25. The Umgeni.
26. In the neighbourhood of Hillcrest.
27. To Port Natal.
28. The extract stops short here.
29. Bird, i, p. 86, dates Fynn's account of this episode as 1824. In Fynn, p. 122, the same account, though verbally altered, is dated May, 1826. Isaacs, i, pp. 104-5, proves that it occurred in 1826, and that Shaka's summons arrived at the Port about 12th June of that year. The month, August, mentioned by Smith is therefore substantially correct.
30. Sikhunyana.
31. Blank in the manuscript.
32. These five words were inadvertently repeated by Smith.
33. Blank in the manuscript. The date, however, was 2nd August, 1826.
34. Fynn.
35. There is something missing here, for half a line is blank in the manuscript.
36. This would have been 13th August, since Sunday 6th must have been included in the eight days' journey to the king's kraal.
37. Compare Isaacs, i, p. 115.
38. Doubtless meant for Umbequan, or Mbikwana, the uncle of Shaka. See Fynn, p. 64 et seq.
39. The extract ends abruptly at this point.
40. Fynn, p. xii.
41. Isaacs, ii, p. 222.
42. *Proceedings of the Commission*, etc., Part III, Pietermaritzburg, 1853, p. 27.
43. Fynn, p. 91, paragraph 3.
44. No date for the day is given; it may have been 1st October, which fell upon a Friday in that year.
45. The Ndwandwe tribe, whose chief was Zwide.

46. This comet, unfortunately, cannot be dated, as several appeared during these years.
47. From Zwide's herds.
48. No name is given by Smith, but the man was probably Makhasane, chief of the Tembe Thonga.
49. Isaacs, i, pp. 96-9.
50. Bird, i, p. 91, f.n. In the published diary the first person is used throughout.
51. Wednesday, 12th May, 1826. See Isaacs, i, pp. 96-9.
52. Compare Isaacs, i, pp. 99-100, and Fynn, p. 285.
53. Faku, paramount chief of the AmaMpondo.
54. Fynn had previously cured a woman at Mbikwana's kraal in six days. See Fynn, p. 66 and f.n. The present episode was probably a sequel to that one.
55. Isaacs, ii, p. 225.
56. Isaacs, ii, p. 181.
57. Umlambale. See Isaacs, ii, pp. 142 and 152.
58. 'And' in the manuscript.
59. Isaacs, ii, p. 181.
60. The brig in which Isaacs sailed from Natal on 24th June, 1831.
61. I cannot identify this man.
62. Compare Isaacs, ii, p. 221.
63. 'Which' in the manuscript.
64. Ndwandwe.
65. Ngqika, Ndhlambe, Vusani and Mdushane.
66. Isaacs, ii, p. 221. In Fynn, p. 196, this remark is attributed to 'the soldiers'.
67. Compare Fynn, p. 198.
68. Lukulimba, Fynn's treacherous native servant.
69. See Isaacs, ii, p. 121.
70. I think that Fynn's actual account ends here, and that the remainder of the extract was communicated by him to Smith verbally.
71. uHlomendlini.
72. Injanduna. Compare Fynn, p. 223, and Gardiner, p. 145.
73. Dingane.

AMAZULU

Manners and Customs of the Zulu

Smith's notes on Zulu manners and customs were, I think, largely derived from Fynn. Like the rest of his Zululand material they appear in different parts of his note-book. I have endeavoured to rearrange them in the order in which I believe they were made, beginning with those written down by Smith while he was travelling with Fynn from the Umkomaas area to Port Natal, continuing with those which appear to have been made while he was staying at the Port (and which may possibly have been copied from some of Fynn's original papers), and concluding with a few more general notes also doubtless obtained from Fynn.

Here and there, of course, one detects passages which were undoubtedly the result of Smith's own observation. Smith the natural historian and Smith the medical man naturally saw much that interested them; and Smith the military man had to remember that his real reason for being in Natal at all was to gather details of the strength of the people in the country and of the manner in which they were governed. And he had only a very short time to do it in.

The result is a mass of information some of which is, I think, not to be found elsewhere, and all of which serves as a useful check on observations made by other and later writers.

(129-135) Thinks Dingaan's residence is about 45 miles inland.¹ By west of Gold Downs River² a dispersed tribe with cattle [who] live by hunting, [and] have the ring on the head like the Zolas [*sic*]. On the other side of the Gold Downs River is the country of Maceasane,³ the nation Mathlanga,⁴ which extends to the Mapota;⁵ Hair brought to a ridge like the roof of a house, houses built with reeds to five or six foot high and then a roof put on, with thatched, women perfectly naked except a small piece of linen in front, and behind one string of large brass balls. Men imitate the Zolas and now begin to use rings on the head. Speak quite a different language. They imitate many of the customs, etc. of the Portuguese.⁶

Found a nation of women between the Mapota and the Portuguese. First the Portuguese had made slaves of the men

and the women had had all their arms carried off by a tribe from the interior. In a starving state, eating the bark off the trees. Some actually died with the bark in their mouths. Also on shells.⁷

Sow according to the rains. Sometimes begin in June, sometimes not till September. Usually four months to ripen. In January sow the corn which they reap and it is ready in the end of February and March. In the early part of the season it requires longer to ripen than in the latter part. Plantains grow well; they had them when they came here. Have tobacco. Never saw a Zola smoak tobacco but *dakka*. Have two sorts of vegetable, one for making beer and the other called *lapoka*⁸ for strengthening beer made from any of the other. Do not put the *lapoka* in the *milote* [?] beer, which is like a bulrush. Indian corn tastes sweeter along the coast than inland. The long grass when burnt in the winter grows as strong and high again before next burning time. Use the stalks of the long, strong grass as candles. Thatch their houses with it. The only real sickness here has been from dysentery. The Delagonians have hassegays with very thick handles and a nobe [*sic*] at the end like a karrie.

When Dingan was publicly acknowledged as king it was at the season when they were dancing after the corn was fit for use. Previous to those dances any person eating corn would be killed.

When Chaka's mother died, the next day the people came to his kraal to cry. After some time he had an aunt of his put to death as well as some young girls. Then the people everywhere began to kill each other, and some run off and commenced it in the country so that there was a general murder. At length he gave an order to stop it. He ordered that any woman found with child during 12 months should be killed. She must have had connection so as to have the child.¹⁰

The people when dancing leapt out and held their shields over Dingan's head when he was proclaimed king. During the interregnum Imbop,¹¹ Chaka's servant, was acting king. When Chaka was killed, a messenger was sent to Natal with word that the white people might live easy; that Chaka who wished to kill them all was dead. Chaka's kraal where he was killed was called 'The Ugly Year'.¹² Once when Chaka was near Natal he was, at the request of Umsegay,¹³ told by Mr. Fynn that a dog had been made to run upon the house in which he had slept. He

sent for Umsegay and asked him what he thought had caused it to run, then after some hesitation he said it was a man of Mr. Fynn's. Mr. F. was immediately desired to have him killed. He objected, and explained that said Umsegay had offered cattle for the life of said man. Proceedings were delayed. Chaka visited Umsegay's kraals and desired him to assemble his people. He then desired him to kill a man he fixed upon and all his wives. This was a man very useful to Umsegay.

A low person visiting the king on business cannot approach him. He must report his message to the servant or a chief, and by them it reaches the king. Perhaps he may be sent for by the king.

The aged women cease to use the red top knot and to shave the head, but have the whole hair in long cylindrical red strings.

Chaka on one occasion sent a great number of old men beyond the mountains and there had them all put to death. He made those that lived of them and who went to war wear a monkey skin petticoat. They were not expected to fight.¹⁴

Each man going to war has a boy with him to carry his shield. When a commando goes out or returns they plunder in every kraal that comes in their way, friends or foes.

Chaka was very anxious to be the only king of the black people.

Boys and girls use black paint for their hair, married women red clay. They whiten their faces in various ways.

They call the first fruit dances *chamering*.¹⁵

As the woman to be married approaches, the people run out with cattle and sing. She comes about dark and with her male and female friends sing to the kraal, and then round the kraal up to the chief's house. The woman gets some beads from her intended husband and distributes them amongst the women and gives some to the chief. Next day they dance. The husband is passive and sits still. If he has a bunch of feathers in his hair she often pulls it out and will abuse him at times and tell him his character. Also the women who are with her will abuse and tell him he has taken their women away.¹⁶

When we approached at John Cane's they were singing: 'We bring you one of our women; we hope she will make you a good wife'. She is in the middle of the people; men in front with shields. Formerly a great parade used to be made on such occasions, but now not permitted by Zolas.

Make earthenware pots. The women first fashion them and then burn them.

Have regular blacksmith's bellows; skin with a horn for a pipe, forge the ground. Work well; make hassegays, rings, etc. Earrings of wood, or stalks of Indian corn or *imfie*.¹⁷

Think if the *Buceros coronatus*¹⁸ can be brought dead into the kraal that the cattle will die.

During mourning a person cannot wear beads. Widows become the property of the chief. When the husband dies, if he have no relations and if any person wish them as wives they must pay the chief. King often arranges about marriages and when cattle are to be paid.

On the death of his mother all the cattle sent him were put together and formed as those of the Regiment of Tears. Young men taken from all regiments and formed the Regiment. When he became king the regiment called the Eyes of the Zolas were formed, and the cattle sent to him were put into the kraal of that regiment.¹⁹

When Umtabello,²⁰ captain of a regiment, was killed, the people surrounded his kraal in three rows. He on coming out of his house in the morning at break of day saw them. He returned into it, put his war dress on, and took his shield and hassegay, then rushed out and with fierceness broke the two inner rows. The outer attacked him and killed him. During his rush he kept saying 'Here I am, Umtabello, son of . . . '.

Another chief named . . . at the time he was killed made a long address to the people saying, 'Here dies Amawaya [?] the son of . . . that fought at . . . that fought at . . . and now die[s] here that belongs to such a king, etc.'²¹

No man dare ask the king a question. If he has anything to enquire, such as if such a thing be true, he says: 'Father, I have heard such a thing', and then if the king be disposed he tells him if it be so or not.

The black color is given to the hair by charcoal and fat.

The holes in their ears sometimes become very large and then they cut a portion off and bring the cut ends together so that they become smaller again. It is reckoned unfashionable to have such very large holes.²²

Six fingers are common amongst some of the Zolas and they surround the sixth by a piece of thread by which it falls off.

When a married women menstruates she cannot drink milk. During the time of mourning for Chaka's mother no milk was drank; the cows were milked on the ground.²³

Chaka was always very considerate towards strangers and the people of conquered nations.

Dingan wished to destroy the Cailies,²⁴ and to do it he summoned them to build him a kraal. When at work it was reported that a lion was destroying the king's cattle, and they with three other parties were sent to attack it, when the others fell upon them and killed them all.

They often get hold of a man by treachery when they wish to kill him, being unable to do it otherwise.

When Chaka had a chief killed, all the people of his kraal were also put to death. Dingan used to save the people; he now begins to follow the custom of Chaka.

Women amongst the Zolas soon after marriage or when menstruating cannot go into the cattle kraal; at other times they can. Distinction kept up between men and women, but not so great as in Cafferland.

When Dingan wishes to punish a chief he often gives him a woman from his seraglio for a wife and orders him to pay a hundred or two oxen for her.

When a man thinks different from the king he must not show it; he generally says if the king says or thinks so it must be right.

The color of the Zolas varies very much from deep black to a copper yellow, many of them have thinly scattered whiskers and beard as well as upon the organs of generation and armpits. Some have a great quantity of hair over the breast and along the centre of the belly.

Many are tatoored [*sic*] about the sides of the belly. A Delagonian was tatoored with one row all along the centre of the face to the tip of the chin; he seemed more anxious than the Zolas to wear rings of brass upon the arms.

Dingan gives some of his distinguished soldiers iron rings for the neck. Those that have killed men in battle wear strings of

pieces of wood round the neck, one string for each person, but they do not strictly adhere to this.²⁵

The Zolas do not wear ivory rings on the arms. Cows' tails round under the knee [the] favourite, also small tails or pieces of skin at the ankle. Generally eight or ten strings of beads under the knee and about the ankle.

When any of their clothing have holes in them, they edge the hole round with a few beads to prevent it increasing; this they consider pretty, and better than putting a piece in it. Monkey skins are much used in stripes as ornaments to cover the nates, also leopard, tyger and any other fur they can procure. The front cover of cat skin or long stripes of thin skin thirty or forty in number; in some the organs by the number and quantity are perfectly concealed.

The breasts of the women soon fall and hang much, and the form of their articles of dress tends to increase that. When full dressed the women wear a sort of skin tied round the loins and . . .

Dingan means 'I am'.²⁶ Umfolose means 'Honey' River.²⁷

Women dress . . . hanging low behind, in front fixed. Round the neck a skin edged with an antelope skin, the hair outside and at the lower end ornamented with beads. When their dress happens to have holes in it they often surround the holes each with a row of beads.²⁸

The Zolas think there is no harm in blowing the nose but great harm in coughing.

They often cut in a saw form the circumference of the ears of their cattle, and also in pendent lobes the dewlap.

When cows are difficult to milk they have a hole through the *septum nasium* and a string through it for holding her; during the day it is put up alongside the head. They use the same methods as the Caffers of blowing into the *vagina* to make them stand still.

They pour the whey off the thick milk and use the latter alone. They never use the bag that the Caffers do but a calabash. In order to get the thick milk out they have a hole at the bottom of the vessel opposite the one through which the milk is poured in and out, and through this they blow air from the mouth.

They dress each other's hair and everyone has a small piece of wood like a large pin which they carry about the head for the

purpose. They have their hair in the young people twisted into round balls smaller than peas.

Earrings, wood and imfie, variously ornamented. Penis covers made from the hide of an ox or grass plaited on a frame.

The boys wear short coverings behind like a transverse band; the men long-tailed ones. The boys the grass penis cover.

Milk sac the same as the frontier Caffers.

(155-162) 2 men of the late *Pepane*²⁹ at Natal

Him and his people lived on the east of the Umzimculo River about 20 miles from it. The name of the people [was] Amalanga (to say the suns).³⁰ They were distinct people from the Zolas, and Chacka had nothing to do with them. They were powerful before Chacka destroyed them.

Says that the Amacola³¹ lived on the west of the Umzimculo and were destroyed by Dingan before Pepane's people. Dingan's own people destroyed the Amacola in order to get their cattle. They lived from Umzimculo to the west. Attacked them in the night. Dingan was not with them; he never goes himself. They attack also by day. Those that remained fled to the Amapondas. (Amaculo means 'great'.) Mamblas,³² a chief of Dingan's, conducted the commando that destroyed Pepane's people. They came in the night. Dingan was always in the habit of taking away cattle from them, and on this occasion he took them all. What escaped fled to the hills and woods. They returned to the same place and now live under Umbelas³³ (Fynn). They have all the hair shaved off the head; only an oval plaited ring on the upper part of the head. This tribe did not circumcise; the Amaculo neither. Used to purchase their wives by 25 cattle. They were partly on the other side and partly on this side. The Amaculo also lived on the other side of the hills. The two tribes never fought together.

Amongst the people of Natal and also the Zolas, when a girl is sick the first time she retires to a hut by herself and all the girls of the kraal go with her. During the time they occasionally sing the most obscene songs that can be imagined. The girls come out and dance, but the sick one never appears. They endeavour to entrap people (males) to enter the house where she is, upon



which she covers herself on the head with a kaross, jumps forward, and throws herself down across the door whereby he is prevented getting out as he cannot step over her (a Caffer Zola will never step over any person, even their legs, as it is considered a great insult. They will always fill a dish from which a person is to eat, never give it half full). In this state they keep him till he pays the forfeit which is a quantity of beads. After 2, 3, 4, 5 or 6 weeks, according to the caprice of the Mrs. [mistress] of the kraal, they leave the hut and then the parents must kill if they have anything. During the time she is sick the young girls all dance and the young men from other kraals come to select their sweethearts. Each dances in a row and there is a pole in the middle. Then one young man dances towards it and touches it with two fingers, then retreats. It is settled they are sweethearts. If none advance to him he is laughed at. I am told an indecent word at other times will create a feeling of shame, but at such a time as above described is approved. A young woman may have a sweetheart at every kraal but never two belonging to the one kraal. [This was] instituted to prevent quarrelling among the young people.³⁴

Chacka was a man of great feeling and used frequently from grief or excessive joy to burst out into a crying fit. When his army passed before him on crossing the Umzimculo, he was affected with one of those and asked Mr. F[ynn] if ever he saw so great a man as he was.

Women who have borne many children usually have a sort of circular bandage to encircle the belly as support; with this they may every day be seen.

After a girl has been sick and they are walking about again, all the young people have³⁵ rush cords in great numbers round the waist which they wear for a fortnight or so, and then destroy them.

The Zolas are very ingenious in carving in wood, and with it they make plates, milk dishes, etc., for the king. The common people do not use such things.

To wash upon an elephant is reckoned a great crime amongst the Zolas as it is supposed that it is making the washer able to stand against his chief and give him strength. It is death by their law. Also to wash the skins which are the tribute paid to the

king with roots is death. The chief which Mr. F[ynn] had lately put to death was stated by Dingan to have done so, and thus was killed, though the principal cause was his perfidy to Fynn.³⁶

Words of the Zola language very frequently become obsolete in consequence of some person of note having had the name and died. Thus Nande was Chacka's mother and that word imported 'nice'. After her death Chacka ordered that it should no more be used but . . .³⁷ was substituted. Dingan out of opposition to Chacka has re-admitted it, and now the men commonly say *nande* but the women usually employ the other. Chacka meant 'a diarrhoea',³⁸ and it is said that Nande had that during her pregnancy of him, and that when he was born he was so called. On becoming king he ordered the substitution of another word. Such is common, and hence the language gets very varied.

They rarely mutilate vanquished enemies, and only one instance is known of their having done so, which was cutting off the ears of a man who had attempted to kill Chacka. A person yielding himself up or running to them when at war is certain of every consideration and his life is never taken. They principally make their attacks just as the day breaks; if in the night they cannot distinguish between the enemy and their own people.

Chacka used when in presence of his people to ridicule all the acts of the white people, but when alone to admit their superiority. After such proceedings he would sometimes say to the white: 'I must do this before my people though I know it is not correct.' He did it with the intention of making them consider their and his own importance. He in his heart wished to serve the whites yet openly he did not show it for fear of creating jealousy.³⁹

He never permitted any of his wives to have children. If any became pregnant abortion was⁴⁰ produced, or if that could⁴¹ not [be done] the woman was put to death. [He] thought that if he had children he was weakened. [He] had none when he died. [He] did not permit his young warriors to get children and if he permitted them to have anything to do with women it was only between a woman's thighs.

He was very anxious to have [his] gray hairs turned black again, and was particularly anxious after Macassar oil to effect that.⁴²

The girls before they are woman wear a girdle of grass round their middles about 6 inches deep and neatly made. When married they employ a caross if they can procure it.

On one occasion Chaka's mother brought one of his wives to him and accused her of being pregnant by him. He asked for the child, and as soon as he got it he tossed it up and it was destroyed. The mother was then put to death.

Chamering [written in above: 'Wrong'. The first fruits of the year]. *Clabonkering* is a common practice amongst the Zolas⁴³ and consists of the young men of a kraal laying with the young girls but only having connection between their thighs. It is a common practice and usual for the young men of one kraal to apply to the chief of another for permission to *chamer* [altered to *clabonker*] with the girls of that [and they are] usually admitted. Many girls get into disgrace for permitting a boy to sleep with them as man and wife. Previous to circumcision it is customary with the Zolas to *chamer* [corrected to *clabonker*].

A powerful tribe to the eastward of the Zolas first set the example of a regular war. It occurred between his brothers and one of those.⁴⁴ The victorious [brother?] took Chacka under his charge when a younger brother was reigning. At last Chaka got another brother by the same mother to kill the brother and that being effected Chacka assumed the sovereignty. When this happened the Zolas were a small, insignificant tribe; but upon his joining with the chief of the large tribe already mentioned to assist him against the Indwades,⁴⁵ and by his artifice [in] making the latter acquainted with the position of the king, his friend, they fell upon him and killed him. Chaka recommended them to return home and live peaceable and create another king. Some time after they had effected that, he divided the people by his artifices and then forgot and conquered those who opposed him. The vanquished nation was thus added to his, and after conquering tribe after tribe the Zolas have attained their present greatness.

On the death of Chaka, Cato the brother of . . . also a vanquished chief of the Quabis,⁴⁶ revolted from Dingan and with some few thousand people fled to the westward and there was attacked by Dingan and routed. He knew that Farewell was taking presents for Dingan and also that a spy of Dingan's

dressed in a great coat was with him, both of which conspired to induce them to murder Farewell.⁴⁷

When Chaka was wounded during the residence of Mr. Fynn at his kraal two parties were immediately dispatched in quest of the offender who was supposed to be one of the Indwades. After some days they returned with a man whom they left about 4 miles from the kraal. The people who were crying then went out and those who brought him in sat down on each side of the road and they first, each with a stick, went and beat the body to pieces; each left the stick so that there was an immense heap of sticks and in the end scarcely the appearance of flesh or bone. At the time the accident happened they were dancing and a great number of people who were holding tapers of lighted grass instantly extinguished them, whilst a great uproar prevailed throughout the kraal. The lights appeared to be extinguished accidentally in consequence of the surprise. It is doubtful if the man brought was the right one but the regiment were afraid to return without someone.⁴⁸

When they marry the bride approaches the kraal of the bridegroom attended by a certain number of young women of her kraal towards night. The eldest wife of the bridegroom or his mother or nearest relative goes out to them and she will not come to the house till she gets some beads. When she comes in she will not sit down till she gets some more and then she will not eat till she gets some more next day.

Chacka did not wish any of his soldiers to marry because he did consider them rendered worse soldiers. During his time few were married; women of thirty and forty [were] without husbands. It is only within the last few months that Dingan has given almost all permission to marry, and now those that had none [i.e. wives] are getting eight and ten. Great demand for hides in consequence. In this way the strength of the native must only have been kept up by the addition of conquered enemies.

Chaka used to sleep in company with four of his wives, one on each side and one across the feet and one at the head.

It is no uncommon thing for a woman to hold a light whilst the husband has connection with another wife.

It is not Mesalacatzie but Umsalagas.⁴⁹ He was a petty chief that left Zindi⁵⁰ and has raised himself into importance. He

is not the hereditary successor of any chief of a kingdom. Amongst the Zolas *inkos*⁵¹ is employed to designate the king alone, and the chiefs are called *numsan*.⁵²

Dingaan exacts all the teeth of elephants killed by the Zolas; the sea-cows' teeth the people keep themselves.

The tyger is considered as a bad animal by the Zolas and its skin is never worn. They, even Dingan, do not wear karosses; but the latter in the morning sometimes has round his shoulders a large green cloth of baize; when warm he throws it off.

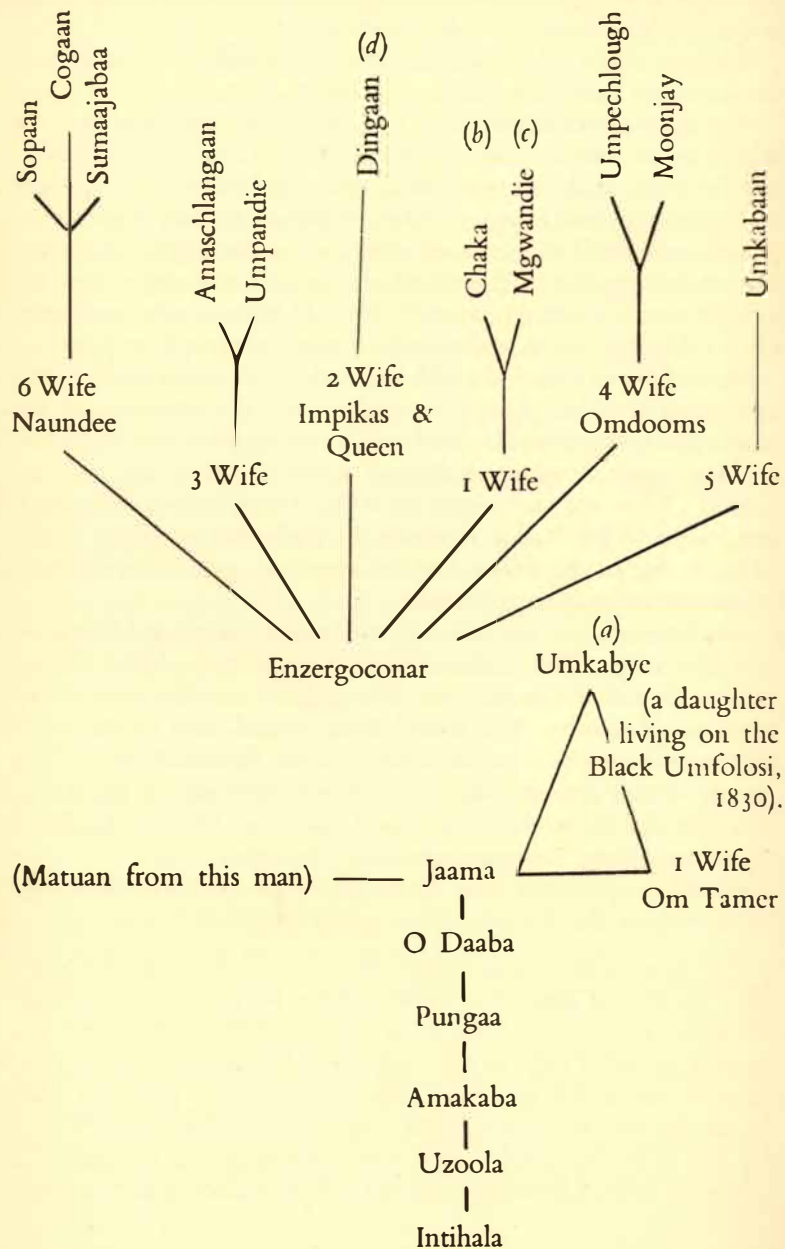
The same kind of heaps of stones occur amongst the Zolas, and on passing one of those I asked Dingan's messenger why he did not throw a stone thereon.⁵³ He said there was no necessity for his doing so, as he was certain of getting enough of food.

Mats of about 2 feet in width are used by the Zolas for sleeping upon, and wooden pillows variously made and ornamented are employed to support the head. As covering they have little or nothing; only the torn and small karosses which the women possess. They are very desirous of blankets but few will pay a price for one that makes it worth the trader to furnish it. They make a fire in the house and lie upon the ground with their heads low to escape the smook.

Amanquan⁵⁴ was the name of the nation of which Matuana⁵⁵ was the king. The Zolas take also the name of the father. Matuana's father's name was Masumba,⁵⁶ and he was called Matuana Masumba. The nation lived several days to the north of Dingan's residence on the sources of the Volosie River.⁵⁷ The people of that nation make large holes in their ears as the Zolas, and like the Zolas both men and women. Chaka plundered them, used their hassegays to throw and stick.

Umsalagas was not long time ago on the Umzimvubu; also were [*sic*] on the Tugela. Was nearly together.⁵⁸

(168) Tingaswain^{58a} was a chief who took Chaka into his service after he left his home for drowning his brother when bathing. He induced him (T) to fight the Imguandis^{58b} after having got himself placed as chief of the Zoolas and by perfidy had Tingaswain^{58a} [*sic*] killed after[wards] got the tribe to join and fight Inguandis and overcame them. All joined. Umsalagas^{58c} fled. He was a private individual and by address got to be chief of a powerful tribe. Umsalagas was the son of Amachaban,^{58d} a chief.

(186-190) *Genealogy of Chaka's Family*⁵⁹

(a) It is said this daughter reigned during the minority of . . .⁶⁰ and she assumes and keeps up the appearance of great authority.

(b) Chaka begins his reign in 1817 and was assassinated on the 24th Sept. 1828 by his servant Mbope⁶¹ at the instigation of Dingaan, Amaschlagaan,⁶² and the other conspirators at the age of about 40 years.

(c) Mgwandic⁶³ was the son of Naunde⁶⁴ by a commoner after she was driven from the country. He was afterwards killed by Dingaan to prevent his urging any pretention to the throne.

(d) Dingaan, after the murder of Chaka, Amaschlagaan, Mgwandic and many others, begun his reign without farther opposition on Nov. 1828, being about 30 years of age.

Amaschlagaan killed by Dingaan in 1828 for opposing his claim to the throne.

Umpandic⁶⁵ very popular, and looked upon by the people as the rightful heir to the throne, but waved his claim in favour of Dingaan. He is in great favour. Aged about 20.

Umpechlough⁶⁶ living in 1830; about 30 years of age.

Umkabaan⁶⁷ killed in 1830 for a supposed conspiracy against the king.

Tingaswau⁶⁸
or

Tengaswacau
son of
Zumbayela⁷²
people called
Zeetwa⁷⁴

Matuan⁶⁹

Masupa⁷⁰
Quane⁷¹
Zuide or Zucte⁷³
people
Katwata⁷⁵

Chaka during a thunderstorm used to have himself covered by his wives.

Zoola house[s] have very low doors, and when they are suspicious of being attacked they have a second door behind, which is covered by the thatch. Huts made by placing three posts in a line and then over them a ridge pole, so:



This ridge pole is crossed again at right angles almost in contact with each other, which gives great strength to the fabric. Outside thatched. Inside not plastered; always black with smoak. Fireplace a little way inside of the door, and is of a circular form

with an elevated rim of clay. When the fire is burning not so much smoak. Inside of circle rather concave like a watch glass.

They secure their corn in conical houses or tubes formed with reeds and with a floor below which keeps it from the ground. Some are so large as to contain five or six muids. The floor is about 1 foot above the ground. Those are placed usually close to the kraal.

On one occasion a Hottentot belonging to one of Mr. Farewell's people ravished a Zoola woman. Farewell would not give him up to Chaka. The consequence was that Chaka sentenced them to promise people with guns to assist him in an attack upon some people living in the rocks as the penalty for the crime.⁷⁶

Umdinge was one of the chiefs who used to inhabit the country between the Umzimculo and the Amapondas.⁷⁷ He with Madigan⁷⁸ formed a plundering horde with a view of stealing from the frontier Caffers. Umdinge was in reality a very bad person, though he had the power of passing himself off as a very good-natured person to strangers.

At the time that Chaka was said to have been attacked by the Colonial commando in 1828, his commando were just carrying away the Amaponda cattle, and one of his regiments was within a few miles of Matuana's⁷⁹ tribe who were employed plundering the Amatembos. Thus arose the mistake about Chaka.

The women convey the heads of the Indian corn in baskets from the fields to the granary piled up sometimes three feet above the brim of the basket, one circle of heads place[d] within the one immediately under it, and the top one encircled and supported by a rope.

The bark of trees are used as line to fasten the poles of their houses and also the thatch.

They construct little circles of grass, and place one on the top of the head upon which they rest their baskets.

At Natal and the Zoola country they have two sorts of musical instruments. One [is] a long piece of reed open at both ends. One end is placed on the mouth and the finger upon the other. By blowing and fingering the sounds produced resemble those of the flute.⁸⁰ The other a bow string, and upon the string is fixed a calabash [*sic*]. The string is struck with reed or hard grass and certain musical tones are brought forth.⁸¹



This is fixed on bow instead of string. Sing when they play.

The country about the bay is low on the east and north and is almost all covered with bush, only here and there thin stripes of intervening flats. Land covered with luxuriant grass and here and there with clumps of reeds in situations where the humidity is abundant and permanent. On the north side of [the] bay there is a fine spring which might by pipes be conveyed to the very edge of the water to furnish water for ships. On the west side the bay is bounded by a high ridge which is thickly covered with bush and reaches in a slope to the very margin of the water. No water, or at least but little, upon the ridge. Near its top is the grave of Lt. King, R.N.

The cattle about John Cain's seem to feed well and most of them are very fat. The cows give but little milk. The majority of the cows are very small and even those, he says, are the best of the country.

At the time we were there though a great fear existed about Dingaan's commando⁸² yet the women bringing in the corn were jocular and gave utterance to all sorts of ridiculous remarks and displayed a variety of antique [antic] gestures. They never seem to remember anything till the very moment when it is to happen. Nothing at the time but extreme satisfaction and joy seemed to have a place in their ideas. They are perfectly thoughtless, and it is only the feelings of the moment that appear to have any influence upon them. One moment they appear filled with joy, next moment with fear and consternation.

The men do not assist in carrying in the corn but they watch the gardens during the night when the corn is nearly ripe.

According to the Zoola custom a man cannot marry the widow of a person to whom he has been a servant.

There are amongst the Natal Caffers some who are good mimics, and one is in the habit of mimicking some of the Zoola chiefs with great effect.

The Macasane or Delagonians⁸³ have a row of tattooed marks down the middle of the face from the upper part of [the] forehead following the bridge of the nose. The operation is performed by

raising the skin with a hook and then cutting half of it across with a knife or hassegay. Sometimes 300 of these cuts will be completed at one sitting.

Chaka asked John Cain to kill a woman sitting before him in his, Chaka's kraal. He refused to do it. Chaka took the hassegay and placed it on the woman's side, took John's hand [and] wished him to push it in. He would not. Chaka said: 'Do it. Look at her eyes. What a beautiful sight it is.'

It is a thing understood that when any servant of Chaka became acquainted with his habits he was certain of being killed. He never wished any person to understand his character or ideas.

When a chief is killed the master of the kraal, the queen and the doctor if there be any particularly belonging to him, is also killed.

Sometimes a chief takes a number of wives, and the one which the master of the kraal proclaims by order is the queen.

A king's wife must always be the daughter of another king.

It is thought that some of the Zoolas keep the red cat and send it out to scratch people, which causes them to become sick and die. The doctor is sent for on such occasions. The tyger is said to produce equally dangerous effects.

(116-117) *Remarkable uses, etc., of the natives*⁸⁴

Whenever a chief gives meat or any thing to an inferior person he must hold out both hands for it. If he was to omit doing so to the king he would be instantly killed.

When a man has killed another, either an enemy or by the king's orders, he cannot do any work or sleep with a woman or eat beef until he has eaten some roots which the doctor gives him. It is the same with a woman whose husband has been killed, only she is not allowed to go into any person's hut until she has done so.

It is death for a widow to drink sweet milk. The same punishment for a man to do so at the king's kraal.

Women are not allowed to beat [?] their male children. If she does, the boys are allowed to kill her, which is done frequently when such a thing happens as a woman striking her children.

It is death to cough before the king whilst he is eating; to break wind in his presence; to have an erection in his presence;

to ease oneself or make water in his kraal; to sleep with a young Zoolo girl without the king's giving her; to eat green Indian corn before the king does, without his permission. This is a regulation made to prevent all the Indian corn being consumed when young and of little substance, which their want of consideration for the future would induce them to do.

It is customary for all the chiefs or people of note to tell the king their dreams.

All the natives swear by Chaka, and if they are known to take a false oath they are killed. He swore he would kill a man of Umslopi's⁸⁵ who escaped to the residence to save his life when Umslopi was killed for speaking against the king. I would not consent to it. After a great deal of trouble he was prevailed upon to take an emetic to make him vomit up his . . . and clear his conscience on that score.

(179-181) Independent of a large number of people, perhaps a regiment or two which he has always at his kraals, he has constant visitors from different parts of the country, which is considered a necessary mark of his consequence. Chiefs from most parts of the country are always present, and after residing for some time they return home, and are generally supplied [*sic*] by the arrival of others. Chiefs who keep much at home and who rarely go on visits to the king are looked upon by him with suspicion, and are often not favorites. They are during their residence fed at the expense of the king. A person who is carrying anything for the use of the king cannot enter a kraal where a person is either dead or has lately died. They think some infection may be conveyed to the king. At a kraal where a person had died a great disturbance took place on our approaching it and we were not permitted at first to enter. At last we were admitted, but the articles we had with us as presents for the king were forced to be kept at a house some distance from the place.

The Caffers are very fond of honey, and eat much of it at their breakfasts. I have seen them break up the comb into their bowl of milk and consume it with the milk.

The Amaponda eat boiled Indian corn mashed into a sort of paste or dough. Many eat from one bowl, and some use spoons, others pieces of splintered wood, and others even their fingers. Few of the latter.

The Caffers about Natal inclose their bread previous to bak[ing] in the palm leaves, and cover it up with ashes. In this way it is kept free from ashes and is turned out when baked as clean as an English loaf, only the bottom having sometimes a little ashes embedded in the crust.

The Caffers as well as Zoolas cultivate a species of sugar cane which they are very fond of chewing,⁸⁶ and at the time when it is ripe they are said to get fat upon it. A bundle of stalks four or five feet long are placed before a stranger on arrival at a kraal, and [this] is considered a mark of great hospitality. The young stalk of Indian corn is also chewed, the juice swallowed and the substance spit out. Such is common on the roads and about the kraal during the time it is young.

The Zoolas after a death, particularly of any person of importance, may clean the kraal before they come in[to the] presence of the king, and this they are compelled to do by taking a calf to the king's kraal, and at the gate cut[ting] out its gall bladder and sprinkling part of it on himself and part of it upon the kraal gate. Then he may enter. This requires only to be done by the first person from the kraal after the death; no others require to do it. When the man that was watching Chaka's grave went first to visit the king he was required to do so, and a portion of the gall he was called upon to give up to Dingan.⁸⁷

On arrival at one of . . . kraal[s] we passed, about half a mile from the kraal, the hut of some circumcised boys. They had been cleaned and washed, and this was the day for their returning to their friends. This they must do in the evening, and we therefore noticed after dark a great flame which was the hut on fire, and soon heard them returning with their friends and much dancing followed during the night.⁸⁸

A Caffer wounded at Fort Willshire afterwards was conveyed to the hospital and great care taken of him. Everyone was anxious to benefit him. One of the doctors of the nation was called to see him, and after trying much without advantage he asked how it came [about] that the white people wounded a man and then tried to keep him alive. He seemed to think it was done for the purpose of keeping him longer in suffering, and not so as to cure him.

Cato who murdered Farewell was a subordinate chief of the Amaquabi who lived near the sea to the eastwards of the Involose River.⁸⁹

The customary present of an ox or cow made by a chief in Cafferland is now regarded as a bait for something more than its value when given to a white man. On its being due to a native chief they look for no return, but when to a white they expect a good present. It is considered that the flesh ought to be consumed at once, and that presents ought to be made of meat to the whole kraal. A Caffer chief once told me, when I said: 'if I receive the cow what shall I do with it, having had only two Caffers with me.' He immediately replied: 'Give it to the people to show you are their friends'.⁹⁰

A Zoola messenger will meet a person on the road, and if asked the news will reply with the utmost *sans froid* [*sic*] 'There is nothing'; while at the same time he had some of great importance. If it be expected that he knows some news he may often in this way be got to divulge the whole.

If strangers are tried for any crime in a chief's country, not their own, a person is employed by the chief to plead for them, usually a person of importance. Henza having had occasion to try some of Gaika's Caffers for theft appointed his brother as their advocate.

NOTES

1. That is, from the coast.
2. Mkuzi River.
3. Makhasane, chief of the Tembe Thonga.
4. AmaThonga.
5. uMaphutha, which flows into Delagoa Bay.
6. Fuller information regarding these people will be found in Fynn, pp. 48-9.
7. Compare Fynn, p. 47.
8. *Uluphoko*, a small species of millet used for improving beer, which is made from *amabele*, or kaffir-corn.
9. *Inqalothi*, also used for improving beer. See Fynn, p. 306.
10. For full details of what happened at the death of Nandi, see Fynn, pp. 133-6.
11. Mbophi, son of Sithayi. He was a Zulu chief and the principal servant of Shaka.
12. Nyakomubi, the 'Ugly Year', was the name of a small kraal built by Shaka about fifty yards from his town Dukuza. It was there that he was assassinated. (Fynn, p. 67.)
13. Msika, an *induna*, who with ten men was sent by Shaka to Fynn to serve as his bodyguard. (Fynn, p. 67.)
14. Compare Fynn, pp. 30 and 285.
15. *Shwana*, to perform the ceremony of the first-fruits.

16. Full details of marriage ceremonies will be found in Fynn, pp. 296-9. The section of Fynn in which this occurs is entitled 'Additional Notes on History, etc.' and most of the practices alluded to by Smith will be found therein.
17. *ImFe*, or sugar reed.
18. The Crowned Hornbill (*Protocus suahelicus suahelicus*). Mention of this bird shows that Smith must have noticed it and at once asked Fynn if the Zulu held any beliefs about it. Its appearance is quite striking.
19. See Bird, i, pp. 92-3. The same extract appears in Fynn, pp. 133-6. This particular episode, however, is not mentioned in the latter. I cannot identify the first regiment, but the second was the Ndhlamehlu.
20. Mtobela. This incident is not recorded elsewhere.
21. I cannot identify the chief mentioned here.
22. This paragraph and several others show the interest of the medical man. Compare Fynn, p. 293.
23. For other milk tabus see Fynn, p. 209.
24. AmaCele. See Fynn, p. 209.
25. For the same practice in Shaka's time, see Fynn, p. 127.
26. Compare Isaacs, i, p. 264, which, however, is quoted from Kay, S., *Travels and Researches*, etc., London, 1833, p. 403.
27. This is wrong; the name means 'zigzag'.
28. Notice the repetition after some interruption in the conversation.
29. I cannot identify this man.
30. AmaLanga. See *Proceedings of the Commission*, etc., Part V, Pietermaritzburg, 1853 (Fynn's evidence), p. 45. 'Langa' means 'sun'.
31. AmaXolo. See Fynn, pp. 112-13. They were destroyed by Shaka, not by Dingane. They seem to have been an off-shoot of the AmaMpondomisi.
32. I cannot identify this man.
33. Umbulazi, Fynn's Zulu name.
34. This information undoubtedly came from Fynn. It amplifies that in Fynn, pp. 302-3.
35. 'Has' in manuscript.
36. The man was Lukulimba, or 'Kelimba' as Fynn spelled his name. See Fynn, p. 205, for his death.
37. *Nandi* means sweetness; *mtoti* (the missing word) is sweet or pleasant. Smith began to write it as *emtoti*.
38. This explanation of Fynn's differs somewhat from the one he gave in Fynn, p. 140.
39. Both Shaka and Dingane adopted this attitude, as stated by Isaacs, ii, pp. 103-4.
40. 'Is' in MS.
41. 'Cannot' in MS.
42. Compare Fynn, pp. 142-3, 155 and 269.
43. *Ukuhlobonga*; see Fynn, pp. 295-6, for a full description of the practice.
44. The complicated history of which this paragraph is an inadequate summary will be found in Fynn, p. 1 et seq. It was also reprinted in Bird, i, p. 60 et seq.
45. Ndwandwe.
46. Nqeto, chief of the AmaQwabe. His brother was Phakatwayo.
47. The story of the murder will be found in several works, including Fynn, pp. 168-9.
48. Compare the description in Fynn, pp. 84-6.
49. Mzilikazi.
50. Zwide is meant.

51. *Inkhosi*.
52. *Umnunxana*.
53. Smith himself questioned the *induna* whom Dingane sent to meet him.
54. AmaNgwane.
55. Matiwane.
56. Masumpa. See Fynn, p. 318.
57. Mfolozi.
58. There is something wrong here; Smith must have misunderstood his informant. Mzilikazi was never at the Umzimvubu.
- 58a. Dingiswayo.
- 58b. Ndwandwe.
- 58c. Mzilikazi.
- 58d. Mashobane.
59. This genealogy of Shaka, which appears on p. 186 of Smith's manuscript, must have been made on the spot from information given to him by Fynn. I have transcribed it as accurately as I could, omitting one or two later additions, and substituting plain reference letters in place of the four *ad hoc* signs which Smith had to devise as he set down the genealogies in tabular form.
It will be noted that in the original the children of '6 wife, Naundee', were given as Chaka and Mgwandie, but this was deleted and the names given above substituted for them. In the same way '3 wife' was given as 'Impikias and Queen', but this was likewise deleted.
60. The name is missing.
61. Mbopha, the cousin and principal servant of Shaka.
62. Mahlunwana, Dingane's brother.
63. Ngwadi, a son of Nandi. See Fynn, p. 158.
64. Nandi, Shaka's mother.
65. Mpande.
66. I cannot identify this man.
67. Mokubane. See Arbousset and Daumas, *Narrative of an Exploratory Tour*, etc., London, 1852, p. 228. This work contains an extraordinarily full, and apparently circumstantial, account of the assassination of Shaka, which is seldom quoted.
68. Dingiswayo. All the names from 'Dingiswayo' to 'Katwata' were added later by Smith.
69. Matiwane. See Fynn, p. 17.
70. Masumpa. See Fynn, p. 318.
71. Ngwane tribe.
72. I cannot identify this chief.
73. Zwide.
74. I cannot trace this name.
75. This name seems to have given Smith considerable trouble. Underneath the ink there are several names in pencil, which are unfortunately illegible.
76. See Fynn, pp. 129-30, and Isaacs, i, pp. 155-6.
77. See Kay, S., *Travels and Researches*, etc., London, 1833, p. 393.
78. Madikane.
79. Matiwane.
80. *Umshingo*. See Kirby, *The Musical Instruments of the Native Races of South Africa*, London, 1934, pp. 111-20 and plates 40B and 41A and B.
81. *Ugubu*. See *ibid.*, pp. 197 et seq., and plates 54B and 55.
82. This suggests that Smith had written this up later.
83. Makhasane was chief of the Tembe Thongas. 'Delagonians' was Fynn's name for them.

84. Smith undoubtedly obtained this information from Fynn.
 85. Mhlope, a petty chief who had been allocated to Fynn as his servant. See Fynn, p. 65.
 86. *Imfe*.
 87. Compare Fynn, pp. 138-9.
 88. Not in Fynn.
 89. Compare Bryant, p. 391.
 90. Compare p. 43.

AMAMPONDO

Amapondas Umzimvubu

(136) About 60 years ago¹ the Amapondas inhabited the country as far east as the Umzecaba, and for about 30 miles inland and so far to the west as the river where the neutral ground is that is now uninhabited, and where we slept about 15 miles west of Mr. Boyce's.²

On the other side was the Keisebas.³ They were then independent but now incorporated with Facu's⁴ people.

The Amapondas as well as all the other tribes have been driven back by Chaka. Chaka attacked the Amapondas about 5 years ago near the Imzimclavu (Umsecaba) and took half their cattle and drove them back; in the course of the 4 years after came and took the rest. He killed plenty. The attack was made during the heat of the day. The last time took only cattle; killed no people.⁵

When an Amaponda wishes to marry he asks the woman first and if she consents it is settled. After the father knows it he says so many cattle must be paid. After the settlement she remains three days at her kraal, and the fourth day she comes to the man's place and the cattle go to him, usually ten, sometimes twenty, and of a great woman 40. So as it is dusk she comes to the man's kraal with young women, about 20, and some men friends of hers. They dance and sing as they approach and then go into the house of one of his friends. As they go in a beast is killed, and they eat it themselves, the woman must not eat of it. She sleeps not with the man. Next day they dance and kill cattle. The woman remains in the house. [She] sometimes comes out a little and goes in again. The man dances and after the sports of the day is over then the marriage is finished and he takes his wife. She must dress herself and with a girdle come out of the house and go to the different parties of men and shew herself, the nearest

friends of her tell her she must dig well and milk. If her husband is killed she is taken by relatives and if she marries again the friends get the cattle.

(137-138) They call Facu *incos*⁶ and also the chiefs. They have no woman as mother of the kraal. They call the chief of a kraal *numzan*.⁷ Smoak *daka* like the Zolas and praise Facu.

*Praise*⁸

Go go and cry.
 Throw away the man that has nothing.
 He has killed our cattle.
 You had taken our cattle.
 Hold the cattle from right when you carry it.
 Go on the traces and bring back the cattle.
 You have crane feathers on the head.
 I praise you as great.
 You shall here remain great.
 Praise, praise to the whole of the Amapondas,
 The milk is all the chiefs, the shields also.
 Take the whole world under you,
 You shall not be wounded.
 I shall not eat blood.
 The men all alike, keep together.
 He is not your mother.
 See how the cowards throw without hitting
 You are as afraid as your mother;
 You can follow her.
 You shall, king of your district,
 Continue as your father was.
 We had the others destroyed
 And they were nothing.
 Your mother was good
 And you shall also be as your mother.
 One knee shall continue like the other knees;
 So⁹ as a rock remains a rock
 An axe shall continue an axe.
 By the night must you as good
 Stand as by day
 I hear you!
 You shall not get off,

I shall find you.
 I am not your mother
 But I shall find you wherever you be.
 Ye is a . . . and ye shall be taken.
 Ye can catch so much as you can catch.
 Sometimes I shall let you get off a little far
 Sometimes the tyger shall eat you,
 Ye shall be caught.
 As the hassegay kills you, not beasts,
 Shall you stink.
 Keep away till you be pulled out.
 Your nose is like that of the dog,
 Like a mouse bird.
 The sun shall not help you.
 I have but one word and that shall be done.
 When war is, the cattle shall all come together.
 They are mine.
 Cattle skins are lost.
 As you find him, cut him in pieces.
 I shall be glad if you can get it.
 I have found it all caught
 And thrown from the precipices.
 Praise all, even cattle;
 Thy name shall be high.
 Cut out the hinder bowels,
 There is no fat,
 The liver is like it.
 You are like a whore
 And yet you have nothing.
 You shall never but high
 The other shall cure [?] for all.
 The rogues [are] angry; you must find them all out
 You is a secreter,
 And you shall with my hassegay run away.
 The country shall be mine
 Nevertheless [you] are ever so numerous.
 Come you ever so powerful
 You shall not beat me.
 I will have that we shall all go home,
 Carry flesh.

I am like a young cow.
 Hold fast what you have and run hard.
 Look well round and set on fire,
 Set on fire that it burn out.
 Hold still, ye is crippled.
 Run hard, though.
 I have but two kerries.
 I shall cry
 And that shall be in the bush
 Like as a dog that cries in the water.
 I will people have
 And yet I am like the people.
 I have debauched all the young women.
 My name shall stop above.
 Go and bring a stick to dig!
 I make sharp and I shall make sharp.
 Like white hair.
 Let stand as you will, let stand!
 You are the greatest rogue that is
 And you shall be still greater.
 You is like the others,
 Your legs shall break!
 Ye is like a hare,
 Like a fish,
 Like two women,
 Like two horns,
 Like as you evacuate,
 Evacuate still;
 Take hold of your bottom
 And smell it!
 You have twice missed with the karie!

Facu pays only deference to one man, a great warrior and he principal in that he is not a chief. When Facu is deciding foolishly according to the opinion of this man he will sometimes slowly say 'What nonsense you are talking'. Facu will sometimes alter his decision [and] sometimes say nothing in reply but look sulky. Facu consults no one, answers everything from himself, quickly decides, is honest, will tell anything though against himself. Facu is called *Jasele*, which signifies 'him who has destroyed all', or the Conqueror Sonsolane. They call him

also *Sopancomo*, that is, a person who makes presents of cattle; [also] *Incunsi inculo*, the great bull.¹⁰ They praise him about daylight and continue it. His own people do not salute him. People of other tribes do; [they] say *Jasele*!

Facu sent word to Mr. Shepstone¹¹ that he intended to give Cato¹² a place and let him sit down quietly, then to fall upon him and destroy him.

(154) When Mr. B. M. Shaw and Mr. Shepstone slept the first time at Facu's kraal, several women came to the house in the evening and wished to cohabit with them. They seemed surprised that they should be angry, and fancied it must be because they supposed them old, and to obviate this they kept saying 'You see we are not old! we are not old!' At the same time [they] kept exposing their breasts, handling them and calling attention thereto.¹³

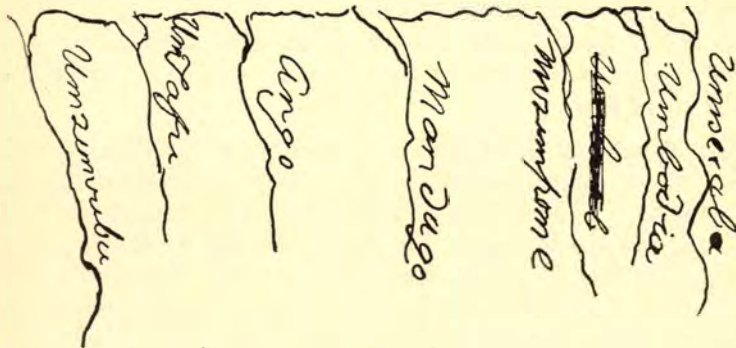
Amatusans live on the other side of the Umzimvuboo under Facu.

(160) 13 May. 3 men of the *Manequas*¹⁴

Now living with the Matusans.¹⁵ Their chief's name was Imzaba. Before they were attacked by Chaka they lived about one day's journey on foot inland. They always wore their hair long without a ring. They used the small nut for the penis that the Amapondas do, and circumcised. [Their] country was like this; cattle got well fat thereon. Their eyes have a very yellowish tinge. Behind they twist their hair into long strings like the Amapondas. Smear their heads with fat alone. When they were residing with their own chief they used to keep the hair pulled out of the pubis; the women did not. It was a small tribe. A tribe called Iome¹⁶ lived between them and the coast. They were also destroyed by Chaka and there are now the remains of them living with the Amapondas. There lived then between the Umtendo and Umsecaba a chief called Cheba¹⁷ with a small tribe. He is also with the Amapondas. The Amapondas never attacked those tribes. They used to pay ten head of cattle for a wife. They sowed both Caffer and Indian corn once a year; they produced well. They made their gardens where bushes stood on the flats. The country was hilly. They did not use the skins either before or behind like the Zolas. The hassegays they used resembled the frontier Caffers, and they threw them. They had

no war dress saying that to stick is better. [They have] lived 5 years by the Matusans.

The rivers between Umzimvubu and Umsecaba are:¹⁸



N.B.—Umlamb- is crossed out and Mzimvubu put in.

Note.—The map is 'upside down' as it were.

(162) *Morley. Remarks on chiefs and people*¹⁹

When returning from Natal all come to see us. Expressed their wonder how a few white people should go everywhere, even to places where they scarcely dared to think about and more particularly as they appeared to go with perfect confidence. It made them full of horror.

They stated their astonishment that Col. Somerset's people did not take Matuan's cattle, being so much in want of food. They said he could have done everything he wished and yet he did not take one. If they had had such an opportunity they would have taken all. They said when asked as to their opinions of the British they were people standing quite by themselves. The chief said I must not get tired of going about amongst the people to encourage them to do good.

The Maputu River is called the Sota on account of a nation living on its banks near [its] sources called Sutas.²⁰ Country above in sources very mountainous.

The Amazizi tribe were destroyed by Matuana, and they joined him. They lived on a branch of the Orange River.²¹

The Sotas killed a number of the Zolas with sticks. They have no hassegays. [They] live in the mountains from the Tugala to the Umzimvubu.²² They circumcised when stationary in their own country. Amasutas do so.

(164) Facu seldom punishes with death any crimes excepting witchcraft. Sometimes when much enraged with a man will strike him with a karrie. Not common. If he runs on such occasions away, the people, if his crime is great, will run after him and perhaps kill him.

Facu is in the habit of occasionally causing the virgins of the tribe to be assembled at his kraal and then he perhaps takes a part of them himself for a few days and distributes others amongst the young men composing his bodyguard. The latter are often endeavouring to induce him to have such collections made.

It does appear that [the] chiefs distribute young girls amongst strangers. Some [are] more disposed to do so than others. Men think women no worse for having had men before them.²³

Facu placed Mr. Boyce in a position where the water was certain to fail under an idea that he would have to make rain for himself and then the nation would get a portion also.²⁴

Strange Caffers on coming before Facu say *Inkos*; the Caffers of his own tribe say *Jasele*.²⁵ Both chiefs and commoners do so. When answering a chief [they] say: 'Yes inkos; no inkos'. Sometimes when the people come up where Facu is then they say: 'Wa Facu'.

(165-168) *Appearances, etc. of the Amapondas*²⁶

The women have their hair in a mop, the outer surface twisted and studded with round [k]nobs like peas and covered thickly with red clay behind nearly as low as [the] neck. A string three or four times doubled of long black cylindrical tresses which extend round from one ear to the other and hang down upon the neck. The black is produced by charcoal mixed with fat. Before they are considered young women they have the hair all over the head alike and black.



The males dress differently. Some have a ring in front like the Zolas but more on [the] forehead and often smaller; behind that, on [the] back and sides of [the] head the hair grows very bushy and then the rows of tresses as in the women hang down on the neck behind from ear to ear. Some have the head outside of [the] ring close shaved as well as the centre of the ring and only the tresses behind; others have also the centre of [the] ring with bushy hair.

Indeed, most of them have the hair growing everywhere on the head. Some have the ring actually hanging down on the forehead.

Their faces they paint in different ways and with different colours, such as red, yellow, greenish and white. They often have a string or two of beads encircling the head just above the eyes and from it short strings hanging from various parts of the circle. They are partial of brass and copper neck rings, and some they have [are] as thick as the finger. They have also rings of brass and iron round the wrists and ivory rings round the thick of the arms above the elbows. They sometimes suspend snuff boxes to the tresses of hair that hang on the sides of the neck. They stick the hair full of feathers, particularly round the ring, and they attach a bunch of feathers usually to the hindhead; the feathers are deprived of the shafts.

The wax ring is in many of them coloured with red clay. Some of the full grown men also have their hair in a sort of mass rounded at the edges and in appearance like a wig. It is never, however, red as in the women.

The old men wear their hair long and without any ring.

The quantity of grease on the hair causes it to shine very much. Sometimes they have the whole face without any regularity coloured yellowish white and red. On different parts of the head they place the seeds of the *Erythrina Caffra*.²⁷

They are very partial to snuff and take it with a bone or ivory spoon. When they draw it up one nostril they press the other close with the finger of the other hand. They tie pieces of leather and skins round the arms and wrists and attach cows' tails to the legs below the knees and at the ankles. Their snuff spoons they generally carry stuck into the hair. Some have sheaths of hide with the hair outside for the penis, and others wear small calabashes.

They are rarely seen without either a karrie, long slender walking sticks, or a hassegay in the hand.²⁸

Some of the women have the hair also black. The old women generally have a more or less large kaross bound round the hips and hanging down to the knees or even further. Their breasts soon hang very much and they have sometimes short strings of beads attached to the hair. They have also beads in various manners encircling the lower part of the belly, and from the

string which goes round various articles, such as pieces of brass, leather, etc., hanging.

In the features and general appearance of the face of the Amapondas there is a very great variety.²⁹ Some are very broad and full of a dark colour, others are moderately oval like those of the frontier Caffers, and in a third set they have the high cheek bones and narrow chin of the Hottentot. In most the nose has a slight arch, taking it from the brow to the top, and the latter is rounded and hooked down towards the lip. The nostrils are in most very much dilated, bulging out; and from one side of the nose to the other there is more breadth than in Europeans. The colour is very various, being in part nearly black and in others a yellow, almost as light as the Hottentot. They have a good deal of hair along the sides and tip of chin, a little in the situation of the whiskers and upper lip, but none in the centre of chin and near under lip.

The young girls either wear in front of [the] private parts a series of small strings which conceal those parts or strings of beads made in the same way.

Many of them bear marks of scarifications on the breast, probably from disease.

Some begin very young to form the ring on the head. They, however, appear never to use that till they have been circumcised, and then all do not directly; a good deal as to that seeming to depend upon caprice. Some are also seen with rupture at the navel.

To the tresses behind are often appended the feet of fowls, domestic.

As household articles they often cut the calabash in two and take water with it as well as hold milk and other articles, both solids and fluids.

They have but little hair upon the organs of generation. They have very large feet.

Some that do not make snuff boxes for the ears merely fill the holes full of small pieces of wood; sometimes one large piece, at other times more. In forming the hole they generally enlarge it in the last way. Some wear a small bunch of feathers or . . .³⁰

In their houses they are much dirtier than the Zolas. The house is built of small twigs laid parallel as in the other tribes. Outside with long grass kept in its place by wands in a circular

direction. Inside the house, with the exception of a small compartment near the door, the whole is one chamber, and it contains the cooking utensils as well as every other. The compartment mentioned as at the door is intended to keep the wind off, and is sometimes only partial [and] at other times nearly complete. It sometimes consists of the door only and sometimes of a wattled wall about the size of a door.



Thus three ways, so:

Inside, the wattling of the house is plastered with cow dung.

Each house has a granary which is raised on poles like the Zola shield houses,³¹ and this is sometimes enclosed at other times without enclosure. They usually pass their time either lying in the cattle kraal or along the wall outside of it, generally a few together, and often the one dressing or cleaning the other's head.

Facu is almost always yawning, and when even in serious conversation is in the habit of looking all round him and even directly behind him as if he wished or expected to see something. His face is full and round, with a rather pleasing expression. He has tender eyes and cannot stand the light. His make is middling, his stature tall, and in his gait he has a stoop and motion somewhat like some of the men of fashion in England. His whole appearance indicates a superiority, and I think if a person not knowing him were to meet him they would consider him more than common. He is careless in the dressing of his hair, and had a fine ivory snuff spoon stuck in it.³²

They tattoo in longitudinal stripes, principally about the shoulders, and the lines of those often extend down from the top of the shoulder to the loins, at other times not below the inferior extremity of the shoulder blade.

As we passed one of the kraals they were busy dancing. The men formed a half-circle and the women the cord which connected the two extremities of it. They sing in their dances, but do not vociferate in the same way as the Zolas.

The great bulk of the hair makes their faces appear smaller than they actually are.

Some make the penis cover with the leaves that surround the heads of Indian corn and have the extremity elongated and rounded, then surrounded with strings of beads. They have two

kinds of nuts they wear. One [is] much larger than the other and includes the glans; the other is about the size of a hazel nut and admits only the extremity of the skin which is kept there by the glans pressing it forcibly against the cover.

(182) *Amapondas*

When the Amaponda king makes his principal wife (the mother of the successor) great he must fit up a kraal for her and supply her with cattle, etc. On that occasion it is customary to kill some person of importance, perhaps a chief (the principal object is to get his cattle though other reasons are assigned to give to the wife). The head of the person killed must be placed at the chief's kraal. After this the wife goes to the house built for her by the people. When the man is decapitated the cattle are carried off and given to her. A[t] present Facu has taken a woman who is to be his chief wife. Almost three months ago her house was finished. All assisted in building it but she has not gone to live in it as it has not been decided who is to be killed, which must take place first. A portion wish it to be Umgungi,³³ a captain of much importance, because his father was killed on a like occasion by Facu's father and the kraal has stood. Therefore one from that family must be taken. Others wish another who is also great. The Caffers think that the kraal is rendered stronger for that, and Facu is more able to resist the attacks of his enemies and to keep his people together. Umgungi has escaped and left his kraal and cattle and is residing with a captain farther up the river, on which account Facu is afraid to attack him. The other has also fled. For almost every person that dies among the Amapondas three or four are put to death. Facu's father was killed in an engagement with his own people.³⁴

(182-183) *Amaquina*³⁵

At present living under Facu. Formerly lived about the sources of the Umzimvubu River. Were driven from thence by the Ficani. Speak the Caffer language.

When the Amapondas are going to war the doctor brings together a variety of bushes and burns them in a pot and also a particular wood at the great place, then kills cattle for the people. The ashes of the bushes and wood he puts into two horns and then asks some of the meat which he rubs over with the powder

and carries it to the cattle kraal. From thence [he] throws pieces to the people who must catch them and each take from them a bite. When the warriors go away each takes a little of the powder in a small horn and hang[s] it round the neck. When wounded they eat of it. It is supposed to give them strength.

(185) *Dingan to Facu (messengers)*

6 messengers arrived with two fine oxen [as] a present. When they arrived Facu sent word to the Institution at Bunting if they wished to hear the news they might come. [They] also must send some cattle. When the messengers arrived in [the] presence of Facu who was outside of the house with his chiefs, they repeated three times in succession 'Have mercy, captain'. He made no reply. They then went on to tell the news without any remark from Facu. He began after and questioned them. They were sent by Dingan to say the road must be open between them, and Facu must send his daughter for Dingan and Dingan would send his to Facu to thank Facu for killing the Quabies, and that he must take the cattle from Kapai⁹⁶ who took them afterwards. He must send Dingan part of the oxen to show him that it had been done. Three oxen were afterwards presented to him. Two of them stood at the kraal gate, one on each side, and killed one of them as they run out, skinned it, and carried [the] flesh away to their houses. They remained about three weeks: [they] had an ox daily for their use. The chiefs invited them to visit them, and when they took their departure for their own country they received cattle for the road.

The Amapondas use small mats to eat off; like plates.

NOTES

1. i.e. about 1772.
2. Rev. William Boyce's Mission Station, called Bunting, was founded at the end of November, 1830. It was practically equidistant from the Great and Little Umgazi Rivers, and about fifteen miles from the sea (Steedman, ii, p. 267). Smith obtained his information about the Pondo people while staying at Faku's kraal from 20th May, 1832, doubtless with the help of Boyce or his 'assistant', the young Theophilus Shepstone (Shaw, W., *The Story of my Mission*, London, 1860, pp. 544-5), who was staying with him at that time. Some, however, was obtained from William Shepstone himself, the father of Theophilus.
3. AmaXesibe.

4. Faku, the paramount chief of the Pondo tribes.
5. This invasion occurred in May, 1828. It was really a ceremonial 'mourning hunt' in honour of Shaka's mother, Nandi, who had died in 1827. The river mentioned was the Umzimhlava, a large tributary of the Umzimvubu on its eastern side.
6. *Inkhosi*.
7. *Ummumzana*.
8. The praises of Faku.
9. i.e. 'just'.
10. *Inkunzi nkulu*, great bull.
11. Rev. William Shepstone, of Morley Mission Station.
12. Nqetho.
13. Compare V.R.S. 30, pp. 107-8.
14. Notes made during Smith's return journey. On 13th May he crossed the Umsikaba mouth and entered Pondoland.
15. I cannot identify the Manequa clan. It may have been the AmaNgwane, the name of whose chief, Manyaba, was imperfectly heard by Smith.
16. I cannot identify this clan, which must have been very small.
17. I cannot identify this chief.
18. Smith inadvertently reversed the positions of the seven rivers in his sketch map. His rivers are (from south to north) Umzimvubu, Ntafatu, Ingo, Umzimhlava, Mzimpunzi, Mbotyi, Umsikaba. Between the two last a number of rivers have been omitted, most of which are small and relatively inaccessible. Doubtless Smith's informants had not even seen them.
19. This short note must have been made between 24th and 31st May, on the return journey. Its brevity was possibly due to the fact that Smith was ill while he was at Morley.
20. Maphuta, or uluSuthu. See Isaacs, i, p. 185.
21. See Bird, i, p. 142. Smith was mistaken as to the area in which they lived.
22. Smith doubtless means the Drakensberg and its neighbourhood.
23. 'Him' in the manuscript.
24. See Steedman, ii, pp. 267, 270, 281-2, for this amusing story. This paragraph and the one which follows it were added later by Sinitu.
25. Compare Gardiner, op. cit., p. 275.
26. These notes must have been made on the return journey, while Smith was at Faku's kraal.
27. The 'Kaffir-boom'. For present-day methods see Hunter, p. 222 et seq. But for men's styles in the time of Faku see V.R.S. 30, plates 8, 9 and 10.
28. See the three plates referred to in the previous note.
29. Compare Hunter, p. 222.
30. Sentence ends here.
31. See Smith's drawing of Dingane's kraal on p. 53.
32. Obviously a pen-portrait by one who had met Faku.
33. Mngewengi. See Soga, table facing p. 301.
34. See Soga, pp. 304-5.
35. ImiQwane. See Soga, p. 343. Kay, S., *Travels and Researches*, etc., London, 1833, p. 344, refers to the 'Amaquean territories'.
36. Ncapayi, chief of the AmaBaca tribe.

AMAXHOSA

Manners and Customs of the AmaXhosa

(134) On the death of Islambi,¹ who fixed the station at Mount Coke,² Dushani³ his son succeeded him. Began to make his kraal within a mile of Mount Coke, and just about the time it was finished he died. Since his death no great chief has governed the people. Each of the remaining sons of Islambi has set up as independent chiefs, and has his own people.

(139-147) A law exists among the frontier Caffers that when cattle are stolen from a kraal or chief all that the losers have to do is to trace their footsteps to the first adjoining kraal and show the inhabitants thereof the traces. Those are then bound to take up the traces and carry them to the next, when the same must be done. In whoever's ground the spoor is lost they must make good the cattle. In the event, then, of cattle being stolen from the Colony, all that would be required of the colonists would be to trace the footsteps to the first kraal near which they passed, and give over them to the inhabitants, making them answerable for the cattle or for proof of their having passed them.⁴

Every chief must know when stolen cattle are brought amongst his people because every kraal, however small it may be, has a master appointed over it and he is answerable for all that happens in it. Scarcely does any thing take place that he is not bound to communicate to the chief, and a strong inducement for him to do so is that in the event of cattle being known to have been brought there and there being no means of getting hold of the offender he is made responsible for all.

A Caffer (Amakosa) chief will not usually leave his kraal after the death of his predecessor for 15 days because he believes that if he wanders before that time he will meet the spirit of the deceased.

The brother of Dusanie,⁵ a favourite with the frontier functionaries, was on his way to meet Col. S., and when passing through the neutral ground met people with stolen cattle and some hides of cattle which they had killed. He had a conference with the Colonel and returned home about a week after. Mr. T . . . r,⁶ conversing with him, mentioned the loss of the cattle when he told him as above. He, in answer to a question, said, 'Why should I tell the colonel? he asked me nothing about them!'

Chiefs when young people are sitting by them often say 'My father had dogs. I don't know why it is that I have none. They could go out and obtain game for him; I can get none'. The hint is often taken and they go out on a plundering expedition. If they return successful they will send him some of their own cattle and keep the stolen ones. Chiefs sometimes send to persons who have sometime before been stealing cattle for some beef.

When injury arises at a kraal of any frontier Caffers from lightning, all the inhabitants have to contribute something to the doctor to cleanse it, beads, etc.

After chiefs are seated amongst their people and conversation becomes general then captains of different tribes of the Amakosa, etc., will take part in the conversation and one chief may converse with another; but they are tenacious except in this way, because if one were to speak on meeting it would be considered as an acknowledgment of his inferiority.

The Tamboukies inhabit the sources of the Umtata. Mr. Shepstone reckons that along the course of the river 4,000 fighting men reside.⁷

When the doctor (usually a woman) visits a kraal to discover a person who has bewitched some person, she flies about from one spot to another with great rapidity and exhibits a variety of grimaces and odd gestures. She on such occasions usually keeps constantly speaking or at least asking questions and her tone of voice is austere and vehement. She asks: 'Say, am I not here to speak? Am I not brought to tell? I must tell, I don't like to tell; it is a friend of men, but I must tell, I will tell!' Then they usually call out 'Tell!' She then points to some person with the hassegay which she holds in her hand. He is seized and punished.

Captain Chachu,⁸ Buffalo River, and others

Springs from Tambookees. Chaua⁹ lived on the west of the Key on the River Ahuno.¹⁰ Togu¹¹ lived on the Bashee River. Gondá¹² lived along the eastern banks of the Key where Henza now lives.

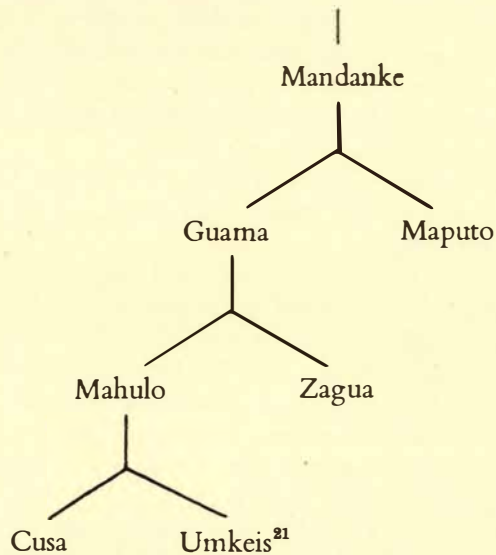
Cheo¹³ lived on the Ahuno River about 40 miles to the east of Buffalo River, and there is a rock there where he used to push over or cause to be pushed such as had been guilty of crimes. Sons of Cheo: Palo, Quali, Undankes.¹⁴ Palo lived on the east of the Key; Quali, about 70 years ago, on the Keisi;¹⁵ Umdanki lived also there.

When he was young he heard that Hottentots formerly lived on some of the branches of the Fish River.

Galika¹⁶ lived on the east of the Key. Hahabee¹⁷ lived about the sources of the Buffalo River. Langa lived on the neutral ground, on the Guanga.¹⁸ Makote¹⁹ lived near to the Fish River and died there.

Amakosa, the name given to the Caffers as far as Faco.

Togu had a son named Tindi, and Chachu is the son of Tindi.²⁰ The people living under the government of the latter are called



[Note at side of Table] Ten cattle for a wife when he was young.

Tindis,²² the people of Eno²³ Mambalu's,²⁴ the people of Maccoma are called Cheos.²⁵ Congo's are called Quanis.²⁶ Henza's people are called Galekas.²⁷ Sambí also called Cheos.²⁸ Has never seen Hottentots living on the east of the Fish River. Zaka was a Mandanki captain.²⁹

A man must not have connection with his wife till the child can walk a little. After one month he can go to see the mother and child, and after three months he may sleep in the same house but not with the woman. The child must not drink the milk of the mother the day the man has first intercourse with her nor ever after. They believe that the child shall be affected with a purging, if it suck then.

The chief is only able to admonish him but cannot punish him. When a person not a captain is about to die they carry him out of his house and place him at some distance to die; when dead remove him to a greater distance in a bush and leave him there, as it is a law amongst them that if a man die in the house or on the place it is necessary that the whole kraal break up.

When the thunder shakes a kraal they move from it, burn their karosses and then make a new kraal after having wandered about with their cattle in the fields for one month. Before leaving the kraal they kill an ox and burn the flesh, then bury the ashes and make a kraal round it. This practice has been abandoned since the time of Lynx³⁰ who said that it was not good to leave their abodes on account of the thunder. They, during the month that they wander in the fields are only covered with dresses of rushes, but after the expiration of the time of their atonement they kill cattle and make new karosses.

A man marrying a woman cannot go and eat at the kraal of the father till after he has killed an ox or cow at the father's kraal and had a dance there; after that he can eat as the regular visitors.

When intentionally or accidentally a Caffer crane is killed by a person, he is called upon to kill a calf and leave it untouched along with the crane, either above ground or buried according to fancy.

When one man kills another the slayer is made by the chief to forfeit all his cattle to the family of the individual slain.

*Henza*³¹

Wished the Governor to give him and his people some land to the westward of Gaikas people³² and then it would be seen how

well he and his people would conduct themselves towards the white men. Stated that he was now delighted to see trading wagons going in every direction through his country, and that he was determined to protect the white people while with him and that the country had been much benefited by the opening of the trade. He complained sadly of the act of one trader named Hanger who shot a man belonging to Buchu,³³ one of Henza's brothers. This same person was guilty of another great irregularity with respect to some of Vosani's people.³⁴ He had some cattle taken from him, and upon ascertaining where they were he repaired thither without any communication with the chief and took them away and a considerable number of others also because one small ox was missing. He went off with the whole cattle and afterwards got back also the lost one. The chief was very angry about it as he had never in any way been consulted.

One plea for Henza wishing to change places with the colonist was that it would enable the Caffers to hunt the blue bok.³⁵ I proposed to him to let their wants on that head be known to the traders, and I had no doubt that they would bring the skins as articles of exchange.³⁶ He did not seem to relish that but repeated his anxiety to be enabled to hunt them. In speaking of the trade he said that now their cattle were all sold and also their skins, so they would now have no means of getting what they wanted. He was anxious that there should be introduced cows and that the Caffers would be glad to change oxen for them (one for one). When I asked him why he did not visit Graham's Town like the other chiefs, he said he was a great person and must remain at home with his people. He asked was the Governor in the Cape in the habit of visiting other people.

At the time that Henza became established chief all the subordinate chiefs came and made him the usual presents from the people in acknowledgement of his authority, and at the same time told him that it was the united voice of the people that they should be governed as they had been, and that they should have peace and no war. He replied that he knew how to govern, only he desired them to let his wives alone and they had nothing more to do. He was on this occasion very angry, so much so as to get up and leave the chiefs because he requested to have some man to put to death upon some trifling pretext because he was very rich. To this they would not agree.

He is very jealous and he sometimes gets up in the middle of the night without any person knowing and proceeds to the kraals of some of his wives to ascertain that all is correct. He has eight regular wives and an immense number of concubines. If he takes a fancy to any young woman he sends for her and takes her for so long a time as he chooses, then sends her back to her father's. After this she gets married to some other person without difficulty, only the payment made for her to her relatives will be less. He sometimes on taking one of those girls pays the father a cow, and if she have children by him before he returns her two or three more.

No person dares refuse to give his daughter to the supreme chief, but it has been known that upon the parents remonstrating he has been induced to abandon his purpose. He has at present 30 children. He has a very heavy expression of countenance, full, soft, firm of face and a peculiar formation of forehead, the eyebrows being very prominent and the forehead considerably behind them and nearly perpendicular.

Henza told me that the best way to prevent stealing of cattle was for the white and black people to live amongst each other, and then if such were done, it would readily be ascertained who were the thieves.

Henza is not despotic as shown by the following. Some time ago John Cain was travelling towards the Colony and had with him a small cart with, amongst other things, some ivory in it as a present from Chacka to the Governor.³⁷ He was overtaken by darkness close to Henza's kraal and outspanned there for the night. Early next morning he left for the institution at Butterworth without communicating with Henza. Soon after Henza showed his displeasure and demanded to know how it was that Chacka's people dared to outspan on his ground and to bewitch him and injure the place. He was determined to see the contents of the cart, as he considered they were of a bewitching nature. About this he held a meeting of his chiefs, and at last he declared that they had ordered him not to touch the cart as it had goods for the Governor whereby injury might come to them.

One of the principal dangers in Cafferland is to be rich, as then the chief is commonly looking after some frivolous pretext for taking away life or carrying off cattle. From this circumstance it is customary with the Caffers to lend cattle amongst

each other in order to deceive him. A will have B's cow or cows, and B will have A's and so on.

A chief is not by law to drink of the milk of any of his subjects, so that when travelling amongst them he is forced to abstain from eating till he reaches the place of a chief. Of his subjects' meat he can eat so that it is no uncommon occurrence for them to kill for him. Instances have been known of chiefs being almost famished with hunger when travelling amongst their people from their not being able to use milk whilst the persons in company with them were well filled and strong.

There is a spot near to where Henza resides which was the site of one of, if not the first chief's kraal, and this spot is regarded as sacred. Thus a person who may have been guilty of a crime succeeding in reaching it becomes exonerated, and may consider himself as in the same state as before the commission of the act. After the constituted successor to Henza is circumscribed³⁸ and cured he is forced to repair to the spot in question and there be anointed and created and declared a chief.

Some time ago Buchu, Henza's brother, had a case to try that occurred amongst his people. A Fingo belonging to Butterworth was despatched to McComo's³⁹ to inform some of his people that a relative of theirs who had been living at Butterworth was dead. He asked from some of Buchu's people a little milk. After getting it he was asked for payment, upon which he took beads from his neck and offered them some. The quantity did not give satisfaction, upon which some words ensued and the end of all was that the person who sold the milk struck the other on the head with a karrie. After investigation, Buchu made the man pay an ox, and also removed the whole kraal, saying that it would never do to have people like him on the high road by which letters, etc., to and from the Colony must pass. He added that to take care that nothing should befall such he ordered the kraal of his own son to replace the one dismissed.

Some time ago Mr. Haddie⁴⁰ had two of his horses taken away, and on his arrival at Butterworth he found one of them in the possession of one of Macomo's Caffers. He applied to Henza to interfere. The latter had the case tried. He appointed one of his brothers to act as advocate for the Caffer and Mr. H. appointed one of those belonging to the school to officiate for him. The trial terminated by Henza ordering Mr. H. to be put in possession

of the horse and also as he had lost another and the man possessed a second that he should have it also. He said he could not inflict a fine because they were living at a great distance from him and did not belong to his people.

The chiefs are in the habit of designating those who live under their control as their dogs.

A trader residing amongst the Tambokies was putting his cattle into the kraal when one steer broke away and run off. The people after putting the others in went after a horse that had fallen into a quicksand and left the horse for the night. Soon after they found the horse could not be got out, upon which it was determined to kindle a fire near it to keep away the wolves. A Caffer was sent to the nearest kraal to bring a piece of fire. When there he saw the runaway steer in the kraal. He said nothing about it, but permitted the people of the trader to go everywhere in search of it for two or three days. At last a boy who had been taken in the act of stealing a goat declared that the steer was killed at the kraal where it was seen by the Caffer, who acknowledged that he did at the time in question see it. The chief sentenced the two, namely, the man in whose cattle kraal it was and the Caffer who brought the fire to pay equally, and all they could get from them was 1 calf, 2 cows and a goat. The chief considered the Caffer as a party concerned because he had not reported the circumstance of having seen it to the trader and the other because when it came into his possession he did not take care of it till claimed. The Caffer law is such that provided you can trace cattle to the kraal of any person and prove that they were there, then such person is considered as responsible and they say he ought to have taken care of them till they were claimed. Mr. Jolly⁴¹ had a horse taken away from near Mount Kok.⁴² It was found and the chief sentenced the person in whose possession it was discovered to pay 14 head of cattle.

When Vosani died, the door of the hut in which he lay was shut up and a hole cut in the side of the hut through which the body was moved out. It was then placed in a sitting posture and the hands tied to the lower extremities so as to retain such a posture. The chiefs and all the people were placed at a little distance. Four men then took up the body and moved it to the place where it was to be buried, and then with branches of large leaves dipt in water they washed different parts of his body and

head. The chiefs, etc., then all rose and approached the body and gave utterance to a supplication [implying?] 'Captain, regard us who are behind!' The body was then placed in a round hole just large enough to admit it and covered over, after which out of the great number of cattle that were present eight or ten were turned out and placed in the small kraal enclosing the grave and watchers appointed to prevent anything being injured. The cattle was for their use and to tread down the grave. They by Caffer law are never to be killed but allowed to die a natural death.

In Cafferland⁴³ if a man dies and leaves widows they must during mourning live apart from the kraal. When time to return [she] come[s] back and [is] washed, and they kill for her. She must become the wife of the brother, and if she will not consent to become his wife she must turn a prostitute. If the brother will not take her he must find her a husband to take charge of her cattle.

If a chief orders a young woman for a traveller she must submit. Very common. When a woman becomes a widow she must live in a sort of house a little way from the kraal for two or three days. First day corn must be cooked for her in a broken pot. A woman when she becomes a widow may live with her children if she prefers it. She cannot be ordered by a chief to sleep with a man, [but she] can make that agreement. [Above the line at this point the word 'Amapondas' has been inserted by Smith.] When mourning, boiled corn must be used for three days. Pumpkin must be mixed with the corn. When time of mourning [is] over they kill for her and she gets a new kaross and the old one is used as a petticoat. Can only eat a portion of the neck of the animal killed to make the kaross. Cannot wear beads for some time after this. She cannot anoint herself during her mourning. When she returns to the kraal she cuts the hair off the top of her head. Can marry again in a few months.

(203) When the wife dies the man must live away from his regular house for two days. Can use neither milk nor flesh. When he returns to the kraal [he] takes a mouthful of sweet milk, washes his mouth and spits it out. Then [he] can drink milk. Must shave the crown of his head. Cannot wear beads for some time. Must remain for a month without taking another wife. If he has more wives he can cohabit with them. The house of the woman who is dead must be destroyed.

Women may eat of the hinder legs of an ox. The best parts are reserved for the men. She must eat the liver, udder, meat along the backbone. Cannot eat of the breast. By their law they cannot drink sweet milk. When milking [they] often milk into the mouth. When they kill at the chief's kraal they must take flesh between the shoulders to the chief.

When they kill an elephant [they] must give the one tusk to Facu. Pay no constant tribute; at certain times after long distances [they] make him presents of cattle. When they kill a tyger they carry the skin and tail to Facu. He makes a kaross of them.

Heaps of stones. Travellers take one up and throw it on [the] heap and say: 'You must make me strong that I may walk well and quick.' They spit on the stone before throwing it on the heap. The old people say they have seen this since children but know nothing more of them.

(148-155) *Mnsebana*⁴⁴ + *Henza* — 75 years

Was born on the banks of the Keiskamma. Chief Kebeku,⁴⁵ Hahabie's son. Hahabie's people lived between the Keiskamma and Fish Rivers. The Medangies lived about the clay pits.⁴⁶ Congo⁴⁷ lived about Cafferdrift and Casa⁴⁸ lived along the coast between Fish River and Keiskamma.

There were Hottentot kraals in those days where Graham's Town is. Used to see the Boors come to hunt in the Fish River, but did not know where they came from. Hottentots lived then in Bushman's River. The boundary of the Caffers in those days was the Fish River, though the kraals sometimes extended over for hunting, etc.

In the war with Henza and Gaika the following chiefs against Gaika. One of Gaika's people killed the son of a captain of Henza. The latter went on a warlike expedition against him, when Slambi⁴⁹ assisted Gaika and they overcome Henza. Another war between Henza and Slambi against Gaika before last described. Gaika was vanquished, many killed. When Gaika was very young, Hahabe sent people to the Tambokies to look for strayed cattle; they were murdered. When he stood up and attacked the Tambokies in the action, Hahabie⁵⁰ was killed together with his great son. Kabo⁵¹ and the forces fled. Gaika and Slambi fought together on account of the people of the latter

having stolen some cattle and murdered some people of the former. Gaika victorious.

When friends die they sing and go off to the bush and remain there for a week or two or three, and eat the field food. Throws away his ornaments, burns his kaross. As he returns to the kraal he borrows a skin, then kills an ox or cow, and eats the flesh and has the skin made into a kaross.

Before a man can sleep in the house of his wife after she has had a child he must kill an ox, cow or calf, and the people of the kraal eat it. Child must first walk before he can cohabit with the mother. They believe that the child shall be injured by early cohabiting.

Says Cheo⁵²—When Henza takes a concubine he generally pays hassegays or cattle in order to pay the father and also give himself a sort of right to her body. Henza does that always. If refused, he takes her by force.

A boy before circumcision cannot be smeared by another. But he may take what remains after a man has been using it and paint himself, but he cannot get a woman to make it expressly for him nor smear him. The women prepare the red clay for painting and apply it. If a man is unmarried, his mother must make it ready and apply it.

man can eat

every part of an ox, sour milk

woman can eat

sweet milk

man cannot eat

a hare, fowl, sweet milk

women cannot eat

of the breast of an ox, nor
the breast of an eland

The breast of the eland is by one man cooked in the kraal, then cut to pieces and set before the captain. After he has taken what he wishes the rest is divided amongst the people. When a chief comes and the people of a kraal kill an ox he gets the fore part of the belly, [that] being considered as the best.

When a woman menstruates she cannot take sweet milk; she must live upon corn.

When a man becomes an active chief each subject gives him an ox or a cow.

Caffers eat the stomach of an ox raw. Young persons eat also some flesh raw; men not.

Much of their customs depend upon the caprice of the doctor. When they kill an ox on account of thunder, the skin only is burnt. The flesh is eaten. When they kill an ox to appease the evil spirit they eat the flesh and burn the bones.

When a young woman is first sick, she must remove to a distance and there have a house made for her; she must not come near the kraal till she is well. When she is well she can drink milk and anoint herself with fat, but not come to the kraal. When sick cannot rub with flesh meat⁵³ nor drink milk, but must live upon corn and also flesh. People take care of her during the time. They kill cattle the day she is taken sick if at hand; if not, next day. When she comes to the house they give her food as well as the young women who take care of her. The guard that is over her, an old woman, tells her when it is time to go home. Before she returns, a house is made ready for her and into this she must go, and then an ox or cow is slaughtered. The friends must give a half-worn caross which they place in the house, and then the old is thrown away. They dance also.⁵⁴

Three Tambokies⁵⁵ were killed by thunder in the afternoon of one day and next day they buried them. As soon as it happened all went to the river and washed themselves. Soon after they were buried a man took some baskets full of water to about 200 yards from the grave and with the leaves of the *Nymphaea caerulea*⁵⁶ he sprinkled first the boys who went up to them all together. As soon as the water was thrown upon them, they ran away making a great noise. The same was done to the women who followed them, and then lastly to the men who ran away from the place and threw hassegays across the grave with various gestures. The third day they killed a cow, and during the three days they drank no milk but fasted. They bury everything that has been killed by thunder. After the men were buried the whole of the people drove up the cattle to the gate of the cattle kraal and then away again with great hallowing. This they did three different times. The calves were allowed to suck the cows during the time the people fasted.

On the death of Vosanie all the people, both men and women, shaved their heads and they continued to mourn for the space of one year. During that time no cattle were allowed to leave Vosanie's country to Henza's, etc., and if any [were] found moving there they were seized by the chief. Vosanie was very

much beloved by his people. He was very firm in his opinions and seldom asked the advice of his *amapagati*.⁵⁷ He being dead, his wife has now much to say in the affairs of the nation and she is generally consulted about matters of any importance. He would not permit any but himself and [his] brothers to have horses because he thought it might bring him into trouble with the Colony.

*Chaikai, a Tamboukie. 28 January, Bashee River*⁵⁸

The nation is called AmaTembo or AmaGubu. The latter word signifies a caross.⁵⁹ When they speak in the plural they say Amatambo or AmaTembo. Vosanie [deleted] is at present regent, but when the son of Gubenuka⁶⁰ is of age he shall be the principal chief. Gubenuka or Vosanie is dead 2 years.⁶¹

Till three months ago no person painted with red clay and they kept the hair cut close to the head. All ornaments were taken off the body and carosses.⁶²

They call Facu's people the Amaponda, that is to say, Horns.⁶³

When a wife dies they kill an ox and eat the flesh. He stops secreted in the house where the woman dies and no person can come and visit him for about 1 month. in the meantime a new house must be built by a young woman who comes and makes it and then he pays for her and makes her his wife. If the dead woman has had no children, he goes to her father's place and takes back the cattle and pays them for the other. If he is a rich man then the people in the neighbourhood bring their daughters upon the death of the woman and he chooses one to make the house.

When the thunder strikes a house they kill an ox and bury it, then dance, and each of the neighbouring kraals send an ox to kill and eat. When the doctor comes they shut the house up and surround it with thorns. This place they will not leave; the doctor says it is good for them to remain. The Ficani⁶⁴ say that there is [a] high hill, and they take milk there during thunder and put poison in it so that the bird is killed.⁶⁵ After a man is killed by thunder he is by order of the doctor interred, and then the doctor goes for medicine and with it washes the children and wife of the man. Then they dance much.

Every doctor has a different manner of proceeding and therefore the manners and customs are very different. They are much

alarmed when an eclipse takes place, and think there is something wrong. When [a] halo appears round the moon they are also alarmed, and fear some punishment. They say that rain also sometimes follows, but they do not consider it a sign of rain. When the sun is eclipsed they also fear punishment. Last eclipse of the sun they were on their way after a fight with the Ficani, and they cried and thought it was a punishment likely to follow as they had beaten the Ficani. Madyan⁶⁶ was the captain of the Ficani and was killed. Gubinuka was the Tambokie chief. The Ficani was like grass for number; the Tambokies were also numerous. The Amapondas were also there. The fight commenced in the Imzimvubo⁶⁷ and extended towards the Bashee where Matyan⁶⁶ was killed. The battle commenced with the Amapondas and upon their flying to the Tambokies they joined and assisted. The captain of the Ficani with his people were in a kloof and were surrounded by the others; the brave stood but the cowardly ran away. [They] got plenty of cattle from the Ficani. The kraal was near at hand and they went to it and took all the cattle.

They threw the hassegay as the Caffers. The commando from the Colony was after [*sic*] and the chief of those Ficani was Matuana. He was not killed; he was the chief. After his death his son, Napi,⁶⁸ is the principal chief. The Ficani, Matuana's people, said they could not fight as fire from the sky came to kill them.⁶⁹ We see nothing[?] but people fall around. They thought it was thunder. After the battle the Ficani fled and have never troubled them since. They think that the Tambokies had brought the weather to assist them. The Ficani that were taken prisoners will not go back again because the Ficani think that if they go back the same thing will happen. They speak a little different, but not too much as to be readily understood. The name given by Matyan's people to themselves [is] Matewan. They lived near Chacka⁷⁰ and he fought them so that they fled. He took a great quantity of cattle so that the captain was forced to supply the poor with a cow so that they should have food. They fought about the land with the Amapondas; never took cattle from the Amapondas nor the Amapondas from them.

The chiefs go behind with the men with feathers, they being considered the light companies. Before they throw they come within 20 yards and always approach till they stick.⁷¹ There are many that run away on such occasions; when they come to the

house they are all killed, or even on the road. They sometimes cut off the hand or head of a vanquished chief and take them home to the chief. A doctor is then sent for and he must get plenty of medicine together and bring it with the parts. They believe that by doing so they will be successful if they enter upon another war. They cut the penis also off, with rich people the same thing is done, captain or not. The prisoners they take home and tie them and beat them, so that they shall not run away. They retain the son of a chief when they make him prisoner so long as there is war. When that is done, cattle are sent to purchase his freedom. The cattle are for killing and they remain with the chief, but when killed the soldiers come to eat of them with the soldier[s].⁷² If rich, they buy them; if not, they must remain with the conquerors.

Matuana [above is written Matwana? Amang(?)wana] was driven by Chacka from his country which was to the north of him, and after being deprived of all his cattle he proceeded against the Basutu and was several times repulsed by them. He then proceeded towards the sources of the Orange River and conquered a tribe of Caffers, and from them acquired a good deal of cattle. Chacka after this attacked him a second time and carried off his cattle again. He was after that compelled to attack the tribes high up in the Imzumvubu to get cattle, and he was on excursions of that kind against the Tambokies towards the sources of the Imtate River when the commando fell upon him. After his repulse he again went to the Basutus but was beat off again. He then went back to Chacka and requested permission to have ground to live upon. Chacka put him to death and his son now lives with Dingan as a private individual.⁷³

Cato of the Amaquabi⁷⁴ with his tribe were very troublesome to Facu's people, and stole a great number of cattle from them. Facu permitted them to get possession of an immense quantity of his cattle. After having got together many of his people the cattle were in too great a quantity to be taken away in one drive, upon which the people divided with them. The soldiers of Facu then watched the directions they took and fell upon them so divided and killed him and almost every person under him. He did not interfere with the cattle of Cato because he thought it would give offence to Chacka. After the defeat, the cattle were taken by Napei,⁷⁵ who still holds them.

After the death of Matyan, Napei succeeded to the chieftainship and is the present ruler. He was the son of Matyan, and is somewhere about the sources of the Key or Bashee towards the Orange River.

It appears most dangerous to reside at a distance from the principal chief because then removed from his immediate favour, and if so, and especially if rich or powerful, apt to be the subject for his plunder; in the one case to get the riches and in the other to destroy what may in time be dangerous for him.

Gaika was an infant when his father died; not able to walk. Chusa⁷⁶ was the eldest, then Umlau.⁷⁷ The latter before he died left Gaika in charge of Slambi.⁷⁸ The latter moved and resided at Gaika's kraal. Gaika's mother was named Mosanoo, and was a Tambookie.

Brothers of Slambi—Dusani, Manka, Mala, Camba, Yan, Gorglo, Sconceo, Imkas.⁷⁹

Gaika on one occasion when he wished to rouse his people who were lukewarm, spoke aloud at a meeting: 'What shall I do? I have no men. I am without people. I must put hassegays into the hands of my wives and let them fight for me.' These observations produced the desired effect.

(183-184) *Amatembos. Burial of Dusani or Vosanie, King*⁸⁰

Was buried two days after death. Sent to the missionary institution under Mr. Haddie⁸¹ to get spades to assist in digging the grave. When Mr. Haddie reached the spot where it was intended to bury him, the people of his own kraal together with the oldest son were digging the grave alongside of the cattle kraal. Mr. H. assisted in finishing it. The women and children were busy carrying stones from the river to cover it. When enough [they] commenced cutting thorns to make the kraal round the grave. When all was finished they all went down to the river to wash, then came back altogether. One of the chief soldiers exclaimed 'There is nothing but children here today; we cannot let all the children die. Is there any person [who has] got anything to say why we should not bury Vosanie?' [There was] no reply from any one. He then got up and all looked towards the grave and called 2 men out and told them they must take charge of the grave. Then went all away. The old men said they should die

with the cold. The answer was they must look to that themselves (they are not permitted to wear any karosses during the day). The boys brought all the milk from the houses in the sacs and poured it out in the cattle kraal at a little distance, then all excepting the two old men already mentioned disappeared. When none were to be seen the two stood up and then went towards the house which contained the corpse, opened the door and went in, wrapped it up in the kaross and then in a mat, and then carried him to the grave. Not a person to be seen. After he was put in the grave [they] went and got together all his goods, ornaments, hassegays, saddle, bridle, iron pots, etc., and placed them in the grave, then covered all up with soil and over [that] with stones.

About 12 cattle are driven out from the herd, and ever after are to be by themselves and not to be killed. They stand in the kraal over the grave. The cattle which belong to a chief at the kraal where he dies can neither be sold nor killed; those born from them may. It is said by some that the cattle of the grave kraal are to be eaten by the watch or visitors? Any person who touches and handles the dead body of a chief is ever after sacred; no person can put him to death. On the death of a chief the concubines are sent home to their fathers with their children. [They] get nothing. The wives after a certain period of mourning and fasting in the bush return to the kraal, get new karosses and cattle, and then live there.

When a woman loses her husband she becomes common property, and any person arriving at the kraal may demand her for the night. If she marries again she must be bought from the captain.

Cripple

Was born in Songaniamo,⁸² four days from this. [Smith has scratched out successively 'Bunt' and 'Morley'. This would indicate that the place was in that neighbourhood.] His tribe was called Amapatua; chief's name Patua.⁸³ Songaniamo is a river beyond Umzimculo, and his residence was towards the sources of the river. Fine flat country without bush. [They] burn reeds; no wood. On this side of [the] river country woody; abundance of water. War weapons: hassegay, [they] throw it. [They] get iron by smelting; abundance of ore. From his country to Orange

River 6 days, and 4 days beyond to Amasubas.⁸⁴ No mountains, no deep kloofs, no large rivers. Elands, kodoes, lions; also wood. Some few Bushmen.

(176-177) *Genealogy of Congo's family*

Quani,⁸⁵ one of Cheo's⁸⁶ subjects, was the first created chief of this family. He was a great favourite of the chief's, and was usually employed by him to eat up, as they say, kraals which were destined to be destroyed. He ventured to exercise his own discretion on many occasions, and was in the habit of permitting a portion of the cattle to be carried away and the people to escape and retire to the seaside. One day he requested some person to inform the chief of the circumstance, and he was then called forward to answer to the point. He had so arranged it that all the men so saved should be near in plumes and with their shields, and upon a signal given they sprang forward. Quani told the chief that what he had done was on his account, and upon seeing all this the chief was pleased and opened the cattle-kraal gate, drove out a great number of cattle, and said to the multitude around: 'Respect and acknowledge him as a great chief.' He told him that whenever he received any message from the Great Place he might talk about it or he might show his shields and hassegays. He also permitted him to keep the feathers and shields, which is only allowed to chiefs. Quani's successor was Chaka,⁸⁷ and Chaka's son was Chaka, the father of the late Congo.⁸⁸

Slambie⁸⁹ had such respect for Gaika that he used always to say that he would never name his successor whilst the latter lived.

On the death of a chief in Cafferland nothing belonging to the tribe can be sold for 12 months. No cattle can be parted with; all is considered unclean.

Witch

When a witch doctor is sent for in Cafferland, she is guarded by the chief of her kraal, and about 40 or 50 people. Has a jackal tail in front and one each side of the head. When she approaches the spot walks in the midst of the people. Has women also with her. The people stand in a semicircle in front of the witch and the women who accompany her, and she

dances. Occasionally retreats towards the chief of the kraal who asks her: 'Who is it'? At last tells. Makes considerable objections for a time. Says it appears to be a friend of hers. She does not like to call out the name. When she approaches a kraal, all the people prepare and go out to meet her. She and the women with her carry each an hassegay. She often advances in front, leaping, singing, dancing and waving the hassegay. When she arrives the people collect, and she dances and tells [the name of] the evil-doer.

At Facu's, when Mr. Boyce and [I] were there a case happened.⁹⁰ A girl was sick. The woman flew rapidly back and forwards to the cattle-kraal. At last [she] fixed upon a cow and said there was a spirit in it that caused the sickness, threw her down, [and] cut open the belly before [she was] dead. Some person cut a piece off the nose before she died. She groaned much. Said it was the spirit going out that had tortured the girl.

Once Mr. Boyce, speaking to a Caffer about the world being round, the C[affer] asked why was the Fish River always in the same place. Then another Caffer instantly remarked that he thought it was so because that would account for his being so frequently giddy.

Great chiefs will not meet each other because they don't know who is to speak first. They consider that he who speaks first acknowledges his inferiority. At the great commando⁹¹ Vosanie and Henza met but neither spoke.

NOTES

1. Ndhlambe, regent during the minority of Ngqika (Gaika).
2. The Wesleyan Mission Station on the Umkangiso Stream, a tributary of the Buffalo River.
3. Mdushane.
4. Compare Maclean, *A Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs*, Grahamstown, 1906 (Reprint), pp. 67-9, where, however, this 'law' is said to have been introduced by the colonists. It was actually the so-called 'reprisal system' introduced by Lord Charles Somerset in 1817, after his conference with the chief Ngqika.
5. Mqayi. This incident doubtless occurred in January, 1824, at the time of Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset's conference with the Xhosa chiefs at Line Drift.
6. I cannot identify this man.
7. Tembuland was then between the Umtata and Bashee Rivers. William Shepstone was at this time at 'Old Morley' Mission Station, to the south-east of the Umtata.

8. Tshatshu, chief of the AmaNtindi clan of Xhosa, and father of the better-known Jan Tshatshu, the *protégé* of Dr. Philip. This information was obtained by Smith at the London Missionary Society's Station on the east bank of the Buffalo River, opened by Rev. John Brownlee for the AmaNtindi in 1828, at what is now King William's Town.
9. Tshawe, an early Xhosa chief. Soga, p. 102, dates his reign *c.* 1610.
10. Great Kei and Nahoon.
11. Togu was the great-grandson of Tshawe. He seems to have reigned at the time of the wreck of the *Stavenisse*, *i.e.* 1686.
12. Ngconde, the son of Togu.
13. Tshiwe, the son of Togu.
14. Palo and Gwali were sons of Tshiwo, but Mdange was his brother. Palo (or Paro) was known to the early travellers as 'Pharaoh'.
15. *i.e.* about 1762 on the Kei.
16. Gcaleka, a son of Palo ('Great House').
17. Rarabe, a son of Palo ('Right-Hand House').
18. Langa, a chief of the AmaMbalu, living on the Gwanga River, a tributary of the Keiskama.
19. Mahote, a chief of the ImiDange.
20. There is a mistake here. Tshatshu was the great-great-grandson of Tinde. The skipping of a generation or two was (and is) quite common among native 'historians'.
21. Compare this table with that of Soga (facing p. 81), with which it is not in complete agreement.
22. AmaNtinde.
23. Mqeno, the son of Langa.
24. AmaMbalu.
25. Maqomo, 'Right-Hand' son of Ngqika (Gaika), the Xhosa chief. Since he himself was descended from Tshiwo, his people could be so named.
26. Cungwa, chief of the Gqunukwebe clan, which contained Gonaqua Hottentot blood. Since he was descended from a chief named Kwane, his people could be called AmaKwane.
27. Hintsu's people could likewise be called after his grandfather, Gcaleka.
28. Ndhlambe, whose people could also be called after Tshiwo, his great-grandfather.
29. Sakka (Chacka, Jacaa, etc.) was the father of Cungwa, chief of the Gqunukwebe. He did not belong to the ImiDange, so far as we know.
30. Makanna.
31. Information obtained from Hintsu (1790-1835) himself by Smith in the beginning of June, 1832.
32. Near the Keiskama River.
33. Buru, often called Boohoo. I cannot trace the murderer.
34. Ngubencuka, a Tembu chief, born towards the end of the eighteenth century. He is generally known by his family name, Vusani.
35. *Ozanna Leucophaea*, now extinct. Roberts (*The Mammals of South Africa*, 1950, p. 302) states that it was 'apparently exterminated at about the end of the eighteenth century', but Smith's note proves that it was still to be found in the Transkei at least as late as 1832.
36. This shows that Smith was personally interviewing Hintsu.
37. In August, 1828. Cane was accompanied by Nasapongo, a native servant of Lieutenant King (see Isaacs, i, p. 240).
38. Circumcised.
39. Maqomo. Smith's spelling of this name was quite understandable!

40. Rev. Richard Haddy, who founded the Wesleyan Mission to the Tembu at Clarkebury in April, 1830.
41. The trader at 'The Springs', on the heights above the Great Kei River on the eastern side of the Old Kei Drift, not far from Butterworth.
42. Mount Coke.
43. This passage has been added later. The page of the manuscript on which it begins was not completely filled up, so Smith inserted these notes in it and, when he came to the foot of the page, turned to the next empty page in which to complete them, indicating where the remainder would be found.
44. This name is obscure. Smith probably meant that Mnsebana (if that was his name) was at this time a subject of Hintsa.
45. I have not found this man elsewhere, but doubtless Smith was correct.
46. The clan was the ImiDange, and the clay pits were east of Grahamstown, near to where the present road crosses the Fish River at Hunt's Drift.
47. Cungwa, the Gqunukwebe chief. The 'Kaffir Drift' was on the Fish River near Scottsbottom.
48. I cannot identify this man.
49. Ndhlambe.
50. Rarabe.
51. Cebo, of Rarabe's 'Right-Hand' House.
52. Another informant (with the name Tshiwo!).
53. These two words are difficult to decipher. My reading of them may be wrong.
54. Three lines were drawn across the page of the manuscript at this point, separating these notes from those on the Tembu which follow.
55. AbaTembu.
56. A species of water-lily.
57. *Amapakati* were 'men of the inner circle', i.e. councillors.
58. These notes were made during Smith's forward journey.
59. *iNgubo*, a kaross, from the name of the chief, Ngubencuka.
60. Ngubencuka. His son was Mtirara.
61. i.e. in 1830.
62. In mourning for Ngubencuka.
63. Mpondo means 'horn'.
64. Mfekane, or 'free-booters'. They were of the AmaNgwane tribe.
65. *iMpundulu*, the lightning bird.
66. Matiwane, chief of the AmaNgwane.
67. Umzimvubu.
68. Ncapayi.
69. The guns of the Europeans.
70. Shaka, the Zulu tyrant.
71. i.e. stab, the practice instituted by Shaka.
72. The last three words are redundant.
73. Matiwane's history is well told by Soga, pp. 352-7.
74. Nqeto, chief of the AmaQwabe. For his complete history see Fynn, pp. 165-73, where, however, his name is spelled 'Catu'.
75. Ncapayi.
76. Possibly Ntsusa, founder of the AmaNtsusa clan.
77. Mlawu.
78. Ndhlambe.
79. Mdushane, Nqayi, Mhala and Jan were sons, not brothers, of Ndhlambe. The others I cannot identify. Compare Soga, table facing p. 81.

80. Vusani, or Ngubencuka, died in 1830. Smith must have introduced the name of Mdushane through some misunderstanding.
81. Rev. Richard Haddy, the Wesleyan missionary at Clarkebury in Tembuland.
82. I have not been able to identify the precise locality, but Smith indicates its general position.
83. I cannot identify this man.
84. I cannot identify this tribe.
85. Kwane.
86. Tshiwo.
87. Sakka.
88. Cungwa, chief of the Gqunukwebe.
89. Ndhlambe.
90. This must have happened on Smith's return journey, as Boyce was absent in Grahamstown during the forward trip (Steedman, ii, p. 290).
91. Possibly that under Major Dundas in 1828.

HOTTENTOTS

(169-175) *Scaapers*, [a] *Hottentot*¹

Was born near Zunday's River Poort,² and reared there. The chief of the kraal, his grandfather, was Kabeang.³ Hottentots were as far as the sea. The Gonas lived more under by the Bushman River. The time he first saw Caffers was near Jan van Faure's⁴ where they came to visit the Sonquas, Hottentots who lived there (12 Caffers with a few cattle). They went off again to their kraal at Kaba.⁵

Hahabee⁶ killed Chaka⁷ Congo's father. Falcon Hagel was first white men that he had seen.⁸ He was about 17 years old when Hagel came to get salt. He went with old Scaapers to Kamnasia⁹ (?). Kakakama¹⁰ and Scaapers places were the first; Zandflatte¹¹ was Rottenburg Drift¹² first on B[ushman's] River. Claas Neimand¹³ was servants at Sandflaghte. In those days [they] killed buffaloes [and] bucks. Says that his father had cows, but they and those of his people lost most of them by Bushmen and lions. His grandfather got a commando ready and went after them. They traced them over Saltpan's Neck¹⁴ and finding they could not get up with them they returned. This must have happened more than 100 years ago, as that was long before relator was born. The Bushmen surrounded the kraal and drove the cattle away; part went off with the cattle and part remained and fought with the Hottentots. When he first saw white men they had no cattle; ever since he was born the Hottentots had never cattle. They did not know anything of Karee¹⁵ in those days.

The Bushmen, he heard, lived about Sneeberg.¹⁶ They, the relators, went and offered to hire with the white people. Does not know why they went to hire with the white people. The first horse he saw was by Blue Kranz;¹⁷ he thought that it was a hartebeest. They made ready to shoot it. They crept near


to it. They discovered that it was something else, and they were afraid. They let it alone, they did not use salt.

William Hasbeck¹⁸ run away from Galga Bush¹⁹ and with the others returned to Sunday's River. His people were called Kabia's.²⁰ His grandfather was master of the upper part of Sunday's River. The lower part was under another chief. The Bushmen always came in little parties and stole his grandfather's cattle. The Siquas²¹ [sic] [Here there is a page with a short account of C. Kok given below.] *Scaapers contd.* had no cattle. Never heard that white people made commandoes and took cattle from the Hottentots. Before the white people came here, the land about Ado and Bushman's River was inhabited by Gonas.²² They called Chacka Gонуquibiqua.²³

Sunday's River—Gnuoi
Zwartkops River—Gau
Cugha River—Cugha²⁴

Boschman's River—Cougha
Fish River—

The old Hottentots used to ask god or Tigua²⁵ to help them when they went on a journey or hunting party. They used to call the grasshopper that is now called Hottentot god the Devil (Gonora).²⁶ They did not kill him, but threw him away from them with a piece of stick. They always said Tegua, but he does not know to what they held their hands up. When they buried the Hottentots in old times they were placed in a straight posture with their faces turned to the sun so [see sketch].

The body was covered with small bushes. They believed that they never came out. They made a cap from the bladder of a buffalo, or cattle, made soft with the fat of the ox's heart. Gnus,  steenbok, flachte steenbok²⁷ and dassies made karosses. They always wore a sort of kaross of stripes before the penis. Never heard that his people bought women; Gonas bought their wives. The Siquas were Bushmen or at least people who came out of the Bushman country, and therefore they called them so. His people called the Bushmen Ousaena.²⁸ Siquas was the name of the chief. They carried milk in stomachs of animals or in a sac.

Gona Conference

Prince²⁹ about 82 years ago was born on the flat close to Graham's Town. Nothing but Hottentots there in those days.

Never heard of, nor saw, white people come and take away their cattle by force.

J. Henrick [Altered from 'Britannia' which has been crossed out] says that the rich Hottentots in early days were chiefly deprived of their cattle by farmer commandoes, though some were stolen by the Bushmen. (I regularly remark that the most intelligent of the younger Hottentots tell of the plundering of the farmers, but that the older men, indeed the very old, say they know nothing about [it].) All spoke of the exchange which took place between the Government officers and the Hottentots. The last was a Corporal Zinnis,³⁰ who came under with beads, brass wire, handkerchiefs, tobacco, knives, shirts, etc., and bought cattle with them. He sometimes got so many that he could not drive them off. The last time he exchanged with kraals upon the Great River.³¹

In the olden days [there were], says Britannia, more cattle with the Hottentots than the farmers now have. The old man says that the Hottentots and Caffers never fought; that the Hottentots kept moving west as the Caffers approached them.

Old Stoffel,³² who must be at least close upon 100 years of age, says that after the cannon firing at the Cape his family fled with many others, and part went over the Witzenberg and part down into Winterhoek.³³ His father took the latter, where he was born. Ever since he can remember the regular [?] Hottentots and Bushmen have been at war, and he has heard the old people speak of them as having always been thieves. His people used at times to get the assistance of Captain Ruiter³⁴ to go and fight the Bushmen who lived about Cumdebo River³⁵ and beyond Graaff Reynet. Occasionally they got back the cattle, but when the Bushmen were strong they now and then succeeded in keeping them. They used to carry off from time to time a good number of cattle.

John Henrick says that in war the Hottentots are always the worst enemies. The Hottentots opposed to the Colony have . . . You may find the farmers inclined to pity and save, but the Hottentots never. This, he says, arises from a desire to be thought good people. He made this remark after my stating my wonder that Paul Meyer³⁶ should have so cruelly and without order murdered Oursons[?]³⁷ wife and child. This same man says that Cobus Scaapers the old³⁸ was a very fiery man, and commonly

threatened to shoot Hottentots who vexed him. He would at such times fly to the house for his gun, and the Hottentots then fled to the bush for safety. Says Claas Stuurman³⁹ was a very good man, but that David Stuurman⁴⁰ and Hans Trompetter⁴¹ were most quarrelsome, untractable characters, always fighting amongst their own people and never doing good for those they were serving.

Prince says that at the time they (the Hottentots) left the farmers, it was on account of the constant sambucking⁴² they got. Knows nothing of the report about Mynier's⁴³ having ordered them to leave. He was in the service of Cobus Kok, brother of C. Kok,⁴⁴ at the time of Daniel Kuins'⁴⁵ commando which took place in 1781. He says that a Boor or Boors named Peyers[?]⁴⁶ took away two Hottentots' wives who were living [as] servants with him or with them, and wished to cohabit with them. The men were very angry, and run off with two guns belonging to the two farmers, and fled to the Caffers to seek assistance. The farmers heard of their flight and their object, and formed a commando to go in quest of them and punish the Caffers. The commando was under Kuins and Piet Ferrara,⁴⁷ and they fought the Caffers near the Kareika⁴⁸ and defeated them. As Kuins and the others were passing B[ushman's] River the two Hottentots with the guns were there in waiting for them. One fired and wounded a⁴⁹ and shot the horse of Kuin. They pursued the Hottentots, retook the guns, and killed one Hottentot. The other escaped in the bush. They farther defeated the Caffers and took a great number of cattle.

At that time there were a number of Hottentots and Gonas⁵⁰ living amongst the Caffers, for as the latter advanced and the Dutch came in the other direction, all the Hottentots who were deprived of their possessions required to go somewhere. Part joined the whites and part mixed with the Caffers. Those that joined the former were inveterate enemies of the Hottentots who joined the Caffers.

A very old man named Bartman,⁵¹ who was present, was born at the Chumie where his grandmother, Haikams[?]⁵² was head, her man being dead. When he was very young, about 80 years ago, they all removed from thence in consequence of the advance of the Caffers, and came to the Bushman's River. His grandmother's name was Haikams, and she governed the upper

part of the Keiskamma, a population which extended along the river and over the flat beyond the river towards the Buffalo River. The lower part of the river was under Vaugra⁵³ [?], an independent Hottentot chief. The Hottentots that lived about this river were called Háádow.⁵⁴

Prince is a Gona, and his father was a chief called Gumgate.⁵⁵ Ruiter lived where Theopolis is, and the country all about that place was belonging to his people. His Hottentot name was Tugna,⁵⁶ and when the Caffers wished to hunt in the Zuurveld, they asked permission from him. The father of Prince gave Thomas Ferrara, who lived on the other side of the Camptoos River⁵⁷ then on a journey in the Zuurveld, three pack oxen in exchange for meal. He took away two men to drive the oxen and bring the meal back; neither they nor the meal ever arrived.

Stoffel's father was a Hoyman⁵⁸ (Kaygnu). The late Captain Ruiter Beeses⁵⁹ was the nephew of old Ruiter. The latter upon the death of an older brother became chief. Umguma^{59a} about 100 years ago was the highest chief of the Hottentots in Winter Hoek and Zuurveld. The Dutch used to call the chief at Graham's Town 'Kleinboy', and Vangru[?] Dirk[?] Jantye.⁶⁰ Langa⁶¹ gradually approached the Hottentots and at last he came off by Graham's Town and took up his position on the Bushman's River.

Chaka⁶² entered the Zuurveld by the sea side. When old Bartman came out from the Tumie to Boshman's River, Ruiter was living at Graave Water.⁶³ Chaka was killed by Slambie⁶⁴ and Gaika near to the sea. There were farmers there also in that war.

The sheep and cattle in very early days, says old Stoffel, were from time to time taken by commandoes of white people. One commando forced Hottentots to accompany them and shew them the place where the richest Hottentots lived; and when they reached Sunday's River they were told here were the last rich Hottentots and that farther to the east were Caffers. They then shot their guides and went back.

In early days they knew nothing of Gonas; that is a late name given to those who are bastards between Caffers and Hottentots.⁶⁵ They came into existence when part of the displaced Hottentots attached themselves to Langa[?] and Chaka, particularly the latter. They never lived as a distinct tribe, but always mixed

with Caffers under the latter named chief. Ruiter's people were principally Hottentots, whom his knowledge and superior intelligence attached to him after coming into this country from the Cape district. The inclination of the people in those days to change brought Gonas also sometimes to live under him.

[The following extract is that which was omitted from page 135.]

(170) C. Kok⁶⁶

47 years ago⁶⁷ [written above is '1832'; the year when the note was written] Kok came to Zandflachte,⁶⁸ and soon after Lindeques' commando went out. Malon(?) Tuli(?) and Conga's Caffers.⁶⁹ In the year 1785 [he] came to live on Zandflaghte. Voke⁷⁰ was Landdrost when they were married, which is 47 years ago, or in the year⁷¹ . . . Before she was married Daniels Kuins' commando went off.⁷² Cloete was murdered by Caffers near the mouth of the Fish River where he lived.⁷³ Daniels Kuins lived at Kournay⁷⁴ when Kok lived at Zandflachte. Gora and Quaggafat was his also.⁷⁵

NOTES

1. A Hottentot who doubtless took his name from that of his employer.
2. Sundays River Poort is where that river passes through the Zuurberg. It is at the extreme eastern end of the Winterhoek.
3. I cannot identify this chief.
4. I cannot identify this man.
5. In Kaba Kloof, near Alexandria.
6. Rarabe.
7. Zaka (Sakka), the father of Cungwa (Congo).
8. Hagel's Kraal was near Attaqua's Kloof, north of Mossel Bay.
9. Kamnassie Bergen and Rivier are near Uniondale.
10. Kraggakamma is about twelve miles west of Port Elizabeth.
11. Sandvlagte, or Sand Flats, is west of the Bushmans River, near Sandflats station.
12. Rautenbach's Drift on the Bushmans River.
13. Nicolaas Johannes Niemant. His place was a little to the west of Bethelsdorp.
14. This was probably a local 'nek', though there is a Zoutpans Poort about thirty miles north of Cradock.
15. I cannot identify this term.
16. Sneeuwberg, north of Graaff-Reinet.
17. Blaauwkrans, a hill on the eastern side of the Kowie River.
18. Willem Haasbek, a trustworthy Hottentot employed by Maynier as an emissary in 1793. See Marais, J. S., *Maynier and the First Boer Republic*, Cape Town, 1944, *passim*.
19. Galgenbosch, a wood near the Van Stade's Rivier.
20. I cannot identify this name.

21. Sonquas, which usually means Bushmen, but which here means Hottentots.
22. Gonaqua, a branch of the Hottentot race inhabiting the southern coast from Algoa Bay to the Bashee River, but which is now extinct.
23. Gqunukwebe, a tribe of mixed Xhosa and Gonaqua origin.
24. Smith's attempt to obtain the original Hottentot names for these rivers was laudable, if not completely successful. Those of the Sundays and Bushmans Rivers respectively should be *!noeb* and *!koxa*. That of the Fish, which he could not get, was *!oub*, and that of the Coega was *!khuxa*.
25. Tigua, or Tegua, was Tsui-!goab. See Hahn, T., *Tsuni-goam*, London, 1881, p. 91 et seq.
26. !gauna or !gaunab, *ibid.*
27. Vlake Steenbok, or *Raphicerus campestris fulvorubescens* Desmoulins. See Roberts, A., *The Mammals of South Africa*, Johannesburg, 1951, p. 341.
28. *Sana*, the name given to the Bushmen by the Hottentots. It meant 'inhabitants', i.e. 'aborigines'.
29. Smith interviewed at least four Gonaqua Hottentots, Prince, Henrick, Britannia and Old Stoffels, who were probably among the last survivors of a race which is now extinct.
30. I cannot identify this man.
31. The Great Fish River is meant here.
32. This must be the well-known legend of the cannon, which seems to have been remembered by most of the Hottentot tribes. The fact that these men knew it seems to indicate that they or their ancestors were originally at the Cape, or near it.
33. Compare Stow, G. W., *The Native Races of South Africa*, London, 1905, p. 327.
34. The notorious Hottentot chief who lived in the neighbourhood of the Bushmans and Great Fish Rivers.
35. Camdebo River, near Graaff-Reinet.
36. Apparently another Hottentot.
37. This name is indistinct in the manuscript. I cannot identify the owner of it.
38. Doubtless the farmer who had employed the Hottentot 'Scaapers', and from whom the latter derived his name.
39. A well-known Hottentot headman who had been a thorn in the flesh of the colonists for many years. Governor Janssens interviewed him at Algoa Bay in 1803. See V.R.S. 18, pp. 80-7.
40. The brother of Klaas Stuurman.
41. Another notorious Hottentot headman. The well-known drift on the Great Fish River was named after him.
42. Sjambokking.
43. Honoratus C. D. Maynier, a former Landdrost of Graaff-Reinet.
44. See p. 139.
45. Daniel Willem Keune, a notorious frontier farmer of German origin.
46. Beyers(?).
47. A member of the well-known Ferreira family, descended from a Portuguese who was wrecked at the Cape in 1722.
48. Kariega River.
49. I cannot decipher this name.
50. Gonaqua Hottentots.
51. Presumably another Gonaqua, though Smith does not say so. We are told, however, that he was born at the Tyumie River, probably not far from present-day Alice.
52. This would suggest a Bushman tribal name.
53. I cannot identify this man.

54. I cannot identify this tribe, but it was obviously Gonaqua.
55. I cannot identify this chief.
56. Stow gives this man's Hottentot name as Kohla.
57. Gamtoos River.
58. The Hoyman Hottentots, according to Smith (V.R.S. 11, pp. 288-9), used to live between the Gamtoos and Olifants Rivers.
59. I cannot identify this man more precisely.
- 59a. I cannot identify this man.
60. Kleinbooi may have been Gausa. See V.R.S. 11, p. 292. I cannot identify Dirk Jantje.
61. Langa was a chief of the AmaMbalu, a Xhosa tribe.
62. Sakka, chief of the Gqunukwebe tribe.
63. Graafwater Valley is about twelve miles west of Alexandria; the railway line from Alexandria to Port Elizabeth runs through it.
64. Ndhlambe.
65. This is incorrect. The Gonas were Gonaqua Hottentots. The so-called 'bastards' referred to were the members of the Gqunukwebe tribe of Xhosa, in which there was a good deal of Gonaqua blood. See Soga, pp. 116-19, for the history of the Gqunukwebe.
66. On p. 170 of Smith's manuscript.
67. i.e. in 1785.
68. Sandvlagte, to the west of the Bushmans River. Sandflats railway station is practically on it.
69. 1793. This was the beginning of the Second Kaffir War. See Marais, J. S., *op. cit.*, p. 31 et seq. The chiefs named were Umlao, Tholi and Cungwa. Cungwa's Kraal was about five miles east of the mouth of the Sundays River.
70. Maurits Herman Otto Woeke, appointed in December, 1785.
71. i.e. in 1785.
72. 1789. See Theal, iii, p. 179.
73. I cannot identify this man with certainty. There was, however, a Stephanus Cloete living there in 1803. See V.R.S. 18, p. 144.
74. Coerney.
75. Gorah is a little to the east of Coerney. Quaggas Flats are on the western side of Bushmans River and south-east of Sandflats railway station.

PART II

THE CAPE TOWN MERCHANTS' MEMORIAL
OF 1834

I. *Origins of the Memorial*

The glowing accounts of the new wonderland which were disseminated throughout the Colony after the return of Andrew Smith from Natal undoubtedly confirmed for the Cape Town merchants the truth of the tales that they had previously heard, and were still hearing, of the highly successful visits to that part of the country which had been made by a number of traders.

James Collis, whom Smith had met while on his way to Port Natal,¹ and the Cawood family, all of whom were from Grahamstown, were among the most successful. All of them told, as Smith had done, of the marvellously fertile soil, the perennial streams, and the abundance of natural produce; and all stressed the suitability of the country for colonization. It was therefore quite natural that some of the merchants of the Cape who had been interested in Natal from the earliest days when Farewell and Fynn had attempted to make trading contacts with the natives there—several of them had actually put their hands in their pockets to help Farewell when he was stranded in Cape Town in 1824²—should think that it was high time that an organized effort should be made to overcome the official opposition that was always encountered whenever individuals had sought to induce the British Government to sponsor a settlement in Natal.³

The new effort seems to have begun towards the end of 1833 when, at a meeting held in the Commercial Exchange in Cape Town,⁴ John Centlivres Chase 'stated some facts relative to the trade of Port Natal'. As a result of this, the committee of the Exchange invited Dr. Andrew Smith and Captain William Edie, among others, to attend a special meeting, to be held on 7th December, to discuss the subject. Smith's invitation ran thus:

'Please come to the meeting at the Commercial Exchange, 1 p.m. Saturday, to tell us all you can about the formation and protection of a British settlement at Port Natal.'⁵

Only Dr. Smith and Mr. Chase came to the meeting, and 'communicated to the committee a variety of information on the subject of Port Natal'.⁶

Mr. Immelman, to whom I am indebted for the foregoing facts, which he culled from the correspondence of the Commercial Exchange, has remarked that it would have been very illuminating 'if only the minutes had been fuller and had actually told us what the "variety of information" was that was given to the committee that day'. I believe,

however, that most of it is still extant. Smith's information will, I think, be found in the historical and descriptive notes which he furnished to the committee to accompany the merchants' memorial when it was sent to England;⁷ while Chase's can be read in Andrew Steedman's well-known work,⁸ where it was printed in Appendix I.

The task of preparing the draft memorial and the resolutions to be put to a public meeting to be held on Monday, 20th January, 1834, was entrusted to Messrs. J. B. Ebdon and J. C. Chase, together with the secretary of the committee, Mr. R. W. Eaton.⁹

News of the preliminary discussion had, in the meantime, reached Grahamstown, and a paragraph appeared in the *Graham's Town Journal*¹⁰ commenting on the merchants' proposed scheme, of which the writer fully approved, but at the same time felt that there was little likelihood of Government action being taken in the matter in view of 'the late discussions in Parliament on the subject of new colonies'. And he added: 'Rumours are afloat of the formation of a large trading party with similar views to the merchants of Cape Town; we believe, however, that the matter is only spoken of, and that no definitive arrangement has been made to carry the project into execution.'

Meanwhile advertisements of the proposed public meeting in Cape Town appeared in three issues of the *South African Commercial Advertiser* and in two of the *Zuid Afrikaan*, in each instance in both languages.¹¹

The meeting duly took place, and it was fully reported in the pages of the *South African Commercial Advertiser*,¹² as follows:

Port Natal

A public meeting was held on Monday last, in the Commercial Room, for the purpose of considering the propriety of petitioning the Home Government on the subject of a military occupation and settlement at Port Natal.

Mr. Borchers, the resident magistrate, on taking the chair, stated the object of the meeting, which had his warmest concurrence.

Mr. Advocate Cloete said that as he had requested to move the first resolution, pointing out the expediency of establishing a settlement at Port Natal, it was probably expected that he should preface that resolution with a few words of explanation.

It appeared from records in the Colonial Office, that the country in question had been originally purchased from the inhabitants by the Dutch East India Company, for the purpose of forming a settlement, and, although the circumstances of that

Company had subsequently led them to abandon the design, yet this fact alone afforded strong ground for the present application. Many present had been personally acquainted with the late Captain King and Lieut. Farewell, and knew the energy and talent they had exhibited in locating themselves at Natal, where they had planted the British Standard, and succeeded in forming what, with the assistance of Government, might have proved the nucleus of a great and powerful colony. Government, however, appeared to have been backward in affording the requisite protection, and as the means of individuals were found insufficient for carrying forward an undertaking of so great magnitude, the public had the mortification to see the attempt dwindle into nothing, and the persons who had made it driven away with violence and bloodshed.

Now, however, the attention of the commercial body had been awakened to the importance of the subject by the travels of Dr. Smith, who had opened the country to their eyes—depopulated by massacre for 200 miles;—or, occupied, if at all, by a few miserable wretches who find a scanty supply of roots and herbs in a country of vast extent,—inexhaustible in natural resources,—covered with rills of water, and demanding only the labours of the husbandman to call forth the choicest bounties of nature in rich abundance. There was no one who would not concur with him that it was a reflection upon the Colony for such a country to be lying waste in its immediate vicinity. Two objections might, however, be raised to the proposed settlement. It might be opposed by some, from interested motives, on the ground that the tide of emigration would turn towards a country so promising, to the prejudice of this Colony. But he was certain none present would agree in such a narrow sentiment. No! let them rather strain all their energies to obtain for the Colony a friend and neighbour, where both its agriculture and commerce might find intercourse and vent;—which would open the way to steam navigation, and serve as a starting point from whence Christianity and civilization would flow into the interior of Africa. The other objection was, that by taking possession of the country we might commit an act of aggression on the aborigines. And here he would at once say,—if it appeared to him that, by occupying Natal, any such outrage would be committed, he would drop the resolution he then held;—for neither the colour of

the skin, nor the degree of their intellect could be admitted for a moment as a plea for driving even savages from the lands held by their forefathers. But from the accounts of Dr. Smith and other travellers, it appears clearly, that the country had been visited by the tyrant Chaka, who, like a typhoon, had swept away the inhabitants, leaving it entirely depopulated and in a state of nature. It is thus as a country *derelict*, and as it has not yet been formally taken possession of by any other European power, both the interest of commerce, and the voice of reason, demand that the present application should be made. With these views he moved the 1st resolution.

Seconded by Mr. Michael van Breda, sen.

The second resolution was moved by Dr. Macartney, in a long speech, in which he traced the early history of that part of the country, derived from the writings of Capt. Rodgers and Dampier; and dwelt with considerable emphasis on the benefits likely to result from Port Natal being colonised by British people. Our space does not, at present, admit of giving Dr. M.'s remarks at length.

Seconded by Mr. Korsten.

The third resolution was proposed by Mr. Gadney, and seconded by Mr. Pillans.

Mr. Cloete in supporting this resolution, begged to say, a few words confirmatory of what Mr. Macartney had briefly (on that point at least,) mentioned, relative to the expense Government would incur in this undertaking. Now he thought it incumbent on the meeting to take up that particular, and show, that the unfortunate and miserable settlements now maintained on the west coast, and particularly Sierra Leone and Fernando Po,—those graves of our army and navy, which are kept up at a vast cost of men and treasure,—only tend to cramp the energies of the British Government; and that the money lavished on such fatal establishments would be much better applied in promoting the object of the petition.

Mr. Thomas Phillipps, from Albany, expressed himself much gratified, when, on arriving in Cape Town, he found that a meeting had been appointed to consider a subject which had so long engaged the attention both of the inhabitants and functionaries of the Eastern Province. There, he was happy to state, the English and Dutch united in the most friendly manner, and, in

their views on this matter, were nearly unanimous. With regard to himself, he had long considered the subject to be one of great importance, and had taken every opportunity of speaking with traders who came from that part of the country, who uniformly stated that, on the military occupation of Port Natal, they would immediately return and settle there, and that their having left it was entirely owing to the insecurity of life and property. It had been more than once in contemplation to form a joint stock trading company, but it was evident no such company could succeed, without a previous military occupation. With regard to the expense, he was convinced that this would be found, on the whole, an economical measure. Had such an occupation of the country taken place before the year 1828, Government would have saved a sum of fifty or sixty thousand rixdollars, which it had cost the Colony, by the commando sent out in that year to protect the neighbouring Caffers from an expected attack of the Zoolas.

Mr. Ebden then moved the next resolution, and said:—

My opinion of the many and important advantages which this Colony, in a political as well as a commercial point of view, is likely to derive from the settlement of Port Natal, has been formed on a careful investigation of the evidence adduced, and on a deliberate consideration of the various facts and circumstances brought to our notice, by the different travellers, traders, and others, who, from time to time, have visited Natal, or rather what has been more properly designated that *depopulated* country,—a country, according to the undoubted testimony of my friend Dr. Smith, (the intrepid and well known traveller in Southern Africa), and others not less entitled to the confidence of the public, possessing every requisite as regards soil, climate, and situation, to render its being taken possession of, as a dependency of this Colony, highly desirable, without intrenching upon the rights of the natives, or the violation of any principle which might induce His Majesty's Government to pause in lending their sanction to any measure of the kind.

It has been stated that the aborigines of the country, to whom it may be said of right to belong, have been massacred and destroyed by the Zoolas, but whatever the fact may be, we distinctly disclaim any idea or intention of encroaching on the rights of the native tribes.

The public returns, as well as private records, attest, that no inconsiderable trade has, with occasional interruptions, been successfully carried on for many years past, between the inhabitants of Albany and the natives, in the neighbourhood of Port Natal.

It is also a matter of notoriety (which fact, if I mistake not, has come to the knowledge of Government) that the Zoolas, a numerous and warlike tribe, have been supplied with arms and ammunition by foreign vessels occasionally touching at Port Natal. I need hardly say, that such a traffic is pregnant with evil consequences, and if not prevented may eventually endanger the peace and security of this settlement.

To advert to the enormous expense which was entailed on this Colony by the commando of 1828, and the hostile invasions of the Zoolas, to which the Caffers on our eastern frontier are so constantly exposed,—I would simply remark that the possession of Port Natal would afford an effectual check against any recurrence of the evils and abuses here alluded to, as well as prove the best means of protection against either internal or external aggressions. Not less, therefore, for the protection of commerce, than necessary for the peace and security of this Colony, and as likely, in an eminent degree, to advance the great cause of civilisation, and promote the moral and religious improvement of the native tribes, do I feel disposed to give the object of the present meeting my utmost support.

Seconded by Mr. Chase.

The 5th resolution was proposed by Mr. Merrington, and seconded by Mr. Greig.

The next resolution was moved by Mr. Hamilton Ross, and seconded by Mr. Chiappini.

Mr. Eaton then read a draft of the Memorial, which, after some conversation, was unanimously approved, and ordered to lie in the Commercial Hall for signatures. Thanks were then voted to the chairman, and the meeting separated.

The following are the resolutions:

1st. That from information obtained from sources entitled to the confidence of Government, it appears that Port Natal, and the unoccupied country to the westward, afford very favourable prospects for the formation of a British settlement.

2nd. That the climate and natural resources of the country of Port Natal and in its vicinity are highly favorable to the support of an agricultural population, while its proximity to the sea and its position with regard to the neighbouring tribes afford the means of carrying on to a great extent an internal and external trade.

3rd. That a Government establishment at Port Natal, with an adequate military force, is indispensable to the preservation and extension of trade, and for regulating the intercourse between the white inhabitants and native tribes.

4th. That a Government establishment would prevent the supply of arms and ammunition to the natives, by foreign vessels occasionally visiting Port Natal, and which, if not prevented, may ultimately endanger the peace and security of this Colony, and the welfare of the tribes beyond its borders; while the authority of Government judiciously administered, would aid in no unimportant degree missionary exertions for the civilization and moral and religious improvement of the native tribes.

5th. That a settlement of the nature that has been described would afford security to the Caffers against the hostile intrusions to which they are now exposed from the Zoolas.

6th. That a memorial in accordance with the foregoing resolutions be transmitted to His Majesty in Council, and that the draft now produced be read.

7th. That the memorial now read be approved and engrossed, and placed for signature in the Commercial Exchange.

2. *The Memorial*

The completed memorial, duly engrossed, was exposed for signature in the Commercial Exchange, where it lay for a considerable time. A reminder that it was still there appeared in the *Zuid Afrikaan* for Friday, 21st February, in both languages as usual. The original document, bearing one hundred and ninety signatures,¹³ is preserved in the Public Record Office in London, and the present reprint has been made from it. The document, however, had to wait for some time before it could be despatched to England; but when it was sent off the covering letter was signed by the Governor himself.¹⁴

Government House,
Cape of Good Hope,
17th June, 1834.

Sir,

I have the honour herewith to transmit a petition to the King in Council from the merchants and inhabitants of this Colony who have subscribed it praying His Majesty that a settlement may be made at Port Natal.

The enclosures Nos. 2 and 3, but especially the former of them, will fully elucidate the different points dwelt on in the petition, and I would further request that reference may be had upon the subject, to the correspondence between Lord Bathurst and Lord Charles Somerset in 1824, to that between Mr. Hay and Sir Lowry Cole in 1831, and to a letter of Mr. Bannister (formerly Attorney-General at N.S. Wales) to the Secy. of State, dated Cape Town, 12th May, 1829.

Such a settlement doubtless might well be found advantageous hereafter, and especially with a view to anticipating any which might otherwise be made by the United States or any other Power, of all which, however, in all its bearings, H.M.'s Government will best judge. Meanwhile, I would observe that considering the near neighbourhood of the Zoolahs—a very warlike and restless tribe of Africans (now under the dominion of Dingaan, a brother of Chaka), such a settlement, would, in its infancy probably require a force of not less than 100 (two companies perhaps) of H.M.'s troops for its protection,—a detachment which could not conveniently be taken from the force now in this Colony, which certainly is not more than adequate (if indeed it be so) to the necessary demands upon it here.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient
and most humble servant,

[sign'd] B. D'URBAN.

To the Right Hon^{ble} E. G. Stanley, M.P.
Secretary of State.

To His Majesty the King in Council.
The Memorial of the Undersigned Merchants and others,
Inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope,
Humbly Sheweth.¹⁵

1. That in consequence of the country in the vicinity of Port Natal having been purchased in 1689, by order of the Dutch East India Company, for the sum of twenty thousand guilders, they directed the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, M. P. de Chavonnes, by letter dated Amsterdam 23 December 1719, to form an establishment at Port Natal, and to hold it with the purchased territory in its vicinity, as a dependency of this Colony. In 1814 the Cape of Good Hope 'and its dependencies' were formally ceded by the Dutch to Great Britain.
2. That since the year 1824, Port Natal has been almost constantly occupied by British subjects, who resided there with the express permission of the Governor of this Colony.
3. That these persons had succeeded in opening a trade with the natives, which had been gradually increased in extent from the encouragement afforded by the Zoolas, who have evinced a desire that the Europeans should continue to reside in their neighbourhood; but that their residence, without a Government establishment on the spot, is attended with very great risk. It is therefore essential that some such establishment be formed for the protection of the trader, and likewise for the regulation of the trade.
4. That such an establishment, interposed between the Zoola and Caffre tribes, would be of great importance as a protection to the latter, who reside immediately on the eastern frontier of the Cape, and who are at all times liable to hostile invasions by the Zoolas, the mere apprehension of which, in 1828, entailed a very heavy expense on this Colony, in dispatching a commando two hundred miles beyond our frontier to repel them.
5. The features of the country between these tribes are of a character highly favorable. It is well wooded with large timber, and watered with upwards of one hundred large rivers and running streams, some of which are larger than the chief rivers of this Colony. The soil is fertile, and has produced three crops of Caffre and Indian corn in the year. The rains are periodical, and

the climate is cooler than that of the Cape and highly salubrious. The Bay of Natal is an exceedingly fine harbour, but the entrance is narrow and has a bar of shifting sand. There are six feet of water on the bar, with a rise of six feet, and at spring tides the depth is fourteen feet.

6. There are a considerable number of natives, a laborious and well conducted people, who are the remains of the tribes who formerly occupied the country purchased and ceded by the Dutch, and who, having attached themselves to the white inhabitants, are living in its vicinity, under their auspices, unmolested by the Zoolas.

7. The facts herein set forth have been obtained from information afforded by various individuals who have visited or resided at Port Natal, and are confirmed by Dr. Andrew Smith, of the medical staff of this garrison, who is intimately acquainted with the country, and but recently returned from Natal. And in corroboration of this testimony, your memorialists respectfully refer to Sir G. Lowry Cole, the late Governor of this Colony, and to the various documents on the subject transmitted to England by the Colonial Government, particularly to that which has been received from Mr. N. Isaacs.

8. A Government establishment at Port Natal would be the means of guarding against the injurious consequences which may ultimately result, even to this Colony, from the irregular trade with foreign vessels which is occasionally carried on at that place, a trade which it becomes the more necessary to prevent as Dingan the Zoola chief is now in possession of a number of muskets and a quantity of gunpowder which has been obtained in barter from American vessels visiting that Port.

9. Looking therefore to the features of the country itself, its capabilities of maintaining a large population and extensive trade, which, for many years, would be carried on probably, through the medium of this Colony; the influence which would thus be brought to operate in advancing the civilization and moral improvement of the vast tribes bordering on that country; and to the protection which would thereby be ensured to our immediate neighbours the Caffres, your memorialists are induced most

Humbly to pray

That Your Majesty will be graciously pleased to take measures for the occupation of Port Natal and the depopulated country in its vicinity, which extends about two hundred miles along the coast to the westward, reaching to the country of the Amapondas, and inland about one hundred miles; and for the formation of a Government establishment at Port Natal, with an adequate military force for the protection of the trade with that place.

And your memorialists as in duty bound will ever pray

&c., &c., &c.

James Iles	Thomas Long
H. Cloete, Senr.	George Mason
E. A. Aspelng	George Thomas
J. Fell, Junr.	F. Hope
C. F. H. von Ludwig	Geo. Smith
J. G. Alloway	Geoe. Herbert
J. W. Seale	Wm. Maskew, Jr.
Thos. Elliott	P. H. Ley
William J. Herman	Godfrey Rawstorne
John Osmond	F. Godfy. Watermeyer
M. C. Wolff	Peter Mistaere
D. G. van Breda	J. H. Beck
William Blake	G. U. Meyer
H. Watson	H. C. A. Moller
Tho. Sutherland	William Vawser
Jos. Simpson	John Hawkins
Thos. Ansdell	Joseph C. Dixie
Thomas Carfrae	P. E. Daniel
J. Smith	H. G. Dunsterville
William Collins	H. E. Henderson
[Indecipherable]	William Billingsley
F. Korsten	J. W. Fairbridge
J. H. Lesar	Rob. Reeves
P. B. Borchers	Josh. Sturgis
W. Hawkins	J. Letterstedt
Edward Hall	H. M. Dyke
W. Thompson	Richd. P. Dobie
John Thos. Buck	A. J. Jardine
G. Hodgson	George Kilgour
J. A. Barnard	Thomas Corder

J. S. Munnik	Edwd. Durham
Wm. Maskew	Ewan Christian
J. O. Valentin	J. H. Vandenberg
John Laing	Robt. J. Ross
John H. Tredgold	Wm. Bickersteth
J. Rice Barnes	P. G. Jones
Robert Haines	Wm. A. Harding
Frederick Logier	Hamilton Ross
Patrick Cullen	J. Ingram
T. J. Hitchcock	D. W. Hertzog
John Borradaile	Josh. Ward
John P. Wells, R.N.	R. W. Eaton
George Whiley	Robert Waters
B. C. Stephens	James Hamilton
J. de Villiers, A.B.Z.	P. W. Lategan
O. P. Mostert	A. Chiappini
A. Thomson	John Ross
John Cannon	W. Gilfillan
Henry Tennant	W. A. Venning
J. M. Le Breton	W. Hamilton
O. M. Bergh	Thos. Christian
W. Mackrill	Forbes Steel
W. S. Cooke	Henr. Hewitt
William Gadney	J. Lingard
W. F. Birkwood	John Chisholm, Jun.
G. Y. Kemp	Jnos. Hall
J. B. Venn	E. P. Amyot
H. F. Wollaston	Jno. Sinclair
Geo. Twycross	J. Manuel
Thos. Jas. Mathew	And. Schmidt
Wm. Dickson	Alexander Chiappini
Hercules C. Jarvis	J. Watermeyer
Ernst Landsberg	W. Cairncross
Marcus Driver	F. Collison
J. Swarts?	G. W. Prince
J. J. H. Smuts	W. Buchanan
P. Laing	E. S. Ford
D. F. Berrange	J. Brand
G. S. Le Breton	P. L. Cloete, Sr.
J. G. S. Wyllie	J. B. Ebdon

J. Hutton	— Winter
A. McDonald	C. L. Herbstein
George Greig	Charles Stuart Pillans
P. M. Brink	D. H. Canstatt
John Centlivres Chase	M. de Kock
Geo. Thompson	T. P. E. Paine
John King	R. S. Jones
J. Barker	Thos. Tennant
C. F. Juritz	W. Hammond
Thos. Philips	James Leach
W. G. Anderson	John Blore
Wm. M. Jaffray	Thomas Philipps
Will. S. Coke	A. Gray
E. Chiappini	Josh. Solomon
G. Kilgour	Benson Isaacs
John Deane	J. Thornhill
Andrew Smith, M.D.	Hudson, Donaldson & Dixon
J. G. Parker	E. A. McL. Kift
Benj. Solomon	J. Fell, Senr.
N. van Breda, Senior	John Brown
E. J. Jerram	J. Searight
W. Hiddingh	L. A. Merrington
John Rigby	Henry E. Macartney
John Rose	John Chisholm, Senr.
A. J. Cloete	P. A. Zeederberg

3. *Historical Notes by Andrew Smith and Petrus B. Borchers*

The following historical and descriptive notes by Dr. Andrew Smith were appended to the memorial, together with other details by P. B. Borchers.¹⁶

Paragraph 1st

'That in consequence of the country in the vicinity of Port Natal having been purchased', etc.

Minutes of Council

Cape of Good Hope, Dec. 24th 1688.

'His Honor the Commander having stated that for the three years past he had endeavoured to become acquainted and make

a treaty with the Inquakas Hottentots situated about one month's journey off, it was resolved to send an expedition thither to require[sic] whether a road could be opened to Port Natal, and to obtain information concerning the survivors as yet remaining from the wrecked crew of the "Stevenis", and then to explore the whole country as far as Delagoa Bay.'

Cape of Good Hope, October 22nd 1689.

'It was resolved to send the galliot the "Noord" to Natal for the people of the "Stevenis", and to buy the Bay and some adjacent land for the Honorable Company.'

Instructions

The commander of the expedition in the fourth article of his instructions was directed to buy from Ingese, the chief, the Bay of Natal and the adjacent country, for beads, copper, cutlery, or what might please the natives, to the value of 29,000 guilders.

Extract of a dispatch from the Governor and Council of Policy at the Cape of Good Hope to the Directors of the Dutch East India Company at Amsterdam dated Castle de Goede Hoop the 24th May, 1690.

'The galliot "Noord" left Table Bay on the 28th of October last, for the purpose of being cleared and fitted out in False Bay, and to proceed, in pursuance of written and verbal instructions, to Port Natal without delay; but owing to contrary winds from the S.E., and a strong current, was compelled to put into Saldanha Bay and, having been refitted there, proceeded from thence on the 12th November and arrived off the Bay of Natal on the 4th Dec^r where she safely anchored on the following day. Here the remainder of the crew of the wrecked vessel "Star" was landed, and, having in proper form purchased the Bay and some surrounding land from the king and chiefs of that country on behalf of the Company for a quantity of merchandise consisting in beads, copper arm and earrings and other articles, troops were stationed at different places and, after having made the necessary arrangements and observations thereon, the vessel

left place on the 11th January and 4 days after that entered the Bay de la Goa without anchoring (the ground being found good), but continued under sail as it is no bay but merely an inlet (exposed to the open sea) in which there are three or four rocks and as many in the entrance.

Extract of a dispatch from the Directors of the Dutch East India Company to Governor M. P. de Chavonnes and the Council of Policy at the Cape of Good Hope dated Amsterdam 23rd December, 1719.

Should it become apparent that trade might be carried on here it will be necessary to ascertain the nature thereof and what could be obtained. It is a country situated at the mouth of a river in latitude 30° where, according to a letter from the Cape of Good Hope of the 25th May, 1690, land was purchased from the king on both sides of the river for the Company for an amount of 20,000 Guilders, in merchandize, and the Company's arms established there, owing to the Chamber of 17 having been informed both prior and subsequent to that purchase of the good situation and fertility of the land, fine trees growing there for every description of timber, and there being not only a variety of cattle but likewise ivory, amber, wax and gold for trading in; so that according to these reports great benefits may be derived there.

If this be found correct, a station and a few officers must be established at Port Natal, to be subject to the Government of the Cape of Good Hope, and under the control of the High Indian Government, in like manner as all other Indian Governments and Departments are.

In compliance with the instructions contained in the letter from Holland dated 23rd December, 1719, the ships with the persons and materials destined for the forming of establishments on the south-east coast of Africa left Cape Town the 14th February, 1721, and reached Delagoa Bay on the 29th March following, where, finding the natives friendly disposed, a post was immediately established and a traffic commenced and carried on with moderate success. From the various official reports which were forwarded to the Governor at the Cape it

would appear that the exertions of the commander had, for several years, been principally directed to the interior behind Delagoa Bay, and that Natal had in a measure been entirely overlooked, as it is not till the 22nd October, 1729, that any mention was made of the latter. In a letter of that date it is stated that Lieutenant Moera had returned to the Bay after having been absent three months without being able to reach Natal, yet it is to be inferred that it was their intention to make another attempt, as application was made for a hundred soldiers to proceed on an inland expedition.

Previous, however, to the receipt of that communication, the Governor at the Cape had received instructions from Holland to withdraw the party from Delagoa Bay (which was effected on the 24th Dec. 1730), and no subsequent attempts were made by the Dutch to form an establishment at Natal.

Extracts from the Articles of Capitulation.

Article I. As soon as the capitulation is signed the whole of the settlement of the Cape of Good Hope with its dependencies and all the rights and privileges held and exercised by the Batavian Government will be considered as surrendered by the Governor Lieut-General Janssens to His Brittanic [*sic*] Majesty.

(Signed) J. W. Janssens,

W. C. Beresford, Brig.-Genl'

Castle, Cape of Good Hope,
This 19th day of January, 1806.

Paragraph 2nd

'That, since the year 1824, Port Natal has been almost constantly occupied by British subjects', etc.

In 1823 Messrs Farewell and Thomson chartered the brig 'Salesbury', commanded by Mr. King, for the purpose of trading on the south-east coast of Africa, and they discovered while off Fumos that the Portuguese at Delagoa Bay carried on a considerable trade with the Zoolas. Upon that they determined on visiting the Bay of Natal, and during their stay in the harbour they made such enquiries as fully satisfied Mr. F. of the importance of the situation.

On his return to Cape Town he commenced making arrangements to form an establishment at Natal, and on the 1st May, 1824, he addressed a letter to the then Governor, Lord Charles H. Somerset, on the subject. In that he briefly stated his views of the advantages which might result from establishing a trade with the natives between the Cape frontier and Delagoa Bay, as likewise his desire to have the permission of His Lordship to carry with him about twenty-five persons in addition to the number necessary for navigating a vessel.

On the 5th May he received for answer that His Excellency acquiesced in his taking the persons with him which he stated to be necessary for prosecuting his commercial undertaking, and was informed that His Excellency would hear with great satisfaction that his endeavours to establish a commercial intercourse and lay the grounds for civilizing the inhabitants of that part of South Africa had been successful. He was, however, given to understand that the acquisition of any territorial possessions could not be sanctioned without a full communication being made to H.E. of the circumstances under which they might be offered and were intended to be received. With the terms of that communication Mr. Farewell was perfectly satisfied, and immediately left Cape Town accompanied by several Europeans and some Hottentots. A few of the former, dissatisfied with immediate results, left Natal by the first opportunity; whilst Mr. Farewell and Mr. Fynn, confident of ultimate success, steadily persevered in their original determination. The former on the 14th Sept., 1824, addressed from Natal a letter to the Governor at the Cape in which he mentioned his having visited Chaka the King of the Zoolas, who expressed great pleasure in hearing it was his intention to remain at the Bay. 'He made me' (continued Mr. Farewell) 'a sale and grant of a part of his country in that neighbourhood, and at the same time gave us a number of cattle for our support. He likewise expressed a wish to send two of his chiefs to the Cape for the purpose of being better acquainted with the English nation. The territory he has made over is nearly depopulated, not containing more than three or four hundred souls.' That Mr. Farewell considered as affording every prospect of being a most desirable situation for emigrants, and he endeavoured to impress upon His Excellency that many of the settlers who appeared to be living in great distress at the Cape

would there find a comfortable asylum, and the means of benefitting themselves and families as well as the English nation, by forming a colony on a spot so well adapted for civilizing and establishing a trade with the interior of South Africa which, amongst other benefits to be expected from it, would eventually lead to a large consumption of English manufactures. 'It possessed', he remarked, 'a port where vessels drawing nine feet of water could at all times enter and be as secure as in a wet dock, while those of a greater draught are protected from a westerly wind by a point that projects out some distance, forming a bay in which there is good anchorage outside the bar.'

Such a period elapsed after the arrival of this letter without any information relative to the adventures being received, that serious apprehensions began to be entertained at Cape Town as to their safety, and plans were devising for communicating with Natal, when Mr. King, in command of the 'Mary', arrived from England. He no sooner heard of the circumstances than he immediately determined upon proceeding in quest of his former employer, and in that he was assisted by the charitable of Cape Town who entered into a subscription for defraying the disbursements of the vessel should it unfortunately turn out that Farewell and his party were no longer in existence. Soon after his arrival in the Bay of Natal he encountered such a gale as forced him to cut cable and attempt the entrance of the harbour, in which being unsuccessful the vessel was wrecked on the eastern side of the port.

In that appalling situation he was soon cheered by discovering the party to be safe and well, and by being informed that Messrs Farewell and Fynn, who were at the moment absent in the interior, would shortly be with them to furnish assistance and sympathise in his misfortunes. The long-boat, which fortunately they got on shore without having sustained any serious injury, was immediately prepared for sea, and three men were despatched in her to Algoa Bay to give information of the situation of the party. Soon after their arrival there, H.M. Ship 'Helicon' was despatched from Simon's Bay to receive on board and carry to the Colony such of the persons as might be disposed to leave the country. Mr. King readily availed himself of the opportunity for the purpose of chartering a vessel to carry back articles of trade and materials required for the building of a small schooner.

During his absence the persons that remained made considerable progress towards the accomplishment of the latter object, so that with the assistance that he furnished on his return she was soon completed, launched, named 'Chaka', loaded with the produce of their trade, sailed for Algoa Bay, where she was seized, being without register, and now lies in a state of decay near to the landing place.

The unexpected fate of that, their own vessel, built expressly for the purpose of trading between Port Elizabeth and Natal, induced those still attached to the latter to abandon all hopes of keeping up a communication over sea, and forced them to resort to the more tedious and laborious process of transporting their produce overland. In one of the early attempts made to reach Natal in that way, Mr. Farewell with several of his party were murdered a little to the eastward of the Umzembubu River. That circumstance, though it excited momentary consternation, had not the effect to deterring [*sic*] from further exertions. Soon after the fatal occurrence various persons followed upon the same route and all reached their destinations without injury or molestation, so that the road was soon considered as fairly opened, and to be travelled without serious danger though not without great difficulties. Several of the individuals of the original party, who yet reside in the vicinity of the bay, as well as a number of other persons who have lately directed their attention to trade in that quarter, have within the last two years traversed the country between Graham's Town and the Zoola territory in all directions, and have on various occasions conveyed to the Colony considerable quantities of ivory, etc., without the slightest interruption. Not more than about a month ago about thirty persons left Graham's Town with the intention of forming a permanent establishment in the vicinity of the port, and it is understood that in this project they are supported by some of the most respectable merchants in Graham's Town.

Paragraph 3rd

'That these persons had succeeded in opening a trade with the natives', etc.

Ever since 1824 a system of barter to a greater or lesser extent has been carried on between traders of this Colony and the Zoolas, with such advantages to the former as have encouraged

them to persevere in spite of the most disadvantageous circumstances. The natives possess a fair knowledge of the principles of trade, evince great anxiety for an interchange of commodities, offer produce similar to what is furnished by the frontier Caffers, and are only cramped in their operations by the limited demand.

The expenses unavoidably incurred in the conveying thither articles of European manufacture, and the still greater outlay necessary to transport to the Colony the produce of their sales, forces our traders to limit their purchases to portable articles and such as are productive of high profits. On that account a general trade has never yet been fairly opened and consequently the mass of the population has been necessarily excluded from any participation in the advantages which have resulted from the intercourse that has hitherto existed. The more bulky and low priced commodities which exist in abundance, and would be attainable at an expense which would afford remunerating profits if they could be conveyed over sea to the Cape, are yet excluded from the market, and the proprietors of them left without the means of obtaining what they so especially desire and what the traders could so fully supply were they there established under different circumstances. Hence the very great importance of Natal has not been practically demonstrated, consequently its real value has by the matter of fact man been hitherto underrated, and by the theorist only been inferred from analogy.

Ivory, since the first, has been the chief, indeed almost the only, article sought after by the colonists, and as that according to the Zoola law is regarded as the exclusive property of the king, he alone has been the principal dealer and actually almost the only individual who has materially benefitted by the trade. So far his interest has urged him to protect and countenance his white visitors, and yet that more certain and effectual safeguard which would flow from the advantages of the intercourse being more generally experienced has never yet been thoroughly enjoyed; the people at large having no interest in the connexion have consequently no motive for opposing any measures which the chief may be inclined to adopt. On this account the safety of the colonists must be considered to depend in a great measure upon the feelings of a single individual, and he in common with all semi-barbarians liable to have those influenced by the most silly and extraordinary impressions. So long as such is the only

protection, their security can never be viewed but as extremely precarious; whilst on the other hand, if they could be established there as general benefactors, the interest of all would be instantly promoted, the colonists would be benefitted, the natives enriched; friendships would be generated, political union established, and the permanent trade maintained that might eventually prove of benefit even to the British Empire.

The enabling of the traders simply to extend their dealings would not, however, be sufficient to ensure success and avert danger. Were the natives ever so much benefitted and their feelings ever so favorable, untoward occurrences would doubtless arise out of the very condition of the traders themselves. On this head it might be invidious to enter into details, therefore suffice it to ask what is to be apprehended from a party of men bent upon gain, living at a distance from civilized society, without union, without laws, each absorbed in advancing his individual interests, and all aware that such was to be accomplished through a common medium, namely the king of a barbarous and powerful tribe. A moment's reflection will supply all that I could advance. It would suggest the necessity of another medium through which Great Britain is to be known to the Zoolas, and it would whisper that if success be desirable, Government functionaries and Government power must be established in Natal.

From various conversations I had with Dingaan himself, whilst residing in his kraal, I am firmly persuaded that he would be ready and willing to enter into an alliance with the Colony; for, if he is to be believed, he wished nothing so much as that he could continue to enjoy the advantages of our trade. He requested me to inform the Governor on my return to the Cape that he hoped nothing would occur which would interrupt the existing connexion; and, as an earnest of his respect and regard for the white people, he promised he would never interfere with any of the tribes which enjoyed the friendship of the Colony.

Paragraph 4th

'That such an establishment interposed between the Zoola and Caffer tribes would be of great importance as a protection to the latter', etc.

It being the custom of the Zoolas to attack their neighbours, if possible, by surprise, the existence of such a tract of unoccupied country upon their western frontier is peculiarly calculated for enabling them to effect that, should their attention again be turned to the Caffers. The simple assumption of it, however, by Great Britain would at once render any such method of proceeding impracticable, inasmuch as that it would be the means of forcing Dingaan, were he determined upon visiting his western neighbours, to assemble his forces in the centre of his country, march them behind a range of mountains which runs parallel with the coast at a considerable distance inland, and then actually across it before they could set foot in the Caffer territory. Such a proceeding would be attended with so much labour, and so little prospect of ultimate success would exist, that nothing short of absolute starvation would in all probability ever induce him to make the attempt in that direction. The Caffers are well aware of the security which an establishment at Natal would be the means of extending to them, and in proportion as we advance beyond our frontier in an easterly direction, in proportion do we find them anxious to know the intentions of Government relative to the subject.

Though the memorialists only particularise the protection against external enemies which would result to the natives of our eastern frontier from the proposed measure, it is equally certain that it would occasion a very favourable change in the internal condition of the Caffers themselves. It would enable the Government to have a check upon them both in front and in rear, whereby they would soon discover, if judiciously treated, that their interest and their safety alike required them to observe peace and good faith towards those by whom they were in a great measure surrounded. A liberal, a just, and a consistent policy, provided they were so situated, would soon raise them greatly in the scale of society, and would doubtless soon dispose them to desire their amalgamation with the colonists. Even now several of the chiefs are anxious to abandon their present mode of life, and Hanza [*sic*], the principal of them all, earnestly requested me at the time I visited him to intercede with Sir Lowry Cole so that he and his immediate adherents might have a residence appropriated to them within the boundaries of the Colony. With respect to the commando of 1828, alluded to in the memorial,

it may be proper to remark that it was not sought for upon a mere apprehension of the approach of the Zoolas. They were actually in Cafferland at the time the troops were on the march, and the appearances which I saw in the Amaponda district on my way to Natal forcibly attested the horrible devastation which they had committed. It is true the conflict which occurred was not between them and us, and the knowledge of that circumstance has hitherto been all that has been required to warrant the prevailing opinion that they had no real share in exciting the tremendous alarm which at the time existed. Many persons have questioned the propriety of the Government policy in having sent a force in aid of the Caffers, and have asserted that it was time enough to interfere when the Colony itself was threatened. Such reasoning may hold with regard to civilized communities, but I question its accuracy when applied in this particular instance. The Caffers are our immediate neighbours, living almost entirely upon the milk of their cows and without those would be destitute. Our colonial policy has disqualified them for vigorous and systematic defence, so that if they had been left to fight their own battles they would to a certainty have been vanquished, deprived entirely of what they principally trust to for support, and left a nation of paupers only to rob and plunder. Under such circumstances the Colony would immediately have become the scene of their depredations, and though hundreds might have been shot in the act of stealing yet hundreds and hundreds more would have risked a like fate to avoid starvation. I maintain that by expending a shilling we have saved a pound—by taking the lives of hundreds we have saved the lives of thousands; and that if a like attack was again threatened and like steps were not pursued the longest lived amongst us would to his last moment have to lament that the Government had acted otherwise.

A recurrence of such invasions may fairly be expected and at no very distant period. The Zoola king is of a certain age and no person exists which according to law is qualified to succeed him. The community he governs is composed partly of Zoolas and partly of the remains of tribes they have vanquished, all of which are filled with an inveterate hatred to the conquerors, and are only at present restrained from shewing it by the severity which is extended to any who may be bold enough even to insinuate their dislike. In such a state of society should the head

go, nothing but a dreadful insurrection could be expected. The remnants of the conquered tribe would fly together—a most bloody and terrific war would ensue—one party would necessarily be subdued and be driven forth in a state of want and desperation, wanderers in search of food, and enemies ready for attack wherever the former was to be found. If it would be desirable to avert such occurrences there is no time to be lost—the means are within the grasp of the British Government. It might act so as to prevent the peace of Cafferland being disturbed, and even the effusion of blood which without some judicious interference must occur in the Zoola territory, and which in all probability will enable the cruel, ambitious and war-like Chief Missalacatzie to add to his already powerful tribe the whole of the inhabitants between Delagoa Bay and Natal.

Paragraph 5th

‘The features of the country between these tribes are of a character highly favourable. It is well wooded’, etc.

The district in question is that coloured yellow in the accompanying map (facing p. 176). It is bounded on the west by the Umzemvubu River, on the south by the sea, on the east by the Umgeni River, and to the northward its limits have not been correctly ascertained. It may be estimated to comprehend about 20,000 square miles, the principal part of which is peculiarly fitted either for the object of the agriculturist or the grazier. The more western portion presents numerous flats thickly covered with luxuriant grass and abounds in rivers and rivulets, the waters of which could be led over thousands of acres at comparatively little expense, which is a feature in the character of a country that is hardly within the comprehension of the Cape colonist. The middle and eastern divisions again exhibit a broken undulating surface and abounds with low knolls in some places clustered together, in others separate and connected by rich meadows covered with a most beautiful and abundant vegetation. Here the rivers are particularly numerous, and some of them whose sources are far in the interior are very large. The more considerable ones commonly run in deep channels, and from the banks being generally rather precipitous their waters could not be made available for extensive irrigation which, however, is of no

importance as the number of small rills and powerful springs which everywhere exist render dependence upon the larger springs quite unnecessary. In many of the meadows water was observed oozing out in every direction. Indeed, the best idea I can give of its peculiarity in that respect is by stating that what the traveller has to hunt after in other parts of South Africa with the most anxious solicitude is here everywhere so close at hand as almost to constitute an inconvenience. Trees fit for timber exist everywhere in sufficiency, but they are most abundant towards the eastern and western extremes. In those situations forests of considerable extent occur, but without the great proportion of underwood which exists in those of the Colony. Such an effect was produced upon one of my party (a Dutch farmer) on our entrance into this beautiful country, that for several days he could scarcely give utterance to anything but: ‘Almighty! I have never in my life seen such a fine place. I shall never again reside in the Colony if the English Government make this a Drosdy!’

Nevertheless there was everywhere such an abundant supply of food for cattle, our oxen evidently lost flesh, a circumstance which led me to fear that the grass was either of an unhealthy nature or deficient in nutritive principles. Our farmer soon explained from what it arose and satisfied me that in all countries where the grass is not burned from time to time the same occurrence invariably happens where cattle are pastured upon it.

On approaching Natal, where we first came in contact with some of the natives, I eagerly questioned them in regard to the subject. They all with one accord attributed it to the cause just mentioned, to a man united in affirming that a more healthy country for cattle could not be found, and that in former times when it was thickly inhabited their cows could scarcely walk from fat. The circumstance I mention to prevent its being supposed that I was unheededful of any peculiarity that might militate against the country, and also to meet remarks that might be made were it to be occupied and stocked without due precaution.

Three successive crops of Indian corn are mentioned as being sometimes reaped in the course of one year. Like information I also had from unquestionable authority, but at the same time I was not given to understand such to be a common occurrence. The natives usually sow only twice, and each time reap an

abundant harvest. In casting their seed into the ground they never fear the result. They never know what it is to have a crop burnt up or to die from drought. The rains are so regular as to render irrigation unnecessary. On some occasions I was almost disposed to consider them as indulging in exaggerations, being aware of their anxiety to have it colonized by the English, yet when I applied to the farmer I have already mentioned he seemed to see no reason for doubting the accuracy of their statements. That there could be no lack of water I should myself have concluded without any other evidence than that furnished by an examination of the geological structure of the country and of its vegetable productions, a great many of which having been found to appertain to orders known to be natural only to moist soils.

The harbour is correctly represented in the chart constructed by Mr. King and the remarks contained in the memorial touching the character of the bar convey exactly the information which my notes would supply. Fresh water exists in abundance, and strong springs occur close to the very limit of the salt water. Equally near the latter grass thrives in profusion, and large herds of cattle could almost be fed within the range of the guns of a post situated either at the entrance or upper part of the Port. The situation best suited for the site of a fort or village would depend in a great measure upon the circumstances of the moment, and would be best inferred by the strict observance of the occurrences which might immediately follow the landing of a party.

Paragraph 6th

'There are a considerable number of natives, a laborious and well conducted people who are the remains', etc.

A population of between 2 and 3,000 souls have attached themselves to the colonial traders, and live around them in the immediate vicinity of the bay. These persons are the remains of the tribes which formerly occupied the present depopulated territory and who, from the time they were conquered and plundered of their cattle, till the year 1824 kept constantly secreted in the depths of the forests, purposely to avoid the spears of the Zoolas. All of them are extremely poor, but industrious, kind, and peaceable to a miracle. They evince great attachment to their

protectors, and display a lively interest for their prosperity. The circumstance of their having preferred their present residence to death, or joining the Zoolas, has ensured for them an extra dislike; so that should it happen that the traders are necessitated to leave their present residence their unfortunate retainers would to a moral certainty be either immediately put to death or forced to repair to the lurking-places from which they appear so delighted at having escaped. The number is so limited in consequence of Dingaan objecting to any additions, knowing well that even the Zoolas themselves would fly there were they sure of protection. All his people are just in a state in which they would with pleasure attach themselves to any power that could ensure their protection; and if a Government establishment were formed at Natal one of the greatest difficulties that would require to be met would be keeping down population. If a military party were to be posted near the bay I would engage in twelve months after its arrival to be able to dethrone Dingaan by means of the very people who are at present his support. It is impossible for men to feel attachment to such a monster; and it appears to me an act of great inhumanity to permit his murdering, torturing and destroying even hundreds of his own subjects in the course of a day, when only the most trifling exertion would be required to effectually restrain him. As characteristic of this system of proceeding I may only mention that when I was in his kraal I saw portions of the bodies of his own wives which he had only a few days previous put to death merely for having uttered words which happened to annoy him.

Paragraph 8

'A Government establishment at Port Natal would be the means of guarding against the injurious consequences of irregular trade', etc.

Several American vessels have lately entered the harbour, and out of one of them nearly fifty stand of arms and a tolerable quantity of gunpowder was bartered, all of which are at present in the possession of the Zoolas. Hitherto they have used them only little in their wars, but the king stated to me that should he find himself unable to overcome his enemies by the weapons most familiar to his people he would then have recourse to them. Should it therefore become an object for the Zoolas to acquire an

extensive supply of fire-arms, they would find Natal a convenient place to barter for them, more especially as there are hundreds of American whalers nearly the whole year off the coast.

It is generally believed that the American Government has some intention of forming a small establishment there so that the numerous vessels which the States send out to the southern seas may have a port of their own to resort to in case of need. This belief has lately gained ground from the circumstance of an American vessel of war, with a political commissioner on board, having run along the coast and observed the situation of the bay. Let the intention of Government be what it may, I know from undoubted authority that the nation is about to send out missionaries to labour in that vicinity.

Paragraph 9

'Looking therefore to the features of the country itself, its capabilities of maintaining a large population', etc.

A detachment of sixty men, together with a magistrate to administer the law and communicate with the Zoolas, would, in my opinion, be quite sufficient for the protection of a small mercantile community. It would, however, be next to impossible to confine it long to such a class of persons. The character by which the country is known, both in the Colony and elsewhere, would urge thither persons of all descriptions; and in no long time the entire of the district now lying waste would be covered with emigrants who, if they were but commonly industrious, would soon convert it into a most flourishing settlement.

Sig^a Andrew Smith, M.D.,
Staff Ass^t Surgeon.

Cape Town,
6 May 1834.

M' Borchers' notes respecting the eastern coast of South Africa from the Records of Council

On the 3rd June, 1653, the Commander Van Riebeeck directed the attention of Government towards the eastern coast, and he proposed to visit by sea and ascertain the position of three rivers about 220 miles from hence, named 'Os Montes d'Ouro', 'Rio di Quorno' and 'St. Jorgo', for the purpose of promoting trade in

gold, ivory, ebony, and slaves. Here commences the first act towards the introduction of slavery in this Colony on the part of Government.

On the 18th June, 1654, Government fitted out a vessel, the 'Tulip', to visit all bays, harbours and places between Rio Dolce and Rio dos Reys, and to proceed to Madagascar for provisions.

On the 27th October, 1655, the garrison was increased, a Portuguese expedition to Goa of 3,000 men and vessels under a Viceroy being expected to [go to] the eastern coast.

On the 26th August, 1660, Government having succeeded in establishing peace with the natives, then called the Caapmans, and this being a safe and favourable opportunity to continue their researches, expedited 13 persons to Monomopota, under the command of Jan Dankerts, an engineer and geometrician; he was to receive double pay and to keep all gold and precious stones, etc. as a reward, and to visit the country about Monomopota, Butna and Davagna, about the River Spirito Sancto, and to endeavour to persuade some of the people there to visit this place, leaving hostages in their stead. They were provided with three pack oxen, provisions and light merchandise out of the Company's stores.

NOTE.—Here, for the first time, the name of the free burger, Jacob Cloete, probably the ancestor of the extensive branch of that name, is mentioned on record. And on the occasion of making peace with the natives of the Colony, it was discovered that the chief of the Hottentots, known under the name of Hottentoots, belonged to the tribe of the Homcumquas.

On the 24th of January, 1661, on the records of this date, it appears that the above-mentioned expedition had been unsuccessful, but a second one under the command of Pieter Kruythof was ordered.

On the 10th April, 1683, a storm is noted of twelve days and nights on the bank of Cape Aguillas.

On the 6th March, 1687, Terra di Natal is declared to be fertile, and the Council resolved to have it explored.

On the 24th December, 1688, an expedition by land was ordered, under the management of Isaak Schryver, with 18 or 19 soldiers, with directions to proceed to Rio de la Goa for the purpose of exploring the country.

On the 22d October, 1689, Council resolved to go on with exploring of De la Goa Bay, and to purchase it in the same manner as Port Natal had been purchased.

On the 10th of November, 1705, the Council ordered that a small vessel should be fitted out for the express purpose of examining Terra de Natal.

On the 10th December, 1720, Council directed that an expedition should proceed to Rio de la Goa and Terra de Natal; that the commander and court should administer justice there in the civil proceedings according to the statutes of India and written law, and in criminal matters according to the regulations for the guidance of the Company's possessions and servants (Articulbrief) and common law, and that appeals should be admitted to the court here.

On the 20th January, 1721, instructions for the Commander of Rio de la Goa and Terra di Natal were approved of here.

On the 12th July, 1723, report was received from Rio de la Goa that the establishment there was in a bad state and robbed by pirates.

On the 10th of September, 1723, orders were given to strengthen the fort at Rio de la Goa.

On the 22nd of May, 1724, orders were issued to examine the copper mountains and minerals at Rio de la Goa.

On the 16th of January, 1726, on the arrival of the Commander de Coninck, the instructions and necessary papers were given to him to proceed by land to Rio de la Goa.

On the 29th January, 1726, a record is entered by which it appears that the establishment of Rio de la Goa amounted to 290 souls, and an extensive list of necessaries for the same and for trade is there inserted.

NOTE.—This list may be interesting to those attempting an expedition to that part of the country.

On the 22nd August, 1726, three natives from Rio de la Goa arrived here and were sent to remove the prejudice there entertained that slaves were brought here for the purpose of being eaten. Government showed great anxiety to conceal from the English the real state of Rio de la Goa. One of the natives, who spoke English, was purposely kept on board until the departure of an English vessel then at anchor here. Pewter spoons were found to be a profitable article of commerce.

On the 3rd of September, 1726, oil imported from Rio de la Goa was sent as a sample to Europe.

On the 16th September, 1727, an oil press for Rio de la Goa was ordered to be made.

On the 3rd of February, 1729, experiment was made of some supposed gold dust brought from Rio de la Goa, when it was found to be only river sand.

On the 7th of June, 1729, tin and ivory were imported from Rio de la Goa.

On the 23rd June, 1729, a report was received that the cultivation of indigo at Rio de la Goa did not succeed.

On the 15th of November, 1729, orders were received from home, dated 14th April preceding, to abandon Rio de la Goa, but previously to ascertain the spot from whence two parcels of gold dust had been forwarded. 30 Europeans were there massacred.

On the 11th June, 1730, it appears that the establishment of Rio de la Goa was finally abandoned.

On the 27th February, 1731, an expedition was directed to be sent to Terra de Natal in the months of August and September. This period was preferred to avoid the heavy gales on the coast.

On the 31st [*sic*] April, 1731, written considerations were received respecting an expedition for researches on the eastern coast, Terra de Natal, and Inambani, and a decree accordingly taken.

On the 29th July, 1732, the expedition on the eastern coast having failed, Council resolved to renew their attempt.

On the 7th January, 1755, five thousand two hundred and thirty six lbs. of ivory and two lbs. of ambergris were imported from Rio de la Goa.

On the 4th September, 1756, in the records of Council, a memorandum is inserted of goods furnished for the trade in Rio de la Goa.

On the 16th October, 1759, five thousand eight hundred pounds of ivory were imported from Rio de la Goa.

On the 24th June, 1791, the Journal of Mr. Jacob van Reenen was produced respecting the 'Grosvenor'. It mentions the discovery of three white women in Kafferland (probably relics of the wreck of the 'Grosvenor') who refused to come to the

5. *ibid.*
6. *ibid.*
7. Printed below, pp. 157-180.
8. Steedman, A., *Wanderings and Adventures*, etc., London, 1835, Vol. ii, pp. 190-211.
9. Immelman, R. F. M., *op. cit.*, p. 129.
10. 19th December, 1833.
11. *South African Commercial Advertiser* for 11th, 15th and 18th January, 1834; *Zuid Afrikaan* for 10th and 17th January, 1834.
12. 25th January, 1834.
13. Not 192, as stated by Chase in *Natal, a Re-print*, etc., Grahamstown, 1843, i, p. 37.
14. Cape Archives, G.H. 26/63 Letter Book, Duplicate Despatches, 1833-36, Miscellaneous, No. 37.
15. The original is in the Public Record Office, C.O. 48/155. The Memorial and the historical notes were printed by Bird (*Annals of Natal*, i, p. 252 et seq.), though not in their 'setting' and with several omissions, including Smith's map.
16. Public Record Office, C.O. 48/155.
17. Compare Bird, J., *Annals of Natal*, i, pp. 272-3; Chase, J. C., *op. cit.*, i, p. 38; and Hattersley, A., *The British Settlement in Natal*. Cambridge, 1950, p. 15.

PART III

THE SOUTH AFRICAN LAND AND EMIGRATION
ASSOCIATION

1. *Early Activities of the Association*

Although the endeavours of the Cape Town merchants to induce the British Government to establish officially a settlement in Natal were unsuccessful in 1834, the feelings which had prompted those endeavours were by no means stifled. On the contrary, as these men saw their prognostications being fulfilled, and the chances of Natal becoming a British colony steadily dwindling, their views on the necessity for Government action grew stronger than ever. In the meantime, however, nothing further was attempted, though doubtless many letters on the subject passed between business men at the Cape and their *confrères* in England.

But the significant events which had occurred in Natal subsequent to the official rejection, in 1835, of the Cape Merchants' memorial, and which culminated in a direct threat to the Port, had at long last led the British Government to realize that there might possibly be more in the memorial than had at first been thought; and this realization brought about the rather half-hearted attempts, which have been fully described by Theal and others, to set matters right.

The declaration of Mr. Landman, in 1838,¹ that Port Natal was the property of what he called the 'Association of South African Emigrants' had, however, a counterpart in London, where a group of interested people, merchants and others, formed a 'South African Land and Emigration Association', under the chairmanship of Mr. Abraham Borradaile, with Mr. Saxe Bannister as secretary. This Association was determined to bring about the colonization of Natal by Britain as soon as possible.²

There exists a considerable amount of correspondence between the Association and the Colonial Office,³ which shows that there were 'many fingers in the pie', and this fact makes it difficult for one to obtain a clear-cut picture of all that took place; but an examination of it does reveal the nature of the methods pursued by the Association, and the reaction of officialdom to them.

The story can best be told by quoting a number of the more important documents. But while perusing these documents the reader should have one eye upon what was actually happening in Natal while the negotiations were going forward (if one dare use that expression) in London. At the same time he should remember that the Colonial Secretary of the time, under Lord Melbourne, was Lord John Russell, to whom South African affairs were doubtless of com-

parative unimportance; and that Russell had as his advisers Robert Vernon Smith, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary, and James Stephen, the Permanent Under-Secretary.

Stephen, who was a trained barrister, and who had been Permanent Counsel to the Colonial Office from 1825 to 1836, when he became Under-Secretary for the Colonies, was a man of such influence that he had earned for himself the sobriquet of 'Mr. Over-Secretary'.⁴ He was, in the words of Hattersley, 'notoriously averse to any extension of British responsibilities in Southern Africa',⁵ and this aversion was directed particularly to any proposals relative to the colonization of Natal. The correspondence which we propose to examine now was dealt with in the first instance by Stephen, and the somewhat dictatorial opinions which he frequently endorsed on the letters before passing them on to Smith *en route* to Russell fully justify Hattersley's strongly expressed description of the man and his outlook. This, then, was the chief obstacle with which the South African Land and Emigration Association had to contend.

Towards the end of 1839, Abraham Borradaile, chairman of the Association, had written to Lord John Russell on the subject of a proposed Colonial Settlement at Natal and, as a result, the Secretary of State for the Colonies agreed to receive a deputation and to hear its views.⁶ The deputation was led to believe that the proposals of the Association would be submitted to the Cabinet for its decision, and the members were thunderstruck to learn that not only would this not be done, but that the whole question would be referred to the Governor of the Cape for consideration and report. The following letter,⁷ addressed to Lord John Russell by the temporary chairman of the Association, indicates clearly what was in the minds of the members and the tactics they proposed to follow to endeavour to achieve their object.

The Right Hon^{ble} Lord John Russell.

48 Lime Street,
22 Jan^y 1840.

My Lord,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's letter of 6th inst. in reply to a letter addressed to your Lordship by the chairman of the South African Land and Emigration Association.

When a deputation of the Association had the honor of an interview with your Lordship at the Colonial Office your Lordship was pleased to say that the subject of their application would be submitted to the decision of the Cabinet, and that with feelings

of great disappointment they now learn from your Lordship's letter that a previous reference to the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope⁸ is now deemed necessary.

The Association had ventured to entertain the expectation that independently of the heavy claims which on other grounds their representation had on your Lordship's attention, Her Majesty's Government would feel that the interposition of its authority was unavoidable in order to prevent further effusion of blood in conflicts between British subjects and the natives of the country bordering with Natal.

A delay of at least six months must be caused by a reference to the Governor of the Cape. Besides the injury which that Colony and the interests of the applicants must sustain from it, the loss of so much time at present can hardly fail to increase much the probability that coercive measures and a consequent heavy public expenditure may ultimately become necessary. At least the difficulty of inducing the emigrant Dutch to submit to proper restraints on their conduct will be considerably augmented by the accession which from the last advices there is reason to believe their strength will receive from the Colony during that period. Whilst it has been stated by persons conversant with the circumstances that every desirable end may yet be obtained without any additional military force, and without any expense to Government beyond what a moderate tax on articles imported for the supply of the settlers would defray.

The Association are anxious to express strongly their opinion on this part of the subject because they are aware that a different view of it has been given to the public by an officer lately arrived in this country. Whatever consideration the opinions of the gentleman alluded to may be entitled on other subjects a few months' official residence at the Cape can only afford very limited means of becoming acquainted with its interests or the feelings of the colonists.

Your Lordship, the Association trust, will be of opinion that by assisting Her Majesty's sovereignty over the recently unoccupied country now settled by British subjects an act of Government will not be exposed to the objection of being an initiative measure.

Had it been possible after it had fairly commenced to have prevented the emigration of the Dutch colonists the Association

would not have felt it incumbent on them to address themselves to Government.

The Association beg to submit that the question now is not whether Government will add to the extent or number of the colonial possessions of the Crown, but whether it will resort to the only remedial means now practicable, by which in fact a present evil may be converted into a future advantage, or allow an independent, hostile and powerful community to grow up in the neighbourhood of one of its dependencies, and drain it of its capital and population—and at the same time whether it will add fuel to the flame or endeavour to assuage the exterminating warfare that has been raging, and will surely, if neglected by Government, again break out between the emigrants and the neighbouring native tribes.

The Association respectfully submit to your Lordship if any doubts of the policy or necessity of the measure, which they and former Associations for founding a colony at Natal have long pressed on the attention of your Lordship's predecessors in office, have now caused a reference to the Governor of the Cape who is besides generally understood to have already expressed an opinion favourable to the objects of their recommendation, that there are at present in this country several persons who have administered the Government or been Lieutenant Governors of that Colony—Mr. J. T. Bigge who was commissioner of enquiry there, Sir Richard Plaskett, and the Hon^{ble} H. Ellis who were secretaries to Government, Mr. J. Brink, the auditor-general of the Colony, Mr. Justice Burton, who was a judge there, and Colonel W. B. Dundas and Capt. Campbell, who were civil commissioners of Albany, besides several others⁹ whose opinions are worthy of consideration, all of whom, it is presumed, though entertaining different political opinions and various views on colonial policy, will concur as to the expediency of the measure, and more or less as to the mode of carrying it into execution.

A letter received from Mr. B. Moodie, whose long residence in the Colony induced the Association to request his opinion on the subject, has already been laid before your Lordship. Aware of the pressure of public business on your Lordship at the present moment, the Association would not have ventured to trespass on your Lordship's time unless under an impression of the importance of immediate steps being taken by Government.

Should it however appear to your Lordship, that a case has not been made out of sufficient urgency to justify some prompt and decisive measure on the part of Her Majesty's Government, the private interests of many of the members of the Association are so deeply involved in the result that it is their intention to bring the subject immediately before Parliament, and the Association request to express their earnest hope that Government will not oppose the appointment of a Committee of the House of Commons, to take evidence on the extent, nature, and objects of the emigration of the Dutch inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope and its probable effects on the future welfare of the Colony.

I have the honor to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most
obedient humble servant,
Geor. C. Redman,¹⁰
Chairman,
pro tem.

This letter was received at the Colonial Office on 24th January, and duly considered by the official triumvirate. The various remarks written by them on the original document indicate that though at first Lord John Russell was inclined to agree to the formation of a Committee to discuss the questions involved, he 'upon reflection', and doubtless on the advice of the under-secretaries, decided against it, and the following reply was sent to the Association by Stephen.¹¹

G. Redman, Esq^r
Chairman of the South African
Land and Emigration Association,
48 Lime Street.
Sir,

6 Feb^y 40

I am directed by Lord John Russell to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22nd instant and to acquaint you in reply that since the receipt of that communication intelligence has been received that the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope has in conformity with the instructions furnished to him, taken measures for withdrawing H.M.'s troops from Port Natal; and that pending the reference which his Lordship has made to the Governor respecting the objects contemplated by the South African Land and Emigration Association, his Lordship does not

think that it would be advisable to refer the question to which your letter relates to a Committee of the House of Commons, which would not have such good means of procuring information as the Governor.

[J. Stephen]

The Association, however, was not prepared to take this blow 'lying down', and within a week returned to the attack, as follows:¹²

J. Stephen Esq^r

48 Lime Street,
12 Feby. 1840.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 6th inst., stating that the Secretary of State considers, that it will not be advisable to refer the question of Natal to a Committee of the House of Commons pending the reference of the subject made by his Lordship to the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope; and I have to submit to you for the information of Lord John Russell, that the South African Land and Emigration Association, desire to express their earnest opinion that vital British interests in South Africa imperatively demand a much earlier decision of the question than can possibly be had by that reference.

I have further to request you will be pleased to ask his Lordship again to admit a deputation of the body I represent to an interview in order that we may have an opportunity to explain our reasons for this opinion, and from which we believe his Lordship will see reasons for an *immediate* interference.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient
humble servant,

Geor. C. Redman,

Immediately he received this letter Stephen asked Russell if he would 'answer this application for an interview', and his Lordship, on 14th February, agreed to see Redman and his fellows on Monday, 17th February, at a quarter past two.¹³ Since the discussion at the interview was apparently not recorded, we have to rely upon the Association's next letter in order to know what occurred on that occasion.¹⁴ But meanwhile it had acquired a new chairman and new headquarters.

South African Land and
Emigration Association,
20 Fenchurch St.,
14th March, 1840.

My Lord,

As chairman of a meeting of this Association I have the honor to transmit certain questions respecting South Africa prepared pursuant to your Lordship's suggestion, with the names of the proposed witnesses in an accompanying paper. These witnesses have had various opportunities of understanding the subject, and we trouble your Lordship with copies of the questions only for the official individuals, to whom, as was stated in the interview with which we were honored, the Association could not venture to call upon. To the others we send questions ourselves, and we shall have the honor of laying their answers before your Lordship. Their names are annexed.

The meeting desires to submit to your Lordship the extreme urgency of the case. The loss of upwards of twelve thousand lives in the last two years in consequence of the absence of law where so many British subjects have established themselves; and the great probability that, if left uncontrolled, this carnage is but the beginning of long and sanguinary struggles, alone constitute grounds for not delaying a full enquiry into all the bearings of the emigration in connection with the adoption of Natal. Moreover we call your Lordship's attention to the effect that the increasing emigration from the Cape must produce on the Colony, its revenue and the general welfare. And we beg leave to refer to an extract from the last received Cape papers, which fully bears out the opinion given to your Lordship by one of our deputation, that the emigrants may still be reconciled. This extract is endorsed on the document issued by the emigrants annexed hereto. At that interview your Lordship stated to us that information had been given to the Government concerning the impossibility of holding Natal without a force of twelve hundred men. We submit that some extraordinary misapprehension must prevail on this point, as upon so many others concerning South Africa; and we venture to anticipate that not a single witness will agree to that statement, provided suitable arrangements shall be made with the emigrants.

Considering, finally, the truly great interests involved in this case, we again earnestly press upon your Lordship to consent to a Committee being appointed by the House of Commons to whose enquiry the enclosed questions will be convenient precursors. We would particularly point out to your Lordship that in soliciting this Committee it is far from our intention to act in any way that shall be inimical to Her Majesty's Government. Our object is to adduce evidence to prove to Her Majesty's Government that it will not only be expedient, but desirable, to adopt Natal, that it can be done without any demand upon the Exchequer, and that while it will give security and prosperity to the Cape Colony, it will be a most valuable acquisition in fertile land, and give to Great Britain the whole coast of South Africa, which, if possessed in part by a foreign power, would be highly prejudicial to the interests of Great Britain, and, in case of war threatening, the destruction of the Cape altogether.

I have the honor to be,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient serv^t.
James Barber,
Chairman.

The Right Honorable
Lord John Russell,
Her Majesty's Principal Secretary
of State for the Colonies.

Both the original of this letter and a copy of it exist, but the list of 'Supplementary Questions' is appended to the latter only. These questions were an addendum to the main questionnaire, which was indeed a formidable document. They are reproduced below at the end of the original questionnaire.

This letter and its enclosures, however, appear to have annoyed the under-secretaries considerably, as their comments, which sprawl all over one whole page of the copy, not the original, clearly show. Stephen, before passing the documents on to Smith, gave it as his opinion that the proposed method of collecting evidence was all wrong, and that witnesses who could not be interrogated in person would supply more and better information if given an indication of the most material points on which to express their views, than to be 'tied down to answer a catechism'. Smith, on the other hand, did not favour the formation of a Committee, anticipating that he might have

to occupy the chair, which he did not care to do; and in any case he considered that the House of Commons was not 'the proper arbiter of the extension of Her Majesty's dominions'. And with regard to the questionnaire, he held that his own office could scarcely be the medium of circulation, particularly in view of the fact that he regarded the queries as one-sided. He therefore suggested that the whole matter should be referred to the Colonial Land Board, and this was done. The following reply was sent to the chairman of the South African Land and Emigration Association after a lapse of some eighteen days:

2nd April, '40.

Sir,

I am directed by Lord John Russell to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th ultimo, explanatory of a course of enquiry which the South African Land and Emigration Association would wish to have instituted, with the view of eliciting a body of information as to the propriety of colonising Port Natal; and I am to acquaint you that his Lordship has judged it advisable to refer your letter, together with the series of questions accompanying it, to the Commissioners of Colonial Lands for their consideration and report.¹⁵

James Barber, Esq.

The main questionnaire consisted of one hundred and twenty-four queries, which were printed by the Association for circulation to the various proposed witnesses. A copy in this form is preserved in the Public Record Office. The supplementary questions, of which there are nineteen, remain in manuscript only, and also the two lists of witnesses. All were sent to the Commissioners of Colonial Lands under cover of the following letter.

3 April [1840].

Commissioners of Colonial Lands

Gentlemen,

I am directed by Lord John Russell to transmit herewith for your consideration a copy of a letter which has been received from the South African Land and Emigration Association, explanatory of a course of enquiry which they would wish to have instituted, with the view of eliciting sound information as to the propriety of colonising Port Natal.

Lord John Russell is desirous that you should carefully examine and if necessary amend the questions which the Association is

desirous of propounding to the several persons who may be supposed competent to furnish information on the multifarious topicks which those questions involve, to which you will add such further queries as may appear calculated to obtain the information which is required, and thereupon report to his Lordship on the whole subject, as early as is possible.

R. V. S.

2. *The Questionnaire*

QUESTIONS

relative to the

COLONY OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE AND NATAL.

submitted at the suggestion of

LORD JOHN RUSSELL,

Secretary of State for the Colonies,

by the

SOUTH AFRICAN LAND AND EMIGRATION ASSOCIATION,

in order to elicit information with regard to

SOUTH AFRICA

INSTRUCTIONS

The Gentleman answering the following Questions, is requested to give in the next line,

His name

Address

How connected with the Cape

The answer on the fly-sheet to be prefixed with the number of the question.

QUESTIONS.

The South African Land and Emigration Association, having applied to Government for its concurrence in the appointment of a Committee of the House of Commons, to inquire into the propriety of adopting Natal as a British Settlement, and into the subject of the emigration of the colonists over the North Eastern boundary of the Cape of Good Hope; the causes of that emigra-

tion and its probable effects on the prosperity of the colony; the Secretary of State suggested to the deputation that the necessary information might be obtained through the Colonial Office, and desired to be furnished with a list of the witnesses whom it was intended to examine, and with the questions to be put to them. The following were agreed to at a Meeting of the Association, and are considered to embrace the most important points upon which it is desirable that Government should possess correct information.

Can you state the origin, extent, and present progress of the emigration of the Cape colonists to Natal, and what in your opinion will be the effects upon the present interests and future prospects of the Cape of Good Hope as a British Settlement.

Viz. On its economical interests and prospects:

1. Its Capital.

2. Population and means of defence against Foreign aggression.

Revenue and means of supporting the establishment, &c.

3. On its Agricultural prospects:

4. The prices of Land:

5. Of Agricultural produce and provisions:

6. On the supply of Labour:

On its commercial interests:

7. On the imports of the Colony and the Consumption of British Manufactures:

8. On the exports and the Revenue derived from them by the mother country:

9. On the trade with the interior through the Cape of Good Hope.

10. With the Eastern Coast of Africa.

On its political state.

11. The influence of British principles and moral power of the British Government within the Colony:

12. Beyond the boundary on the emigrants and the native tribes:

13. On the security of the Cape as a British dependency:

14. On the interests of civilization and humanity.

Supposing in your opinion this emigration to be unfavourable to British interests at the Cape of Good Hope, to what do you ascribe it? And first with regard to the early usages and circumstances of the Colony and Natal.

Did any of the following circumstances exist, and in how far do you ascribe it to them?

15. Were lands scarce or high-priced?

16. Were the habits of the colonists migratory?

17. What were the current reports regarding the fertility of the unoccupied country between the colony and Natal?

Or secondly to dissatisfaction with the measures of Government.

Did such dissatisfaction exist, and in how far do you ascribe the emigration to any measure of Government relating to

18. Slavery?

19. To the people of colour within the boundary?

20. Do you conceive the measures of Government tended to the increase of vagrancy and theft, and that the insecurity of property from these causes in any degree occasioned the emigration?

21. The Kaffirs and native independent tribes, describe the measure relating to them?

22. Do you conceive that property on the frontier districts of the colony was rendered so insecure by the measures of Government relating to the Kaffirs, that the circumstance in any degree caused the emigration?

23. Do you consider the measures of Government to have caused, and in what degree, the irruption of the Kaffirs in 1834-5?

24. What force was usually maintained on the Kaffir frontier? Do you ascribe the success of the inroad of the Kaffirs to any reduction of that force? And in how far do you ascribe the emigration to the loss and suffering attendant on that calamity?

25. To any credit given by Government and the public to allegations against the character of the colonists? were there such allegations, and to whom or what do you ascribe their circulation and influence?

26. Were the colonists themselves as a body, or were individual colonists the aggressors? or was it in so far as they

were concerned an unprovoked act of the Kaffirs? Had the Kaffirs secretly prepared for it before? and did Lord Glenelg in a public despatch justify them?

27. Besides the extraordinary expenditure of Government during the war, what were the particulars and amount of the losses of the colonists by the Kaffir irruption?

28. Do you ascribe, and in what degree, the emigration of the Cape Colonists to the appointment of Mr. Stockenstrom to be Lieut. Governor of the Eastern province, and why do you ascribe it to that circumstance?

29. To the abandonment of the measures of Sir Benjamin D'Urban, for the civilization of the Kaffirs and the protection of the Frontier?

30. To the surrender of the Ceded Territory to the Kaffirs?

31. The treaties entered into with them,—what were the effects of these Treaties? was property on the Frontier rendered more secure or otherwise by them? were they enforced on both sides or only on one?

32. Were there complaints against the surveying department sufficient to increase the alleged dissatisfaction with Government and the disposition to emigration?

Thirdly. To Mr. Stockenstrom's administration.

33. Did Mr. Stockenstrom propose or state that it was the intention of Government to embody the inhabitants as a Militia, and was there any alarm caused by it?

34. Did doubts exist as to the legality of passing the land boundaries of the Colony, and did Mr. Stockenstrom in a public document remove them?

35. Was there any correspondence between Mr. Stockenstrom and Mr. Retief that tended to increase the emigration?

Fourthly. To the fears of the Colonists regarding the future peace and welfare of the Community.

36. Do you know whether there was such countenance given to the coloured classes within the Colony and the native tribes beyond the boundary, as could justify any apprehension on the part of the Colonists, that a war between the whites and the coloured classes, (in which Government would support the latter,) would be the ultimate consequence? Do you believe

such an impression to have been the principal cause operating with the more considerate of the emigrants who were not affected materially by other subjects of complaint?

37. Upon what circumstances was this feeling founded?
38. Are there any other causes, and what are they?
39. In what way can these causes or any of them be obviated?
40. Has Mr. Stockenstrom been removed from the Government of the Eastern province? and what effect will that circumstance probably have on the feelings of the Colonists towards the British Government?
41. If the losses by the Kaffir irruption are justly chargeable to the measures of Government, will compensation, being given for them, have any and what effect?
42. Would an inquiry into the grievances of the Colonists on the spot, and the assurance of a disposition on the part of Government to redress them, have any and what effect?
43. How should such an inquiry be conducted? By the local Government, or by Commissioners from home?
44. Will measures for the protection of property, as affected by the increase of vagrancy and theft, obviate any of the causes of the emigration?
45. Will the alteration of any of the articles of the Kaffir Treaties, and the strict execution of the amended Treaties, have any and what effect for the security of property on the frontier from foreign depredation?
46. In how far would it be now practicable, and if practicable, politic, to admit the Kaffir tribes on our immediate boundary to protection and other advantages as British subjects?
47. Might this be systematically adopted with advantage to both Colonist and Native, where our Colonies are in actual contact with countries inhabited by Barbarous tribes?
48. Are there any other measures that you would suggest the adoption of in the Colony, for removing the dissatisfaction that may have caused the emigration?
49. What would you suggest with regard to Natal and the country into which the Colonists are migrating? Supposing that permitting an independent community, or one adopted by a

foreign state, to grow up so near would be injurious to the Cape colony, would you recommend the assumption of Natal by the Crown?

50. As a dependency of the Cape ceded by Holland, and confirmed by the Treaty of Vienna, or as having in 1825 been settled, and recently more generally occupied by British Subjects, or both, or would you suggest its occupation by a British force, as a simple measure of policy?
51. Supposing Natal occupied on any or all of these grounds, what course would you suggest with regard to the emigrants from the Cape in its neighbourhood? would you allow them to remain independent or not?
52. Would you suggest that they should be allowed to retain their independence of Government as regards the internal affairs of the districts in which they are settled, and to frame their own municipal institutions?
53. If not, would you introduce those to which they have been accustomed at the Cape? or those of England?
54. Would you suggest that Dutch and English communities settled in the same country should be left at liberty to adopt their own systems of internal government?
55. If so, should they have any, and what control, on the administration of their affairs?
56. Which of these measures would be most favourable to the security of Natal and the interior districts, as British dependencies?
57. Supposing the Emigrants to resist the interference of Government, until satisfied as to the course it meant to pursue, or under the apprehension, well or ill founded, that Government did not intend to redress the grievances that caused the emigration, would you recommend coercion being resorted to?
58. After Government had given every reasonable assurance on the subject of their former grievances, what course would you suggest?
59. Do you think the Emigrants should have titles to the lands they occupy, and by what principle would you recommend Government to be guided as to the extent to be granted to individuals?

60. All existing claims being satisfied equitably, would you recommend that all the unoccupied lands should be declared to be the property of the Crown?

61. With regard to the remaining Government lands, would you apply the principle adopted in the South Australian scheme of selling them at a fixed price, or not?

62. Would you apply it to the whole at once, or only at first to those in the immediate neighbourhood of Natal?

63. Supposing a conciliatory plan adopted, what force would it be necessary to maintain at Natal?

64. From the position of Natal in the rear of the Kaffirs, might that number of troops be safely or advantageously withdrawn from the force usually maintained on the Kaffir frontier?

65. Would a moderate tax on imports, levied at Natal, be sufficient for the support of a proper establishment there, or would some part of the land fund be requisite?

66. What other measures would you suggest, either within the Colony or at Natal, tending to satisfy both the Colonists and the Emigrants with the disposition of Government towards them? Do you consider that there are any that may be adopted without injustice to the native tribes, and with advantage to Her Majesty's subjects of every class on Southern Africa, and to British interests generally?

67. Are you aware of the nature of the laws of succession in force at the Cape, both as natives and British born are concerned, and would extending to all any advantage enjoyed by one class be expedient?

68. Do you know whether the Legislative Council of the Colony have recommended the substitution of a small additional tax on imports for the present assessed taxes, and how far do you think the same principle might with advantage be applied to the diminution of the transfer duties?

69. In how far would emigration from the mother country to South Africa be promoted by the sale of unoccupied Government lands, between the boundary and Natal?

70. Might a sum be borrowed, or means be advanced by Government, with advantage, on the credit of the land fund, or the transport of emigrants to South Africa?

71. Does the Order in Council relating to Hill Coolies deprive the free European labourer of the means of emigrating to the Cape, by engaging to serve those who defray the expense of his passage, and should not this obstacle to emigration and all local enactments founded on it be removed?

72. Would the appointment of a guardian for minors brought into the Colony to be apprenticed promote immigration, by the assurance it would give to parents of the good treatment of their children, and to the overseers of the poor, if apprenticing to the colonies children chargeable to parishes was permitted?

73. Does a fund now exist, arising from the Rent or the commutation of rents of Lands, available for the purpose of Emigration? and what does it produce?

74. In how far would the erection of a Jetty and works for the security of Table Bay, as an anchorage and for the convenience of trade, encourage immigration, by offering immediate employment to labourers on their arrival, tend to the prosperity of the Colony, and the advantage of British ship-owners and merchants?

75. Would the anchorage and wharfage duties in Table Bay afford sufficient security for the advance of a sum for this purpose by Government, or are the objects of such importance that the direct re-payment should not be looked for?

76. Would an advance towards the erection of a landing Jetty at Algoa Bay benefit the trader with the eastern districts?

77. Is the Cape of Good Hope advantageously situated as a naval station in reference to India and Australasia, Egypt, China, and North America?

78. Has it the means of refreshing ships with provisions, vegetables, &c. at moderate prices?

79. Is the Beef and Pork of the Country fit for salting and good for navy stores? Will it keep? Is any now exported? Is salt the produce of the Country or imported?

80. Is the climate injurious to Europeans either through intensity of heat or severity of cold or by sudden changes of temperature? Are there any diseases peculiar to the colony? Is it in any way desirable as introductory to the climate of India

for British troops, and for a temporary locale or station for troops in an eastern emergency?

81. Have you any idea of the extent of the colony in its eastern and western divisions? Cultivated and uncultivated?

82. Can you state what portion is devoted to tillage, vineyards, sheep-farming and grazing?

83. Do you believe that more land might easily and advantageously be brought to these different uses if labour were abundant?

84. Are you acquainted with the value of land, arable, pasture and vineyards, and the usual terms of payment, and whether the transfer of property is easy, secure, and cheap?

85. In times of peace and war, does the colony possess any peculiar advantage as regards intercourse with England and general security, and is it centrally situated for commerce?

86. Has the colony founded in the Eastern province in 1820, commonly called Algoa Bay answered the expectations formed by the Government and public?

87. Do you know its present population, and whether any extensive emigration from England has increased the original number?

88. Have the imports and exports of this part of the colony increased in proportion, and has Port Elizabeth being a free port, answered and paid its own expences, and have new markets been opened with the natives?

89. Has the revenue of the Cape and Algoa Bay been sufficient to reimburse the civil establishment of the whole colony without drawing on the English Treasury?

90. State the usual price of the prime necessaries of life at the Cape in comparison with England, filling up the annexed schedule.

	TABLE BAY.	ALGOA BAY.	ENGLAND.
Bread, per pound			
Beef			
Mutton			
Potatoes			
Wheat, per Bushel			
Barley			
Rye			
Oats			
Wine, per Gallon			
Brandy			

91. Is the colony likely to become an extensive exporting country for grain? Is the quality esteemed in the London market? Is the flour equal to Dantzic or American?

92. Is the vine productive at the Cape? Could its cultivation be extended if labour were abundant? And its quality improved? Do you know the importance of this article to England in reference to revenue? What is the amount of duty actually levied last year on Wine the produce of this colony? And can you give any information as regards the quantity sent to Brazils from the Cape, to Mauritius, Java, and Australasia, thereby employing the labour of British colonists? State also if possible the quantity of similar Wine the produce of other countries consumed in the Brazils alone? Could Brandy be produced cheap in the colony? Do you know its actual price?

93. Do you know how many labourers per acre are required in the proper cultivation of the Vine? And what is about the average produce per acre in gallons?

94. Can you give any information respecting sheep-farming at the Cape and Algoa Bay? The quantity, and quality, and value of the wool per pound, and whether farther increase and improvement in quality may be expected? The amount imported last years into Great Britain. What is calculated to be the increase of stock per annum? and upon that calculation, what will be the amount to be imported in three years?

95. Do you know the quantity of hides produced at the Cape? what revenue is levied on them in England, and whether there is any peculiar quality, making it desirable to secure them entirely for the English market?

96. State the quantity of goat and sheep skins imported from the Colony, and the revenue derived therefrom?

97. Do you know the quantity and value of Cape Tallow, and whether the duty with the extra freight is or is not heavier than on Foreign?

98. Mention any other articles now produced within the Colony, whose production is retarded for want of labour; and whether there are any mines in the Colony.

99. Are there any other articles for which the soil and climate are suitable?

100. Is any or every fruit and vegetable of Europe produced at the Cape?

101. Is the Colony suited for a station for the whale fishery? Do Foreigners frequent it?

102. Is fish as an article of food cheap? Are the banks plentifully stocked with fish, to make it likely, if labour were cheap, that it would be caught for salting and export as in Newfoundland? Is any now exported?

103. Are small household stores, such as tea, coffee, sugar, &c., as cheap as in England or cheaper? Is the market well supplied with clothing from England, and is it as cheap as in the Australasian Colonies?

104. Shortly state how the Colony is governed? Whether there be a representative system?

105. State the entire revenue at present, distinguishing the Eastern from the Western province, also the expenditure; distinguishing the civil from the Military?

106. How much per head is this upon the whole population? how much upon the white population only?

107. Give a summary of the revenue derived in England from Cape produce, and the quantities of each article imported?

108. Do you know the amount of "salaries" paid to the civil functionaries, and the amount of "contingencies" and what the latter include?

109. What is the ordinary rate of Wages for mechanics, Farmers' Servants, and Shepherds?

110. Are the natives active and good servants? And what Wages are usually paid them?

111. What number of persons are there per acre on the cultivated land of the colony? Specifying the number of English, Dutch, and Native.

112. Is the Cape a convict colony? And do you know the number of males compared with females in the colony? Does the population, wishing for labour, wish Government to send out *Convicts*?

113. Have there been any interruptions to the peace and prosperity of the colony in late years?

114. Can you state how the colony is provided with Schools, whether the state of education is on a par with England?

115. Is the colony yet provided with Churches and Chapels, and to what extent?

116. What is the distance from Cape Town to Graham's Town, and what is the condition of the road, and what amount is laid out by the Government annually for internal communication? Is a post established, and how often does it run? And what is the amount of revenue derived from postage?

117. Has steam yet been introduced into the colony? And is coal found?

118. Is the Society of the colony such as to support the amusements of civilized life and newspapers?

119. Can you produce a table to show the extent of land set to the various kinds of grain and vineyards, and in pasturage, and what uncultivated that might be cultivated?

120. What shipping enters the Cape of Good Hope, distinguishing British and foreign? Is it likely to increase? Are charges heavy or light affecting shipping?

121. Is Gross Timber produced for building purposes, and have any vessels of burthen been built in the colony?

122. Do you think the Colony is suited for British Emigration? Is the demand for labour casual or general? Is there hope of obtaining labour immediately on arrival? To what extent do you think mechanics might safely go out? And what number of agricultural labourers and shepherds? Are there any advantages accruing to Emigrants to the Cape above those to be found in other Colonies, as regards wages his receipts, and for provisions his payments?

123. Mention the quantity of stock supposed to be in the Colony, and whether the horses are serviceable for export to India, &c.

124. State the exports from the Colony in three periods.

		182	183	183
Table Bay	{ British	£	£	£
	{ Foreign			
Simon's Bay	{ British			
	{ Foreign			
Algoa Bay	{ British			
	{ Foreign			

125. State the value of imports into the Colony in three periods.

		182	183	183
Table Bay	{ British	£	£	£
	{ Foreign			
Simon's Bay	{ British			
	{ Foreign			
Algoa Bay	{ British			
	{ Foreign			

SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONS

1. In reference to No. 122 in the preceding series of questions, will you be so good as to distinguish how many agricultural labourers and mechanics respectively, you would estimate might find ready employment in the Western Province, being landed at Cape Town.

2. What would be the probable terms of their employment? It is likely they would be paid in money wages, and would they have to find their own habitations?

3. Will you in like manner answer the two preceding questions in regard to people destined for the Eastern Province, and landed at Port Elizabeth?

4. Is not the proportion of tillage more limited in the Eastern Province, and would not this materially reduce the number of agricultural labourers that could be provided for?

5. In the Western Province how far must the encouragement to agricultural labourers depend on their taking employment with Dutch farmers?

6. Would the character and habits of the Dutch farmers be suited to this relation with labourers from England? How far would the difference of language be an inconvenience?

7. Are you aware if the quit-rents in the Cape Colony are collected easily and regularly?

8. Is the termination of slavery likely to render some of the direct taxation at the Cape,—for example the poll tax,—less easy of collection, and consequently to render the quit-rents more necessary than before as a part of the ordinary revenue?

9. Have you any knowledge of the climate of Natal?

10. Do you know if it is well watered at all seasons—and well wooded?

11. If you would recommend its colonization, would you make it a distinct territory entirely surrounded by boundaries of its own, or would you propose an extension of the limits of the present Cape Government up to it?

12. In either case, will you describe the boundaries you would mark out?

13. What would be the length and breadth of the district to be colonized under the distinct name of Natal?

14. Will you state especially if you would confine that district between the mountains and the sea?

15. In case you propose the occupation of a continuous line of country from the existing frontier of the Cape Government, will you state what would be its length and breadth?

16. Will you state what are the grounds, in respect of the whole of the country of which the occupation may seem to you desirable, for considering it free from the claims of native inhabitants.

17. If by cession, have you any knowledge of the reasons for relying on the authority of the ceding parties?

18. Have there not been collisions, and how frequently and lately, in the Natal country; and are you aware whether with tribes by whom land is understood to have been ceded there, or with other tribes.

19. Will you state any information you may possess on the harbour at Port Natal; the depth of water over the bar; the rise and fall of tide; the amount of shelter inside, and extent of room; whether or not vessels would be always afloat; whether there are good landing places; what has been the burthen of the largest vessels that have hitherto used it, and with what other ports they traded; together with any other points of information, that may seem to you as likely to be material on this subject.

List of Witnesses to whom it is proposed the questions should be sent by the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Lieut ^t Gen ^l Sir. R. Donkin	Sir R. Plaskett
Lieut ^t Gen ^l Sir L. G. Cole	Honble. H. Ellis
Major Gen Bourke	P. Brink, Esq ^{re} .
Sir A. Stockenstrom, Bart.	Mr. Justice Burton
Col ^l Wade	J. T. Bigge, Esq ^{re} ., late Comm ^r .
Col ^l Dundas	H. Rivers, Esq ^{re} .
Capt ⁿ Campbell	Capt ⁿ Owen, R.N.
Dr. A. Smith	Major Chartres [sic]

List of Witnesses to whom the Association propose to send the questions.

Col ^l Henderson	A. Burnell, Esq ^{re} .
Capt ⁿ Vidal, R.N.	Sir J. E. Alexander
Capt ⁿ Williams, R.E.	Rev ^d S. Kay
J. S. Christopher, Esq ^{re} .	B. Moodie, Esq ^{re} .
W. Dickson, Esq ^{re} .	W. R. Thomson, Esq ^{re} .
Dr. Graham	Lieut ^t Leving, R.A.
S. Bannister, Esq ^{re} .	— Coke, Esq ^{re} .
Capt ⁿ Hawes, R.N.	Rev ^d Mr. Beck
H. Maynard, Esq ^{re} .	Rev ^d R. Moffatt
W. Burnie, Esq ^{re} .	F. Collison, Esq ^{re} .

But before a reply to this letter and its enclosures was received from the Colonial Office, the Association followed it up by another, in which it bombarded the Government from a new angle. This attack, delivered less than a fortnight after the previous one, must have exasperated the under-secretaries, who were doubtless already sufficiently aggravated at having had to further the original scheme of the Association, with which they had no sympathy whatever. They were now faced with the following missive:¹⁶

3. *The Association and Labour at the Cape*

South African Land and Emigration Association,
20 Fenchurch Street,
25th March, 1840.

Sir,

I have the honor to transmit to you the enclosed letter which I request you will be pleased to lay before The Right Honorable the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

I am

Sir

Your very obed^t Serv^t

Saxe Bannister,

Provisional Secretary.

To R. Vernon Smith, Esq.

London,

24th March, 1840.

My Lord,

We, the undersigned Merchants of the City of London and others interested in the welfare of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, are induced by the extreme want of good laborers

in that Colony respectfully to submit to your Lordship's consideration two resolutions of the South African Land and Emigration Association on the subject.

1st. 'That an Order in Council dated 30th July, 1838, relating to hill coolies, so worded as to permit its application to free European laborers as well as to hill coolies, a construction of the Order which could never have been contemplated, has already operated injuriously to the Colony of the Cape and unless immediately restricted to hill coolies only according to the intent and meaning of the framers of the order, must eventually cause serious injury, if not irreparable loss, to the Colony.'

2nd. 'That the quit-rents of all lands granted by Government in that Colony, and the sums that may be received from commutations of them, ought to be applied to defray the expense of introducing from Great Britain a labouring population, on the principle already recognized in the Colonies of Australasia.'

In these resolutions we cordially concur, and earnestly pray your Lordship's early consideration of the subjects referred to, both being of vital importance to the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.

We have the honor to be,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obed^t Serv^{ts}.

J. G. Thomson,
T. Bagshaw.
John Gore and Co.
Thomson and Edwards
Jos. Simpson
John Burnie
Jas. Sutherland
Godwin and Lee
Phillips King and Co.
Cokes and Long
Edwd. Luckie
Dyster and Nalden
D. Wakefield¹⁸
James Edw. Alexander
Benjm. Moodie
Joseph S. Christopher and Co.

L. Twentyman
Wm. A. Venning
Wm. Anderson
T. Heideman
W. M. Burnie¹⁷
Geor. C. Redman
John Sinclair
Charles J. Fair
Henry Maynard
Robt. Buck
J. Home
Abraham Borradaile
J. T. C.[?] Arnold and Woollett
Josh. [?] Starkey and Co.

The reply to this communication was brief and barbed.¹⁹

J. P. V. Thompson, Esq^{re}.
J. Bagshaw, Esq^{re}.
and others.

30th March, 1840.

Gentlemen,

I am directed by Lord John Russell to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 24th instant in which you submit for his Lordship's consideration and express your own concurrence in two resolutions of the South African Land and Emigration Association relating to the want of good labourers at the Cape of Good Hope.

In regard to the first of these resolutions, I am desired to request that you will state more fully the grounds upon which the Order in Council of the 30th of July, 1838 is said²⁰ to apply to free European labourers as well as to hill coolies, and by whom the Order has been so construed.

And upon the second resolution, I am directed to observe that the revenues of the Cape could not, as his Lordship apprehends, bear the proposed entire diversion of the land rents to the purposes of emigration, without creating a deficiency which it would be impracticable to make good from any other source.

The members of the Association manifestly regarded this as an attempt on the part of the Colonial Office to delay matters, and accordingly prepared a further communication which they considered would stir things up, which it certainly did. There followed a series of letters from the Association to the Colonial Office and vice versa which, with the annotations made on the former by the Government officials, tell a plain tale.

The Right Honorable
The Secretary of State
for the Colonies.

South African Land and
Emigration Association,
20 Fenchurch Street,
9th April, 1840.²¹

My Lord,

We are in receipt of your Lordship's letter of the 30th March, and in reply herewith transmit Extract of the Ordinance of the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope dated 10th August last referred to in our Memorial of the 29th ultimo.

Your Lordship will perceive that this Ordinance effectually prevents our entering into any contracts for securing the services

of any laborers who may be sent to the Cape, excepting domestic servants. We therefore pray for the repeal of so much of it as debars us from doing so, for it not only retards the prosperity of the Colony, (known to be greatly in want of labor) but is felt as a still greater hardship by agricultural laborers and mechanics who are desirous of pledging their future labor for the permanent advantage of themselves and families. Many hundred agricultural laborers in this country have already expressed their preference for the Cape Colony and are desirous of emigrating,—300 from one parish. We therefore beg your Lordship's further early consideration of the subject.

Upon the second point of your Lordship's letter we have to submit that the revenue of the Cape Colony exceeded the expenditure in 1836 by £11,018: in 1837 by £21,221 . 4 . 1½, and had not some extraordinary items been introduced into the account* the revenue of 1839 would have exceeded the expenditure by £49,311 . 15 . 7. The diversion therefore of the land rents will not cause a deficiency of revenue; and the impetus given to trade and cultivation by the arrival of 1500 or 2000 emigrants would more than sustain the present excess of revenue over the expenditure. The duties of Customs in the Cape Colony, we may mention, have gradually increased as follows: in 1835—£23,343, and in 1836—£32,905; in 1837—£35,908, and in 1838—£49,595. It may therefore be inferred that the diversion of the Crown rents to the usual purposes of emigration will not be felt by the Colonial Government at all. Thus it appears that the Cape of Good Hope at the same time that it is not a burthen to the mother country (as is Australia to a very large amount) is excluded from the benefit of emigration granted to other Colonies, and by an edict of the Government is prevented from obtaining the same, even by private individuals. If placed in an equal position with other Colonies, the Cape would draft off much of our surplus population. The consumption of British manufactures, now £1,000,000 sterling (which we beg your Lordship to note), would be further promoted, thus showing the Cape to be a most valuable appanage to Great Britain for consuming her manufactures, and a fruitful field for British laborers.

And as there are now so many desirous of going to the Cape under the protection of this Society, we request your Lordship's

early attention to the means we have pointed out of securing adequate employment to unemployed laborers and labour adequate to the wants of a most fruitful but thinly populated Colony.

We are

Your Lordship's most obedient
humble servants.

J. G. Thomson
T. Bagshaw.

James Barber
Jos. Simpson
Abraham Borradaile
J. W. Sutherland
L. Twentyman
Wm. A. Venning
H. F. Maynard
W. M. Burnie
John Sinclair

Hy. Wallaston
Geor. C. Redman
W. Anderson
Jas. Edw. Alexander
Joseph S. Christopher
John Martin
Robt. Buck
Cookes and Sons
Heideman, Payton and [Co:]

* The Revenue and Expenditure of the two last years have not been published.

In this letter the following document was enclosed:

Extract from the *Government Gazette* of the Cape of Good Hope dated August 16th, 1839: Ordinance dated 10th August.

Chap. 2

On the formation, deviation, renewal and conditions of contracts of service.

No contract of service shall be in force or effect within this Colony unless the same shall have been made within the limits and upon the land of this Colony. Save and except such place with any servant born in Europe and which shall not be contracts made for the performance within this Colony of any service or labor in agriculture or in or about the manufactures of any Colonial produce; and every such last mentioned contract shall have force and effect within this Colony for the term therein stipulated, provided such term shall not exceed

the period of three years from the day on which the servant shall have landed in this Colony, in which case such contract shall expire at the end of such period of three years.

(Signed) Charles Bell,
Acting Clerk of the Legislative Council.

On receiving this bombshell Stephen called for the preceding correspondence, and proceeded to endorse the following on the back of the letter, before returning it to his clerk for further information:

'How far can this statement of the revenues of the Cape of Good Hope (I mean of their redundancy) be verified, or contradicted, by the returns from the Colony, such as the Blue Books, etc.? It would appear from this account as though the local Treasury were accumulating a treasure, and as though the people were taxed merely for that purpose, which one would suppose must be a mistake.

'It now appears that the law which prevents European laborers from entering into long apprenticeships, as by servants in agriculture, has nothing to do with the coolie question, but that it is the general Order in Council or Ordinance for regulating contracts of service which was made at the close of the apprenticeship system.'

The clerk, who was also named Smith, added the following remarks:

'There is no doubt that during the last 4 years the revenue of the Cape of Good Hope has been gradually and materially improving. The improvement is chiefly perceptible in the Customs. During the year 1838, the date of our last Blue Book, the revenue exceeded the expenditure by about £19,000. The Governor has proposed to apply the accruing surplus to works of public utility; but the Treasury have only very recently decided that all such works must be postponed until the Colonial Government shall have paid off its debts, and so economised its resources as to make arrangements for paying its paper money in cash and thereby relieve the Home Government from the charge and responsibility²² . . . of credit of the Colonial paper money.'

On obtaining this information, Stephen added a further endorsement to the letter, before passing it on to Vernon Smith.

'You will see that two questions arise in this letter. The first is whether the restrictions on long apprenticeship, on labourers arriving from this country, should be rescinded. I should answer that question in the negative, because an apprenticeship of an adult man to a business in which he has no art to learn is a mere system of compulsory labour, I believe never to be productive of good anywhere. It can be rendered effectual only by terror and by penalties, promptly enforced. The next question will almost as a matter of course be negated by the Treasury. They will not agree,—(I think they ought not to agree) to divert a large part of the revenue to emigration, while there remains an outstanding debt, for the payment of which this country is responsible. The practical question is, should they be advised to agree to it, or should the responsibility of the refusal be transferred from this office to the Treasury?'

Vernon Smith's comments on the matter were particularly brief. He wrote:

'I think Mr. Smith's [the clerk] mem[orandum] has answered the last question. We may refer the [indecipherable] to the letters from the Treasury in re currency. I do not think adult apprenticeship allowable.'

We do not know what Lord Russell's own views were, but apparently he concurred, for the following reply was ultimately sent to the South African Land and Emigration Association.²³

J. R. Thompson, Esq^{re}
and

22 April [18]40

J. Bagshaw, Esq^{re}.
Gentlemen,

I am directed by Lord John Russell to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 9th instant, in explanation of the topicks adverted to in your previous communication of the 24th of March.

In regard to the first of these topicks, namely the restrictions which are placed on the services of European labourers immigrating into the Cape, as enacted by a recent Ord^{ce} of the Governor and Legislative Council and not as you had supposed by H.M. Order in Council of July, 1838,* his Lordship has desired me to state that he has received that Ordinance within the last few days, and that it is at present under his consideration;

but that so far as his Lordship is advised, he sees no reason for doubting that it would be highly inexpedient to rescind the instructions which apply to long agricultural apprenticeships.

With respect to the state of the finances of the Colony, his Lordship directs me to observe that altho' the publick income of the local Gov^t has improved within the last few years, yet that it does not, therefore, follow that H.M. Gov^t are at liberty to apply the actual excess of revenue over the expenditure to the particular purpose which you have recommended. H.M. Gov^t have on the contrary felt themselves imperatively called upon to decide that the means offered by the improved condition of the finances of the local Government and the progressive increase of its revenue must be applied to the object of reducing the amount of the outstanding paper debt.

* I think this is the state of the case, but not having access to the Ordinance, I cannot verify the fact. [Marginal note.]

The Association, in reply, wrote thus:²⁴

South African Land and
Emigration Association,
20 Fenchurch Street,
4th May, 1840.

My Lord,

In reply to your Lordship's letter of the 22nd April I beg leave to call your attention to the London Gazette No. 19642 and dated 3rd August, 1838, page 1730. This official document contains the Order in Council, rendering void all contracts with laborers on their arrival at the Cape, and was published by the Governor immediately after he received it and, as the Association has been informed, has produced serious injury to all persons in want of laborers in the Colony and caused great anxiety and dissatisfaction in the whole community. The Ordinance which your Lordship mentions as having recently arrived was only the inevitable consequence of the Order in Council which, whether the Ordinance should be disallowed or not, has already done its work.

In confirmation of this statement I beg to lay before your Lordship the written reply of the Governor of the Cape to a Memorial praying for assistance in introducing laborers into the Colony.

'Colonial Office, Cape Town,
10th Feb^y., 1840.

The Memorialists have pointed at immigration as affording the only remedy for the disabilities under which they at present labor, and His Excellency has the satisfaction to inform them that he has joined the Council in strongly recommending that the existing impediments in the way of immigration from Europe may be removed. In regard to imported labor from other quarters, he is not prepared to say that the checks upon it are improper, although fully admitting that many of the objections made to it as regarding other British colonies are not applicable to the Cape.

In reference to the latter part of this extract I can state, on information to be implicitly relied on, that the colonists have no wish to import hill coolies, or any black laborers. Their object is to obtain European laborers only, and permission to make a reasonable contract with them, not exceeding three years, being the period fixed by the late Ordinance with respect to domestic labour, so as to obtain repayment of the expence incurred. This repayment would generally be obtained in a much shorter period, and all classes of society at the Cape, from the Legislative Council downwards, are equally anxious on this important and indeed vital question.

Respecting the question of quit-rents, I beg to submit to your Lordship that all proceeds from land should be devoted to the promotion of emigration in the same way as the land funds in Australia. Whether, however, your Lordship should coincide in this view of the point or not I submit to your Lordship the urgency of an immediate supply of labor to the Colony in order to prevent its total ruin, and the expediency of the Government advancing £10, or £15,000 out of the land revenues of the Colony to the Commissioners of Lands and Emigration for the purpose of shipping 1,000 or 1,500 emigrants to the Cape of Good Hope.

Considering that only twenty years have elapsed since Lord Goodrich^{24a} founded a Colony in the Eastern Province at a cost of only £50,000 and that at the end of 17 years this Colony paid a colonial revenue of £55,000, besides relieving Great Britain of surplus population amounting to five thousand persons, and

believing that a similar proportionate result would take place in the present instance, the Association beg most earnestly for your Lordship's sanction and recommendation on the subject. The same result also the Association believe would be obtained by colonizing Natal instead of leaving it in the hands of a numerous and increasing body of Dutchmen who can have no friendly feeling towards the British Government and thus laying the foundation of a warlike and hostile settlement in the rear of the old Cape Colony.

In conclusion, the Association request that your Lordship will sanction the settlement of Natal by means of land sales; that you will recommend that the Order in Council above alluded to be rescinded; and that you would authorize a grant of £10, to £15,000 for sending emigrants to the Cape. The Association believe that these three measures would all contribute to invigorate the Cape Colony and thereby increase our colonial revenue and tend to the lasting prosperity and security of British interests in South Africa.

I have the honor to be,
Your Lordship's most obedient servant,
Geor. C. Redman,
Chairman.

The Right Honble
Lord John Russell,
Secretary of State
for the Colonies.

The arrival of this letter put Stephen upon his mettle, and he appears to have resolved to put an end to the importunities of the Association as soon as possible, especially with regard to their proposals concerning emigration to the Cape. Not content with making the usual endorsements on the back of the letter itself, he prepared a lengthy memorandum for the perusal of Vernon Smith and Lord John Russell.

After sending for the official letter to the Association which had prompted the present document, he put to his clerk this question:

'What is the answer in point of fact to the writer that the restriction of agricultural apprenticeships originates not as Mr. Vernon Smith's letter states in the recent Ordinance of the

Governor in Council but in an Order of the Queen in Council, which appeared in the London Gazette of the 3 Augt., 1838?'

The reply to this was:

'Mr. Stephen. You are debited in the Arrear List with the Ordinance referred to. I have not seen it. But the Mem[orialis]ts in their letter of 9 April impute the restriction to that Ordinance. They now impute it to the Order in Council. This is the second time they have shifted their ground.'

On receiving this information Stephen prepared the following memorandum for the perusal of Vernon Smith.

'This letter from the Chairman of "the South African Land Association", relates, first to the colonization of Port Natal on which subject an enquiry is in progress before the Land Commissioners. Secondly, to the application of the land revenue of the Cape to the introduction of emigrants. On this the Treasury state that until the debt is redeemed the expense cannot be afforded, and thirdly, to the expediency of abolishing the restraints created by recent enactments on emigration to the Colony from Europe. The Association have not been very consistent or clear in their references to the law to which they object, and hence has arisen some confusion in our correspondence with them on the subject. However, it is, I think, plain enough that their real objection is to the Order in Council of Sept. 1838. The substantial question is whether the law should permit European emigrants to bind themselves for long periods of service. It seems superfluous to be repeating once again the objections so often stated within the last few months to such legislation. They are, 1st, the futility of it, inasmuch as such emigrants will not fulfil their contracts and cannot be made to do so without a rigorous system of compulsory labour. This general result has been so fully established as often as the experiment has been tried that one may regard it as a settled rule. This, however, would only show that the proposed law would be inoperative, or rather injurious, to those who seek for it, and if that were all there might be no great harm in letting them have their way. But the second objection is, that laws which distinguish between the condition of European and African labourers are of dangerous tendency, and are opposed to a general principle, which it is

necessary to maintain inviolate. To break through that principle with a view to what appears an unreal and imaginary advantage would seem scarcely defensible.

'The immediate practical question is, what shall be said to the Association on the subject?'

J. S.

Having digested this memorandum, Vernon Smith added these lines to it:

'A loan by a Colony in debt is not to be listened to. I do not see much reason for the application of the Order in Council or Ordinance rescinding contracts to white labourers, nor does the objection of distinction between white and black apply [?] where the favour is presumed to be shown to the black of the excess [?] of which there is no fear. But the gentlemen having pressed us to circulate questions we must surely bid them wait for the answers.'

To the above Sir John Russell appended a 'coda' of eight words only:

'They must wait. I object to the loan.'

The sequel to these comments was a letter which closed the question of emigration so far as the Association was concerned, though it left the matter of Natal still open. This letter ran:²⁵

G. C. Redman, Esq.,

21 May, 1840.

Sir,

I am directed by Lord John Russell to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 4th instant, in which you urge on behalf of the South African Land and Emigration Association that his Lordship will 1st. sanction the settlement of Natal by means of land sales, 2ndly. that his L[ordshi]p will recommend that the Order in Council which renders void all contracts with European labourers entered into previously to their arrival at the Cape, [*sic*], and 3dly. that his Lordship will authorize a grant of £10, or £15,000 for sending emigrants to the Cape.

Upon the first of these propositions I am directed to request you will state to the Association that his Lordship is now pursuing his enquiries as to the propriety of colonising the Natal

country, and that until he shall have received and considered the answers which he is expecting from the witnesses to whom the Assocⁿ have requested his Lordship to send their series of printed questions, he cannot of course be expected to form or deliver any opinion as to the course which H.M. Government may determine to pursue in regard to the colonisation of Natal.

With regard to the rescinding of the Order in Council, I am to refer you to the letter which I was instructed to address to the Association under date of the 22nd of April last.

And finally I am to acquaint you that H.M. Gov^t are not prepared to make any grant of money, in aid of immigration to the Cape, and that for the reasons stated in my letter of the 22nd of April H.M. Government consider themselves altogether precluded from mortgaging any portion of the revenues of the Colony for purposes not contemplated by the local Legislature, and which have not received the sanction of Parliament.'

This letter apparently silenced the Association, which now had to wait and see what would be the fate of their appeal for the colonization of Natal, for by this time the machinery for dealing with the problem had been put in motion. The questionnaire had been sent officially to the sixteen 'special' gentlemen who, in the opinion of the Association, should be thus approached; and presumably the remaining twenty received their copies of it direct from the secretary of that organization.

It would, however, appear that comparatively few of the proposed witnesses responded to the appeal. Of the sixteen 'special' gentlemen, only seven sent answers to the Colonial Office, these being Sir Rufane Donkin, Sir Richard Bourke, Mr. John T. Bigge, Major Charters, Captain Duncan Campbell, Captain William Owen and Dr. Andrew Smith; while of the remaining twenty only Sir James Alexander and Mr. Saxe Bannister seem to have prepared replies.

With one exception none of the actual replies seem to have survived, though the tenor of a number of them can be deduced from the report of the Commissioners, which is still preserved. The exception is Sir James Alexander who, having obviously considered the matter very carefully, prepared a very full report on Natal, which he not only sent to the Association, as was expected of him, but also to Lord John Russell himself.

Alexander's report is a remarkable document, drawn up with the utmost care by its author, engrossed by an excellent scribe, and furnished with an interesting sketch map.²⁶

4. *Sir James Alexander's Memorandum*

Jr. United Service Club,
Regent St., 1st April, 1840.

My Lord,

I have the honor of stating that having been applied to by the Cape Emigration Association [*sic*] to answer certain interrogations regarding the Natal country, etc. I now take the liberty of submitting to your Lordship the copy of a paper relating to Natal, similar to one which I propose sending to the Association.

I have the honor to be
With the greatest respect
Your Lordship's most obedient servant,
Jas. Edw. Alexander, Knt.

To the Right Honorable
The Lord John Russell,
Principal Secretary of State,
etc., etc., etc.

NATAL

On the expediency of forming a colonial establishment at Natal in South East Africa; most respectfully submitted to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies by Sir James Edward Alexander, K.L.S., Aide-de-camp and Private Secretary to the late Governor of the Cape of Good Hope.

1. Port Natal, so named by the Portuguese who discovered it on a Christmas day, is a land-locked harbour on the south-east coast of Africa, and is situated in the midst of a country which may in truth be considered a terrestrial Paradise, such is the mildness and healthiness of the climate, the beauty of the landscape, the abundance of water and grass, and the fertility of the soil. Strange to say this African Elysium, the country about Port Natal, from the Tutugal (Tugela or Fisher's River) to the Umzimvoobo, or St. John's River, and westward for several hundred miles is comparatively speaking untenanted by the aborigines; for Chaka, the King of the Amazoolahs (inhabiting the country between the Tutugal and Delagoa Bay) and who, fortunately for humanity, now lies buried near the Tutugal, devastated, about a quarter of a century ago, the whole of the Natal country as far south as the Amapondas, and westwards

towards the Mantatees, and few more traces of the natives of this land of great promise may now be seen on the soil, than heaps of their bones. The remnant of the broken tribes took refuge among the Amakosa Caffers, whose slaves they became under the name of Fingoes, and who again fled from Caffer oppression during the war with the British in 1835. Several thousands of them are now living in the Cape Colony, and on the borders, under the protection of the Colonial Government.

2. We ourselves saw in the last Caffer campaign, as far as the fine sweet grass country of the Bashee and Umtata Rivers; we thought that region one very fair to the eye and capable of supporting countless herds and flocks; but it is nothing to the Natal country, which, being within the range of the monsoons, never suffers by droughts; and though we have always thought the Colony of the Cape very good, and with colonists who wanted work, possessing great capabilities,^a yet Dr. Andrew Smith, the South African traveller, who was sent from the Cape to report on Natal by Sir Lowry Cole, said, when he returned, 'The Cape is a desert compared to Natal'.

3. The circular basin of Port Natal, into which a river flows, is three miles in diameter, and contains several islands. It communicates with the Indian Ocean by a channel 21 feet deep at high water; a bar outside of this has on it 12 feet at flood and 14 at spring tides, but this depth of water might be increased by artificial means. At present the bar is no impediment to the entrance of sailing vessels of 2 or 300 tons burden, and steamers of 500 tons. Outside there is good anchorage in 9 fathoms. The harbour is surrounded with picturesque hills; about it there is plenty of fine timber for shipbuilding, and extensive grazing flats with springs of water.

4. On the Draakenberg or Quathlamba Mountains, 150 miles west of Port Natal,^b the cold is severe in the antipodean winter, in May, June and July; but even in winter, between the mountains and the sea the climate is temperate, and during the year two crops of almost any grain can be reaped in the Natal country. Irrigation is unnecessary, for abundant rain falls from October to March, and springs of water gush out of the sides of the hills.

^a All emigrants with free passages would now be of essential service to the Cape Colony.

^b See sketch map.

The soil is a rich dark mould. The trees are confined to the ravines and banks of rivers. The native fruits are medlars, bananas, dates, etc. Indian corn grows as high as a man on horseback, and sugar-canes, coffee and indigo have already thriven well near the Port. Silver, copper, iron and coal are found in the Natal country, where the lion (the scourge of other parts of South Africa) is unknown, but where numerous wild boars and elands supply food for the huntsman, and elephants and buffaloes afford ivory and hides for trade. Fish are found in the greatest abundance and of excellent quality in the harbour of Natal, and all along the coast.

5. For many years Natal was quite overlooked; its history is shortly told. After its discovery by the Portuguese, M. P. Chavonne [*sic*], the Dutch Governor of the Cape, dispatched the galliot 'Noord' to Natal to rescue the survivors of the Slaverins [*sic*], and to purchase the Port and adjacent country from the chief Ingésé, which last object was accomplished for 29,000 guilders in merchandise. All this is duly recounted in the Government Archives at the Cape. But more attention was subsequently paid to Delagoa than to Natal, though both were undoubtedly Dutch possessions. By the articles of capitulation of 1806 the Cape and all its dependencies, of which Natal was one, fell to the English, and though American vessels, much to the danger of the Cape Colony, have occasionally put into Natal to barter arms and ammunition with the natives for their country produce, yet Englishmen only have settled there since 1824.

6. About this time (1824) Lieuts. King and Farwell [*sic*], R.N., Mr. Fynn, Mr. Isaacs (a Jew) and others, principally Englishmen, established themselves at Natal for the purpose of hunting and purchasing ivory and hides from the Amazoolahs. Farwell, Fynn and Isaacs are said, one after another, to have got grants from the chief Chaka of the same country, about the Port, which had previously been purchased by the Dutch Governor of the Cape.

7. In 1834 Captain Gardiner, R.N., an enthusiast in religion, visited Natal for the purpose of founding missions of the Established Church in this untried field of the Amazoolahs, a nation the most warlike in South Africa, composed of dark men with crisped hair, and of the most robust and active forms. They successfully engage their javelin-throwing enemies armed only

with a single stabbing spear and shield, and they have hitherto, in their desperate hand-to-hand encounters, routed every native foe opposed to them.

8. Captain Gardiner, whom I saw at Algoa Bay on his return from Natal, told me that he found at the latter 30 Englishmen, wild and hardy rovers, traders and hunters, living in the woods and in Caffer huts, shooting wild animals and cohabiting with native women. Among them there was no government, no law or restraint of any kind, and though 3,000 Fingoes, or people of broken tribes, lived under them, yet they had no protection against the Amazoolahs.

9. Captain Gardiner visited the chief Dingaan, the successor of Chaka 'the destroyer', at his residence in the Volosi or St. Lucia River, 180 miles north of Port Natal. 'The great black one', as Dingaan is commonly termed, said to Captain Gardiner: 'You are come to establish teachers of your religion among us. I cannot allow that here, but I give up all claim to the country between the Tutugal and Umzimcoolu Rivers and the Quat-hlamba Mountains.^c There you may teach. I wish to be friendly with the White King, but some of your people at Natal are unruly; they have enticed away my people, taken Zoolah women, and traded where I said I did not want them. My councillors asked me to kill them, but I did not do it. They must have a chief over them to whom I can speak.'

10. The captain being about to return to England in the end of 1835, asked Sir Benjamin D'Urban (on whose staff I then was) to allow me to go to Natal to take charge. The Governor wrote to Lord Glenelg to ask his sanction. His Lordship answered, that 'it was not then expedient to form any establishment at Natal'; I believe because he thought that emigrants might be induced to leave the Cape Colony, where they could not well be spared, if they were sure of protection at Natal.

11. However in 1836, the year subsequent to the last Caffer War, such a stream of emigration began to flow towards Natal, composed of the Dutch farmers who, with their families, their flocks and herds, moved into the interior (and many more are still moving) 'in thousands and tens of thousands', provoking the natives to attack them by eating up their pastures and drinking

^c A parallelogram of 15,000 square miles about Natal.

up their springs, that it required no regular establishment at Port Natal to contribute to the mania, which possessed and still possesses the Boors, to leave the Cape Colony for the more favoured regions beyond it.

12. In the Natal country there are now supposed to be 2,000 Dutchmen capable of bearing arms, besides women, children and servants. Beyond the limits of the Cape Colony, and now wandering on the branches of the Orange River, and sojourning in Natal and elsewhere, there are supposed to be nearly 20,000 of the former Cape colonists.

13. But there is plenty of unoccupied country for them; 87,000 square miles of fertile land without inhabitants, and this is less strange than true. In Arrowsmith's map of the Cape of Good Hope (1834), tracing the east coast from the Tutugal or Fisher's River by Port Natal to the Umzimvoobo or St. John's River, then up that river and from its sources to the Winterberg in $32^{\circ} 25'$, then from the Winterberg to the Stormberg, Stormberg River, Alexander's River, Ky Gariep (Vaal or Yellow Orange River) to the Mapoota which bounds the unhealthy country towards Delagoa Bay, the country is devoid of natives. The reasons are these. Some parts of this immense region are cold and unsuited to native habits. The South African tribes also have been constantly trying to exterminate one another; the Amazoolahs, Fetcani, etc. having carried death and destruction everywhere around them.

14. Occupying Natal would check the work of extermination going on among the natives, and would also prevent the encroachments of the Boors on the Amazoolah and Amaponda territory. It would also prevent slavery being practised by the emigrants, for it is well ascertained that in a late contest with the Amazoolahs in which the Dutch had the advantage, Zoolah women were distributed among the victors. The emigrants if left to themselves will unquestionably enslave the natives.

15. Natal, if regularly occupied by Government, might become a rendezvous for sailing vessels and steamers (according to Lord John Russell's plan) employed in suppressing the illicit traffic in slaves on the east coast of Africa, and by its occupation a most lucrative trade might be carried on, not only with the interior but also along the east coast to the Straits of Babelmandeb, and

with Madagascar, which trade is overlooked by English merchants but from which the Americans and even Arabs derive great profits. Only one English house has an establishment on the east coast, Messrs. Newman and Co. at Zanzibar, where their profits are at least 200 per cent on native produce.

16. By the non-occupation of Natal a powerful check to Caffer depredations in the Cape Colony will be removed, and that the emigrants, if eventually inimical to the Colony, might at any time roll a force of 10,000 native warriors on an unprepared Colony, if they are not watched and controlled from Port Natal.

17. But with proper management, control, in the usual acceptation of the word, will not be necessary; let the colonists be left to their own internal regulations, having (as Major Charters, late Military Secretary at the Cape, recommended) only a Court of Appeal at the Port to settle disputes which the emigrants might be unable to arrange among themselves. Let them be assured that it is not intended to crowd the Natal country with English emigrants, and that there is no intention to take from them lands where they may have already begun cultivation. There is space enough for other settlers S.W. of Port Natal, and in the Cape Colony.

18. If the military force lately sent by the present Governor of the Cape to Natal, to prevent the further effusion of blood between the Dutch and Zoolahs, has been withdrawn, and it may be now thought advisable to re-occupy Natal, instead of an expedition by sea for this purpose, a regiment of infantry (500 strong) might be marched from Graham's Town, and 200 horsemen. These being accompanied with artificers would, under zealous and active direction, soon construct a fort at Port Natal as strong as any of the British forts which I saw on the Gold Coast, and which keep in check the warlike Ashantee. Then, after the establishment of military villages (consisting of a fortified church in the centre, loopholed houses radiating from that, and the farms in a circle round each village, where the church would be the rallying point in case of attack) it is supposed that in a short time the defence of the Colony of Natal would cost very little, and it might soon pay its own expenses.

19. It may be the case that the Government has not been disposed to form an establishment at Natal because the authorities

here see through the schemes of some applicants for colonizing Natal, not for the public good, but to enable the holders of pretended grants to sell their grants to new emigrants. Viewing Natal as a dependency of the Cape Colony, to the British Government only does the land there belong.^d

20. To conclude. It is considered that if the following principles be kept in view in colonizing Natal great success must attend the undertaking:

1st. Clearly to define the limits between the native territory and the new Colony, and to allow of no alienation of the possessions of the aborigines.

2nd. To protect them as much as possible from the oppression of the white men, and at the same time to prevent the natives plundering the colonists, which will be best guarded against, by

3rd. using our utmost endeavours by means of missionaries, school masters, and teachers of trades, to improve the moral and physical condition of the aborigines.

21. By keeping steadily in view the duties we owe to colonists and natives, and by dispensing equal justice to all, we may expect a blessing on the work

‘Auxilium ab alto’.

The extension of commerce, then, the prevention of slavery, and the spread of civilization and our holy religion, it is confidently believed would result from a colonial establishment at Port Natal.

Jr. United Services Club,
17th March, 1840.

Sir James Alexander's communication undoubtedly impressed the officials at the Colonial Office, their endorsements on the covering letter being very significant.

James Stephen wrote:

‘This letter might be disposed of by merely sending it to the Emigration Comm^{rs}. But before this is done, I think it would be well to read the enclosure—a most brilliant picture of the Natal country—because it confirms a preceding statement, that

^d Lt. Farwell's representatives, only, might receive some compensation.

coal is to be found there.²⁷ If this be so, it might be of inestimable value in steam communication with India. Should not Sir James Alexander be desired to communicate to the Board of Control the grounds on which that statement rests?’

Stephen then passed the letter and enclosure on to Vernon Smith, whose comments were much shorter. They were:

‘Sir J. Alexander should be thanked for this, and requested to give further information as to coal. The enclosure [?] may be sent to the Colonial Land Board.’

The letter eventually reached Lord John Russell, who regarded the matter rather differently. His instructions were:

‘I would rather defer sending this to the Land Board. Ask them to give me an opinion as to the two questions now before them: 1. As to a uniform price of sale; 2. As to emigration to N. America. Time presses.’

It would appear that Russell was at the moment concerned with other matters, and so Natal had to wait. Meanwhile, before receiving these instructions, Stephen had already drafted letters to both Alexander and the Commissioners of Colonial Lands on the lines which had been suggested to him,²⁸ but the first of these was apparently replaced by a mere formal letter of thanks²⁹ and the latter never sent at all. Consequently Alexander's ‘brilliant picture of the Natal country’ was not considered by the Commissioners.

The matter of the occurrence of coal in Natal, however, was not forgotten, for a marginal note on the draft of the original reply which was to have been sent to Alexander reads:

‘The Governor has been called upon to report upon this coal, wh[ich] was originally ment[ione]d by Capt. Jervis, who com[mande]d the troops at Natal.’³⁰

The Colonial Office, however, sent the following circular letter, together with a copy of the questionnaire, to each of the sixteen ‘special’ gentlemen,³¹ with the exception of Mr. Stockenstrom whose name, for some reason or another, was omitted from the list entered on the draft of the letter.

5 May, 1840.

Sir,

I am directed by Lord John Russell to transmit to you here-with a copy of a letter which has been addressed to his Lordship by the chairman of the South African Land and Emigration Association, in explanation of the course which that body and his Lordship are now following in applying to you and to the several other gentlemen respectively whose names are enumerated in the two lists annexed to the chairman's letter, for evidence or information calculated to elucidate the question whether it may be expedient for H.M. Government to take measures for colonising Port Natal, or establishing there a British Colony.

You will perceive that the accompanying printed questions are virtually addressed to you by the Association.

Considering the real interest of the subject, Lord John Russell makes no apology for referring these papers for your consideration.

His Lordship is persuaded that you will bestow on them your careful and impartial attention, and that you will not object to favour him with such information in answer to the questions proposed to you, as you may feel yourself enabled to impart.

Upon some of those questions, however, as enumerated in the margin,³² which are purely of a statistical nature, Lord John Russell does not of course expect that you should put yourself to the trouble of compiling answers from official returns which are already in the hands of H.M. Government, and might not, indeed, be readily accessible to you. But his Lordship is desirous of bespeaking your notice of the accompanying list of queries which have been framed by the Commissioners of Colonial Lands in supplement to the questions prepared by the South African Association.³³

5. *The Report of the Colonial Land Commissioners*

In due course the various replies to the questionnaire were received and acknowledged, and passed on to the Commissioners, together with all other relevant material, and they considered the whole question of the proposed colonization of Natal during a period of nine months. Their report,³⁴ which was dated 11th February, 1841, ended the matter so far as the South African Land and Emigration Association was concerned.

Colonial Land and Emigration Office,
9 Park St., Westminster,
11th February, 1841.

Sir,

In conformity with Lord John Russell's directions, we have perused and considered such answers as have been received and forwarded to us, from parties who were furnished with copies of the printed queries drawn up last year by the South African Association together with the additional queries suggested by this Board. The first set of queries embraced within them every topic of interest, agricultural, commercial, or political, in the Government of the Cape of Good Hope; and to report upon all, would be to report upon the whole system of administration of that extensive and long-established Colony.

Colonization of Natal

But the particular point on which we understood Lord John Russell to require our opinion is the colonization of Natal.

Origin of the question

The inhabitants of the Cape Colony and more especially the Dutch settlers being chiefly the owners of flocks and herds, are said to have been long addicted to the wandering life which property of that description renders at once easy to its possessors, and attractive. Even so far back as under the Dutch Government, severe penalties are stated to have been resorted to in order to repress the disposition to cross the boundary.^a The same migratory habits appear to have always continued.^b But within the last five years, partly, it is alleged, from discomfort, and partly from flattering accounts received of the country towards Natal, the emigration from the established colony reached an extent before unknown, and assumed the character of a decided expatriation. More than 10,000 Dutch settlers are computed to have gone beyond the frontier to the country connected with Port Natal. The Colony of the Cape had already in the progress of time extended itself along the coast 600 miles to the eastwards of its original site. The foregoing circumstances have raised the question whether to found a new settlement at an additional distance of 600 miles from the Cape of Good Hope.

^a Dr. Smith, Answer 34.

^b Major Charters, 16; Mr. Saxe Bannister, A and 16; Dr. Smith, 15.

If settled, must be a distinct Government

All the gentlemen who have offered their opinion seem agreed that it would be impossible to extend the limits of the present Government to Natal, so as to form one continuous Colony. Dr. Smith, who lived at the Cape about 14 years, and was himself at Natal in 1831, says the attempt would be 'preposterous unless Her Majesty's Ministers were prepared to expend some millions yearly in order to hold the intermediate country and govern its inhabitants'^c. Major Charters thinks it 'out of the question, because the distance from the present frontier is 500 miles, and the intervening country belongs to the Kaffirs, and is in some places well peopled'. The whole distance of Port Natal from Cape Town is stated, as we have above estimated, at twelve hundred miles. These remarks will probably be deemed quite enough to shew that Natal must have distinct boundaries of its own.

Boundaries and extent

On the question of what those boundaries should be, we also find no difference of opinion amongst the gentlemen with whose answers we have been furnished. All appear to agree that the new settlement should commence at the Umzinvooboo or St. John's River, should extend along the coast to the Tugala River, and comprehend all the country between these two rivers, the sea-coast, and the Quathlamba Mountains, which run parallel to the coast. The length from one river to the other, along the sea, is between two and three hundred miles. The tract comprized within these limits is said to be nearly without native inhabitants, its original occupants having been almost entirely massacred by the Zoolahs; and it is added that the few who remain would be glad of the protection of a European Government against any fresh incursion of that warlike tribe.

If Natal is to be settled, we see no objection to the proposed boundaries. They appear to form good natural marks. The territory which they include would be compact and well-shaped. And we must deem it an unquestionable advantage, that they offer the separation of a range of mountains from the country occupied by the Zoolahs. But it is a fact which we cannot mention too early in our report, although we shall not now pause to draw the inferences from it, that a great part of the Dutch

^c Dr. Smith, Supplement 11.

emigrants appear to be already settled on lands beyond the Quathlamba Mountains; so that if at this moment the desired Colony were in existence at Natal, it would not comprehend within its limits many of the expatriated colonists on whose account the formation of it is so strongly urged.

Division of the proposed inquiries

Having thus adverted to the circumstances in which the question of colonizing Natal originated, and noticed the situation and extent of the country to be understood by that name, we believe it will be the most convenient course to inquire, first how far it would be desirable, at any rate, to choose this place for a new British settlement, and secondly to what extent that question may be affected by the Dutch emigration from the Cape.

Sources of evidence

A few preliminary remarks, however, may be proper upon the nature of the evidence. We have appended a list of all the answers, referred to us, from those to whom the printed queries of the South African Association were forwarded by Lord John Russell's directions; and we are not aware that any others have been received at the Colonial Office. The four first-named on the list, consisting of high official authorities formerly at the Cape, have explained that, from lapse of time and other reasons, it would scarcely be worth while that they should reply in detail to the printed questions. The remaining evidence does not consist of the answers of many gentlemen, but it is copious in itself, and useful, and, we have no doubt, is quite sufficient to indicate the true nature of all the main topics for consideration. Major Charters was, as you are aware, military secretary to the Governor, and commanded the detachment of troops which occupied Port Natal for seven weeks in December and January, 1838 and 9. He made a journey overland from Natal to the Cape, of which expedition some interesting notices were published by him in the United Service Journal. From this gentleman's answers we have derived much valuable information. We have alluded before to the experience of Dr. Andrew Smith, surgeon of the forces, who replied with great care and fulness to the questions sent him by Lord John Russell's authority. To Sir James Alexander, whose travels in South Africa are well known, we are indebted for the copy of a letter written in December,

1830, by Captain Duncan Campbell, formerly Civil Commissioner at Albany, who was unfortunately too ill to reply to the printed queries. Captain Campbell does not write from personal observation, but appears to have interested himself in Natal while at Albany, and to have collected information from others. Mr. Saxe Bannister appears to have bestowed much consideration upon the causes of the emigration of the Dutch settlers. We feel bound to mention the elaborate replies of Captain Owen, R.N., although from their not dwelling on the particulars which it fell within our duty to consider, we have had no occasion to quote from that paper.

I. Inquiry into the natural capabilities of Natal

Reverting now to the two branches into which we have thought the enquiry should be divided, namely, 1st the natural advantages of Natal, and 2ndly the reasons for its colonization arising out of the Dutch emigration, we propose, in reference to the former, to state some of the principal evidence upon the soil of Natal, the supply of wood and water, the climate and the harbour.

Soil

Major Charters says 'The soil in the immediate neighbourhood of the Port is, superficially at least, almost a pure calcareous sand; in spite of this, however, vegetation is extremely powerful, and in many places a dense jungle and sometimes forest trees are found growing in it. At a little distance from the sea the soil appears to be a rich black mould; further in the interior I heard very good accounts of the soil from the Boors, but I never personally examined it to a greater distance than 8 miles.'

Captain Campbell writes as follows: 'The whole of this extensive tract' (the entire Natal district) 'is represented by my informants as capable of sustaining a more dense population than any other part of Africa which they have seen, and some of them having travelled far into the interior, are able to contrast the one portion of the country with the other.'

Coal of good quality is said to be found within the district; but that in the immediate vicinity of the Port, as far as yet ascertained, is useless.

Wood and water

On the subjects of water and wood, Major Charters says: 'It was well watered during my residence, but that was in the rainy

season. I do not know how it may be in the dry season. There are two rivers, I understand their water is permanent at all seasons, the Umgheni, and the Umlas. They are not of considerable size. The first enters the sea about 4 miles to the east, the other 5 or 6 miles to the west of the harbour, but I should doubt their being perennial. I crossed many small rivers and streamlets on my way back to the Colony, in the Natal country. My impression is that the country is well watered, but my experience and information do not justify me in asserting that it is so. Water, a little brackish but perfectly wholesome, is found on the harbour beach, by digging two or three feet in the sand; it was the water we used for all purposes.

The country in the neighbourhood of the Port is abundantly wooded, but I should say that timber of useful dimensions is not plentiful. The same observation applies to the part of the Natal country I passed over in my way to the Colony'.

Captain Campbell's account of the information he collected is to the following effect: Springs and rivulets are abundant, flowing near the surface, and easily led out; but irrigation does not appear to be necessary, for the former inhabitants, before Chaka destroyed them, usually chose the highest land for cultivation. One hundred and twenty-two rivers (the names of which Cane has promised me) fall into the sea between Natal and the Umzinvooboo, but none of them are navigable. Timber of the finest quality and dimensions is found in abundance, and forests of great extent are met with, especially on the banks of the last-named river, and in the vicinity of Natal.

Dr. Smith says: 'It is well watered at all seasons, and great part of it very well wooded.'

Climate

With respect to the climate Major Charters' remarks are as follows: 'I can only speak of it from personal observation during 7 weeks, which was the extent of my residence there, in December and January, 1838-9. It was then decidedly healthy, for not more than 4 men out of 100 used to be in hospital, and these never with any serious complaint, and during the 7 weeks I did not lose a man of the party'.

Captain Campbell writing from Albany says: 'The seasons are said to have been regular for the last 8 years, that is since King

and Farewell's party have resided there. The rains begin in September and end in March, and are rarely accompanied by high winds, which are their invariable attendants in this quarter. . . . All the productions of the earth are more vigorous then they are here, which is an additional proof that they must have a much greater portion of rain than falls to our share. The climate is milder in winter, but not hotter in summer than that of the Colony'.

On the whole we are disposed to infer from this evidence that the country is one in which there would be no difficulty in raising the necessaries of life with ease and in abundance.

Harbour

But the further, and we think the more material question when a new Colony is to be founded, viz., whether the situation is one in which men of various ranks of life might better their condition, and the whole community be expected to become wealthy and prosperous, must depend chiefly on its capabilities for trade, and on this point no single feature can be of more importance than the harbour. We beg leave now to solicit Lord John Russell's attention to the following extracts from Major Charters's statements on that subject; merely prefacing that their substance is borne out by all the other information we have collected.

'No vessel drawing more than 7½ feet ought to attempt the entrance, on account of the surf on the bar. Almost the whole of the Bay is dry at low water except the channel, where there is good anchorage, and where vessels may always remain afloat. . . . Vessels must have a leading wind to enter or go out; even then they are in danger of getting becalmed under the high bluff, close to which the channel runs, and of being thrown on the sand or the opposite point. . . . Hence a tug-steamers would be required. A surf, more or less violent according to the wind, breaks along the whole coast outside. The tide runs with very considerable force in and out the harbour.'

Thus it appears that the Port is confined, and only fit for small vessels; and that even for them it is difficult of access and egress, and indeed that it could not be much frequented (which opinion we find confirmed by every witness) without the help of a steam-tug, a circumstance which alone, we confess, in any

question on the harbour of a country to be occupied for the first time and on account of its own merits, would appear to be almost decisive.

With respect to the expense attending the administration of the Colony, all the gentlemen who have answered the question directly, agree that the Government could not be maintained, at any rate at the outset, by import duties, or any internal resources of the country;^d and in this opinion we concur.

Conclusion on Natural Capabilities

We think that the Natal district is one in which a resident population might subsist in comfort, but that there are numerous other places, not yet settled, in Her Majesty's Dominions, which are at the least equally well situated in that respect, while their capabilities for trade are incomparably superior, and they are at the same time free from the vicinity of warlike savages. Our conclusion is that unless it be on account of circumstances independent of its own advantages, this is not a country in which, so far as we are at present informed, there would be any sufficient reason to found a new British settlement.

II. Enquiry into expediency of colonizing Natal on account of Dutch emig^{ts}

But the next question is how far this conclusion is to be affected by the position of the Dutch farmers who have emigrated from the Cape of Good Hope.

We need not dwell at any length on the causes of that emigration, because they must be much better known and understood in the Colonial Department, than we can pretend to explain them. All that we shall do is to recapitulate briefly the causes which we find assigned in the papers referred to us for our report.

Causes of the Emigration^e

The abolition of slavery, combined with the amount of compensation money and the mode of paying it, would appear to have excited considerable dissatisfaction amongst the Dutch farmers. Another source of discontent was the suffering which had been experienced from Kaffir depredations, to which some

^d Charters, 65; Smith, do.; Sir R. Plaskett's letter 12 May, 1840.

^e Charters, 16 and 17, 20, 24, 34, 41. Smith, 15 to 22, 32, 41. Bannister, A, and 16, 27, 31, 32, 37, 41. See also appendix to Sir Jas. Alexander's Travels.

would add the absence of indemnity for their losses in the last Kaffir War. Besides these topics, complaint was also made of the prevalence of vagrancy and theft, and of an insecurity in titles to land, arising out of insufficient surveys. It appears undoubted that from some or all of these causes, the affections of the Dutch settlers had become more or less estranged from the Government.

But all seem agreed at the same time, that the emigration would never have taken place, had it not been for the glowing accounts received of the country towards Natal. In the appendix to Sir James Alexander's Travels, the land is said to have been compared by its visitors to 'the Garden of Eden, where Adam and Eve dwelt', and some examples are given of current exaggerations on the subject, which prove how great must have been the serious conceptions entertained of the fertility of the soil. Great stress is laid in almost every paper before us on the effect of these favourable descriptions, joined to the natural readiness of a pastoral people to change their abode, and seek a new range for their flocks and herds.

Numbers, organisation and present disposition of the emigrants

Such are the circumstances under which a body of emigrants, estimated at 10,000,^f have forsaken the Cape Colony, and wandered to a distance of four or five hundred miles beyond its furthest frontier. Their occupation of the new country has been attended, as could hardly fail to happen, by severe conflicts with the neighbouring tribes; but these have terminated to the advantage of the settlers. To bring them back is admitted on all sides to be now out of the question. They have converted large tracts of land into private property, and have established a popular Government of their own. British allegiance is disclaimed by them altogether.

At the date when Major Charters furnished his answers, last summer, it was computed that the emigrants could muster a force of 1,000 or 1,200 'horsemen, all admirable marksmen, and accustomed to act together', and animated by an equal repugnance to returning under their former Government.^g By the latest

^f Charters, Supp^y Paper.

^g Charters, 63.

accounts, we understand that they have erected some sort of defence at the exceedingly narrow entrance of the Port. Major Charters's estimate was, that at the time he wrote, a regiment of infantry and 200 cavalry, or 900 men in all, would be requisite for the proper occupation of Natal, and more if the numbers of the emigrants became greater. We believe that the highest authority on the spot has since announced that more soldiers than could be conveniently detached would be necessary in order merely to take possession of the Port, and that even two additional regiments would be required to enable the Cape Government to spare an adequate number of troops for the permanent retention of the Natal district, unless occupied upon a thoroughly good understanding with the settlers. But at the same time hopes are expressed, we understand, that some of their number are becoming weary of the quarrels and disputes incident to their present state, and may be found favourably disposed to the restoration of a settled Government.

Evils to be apprehended

The evils to be apprehended from such a state of things as we have described are obvious. First the insecurity to the British Colony from the neighbourhood of a community of European origin, possessed with no friendly sentiments, an insecurity still greater if they should form foreign connections. Secondly, the probability that, trained in the sentiments of which these settlers have been educated, they may revive slavery amongst themselves, and perhaps even scatter the seeds of a new slave trade. Thirdly, the numerous other moral evils, and the violence, which are likely to attend the establishment of an independent and uncontrolled white community in the midst of the native tribes of Africa. Under this head is also to be noticed the risk, that, by displacing existing occupants of the soil, and thus pressing on the rear of the Kaffirs, the emigrant wanderers may be the cause of fresh incursions by that people on the British frontier.

Such being the situation of the settlers about Natal, and the nature of the evils which have been mentioned as likely to ensue from it, it remains to consider the modes of proceeding open to the Government.

Measures open to consideration

We approach this part of the question with great diffidence, being sensible that it can only be competently dealt with by higher authority; but we are unwilling to omit any branch of the subject which is raised by the papers referred to us, and is material to the practical conclusions to be adopted.

Even if no active measures were taken, and the emigrants were left entirely to their own course, it may be doubted whether the direct insecurity that could arise to the Cape, would be considerable. The Port of Natal is too insignificant for the settlers to acquire much importance, unsupported by British power. It is true that the possibility of their forming foreign connections has been alluded to, but we can hardly suppose that there could be any real ground for such an apprehension. We may add that the harbour does not admit of the entrance of a ship of war, while the outer anchorage is exceedingly unsafe, and the landing from it bad, even in the calmest weather. We should not, therefore, conceive that the chance of direct insecurity to the Cape from the present state of things at Natal can be deemed considerable, or other than very remote in point of time. But there remain the moral evils we have adverted to, and the risk that the Kaffirs may be driven in upon the frontier; and with regard to the former, we have little doubt that Lord John Russell will consider them urgently to demand an attempt to avert them, not less out of regard for the welfare of the emigrants themselves, than for that of the natives to whom their neighbourhood, unless duly regulated, is likely to be disastrous.

Assuming then that it will be deemed proper to interpose at Natal, two measures appear to be open to consideration: first, to take possession of the country as a new Colony; or secondly, merely to occupy the Port, agreeing with the settlers that they should carry on their own municipal Government, but under the general protection of Great Britain, and with a strict condition that slavery is not to be tolerated in any shape, nor wanton hostilities with the natives to be countenanced.

To take possession of the country as a new Colony would not necessarily terminate the evils against which the measure would be directed. A large proportion of the emigrants, as we have mentioned in an earlier part of this report, are already beyond

the limits of the proposed Colony. More than one half are said by Major Charters^h to have settled to the north-west of the Quathlamba Range. And unless the steps were taken upon a good understanding with the people, the remainder could readily remove from a dominion to which they objected. It is in vain to suppose that we could successfully pursue with the machinery of our established Government a nomadic people, who, with the Continent of Africa behind them, were determined to escape beyond its limits. If on the other hand the concurrence of the settlers themselves can be secured, as is so much to be wished, we believe that the occupation of the Port alone might be made to accomplish the principal objects that admit of attainment. Having then shewn that a new Colony does not seem desirable in this situation for its own sake, we are of opinion that neither could it be effectual, except under conditions which would make a lesser measure also available, for the repression of the evils that have been apprehended from the settlement of the Dutch emigrants.

The occupation of the Port would put an end to the supposed risk, whatever may be its amount, of indirect insecurity to the Cape. It would at the same time finally exclude the idea of foreign interference. While thus providing against the first class of inconveniences expected from the irregular settlement of Natal, it seems not unreasonable to hope from the latest accounts, that the measure might be combined with a satisfactory agreement with the settlers, granting them the protection of a regular force from this country on the one hand, but on the other hand strictly prohibiting any description of slavery amongst them, and introducing a powerful moral influence against unjust or cruel wars with the surrounding nations.

Conclusion

After a careful examination of this important but perplexing question, we are thus led to the conclusion that to occupy the Port, upon suitable conditions amicably settled, if possible, with the emigrant population, would be the best measure that could for the present be attempted. The ulterior result of those proceedings might very possibly prove to be the settlement of a regular Colony; but we should at least have followed the course of events instead of having stimulated it; and unless after such a

^h *Supplem^y papers on Natal.*

long been settled that the Cape of Good Hope Colony, except Cape Town, Simon's Bay and Port Elizabeth is not worth the having. We maintain an army to defend a territory as large as Great Britain, peopled by some 80,000 and incomparably less fertile than the Highlands of Scotland. If the whole population emigrated and the whole territory were given up to the natives except the three seaports, I believe it would be a very desirable [?] result. If we are to follow the fugitive settlers as they wander with their herds into the interior, when and where are we to stop.

Feb. 15.

This Report confirms the impressions I entertained and is in conformity with the instructions sent to Sir George Napier. Sir George, having as he ought to have a wide discretion on this subject can take advantage of any circumstances that may arise favourable to the occupation of the Port and harbour of Natal. But it is not likely that the emigrants will consent to live under a Govt. so hostile to slavery as our own. The danger is that they may found a new slave-holding state. If they avowedly establish slavery amongst them, the question of interference may be again considered.

J. R. [?]

NOTES

1. Theal, G. M., *History of South Africa since 1795*, vol. ii, p. 337 (edition published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1926).
2. I am indebted to Professor H. M. Robertson, of the University of Cape Town, for suggesting that I should investigate in detail the history of this Association and for generously giving me the clue to the whereabouts of the relevant documents as well as his private notes on the report of the Commissioners of Colonial Lands.
3. In the Public Record Office, London.
4. Dictionary of National Biography.
5. Hattersley, A. F., *The British Settlement of Natal*, Cambridge, 1950, p. 60.
6. See below, p. 182. Borradaile had previously approached Lord John Russell's predecessor, Lord Normanby, on the matter (see Chase, op. cit., i, pp. 99-100).
7. Public Record Office, C.O. 48/209, 101 Cape. In the later references in these notes the words 'Public Record Office' will be omitted.
8. Sir George Thomas Napier. A good deal of the relevant correspondence between Lord John Russell and Sir George, including the latter's views on the colonization of Natal, was printed by Bird (*Annals of Natal*, i, p. 605. et seq.).

9. Including, of course, Dr. Andrew Smith.
10. It is interesting to remember that this Mr. G. C. Redman was the man who had acquired Nathaniel Isaacs' 'grant', obtained from Dingane in 1828 (See Robertson, H. M., op. cit., p. 278). It is even more interesting to realize that at this time (1840) Nathaniel Isaacs was a partner in Redman's firm in London (Herrman, L., *A History of the Jews in South Africa*, Johannesburg and Cape Town, 1935, p. 81). Isaacs, however, appears to have kept very much in the background so far as the Association was concerned.
11. C.O. 48/209. This was unsigned, since it was only a copy; but the identity of the writer is revealed by the next letter from the Association.
12. C.O. 48/209; 232 Cape.
13. Endorsed on the original letter.
14. C.O. 48/209; 407 Cape.
15. Unsigned copy.
16. C.O. 48/209; 450 Cape.
17. W. M. Burnie signed his name twice.
18. The presence of this name would appear to be significant. Various members of the Wakefield family were at this time very active in advocating British colonization in Australia and New Zealand, and in criticizing the administration of those colonies.
19. Unsigned copy; but the annotations on the Association's letter to which it was the reply were initialed 'J.S.'
20. 'Supposed' was originally written here, but was crossed out and 'said' substituted.
21. C.O. 48/209; 566 Cape.
22. Several words are missing here, as the bottom of the page is torn.
23. Unsigned copy.
24. C.O. 48/209; 700 Cape.
- 24a. Viscount Goderich (1782-1859). It was, however, Lord Glenelg who was Secretary for the Colonies in 1820.
25. Unsigned copy.
26. C.O. 48/210; 479 Cape.
27. By Captain Jervis and others.
28. Draft dated 6th April, 1840, and an undated draft, possibly of the same date.
29. Copy dated 14th April, 1840.
30. In 1839.
31. See above, p. 000.
32. Nos. 81, 82, 87, 105, 106, 108, 120, 123 and 124.
33. Unsigned copy.
34. C.O. 48/215; 262 Cape.
35. Robert Torrens (1780-1864) was the well-known political economist who had advocated the colonization of South Australia.

APPENDIX

ANDREW SMITH'S VIEWS ON THE EXPLORATION OF SOUTH AFRICA

Dr. Smith's attitude towards the opening up of South Africa was clearly stated in a letter which he wrote to Sir Lowry Cole in May, 1829. Prior to this he had, of course, been stationed on the frontier, and as early as 1824 he had penetrated the Xhosa territory and made copious notes on the native inhabitants and their way of life.¹ In 1828 he had been sent on an official mission to the Bushmen of South-West Africa, on which occasion he travelled to the mouth of the Orange River. Though Smith's official report on this journey cannot now be found, his paper 'On the Origin and History of the Bushmen', which was undoubtedly one result of his trip, was published in Cape Town;² and his autograph field notes on the birds which he observed and collected while in Namaqualand are still in existence.³

What he saw while on these expeditions, coupled with what he had been told by other travellers⁴ and missionaries⁵ with whom he was acquainted, undoubtedly whetted Smith's appetite for exploration; and the fact that he himself had, in 1825, initiated the first important museum to be established at the Cape,⁶ made him determined to use every effort to see for himself something more of the scientific treasures that he knew abounded in the vast storehouse of Southern Africa. In addition, he manifestly felt that it would be in the interests of the Government to take over the control of so much promising and valuable territory; and the result of all these urgings was the following letter.⁷ Unfortunately, no answer to it has so far been discovered.

To His Excellency
Sir Lowry Cole, G.C.B.,
Governor, etc., etc., etc.

Cape Town,
26 May, 1829.

Sir,

When I view the spirit with which inquiry has lately been encouraged and consider the readiness which the British Government has shewn to support it particularly when directed to the

investigation of unknown regions I cannot but entertain a hope that the period is not yet arrived when it is to cease being an object for public encouragement. Under this belief I venture to suggest and recommend to Your Excellency's favourable consideration a part of the world which has hitherto been particularly neglected, namely that portion of Africa which lies between the line and the Cape of Good Hope, and in so doing take the liberty to add that much might doubtless be explored with incalculable advantage. Though it has neither its Niger nor its Nile to engage the attention of the curious, nor remnants of ancient and imperfect history to stimulate to research, yet it abounds with unknown districts certainly teeming with objects of curiosity and utility beyond that of any other similarly circumstanced portion of the globe at the same time that it has a claim upon the consideration of the humane equal to if not stronger than that of any other part of the world.

The whole of its inhabitants are probably as yet involved in the utmost barbarism and incessant sufferers from the miseries of oppression, famine and ill-directed power, its lands nothing better than wastes over which the influence of art has hitherto exercised no sway, and its natural productions which are certainly abundant only yet existing for the limited purposes to which such are applied by savage and uncivilized nations.

Under such circumstances it would only be a waste of time for me to attempt by any parade of argument to set forth the promising field which is open to exertion, or to endeavour by the adduction of warrantable anticipations to prove that commerce would be extended and Africa materially benefited, or lastly that many branches of science would thereby be greatly advanced, geography improved, and the history of mankind materially enlarged. Though it has almost universally been admitted that the advantages just stated would necessarily result from the undertaking in question even if only partially accomplished, yet hitherto such conviction has not had influence enough to rouse such a degree of enthusiasm as to overcome the apathy and reluctance to exertion created by the prevailing belief that every effort directed to the investigation of the central parts of Southern Africa was destined to failure from the numerous difficulties and dangers with which they are linked. That the like facilities for travellers do not exist in Africa as in Europe must readily be

acknowledged as well as that the same degree of safety does not attend the steps of the adventurer in the former country that does in the latter, yet at the same time the extent to which both those are experienced depend more upon the conduct of the persons employed than upon the peculiarity of the situation, and therefore ought not to be admitted as objections to the scheme.

The undertaking from its very nature must be attended with difficulties, but those I am convinced are all to be overcome by perseverance and judicious proceedings on the part of the persons more immediately concerned. Many hardships would necessarily be experienced and temporary discouragements unavoidably encountered, yet a steady and unremitting exertion would conquer all and put the world in possession of a knowledge of the whole of South Africa and the Colony of many new and valuable resources.

With, then, such fair grounds for hope, I venture to offer myself to Your Excellency as ready to undertake the investigation and to devote at least, if possible, ten years to the enterprise. Though I would be inclined to recommend its being carried on more extensively and effectually than could be done by a single individual with the assistance only of the natives, yet should an expenditure of what would be necessary to effect that be inadmissible, I would have no hesitation in entering single-handed upon the inquiry. With regard to the probable expenses of such an undertaking, that would depend upon a variety of circumstances; yet from what I have myself experienced I am satisfied that all the necessary disbursements might be made out of the sum of three hundred pounds per annum, particularly if I myself could be permitted to enjoy the full pay of my present rank or that of half pay of the rank immediately above it, namely of Staff Surgeon. Besides such an yearly expenditure it would also be requisite to lay out in the first instance about one thousand pounds sterling, for wagons, oxen, horses, firearms, instruments, books, etc., most of which might, however, be rendered available for other purposes after the completion of the projected object.

Having now stated what I consider necessary for carrying to Your Excellency my views as to the possibility of and the advantages likely to result from exploring South Africa as well as to the probable expenses that would require to be incurred, I

cannot conclude without offering an earnest solicitation that Your Excellency will give the proposal a favourable consideration, and that you will endeavour, should it not be advisable to undertake it at the expense of the Colony, to engage His Majesty's Government to patronize and support an undertaking pregnant with such prospects of universal advantage.

I have the honor to be
Your Excellency's most
Obed' Humble Servant,
Andrew Smith, M.D.,
Asst. Staff Surgeon.

NOTES

1. See V.R.S. 20, p. 11, item 3 (Kaffir Notes) of the list given on that page.
2. *South African Quarterly Journal*, i, pp. 171-89, Cape Town, 1830.
3. These manuscripts, bound in two volumes, are preserved in the Transvaal Museum, Pretoria.
4. Such as Andrew Geddes Bain, who visited Bechuanaland in 1826.
5. Such as Robert Moffat, with whom Smith had begun to correspond in January, 1826.
6. See *Annals of the South African Museum*, xxxvi, pp. 1-26.
7. Cape Archives, C.O. 361 (formerly 616) Sundry Committees.

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