





968.301 OWEN

76/4405



UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN LIBRARIES



\*192600191303\*

TELEPHONIC RENEWALS MAY BE  
ACCEPTED AFTER 1500 HRS

DATE DUE

MAIN JAGGER JAGGER LIBRARY  
650 3118

LINEAR LIBRARY

Y01 0008 0829



03 OCT 2016

RETURNED  
13 JUN 1996

RETURNED  
JAN 1998

21 FEB 2017

05 MAY 1998

13 JUN 2002

RETURNED

RETURNED  
14 MAR 2016  
JAN 2016



THE DIARY  
OF THE  
REV. FRANCIS OWEN, M.A.

MISSIONARY WITH DINGAAN  
IN 1837-38.

TOGETHER WITH EXTRACTS FROM THE WRITINGS  
OF THE INTERPRETERS IN ZULU,  
MESSRS. HULLEY AND KIRKMAN.



EDITED BY

SIR GEO. E. CORY, M.A., D.LITT.,

KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,  
PROFESSOR EMERITUS OF RHODES UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,  
GRAHAMSTOWN, SOUTH AFRICA,  
FELLOW OF THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY, LONDON.

---

THE VAN RIEBEECK SOCIETY,  
CAPE TOWN.

1926.



belonging to J. G. Gubbins, Esq., of Otto's Hoop, in the Transvaal. It is hoped, therefore, that this may be considered sufficient excuse for reproducing Owen's diary as the seventh volume of the Van Riebeeck's Society's publications.

To make the account of the Zululand affairs more complete, the diaries of Mr. Hulley, interpreter for Mr. Owen, and Mr. Kirkman, interpreter for the Rev. Mr. Champion, the American missionary, have been added.

I have to express my thanks to Mrs. Hockly (Miss K. Bester, M.A., of Rhodes' University College, Grahamstown) for her kind assistance in much of the copying.

GEO. E. CORY.

ARCHIVES,  
HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT,  
CAPE TOWN.

## Publications of the Society.

---

1. Reports of De Chavonnes and his Council, and of van Imhoff, on the Cape, 1918. Price to members, 6s.
2. Mentzel, O. F.—Life at the Cape in the mid-eighteenth century; being the biography of Rudolf Siegfried Alleman, Captain of the Military Forces at the Cape of Good Hope. Translated from the German by Miss M. Greenlees, M.A., 1919. Society's edition out of print.
3. De Mist, J. A.—Memorandum containing recommendations for the form and administration of government at the Cape of Good Hope; with an English version by Miss K. M. Jeffreys, B.A., and a preface by S. F. N. Gie, Ph.D., 1920. Price to members, 10s. 6d.
4. Mentzel, O. F.—A geographical-topographical description of the Cape of Good Hope. Translated from the German by H. J. Mandelbrote, M.A., LL.B., Lecturer in History in the University of Cape Town. Part I, 1921. Price to members, 7s. 6d.
5. Collectanea, Vol. I.—With a preface by C. Graham Botha, 1924. Price to members, 5s.
6. Mentzel, O. F.—A geographical-topographical description of the Cape of Good Hope. Translated from the German by H. J. Mandelbrote, M.A., LL.B., Lecturer in History in the University of Cape Town. Part II, 1925. Price to members, 6s.
7. The Diary of the Rev. F. Owen, Missionary with Dingaan, together with the accounts of Zulu affairs by the interpreters, Messrs. Hulley and Kirkman. Edited by Sir Geo. E. Cory, M.A., D.Litt.(Camb.). 1926. Price to members, 6s. 6d.



### THE REV. FRANCIS OWEN.

---

The Rev. Francis Owen, M.A. of St. John's College, Cambridge, graduated sixth Senior Optime in the Mathematical Tripos of 1826. Having officiated for some time as curate in the parish of Normanton, in Yorkshire, he responded to the call for missionary assistance in South Africa. A captain, Allen F. Gardiner, who had resigned from active naval service in 1834 and who seems to have been long imbued with the missionary spirit, arrived at Port Natal in 1835, with a view to the introduction of Christianity among the Zulus—in the country of the terrible and bloodthirsty Dingaan. Captain Gardiner's tactful behaviour gained, not only the confidence of Dingaan, but his permission to establish mission stations in his country. Thus encouraged the pious captain returned to England and, soon, was no less successful in enlisting the sympathy of the Church Missionary Society. At the anniversary meeting of that Society held in 1836 Captain Gardiner was one of the chief speakers. One of the results of his fervour and eloquence was an offer of the Rev. F. Owen for service in far away Zululand. Mr. Owen's own zeal in missionary work is manifest from the entries in the following diary. With his wife, sister, and a servant named Jane Williams, he was soon upon the way. In the good ship *Palmyra*, Captain Foord, this small party sailed on Christmas Eve of 1836 for South Africa. Madeira was passed on New Year's Day, 1837, and on March 2nd Mr. Owen arrived in Cape Town. From that date Mr. Owen himself must be permitted to speak by means of the diary. Four strenuous years he spent in this country and, in spite of every discouragement, he refused to be discouraged. Not the least of his difficulties was Dingaan's attitude on theological controversy. As will be seen later, every time the good missionary endeavoured to inculcate some great truth, Dingaan, in language more humorous than reverent, could show his reasons for disbelief and, undoubtedly to his own satisfaction, retired with the best of the argument. Mr. Owen figures prominently in our South African history as the only white man who witnessed the terrible massacre of Retief and his companions and wrote an account of it *at*



*the time*—the account given in this diary. Probably in consequence of the great expense and the little good which was—and under the circumstances could be—accomplished, the Church Missionary Society withdrew Mr. Owen from South Africa. He then returned to England and took work in a parish near Sheffield. He died of fever in Alexandria, Egypt, on November 14, 1854. His diary commences—

1837. *March 2nd.*—Thursday. Anchored in Table Bay at 9 a.m., after a pleasant and prosperous passage.<sup>1</sup> Came on shore at noon and took up our quarters at Mrs. Gunn's boarding house, Wall Street,<sup>2</sup> to which I had been recommended for economy and quiet.

*3rd.*—Walked in the afternoon to Rondebosch, a village 4 miles from Cape Town, to consult with Mr. Hough, the chaplain of the English Church, on the expediency of forming an auxiliary Missionary Society. Found him well disposed to enter into the views of the Committee, which I explained to him. He requested me to meet him in the vestry of his church on Monday to talk more fully on the subject and offered to introduce me afterwards to the Governor.

*5th, Sabbath.*—Attended St. George's (the English Church) in the morning. In the evening I preached from the words Gal. vi, "God forbid that I should glory save in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ."

*6th.*—Met Mr. Hough and Mr. Judge, the military chaplain, in the vestry. Showed them my instructions, which they very much approved of. Mr. Hough proposed to call a meeting on Wednesday of the most influential part of his congregation with a view to submit the whole matter before them preparatory to calling a public meeting. Was introduced to the Governor.<sup>3</sup> Saw him, however, only for a few moments. Delivered to him Sir G. Grey's letter.<sup>4</sup> He expressed his readiness to preside at a public meeting.

*8th.*—Attended, in company with Captain Gardiner, a meeting of some of the most pious and respectable persons in Mr. Hough's congregation in the vestry of the church. Mr. Hough in the chair. Having read an extract from an old number of the Christian observer in which Captain Gardiner's journey to the Zulu country was taken notice of

<sup>1</sup> Of sixty-five days. Madeira was passed on New Year's Day, 1837.

<sup>2</sup> No. 9, Wale Street, at that date.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Benjamin D'Urban.

<sup>4</sup> This was not the Sir George Grey who was Governor of this Colony, but Sir Henry George Grey, Viscount Howick, created third Earl Grey in July, 1845. His name, however, is connected with South Africa in his unwilling acquiescence of Sir Harry Smith's establishment of the Orange River Sovereignty and his attempt to foist convicts on the Colony in 1849.

and the consequent determination of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society to establish a mission there, he called on Mr. Judge to offer up a prayer. Mr. Hough then read my instructions, which I believe interested all present. Having finished them he said, "Gentlemen, I have nothing now to do but to lay my hand on my mouth for anything that I can add will only weaken the effect of what you have just heard." It was then proposed that a sub-committee should be formed to prepare resolutions and to request the Governor to preside.

*9th.*—The sub-committee consisting of Mr. Hough, Mr. Musgrave a Barrister, Captain Gardiner and myself waited on the Governor, who most cheerfully consented to preside at the meeting at any day or hour which might be judged most convenient to the public. Accordingly Wednesday next at 12 o'clock was fixed for the meeting, which will be advertised in two papers previously. Being most kindly invited by Mr. Judge to spend the remainder of my time at Cape Town with my family at his house we this day removed to the abode of our excellent host.

*12th, Sabbath.*—Read prayers and preached at the military chapel, Matt. xvi, "What shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul. In the afternoon read the service at the small church at Rondebosch. Mr. Judge, who was about to terminate his ministrations in this village, preached his farewell sermon from the text "Thy Kingdom come," in which he drew the attention of his audience to the importance of missionary exertions, referring to the Zulu mission and the intended meeting. Mr. Hough was on the same subject at his own Church in the morning, preaching from Ps. xxiv 20, "The dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty."

*13th.*—Met Mr. Hough to prepare resolutions for the meeting. Those usually adopted at the formation of Missionary Associations (several copies of which I had been favoured with by the Society) were approved of. Sir Benjn. D'Urban was named as President. The vice-Presidents were some of the most respectable official characters at Cape Town, one of the puisne Judges, Colonel Bell, the Governor's secretary, etc., together with Mr. Hough and Rev. Mr. Frazer, chaplain at Simon's Town. The secretary proposed was our friend Mr. Judge, with an able and pious assistant. An alteration was proposed (which had been suggested previously) in the rule directing that the funds raised should be remitted to the Parent Society. As it seemed to be the wish of everyone that whatever funds were raised here should be applied to the Society's mission in South Africa, and as my instructions expressly stated that such was to be their destination I



cordially acquiesced in the proposal made by Mr. Hough to that effect.

15th.—Public meeting in the Commercial room to form an auxiliary Church Missionary Society for the Cape of Good Hope, His Excellency Sir Benj<sup>n</sup> D'Urban in the chair. Mr. Hough read my instructions. The usual resolutions, with the alteration referred to above, were proposed and carried. The Society was entitled "The Cape of Good Hope Church Missionary Association." The meeting was numerous and most respectably attended—great interest was excited. The clergy present spake, together with Mr. Musgrave and Capt<sup>n</sup> Gardiner, the latter of whom gave an animated description of Zulu manners and character. Having heard to-day, just before the meeting, that the *Athol*, Transport ship, which had just arrived from England was ready to sail early next morning to Algoa Bay for troops, I obtained an order from the Governor to go by it.

16th.—Embarked on board the *Athol* with my family and baggage. Weighed anchor at 1 O'clock P.M. Our friends Mr. and Mrs. Judge, who had shown us the greatest hospitality and kindness, accompanied us to the ship, promising to send me an early account of the result of the meeting.

19th, Sabbath.—Service on the lower deck in the morning, attended by the Captain and crew.

24th, Good Friday.—Service as on Sunday. Discoursed to the seamen on our Saviour's passion.

25th.—Anchored in Algoa Bay before Port Elizabeth at 9 A.M. Came on shore with my baggage and stores in Government boats<sup>1</sup> procured for me by Captain Rarley, the commander of the vessel. Took up our quarters at the Inn.<sup>2</sup>

26th, Easter Day.—The Rev. Mr. McClelland<sup>3</sup> called, colonial chaplain at Port Elizabeth. Read prayers and assisted at the communion. He expressed his great satisfaction at the commencement of a mission by our Church in South Africa,

<sup>1</sup> At this date there was no jetty of any kind at Port Elizabeth. About this time namely, October, 1837, a commencement on the structure of such a necessity was made. By utilizing, as a starting point, the remains of a ship, the *Feegee*, which had been wrecked at a short distance from the shore and which had withstood the violence of the waves, a primitive jetty was commenced and finished in 1841. In 1843 it was finished in another sense. A storm having driven ships from their moorings, the *Elizabeth Rowell*, the *Laura* and the *Sea Gull* collided with it and—"finished" it.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the old Phoenix Hotel.

<sup>3</sup> The Rev. Francis McClelland was one of the settlers of 1820—a member of Parker's party in the *East Indian*. He was stationed first with the party at Clanwilliam and then, in 1825, was appointed Colonial Chaplain at Port Elizabeth.

and said it was what he had long desired. He thought it not improbable that an association might be formed here. A respectable lay man, Mr. Welsford, the churchwarden, took an interest in the subject and promised to communicate with others about it. In the afternoon attended some sick soldiers. In the evening preached at the English Church. A notice was read of a meeting on Tuesday next of the Committee of the District Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, when it was stated that I would attend and give such information as I had been furnished with respecting the objects of the Church Missionary Society in South Africa. This meeting ought regularly to have been held in the previous week, but for some reason had been postponed.

27th.—Several of the respectable inhabitants called, but I was out and engaged most of the day in necessary business.

28th.—Saw a great many of the most respectable inhabitants and members of our Church at their own houses. Considerable interest was manifested for the Mission, though the leading laymen did not think it advisable to bring the matter before the public till it was further established. A meeting in the evening in the church of the District Committee of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge—which was attended by several of the inhabitants.<sup>1</sup> After the reading and adoption of the report, in which the object of my arrival in the Colony was taken notice of and much satisfaction expressed at the commencement of a new mission in South Africa by the members of our Church, I read copious extracts from my instructions. Such as I judged most suitable. The chaplain then put the following resolution, "That this district committee view with feelings of the most unfeigned gratification and with the liveliest anticipation of future benefit the first effort now made by the Established Church to diffuse the light of the Gospel among the Heathen tribes beyond the boundaries of this Colony in the mission of the Rev. Mr. Owen in connection with our Parent Church to the settlement of Port Natal—an undertaking which calls for the earnest good wishes and the warmest support of the Christian inhabitants of South Africa." This resolution was drawn up on the spot by a respectable lay member of the Committee. It was unanimously carried. Mr. McClelland gave me a reason to hope that subscriptions would speedily be set on foot before an association was regularly formed. The support that has been given to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge since the establishment of a branch here in November, 1835, when the Governor, being in this part of the Colony, took the chair, furnishes a further hope that the minds of the few

<sup>1</sup> Presumably respectable.



who are strictly members of our Church in this place will respond to the appeal now made to them on behalf of the heathen of their own shores. The town contains from 1 to 2,000 inhabitants. In 1825, when the Chaplain was first appointed, there were but three communicants of our Church. On East Sunday there were about 20.

My last journal was carried down to my arrival at Port Elizabeth, at the latter end of March. We left that place on March 30th in bullock waggons, which I hired, to proceed to Grahamstown, where we arrived April 4th. The following day I called on the Revd. Mr. Heavyside, the acting chaplain, who received us with great kindness and invited us into his house. He immediately proposed the formation of a Branch Missionary Association at Graham's Town, and assisted me in making enquiries for an Interpreter, and in sundry other business. Mr. Richard Hully was recommended to me by the Wesleyan Missionaries as Interpreter and Artizan, with whom I entered into an engagement in the manner and on the terms already detailed to the Society, in a letter I have written to Mr. Coates. I spent 3 Sundays at Graham's Town, on each of which I assisted Mr. Heavyside in the service. On Sunday, April 16th, he preached an animated and powerful sermon, for the Society, on the words, "Come over and help us" etc., when the sum of £11 5s. 4d. was collected. On the following Wednesday a public meeting was held in the Church, in the Evening, for the purpose of forming an Albany Church Missionary Association; the Lieu. Governor<sup>1</sup> presided. The meeting was addressed by some of the respectable laity; but was considerably disturbed by the speech of a Capt<sup>n</sup> Nicholson,<sup>2</sup> from the gallery, who sought to divert the attention of the meeting from its main object, and to bring forward the case of the "friendless Boers." The political tone of this speech, more than any thing absolutely faulty in it, excited the disapprobation of all the best friends of the Mission; as it was evidently an attack on the Lieu.-Governor, and by the applause and confusion which followed, was calculated to bring both the meeting and the place where we were assembled into contempt. Of course I took no notice of the motives and evident intention of the speaker, but assuming that he was

<sup>1</sup> Captain (afterwards Sir Andries) Stockenstrom.

<sup>2</sup> Captain Nicholson mentioned here, together with a Lieutenant Moultrie, were two military officers on leave from India for the purpose of hunting. Having suffered less in connection with a certain treaty which Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom had made with the Kaffirs they attacked him and his political principles in the press—the "Grahamstown Journal"—and had published a set of somewhat scurrilous cartoons.

right in his assertion, that the Boers claimed our compassion no less than the Hottentots, Kafirs and Zooloos, I observed that the principal object of the Church Missionary Society was the conversion of the heathen, from which object we were not to be diverted, however we might occasionally minister to Europeans as they came in our way. After the meeting about £10 was collected.

Having made such purchases as were needful for my journey to Port Natal, and requested the firm of Mess. H. E. Rutherford and Brother to act as my agents at Graham's Town, I made ready for my departure. An account of my journey will be seen in the following journal.

*April 28th.*—Commenced our long journey this day to Port Natal; having, during my residence at Graham's Town, purchased 2 waggons, 30 oxen, 2 horses and a tent. I had the waggons carefully fitted up and furnished with tools and a variety of other articles, necessary in African travelling. Two European drivers and four coloured men accompanied us: two of whom were Hottentots and the other two Zooloos, or at least natives of Port Natal, whom I met within a native village near the town. Mr. Heavyside and a party of friends accompanied us on horseback out of the town and supped with us at the first place where we outspanned. Before taking their leave, they commended us to God in prayer; after which our ears were charmed and our hearts cheered with accents of prayer from another quarter. Our two Zooloos, with their wives and children, engaged in their family worship, with a solemnity and pathos that were truly affecting; tho we could not understand the purport of their petitions. Such apparent simplicity, seriousness, humility and fervour I had seldom witnessed; and this made abundant amends for the annoyance I had been put to, in one of the Hottentots being found on the floor at a canteen, at the time when he ought to have been at his place at the waggon.

*29th.*—The Hottentot who had been dragged to the waggon yesterday, in a state of intoxication, decamped before daylight this morning, and I thus suffered for giving him a month's wages in advance, to support his family during his absence: though I had taken the precaution to bind him to me before a magistrate.

*30th, Sabbath.*—Having resolved not to travel on the Lord's Day, we gave ourselves and cattle rest; rejoicing in that Divine Commandment which, if obeyed, secures equally the glory of God and the happiness of man. Held service in the tent. My discourse was interpreted by one of the drivers into Dutch. One of the Zooloos who had lived some time at



Bunting,<sup>1</sup> a missionary station in Kafir land, showed considerable knowledge of the Christian scheme. He was able to answer my questions far more satisfactorily than most of our English labourers could have done.

*May 1st.*—Crossed the great Fish River, the boundary of the Colony; and immediately came into contact with the natives, a large party of whom were seated on the opposite bank. I now felt that I had entered the land of heathenism, and longed for a tongue to speak to those few who were now before me. But as I had not an Interpreter, so I felt also discouragement arise in my mind, from the apparent frivolity which I beheld in them. Their thoughtlessness and giddiness, however, were perfectly consistent with their ignorance; for these poor creatures know not that they have souls; and from *them* what can be expected? However we lament *their* foolishness, they are at least consistent; and their folly is infinitely less than that of many nominal Christians.

*2nd.*—Arrived at Fort Peddie<sup>2</sup> and breakfasted with the Captain. This is a military station occupied by the English, for the protection of a large body of Fingoes, the remnants of the scattered, or slaughtered tribes, who formerly took refuge in Caffraria, from the murderous spear of Charka, Dingarns bloody and triumphant predecessor, who desolated so large a portion of Southern Africa. The Rev<sup>d</sup>. W<sup>m</sup> Shaw, Wesleyan Missionary, was expected here to-day, to fix on a site for a missionary station among these people.

*3rd.*—Crossed the Keiskamma river. Strict watch was kept over our oxen, by night and by day, in consequence of the sad character the frontier Kafirs bear for dishonesty. A large party of them overtook us, as we were walking at some distance behind the waggons, armed with guns and assegais. They inspired a momentary fear, but quietly passed on, merely asking for tobacco; an article of which the frontier Kafirs are passionately fond. It is the one subject of their requests. A heavy fall of rain, accompanied with thunder and lightning, prevented us travelling above 3 or 4 miles to-day. As soon as we had spanned out, a company of natives who had been hunting, came running down from the heights with assegais and knobbed sticks. They manifested curiosity to know who I was, and being informed that I was a gentleman lately come from England, they asked me Wena Kona? Art thou the King? They afterwards noticed my glove, as something extraordinary and ludicrous and peeped into it, when I held it up, both old and young, with an

<sup>1</sup> Buntingville.

<sup>2</sup> The route he took from Grahamstown, therefore, must have been along the lower Peddie road, past Governor's Kop, Drivers Bush and Trompetter's drift, where he crossed the Great Fish River.

ecstasy of delight, which was increased beyond measure when they saw me put it on my fingers. I deeply regretted, however, that I was not able, for want of a suitable interpreter, to direct the unthinking minds of the accountable beings, to subjects more worthy of their regard. In the course of the day, my attention was directed to a company of native youths, whose bodies, but more especially their faces, were profusely daubed with white clay; and who, as an additional ornament, wore some hare tails dangling down on their foreheads. I could not suppose that this was anything more than a temporary frolic; but upon enquiry, learned that it is an important ceremony, which every Kafir undergoes, when he arrives at the age of puberty.<sup>1</sup> Previous to passing from boyhood to manhood, they are first circumcised; then daubed with this white clay and appointed to live separate from the rest of the community in a village by themselves, under the care of a particular individual, for a certain number of moons. Afterwards they return home to their friends; a great feast is made for them; they are washed from the white clay and daubed with red. All the grown Kafirs are adorned with this, whenever they can procure the material; which serves them in the place of clothing, as it protects their bodies from the drying effect of the sun and wind. A Kafir youth, having gone thro' this ceremony is now reckoned an "indoda" or man and is permitted to acquire cattle, or to possess a kraal for himself. By means of my driver and a native who understood Dutch, I asked these poor youths some of the plainest questions on the Divine Being and his works; but they were utterly ignorant or, at least, would not take the trouble to consider my questions, that they might answer them.

*5th.*—A party of natives surprised me whilst I was behind a bush dressing. Everything was an object of curiosity to them, particularly a small looking glass, by which they saw their faces reflected. Their behaviour however was perfectly civil, though somewhat troublesome, as one desired me to shave him, another to lend him my toothbrush, a third to try on my glove.

*6th.*—The weather permitting, we spanned in about noon and arrived in the course of the day at King Williams Town,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ukutshila wabakweta—the circumcision dance.

<sup>2</sup> At this date King Williams Town was nothing more than the temporary buildings which had been erected in connection with the military establishment. It had been founded as a township by Col. (afterwards Sir Harry) Smith on May, 24, 1835, but abandoned in 1836 when the "Durban policy" was overthrown and, as it was said, Kafirland was given back to the Kafirs. So that when Mr Owen passed it, it was only Mr. Brownlee's mission station among the Amatinde tribe of Kafirs.



on the Buffalo river, a Missionary station of the London Society, in the tribe of Jan Tatzoe the Christian Chief. Mr. Brownlee the Missionary received us with much kindness and afforded us hospitality. He also furnished me with some translations in the Kafir language and a compendium of Kafir grammar by Mr. Davies, Wesleyan Missionary.

*5th and 6th.*—Engaged most of these days on the road in comparing the words used in the Kafir translations given me by Mr. Brownlee, with the rules for their formation given in the grammar. My two Zooloo men are able to give me some assistance in the pronunciation, and in the names of many external objects. Arrived on Saturday evening at Fort Wellington, a military station occupied by our forces, during the late war. Nothing now remains of it but the bare walls.

*7th, Sabbath.*—The first Lord's day I have spent in a Heathen land, when I made a commencement, tho' a feeble one, of my missionary labours. Delivered a short dis-course to my servants by the aid of my Interpreter who had met me. Shortly after, a company of Kafirs assembled at the waggons, when I took the opportunity of entering into conversation with them. In answer to my enquiry whether they ever thought of what would become of them after death, one of them with great unconcern replied: How can we think of what we know nothing about? They laughed when I questioned them about their Maker, but one man replied "God": for the Kafirs have a general notion of one Supreme Being, whom they call Uteco; the signification of which word is unknown; but he said, that their chief had not yet told them, that they must serve God; when their chief commanded them to serve him they would; but without their chief's order, they could do nothing; having no idea of any other service than that which was outward or instituted. He afterwards promised that when they had the word of God explained to them, they would do it. I then gave him a short account of the sufferings of our blessed Saviour and of the end of his coming into the world; that he was wounded for our transgressions, and bruised for our iniquities; that tho' he was rich, yet for our sakes he became poor, during which discourse he was very serious and attentive; and seemed inclined to listen a much longer time.

*8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th.*—In consequence of rain, we proceeded but a few miles on our journey, the first of these days, and the rain continuing, we were detained till the 12th, it being dangerous and almost impracticable to travel when the roads are slippery; the yokes also hurting the necks of the oxen. During these days we abode in our tent and improved the time as well as we could, chiefly in the study of the Kafir language; endeavouring to trace the derivation

and formation of many words. By a comparison of many Kafir words in St. John's Gospel with the English, I discovered, with the further aid of the grammar, the general method of declension and conjugation. On the twelfth the weather being fair and the roads dry, we proceeded to Fort Warden, the remains of the last military station occupied by our troops in the late war.

*13th.*—Descended the steep and romantic bank of the Kei, the rocky scenery of which stream was superlatively grand. We found the river easily fordable, notwithstanding the late rains. Great difficulty was experienced in ascending the opposite bank, one span of oxen being obliged to help the other.

*14th, Sabbath.*—Whit Sunday. My Interpreter was not present to-day; nevertheless assembled my whole party on the grass, natives as well as Europeans. Several native women and children joined us of their own accord, and behaved with strict propriety. After reading a selection from our beautiful liturgy, I discoursed on some words suitable to the occasion, which occurred in the Psalms for the day. "Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God."

*15th.*—Arrived at Butterworth<sup>1</sup> and were most kindly welcomed by Mrs. Ayliffe, the Missionary's wife (Mr. Ayliffe himself not being at home). She sent an invitation to us to span out opposite her house. The sound of the hammer was heard, the instrument employed in rebuilding the temple of God, which had been demolished in the war. This station is situated only a few miles from the Kraal of the greatest of all the Amakosi chiefs, Rili<sup>2</sup>, the present chief, the son of the late Hintza, is now a long way from home.

*16th.*—Nomza, the Queen dowager, Hintza's principal wife, accompanied with an inferior wife, paid us a visit in our tent, this morning; Mr. Fynn an interpreter happening to be present. They had no sooner taken their seats, than Nomza began the conversation by saying "The chief's mother is come to ask the teacher for a present," and then (not choosing to venture so important a request in the hands

<sup>1</sup>At Butterworth Mr. Owen was joined by Mr. Hulley, who was to act as his interpreter. Writing to D. Coates, Esq., June 5, 1837, Mr. Owen says: "He (Hulley) was recommended to me by the Wesleyan missionaries at Grahamstown who gave him an excellent character. He was then at Butterworth, one of their stations in Caffreland. . . . He offered his services to me thro' Mr. Ayliffe, the missionary at Butterworth, who knew him perfectly well and spoke most highly of him. . . . He proposed to engage for three years at £100 per annum. This sum will not appear too large when I mention that in conjunction with the office of Interpreter he unites that of artisan. He has a wife and two children.

<sup>2</sup> Krelî.



of our Interpreter) made signs that one thing she wanted was tobacco. I endeavoured to lead the way to religious conversation, but she had no ear for any topic of this nature, and was indeed rather reserved and silent in her whole manner. Yet she has been a great friend to the Missionaries; and in times of emergency, shews herself a woman of great mind and character. She appeared vastly pleased with my present, consisting of two bunches of beads, a handkerchief and a role of tobacco; giving me a hearty shake of the hand in token of her approbation. She then fixed her eyes on some buttons and said that she was come to see a friend, and therefore everything she saw was pretty. Her "ama-pakati" or counsellors (for the chief government is in her hand) sat on the outside of the tent. She departed without without any salutation and went into the Missionary's house.

17th.—Mr. Ayliffe returned home last night; and this morning I received a long lesson from him in the Kafir language. He was particularly useful in directing me in the pronounciation. Our morning's study was at length interrupted by the entrance of Nohudi, the wife of Rili the chief, accompanied by one female attendant. There was nothing to distinguish either her, or her Mother, in point of dress from other native women. I offered her the same present I had given her Mother, which she deposited in a bag containing her pipe and other treasures. She wore two wolves teeth on her necklace for a charm. Though utterly dead to God, her manners were very pleasing and her countenance amiable. She was almost the only person I had met, who did not beg for a present; but on Mrs. Owen observing that her beads wanted a little polish, she wittily said "then you should present me with some new ones."

18th.—Departed from our friends' house with prayer. Our party was now increased by the addition of my Interpreter and his family, who occupied a third waggon. Our whole party now amounted to about 23; whom I assembled at night and read the general confession and Lord's prayer in Kafir; having first learned to translate, parse and pronounce with sufficient accuracy every word, as far as I was able.

19th.—The Zoolu, whose fervency of utterance in prayer surprised and pleased me so much at the beginning of the journey and who had not ceased to pray, night and morning, with his family, shewed his true temper and character today, and discovered how little confidence is to be placed in knowledge, words, and the gift of prayer. He threatened to throw an assegai at my driver in a quarrel and on my stepping forward, swore by his chief Dingarn (the fatal word) that he would go no further. Having sworn by his chief

it was impossible for him to retract; tho' I remonstrated with him on the sinfulness of his conduct and its inconsistency with the religion he had professed. This he acknowledged; saying that his behaviour he knew was wrong in the sight of God, of man and of Jesus. He drew with him the other Zooloo, his companion and friend and they both set off with their wives and children to walk to Port Natal, leaving me without proper leaders to my waggons; and having no other means of subsistence for themselves than what their guns or charity might afford.

20th.—Entered the Tambookie, or Amatembu country; when I hired a native for some buttons, to go with me to the Bashee. In the course of the day, the Zooloo who had not taken an oath and who, it appears, had immediately fallen out with his companions, returned and begged to be restored to my service.

21st, Sabbath.—Before service time, about 7 natives came to the waggons. They immediately accepted an invitation to attend, and behaved with the strictest propriety. I read the "Te Deum" and other prayers in Kafir and gave a short analysis of the first 3 chapters of Genesis. One man in particular I observed to listen, without his attention once wavering. At the conclusion of my discourse, I asked "Have you understood all these things?" They smiled but the man referred to acknowledged their entire ignorance of the word of God, as they did not go to the schools, meaning the mission stations, to hear it, their chiefs not having given them an order so to do. Has your chief forbidden you to go? No, but when he orders us and goes himself we will then follow." Did your chief order you to come here today? No! I came because I heard of the waggons. Then if you can come to the waggons without an order from your chief, why cannot you as well go to the schools without his order? He laughed, seemed pleased, and said he must now give in to me. I then endeavoured to enforce upon them the necessity of seeking a removal of their spiritual blindness by an allusion to what they would do if they were naturally blind and knew of one who could give them sight. In the afternoon, my Interpreter accompanied me to a neighbouring village, as I hoped to have some conversation with the natives. An old woman, who sat at the door of her hut, asked me, as I approached her, for a handkerchief. I had a long, but unsatisfactory conversation with her. When I enquired, if she had ever heard of Jesus Christ, she asked me in what country he lived. She denied that she was a sinner, tho' having detected her in a lie, she acknowledged that lying was a sin. On returning to the waggons, I had a much more interesting and encouraging conversation with the man



who had heard me in the morning. I asked, what do you think of the word of God, which you heard this morning? He again confessed his ignorance, but said, he was glad to hear it. I asked, if he knew that he had a soul, which would survive the body and live for ever and ever? His answer to this question was somewhat singular and shewed considerable reflection. He said, he did not know that he had anything more than his breath, which he was continually drawing; but at the same time, he could believe, that after death, his life might be restored; for during sleep, he was unconscious of existence and was as tho' he were dead; yet by and by he felt his life return; it was the same as before he slept; all was right again; so it might be, that after death itself, he might be quickened again into life. I asked him if he knew Jesus Christ the Son of God, who shed his blood for him. He confessed his ignorance on this subject. I then asked him, do you know yourself to be a sinner? He said that whilst I was speaking to him, he felt that he was one. I told him that to feel ourselves sinners was the first step to salvation and then read and enlarged upon a variety of texts of Scripture, containing promises to the penitent; also such passages as were calculated to awaken, as well as to encourage him. He listened standing with fixed attention for about 2 hours; during which time, I brought a large portion of the word of God before him. After all however, the man rather disappointed me by asking for a present; but the custom of asking for presents is so general with the natives, that it was not so discouraging a circumstance as might at first sight be imagined.

22nd.—My attentive and patient hearer, with whom I conversed so long yesterday, came early to the waggons this morning; not however for the purpose of hearing any more of God's word, as his first salutation was the usual one "Basela," give me a present. As soon however as I called to his mind the word which he had heard yesterday he observed, that if I were going to stay, they would be enlightened; but now, as I was leaving them, they should remain in blindness. I told him, that if he were faithful to the word which I taught him yesterday, God would send him a Teacher. I further told him, that tho' I would not give him a present, I was not less his friend on that account; to which he expressed thorough satisfaction, saying it was good good. He evidently realized me as a Teacher, and the word which I spoke to him, as God's word; tho' he was altogether ignorant of it. He *felt* his ignorance and had some convictions of sin. He moreover had a desire to hear more of God's word and was fixed in attention to that part which he did hear. Doubtless, there are many more such

characters in Caffreland; and are not these persons prepared for the Gospel? Are they too blind to receive it? or are their prejudices too great to be removed? Proceeded on my journey, thanking God and taking courage. Crossed the Bashee.

23rd.—The weather now delightful, the sky generally without a cloud; the days warm as in England at this period of the year, but the nights frosty. No road now but the tracks of former waggons, which are scarcely perceptible on account of the overgrown grass.

24th.—One of the oxen being missed, the drivers traced the "spoor" or footmarks of it to a neighbouring kraal, and demanded the animal of the inhabitants, as by Kafir law they were responsible for it. Tho' they at first menaced and insulted my interpreter and his companions, so that they were obliged, thro' fear, to return to the waggons, yet the natives, fearing we should bring a charge against them before their chief, and subject them to restitution 6 or seven fold, finally brought the ox to the waggons, saying they found it.

25th.—Descended the precipitous hills on the Western bank of the Umtata. With great care, all the waggons, one by one, safely reached the bottom of these mountains. We were now entering an uninhabited country, the Tambookies having been driven by Faku, the chief of the Ama-pondas, from all the country eastward of the Umtata; the former nation being the aggressors. In the course of the day we passed a "luck heap" or a large pile of stones, every one of which is a monument of superstition. A set of men, who pretend a knowledge of medicine and to cure persons, who are bewitched, teach the natives to cast a stone on a given spot, every time they pass by, in order to ensure felicity. This spot is pointed out and consecrated by the doctor himself, who casts the first stone. This was the second heap we had passed. Thus they acknowledge a Providence, or governing power *beyond* them; tho' not understanding the providential care of Almighty God, they seek deliverance from danger and sickness by these rain methods; the folly of which is probably confessed by themselves.

26th.—Crossed the Umtata river, the rocky scenery of which is inferior in magnificence to that of the Kei only.

27th.—My Interpreters waggon was overturned; happily no one was in it, but the accident considerably delayed our journey.

28th, Sabbath.—We spent this day in a wilderness far from any human being. English service.

29th.—No travelling today in consequence of the horses having strayed.



30th, 31st.—Proceeded on our journey towards Buntingville. Mr. Boyce, the Missionary, saw our waggons at a great distance, and expecting my arrival, came forward on horseback to meet us. We returned home with him, leaving the waggons to follow the next day.

June 1st.—At daybreak the sound of the Church bell called the natives to prayer, as is usual here 3 times a week. Evening service in the Church, conducted by Mr. Boyce, who preached in Dutch, a native convert interpreting. The number of attendants was large.

2nd.—Spent a great part of the day in the study of Kafir with Mr. Boyce.

4th, Sabbath.—Service twice in the Church, which was very well attended. The number and eagerness of the children in the Sunday school gratified me. In the evening I expounded in the house to the few English at the settlement.

5th and 6th.—Notwithstanding the pleasure enjoyed by a visit at this settlement and the delights of conversation with the truly sensible man whose guest I was, my heart sprang forward with desire to reach the end of my journey; and I regretted that circumstances delayed us these two days.

7th.—Set forward on my journey to Port Natal, it being the very day twelvemonth since I gave myself, by the will of the Lord, to the mission with which I have since been entrusted. Not being able to take my Interpreters' waggon forward, except at enormous expense, I put the loads of 3 waggons into two. Hired 5 additional hands to go with us as far as the Umzimvubu, to hold the waggons up in steep and difficult places; having to pass over a mountainous country. Their assistance was soon needed, having to ascend a mountain which required both spans to each waggon.

8th.—On arriving at a village near Faku's Kraal, about 200 natives were assembled for the purpose of holding a great "beer drinking," at which Faku was to be present. The chief sent to signify he was coming to see me, to enquire the news. Presently he made his appearance (a tall elderly man) and having first advanced slightly towards me, retired and sat on the ground, in the front of his people, who now observed great silence. I went toward him and informed him who I was and for what purpose I was travelling. He said it was very good and that he was glad to see me travelling thro' his country. He then commanded a native to declare aloud to the people what was my errand. This being done he immediately asked me for a present and said that two things he wanted were an axe and a tin pot; neither of which I had to spare. I invited him to come and sit

before the waggon, but he declined a mat saying he never used a mat, but when he was in his house. He ordered 2 baskets of beer to be placed before me. I promised to give him a present in the morning, tho' he seemed impatient to have one immediately, asking me to give him some "little" thing now, such as he could carry away in his hand and that he would have the large thing tomorrow. At length he departed to the feast, followed by his subjects; saying "Tell the Teacher I will see him in the morning"; and I had no doubt he would be true to his engagement.

9th.—Spanned in early. The waggons had not proceeded far, when they were stopped by order of Faku, till I came up. I found him attended by about 100 of his men. After he had shaken hands with me, according to the English fashion, he modestly asked for an ox and beads. The former I refused to give him, tho' he pointed to a particular ox in the span, as the object of his choice. As for beads, he was not satisfied till I had given him all that his eye caught a glimpse of; for he followed me to the waggon box and peeped in to see what it contained. He then asked for a knife, which I gave him, and I was at length glad to get away, Faku's mother sent many miles after me to beg a knife.

10th.—Our road today continued to wind over a range of lofty hills which did not admit of 10 yards of level ground. Our progress is in consequence so slow, that we do not advance in a direct course above 4 or 5 miles a day. This evening, halted in the mountains of the Umzimvubu.

11th, Sabbath.—About 20 natives, in addition to those of my party, attended our service and behaved, as usual, with propriety. At the conclusion of my discourse, after my own party had dispersed, the strangers remained, as if rivetted to the ground, standing in silence, with their eyes fixed on me. Thinking this a good opportunity of speaking to them, I called my Interpreter back and asked if they understood what I had been saying to them and referred to a particular portion of my discourse, concerning the resurrection and asked if they believed it. Their answer, however, characteristic of ignorance and weakness, shews, at least that they have not a cavelling spirit. They said, they believed because they did not think that a gentleman like me would come and tell them a lie. After I had given them the reasons of my faith, and illustrated the resurrection by the reproduction of a grain of corn, they expressed, of their own accord, their willingness to hear anything more that I had to teach them. I proceeded to speak of man's fallen nature and intended afterwards to speak of the Saviour; but first, having brought them to assent to the truth, that they were guilty before God, I asked them if they knew



the means of their recovery, or how they were to be restored to the Divine favour. The chief speaker, not being able to answer, looked round on his companions and as they were equally at a loss, apparently ashamed of his ignorance, he withdrew; after which I dismissed this interesting assembly, not without feelings of pity for these poor souls, so vast in number, so confessedly ignorant, so ready to learn and yet so destitute of the means of instruction. The whole country between Buntingville and the Umzimvubu is thickly populated and affords a fine and open field for missionary labour, being under the dominion of a chief Faku, who, from whatever motive is favourable to Missionaries.

12th.—Our chief object today was to effect a descent to the Umzimvubu, the most perilous adventure on our journey. The ordinary road being deemed unsafe, a new road was formed by cutting down some trees in a part of the mountain, where no traveller had yet ventured with a waggon. The road thus made was more precipitous than the former, tho' on other accounts less objectionable. All the wheels being chained and the waggon held up behind by 5 men, by means of reams<sup>1</sup>, or thick strings of bullock hide, fastened on, they descended the mountain, till they reached the river without damage.

13th.—Dismissed the 5 men, whom I hired at Bunting, but took forward one other man as a guide. |

14th.—Travelling, today and yesterday, more easy; which gives me a better opportunity for pursuing my studies on the road.

15th.—We had now entered the country inhabited by the tribe of another chief called Napai<sup>2</sup>. This is usually called, by the frontier Kafirs, the Ficani, or robber tribe; from their numerous depredations on their neighbours. The horses having strayed, we were detained all day and whilst the men were gone to look for them, a large party of natives, amounting to about 50 or 60, seated themselves by the side of my waggon. As I went towards them, they were as mute and fixed their eyes on me, as steadily, as if they had never seen a white man before. As soon as my Interpreter came, I told them I would read a portion of the word of God to hem; and opening my Bible read the parable of the lost Sheep in Luke XV. When I had finished, I asked if they understood? Having no idea of the nature of a parable,

<sup>1</sup> reims.

<sup>2</sup> Ncapai, chief of the Amabaca, dwelt on the upper reaches of the Umzimkulu river. He was an intrepid and warlike thief—and a scourge to all, near and far.

they asked, if I was speaking of my own sheep, or of some others man's. Upon this I endeavoured to explain to them, how *we* were the lost sheep as we had all strayed away from God and how Jesus Christ was the good Shepherd, who had come to bring us back to God, one man, who was the chief organ of the party, denied that they were sinners, asking when had they ever ill-treated a white man, passing thro' their country. I endeavoured to explain to them the nature of God's law; and how it required duties to him, which they had not preformed, as well as to their neighbours. They seemed however to have no notion of any thing as sin, but what was an injury to their neighbours; and pressed for information respecting those points of duty, which regarded their fellow creatures; asking "Suppose for example, one man was to meet another and fight with him, would that be sin? I told them that unless their hearts were changed, even tho' I should acquaint them with their duty, they could not do it, as the heart was cramped by sin, and nothing good could proceed from; and that this was the character of all men by nature, both white people and black. They said, that our hearts might be proud and wicked; but that they had not wicked hearts. At length after a great deal of conversation, they began to talk among themselves on what they had heard, particularly on the parable; when the master of the kraal said, they thanked me for the word of God and that when they went home, they would talk over it with their children. I asked if a Teacher were to come and live among them, would they be glad? They said, if their chief allowed him to reside in the country, they would hear him. The conversation was then renewed, when they asked me, what ought to be done to a person who bewitched another? I said it was not my business to say, what *man* should do to him; but God would punish *every* sin with everlasting fire. They said they were glad that God would punish him, as well as the man; for there were many persons in the country who went about bewitching their neighbours. I waived entering into a discussion on this subject. The whole conversation lasted about 2 hours; when the chief speaker said, the state of the grass shewed how many had been listening to me and for how long a time; and now, he hoped, I would give them a present and they would tell their friends that they had seen not a *common* white man only, but a teacher. I begged them to think of what they had heard and went away. I felt deeply interested during the conversation; and secretly prayed for wisdom, whilst my Interpreter was delivering my words. I trust I shall better know, after every succeeding conversation, the proper way of bringing forward the truth.



16th.—Some men who had heard the conversation yesterday, and who had passed by the waggons on their return from a dance, at the time of our evening worship, whilst I was reading the account of our Saviour's healing the blind man, and had stayed to listen, asked one of my men this morning who Jesus Christ was of whom I was reading last night. He told them that before he went away into Heaven, he commanded the white people, to make him known to all nations. They then enquired whether I were a trader and if I had any object to gain in going to Dingarn. When he replied that this was not my object, they said "there must be something in it then for the white people to take so much pains." Crowds of people, all destitute of a Missionary, flocked round our waggons as we were commencing our journey this morning. These were the last inhabitants on the road. The rest of our journey lies thro' a country depopulated by the spear of Dingarn's predecessor.

17th.—I fell from my horse twice this day, by the creature's treading in an ant-eater's hole.

18th, Sabbath.—English service before the tent.

19th.—Crossed the Umzimkaba river a little above the fall. I can scarcely express my astonishment and admiration at the magnificent sight, which this fall afforded. The width of it was about 100 feet, and the depth must have measured full 700 feet of perpendicular rock. The view from this eminence would afford scope for the pencil of the finest artist in the world; a more beautiful combination of wood and rock and water cannot exist. Nature, in this retired spot, displays her beauties and wonders without an eye to admire them or a tongue to sing the praises of her great author! The beasts of prey, which dwell in the thicket and the birds of beautiful plumage, which build their nests in the rock are the only inhabitants here. But as it is not my province to describe the natural scenery of the country thro' which I travel, I pass on, simply recording the exquisite delight I took, in beholding this never to be forgotten sight.

20th.—Our men today shot a large eland.

21st.—Arrived at the beach, at the mouth of the Umzimkaba, which we again crossed. Halted at the mouth of another beautiful river, without name, remarkable for its rocks, waterfalls and the beautiful foliage on its banks.

22nd.—Arrived at the Umtendo<sup>1</sup> river, which we crossed without much difficulty, but to ascend the opposite bank was found impossible, it being not only lofty and steep, but composed of uneven masses of rock and the path so narrow

<sup>1</sup> The Umtentu in Pondoland.

that there was scarcely room for the waggon to pass. During the vain attempt which was made to ascend the hill, I withdrew from the sound of the lash and indulged myself with a solitary ramble on the fine sands, which skirt this magnificent river. It flows between two ranges of lofty perpendicular mountains. Here, as at the Umzimkaba, nature has displayed her beauties in a style which reflects glory on her great Author. The hand of art never exerted itself in this rude, unfrequented spot; yet the rocky side of this stream, adorned as it is with plants of incomparable beauty, exceeds all praise. Tho' unable myself to appreciate all the uses, beauties and wonders of the vegetable creation, I saw in this single spot abundant traces of Infinite power and glory. I might say "The earth is full of His riches; where can I go and not find him? All his works praise him."

23rd.—The waggons having been unloaded, they were at length dragged up over the huge shelves of rock, which rendered the road impassable yesterday. The luggage was carried up the hill; and this, with the process of unloading and loading, occupied so much time, that we proceeded only a short distance today and that partly in the dark. By some mismanagement, my waggon was on the very point of being overturned, with Mrs. and Miss Owen in it; but the danger was averted by the breaking of the pole; by which means the waggon resumed its right position. I had more cause to be thankful than to be grieved at the accident.

24th.—My patience was much tried this day by the continued delays, which impeded our progress. The afternoon arrived before the oxen could be found; then the weather threatened to detain us. At length when we had, after much difficulty, got under weigh, my Interpreter's waggon was capsized, by the wheel going over a rock, before it had proceeded a very few yards. The labour of restoring it to its right position, with the tedious process of unloading and reloading, occupied so much time, that we were benighted on the beach, before we could reach a place to abide in for the night, which we could say was perfectly secure from the tide. We got however on an eminence of sand and waited the dawn in the waggon.

25th, Sabbath.—Travelled a few miles along the beach this morning in search of a resting place for the day. At length pitched our tent on an eminence facing the sea and held Kafir service as usual.

26th.—Determining to lay hold of the opportunity of favourable weather, we spanned in earlier than usual and hoped to make a good days' journey before any rain. Our



progress however was interrupted by the tide and we had to wait some hours, till it had subsided. Three travellers who had joined our waggons, in a former part of the journey perceiving the slow progress we made, determined to proceed onward alone. Before they left, I spoke to one of them who was ill and on whose account they were anxious to press forward. I asked, if he knew what would become of him, if it should please God to take away his life. He said that since his illness he had often thought of God, but he had never thought of his death. I asked him if he knew how to pray. He said, No, but if he had been able to go with the white people, he might have learned, meaning, if he had been able still to accompany us on our journey. I asked him, if he knew himself to be a sinner. He did not say that he was not a sinner; but he was not conscious that he was one. He said moreover, that he did not know what other sin there was, than to steal cattle, but if he had been able to go with the white people he would have learned. Thus did ignorance and teachableness characterize this man; and these are the prevailing characters of the natives whom I have conversed with. The waters having sufficiently receded, we continued our journey along the beach; but had not proceeded far, when in passing over some rocks, the pole of my waggon was broken the second time; and as I had no other to supply the place, a sudden end was put to this day's journey (after we had contrived to draw the waggon off the shore) much to my disappointment.

27th.—Incessant rain prevented us travelling all day, Tho' confined to my tent, I was happily and busily employed, from morning to night, writing.

28th.—The weather sufficiently fair in the afternoon to allow us to proceed on our journey; a new pole having been constructed. Before, however, we had proceeded many miles, my waggon and oxen sunk in a deep bog. The latter having been extricated, they were employed with the assistance of the other span, to drag the waggon out backwards. In doing this, the chain and tackling were broken 4 times; and not until the waggon was unloaded, could it be stirred from its awkward situation. The consequence of all this was, that we were obliged to halt the first convenient opportunity, as from the danger sustained by the tackling, we could not yoke in a sufficient number of oxen\*.

LETTER FROM CAPTAIN GARDINER TO D. COATES ESQ., SALISBURY HOUSE, LONDON.

My dear Sir

We have just heard of Mr. Owen's arrival with his party within a short distance of Port Natal and I take the opportunity of an overland

Ambanati on the Umtongate,

June 28th, 1837.

29th.—The tackling having been mended, we proceeded on our journey; but only to meet with another disappointment. In going down an awkward hill my waggon was overturned; tho' in this as in the other case, no further evil was occasioned but a trying delay. Though common prudence might be immediate cause which led my family always to leave the waggon, where there was any appearance of danger, yet for the exercise of that prudence, even in the common occurrences of life, I am willing to be indebted to Him, who gives man reason; who enables us to foresee danger, and to choose the means for avoiding it. Without his continual influence over our minds and actions, all our natural prudence and caution would soon forsake us; and we should daily run into danger.

30th.—Some of our cattle almost knocked up. These patient creatures daily afford me an emblem of that perseverance, which is the cardinal virtue of a Missionary.

despatch to forward a few lines lest you should be long without any account of our proceedings. I have recently returned from a visit to Dingarn who received me most cordially. He has requested that a Missionary station should be formed at his capital Unkungunglove and has acceded to my request for another at Congella, both of which I have engaged shall be occupied in the name of the Society, Mr. Owen having authorised me to take this responsibility should an eligible opening occur. Had the huts at Cululu, which have been burnt down by accident, been still standing, the removal of that station would have been desirable as the American missionaries, at the desire of Dingarn have established themselves on the Umsondoosi within a very short distance from the spot. A large body of natives will shortly be assembled at this place, they are already beginning to build a town and I have little doubt but that in the course of a very few months they will amount to several hundreds. Foortu (?) has already paid me a visit, many of the Mthlangwani and Mangalosi are coming, and it is not improbable that the whole of these two tribes will join me besides many of the natives from Port Natal. The two projected stations in the Zoolu country have a peculiar importance not only on account of the population being large, but as it is Customary for all the principal men to reside for several months in the year with the King, so that on their return to their own places they will impart most that they have learnt and will create a spirit of inquiry on religious subjects throughout the country. Dingarn has promised to have a hut erected on the spot — for the Mission Station near Unkungunglove, with a door high enough to admit of its being entered without crawling. For the first year or two it will be as well to supply him occasionally with presents as he will return cattle, not otherwise to be procured, the sale of cows having been prohibited throughout his dominions. — has been his practice towards the American Missionaries and he is now sending to procure corn for me of which I am much in need. It is my intention to offer Mr. Owen a tract of land near my own residence for the Mission Station, to among the natives residing here as there will be full occupation for a missionary. It is high time he was here as the sowing season is now commencing. . . . Very sincerely yours,

ALLEN F. GARDINER.



One of them worked for me till he died almost in the yoke. So might I work for God, as long as life and being last.

*July 1st.*—Great difficulty was experienced in crossing the mouth of a river. It occupied a full hour, to get one of the waggons across a narrow rocky stream. The rivers on this part of the coast are very numerous. We meet with one every two or three miles, but their mouths are generally choked up with sand-banks.

*2nd, Sabbath.*—Kafir service before the tent.

*3rd.*—My oxen were again swamped, and greater difficulty was found in extricating them than before. Some were obliged to be dragged out by the combined forces of all the men with reams tied to the horns.

*4th.*—Arrived in the evening at the banks of the Umzimkulu, or great river, about 2 miles above its mouth. No other difficulties today than such as arose from heavy sand hills.

*5th.*—Commenced the crossing of the river at low water. It was found, however, impracticable to land the waggons on the opposite bank, from the depth of the mud into which they sank. My Interpreters waggon remained all night in the water and our own stood in an inclined position at the brink.

*6th.*—The morning was occupied in clearing away part of the mud, and otherwise mending the road. One waggon by this means got safely up; but the other stuck so fast and the oxen pulled so vehemently, that they carried away the pole and left the waggon in the mud. A new pole being constructed, however, both waggons were at length dragged to the top of the bank.

*7th.*—No travelling today, in consequence of one of the most important oxen having strayed.

*8th.*—The stray ox being found, we resumed our journey, but only to meet with a fresh disaster. After a long and fruitless attempt to drive his waggon up a dangerous hill, my Interpreter again capsized it; and on this occasion the whole of the top part of the waggon was broken to pieces.

*9th, Sabbath.*—In the confusion of last night the horses were suffered to stray; and as the men were all day in search of them there was no service. But in the evening (Mr. Ogle, a settler at Port Natal and a party of his men having met us) I expounded to them the parable of the prodigal son; or rather made it a vehicle of communication to them a description of the miserable state of the heathen or black people, as without God, and without hope, comparing them to the younger son, shewing at the same time his infinite

mercy, and his readiness to bestow on them the same privileges and happiness, which he had conferred on the white people, whom I compared to the elder son.

*10th.*—Two of the oxen having fallen into pits and others being nearly knocked up, I determined to leave my Interpreter and his waggon behind; and to proceed forward with my own waggon and the choice of the oxen, hoping thus to arrive at Port Natal much sooner, when I could send a span for my Interpreter.

*11th and 12th.*—Travelled with greater speed than any day since we left Bunting.

*13th.*—Notwithstanding unusual care in my driver and leader, the waggon was again capsized in going down a difficult hill; the danger of which was concealed by the long grass. The driver who was on the box was thrown off, and narrowly escaped with his life. My family also had got out at the top of the hill, according to custom; otherwise they might have been seriously hurt. This was a new occasion for thanksgiving to the God of our life, who encompasses us about with mercies. Arrived by moonlight at the settlement of Cane, an Englishman. We now entered a country which was partially inhabited; the natives living under the protection of different English settlers, whom they regarded as their chiefs; these natives I understand, being the remains of various tribes.

*14th.*—Delighted to see the coast of Natal this day at noon, as we were travelling on the beach.

*15th.*—The traces of three lions were distinctly seen on the sand this morning. Crossed the Umkomas river at low water. The descent was very difficult, but was accomplished without injury.

*16th, Sabbath.*—English service under the shade of a tree.

*17th.*—Arrived at Ogle's settlement, where we were detained by rain.

*18th.*—No travelling, all the oxen having strayed. We found great difficulty in getting a supply for our necessary wants at this place, owing to the natives not choosing to accept the common articles of barter, which we had with us, beads and buttons. When we offered these in liberal quantities, they playfully threw dust into the air in token of their contempt of these articles, and asked in exchange for their fowls, Indian corn and pumpkins, either handkerchiefs, blankets or "ingubo" i.e. a mantle or carosse.

*19th.*—The people, this morning, who had any sickness came to me and begged for medicine. Such were their simplicity, faith, and eagerness for relief, that they would,



I believe, have submitted to any remedy I had prescribed. Arrived in the evening at another village, near the station of Dr Adams, an American missionary.

20th.—Some of the oxen having strayed, we could not proceed with the waggon. Nevertheless I rode forward to Berea, where I had the unexpected pleasure of meeting Capt. Gardiner. On my way, called on Dr Adams, who lives about 10 miles from Berea; and was received by him with great kindness and cordiality.

21st.—Returned to the waggon, which I met on the road. We completed our journey this day; arriving at Berea<sup>1</sup> in the afternoon; having been about 12 weeks on our journey from Grahamstown, and six from Bunting. Took possession of the building erected by Capt. Gardiner for a school room.

22nd.—Engaged today in removing to Berea some of my stores, which had been landed by the Skerne, the vessel in which Capt. Gardiner arrived.

23rd, Sabbath.—Commenced my mission today with the Europeans, who assembled for Divine service at the late Mr. Berkin's house, a central spot about 3 miles from Berea. As we walked to the place, now to be consecrated by Divine worship, I could not but recall to my mind, the days of old England. The number of Europeans at Natal, not much exceeding 30, and these being widely scattered, a large congregation could not be expected, especially as the notice was so short. About 12 Englishmen, and 2 or 3 Hottentots assembled in our little room. These all sat on the ground. A chair served me for pulpit and desk and another chair was provided for Mrs. and Miss Owen. All listened with great attention whilst I expounded the words "What is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" I read the English service for morning prayer throughout. The length of our walk to and from Church, under a hot sun, may testify how good God has been to myself; my wife and sister, in preserving us in health during our long journey. The depth of winter is here, in the day time, like the height of summer in England.

24th to 29th.—Employed this week as on Saturday removing my stores and in other secular business.

30th, Sabbath.—Service at Mr. Berkin's house as on last Sunday, to nearly the same congregation. I was enabled to open to them the necessity and nature of the Gospel, from the words "How should man be just with God." shewing the importance of this enquiry, and the answer to it.

<sup>1</sup> Berea is a sweet spot—the beauty of the country—the calmness and retirement, the pleasurable walks amidst the most lovely woodland scenery. Letter to D. Coates.

31st.—Four of the American Missionaries, viz. Dr. Adams, Dr. Wilson, Messrs. Lindley and Venables paid me a visit this morning. They all appear to be men of an excellent spirit. The three last left Graham's Town a short time after me, and were only one week less than me on the road.

Letters from the Cape speak of the encouraging state of the Cape Town Association. On April 27th the annual subscriptions amounted to £70 and the donations to as much more. My instructions were to be published there. Port Natal, Aug. 3rd, 1837. F. Owen.

August 5th.—Commenced my journey yesterday into the interior of the Zoolu country, for the purpose of visiting the chief Dingarn. My waggon went off the day before from Berea. I presently overtook it but being anxious to reach Ambanarti, the settlement of Capt. Gardiner the same evening, rode forward without a guide. Being overtaken by the night and a thick mist, I lost all trace of the road and was obliged to remain without shelter of any kind, in an open place under the canopy of heaven, exposed all night to severe cold, heavy dew and to the fear of wild beasts. I watched the first streaks of light in the east, and quickly saddled my horse, which had afforded me some degree of warmth, and pursued my journey. Meeting with Mr. Grote<sup>1</sup>, an American Missionary, I was by him directed in the right route to the romantic and lovely spot, which Capt. Gardiner has fixed upon for his dwelling on a commanding hill near the mouth of the Umtomgata.

Sabbath 6th.—Conducted English service in the hut in the morning, native service out of doors in the afternoon. About 120 natives were present.

7th.—It being determined not to travel by waggon, but to procure baggage bearers at the Tugala, and to fit up a cart to carry our things as far as that river which forms the boundary of the inhabited part of the Zoolu country, our journey was postponed a day or two.

15th.—We were weather bound till this day. At length, the cart having set off with presents and baggage the day before, we started about 9 this morning for the Tugala, which we reached about sunset, a distance of about 35 or 40 miles. I was twice thrown from my horse, at starting, with great violence but Providentially sustained no injury. The first thing we heard on our arrival at the Tugala was that the river was unfordable from the late rains, and how long we might have to wait was uncertain. One of my best oxen had been devoured by a lion the night before, near where the cart had spanned out on the banks

<sup>1</sup> Grout.



of the Mavuti. Whilst looking for the ox, the men fell in with the lion amongst some reeds, and afterwards found the mangled remains of the poor beast. We took up our quarters in a small village on the banks of the river containing not more than half a dozen huts. There are several small villages on the south bank of the Tugala. These were lately peopled by a tribe of Zoolu called the Amapiesi or Hyena people, but who shortly before our arrival fled to the number of 400 to Port Natal, having suspected Dingarn of some design upon them. During their flight, for some cause or other, they put to death Mambayendi their chief. The natives saluted us in their usual style "Dakubona wena" I see you, to which the proper reply is "yearbo," =yes. We were soon furnished with a hut, sweet milk, by order of the head man, who seemed very civil. Having heard a great deal of the rats which infest the Zoolu huts, I concluded I should have no sleep, especially, as I saw them by troops, before I went to bed, pass from the cattle fold into the different huts, but to my great comfort, we were freer from them than I expected.

16th.—About 11 o'clock the baggage bearers, 23 or 24 in number, having crossed the Tugala, which had just become fordable, with Gambuji, a confidential servant of the king at their head, advanced toward the village with a short quick step brandishing their sticks and singing a Zoolu war song. The burdens being properly disposed among them we went down to the river and stripped. The country on the other side of the Tugala formed a striking contrast to that which we left. A beautifully wooded and sloping country was now exchanged for naked hills which could boast of nothing but grass. We passed the Clomanthleen Nyama or black shields, where we dined on sour milk. This being the first Zoolu town I had seen I felt much interested in walking round. In the midst of the town is a large vacant area surrounded by a fence; on the outside of this fence, which is circular, the huts are disposed in rows: an outer fence encloses the whole town. A segment of the circular town at that part of it which is opposite the principal entrance is cut off by a fence, and in this segment which is called the Isikauthlo, are several huts appropriated to distinguished personages. Only the military towns or barracks, as they may be termed have these Isikauthlos. A regiment is stationed at each town under several Indoonas or Captains. The huts at this town were nearly all empty, the regiment being engaged in the war with Umselekaz<sup>1</sup>. We rode forward to a large village called Niniki, where we were comfortably accommodated in a hut where there were no rats.

<sup>1</sup> Spelt variously as Moselikatze, Silkaats and others.

An ox was slaughtered for us by order of the Inkosikazi or female chief of this place.

17th.—Rode forward to Congella passing Intontella, a large military town on the road, where we enjoyed our ordinary noon day repast, sour milk. Congella is the second capital of the Zoolu nation, but in size not superior to Intontella. At Congella the King spends a great part of the year. Dingarn having assigned this place to Capt. Gardiner for a Missionary station, we walked about on our arrival to look for an eligible site for a mission house, which was found about 2 miles from the town and commanding a view of 6 or 7 villages not very distant.

18th and 19th.—Proceeded on our journey these days. On leaving Congella, the road descends into the vale of the Umthlatoosi, after crossing which stream it ascends some high mountains which form a magnificent sight from Congella. The King being now at Nobamba, his birth place, we proceeded toward that town. The whole country there about is very populous, large towns being seen in every direction. Immediately on our arrival and before we had time to sit down, Dingarn sent for us. We were conducted into his presence by persons duly authorised to perform this service. He was seated inside of his Isikauthlo on a large chair. We stood silently before him for about a minute. At length he saluted us in the usual style and with a good humoured tone "Dakubona" I see you. He was clothed with a blanket not remarkable for its cleanliness and before him were strewed the presents which had been forwarded to him before our arrival, for his impatience to see them was so great, that the bearers who carried them were directed by Gambuji to go forward in advance. He began the conversation by asking Capt. Gardiner many questions respecting the articles he had brought with him. These engrossed for the present his whole attention. He told his women who were seated on some mats, that I was the teacher who had brought him the cloth which they had seen, for it had now been removed and deposited in one of the Kings' huts. Everything was new and strange to me, and not being called to speak, I had leisure to indulge my own reflections on the character of that far famed despot in whose presence I now stood. I observed the alacrity with which all his commands were obeyed. On one occasion being in need of something which had been left at Unkunginglovo, he said to his servant, "Go, and be back before the spit is dry in my hand," and quick as lightning the order was obeyed; the servant darting forth and vanishing in an instant.

20th, Sabbath.—I sent word to Dingarn in the morning to ask his permission, as it was Sunday, to preach God's



word to his people in the large area in the center of the town, or if he pleased to teach in the Isikauthlo. He immediately returned answer that I was to come to the Isikauthlo. Accordingly accompanied by Capt. Gardiner and our Interpreter I went. He was seated as yesterday on a chair clothed with the same dirty blanket, his women came in and sat on the ground. He was anxious that all his women should be seated before I began. But having first learned (?) from Gambuji the manner in which we pray, he begged me not to pray, but only to preach as it would not be convenient for his women to kneel, the —design of my discourse was to show how God had given us his word; first by plain instruction to a common ancestor—by whom it was taught to his children—by them to their children and so forth, till at last, mankind becoming forgetful of God, he sent Prophets one after another, whom he first instructed that they might afterwards teach the world. Last of all he sent his own son, whose superiority to all former Prophets I shewed, both in regard to plainness (sic) and fulness of his instructions and his Divine nature. I then enlarged a little on our blessed Saviours' life, character, doctrines, miracles and death. I then said he was laid in a grave and on the third day God raised him up again—that he was seen by his Apostles with whom he did eat and drink. At the mention of the resurrection of Christ, Dingarn, who had been very attentive throughout smiled—it was a smile I have no doubt of incredulity—thus did his incredulous mind lay hold of that very doctrine, which in the first promulgation of the Gospel was accounted foolishness and was the chief ground of opposition—tho' the basis on which the truth of xtianity rested. After mentioning the resurrection of Christ and his tarrying 40 days on earth, I proceeded to speak of his resurrection into Heaven and of his coming to Judgement—of his commission to his Apostles and their going forth and preaching everywhere—I said that what the Prophets, Christ and his Apostles taught, was written down in books, and that those books were all after a time made into one book—which book I had in my hand—that my people had received this book and had sent me to his people to teach them the same—that this book contained also a history of the life of Jesus Christ, and I then stated the blessedness of those who believed and practised what was contained in the book and the misery of those who did not believe and who did not practice it, that they would be cast into Hell—a place of everlasting fire. He here interrupted me and asked what Hell was. I was proceeding to speak of it in Scripture language, as a place where the fire is not quenched—when he again interrupted me and asked where Hell was. I said the word of

God did not tell where Hell was, but only that there was such a place. I then glided into the solemn account of the last Judgement contained in those words “when the son of man shall come in his glory, etc.” After I had read a few verses, he said he wanted to have the word more explained. I then enlarged on every clause in this description. The design of Christ's second coming, the glory with which he would come, the throne on which he would sit and all nations coming before him. He asked what sort of a throne? I said a great white throne. He asked who were they that would rise up again, whether we, pointing to his women, shall rise again, what bodies we shall come with, whether we shall see one another and know one another again. Some of these questions he repeated and I gave such answers as the Ss furnished me with. He seemed to think it incredible that if the dead should be raised again, not knowing the power of God. Finally he said, why dont the dead get up now? that we may see them—to which I replied that God had appointed the day, and now he commanded all men everywhere to repent. I read also part of the 3rd chap of 2nd Peter, concerning the last day—and am persuaded that though he does not believe—yet he cannot venture to deny the truth of the resurrection. Not a word was spoken at this interview unconnected with the special design of it. Afterwards I sent word to the head Indoona, that I wished to have some conversation with him. He at first seemed rather astonished at my visit and at a loss to know what I could want with him. He was however very civil presently, but manifested thorough indifference to religious instruction. In the afternoon I sent word to the king to request he would give me permission to teach the same words publickly to his people, which I had taught him in the morning. To this message however no answer was returned. So passed the first Sabbath I had spent in the heart of a Zoolu town.

*August 21st.*—Dingarn sent for us early in the morning. He was now seated outside of the Isikauthlo, the cloth which I had brought being laid at his side. He promised that when the army returned, a hut should be built at Congella, on any site to be pointed out to the Indoona of that town on our return home. I also begged him to expedite the hut which he had begun to build for me at Unkunginglovo, as I wished to return from Port Natal before the Tugala became full. He asked me why I was in such a hurry to teach his people. I said that life was short. He asked how that could be as (according to me) we were all to awake again. Before finally dismissing us he sent forth his servants who with loud voices called all the men of the town together in a very short time. When they were all seated to the



number of 300 or 400 he told me that I might now preach the same words to them which I had spoken yesterday, and begged me to go forward and stand in the midst of them. Dingarn on this occasion was not attentive and even drew away the attention of my audience by making sport with a blind man whom he beckoned in ridicule to come to him and presently bade him go and look for something. The poor fellow stumbled about, run against me, and fell over my auditory, who I fear were little benefitted by my instructions. I felt grieved; but did not feel myself sufficiently at liberty to speak to Dingarn on the subject. He ordered bearers to carry our baggage to the Tugala and sent Gambuji with us to show me the hut which he had begun to build for me. It is on the top of a hill commanding a view of the whole town, from which it is distant about a mile and a half. A stream of water washes the foot of the hill; but trees, shrubs and everything conducive to comfort or beauty seem to be far away. Capt. Gardiner had selected a hill on the other side of the town, where there were some trees and which would have been a more pleasant and advantageous situation; but Dingarn changed the site on the plea that I should be too near the place where his women go to bathe; and he wishes me to be on an eminence, that he may view our buildings from the Isikauthlo, and spy with his telescope. The door of the hut is very high, so that it only requires us to bend our backs to enter and not to crawl on our knees and almost, in a manner, to break our backs as in the common huts. It is sufficiently high for a tall man to stand upright in it and 20 feet in diameter, but it is not yet finished. We passed Unkuninglovo the same evening without stopping and spent the night at the next military town.

Aug. 22nd and 23rd.—Pursued our journey homeward nearly by the same route which we came. In the evening of the 23rd reached Congella and having looked about for a site more eligible for a mission station (if it could be found) than that we observed on our way as we came, the preference seemed to be due to the first position, chiefly on account of the want of good water at any other place.

Aug. 24th.—Before leaving this morning, the Indoona sent a man with us to observe the precise situation for the hut which Dingarn has promised to build when the army returns.

25th.—Reached the Tugala which we crossed without difficulty, the water having subsided. The same hut was appropriated to us which we occupied before, but I had little sleep on account of the rats.

26th.—Pursued our journey to Ambanati; where we arrived in the afternoon.

27th, Sabbath.—English service in the morning, native service in the afternoon.

28th.—Arrived at Berea at 9 o'clock in the evening, having been 12 hours on the road; my poor horse being completely knocked up by his long journey, but I had the joy of once more returning home to my family and finding all well. The distance from Port Natal to Unkuninglovo is estimated at about 150 miles.

Sept 3rd, Sabbath.—Had made arrangements to preach today to the Europeans; but the wreck of the *Eliza* rendered it impossible to hold the service as all the people were engaged. This vessel had arrived from Algoa Bay during my absence with stores and on Friday night was endeavouring to sail out of the harbour at high water, but the wind not being sufficiently strong to carry her over the bar, she was at the going down of the tide left on a sand bank and much injured. Private service at home attended by a few natives.

10th, Sabbath.—Having given notice at Mr. Cane's store, that there would be a service today at Berea at noon and requested the attendance of both white people and black, as early as 9 o'clock a considerable number of natives attended, enough to fill the large room which I occupied. Another body of natives assembled at 11 and at the specified time about  $\frac{1}{2}$  dozen white people arrived, to whom I read the English service and expounded. In the afternoon the natives assembled again. I was much pleased at the great readiness of the natives to be taught the word of God. I can scarcely doubt that at Berea, if due notice were given, there would be every sabbath day a large and quiet audience of natives from all parts.

14th.—Having been making preparations during the last fortnight for a waggon journey to the capital of the Zoolu nation where I had determined to fix my residence as well as employing myself by means of my Interpreter and a native servant in the study of the language, we commenced loading our vehicles this afternoon. Many of my own oxen having died, I was obliged to hire a span for one waggon, as well as to hire a third waggon with a span of oxen to carry sundry building materials. My Interpreter and his family occupied with their stores nearly the whole of one waggon. We were very heavily loaded and calculated upon a tedious and difficult journey.

15th.—Set off about noon. The road at the beginning of our journey was very good; the country beautifullg



wooded. We experienced no other difficulty than the crossing of the Umgani, where our waggon was imbedded in the sand.

16th.—The weather prevented us from starting till noon, but tho' the road was, good we made little progress owing to our heavy loads and the soreness of our oxens' feet. Spanned out on the banks of the Umshlusi.

17th, Sabbath.—English service in the tent in the morning and native service in the afternoon.

18th.—Arrived at the Umtongata, where we had determined that our waggon should remain a day or two, whilst we visited our friends Capt. and Mrs. Gardiner at Ambanati. Capt. Gardiner had set off this very morning to the Zoolu country, Dingarn having sent for him on occasion of the return of his army from Umselekaz country, where they had gone for the sake of plunder. Umselekaz father was conquered by one of the Zoolu kings and afterwards breaking off the yoke became an independent and powerful chief. His country lies on the N.W. of the Zooloos. Umselekaz had been completely vanquished, and he himself had fled for his life.

21st.—After a short visit which had been pleasantly lengthened one day by rain, we returned to our waggons and proceeded on our journey. The country beyond the Umtongata soon becomes bare of trees, and is destitute of inhabitants, as well as the other side as far as the Umgani, a river about 3 miles from Berea.

22nd.—Arrived at the Mavuti river where my ox was devoured by the lion.

23rd.—Proceeded onward to the Tugala which we reached only with great exertion; having met with many delays and inconveniences in crossing the drifts of several small streams. The inhabitants of the villages freely brought us milk without asking for payment, having been directed by the king to shew this hospitality to strangers. Nothing can equal the loveliness of the country on this side the Tugala. The serenity, calmness and mildness of the evening conspired with the beauty of the scenery, the verdant hills and luxuriant foliage to render it a most charming spot. The distance from Port Natal is estimated at about 60 or 70 miles.

24th, Sabbath.—Native service in the morning attended by most of the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages. English service in the evening in the tent.

25th.—This morning my intelligent and entertaining servant Mungo took his leave, being afraid to cross the Tugala, having formerly fled for his life. In enumerating his good offices, he told me that he had been my husband in one respect, my wife in another and my son in another.

Having crossed the river without much difficulty we arrived in the afternoon at Ginani (I am with you), a settlement of the American Missionaries in the Clomanthleen district. We were received with great kindness by Mr. and Mrs. Champion and Dr. Wilson, the Missionaries. This station has been occupied just a twelve month and has tried the faith and patience of the excellent Missionaries who reside there. They live in separate buildings of unhewn stone, which have been hastily thrown up and they are now building a large house of unburned brick, which is to be sheltered from rain by a verandah. The outward situation presents nothing attractive; but the deep tone of piety, the unfeigned humility and indefatigability of the friends whom I saw, were in the highest sense pleasing and instructive. Great success has not yet attended their efforts, tho' a good foundation has been laid by them, in a wise and even conduct, calculated to secure the confidence of a heathen monarch and incline him to view all missionaries with favour. I was astonished to find that Mr. Champion in the course of a year and half from his first arrival in the country, has made himself a competent master of the language, and is able both to preach and to pray in it. Their station which is near Kuloola, which Capt. Gardiner selected for the Church Miss. Soc. when he was last in Africa, was occupied simply because Dingarn placed them there; nor did they know at that time that it was preoccupied ground. The evening was spent in social prayer.

26th.—Mr. Champion shewed me his school. It is a rough temporary building, where he preaches on the Sabbath. It is generally too small for his congregations. A few Sundays ago a large concourse of people assembled from distant places for the express purpose of praying for rain, it being seed time. There is a sabbath school for children, but their parents cannot be prevailed upon to send them oftener than once a week, as they pretend to have constant need of their services at home. The Indoona of the neighbouring town has been very unfavourable to the missionaries and remiss in sending the children to school, so that the king at last said, upon the representation of Mr. Champion, that he was sick of his Indoonas and he would send some children himself. Accordingly he sent about 8 or 9 girls from Umkunginglovu. These I saw instructed by Mr. Champion. They have made great progress for the short time they have learned. Mr. Venables another missionary arrived with his family in the afternoon. He and Dr. Wilson have permission by Dingarn to settle on the Umshlatoosi beyond Congella in a populous part of the country. Mr. Champion and Mr. Grote are stationed at Ginani; and Mr



Lindley and Dr. Adams in the neighbourhood of Port Natal. At Dr. Adams' station a printing press has been lately brought into operation.

27th.—Proceeded on our journey; passed Intontella and presently were immersed in a deep bog from which our waggon could not be extricated without unloading. Shortly after, in crossing a narrow drift, the pole of the waggon was broken and we were compelled to remain all night where we were. Not one of our party had any sleep by reason of musquitoes.

28th.—In the evening arrived near the mouth of the Umlalasi, having travelled thro' an exceedingly dreary country.

29th.—Crossed the river with great difficulty, and only by yoking in 24 oxen. An alligator, considered one of the most dangerous animals, was seen and shot at in the river near the ford.

30th.—The face of the country changes. It reminds me now in some places of the Peak of Derbyshire. The heat excessive. The thermometer on my writing desk, under the shade of the waggon, which forms here the only protection from the sun, is at blood heat.

Oct. 1st, Sabbath.—Native service attended by 12 or 15 men; we had outspanned last night near a small village. To render my discourse more familiar I sat down and taught them on the ground. They were very attentive, continually asking questions, not of me but of one another. One man who was more intelligent than the rest, explained to the others whatever interested himself. One old man however once desired the assembly to be quiet, and to listen to me. It is singular that I was rebuked by my unlettered audience for the *incoherence of my discourse*, and I learned an important lesson, viz. the necessity of confining myself to *one* point, if I wish to be understood; for one man said that I talked first about one thing and then another, that they could not understand.

7th.—Proceeded slowly on our journey till we arrived this evening in sight of Unkunginglovo, at a military town called Ukayakunina. The Inkosikaz or head woman of this place is a mother in law of Dingarn. She and the principal Indoona immediately sent us milk on our arrival with apologies for not sending more.

8th, Sabbath.—Sent round to the Indoona, that I intended to teach Gods' word at the waggon. Much to my surprise and gratification, I heard that the Indoona was collecting all the people together. Presently a dense mass of natives I observed to advance slowly and orderly down the slope from the town. These separated into two divisions, the men came foremost, the women remained behind.

The Indoona sent word to know whether *he* and the Inkosikaz were to attend. Of course I said Yes. I was then asked whether the sick, the wounded and the lame were to attend. I replied No, but I would see them at their homes if they wished. The reply to this was that many had come home wounded from the war. My Interpreter and I sat down on chairs in the open space between the men and the women: I bade them all stand up and repeated the beginning of the 136th Ps. They then sat down and I gave them a short account of the creation of man, the covenant of life, the formation of woman and the institution of marriage. I asked whether they understood and told them, if not they might ask questions, but the Indoona said that I was to go on, and that they would not speak. I then proceeded to give an account of the temptation of the serpent, the fall of man and the promise of a deliverer. I then told them that I had finished and invited them again to ask questions. The Indoona now moved his seat to be near my Interpreter and said they could not understand, how the man could be made from the dust. I said that God could as easily form dust into a human body as they could form iron into an assegai. I asked them if they understood how the woman was formed. This, they said, quite beat them. I then explained to them again how death had entered into the world, and the promise of the seed of the women, who would bring us all to life again. I observed that this seed had come and that it was Jesus Christ, who would come again at the last day and raise us from our graves, and that all who believed in him would be happy for ever. This led to many interesting questions. On mentioning the name of our blessed Lord, the Indoona repeated it several times, wishing to get the right sound, asking me if this was God, I said he was the Son of God. They wanted me to talk more to them of the resurrection rather than ask questions. I therefore illustrated it by a grain of corn dying and afterwards springing up according to 1 Cor XV. One man asked if we should be happy before the resurrection or not till after we had risen again. I said that the soul of one who loved Christ went immediately into happiness, and that at the last day it would be united to the body. The Indoona asked me if Jesus Christ had sent me. I said I had felt him in my heart and that I knew my coming to teach them was pleasing to him. I further said that Jesus Christ had not spoken to my outward ear, but he had spoken to my heart. He then said he supposed that it would please Jesus Christ if they came to hear God's words. I said, most assuredly, but still more if they believed and practised them. After the conversation



was over I told them all to stand up and gave them a benediction. They then dispersed as quietly and orderly as they had assembled.

*Oct. 9.*—The oxen having strayed, we could not proceed on our journey. I had sent word on Saturday afternoon to Dingarn that I was coming and would be with him today. He returned answer by the messengers, that he was very glad and also sent a present of a fat cow for slaughter.

*10th.*—Arrived at Umkunginglovo about noon. Dingarn sent word by his chief servant that we were to come, waggons and all, to the Isikauthlo. As we drew near, his bust appeared behind the fence where he was standing. Having given him a distant salute he came forward, having a very gay red band on his forehead and his body covered with green baize. He seemed mightily pleased and with unusual condescension put forth his arm to shake hands. He then peeped into my waggon and spying Mrs. and Miss Owen begged them to come out. Next he called for my female servant, then for my Interpreters' wife and children, and surveyed them all with minute attention and silent pleasure. Last of all he asked what things I had brought him, and on producing some more red cloth and a red cloak (the latter of which only he examined) he bid the waggons return and said that I could now go and look at the hut and come again when he sent for me. I asked him where all his people were, since the town seemed nearly empty. He said they were all dispersed to their homes in the outplaces or villages.

*Oct. 11th.*—Early in the morning Dingarn sent for me. He was sitting on the outside of the Isikauthlo, three men sitting before him on the ground. These he told me were his 3 head Indoonas, Umthlella, Tamboozza and Maniti, who had commanded the army which had gone out against Umselekaz. He wished to inspire me with respect for his great captains, whom he had probably called for on purpose to introduce me to them. Tamboozza told me to sit down, but on telling him I had no where to sit, Dingarn sent for my chair. As the conversation began about Umselekaz, I asked Dingarn whether many of his own people had been killed in the war. He said not more than 10, but this I could not believe, as the numbers of huts, mats, etc. which had been burned, the remains of which I noticed yesterday, indicated many more. I then said that my country had not been to war for more than 20 years, and that we never went to war except for self-defence, Jesus Christ having told all men to love one another. He asked me whether the countries on this side the sea were the greatest, or those on my side. I said those on my side were by far the greatest,

tho' he was the greatest of the African chiefs whom I had seen. The Indoonas said I did not yet know the extent of their country, but Dingarn corrected them and then began to show and finally make them believe that this part of the world is an Island. I then told him that the greatness of a kingdom did not consist in the extent of territory, or the number of its inhabitants, but in righteousness and that the strongest nation was that which worshipped and feared God. I said there was a King who ruled over all other kings and that he favoured those kings who obeyed him, but forsook those who forgot him. He asked me if this king was God. I then repeated to him the history of Nebuchadnezzar, who had conquered the whole world; but being very proud and looking at his chief city exclaimed, "Is not this great Babylon, which I have built for myself?" God was offended, that he took away his intellect and drove him into the fields where he ate grass like oxen. At this Dingarn laughed and asked me how he could live on grass, I proceeded to say that, after seven years, God gave him intellect again, after which he honoured God and continued to be still a great king; but his son being very wicked and not honouring God, his kingdom was taken from him. He asked jokingly, if this was the son of the king who ate grass. Dingarn then asked me how old I was and wanted me to tell him his age. When I said I did not know, he asked me if it was not written in God's book. I said that God's book did not tell us such things, but only those which are necessary for our happiness. He then called for an old print he had of the Kings of England from the conquest and told me to read over their names, which I did and pointed to Elizabeth as the reign in which our country began to worship God truly, since which time it had been greater than ever it was before. He asked me if this was an Inkosikaz (Queen). He wanted to know who was the first king, and what relations King George and King William were and which was their father. He then asked me if God was among these kings. I said God was not a man and he was not the king of England in particular, but the king of the whole earth. He said he supposed he was from the beginning. The Indoonas asked me if I had seen God, but the king himself answered the question and told them I had not, but that he was from the beginning. I asked Dingarn if he would not set an example to his people and come to the station on Sundays to hear God's word, telling him that if he and his people kept the word of God they would live for ever in happiness. He asked if he should be able to learn and whether I could teach him to read. I said he might learn God's word by hearing of it, but that young people were generally the quickest in



learning to read tho' I would endeavour to teach all whom he sent. He asked if his Indoonas would be able to learn, but I pointed to some young people and to a lad that was holding an umbrella over him and said boys of that age usually learned quickest. He then gave orders for all the boys that could be found in the town to come forward: about a dozen appeared: the rest he said were all gone to a distance to get wood which I believed. He said that I might begin to teach them today. What followed I shall relate very minutely, as different opinions may possibly be formed of the propriety of my conduct. The king asked me to give him some gunpowder. I said I never gave gunpowder away and that I had none to spare, having only a little to shoot birds. He asked me if I could not give him a little as he wanted to shoot elephants. Being convinced that this was his real object and in order to save myself from the unpleasant office of giving him an article of this nature, I told him it was sold at Port Natal and he could get it there if he pleased. But I hereby got myself into another dilemma, for he now wanted *me* to purchase some and give it to him; and he said he would give me an elephants' tooth to purchase it with. This I declined, saying, I was not a trader but a teacher and that he had better speak to Mr. King\*, the driver of my waggon, who was returning to Port Natal and give him the tooth instead of me, and that he would get him gunpowder. He however renewed his request so earnestly that on reflection I thought proper to grant it him, being quite satisfied in my own mind that the object for which he wanted the powder was an innocent one. What his reasons were for not making the bargain in his own name he did not state. Either he did not wish to have any dealings with the Port Natal people, with whom he is not on very good terms, or he was afraid of a refusal, or it is against his dignity to offer anything for the sake of an equivalent, tho' he will readily give an equivalent for anything offered him. Most probably he was afraid the Port Natal people would not supply him with powder tho' they have with guns. I may also observe that I have the strongest reason for believing that tho' the letter goes in my name the destination of the gunpowder will be known by the Natal people. He seemed well pleased that I granted him his request and immediately told the children that they were to go with me to be taught to read: but as he wished me to write the letter in his presence, I said that as I must return again with pen and ink, they had

\* This was the famous Dick King who did the ride from Port Natal to Grahamstown in 1842, in order to obtain assistance for the British troops who were besieged by the Boers in the old fort at Durban.

better wait. On my return Dingarn was at his breakfast. I waited therefore in an adjoining hut a full hour, till he was ready to receive me. He was now in his hut reclining on a mat near the door, with a small head stool. I wrote a note to Mr. Maynard's agent at Port Natal to this effect, Sir, I beg to send you an elephant's tooth and shall be obliged by you sending me in return as much gunpowder as it is worth by bearer. I remain, etc."

Dingarn having had the letter explained to him requested me to add that the tooth had been given me by the chief. I therefore wrote in a P.S. "The tooth has been given me by Dingarn," tho' I must confess with some reluctance, on account of the disguise which I was apparently assuming. Yet, as the thing itself was true, and I was not accountable for any lawful use I might choose to make of the gunpowder, and it appearing to me that I might as innocently give it to Dingarn to shoot elephants as use it myself, being convinced that this was the only object he had, and that I was not obliged to say what use I intended or did not intend to make of my purchase, fully believing also that Mr. M's agent would not have the slightest objection to Dingarn having the powder and knowing also that my driver, who was to take the tooth to Port Natal in his waggon, would, without doubt, hear, tho' not from me and make mention of the nature of the whole transaction (another European besides my Interpreter was in the hut at this time. But subsequently Dingarn changed his mind and sent the tooth by his own servant, who would arrive at Natal before King). I could not feel that I was, God forbid, practising any deception, but merely assisting Dingarn to procure an article which he innocently wanted, but which he could not get himself, thro' his deep rooted objection to apply for any. This I did certainly to please him, but without violating (as I trusted) any principle, tho' a full statement of all my feelings and views seems necessary to clear me from the suspicion which a partial statement might occasion, that I departed in this instance from that path of Christian simplicity, which it has always been my desire and aim to walk in. And if, after all, I erred from the path of plain dealing, at the thought of which my soul shudders, I throw myself on the compassion of that Being who knew the integrity of my heart, and on his people who can make all allowance for the circumstances in which I was placed and the want of all time for consideration.

Dingarn asked me how many moons it would be before I built my school, and whether I intended to build it according to the fashion on the other side of the sea. I told him I



wanted men to cut wood, as I could not spare my Interpreter to go a long distance, as he must, to procure poles, beams, sticks, etc. He promised me men to cut as many sticks as I wanted for the school and also to build my Interpreter a hut; for he now lives in his waggon. The natives not knowing the quality of the poles needed for the school, I have engaged an European to cut me them at a moderate rate and he promised me men to help him. I told Dingarn that great people in my country were not ashamed to go a long distance to hear God's word: and I hoped that he would not object to come to the station on Sundays with his chiefs and people for the same purpose. He said he must consult with his Indoonas on this subject as it was the custom of his country not to do anything important without their knowledge. He then called the children together again and I took them with me to the station, having first been obliged to beg the King's head servant, who brought them, to tell them not to be afraid. I conducted them about a quarter of a mile beyond our hut, in order to be under the shade of a small tree, and to inspire them with confidence, I began adopting the native mode of talking, to tell them by means of my Interpreter that they were my children and that I was their father. I then asked whether they would promise to take pains if I taught them, but with characteristic freedom and ingenuousness, they said they must know *first* what it was I was going to teach them. I then produced a card containing letters, etc., at the top of which on the first line were the 5 vowels which I made them repeat after me. This they did with great interest as their countenances shewed. Presently I surrendered my office to my Interpreter, but continued to stand by. In the course of an hour they could pretty well bear to be dodged and shewed in their tractability, as well as their quickness, an example that would shame many English scholars. The strict discipline in which the natives are kept and the obedience they are accustomed to pay to the commands of their superiors render them very docile and this spirit of obedience is manifested in the children, for it would be difficult to find 12 English boys of equal vivacity with these and at the same time so obedient to every word spoken. I occasionally interrupted the reading instruction with a plain account of the creation, fall and redemption of man and with questioning them on it; but all was so perfectly new to them, that I could only discover one idea that they retained, viz. that man was made out of the dust. Before they separated I took down their names, some of which were in sense, as well as sound, sufficiently ludicrous. I then told them that I wanted now to teach them how to pray to God, so telling

them to kneel down and to be as silent as possible, not looking about them, playing or talking, I bade them repeat after my Interpreter the Lords' prayer, which they did with the greatest quietness and gravity. To conclude I bade them wish me good morning in their own way, upon which they all exclaimed "Shlala guthle imjundis," Rest quietly, teacher. I told them to come again in the morning, the biggest of them, a sharp boy about 15 years old, told the rest who were much younger that they must learn as their King had ordered them. I had scarcely had time to eat a meal to day when just after finishing my dinner, Dingarn again sent for me. I was at loss to conceive what he now wanted. However I posted with great willingness for the third time under the burning heat of the sun to Unkuninglovo, when I was surprised to find he had sent for me for no other purpose than to afford me what he no doubt thought would be amusements. All his female servants, who live at the back of the Isikauthlo, amounting in number to a least 500 and ornamented with beads, had been on occasion of my arrival summoned forth to sing. But as I took no pleasure in this scene, so can I find no heart for the description of it. My stay was irksome and yet I could not without the danger of giving offence offer to leave before the pantomime was over; and heartily did I rejoice when I beheld the sun sink below the horizon. But the grand display was reserved for the last, when the King's women, 90 or 100 in number, advanced richly attired with beads and brass rings, which covered the greater part of their body. These ladies being (as I suppose) too unwieldy, for the stoutness of some of them would exceed all credibility, did not walk as they sang like the younger women, but sat on the ground. Each tune appeared to exceed the former in animation till at length they seemed to be almost worked up into a phrenzy. Their noise could be heard not only at the station, but no doubt many miles beyond; the action of their arms and the violence of their gestures bore a due proportion to the exercise of their lungs, and so tired were some of them, that they cast a pitiful look whenever the King told them to commence a new song. Tho' there was great regularity in their singing, the monotony was intolerable. Dingarn asked me if it was not pretty, but I waived the question by saying I did not understand the words. One poor woman I observed sitting near me clothed with an ordinary petticoat, and without any finery about her. When the Kings' woman rose up they all surrounded her, tossing their arms about her for some time, but the poor woman continued to sit mute and still, as if she saw and heard nothing; not a muscle of her countenance moving.



Afterwards the King asked her if they had such doings in her country and then told me that she had been brought away from Umselekaz country and she was now living at Umthella's. I recommended the King to behave kindly to her, tho' she had come from his enemy's country. Dingarn then said he would shew me some of Umselekaz oxen and told me that these were only a few and that the whole fold was full of them when the army first returned. I said I hoped he would now be satisfied and not retaliate on his enemy any more. To turn if possible the current of his thoughts and the conversation, I asked him whose that grave was in the front of the town, covered with branches of trees. He said it was the grave of an "Inkosi inkulu," a great king who lived many years ago. I asked him where the Zoolu nation originally came from. He said they had always lived here. I asked him what was the name of the first king. He said Uzulu and that he had begun to conquer the tribes hereabout and that the grave I saw was that of his son. I asked if Uzulu's son was a great chief, and upon his saying yes I reminded him that the great must die as well as the small. Upon this he immediately told me that the sun was down and that I might go.

Oct. 12.—Dingarn sent the children early this morning; also saying that when the men returned, there would be many more children, but these were all there was at present. Three were added to the number of yesterday, and 15 are quite enough to begin with. They are all boys. He sent also an Induna and another man, who had orders to shew the person who was going to cut me poles, where wood was to be found, and to direct some particular villages to furnish men to cut sticks. Dingarn has given directions to supply me with milk and has sent me beer both yesterday and today. His great inkosikaz, or chief woman, sent her respects to me this morning. Dingarn begged of me some nails to repair his cart. Returning from a walk at noon I found my Interpreter busily engaged with the children, who had come again of their own accord, neither I nor Dingarn having ordered them. My Interpreter was necessarily absent during the morning instruction. The children met him on their return, and on his asking them what they had learned they replied, we don't know what we have learned this morning, for the Umfundis (teacher) sent us away so soon.

I was in fact afraid of tiring them. They now seem perfectly to know the vowels and the next step was as I conceived best, not to learn letters, but short syllables as ba, da, fa, etc. It was amusing to hear them, on my questioning, point out the difference between the forms of the letters. Their fertile imaginations instantly pointed out something

in nature or art resembling any given letter, which an English child could never have discovered; certainly at least not I myself if I had considered for a whole year, but the resemblance once shewn by them was ludicrously accurate. Three of the King's servants were sent by him this morning. Two attended in the afternoon. The reason that no girls come is that there are none in the town. Only a few children live at the capital town and those only boys, who reside with their fathers to help them to get wood, etc. Most of the men being now away at their own homes at the villages, there are but few boys here, but at harvest time when the men return, as Dingarn says, there will be more.

Oct. 13.—Dingarn sent the boys early this morning, but the man who brought them had directions to bring me and the children to Unkunginglovo, as the King wished to see how I taught them. On arriving at the town, however, I found Dingarn too busily engaged even to take the slightest notice of me. An Indoona had been reporting the case of a man who had been secreting some cattle which did not belong to him; but it appearing that the thief was about to leave the Indoonas' village and that the Indoona had not previously reported the theft, which it seems he had known of, Dingarn was laying all the blame on him and saying that he was worse than the man who had stolen the cattle. The woman who owned the cattle was present, Umthella sat at the King's feet, several of the King's servants sitting with their backs to the fence seemed to be assenting to every thing the King said, crying repeatedly "Yearbo baba, Yearbo baba," Yes father, yes father. Dingarn frequently rose from his chair and was apparently in a state of great excitement tho' not in a passion. I never saw him animated before. He is generally rather sparing of his words, but now he paced about snapping his fingers, clapping his hands, throwing about his arms, pouting forth his chin and throwing (?) in his breast, speaking at the most rapid rate, and showing all the agility and eloquence of a young orator. He accused the Indoona of telling lies, shouting out "amanga," "amanga," it's a lie, it's a lie, and bid his servants go and call the people together that they might hear these lies. They, running speedily thro' the area and shouting as they went, assembled in a few minutes the men now at the town. In the meanwhile there was a dead pause, yet I dared not take the advantage of it in speaking a word to Dingarn. The male population being gathered together, the king told them he had called them to hear the lies the Indoona had to tell, yet to my surprise he had so much self recollection during this animated dispute as at this moment to desire me and the children to retire and to say that he would come



to us. We accordingly retired to the place appointed where we commenced teaching the children. There were now 19 of them. After repeating their syllables, I gave them an account of the formation of the first man and woman, the covenant of life, the breach of the covenant and the sentence of death which followed, in the most simple terms I could devise. Of their own accord they repeated after my Interpreter every word he said, but on asking them if they thought they could recollect it they said, "it beat them" but added (pointing to the card), this beats us too at first, meaning that they did not despair of learning both in time. Resuming the syllables, the discussion being over, Umthella and others passed by the boys as I was teaching. The former did not deign to notice us: others I imagine viewed the instruction with no less indifference and contempt, and one man said the children must be very stupid, or they would in two days have learned the whole card! Before Dingarn would come to us he saw fit to wash himself: three boys help him to do this. But fearing that his breakfast hour was arriving, and in that case I must remain another hour or more, it being near mid day and having as yet ate nothing, I sent to him to ask whether I had not better go home and return: to which he replied, No, as he was coming: but soon after his breakfast bell rung (for he has a bell) and I ventured to send him another message, chiefly because I did not wish to get him into the habit of detaining me and making me lose my time in this way. He now recommended me to go and eat my breakfast, as he was eating his, and to come again in the afternoon. In the afternoon there was a dreadful storm of thunder, lightning, hail and rain, such as I seldom witnessed. In a few minutes my hut was deluged with water, the rain coming copiously thro' the roof. I however set out when it was fair, but found the clough between my hill and the town so full of water, that it was impassable.

Oct. 14.—Dingarn sent for me early to teach the children and *shew him too*. I first of all referred to the thunderstorm, and he asked what could be done to prevent it thundering I said that God caused the thunder to show forth his power. On my way I had met with a servant of Dingarn, who was driving an ox to the station, being a present from the king. He asked when I should kill it and laughed heartily when I told him I had not yet finished the corn which he gave me on Saturday. I told him my family was not as large as his. He then asked to see the card, when I taught him first the vowels and then part of a column of syllables. He seemed highly amused and called his servants together to see him learn. When I told him he should endeavour to distinguish

the letters, he said his eyes must first become more accustomed to them. He presently retired to wash, when I taught the children many persons, chiefly the king's servants, sitting by. Afterwards I repeated to them again the same account I gave them yesterday of the creation and fall of man. Dingarn returned in the midst of it and listening, sometimes smiling. He again said his lesson over and over, and indeed proved an apter scholar than for his age I could have imagined him to be. At length he told me to go home and eat, and said that I might leave the card, showing me how high the sun must be when I came again to teach him in his own house. At the specified elevation of the sun he sent for me again. He bid me enter his house, when he repeated his lesson. I now taught him the remainder of the column till he became master of it. I said he could now go on to the next, but he was not contented with his own proficiency, and said he must polish up again what he had already learned. He told me he should learn. I said I would teach him, but as tomorrow was Sunday, I should not teach him the card, but asked whether I should teach his people or himself the word of God. He did not seem willing to send the people to me, nor did he ask me to come and teach himself: and I thought it better not to press the subject at present. He requested me to leave the card, and said he should read it tomorrow till sundown and that on the day after tomorrow I should teach him the next column. His quickness and patience much surprised me. I was pained to hear on my return home that the Indoona whose trial I heard yesterday was sentenced to death and was killed immediately after the trial, before I had time to return home. He was taken from the place where I saw him, driven to an eminence near the town, and there first stunned and then killed by large sticks and stones! I could not suppose that the poor fellow was pleading for his life and that he was so near his end.

Oct. 15th, Sabbath. I felt much discouragement to-day on account of Dingarn not listening to my request yesterday that he should send his people to hear the words of God, neither did the children attend as usual. English service in the hut.

16th. A young man, a servant of Dingarn came this morning to learn to read at the command of his master. Dingarn sent for me later than usual. His favourite servant was holding the card in his hand which Dingarn on my arrival took from him and began to read. He proceeded to the second column, which he learned immediately; then to the third and so forth. He did not however manifest the same patience as on Saturday and was eager to proceed to something new; being also impatient of correction. As



I was obliged to gratify his humour, I promised him a new card which is now preparing consisting of easy words formed from the syllables which he has been learning. He is also anxious to get a "book" and asked me how many more cards there will be. The children did not come yesterday as many of them have left the town to get wood, or to accompany their fathers to the out places and the King himself was teaching his own servant boys, who form a part of my little school. Dingarn however sent as many as could be found this morning.

17th. The children attended as early as  $\frac{1}{2}$  p. 5. At 6, Dingarn sent for me. I took him the new card, which by my assistance, he read, and detained, to become more familiar in it. He read over the former card without a mistake. He is particularly anxious to learn to write and asked me whether it would be possible for him to learn. The children attended again at noon. After saying the syllables, I questioned them in the account I had twice or thrice given them of the creation and fall of man and to my great surprise and pleasure, I found that they had recollected the substance of it all. One little boy in particular gave me satisfactory answers to the questions. They also told me the name of the Son of God. I was also much pleased with the sobriety and quiet with which they repeated the Lord's prayer after my Interpreter. Dingarn today sent me a present of 7 cows and 3 calves. We commenced today planting potatoes.

18th. The children attended twice. Dr. Wilson, American Missionary being on a visit to the king spent part of the day with us. Dingarn did not send for me.

19th. The children attended at 6 o'clock. I told them that I had come from the other side of the sea to tell them about Jesus, and to teach them to love him. One boy exclaimed, "Siyamtanda" (we do love him) but I said, you cannot love him yet, because you do not know him, but I hope that when you do know him, then you will love him; and I asked whether they desired to know him and to love him. Several of them said that they did desire. I then gave a very brief account of the life, character, death and resurrection of Jesus; and afterwards taught them to repeat the Lord's prayer as usual. In the afternoon they attended again with an increase of numbers.

20th. The children attended at 6 as usual. They could tell me that Jesus Christ was the Son of God and that he is in heaven, but they required to be told again that he was once on earth. I said he came down from heaven to teach people the will of God, and that what he said was written in a book. I told them that I had this book and

that when they were able to read, they could learn this book, which would shew them the way to happiness. They were attentive and seemed to understand. In the afternoon they came again, when I began to teach them a hymn from a selection I brought with me from one of the Missionary stations in Caffre-land (Here follows the hymn, in English, but it is of no historical value.)

Oct. 21st. Dingarn sent for me at 6 o'clock. I found him very busy in state affairs. His Indoonas were sitting at his feet and a number of men were being arranged in classes to be sent to reside at different villages. As soon as this business was over he beckoned to me to come near to him and eagerly asked for the card. This he read over till he became tolerably acquainted with it; but he seemed to think that he had almost acquired the art of reading already, as he asked whether there would be anything more to learn after this, he also expressed his anxiety to learn to write. At this interview I presented him with a chain of gilt beads, with which he was much pleased and put it round his neck. I had a serious point to plead with him at this time, which led me, independent of his general kindness, to afford him by this present some token of good will, I told him that I had something particular to say to him, that I had come to his country purposely to teach God's words, but that last Sabbath I had not a single person to hear me; that tomorrow was Sunday and I wished to know to whom I was to teach God's words, and that I did not want only children but men. His reply was the same as he gave last Saturday, "There are no men." I knew there were but few, yet quite sufficient for me to teach. I therefore desired that I might teach, if not all, yet a few. He said he did not know whether the people would be willing to come and that I must ask Umthlela, his principal Indoona. Having reason to fear rather an unfavourable reception from him, I petitioned the king that the people of a few villages near my hut be allowed to attend the preaching. He replied that they were digging. I said that I had come into his country to teach him God's will, and that will was that we should not work on the 7th day but only on 6 days of the week. He then referred me once more to Umhlella and said I must speak to him myself when he was alone, and that I must also ask another Indoona, whose name I forget. Tamboza was not at home or he must have been consulted also. I asked the king if he had any objection to the people coming. He said *he* was willing, but if he were to give orders without the concurrence of his Indoonas they would afterwards be teasing and worretting him about it. After this I witnessed a novel and singular scene. An old man with a



withered arm and having his head ornamented with a number of small bladders came forward. Three of the king's servants sitting down began with great animation to snap their fingers at him, crying after every snap, "Find it out," he himself repeating some words after them. I asked Dingarn who he was. He replied "Its like writing, he can tell things," and it appeared that Dingarn had called him on purpose to put his professed skill in the knowledge of secrets to the proof. Dingarn who has a great deal of sense in him began once to ridicule the fellow for not telling him his secret. After the snap, the challenge and the vain guess had proceeded with great animation for more than half an hour I begged leave to go not knowing how long it might be continued. Dingarn is not the sort of man to be imposed on by these wretches, and I should not wonder if the old man was not to fall under his displeasure and be put to death. On arriving at the station I saw by a telescope that they were still at him. I had a very interesting conversation this morning with the young man who brings my milk. He had begun to converse with my Interpreter asking him what we had come to teach. He had given some very judicious answers, when I happened to come near and pursued the conversation. I told him that he was happy *now* (for indeed all the Zooloos seem happy) but if he learned God's word he would only be happier still now, but he would be happy for ever, even after his body was dead. He asked me what sort of happiness. I told him he would see God and would be free from all manner of trouble and that there would be no more death. He was very anxious to listen and repeated after my Interpreter the substance of what I said, sometimes making very judicious observations, at other times asking questions. I told him that everything he saw shewed that there was a God, for it could not be that the earth, the sun, etc., had been made by any man. There must therefore (be) some superior invisible power, that he who made the eye must see and that he who made the ear, must hear, that in fact God was in all places. He was present with us then and would be with him when he returned home. He enquired whether if they served God, they should be able to serve their king too. I said they were to do what their king told them and also what God told them. I then told him that God had given us a law which all had broken and that he had sent his son Jesus Christ to save us. He asked, where is he? I told him that he was from the first in heaven, then he came down to the earth, afterwards he went into heaven again and that at the last day he would come down to the earth again and that we should all see him. He asked what was the last

day. I said the end of the world, when all things will be burned. He asked whether it would be Jesus Christ that would raise people and then put many singular questions as to what people would be raised and with what sort of bodies they would come. He asked whether those persons would be raised that had been dead a long time, and when I repeatedly told him that all, all, all would be raised he laughed partly thro' astonishment and partly perhaps from incredulity. I explained to him that our bodies would not be like our present bodies but they would be changed. He asked, what kind of bodies then? I said they would be like Jesus Christ and not as our present bodies subject to pain, sickness feebleness and death, but incorruptable and immortal. I told him that those who learned God's word would be caught up in the clouds to meet Jesus Christ and would be for ever with him. His ideas of a future state were however formed from our present condition, and were, as might be expected from an ignorant savage who had never till now heard one syllable of religious truth, very low and carnal. He asked whether we should *plant* in heaven, whether the cattle would rise again too, what coloured bodies we should have whether white or black. Some of his enquiries however were more pertinent. He asked for instance whether those who were already dead were now happy. I gave him to understand that only those who learned God's word would rise to happiness, and that the rest would be cast into a fire which could never be extinguished. He expressed a doubt whether the people could come to be taught without the king's orders and said they dared not, but he seemed to think that it would be impossible to be the king's servants and serve God at the same time. He asked after we had learned, learned, learned what then? Shall we know all? I said, No! I do not know all myself yet. His reply was most remarkable, "then I suppose that Jesus Christ alone knows all." He asked when I went away how they were to learn then. I said I did not mean to go away. He asked, what, shall you not go back to your own king again? Upon the whole the manner of the young man was so serious and his observations in general so pertinent, his attention and eagerness so great that I could not but feel deeply interested in this conversation which occupied a full hour.

In the afternoon I walked down to the town, and sent a messenger to Umthlela, to say that I wanted to speak to him. He sent word that I was to go and sit in the shade and he would come to us. Accordingly having taken my seat under a tree, Umthlela shortly made his appearance and began to say he was very glad to see me, but at the



same time I had been very ungenerous in not having given him anything after I had been here so long. I asked him if he had received the cloak I had sent him: he said he had heard it was come, but he had not seen it, adding, if it stretches from this tree to that, pointing to a tree about 30 yards off, he should think something of it. I told him it was only large enough to cover his body. He then asked divers questions about its quality, colour, etc., and at length said, "Now then no more of begging; let me hear what you have to say." He then listened attentively whilst I told him that I had come from the other side of the sea to teach the people God's words; that this was my only object, and that the word of God commanded people to be obedient to kings and Indoonas and that it would make people who heard it good subjects, good children and good in every respect. He here interrupted me and asked me whether God had said that Kings and Indoonas ought to learn his word, as he knew I had begun to teach the children. I said certainly, both small and great, and that there was once a nation whose King God commanded to have his word constantly by him, and to read and meditate on it every day. He asked me to tell him what God's word said. I told him in a few words, that it told us first that we must all die, but afterwards live again; and that we must go either into a place of happiness or of misery; and that it shewed us the way to obtain everlasting happiness. He asked where that place was. I said with God in Heaven. Mapeti, another great Indoonas whom Umthlela had sent for now arrived to whom Umthlela related the former part of this conversation. I then said that I had asked the king's permission to teach God's words to his people, and that he was willing, but said that I must ask them. Umthlela then said that as the King had sent me to him, his word was this, I must go on teaching the children, and when they had learned then I might teach the men. I made him understand that what I required of the men was, not to learn to read, as the children, but only to hear *what I had to say*. He repeated however what he had said; only adding that as Tamboozza was sick at home, nothing could be said till he came. I thought it proper not to press the matter at this time. Umthlela then took pains to inform me that the heads of the nation were 1 The King, Dingarn, 2 Mapeti, 3 Umthlela, 4 Tamboozza; and that the king could do nothing without them; for whatever the king might appoint, it would not stand without their consent. I told him I knew this, as the king himself had told me, at which he seemed highly pleased. Mapeti who for the first time I learned was superior in rank to Umthlela is the

king's own brother, whom he very much resembles in countenance and in person being very stout. He is heir apparent of the government. Umthlela is of slight stature, but tho inferior in rank, took the lead in the conversation. It terminated quite as favourably as I had anticipated. Tho the word of God is for the present bound, I do not feel discouraged, as I strongly hope, that in a little time, after prejudices and suspicion have worn away, liberty will be given to preach it. Meanwhile the people cannot fail to enquire what is the nature of that word which they are debarred from hearing and their minds will be better prepared to listen to it, when the time for its proclamation arrives.

*Oct. 22nd, Sabbath.* Only four children attended in the morning to whom I gave a short and simple account of our Saviour's birth. They did not come in the afternoon owing to rain. English service with the Lord's supper in the hut, my own family with my Interpreter composing our little congregation.

*Oct. 23.* Dingarn sent for me to open a parcel which had been brought to him. It appeared however that the parcel was directed to me as were several letters I found in it. There was besides Capt. Gardiner's narrative of his journey to this country.<sup>1</sup> I began to be a little frightened lest Dingarn should open the book and see his own likeness, and gave it therefore to my Interpreter telling him not to give it him unless he asked for it. First he desired me to tell him the news that was in my letters. It was on this occasion that I first heard of the death of our late gracious Sovereign, which fact I communicated to Dingarn. He then asked to see the great book, referring to Capt. Gardiner's journal and wanted to know what it was about. I took it in my hands, carefully keeping out of his sight the pictures and told him that it was a description Capt. Gardiner had given of his people from his last visit. He asked me to read it. I read the first page; wherein the author states his design in visiting the Zoolu country, to gain access to ministers of the Gospel and proceeded to tell Dingarn that *now* both he and his people were well known in England tho previously they had scarcely been heard of and that my people felt much interested in his welfare and had sent me across the sea to teach him God's words. I told him that I was happy in my own country, that I had a comfortable home and had left it on purpose to teach his people but, I said, if I had not *men* to teach I might as well have remained where I was,

<sup>1</sup> Narrative of a Journey to the Zoolu Country, by Capt. A. F. Gardiner, published in 1836.



that I had spoken to his Indoonas, but they were not willing that his people should come and be taught, but I looked to him and to them to send them by and by. He asked, why should I look to him? had he not done all he could? when I asked him, had he not said that for his part he was willing that his People should learn? I told him that I knew he was favourable to the teaching of God's word and I looked to his Indoonas to be favourable also in a little time. Dingarn said that if his Indoonas would consent, he should thank them. I then repeated my opinion, that he himself was favourable to God's words. When this conversation was over Dingarn put forth his hand to take the book. I gave it to him and he opened it at the picture of his capital with which he was much amused. He then turned over the leaves one by one with his nails with the utmost care and examined all the pictures which highly amused him, his servants also gathering round and manifesting equal delight. When he had at length arrived at the very last page he turned to the frontispiece, where he himself is pictured in his ordinary and dancing dresses. He said that in the latter dresses Capt. Gardiner had just hit him, but he could not be persuaded that the middle picture was at all like him. He mentioned someone else that it resembled. He then asked if the book might remain with him, as he wanted to shew it to his women, whom he called his sisters. I then took my departure, but he called me back to see with my own eyes the beads and various ornaments in which Capt. Gardiner has depicted him, to shew me their resemblance to his drawing. He then had one of his women dressed out in them and got the long brass pole, which he has in the picture and made her hold it exactly in the same way in which he holds it in the book, and bid her to stand at a moderate distance, that I might pronounce on the resemblance. All this was done with perfect gravity and in a very short time, Dingarn asked me as soon as I saw him this morning, whether the children continued to attend, shewing as I understood him, a real desire that they should be taught. It was too cold for them to come this morning but they attended in the afternoon.

*Oct. 26.* I received a letter this morning from Capt. Gardiner by some messengers whom he had despatched, stating, that a copy of my letter to Mr. Maynard's agent at Port Natal, containing the application for gun-powder, as mentioned in my journal of the 11th inst; had been forwarded to him; and that, as he considered it a forgery, he had stationed a party of men at the ford of the Umtongata, to stop the messengers who had the gunpowder, which he intended to detain till he heard from me. In the afternoon

Dingarn sent for me to read some letters which he had received. One letter was for myself, stating that the tooth had been received and valued at £7 10s. and 5 barrels of gunpowder given in exchange. I judged it expedient to inform Dingarn of the detention of the gunpowder and also of the reason which Capt. Gardiner assigned; viz. that someone had written the letter in my name: he was not in the least offended, but said he should send messengers for it to Capt. Gardiner, having heard from me, that I had written to him to say that I was indeed the writer of the letter. At this interview I read a letter to Dingarn which he had received from the Dutch boers, who have lately left the Colony, expressing their desire for peace and a good understanding with the Zoolu nation: to effect which, it was their wish to have, by means of their chief head, a personal interview with Dingarn: who would at the same time also arrange with Dingarn the place of their future residence which is to be in some part of the uninhabited country adjoining the Zoolu territories. The letter was dated from Port Natal and signed by the chief of the boers. Their party were at present dispersed in various parts of the country. The letter also stated the cause of their rupture with Umzelekaz, Dingarn's great foe, who by means of the Boers and Zoolus is now said to be utterly vanquished.

*Oct. 27.* Dingarn sent for me in the morning to read the letter from the Boers to Umthlela who was seated at his feet. Neither of them made any observations on the letter in my presence, but Dingarn seemed more than ever to admire the mystery of writing and by the action of his fingers as if holding a pen intimated his great anxiety to be able to write. As he held the letter in his hand gazing at it with astonishment I offered to explain to him the antiquity of writing, in doing which I was led to remark that God had written his commandments on two tables of stone which he had given to his people, that they might observe them. I was in hopes that he would ask me what these commandments were, but he made no reply and took up his card which was lying on the ground and began to read. He had so far practised it by himself that he was now able to read every word without a mistake, tho' doubtless as all other beginners in a great measure by rote. He then called for some pictures and wished me to show him how they were drawn. As however I had no pencil by me I could not satisfy him. He was particularly anxious to know how the eyes and other parts of the human body were delineated. He returned to me Capt. Gardiner's journal of which he had taken great care. The messenger who was sent for it brought in a basket. By the messengers



whom the King despatched to Capt. Gardiner, I wrote a letter requesting him to send the powder by them. (*As this letter as well as that which I wrote yesterday morning by his own messengers contain a fuller.*)<sup>1</sup> In the evening Dingarn sent for me again, and as I guessed his object was that I might explain to him the art of writing, I took with me a volume of the Encyclopaedia, containing that article, shewing him prints of the eyes, ears, etc. of the human body, which I thought would satisfy him, but he asked if I had drawn them all today and hearing they were not my doing, he wished me to exhibit my proficiency in this art. I shewed him some prints in the encyclopaedia, particularly of the diving bell, and explained to him its principle and use. With this he was much pleased, and told me to explain it to his women, for we were inside of the Isikauthlo. These poor creatures then gathered round, but being as destitute of sense as they are without God, instead of given me an opportunity of administering to them any sort of intellectual pleasure they did nothing but gaze on me and my dress: and whilst I was talking one of them succeeded in capturing a ribbon that was tied round my hat. Beyond their beads and ornaments they seem not to have a thought. Dingarn naturally thought that the bottom of the bell was covered and asked whether there was a *door* in it to enable the workmen to get out. He also enquired whether the water did not come in.

Oct. 28th. Dingarn sent today to ask me to send him some English garments to clothe his people with. He had no doubt been informed of the check pinnafore which we had given our female servant. I took him half a dozen of them and a few kilts of dingareen intended as clothing for the men. I never saw him more pleased. He thanked me 3 times and said they were beautiful and that his people would love to wear them. I then told him that my boy servant had refused the kilt from fear (for when I offered to him he shrunk back and said that he should be killed if he wore it), but Dingarn said now that he was to wear it and not be afraid. I staid but a very short time. In order to meet with him I had to pass thro' the Isikauthlo, which is divided into numberless compartments, each containing about 3 huts. These the king's women inhabit, but the king's hut which is the largest of all is in a compartment by itself. Neatness and cleanliness are observable everywhere. The children continue to attend regularly once or twice a day. Today I put the eldest and most forward over the rest as monitor, an office he sustained to my satisfaction.

Oct. 29, Sabbath. The children attended in the morning to whom I explained as I did last Sunday the institution of the Sabbath. I then asked them several questions arising out of the hymn which I had been teaching them. In particular I enquired whether they thought that *they* were sinners. To which question the eldest boy replied, "We shall be sinners so long as we continue to do wrong." As this answer implied a conviction of sin it was the more encouraging as I had not yet told them that they were sinners. It was either an inference from my previous instructions or the genuine response of his own mind. I then asked if they knew what would become of persons who continued to sin. As they gave me no answer, I said that God would cast them into a pit of fire. The boy in question seemed impressed. Dingarn not knowing it was Sunday sent to have some knives ground. I was glad of this opportunity to exemplify to him the precept of observing the sabbath. Some of his servants also came to offer goats in sale. Dingarn never sends for me on Sunday when he recollects the day, tho' it is my earnest wish (as soon as his ear shall be opened to attend to such a petition) to go regularly on the Sabbath day into his Isikauthlo to teach him the words of God. English service in the hut.

Oct 31st.—Dingarn sent for me soon after 5 with directions to bring pen ink and paper. As soon as I arrived he commanded one of his servants to make haste to bring all Umselekaz' sheep which had been captured in the war. In the meantime I asked Dingarn whether the man whom I saw yesterday told him his secret. He laughed and said No! not this time: nevertheless he was a great secret teller: if anything was hid he could tell where it was. If any person also had by witchcraft caused sickness, this man could smell the witch out. Dingarn in answer to a question of mine expressed his faith in the supernatural powers of the man in question: which faith seems to have been confirmed by the following circumstance. When the army did not return from Umselekaz country as soon as was expected, Dingarn called this man to him and asked the reason. He said that only one regiment had had hard fight, that Umselekaz had been conquered and put to flight, that the Zoolus had taken a vast number of cattle and that the trouble of driving them caused them to be so long on the road. Dingarn then said, he took particular notice of everything the man said and

<sup>1</sup> The words underlined are crossed out in the original. They are at the bottom of a page and the whole of the next page is missing. It is probable that this page contained "a fuller" account of the unfortunate gunpowder transaction into which Mr. Owen was driven by the terrible circumstances in which he found himself.



found that it was all true. Having related to me this wonderful story, he asked me with an air of triumph what I could say to this! I replied that if he had asked me the same question I might have given the same answer, for I should think it very likely that *he* would overpower Umselekaz, it was very probable that Umselekaz would fly, that the Zoolus would take a great many cattle and this would of course delay them on their journey homeward. He laughed at my persuasion(?) of the prowess of his arms, but said the thing that most astonished him was the specification of a particular regiment which had to fight hard. I asked if the man was a real secret teller, why could he not tell secrets always, for it appeared he was at a loss the other day. He said they often asked the same sort of questions, viz., If they could find out witches, why did they not find them all out? Many were still in the country who were as yet undiscovered. He then told me the way in which the witches went to work. He said that they went out in the dead of night carrying a *cat* under their arms, that when they got to the house of the person whom they intended to bewitch, they sent this cat who was a sort of little messenger into the house; that the cat brought out either a bit of the hair or a bit of the cloak or something else belonging to the unhappy victim which the witch deposited in some secret place under the floor of his house and that in consequence the object of his malice in due time became sick. Persons had often been detected with the cat under their arms going on this unmerciful errand. There were five animals which the witch employed in his service, the cat, the wolf, the panther, the jackal and the owl. I asked if the wolf did not eat them up, but he gravely replied, No, for he follows him as a dog and at break of day the witch and the wolf have both been seen going about their business. All these lies Dingarn seemed firmly to believe. I asked him whether a white man could be bewitched and told him I would defy all the witches in his Kingdom to do *me* any harm. He said that they could bewitch me if they chose, but they did not dare as I was the Kings' friend: for the same reason they did not dare to bewitch any of his great Indoonas. I said I hoped that now Missionaries were come into his country there would be an end of witchcraft. He asked why? They will not be afraid of you: for they are not even afraid of the "smellers out." Presently the servant brought the sheep, together with the skins of a great many which had died. Dingarn then called Umthela who took his seat on the ground at the King's feet. He then dictated a letter to the chief of the Boers who had written to him the other day. The purport of this letter does credit either

to Dingarn's honesty or to his policy or to both. It was to say that these sheep which had been captured from Umzelekaz (in number 110) belonged to the Dutch, and that he was anxious to return them to their proper masters: that hundreds had died on the road and many more had died since their arrival here, the skins of which he sent; and that Umzelekaz had fled with the oxen of the Dutch only 9 of which had the Zoolos captured and these had all died. I was much pleased with this little instance of Dingarn's sense of justice. As he was desirous of putting his own mark on the letter I gave him the pen wherewith as if affecting to write, he made a scribble down the paper, at which I could not keep my countenance, nor did he preserve his. He is indeed wonderfully taken with this sure mode of communication by writing and resorts to it at every opportunity. Whenever he sends a message to or by a white man it is always on paper. The other day having occasion to send a white man to Delagoa Bay, he made him write down the message that he might not forget it and sent to me for pen, ink and paper for that purpose. In the evening the Messenger returned with the powder: when Dingarn sent for me again to open a parcel of papers which they had brought for me from the American Missionaries: all which he desired me to explain.

*Nov, 1st.*—Dingarn sent for me in the evening to write another letter for him to Port Natal. This I wrote in his own name. It was to purchase more gunpowder with 3 elephants teeth.

*2nd.*—Again I was sent for in the evening to read a letter which the King had received: but as it appeared that it was addressed neither to him nor myself, but to a European supposed to be at Umkunginglovo, he was at the pains to send a messenger to the writer of the letter for permission, which I said must be on paper, for me to read it to him. Tho' the letter was not sealed, Dingarn shewed great delicacy in not offering to open it, tho' a verbal request had been brought that I should read it to him. He recommenced this evening his reading, which has been omitted for some days.

*3rd.*—Dingarn sent for me in the morning to write a letter to Capt. Gardiner: before he told me the subject, he dismissed his Indoonas and servants, and we were left alone. The letter was to request Capt. Gardiner to come and advise with the King, respecting the territory to be assigned to the Dutch. He said they were desirous of settling in the country which he had already given to Capt. Gardiner, and he did not wish to displease him by asking him to relinquish it: but he had rather that they go and settle in the country



near that from whence Umselekaz has lately been driven. (A letter from Capt Gardiner had previously apprized me that the Dutch farmers, who had arrived at Port Natal, intended to take possession of the adjacent country and setting up a government of their own, which had been loudly protested against by the English settlers, who purposed in a few days sending a petition to the Government for aid and a recognition of the territory of Victoria by Great Britain.) The letter being written, Dingarn having taken it into his hand began more than ever to admire the art of writing and asked, as he has done a thousand times, whether he should ever be able to learn it. On telling him that if he tried he might, he said that if the difficulty *did* overpower him, it should not be for want of trial. He then began to read, and confessed that he had not "thirsted" after his reading so much lately as before, but said if he "thirsted" more, he supposed he should make quicker progress. I have still reason to be encouraged in the children, particularly in some of the elder boys. One of these a lad about 15 or 16 years old, who has changed his residence to a neighbouring village, received on removing, an express command from the King to attend the station daily. He is a very intelligent and well behaved youth and has attended me from the beginning.

4th.—Intense cold to-day prevented the children from assembling. In the evening the King sent for me to read a letter which he had received from the Dutch; he was seated in his hut on a chair: his Indoonas were also present. On his presenting me with the letter, I was sorry to find it was written in Dutch, a language I do not understand. Dingarn however did not manifest the least sign of disappointment, but requested me to shew him how paper was made. On my observing that I thought the Dutch would be here the day after tomorrow, he asked if the obstacle to their coming *tomorrow* was Sunday: and asked if I intended to keep Sunday tomorrow! I said yes, and that I was sure as it was Sunday he would not send for me on any common business but if he would send for me to read to him God's book, I should be very glad to come. He asked if I meant to read in the same way I had done at Nobamba, and hearing that this was my wish, he said I might come. I rejoice in this as one step gained to the open preaching of the word: and hope and pray that I may gain access to the King every Sabbath with the exclusive right of teaching him Jesus. Dingarn's hut was very warm, a fire having been kindled in it, the smoke of which had rendered his face doubly black. His house does great honour to native architecture. It is very spacious, lofty and exquisitely neat; the floor as bright

as polished marble, a fire place very tastefully devised and the roof formed of sticks closely compacted together. It is far superior to the common huts, but the door is as low as any. It is supported by 21 pillars or posts which are covered from top to bottom with beads of various colours. Dingarn usually reclines on a mat at the left side of the door, but today he was sitting on a chair.

5th Sabbath.—Dingarn sent early to say, that as it was so cold, I had better not come today, as they would not be able to attend for the cold. At this I could not be much surprised, as the natives always feel cold severely. He added that I was to come some other Sunday instead. In the afternoon the Dutch arrived. Dingarn sent for me to come and see them. Of course I went. Dingarn asked if I was keeping worship when he sent for me. I said no, but I had come as he had sent for me to shake hands with the Dutch. He then shewed me where they were. I told Dingarn that I hoped next Sunday to come and teach him. He said Yes! The Dutch expressed their disappointment that they did not arrive in time for service. The deputation consisted of four persons. When I got home I saw that Dingarn was making an exhibition of his cattle. He has lately been collecting an immense herd of oxen from distant parts of the country, for no other conceivable motive than to display his wealth to the Dutch. This herd consists of the white back oxen only: but it was without number. The children attended today. Kukumala the eldest professed to have a knowledge of sin. To convince him, I assured him that swearing and lying, the two most common sins, were both forbidden by Jesus Christ. The usual oath is "by Dingarn." He seemed surprised and told me I had confounded him: whereupon I explained to him how God had noted his sins and would bring him to judgment if he did not repent, but he might obtain forgiveness thro' Jesus Christ.

6th.—Dingarn afforded amusement to the Dutch by collecting a large body of men from different parts to dance. The Gouverneur Mr. Ratief (sic) dined with us. Dingarn told him that pleasure must take precedence of business. The Indoonas (he said) had been asking the King to go once more against Umselekaz to bring his head, but the King said that if they had done as they ought, they would have brought it the last time. We were much pleased with the frank and open manners of our guest.

7th.—Dingarn sent for me to witness the festivities in honour of the Dutch. One whole regiment of (word-missing) or young men, who have not a ring on their head, were summoned to exhibit their skill and energy in military



exercises. So anxious was the King that I might have the full enjoyment of this sight, that he sent a second messenger to bring me and would not allow me to sit as at other times, but said that I must stand and admire. He was at great pains to assure us all, that this was the *smallest* of all his regiments, nor were ears quicker than his, except perhaps those of his Indoonas, when I gave the very slightest intimation that I wanted to be informed concerning any part of the solemnity. The first act was a representation of the manner in which the Zoolus commence a battle. The regiment divided into companies, each soldier having a stick in each hand (or in lieu of a stick the horn or some bone of a beast, for very few had their shields, and no one his spear) with a sort of double quick march, performed various evolutions, exciting themselves to the supposed combat by some note of their voice, which could not be called a song, and by raising their sticks aloft in the air. Very soon tho' it was not warm, the wet ran down their bodies. On a sudden they gave a whistle, and forming into one large company they rushed furiously as if to a charge down the open area of the town whistling as they ran. Some who had shields after this first essay, leaping aloft and kicking their shields cried out "We are as hard as stones: nothing shall hurt us." Presently the military divided into two parts and each dancing round the area on opposite quarters, they at last came within 20 yards of each other, when they made a tremendous rush as if engaging each other in close conflict. The Zoolus do not throw their spears as other tribes do, but come to close quarters. After the sham fight had continued for some minutes, one party gave a particular sort of cry, which is usual after they have gained a victory. After this they formed a large semicircle, in which they stood very thick and deep, their numbers beyond count, and began to sing and dance, the King himself sometimes setting the tune. Dingarn was clothed with a splendid robe of various colours, black, white and red in broad stripes from the top to the bottom. When the review was over, another party of men began to assemble, and fearing I might be detained still some hours under the almost vertical sun, which was now very hot, I pleaded for my dismissal.

FRANCIS OWEN,  
Kulula Unkunginglovo,  
Zoolu Country,  
South Africa.

Received in London, March 29th, 1838. Nov. 8th, 1837.

Nov. 8th.—Dingarn sent very early for me, and in great haste to meet the Dutch on business. Mr. Retief the Gouverneur had written a letter to himself as from the king who

dictated it. This letter being in Dutch was first interpreted to me, and then read over to the king for his approval. I was requested both by the king and Mr. Retief to write the letter in English.

The Gouverneur then returned home with me, here I wrote in English to the following effect. "An answer to your letter and the conversation which has now taken place" alluding to Mr. Retief's letter mentioned in my journal of 26th ult. and a conversation which he had yesterday with the Dutch, at which I was not present. After a long parade about the Boors' cattle which he had taken from Umzelekaz, and in the plenitude of his bounty had restored to their right owners, being only a repetition of what he had already written (Journal 31st ult.), Dingaan proceeds "To go on now with the request you have made for the land. I am quite willing to grant it." This land was the country Northward, Southward and Westward of Port Natal which I have understood from Capt<sup>n</sup>. Gardiner he has already given to the king of Great Britain by a formal grant, signed by him since Capt<sup>n</sup>. Gardiner's late arrival, but which he is now "quite willing" to give to another power. "But first (he says) I wish to explain that a great many cattle have been stolen from me from the outskirts of my country by people with *clothing, horses and guns*. These people told the Zoolus that they were Boers, and that one party was gone to Port Natal and that they (the Zoolus) would see now what would come upon them! It is my wish now that you should shew that you are not guilty of the charge which has been laid against you, as I now believe you to be. It is my request that you should retake my cattle and bring them to me, and if possible send me the thief, and *that* will take all suspicion away from me, and I will cause you to know that I am your friend. I will then grant your request." After writing the above I had a long conversation with Mr. Retief on the inconsistency of Dingarn's conduct, and the vain hopes which he was holding out to him. I told him of the grant of country to the English Government, and asked him whether supposing the settlers at Port Natal objected to their occupying the country of Victoria, except on condition of their becoming subject again to the British Government, they would occupy it on these terms? He plainly said No. I then asked him whether they would attempt to occupy the country by force? He distinctly said No. They would go further Northward, and get some other equivalent for the service which they were now going to perform for Dingaan, alluding to a recompense in cattle. He thoroughly understood how the land in question had



passed away from Dingarn, and how he could not *consequently* give it to them. But the expedition against the native chief, whom they knew to have stolen the Zoolu cattle was necessary, he considered, for a vindication of their own character. But I endeavoured to prove to him that no such necessity existed, for there were other means of clearing their character than by becoming Dingarn's emissaries in making war. I said that the report of the messengers who had told the king that they were Dutch who had stolen the cattle, ought to be examined into: that these messengers ought to be confronted with the Boers before Dingarn: that they should be asked what was the colour of the skins of the mounted party who told them that they were Dutch. He said he had already asked the king for this: whose reply was that the messengers had stated that they had red caps on and that if there were black people among them, they were only a party with which the Boers had united: but the messengers did not say that they had *seen* a *single* white man, only that their dress was like white people's and that they said they were Boers. After saying a great deal more on this subject, I was obliged to desist. Mr. Retief (who himself seems all mildness) could not see that any course was left but one, viz., to go to Sintuala\* chief of the Mantitees or Busutoos and read the letter which Dingarn had written. He felt persuaded that this chief would without hesitation surrender up the cattle, as he had both witnessed and confessed the power of the Dutch: and he would deeply lament any necessity for war. That the nearest missionary might read the letter to Sintuala he was desirous of its being in English—We then went to the king to have his signature. Having read the letter to him I asked him in the presence of the Dutch, whether he had not already given the land which the Boers had been requesting of him to the British Government! He paused for a few moments, and then said, "I will speak to Mr. Retief on that subject when he returns with the cattle." Either he or his Indoona afterwards said, he had not yet stated *what* country he should give to the Dutch. To this assertion they made no objection. On taking leave of Mr. Retief, I expressed my earnest hope that no blood might be spilled. He warmly assured me of his fervent wishes to prevent it himself, and believed that the cattle would be restored without a blow. To him I committed my letters and journal to be forwarded to the Colony.

Nov. 9th.—Dingarn sent in the evening to borrow a bullet mould of me, as his own was not large enough. Having

\*Sikonyela, for affairs between this chief and Dingaan, vide appendix.

received intelligence from Capt<sup>n</sup> Gardiner that the gunpowder which I procured for Dingarn would not have proceeded from Mr. Maynard's store had it been known that it was for Dingarn, and it having been also represented to me by Capt<sup>n</sup> Gardiner, that the sole purpose for which Dingarn wants powder and other warlike stores is to do mischief. I resolved to act upon his testimony and advice, considering this as the safest and wisest course, from which I should not have deviated in the first instance, if the least suspicion had crossed my mind either that the settlers at Port Natal were unwilling that Dingarn should have powder, or that Dingarn would use it improperly. Accordingly I desired the messenger to tell the king that I could not lend him the bullet mould, but that I would explain the reason when I saw him. I had scarcely delivered this message when I was sent for to read a letter which the king had received from Capt<sup>n</sup> Gardiner. This letter was in answer to that which Dingarn had written to ask him to come and give his advice about the territory which was proper to be assigned to the Dutch. Capt<sup>n</sup> Gardiner put some pointed questions to him respecting the injustice of giving to the Dutch, what he had already given to the king of England, by a formal grant signed by himself and his brother Mapeeti, and asked him what would other kings think of Dingarn, if they found that his words were not fast words, or concluded by advising him not to promise any of this territory to the Dutch, till he had heard from the English Government. Dingarn asked what was it that made Capt<sup>n</sup> Gardiner so angry! Had he not told him in his letters, that he did not wish to give the land about Port Natal to the Dutch, but that he had rather they should occupy the country from which he had lately driven Umselekaz and which was now his? This was what he intended to give them and not what he had already given to the king of England! He had not told the Dutch *what* country he should give them! He knew that they *desired* Port Natal, but he did not intend to give it them. If, however, they should determine to occupy it by force, should he then be blamed! It appears that Dingarn has been acting craftily toward the Boers. He knows full well what part of the country they *wish* to possess and he has been giving them to understand that the whole country, called Victoria, is still *his*. (Of this I was informed by Mr. Retief), but he has not *expressly* promised to transfer any part of it to them. He has merely said, "Go and get my cattle, and then I will give you land *somewhere*," he *means* Umselekaz late country, but he has been leading then to imagine it is Port Natal. Aware of this I thought it right yesterday to expose Dingarn's subtlety to Mr. Retief,



and to put Dingarn himself, in presence of Mr. Retief who understands English and the other Dutch, the plain question whether he had not already alienated the land, which question he evaded as already mentioned. The Dutch farmers cannot be surprised if he puts them off with Umselekaz country: and Mr. Retief expressly assured me that if Victoria could not be occupied peacefully it would not be occupied at all. Having endeavoured to explain as well as I could, the reasons which Capt<sup>a</sup> Gardiner had for writing to him in the style he had, and recommended him to write another letter to pledge himself not to give the land in question to the Boers (if he really did not mean to give it them), I proceeded to tell him, that I should always be glad to do him any favour in my power, but with regard to the bullet mould, gunpowder and the like, as these were instruments of war, it was not right in me as a white man to provide him with them, and that the white people would not be pleased with me if I did, and tho' I had once procured him powder, and my interpreter had sold him a gun, I hoped he would not ask me again to get him any of these articles. He said he did not wish to over persuade me. He said it was right in me to obey the laws of the white people: but tho' powder and shot were instruments of war, *he* did not intend to employ them for that purpose, as he always made war with the spear. He then asked me if I had finished my meat, and said he would send me an ox to-morrow.

Nov. 12th, *Sabbath*. Dingarn sent a boy with his Telescope for my Interpreter to mend. I desired him to return it saying it was Sunday, and also that I was coming by the king's desire to read to him God's book. We were directed to wait outside of the Isikauthlo. A man stood near us shouting or rather brawling with great vehemence for many minutes tho' no one was near but ourselves. When he had finished he came to us and I asked to whom he was speaking. He said to the king: that he was praising his shield because he had given him one. I have sometimes heard the king's praises sounded forth in this manner in the dead of night, to the disturbance of my repose. The voice of the praiser has reached the station a distance of more than a mile. Presently notice was given to the king that a buffalo was in sight. This at once defeated my expectation of preaching to him the word of God. The men were immediately ordered forth with their dogs and spears to hunt. Dingarn himself ran about with his Telescope to get a sight of the animal, and one of his servants brought out a gun with which my Interpreter was asked to go and shoot it. He properly replied it was Sunday. Tho' at the distance of  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile or more Dingarn asked him if he could not shoot it

from the place where he stood. The king then climbed up to the top of a hut, from whence with his glass he kept the animal and huntsmen in sight, and just as we were going, he sent another message with a horn full of powder to go and shoot it, as it was now under a bank. But my Interpreter still refused saying that we feared the chief in the sky. We left word that we were going to keep Sunday at home, and that if he wished me to keep Sunday with him he might send for me. Subsequently he sent a message to tell us that the buffalo was killed.

Nov. 13th.—The king sent for me in great haste after dark to read a letter he had received from Port Natal. As usual when he is in a hurry he sent the horses which are kept in his fold. He was sitting outside the fence of the Isikauthlo: some dried rushes (the native candle) were lighted and held by a man to enable me to read. The letter was in answer to his request of Nov. 1st, for gunpowder. Mr. Norden (Mr. Maynard's agent at Port Natal) being now on his way to the Colony the store keeper replied that no orders were left to supply Dingarn with powder, should he ask for any, nor had he received any instructions not to send it. In the absence of such he was bound to act as the law directs. The same act which appointed Capt<sup>a</sup> Gardiner declared it illegal to supply native chiefs with arms or powder: consequently he declined sending any, tho' he would detain the teeth for further orders from Mr. Norden.

I may observe here that I was not in the slightest degree aware of any such act as that just alluded to, when I got a supply of powder for Dingarn, or when I wrote the second letter (Nov. 1st) in his name for the same article: otherwise I should not have interfered in either case. I acted for the best, and, the Lord helping me to resist the importunities, or even to incur the displeasure of Dingarn, I shall never again assist him in any sort of way to obtain either arms or ammunition, whatever may be his motive for desiring them. The letter which was addressed to me being read, and which contained several palliatives from the writer, as the announcement of a few presents and an expression of confidence in Dingarn's integrity with regard to the use of the powder, the king made no observation, but his mind was evidently disturbed. At length he called "the speaker" (the name by which my Interpreter goes) to his side and told him that he was *cast down*, because the Port Natal people supposed he intended harm by the powder. I reminded him that the letter did not say so, but they were obliged to keep the law which our king had made. He asked "do they then think beyond the sea that I intend evil?" I said, the law was not made in reference to him in particular, but to all



black kings. As this did not satisfy him I asked what would he think of us, if we broke the laws of our king! Would *he* (Dingarn) not be displeased with his people if they were to disobey *his* word. But I said we ought to be subject to kings and magistrates not only for wrath but for conscience sake: not merely for fear of punishment, but because God in his word commanded us. He did not however pay much attention to this, but abruptly appealed to his people (who were present) whether the Port Natal people had treated him well. They trade with us (said he): we are all as one, and why do they suspect me of evil. His people assented to all their chief said, crying out with one accord "Yearbo baba" (Yes, Father). I endeavoured to soothe him as well as I could, but to little purpose, apparently, tho' he said he was not displeased at *me*, but at them at Port Natal. He however at length said that I must come again in the morning to write for the teeth: I was glad at his determination to have the teeth back, as if they had waited for orders, Mr. Norden would have been reduced to the painful dilemma, either of sending the powder or of giving a further provocation to Dingarn's anger, who would in that case have been yet more displeased than if the teeth had been returned at once. I left him heavy and displeased. He did not recognise me when I took my departure, either in the native style of pointing the finger, or the English way which he has adopted of smiling or nodding the head, and I really feared that by brooding over the subject during the night, his wrath would wax hotter and hotter. Nevertheless when in the morning—

Nov. 14th.—Dingarn sent for me, the presents consisting of a paint box and brushes, a folded slate and a steel pen were engaging his attention. Before we proceeded to business he asked me to shew him how the paint was used. I sent home for a plate and in the meanwhile drew with a pencil a likeness of William the Conqueror from a copy which he gave me, and afterwards painted it. He viewed the whole operation with the same attention as if I had been a Raphael, but remarked that I had not given the expression of the eye: otherwise he confessed I had given a facsimile of the painting. He then asked me to write the letter, which I did tho' after writing it, his mind began to wander on some other plan, viz., that I should write to Mr. Norden to know what his orders were. This however, I resolved not to do, and succeeded in persuading him to send the letter to the store keeper, thus relieving Mr. N. from all further embarrassment, of which indeed I was partly the occasion by writing Dingarn's letter of November 1st. Dingarn probably feared that his teeth would be by order of Mr. Norden returned to

him, and he did not choose to abide such a refusal. Tho' not in his usual spirits he was far less ruffled in mind than he was last night, and in the course of the day sent to ask for my painting, which I had purposely brought away with me. He sent again for a black lead pencil, and the third time sent the same messenger with a pencil drawing, which the king had accomplished by virtue of my tuition this morning. It was the head of William the Conqueror, and certainly did him credit, considering he had never before held either pen or pencil in his hand. But I was more particularly glad to observe this diversion of his mind, which I hailed both as the means and token of the assuaging of his wrath. The boy who had already (as king's messenger) been 5 times to the station to-day, came a sixth time with the other boys to learn. This is the hottest day we have had. The thermometer in the hut at 92°: a warm land wind. I shewed Dingarn this morning some pictures representing the order of the creation: and explained to him the appointment of the Sabbath which he clearly understood.

Nov. 15.—Dingarn sent a painting which had employed his time and thoughts yesterday expressly for me to see. I commended it, and asked him to paint *me* one.

Nov. 16th.—I had a long argument with the boys this morning on the subject of swearing: and never did children more pertinaciously adhere to their point; not that they argued for the lawfulness of swearing, but they maintained the utter impossibility of breaking it off. In the course of their instruction the frequent repetition of the word Dingarn, Dingarn, Dingarn, intimated to me that they were swearing. When, therefore, my Interpreter came I told them that I must never hear them swear again, as Jesus Christ had said we were to swear not at all. They asked, are we not to swear when we are at home? How are we to confirm our words without an oath? Who will believe us? We shall be beaten all day if we do not swear: we were "created" unto this practice; our fathers swore before us: the king himself swears: he swears by Charka, and Charka used to swear by the chief who was before him. If the king were even to tell them not to swear they could not help swearing, for they had no command over their mouths. What would God do to them if they swore? Will he kill us? If he does we cannot help it, for we cannot but swear. Would you draw us away from our king, for it is by him we swear. Such was the style of argument which my refractory pupils most energetically indulged in, tho' they confessed they were not pleading in favour of the practice, but only shewing me how it was they *could* not leave it off. They said I was not created to it but they were. I spoke to them



on the efficacy of truth, how if they always spoke the truth, they would be believed tho' they did not swear: that lying and swearing always went together; that they must therefore, only say Yes and no: that they must not mind being beaten by man, but should rather fear punishment from God: that they were to tell their parents and friends all I had said, and that I myself should tell the king: I told them that Jesus Christ would give them "power" to leave off swearing if they asked it of him: that they were to obey their king in all things, but they were not to swear, because God had forbidden them. They said they would try not to swear, but never expected to succeed. The chief speaker, Gushlupeka, was an interesting boy about 14 years of age and servant to Mapeeti the king's brother—Gangitoli, my own servant, a sharp lad about 11 years old snapped his fingers and suited the action to the word, with all the eloquence of a native orator. The debate as it shewed the vivacity, energy, freedom and ingeniousness of the boys, so it is a sort of anticipation of the character of the discussions which I may hereafter have to hold with *men*.

Nov. 19th, *Sabbath*.—Having erected a high pole yesterday near the station, at sun-rise this morning hoisted a white flag, to give notice that it was Sunday, but the wind blew so strong and cold from the South, that I did not think it advisable to go down to the king, to ask permission to preach to him as I intended. Shortly before our usual service in the hut, Dingarn sent a message to say that some said it was Sunday, and some it was not; that he had not seen me for a long time (since Wednesday), and that he should be glad to see me today if I pleased. Accordingly after service I went down, hoping I might have an opportunity of reading to him the blessed word of God: but tho' I took my bible on purpose, no opportunity presented itself of reading to him. He had called for me to read a letter he had received from Capt<sup>n</sup> Gardiner. He told me that the *Boers* in conjunction with the *Busutoos* had made another attack on him; and that he had sent out 3 regiments to fight: but that the enemy had escaped, and his own people were now returning home—He asked me if I had been keeping Sunday, and on my telling him that I purposed keeping it again in the afternoon, he laughed at what he seemed to think such a profusion of worship. Native service in the afternoon attended by Capt<sup>n</sup> Gardiner's messengers.

Nov. 20th.—Commenced this morning with the aid of my Hebrew Lexicon, etc, turning the 19th Ps. into Zoolu. In the evening commenced the translation from the Greek Testament of the Gospel of St. Johns—These exercises will I trust contribute to my improvement in the language, and

will accustom me to the important work of translation: at the same time that they bring me to a closer acquaintance with the sacred volume itself. I record this humble commencement of my labours in this branch notwithstanding I am fully aware that not only every sentence, but perhaps every word of my new exercise will hereafter bear criticism.

Nov. 22nd.—Dingarn has just stopped the trade with Port Natal. His people having declined purchasing some cloth which Capt<sup>n</sup> Gardiner sent the other day to Unkunginglovo at Dingarn's request, he professed to be so angry that he swore by his Father, that whosever should sell another head of cattle to any person, either for cloth or beads should be put to death. Under this pretence, tho' probably to wreak his vengeance on the people of Port Natal for not selling him gunpowder, he has virtually stopped the trade without *appearing* hostile to the Europeans themselves, of whom he is doubtless afraid, and of whose services to *himself* he is anxious to avail himself. My Interpreter and I are both included in this interdict. Neither of us can purchase cattle.

The *Izinseezu* or young soldiers who were sent out against the *Busutoos* returned yesterday, not having found their foe. But not being satisfied to return without some booty, they wantonly made an attack on a tribe of Cannibals as they styled them (men-eaters), called the *Amazimi*, dwelling beyond the *Quathlamba* mountains. They brought away a number of goats, and the men who had signalized themselves by shedding blood, entered the town in one company. They are usually distinguished by small pieces of wood threaded round their neck, one piece for every man they kill. When they brought the spoil to the king, he chid them for not having done as he had bid them. I did not send you (said he) against these people but against the *Busutoos*.

Two persons were put to death yesterday, a man and a woman, for the crime of Adultery. They were executed in the usual way by knobbed sticks on a hill nearly opposite my hut—Six persons were seen going slowly (as to a funeral) out of the town toward the hill; only 4 returned. My Interpreter happened to see the first stroke, and my servant, who was near the place washing clothes in the river heard the shrieks of the dying sufferers! The day before yesterday one of the king's women was put to death. What her real crime was (if any), I do not know, but for some reason or other, she made her escape by night out of the *Isikauthlo*: was apprehended next day, and brought to the king, who ordered her to be killed!

Nov. 25th.—Employed every day this week as on Monday 20th ins. Dr. Wilson, American Missionary arrived, having



kindly ridden 50 miles from his station to attend my Interpreter's wife who is ill. I went down in the evening to Dingarn specially to tell him that to-morrow was Sunday, and to ask leave to come and preach as he had promised me. He said very readily, that I could come in the morning, as soon as it began to be warm.

Nov. 26th, *Sabbath*.—The most memorable at the same time most painful day since the commencement of the Mission. About 8 o'clock when I was preparing to go down to the town in order to preach the word of God (as I hoped) before the king, he sent a messenger to tell me that he was much displeased; that he expected the Teachers would instruct him in *all* things: however, they chose to select certain things which they would teach him, but would not instruct him in that which he most wanted to know, alluding to fire arms: therefore, I might indeed come down this once and preach God's words in the town, but this should be the last time the children might come to me on Sundays, but this was all he would grant. I thought this message strange, but made no reply to it, as I was myself ready to start to the king Dr. Wilson accompanied me. When we arrived he was sitting as usual in the open area outside the fence of his Isikauthlo: a number of his servants sitting by him on the ground, and the rest of the men of the town at some distance ready to commence their breakfast, consisting of bowls of native beer, which the women bring every morning from a long distance. It was the first time I had seen the men partake of the beer, tho' I had constantly met the women carrying it on their heads, who as they proceed one after another thro' the town to the Isikauthlo where it is deposited make a practice of singing. Instead of the Christian practice of giving thanks to the Father of all mercies before meals, these men praise their king for his bounty, shaking their fingers in the air, making a hissing noise with their teeth and shouting out Bayet "Our Father." Dingarn having in vain endeavoured to extract from my Interpreter what my sentiments were on his message this morning, called me to him, and told me he was *very sore*. The white people, he said, were not *one with him*. They granted him some things, but other things they withheld (alluding to the gun-powder): yet he was ready to do all the white people asked him: first one teacher asked to instruct his people, then another, and he granted all! Yet he could not have his wants supplied in return! He said, moreover, that I was like the rest: that I was one with the white people; for when he asked me only to *lend* him a bullet mould, I refused, this shewed that I was like them. I told him that I was ready to do him every service in my power, consistently with my

duty to my God, my king, and my country. He said it was no use for me to "twist myself out" of the charge that he brought against the white people, for it was evident that I opposed his having fire arms as much as they did. I told him I did not mean to twist myself out of this charge, that I desired his good, chiefly the good of his Soul, which I had come in the first place to promote, and that I was ready to teach him anything else besides God's word consistently with my duty to my country. He said it was in vain for me to shelter myself under the pretence that I desired his good, because I did not lend him the bullet mould. He repeated over and over again the substance of what he had said, addressing himself to his servants, all of whom acknowledged, and then he said he would tell me plainly that *he was offended*. When I asked if he was offended at me, he told me *not to ask that question*. I must infer it from what he had said. At length I told him it was Sunday, whereupon he bid me to address his people and teach them the word of God. At the same time he sent Masipulu, his head servant to tell the Indoonas that they were all to be quiet and listen attentively to me. A dead pause immediately ensued. I went forward, feeling in my heart, that I was called to testify Christ publicly in this place for the last, and the only time! Having advanced within a convenient distance from the men, the king sitting a good way behind, I commenced by telling them that they all knew that there was a great chief above the sky. Dingarn now sent a message to us to tell us to speak up, as we did at Nabamba. Raising our voices I proceeded to say that this king was greater than all kings, greater than my king, greater than their king: that they ought to fear their parents, they ought to fear their king, but much more ought they to fear the great God; they ought to do what their parents bid them, what their king bid them, and also what God bid them! We have none of us, however, done what God has told us to do. We are all sinners before him: He is displeased at us: each of us has a soul that must live for ever when the body is dead, but that our Souls, by reason of sin, are filthy and that they must be *washed*. Until this moment the greatest stillness and attention prevailed, but now the contradiction began, and such a cavilling and stormy audience never did I before address. It is impossible to give an adequate idea of the dispute which lasted for nearly 2 hours; one cavil succeeded another or was repeated 10 times, whilst no reply was made to my answers. The indoonas and the king were the chief objectors, the latter sitting at some distance behind and speaking low, his servant Masipulu shouted out to my Interpreter all his remarks. First I had to turn to the Indoonas,



then to the king as they successively opposed me. When I had begun to speak of the need of spiritual washing in order to introduce the Gospel the subject was treated with scorn. One asked if we were to be washed in the river. I said not with water, but with blood! Whose blood was the natural reply. The blood, I answered, of the Son of God, who was Jesus Christ. Where is he? they asked. In heaven, I said, but once he came down to earth, and . . . Whom did he leave behind to wash us. He washes us himself with his own blood. It is not our bodies that he washes, but our Souls.—He washes all who come to him by faith. Away, its all a lie. I persisted in crying that Jesus Christ shed his blood, and that if they believed in him, that he came down from heaven, that he died for them, their souls would be saved. They asked me how this person was killed and who killed him. I said, wicked men nailed him to a tree. Dingarn then asked if it was God that died. I said, the Son of God. Did not God die, he asked: I said God cannot die. If God does not die, he replied, why has he said that people must die? I told him it was because all people were sinners, and death was the punishment of sin, but he would raise us all again from the grave. This gave rise to innumerable cavils. They wanted me to tell them the day and the hour when we should rise again, who would be witnesses of the resurrection, who would be alive at that day. They said if any generation had been seen to rise from their graves they would believe. I told them that Jesus Christ rose again the third day, and that he was seen by his 12 servants, and afterwards by 500 persons at once, and that his servants raised a great many other people. Dingarn asked me how many days Jesus Christ had been dead. If only 3 days (said he), it is very likely that he was not dead in reality but only *supposed* to be so! I said, that when he was on the tree a soldier pierced his side from which came forth blood, and that blood, I said, if believed in washes away sin. After a great deal more combat they told me I need not speak anything more about the resurrection, for they would not believe it. They had no objection to God's word, but they did not believe in the resurrection. Previous to this, however, I asked them why should it be thought an incredible thing with you, that God should raise the dead? Could not he who formed us at first, bring us into being again! They said they were formed by their Parents, but would not tell me how the first man was formed. At length they told me to say no more about the dead—leave them where they are, *go to the sick* and keep them from dying, for this is easier than to raise the dead. It is impossible to relate all that I said and all that they said. Whether all

this contradiction was designed or not I cannot tell. Dingarn at length told me that the sun was hot and that I must tell him when I had done. I said I had only one question to ask. Did they not believe that the spirits of their ancestors survived their bodies. He said, all they believed about them was this, that when a person was sick the doctor was consulted who sometimes said that the spirit of the sick man's father had caused the sickness, hereupon he advised the sick man to appease his father's spirit with a bullock, and after this he sometimes got better. I said it would be much wiser for sick man to pray to God that his sins might be forgiven. Notwithstanding the contradiction I felt encouraged to think that God had enabled me to bring the truth before them, and tho' they did not understand it and would not believe yet, they could not avoid remembering (perhaps for ever), that it was by blood sin was to be cleansed and that he who shed this blood was now in heaven and ready to wash all who believed in him! This doctrine indeed now appeared to be "foolishness" to them and as such utterly rejected: but I was encouraged to hope that the Spirit himself would hereafter unfold it to them, shewing them its true import and necessity. It might I hoped be a foundation on which to build at a future time, and doubtless they would remember more, than if my discourse had proceeded in a natural strain. I many times broke away from their cavillings and exhorted them to believe instead of objecting. The king once asked if all men would go to heaven? I told them plainly, if you believe the words which I now speak you will go to heaven, but if you believe them not you will all go to hell. They wanted me to give a proof that Christ was now in heaven; as who had seen him there. What the persons who took him up into heaven said when they came back again. Umthela remarked that if he saw a bird fly ever so high in the air and he looked at it steadfastly it always came down again. I told them he went up by his own power, in the sight of his disciples and that he would surely come again, when every eye should see him.

English service in the afternoon in the hut. In the evening I had a conversation with Shlay-kay-la, the king's servant who ordinarily comes on messages to me. He seemed to have a clearer notion of some points in religion than any Zoolu I have met with, having been accustomed to hear Mr. Champion at Ginani. He knew that he had a soul which after death would go up to God, who was the great chief of all and would be his subject. He felt when he did wrong he sinned against God and he had heard of Jesus Christ. He said he loved God exceedingly and he loved me



too, and therefore it was that he now asked me for a cloak, tho' he confessed this was not so necessary for him as the forgiveness of his sins, and he did not mean to turn the discourse away from God. Such were his answers or remarks to my questions. I told him he ought not to deceive himself by fancying he loved God since he was a sinner, and God was displeased with him, but he should seek his favour confessing his sins. He granted he said all this, dwelling particularly on the importance of confessing his sins, and said of his own accord he would think of this when he was alone. I told him he must not suppose that his confessing his sins was of itself capable of procuring his forgiveness. The true ground of his hope was that he had a friend in heaven. Jesus Christ, who would take his part before God. He granted this and thanked me for it. I told him he must not only thank me for telling him this truth, but above all thank Jesus Christ who died and now lives for him! On the whole, however, discouraging the day was, before I closed my eyes in sleep, I felt by the grace of God more disposed to remain at this place than ever. I realised the almighty power of Divine grace which is able to introduce the kingdom of the Redeemer, notwithstanding all the contempt and opposition of the rulers. The despotic Dingarn himself, who has so much control over his subjects and holds them fast in bonds of the most servile obedience cannot hinder them from embracing the truth if God's will, and the cause is his! Tho I despair of being able for a long time to minister public instruction to the people, yet I conceived that the indirect methods of conveying truth by private conversation with the natives are various, and I felt strongly disposed to seek and avail myself of opportunities for this purpose, waiting still to see the salvation of the Lord, and in what an unexpected way he will accomplish the purposes of his grace!

*Nov. 27th.*—Dingarn sent for me in the morning to read a letter he had received from Capt<sup>n</sup> Gardiner. What was my joy at finding letters from England! No one can conceive the pleasure which the sight of the hand-writing of my friends and the seal of the society afforded me, but they who have been 11 months either on the wide sea or in a foreign land without once hearing of or from those most dear to them, but now letters poured on me in abundance. I was detained some time explaining the nature and use of some presents sent for Dingarn by a friend at Sheffield, after which I had occasion to visit with Dr. Wilson, Umthlela the Indoona. On my way I broke the seal of the Society's letter of July 18th, this being in strictest harmony with my great work, and therefore at the moment at least exciting equal or greater interest in my mind even than the letters

of my nearest friends. I was encouraged to hear that the Committee approved of all my arrangements in respect to the Cape Association. I hope to have an opportunity when with Umthlela to refer to the controversy yesterday, and thus to introduce religious conversation, but when I arrived he and many others about him, who were standing outside the enclosure of his huts, abruptly asked me what was the use of giving all that ingoobu to the children, alluding to the kilts of Dingareen with which I have clothed the boys. Why not give it to them who have wives? Dr. Wilson then introduced the much wished for conversation by saying that all the words which I said yesterday were true. They all shrunk back and said. We will say nothing on this subject, except before the king. This seemed to take away the remaining hope I had, arising from private conversation. It may not be from any express order from the king that they so positively refused to open their mouths to speak of their Maker, but they are so afraid of doing wrong or of displeasing Dingarn, that they dare not venture on any *new* course without his express permission. This servile fear pervades all classes and operates in matters unconnected with religion. Having some Indian corn which I wanted to be ground, first of all no one dared to grind it on my premises, even tho' it was a gift of the king: the persons we asked to do us this service must needs take it to their own village; then they could not perform the operation without sending to the Indoona who was a long way off in the mountain and when he was not at home to give his advice and consent they returned the corn unground. This is a little thing, but it shews the spirit of the people, and this fear of doing amiss will it is probable operate disadvantageously in things of greater importance! The man whom the king appointed to milk our cows being on the premises one night at the time of our evening worship, I called him in, but immediately recollecting himself, he said, he was afraid, for the king had told him to milk for us, but he had not told him to come into the house! He went therefore and sat outside. Some young women whom we had procured last week from the Isikauthlo (servants of some of the women there) to grind our corn, came in one morning at my desire to prayers. The next morning, however, when I sent for them to come in, they all scampered off in haste expecting I should use force, and on their return said, that they should be beaten by their mistresses, who had ordered them not to come in.

*Nov. 28th.*—Having determined to accompany Dr. Wilson to his station, for the sake of that Christian intercourse and advice which are almost necessary in a country like this,



I had procured a guide yesterday from the king, who, notwithstanding, what had passed readily furnished me with one, and this morning we set off on horse back about 10 o'clock for the Umshlatoosi where Dr. Wilson and his coadjutor, Mr. Venable, have located themselves a distance from your capital of about 50 miles. We had scarcely got out of sight of my residence, when rain compelled us to put up at a small miserable looking village, the last we should meet with for many miles. We were accommodated with a hut which was supported by only one prop. Our host more out of kindness, I believe to himself than to us, lighted a fire to avoid the smoke of which I was obliged to lay my head on the floor. We were detained here all day and had several visitors, to whom we endeavoured to speak a few words in their own tongue, having left my Interpreter behind. At night I spread my cloak on a mat which served me for my bed, and I slept sound.

*Nov. 29th.*—Rode forward to the next village. Though the season is so far advanced, yet so cold was the wind that I could not only bear but feel the comfort of a cloak. We off-saddled and sat on the ground on the outside of the fence, where a group of natives surrounded us, bringing us a bowl of sour milk. Whilst we were drinking, Dr. Wilson spoke a few words to them in their own tongue on the creation. They were exceedingly interested, and eagerly endeavoured to catch his meaning. One man having understood the words repeated them more fluently to the audience. After this "day of small things," we proceeded on our journey, and slept at a village 17 miles distant from our friend's home.

*Nov. 30th.*—Arrived at the American Missionary station on the banks of the Umthlatoosi about noon. The country between this place and the capital is mountainous and generally destitute of trees. The mimosa and euphorbia are most common. The aloe plant abounds near the capital. The road in some places so steep and rocky, that we were often obliged to lead our horses. The dale of the Umvuloosi presented a most picturesque and enchanting prospect. This river or a tributary stream belonging to it, flows past Umkunginghlovo. Mr. Venable was not at home on our arrival at the station, having gone to procure wood for the erection of a school room. They have built 2 small reed houses, and are conveniently situated near excellent water, and possess facilities for the irrigation of an extensive garden. They are within sight and walk of a great many villages. The nearest military town, Shlangazwa, is about 5 or 6 miles distant. We passed it on the road.

*Dec. 1st.*—Ascended a mountain commanding on one side a fine view of the valley of the Umthlatoosi, and covered

with mimosa, and on the other the mouth of this river, distant about 10 miles, and which is supposed by some who have examined it to contain a better harbour for shipping than Port Natal itself. The spacious prospect of African scenery on all sides of me, gave rise to many reflections on the scene of labour which I have chosen, I tremblingly hope, for life. I felt as if for the first time I was *now* in Africa! Mr. Venable returned home to-day. In the afternoon the male portion of the natives who, I had observed yesterday and this morning, came from curiosity about the house suddenly withdrew, and no one dared to approach the premises. The reason was the king had sent a servant girl to Mrs. Venable at her request, who is some way or other connected with the "great house," having the care of some younger girls (I was informed) who are to be brought up in some capacity for the king. To approach this young woman or to pass her without special command is death. Hence were the male natives (for the exclusion only applies to them) driven at once from the station. The girl of course was of the king's selection. Other marks of distinction were also heaped upon her. She was not allowed to have her food from any of the meaner villages, but it was brought to her from the military town, 6 miles off, by an appointed servant who sat at a respectful distance from her.

*Dec. 2nd.*—Walked with Mr. Venable to Shlangazwa to see the Indoona of that town. We spent some time in his hut, like all the other great people in the country, he was an arrant beggar. After some preliminary conversation, I asked who made the mountains, the sun, etc. The reply given was "they came of themselves," but being shewn the absurdity of this they said *we* could tell them.

*Dec. 3rd, Sabbath.*—A smaller congregation than usual assembled early in front of the house. About 30 adults took their seats on the ground, four of whom were men. These had been expressly ordered to come by the servant, as they lived at the nearest village. No other man dared for fear of his life attend the service. After singing a hymn composed by the Caffre missionaries, but altered to suit the Zoolu dialect. Dr. Wilson offered a short extempore prayer in Zoolu. He then catechized his congregation on what they had been taught on previous Sundays from the beginning of Genesis thro' which book in connection with the New Testament they are proceeding in order. Proceeding in the catechetical way he came presently to the two grand points of faith—the wrath of God at sin and his favour thro' Christ. His method appeared to me to be admirably suited to his audience, whose attention was kept



up from beginning to end. Notwithstanding, that one old woman, who answered for the rest, replied satisfactorily to his questions of fact, which shewed attention and comprehension of historical matters, yet the human heart here as everywhere else evinced its ignorance, deceitfulness and self-righteousness. The above old woman said that their hearts were white, because they came to hear God's word, whilst others said they were without sin, and that they loved God. This catechetical discourse was given by an Interpreter. After singing another hymn, the assembly dispersed. In the afternoon we visited 3 villages and discoursed with the natives religiously. The same spirit, the same ignorance of their own heart prevailed amongst them. They declared that if they *now* came to the station, the king would put them to death. The day was closed with social prayer.

*Decr. 4th.*—Set off about 9 o'clock on my return home. Rode as far as Shlangazwa, after which I determined to walk for the sake of freer intercourse with the natives and enjoying the country. My guide went before with my horses. Arriving at a village, I sat down under a tree: the natives gathered about whom I first asked for some milk. The production of a few beads made them instantly run off for that refreshment which just before they said they had not got. When I spoke to them of God and the creation and such other subjects as I could find words for, they repeated after me every sentence. Arriving at another village, I sat down to rest under a tree, not thinking that I should be discovered, but presently it being known that a white man was there, the whole village, men, women and children came round me, and, as I did not speak, sat still. I then stammered to them as to the former assembly. One man asked me what God's name was. I pursued my journey on foot till about 4 o'clock, when I halted at a village where I was very civilly received. Tho' it was very hot my host was so pressing that I crawled into my hut which was immediately crowded with visitors. What light and air might still enter by the door was stopped by women and children who sat on the outside. As they were silent I began to speak to them as well as I could on religious topics: they seemed pleased at my efforts and repeated my words. I soon gained the heart of my host by paying him in beads for his milk as soon as I received it, and by holding out to him the hope that in the morning I would pay him some more for his house. Before he retired I made my first effort to pray extempore in the native language with my host. Perhaps my prayer did not consist of more than 3 or 4 short sentences, but it is singular that tho' he had probably never

heard a prayer before in his life, he responded to my petitions with great propriety.

*Dec. 5th.*—Being fatigued by yesterday's walk and having a long day's journey before me, I hastened to reach home on horseback before dark. I arrived at dusk, and not only had the happiness of finding all well, but of receiving other letters from England, besides Missionary Record Papers, etc. During my absence another of the king's women has been put to death. She run away about 2 years ago in order to get married. This was her crime!

*Decr. 6th.*—The impression which my late journey has left on my mind is that the success of the mission is *independent* of any permission from the chiefs for the people to come and hear God's word, that if they shall never be formally invited or required to attend any stated religious service yet there are sufficient means by frequent journeys of teaching them the way of life. Novelty and curiosity prompt them to collect round a white man, and the subject of religion *itself* is more attractive to them when presented in a way of, familiar conversation, than when it is forced as it were upon them by a regular service to which they are quite unused, and which they in all probability would attend more from policy or necessity than from choice. To form plans for the future is often futile, yet I cannot but hope that when by the blessing of God on my studies, I have made a competent progress in the language, it may be my privilege in company with some brother, to go from village to village, and from town to town preaching the word: not with any *expressed* design of that nature to the natives who would not understand it, but with that secret design in our own hearts, whilst they may form any conclusion they please on the object of our travels. At the same time, our very continuance in the country depends humanly speaking on the countenance of the king, and his Indoonas, who with a thorough contempt for religion and instruction may yet reap some benefit by our residence amongst them. With these impressions I returned home with increased desire to learn the language, as well as to conciliate by every means in my power, consistent with principle, the mind of Dingarn.

*Decr. 7th.*—Dingarn sent early for me to read some letters he had received from Mr. Retief the Gouverneur of the emigrant Boers. One of these contained some excellent reflections and advice on the conduct of wicked kings. In allusion to the ruin of the chief Umselekaz, the common enemy of your Boers and Dingarn, Mr. Retief observed that his punishment had been brought upon him by the righteous Providence of God, because he had not kept God's word,



but had made war when he ought not. He referred him to the Missionaries to tell him what God had said in his word respecting kings who did not favor or obey his word. Dingarn here said, "Let's finish this first," meaning read all the letters, and then I will ask you. His attention was certainly awakened at the religious part of the letter, but the convenient season for consulting me on the important subject did not arrive.

*Decr. 10th, Sabbath.*—Just as we were commencing our usual English service this morning another execution took place on the hill opposite our hut. We however, did not witness it, but my Interpreter happening to go out beheld the scene. The bodies of the unhappy persons thus slain are left to be devoured by the birds by day, and the wild beasts by night! The Zoolu have no term for "bury." When a chief is buried, as the "great-chief" whose grave covered with boughs of trees, is immediately in front of the town, he is said as in other cases to be "thrown away." We have from the beginning determined to build a permanent habitation somewhere out of sight of the above mentioned Golgotha. In the afternoon having given some religious instruction to the boys, I accompanied my Interpreter to two neighbouring villages with a view of making acquaintance with the natives, and of talking to them on religious subjects if an opportunity were given. At one of them we enquired about a young man for whose safety we have had a great deal of concern. About 60 of the king's women came one morning with thatch for our hut. It is death for any male to come near them or to pass them on the road. The young man who used to bring my milk, and with whom I had a long and interesting conversation, as related Octr. 21, happened to be in the tent at the time, and not being able to get out without being seen retired thro' fear to the back of the tent, where, however, he was discovered by the women, and soon after their departure by one of the king's servants who came on some message, and seeing him asked him what he was doing there whilst the king's women were present? We saw him the following morning and then missed him; the result of our enquires from time to time, is that he is going from home\* tho' we could not but suspect the truth of this. Even the boys dared not come near us when the women were here. They remained a long way off.

*11th and 12th.*—Proceeded in my daily employment of studying the language. Tho' my chief object is to speak it, yet as a means to this end my immediate aim is to get some grammatical knowledge of the Zoolu tongue. With this view I am anxious to ascertain from the expressions

\*I have since ascertained that he is safe.

which fall from the natives themselves, whether the rules of the Rev. Mr. Boyce Caffre Grammar apply to the dialect of this part of the country. It is exceeding difficult, however, and it requires a very fine ear to catch the sounds of the natives. They contract their words—run them one into another: speak with such rapidity and sound so lightly some of their syllables (if they sound them at all) that it is almost impossible from once or twice hearing to write down a word correctly as they speak it. So different is a word in their mouths associated with other words from what it is on paper, that tho' they may make use of words with the meaning of which I am quite familiar, yet I frequently cannot recognise my old friends.

*13th.*—Dingarn sent in the evening to inform me that a white man who resides in the country, and is now at a wood about 25 miles distant, was very ill. I know the man well. He has brought himself into some very great difficulties, and the state of his soul is yet more calamitous than his outward circumstances. I told the messenger that I should go and see him to-morrow, and take some medicine with me. Dingarn sent word again that *he* was going to send some of *his* physick and *that* must be tried first. I however, determined to go, but not to give offence went down to Dingarn to tell him of my principal reason for going—to speak to him about his soul as he might die! It was now night and the king was at his food. The messenger told us not to cough as the king was eating, it not being allowed either to spit or cough at such seasons! We were admitted into his hut which was lighted by a solitary tallow candle, which had not been snuffed, and cast a dungeon-like hue on the spacious apartment of the great chief, round which some of his women were seated. One of them was giving him his food as he reclined on his mat. He asked me what I had come for? I told him I was very sorry to hear of the illness of the white man and that as he might die, I wished to go and speak to him before he died, and begged I might accompany the man who was going with the physick! The king said *he would not die* for his physick would cure him, he had once cured a white man at Congela. On my assuring him that it was impossible for him to save any man's life by his medicine without the blessing of God, that our lives are in *his* hand, and that he saves and destroys whom he will, he said, "Unamanga," you lie; his women also said that I lied and my interpreter too. I told them that in their hearts they did not believe so. I then informed Dingarn what my principal object was in wanting to speak to the white man, to shew him how his soul was to be saved. I said in illustration that a man came to inform me the other



day that one of my oxen was dying, but I did not go to see it, but now, as man had a soul, which was to live for ever it was my duty to go and see him. Dingarn ridiculed the idea of saving the soul and even made light of the name of God, which he went as far as to laugh at. At length he told me that the man would set off with the physick before daylight. I said I should follow the track of my waggon with which my Interpreter had just gone to the same wood for poles. My interpreter this evening was an English boy now in my service, who has been bred amongst the natives and knows the language as his own tongue. In the meantime the rest of the king's women came in and all immediately commenced a song. Their noise was almost stunning. I have sometimes heard it at the station when I have not been able to see whence it proceeded. The king would not allow me to depart till all was over. He himself called for every new song, and joined them in the action of their arms. This was extremely vehement: at length they all rose from their seats or rather moved on their knees from their original positions, as in a phrenzy, and surrounded me pointing with their fingers. As this is the only sort of exercise they have, it doubtless has its use, however, uncongenial to European taste. The women never stand or walk in the hut, when the king is present: they always crawl on their knees.

14th.—At sunrise Dingarn sent for me to write a letter\* to Capt<sup>n</sup>. Gardiner. The purport of it was altogether new. It was to inform him that Isiguabana\* the Indoona of Congela, the second capital had deserted, but under a false impression. He imagined that the king had sent an army to apprehend him, but the persons whom he saw were only "witches" stealing out in the night. Dingarn wished Capt<sup>n</sup>. G. to inform Isiguabana that he had no intention of apprehending him! Subsequently, however, Dingarn said that the letter should not go, his messengers should speak with their mouths. William my Interpreter heard the king tell the messengers to be sure not to tell Isiguabana that he was angry, but to say that he himself should have run away, if he had been similarly situated. At night two messengers arrived from Capt<sup>n</sup>. Gardiner, who brought us very painful and perplexing tidings. He had sent them to inform us of some secret machinations of Dingarn that had just been brought to

\*For the reason of Isiguabana's (or Usilverbanas) so called desertion; vide the account of Dingaan's first attempt to murder Retief, as related by Joseph Kirkman, commencing on page 157. It is clear from Owen's diary, that he (Owen) did not know why "Isiquabana" had had to endeavour to escape from Dingaan's territory into the safer and protective Port Natal.

light, and in which the safety of ourselves, the American Missionaries, and all the white people was concerned. Isiguabana had sent to inform him that it was his intention to desert with all his people: that Dingarn had been collecting an army on purpose to attack the Boers, who were encamped at the Tugala, and all the other white people in the neighbourhood, but that he (Isiguabana) had remonstrated against this, and was of course in danger of his life: that as soon as his messengers returned he should desert, but that the army (he felt convinced) would immediately pursue him! Under these circumstances Capt<sup>n</sup>. G. wrote instantly to the American Missionaries, and to me offering his own settlement as an asylum to all if we should think it prudent to leave the Zoolu country for a time. It seemed graciously ordered that I did not take my intended journey to day owing to the delay I experienced in the morning, and the heat of the noon day sun: as I should have been absent from my family when this alarming letter arrived. Upon a due consideration of circumstances we deemed it most prudent to remain quietly where we are, trusting in our Heavenly Protector, and patiently waiting the result. This we know will be for good; all this is the finger of God: his wonder-working Providence is only accomplishing his own everlasting purposes! I am not without fears for our safety, but desire to have my soul in readiness for death! These are the dangers that friends in England anticipated: they are now in some measure realized, yet do I not regret my undertaking, but pray that my faith may be strengthened. That as our days so may our strength be! The messengers left at midnight on their return home.

15th.—It is impossible for me to leave my family under present circumstances, so that I have given up the thought of taking my proposed journey.

19th.—During the last few days nothing has transpired: at least we have received no intelligence of any sort from any quarter: only we have observed that the Unkungulovo regiment is collecting in order to celebrate the feast of first fruits at the end of the present moon, and the town is now becoming full of men. This morning Dingarn sent for me to write a letter to Capt<sup>n</sup>. Gardiner. My Interpreter who returned last night from the wood accompanied me. Umthlela was seated near the king with Gambuji, a confidential messenger who has just returned from Port Natal. This letter was of a very serious and inauspicious character: nevertheless tho' as I told Capt<sup>n</sup>. I was grieved and shocked at the assertions which it contained, I felt it was best to write according to Dingarn's dictation. The purport of it was to inform Capt<sup>n</sup>. Gardiner that Isiguabani and 3 or 4 other



men who were mentioned by name had fled to *his* settlement : that he wished to remind Capt<sup>n</sup>. Gardiner of his promise not to receive any deserters, tho' he confessed it was well understood between them, that if they fled to Port Natal or elsewhere, Capt<sup>n</sup>. Gardiner had nothing to do with them : that as Isiguabani and his party had fled to Capt<sup>n</sup>. G. he now demanded them back by virtue of his promise ; and desired that Capt<sup>n</sup>. G. would himself return with them *bound* along with Gambuji, and that he would not by harbouring them set a bad example to white men. Dingarn here asked me what was *my* word ? Before I had time to answer he said he wished me to tell Capt<sup>n</sup>. Gardiner as *my own opinion*, that if he did not deliver up the Indoona we were *all* open to the charge of being liars ; that there was no fast word with any of us, but that we told nothing but lies. In order to put Capt<sup>n</sup>. Gardiner in possession of Dingarn's mind in this affair as far as possible, I told him what Dingarn had requested me to say, but at the same time ventured to assure Dingarn that I was positive the Indoona and his party were not at Capt<sup>n</sup>. G's settlement, for I was sure he would not receive them and by so doing break his word. However, the king replied, " But I know it, they are there : for I have heard of them " ; and I knew it would be both vain and dangerous to contradict him again.

Since the arrival of Capt<sup>n</sup>. Gardiner's messengers our minds have been kept in peace : nevertheless, after weighing the possibility of a rupture with Port Natal and the influence this might have on *our own* safety, prudence seemed to dictate (under the Divine guidance) to us, that we should avoid the storm by leaving the Zoolu country for a time, and going to Capt<sup>n</sup>. Gardiner's settlement, which whatever attack was meditated on Port Natal, we hoped might be preserved. The plan suggested to us was that we should leave most of our stores, furniture, etc. behind us, and that we should undertake the journey with Dingarn's knowledge, professedly for the obtaining of supplies and beads, which are expected to come by the next ship which would have been perfectly consistent with truth, as for want of the latter we have been subjected to great inconvenience, and shall certainly stand in need of the former before many months are out when the Tugela will be unfordable. In the event of peace we should return, as soon as convenient. This plan, however, could not be put into execution till the return of my Interpreter, who is the only person that can drive a waggon, and no other mode of conveyance is there for a family in this country. On account of the leanness of our oxen thro' want of grass and the want of another driver, one waggon with our tents must have sufficed for

our whole party consisting of 12 souls most of them females or children (I do not include native servants). The inconvenience and fatigue of the journey were however, the very least objections to the plan, and I thought it best to wait till I heard further tidings from Capt<sup>n</sup>. G., which he had the means of sending them, I should no doubt receive. The interview with Dingarn, however, this morning quite upset the plan, for I cannot now inform him of my intention to go, without giving him a suspicion of my principal object. I look to the Lord for guidance: and trust that *He* will speak the word Go Forward before we move a step. In the meantime may our hearts repose in Him ! The fords of all the rivers have been blockaded in order to prevent the escape of the remnant of Isiguabani's men, *all* of whom that may be found are certain of being put to the spear.

*Dec. 20th.*—The white man mentioned (13th ins.) is better and is now here. I have spoken to him of his sins and troubles. He was recovering before he received the king's physick. The messenger who brought it said that if he did not take it he would report to the king that he considered it poison. He also said that if a native refused to take the king's physick he was put to death ! In the present instance the man was much affected for the worse by the dose which was a sort of porridge.

*Dec. 21st.*—Messengers arrived this morning from Capt<sup>n</sup>. Gardiner, bringing me letters from him and Mr. Champion (the American Missionary at the Tugala), which removed the fears we had entertained in consequence of Capt<sup>n</sup>. G's former letter. It now appeared from Mr. Champion's enquiries, that the whole story of Isiguabani was a fabrication\*, invented solely to ingratiate himself with the Europeans. Many of Isiguabani's people lived near Mr. Champion's station and attended his ministry. These have now all fled and his congregation of course much diminished, but even before this event the neighbouring Indoonas had exerted too successful an influence to prevent the people from hearing the words of life. He and Mr. Champion give distressing accounts of the misery of that portion of Isiguabani's people who had not effected their escape. The messengers of death were abroad searching for the unhappy victims, and causing them to suffer the dreadful punishment which the cruel system of punishing the innocent with the guilty, if at all connected with the offending party, invariably

\*It is not clear of what this fabrication consists. But from what follows it is clear that for some reason Isiguabani's people were murdered. The question is, was it because Isiguabani had disobeyed Dingaan in not waylaying Retief and his companies and murdering them ?



requires, at least where the accused is a chief. Many of these devoted victims of jealous tyranny have sought with heart piercing cries an asylum in the house of Mr. Champion, and have been followed with an executioner at their heels! Some have fled to him in the night and who can describe the pain which must accompany the necessary refusal of succour! Yet the native servants in the house can even mock the cries of those who flee thither for safety!! As Capt<sup>n</sup>. Gardiner requested me if any allusion was made by Dingarn to Isiguabani's flight to inform him that he was not at his settlement. I went down about noon. He was at his food and could not then be seen. Some men sitting about 30 yards from the Isikauthlo were severely reprimanded by one of the king's servants for *coughing* at this season. As I was on my way home the king sent for me to return. He was standing on an eminence of earth behind the fence of his Isikauthlo: a large concourse of men being seated in a half circle on the ground outside. He called me to him and on mentioning Capt<sup>n</sup>. Gardiner's men, he asked when they arrived, and was anxious to see them. He told me that if Isiguabani was not now at Capt<sup>n</sup>. Gardiner's settlement he *had* been there. As the men were not gone, he eagerly sent for them. Meanwhile, he ordered his people to sing, and himself gave out the words "Inkosi abangani aniyasabana." Friends, are yet not afraid of the king? The women within the fence, who could not be seen, took part in the song. To shelter myself from the vertical sun on this the longest day, but more for the sake of privacy, I got into a small covered cart belonging to Dingarn, where I waited quietly till the singing and the dancing which were over. An immense quantity of beef was then distributed among the men, who departed raising up a loud chant, shout, praising their king the giver, pointing their fingers and hands and shaking them after the native manner in returning thanks or expressing approbation, and as they retired, with their fingers thus pointed, cried, "Waynä ingägazoolu." (Thou that art as great as the Heavens!) The "Idol," then called us to him and began to interrogate Capt<sup>n</sup>. Gardiner's messengers as to Isiguabani's arrival amongst them. Their answers were plain and positive, but as they had received no direction to speak on the subject of Isiguabani's message to Capt<sup>n</sup>. Gardiner, they were silent when Dingarn interrogated them on that point. The vigilance of the spies had obtained intelligence respecting this message: they had heard of Isiguabani's assertion that the Zoolus intended to attack the Dutch and *Mr. Champion*, "as if," said Dingarn to me, I was dependent on Isiguabani, as if I could not have called out other Captains to execute

such a scheme, as if I could not have sent to the Captains (Indoonas) of the Clomanthleen! He said that Isiguabani had no cause for flight: he had done nothing, but it was a family failing. His Father and Grandfather had both fled, the one in Charka's time, the other under Senzagakona! Finally he told the men to take this word to Capt<sup>n</sup>. Gardiner, that he held fast the word which both I and they now told him that Isiguabani had never set his foot on Capt<sup>n</sup>. G's settlement, but that he also held fast the other word which he had heard that he had been there, and time would shew which was right. I begin now to hope that he will be satisfied with Capt<sup>n</sup>. Gardiner's positive declarations to himself in answer to his letter; but as I have a growing conviction that no dependance is to be placed on a barbarian and a tyrant, I hope I shall have my faith more and more fixed upon God!

Dec. 22<sup>nd</sup>.—Dingarn sent for me very early to witness a dance. Many hundreds of men in different companies all in their war dresses with shields and spears had assembled to sing and caper, whilst other regiments stood on the neighbouring hills waiting to be called forth. The songs as yesterday, were all in praise of the king. Individuals who had either received some special favour or had lately arrived at the town praised him with loud voices, some of them running to and fro and, all using the greatest vehemence of gesture. One of them said "Who can fight with thee: no king can fight with thee! They that *carry fire* cannot fight with thee." This and similar expressions were repeated by the same person for 10 minutes or a quarter of an hour. In the dancing there is not the slightest approach to indecency.

Dec. 23<sup>th</sup>.—Mr. Champion has written to me on the subject of the orthography of the language. At every interview with the American Brethren this has been one topic of our conversation. The system adopted by the Caffre missionaries with respect to the Vowels which are sounded by them respectively as ä (ah) a, ee, o, oo has been proposed as most convenient, whilst some consonants are destined to be thrown away as needless, and to be employed in representing certain sounds, which are either unknown in the English language or which we have no single letter to express. Another subject that Mr. Champion writes about, is on a proper name for the Deity. The Zoolus have no word in their own language to express the sublime object of our worship. The word used in Caffre land and which has been introduced *here* by Europeans, and hence known to some of the Zoolus is Uteeko, or as the Missionaries write it Utixo, but it has a harsh and difficult click in it, and has no meaning being a word of Hottentot extraction.



The word Ukulunkulu a real Zoolu word with an emphatic signification, "the great, great . . ." is objected to by our American friends as a suitable name for the great God, on the ground of its being applied by the natives to a certain ancient chief, whom they suppose to have sprung from a reed, and concerning whom they believe various other things inconsistent with the Deity. It is also the name of a certain worm which makes a covering for itself with grass. They recommend therefore the introduction of the Hebrew name Elohim, which is easy of pronunciation, besides possessing other obvious excellencies. This important subject lies open to our consideration.

*Dec. 24th, Sabbath.*—The boys have for more than a week neglected to attend. To-day, however, they came in a large body singing, what I took to be, a war song, to the number of 96. As soon as they reached the waggon where I was sitting, they ceased and saluted me in the usual way "Sakubona Umfundis," "We see you Teacher." It appeared that the king's servants having been engaged lately in the dancing and other employments, there had been no one to call the boys out. Nine tenths of those now present had never been here before. The cause of this sudden accession to my school, is the influx of people to the capital on occasion of the approaching festival. I have little hope during the dancing season of the boys continuing to attend regularly. It was, however, a gratifying and encouraging sight to see so many as were assembled at this time. I addressed them on the creation and fall of man, etc., but alas! their minds are so ignorant, they are so unaccustomed to hear of these matters or to entertain a single religious idea that I fear I spoke to the wind! But God in his time will work!

*Dec. 25th, Christmas Day.*—This day which has been celebrated by friends in England and ourselves here, as a commemoration of our Lord's nativity, has also been a great day with the Zoolus. The grand dance usual at the commencement of harvest has been taking place in the town. Many thousands of people were there assembled, but I did not go down it being usual for the king to invite me at similar scenes, which he did not on this occasion. The absolute want of any sort of acknowledgement to the Author and Giver of all good things in these poor, blind heathen, reminded me of the great sin of the Gentile world as specified by St. Paul: "Neither were thankful," and of their total deafness to that witness which God has given of his existence, power and goodness, in that he does good, and sends rain from heaven and fruitful seasons filling our hearts with food and gladness! They are whilst I write still continuing their songs, but there is no voice uplifted

in his praise who has given them those bounties the first-fruits of which they are now about to gather. In the morning we celebrated the Lord's supper in the hut, when I spoke to my little English flock on the words, "To us a child is born, to us a son is given!"

*Dec. 26th.*—In the evening Mr. Venable arrived from the Umthlatoosi. He was at Ginani, Mr. Champion's station at the time of Isiquabani's desertion. It appears that Mapopuma the Indoona of Intontella brother to Isiquabani in order to save himself sent out a party of men in pursuit of him. They overtook him at the Tugala, and had an engagement in the river, when 3 of Isiquabani's men were wounded. They all, however, contrived to fly and were not further pursued. Some women were taken prisoners and suffered to go at large, till Dingarn's pleasure was known, the fords of the rivers being guarded to prevent escape. The king sent a message that it was his pleasure to spare them, but a subsequent message ordered their immediate execution. They fled to a new house that Mr. Champion is building, without his knowledge, where they were found by the executioners.

*Dec. 29th.*—Mr. Champion arrived this morning from Ginani. Having heard various reports from the people of Dingarn's intention to kill him (to which reports, however, he did not attach the slightest credit), he came to tell the king what he had heard, whose manner was such as to confirm his previous belief that the reports were unfounded. Gambuji returned with a letter from Capt<sup>n</sup>. Gardiner, denying of course in the strongest terms that Isiquabani was at his settlement. The American Brethren leave me this morning and take charge of this as far as Ginani.

FRANCIS OWEN.

Kulula,

Dec. 29th, 1837.

My last journal with letter were sent off Nov. 8th. They will in future be sent as near the quarter's end as possible.

F. O.

*Dec. 29th.*—When I was at the King's this morning for the purpose already related, a large body of men were drawn up on the ground, as if for some particular object. I afterwards learned that a poor woman, who was brought up whilst I was reading Capt<sup>n</sup>. Gardiner's letter, was examined before them on a charge of having been somewhat saucy to an Indoona, and for this offence she was deemed worthy of death. The King pronounced sentence in the following terms: "Take her away; we will kill thee." Four executioners then hurried her away to the place where she was doomed to fall another victim to barbarous severity! When



will the mild reign of the Prince of Peace put an end to these cruelties?

*Dec. 31st, Sabbath.*—Hope catches at everything that may afford encouragement. I was pleased this morning to find that two of the elder boys from an adjacent town came to our English service, the signal of the flag having doubtless been the means of drawing them, as they were not invited. Umthlela, the great Indoona meeting my Interpreter and having observed the same signal, asked if it was Sunday, and what we *did* on that day. Also whether we might lawfully pray one part of the day and work the other. My Interpreter then entered with him a little into the nature of God's word, assuring him that if he were acquainted with *all* its contents, he would not feel prejudiced against it. Umthlela then asked what were its doctrines. My Interpreter told him that amongst other things it bade people to be obedient to their kings and Indoonas, which the Indoona said was very good. I was pleased at this conversation to which the mere observation of the Sabbath privately at home had given us. Umthlela in his manner is affable and entertaining tho' a great begger.

*Jan. 1st, 1838.*—Thus we enter on a new year! If we are permitted to reach its close, may we be able to review the period which we are now commencing with thankfulness and praise! May the Lord be with us all this time. Owing to the illness of my English servant, it being desirable that she should consult Dr. Wilson, the waggon set off this afternoon. Mrs. Owen and myself accompanied it. Kukumala one of the boys who has met with an accident also joined the waggon to get Dr. Wilson's advice, the king's permission which was absolutely necessary having been first obtained, for the poor boy could not have stirred without royal authority. Another thing illustrating Dingarn's character occurred to-day. The unhappy white man of whom mention has been made before, having expressed a desire to leave Dingarn and his service, the Despot positively refused, tho' he sent to ask my opinion yesterday on the subject. Of course I said "Let him go," but this morning Dingarn said he objected to my advice, nor would all my arguments prevail. Tho' a white man he seemed resolved to keep him a prisoner for the purpose of mending his gun, but in the afternoon he thought better of the subject and sent him to accompany the waggon. Spurred out at the first military town about 2 or 3 miles from Unkunglovo. Having with some difficulty obtained a hut and supped on sour milk, I was preparing to go to bed, when Dingarn sent two messengers to call me immediately to read a letter which he had received from the Dutch. I walked back to the town in the sultry

air, but when I arrived the King had fallen asleep, and as no one dared to awake him from his slumbers, I had my walk for nothing, except as it proved, a little trial of my forbearance. I determined not to be vexed. When in the town this morning, I was a spectator of the trial of an Indoona who had been charged with slaughtering some of the king's cattle for his own use. The amapagate or council sat on the ground in a semi-circle, the offender in the center, Dingarn sat on a chair as judge in his own cause, a man holding his shield standing at his side to protect him from the sun. From the confusion which prevailed, and the almost total silence of the accused, it was evident which way the case was going. He had no counsellor or friend to speak a word on his behalf. Presently a large body of executioners 40 or 50 arrived and sat behind. Dingarn sent a message to me to retire into a hut. Presently the word was given to take him from his feet; and he was instantly hurried away. On my return home, the ravens were devouring his carcase!

*Jan. 2nd.*—After a sleepless night thro' excessive heat, almost at day break I was summoned to go back again to the town to read the letter. It informed Dingarn that the Boers had sent another commando out against Umzelekaz, who it appears was not altogether ruined and had slain 500 of his men and captured 3,000 head of cattle, whilst not one of the Boers had perished. It informed him also that the commando was going out the day the letter was written (Dec. 24) to retake Dingarn's cattle from the Busootoos, according to the agreement. At this latter Dingarn seemed satisfied: he had been informed by his own people of the Boers' victory over Umzelekaz, and related to us the manner in which it was achieved. They were completely surrounded by Umzelekaz' men, who were just preparing to rush on them in every direction, when the Boers standing back to back in a kind of square fired their guns and put the enemy to the route. It is not without apprehension and a lively interest that we trace the course of the Dutch and wonder how it will terminate, especially in what way the Zooloos themselves, if they are not extremely cautious of offending or giving just provocation to this powerful body, may be affected by them. The reading of the letter was once or twice interrupted by some men bringing complaints to the king. About 6 men from a distant part of the country brought an accusation against an individual for being attached to his brother's wife and for his having thro' jealousy at his brother forving (?) married her, given him something to eat which had made him go blind. They had brought this case before Umthlela, who had said that the man should



be put to death, but what said the king? Dingarn immediately ordered, that not only the man but the woman also should be killed. The men then retired with a shout. In the proceedings of yesterday there was some shew of justice, but in this instance all forms of justice were set aside. The accused was condemned without a hearing, without any examination, and thus may the lives of the poor Zoolus be sacrificed at any moment, not only at the dictate of royal jealousy, but also of private malice. An Indoona at the same time brought a charge against an absent individual for some mischief he had inflicted on some cattle; this man also without a hearing was sentenced to death. Notwithstanding this barbarity, Dingarn himself was in perfect good humour: these cruelties which I have reason to believe are constantly occurring, do not proceed from rage, but are perpetrated in cold blood when he is under no excitement: they are natural to him; common every-day occurrences. Dingarn had repented of having let the white man go yesterday, and pretended that he had not given him permission. He said that I must bring him back with the waggon, but when after using other arguments in vain, I told him that white people would not think it great in him if he detained a white man in his country against his will, he said he heard and spoke no more on the subject. After staying a long time with Dingarn in his hut, I returned about noon to the waggon, having first gone home. It being too hot to proceed before evening, we sat under a tree where the natives assembled to gaze and talk. I amused them with some pictures and endeavoured to instruct them. The waggon with Mrs. Owen at length departed and having accompanied her as far as the next town, I returned home. I found Dingarn had sent a quantity of black cloth to be made up into jackets.

*Jan. 8th.*—In the afternoon I walked to Mzamazana, a military town at no great distance. Most of the inhabitants were absent at the out places or villages, but when I took my seat under a tree opposite the gate, all who were in the town, men, women and children came and sat down with me. I had an interesting conversation with them by the help of William; interesting it was, though it presented a mixture of attention, good humour, laughter and opposition. The truths which I told them were as incomprehensible in their view as the absurdities they told me; for of a God, his greatness, power and spiritual being they appeared not to have the faintest notion. I took occasion from the backwardness of their corn and the want of rain in these parts to ask them where the rain came from. They pointed upwards; I said "But who made the clouds?" They replied, "Their doctors." I told them this was not true.

One man said "You then that speak the truth tell us who made them. I spoke to them of the creation and of the formation of the first man and woman from whom we had all sprung. They said one to another, "How could God make man out of the dust." I spoke to them also of Christ, the resurrection, the day of judgment, Heaven and Hell, but all very briefly. When I said that God would cast wicked men into a fire, they asked who were wicked men? I said Liars, this being the prevailing universal sin of the people. They repeated every sentence as it was spoken, tho' they did not seem at all prepared to receive the truth on my testimony. Nevertheless, my heart, I confess was delighted that God had given me this opportunity to speak unexpectedly for half an hour to a considerable congregation, and I hailed this event as a pledge of many other opportunities he will hereafter give me (especially when my mouth is opened) to speak his word to the people. I endeavoured to realize my *principal* object in coming here and to be contented with nothing less than aiming at the conversion of the people, however, impracticable this may seem to be and indeed is by human efforts.

*Jan. 9th.*—The boys who attended to-day are quite a different set from those who came at first. These have gradually ceased to attend. Some have grown tired, but the greater part have gone to the village and others have come in their places. The consequence is that the whole work of tuition is now to come over again. The numbers which attend now are generally much greater than at first, there being more children in the town, but they do not come so regularly.

*Jan. 10th.*—Dingarn has been very troublesome in sending almost every day to enquire of the progress of the jackets and has directed his servants to inspect the work. This however, in *him*, was excusable, but to-day he subjected me to an insult for which no excuse can be offered. William Wood a young English boy whom I have with me, acquainted with the Port Natal dialect had told his servants that there would be 30 jackets and *more*. To day, however, it appeared that there would be just 35 when all were finished. The servants of Dingarn had told their master that William had said the number would be 40. Accordingly this morning just after I had been studying a passage in Ttius, "a bishop must be blameless, not self-willed, *not soon angry, no striker,*" I had a little occasion for the exercise of that spirit of forbearance the Apostle here advocates, for three powerful and rude men abruptly entered the hut, and having demanded all the cloth peremptorily required of me to shew



them all my things that they might know that I had not secreted any of it. In vain I expostulated at this measure as exceedingly unbecoming; the men were violent and after I had first refused to have my house searched till I had myself spoken to the king, they deputed one of their number to inform him, that I would not submit to have my things examined. I myself should have gone instantly to the king, but they violently seized hold of William to prevent his going with me to interpret. Dingarn sent word that all my things must be searched. As it was in vain to oppose this rude step, the operation began and it was carried on with insult, as it had commenced in injustice. The men said that they were the king's dogs, but they were kings to us. They said, "And who are you," "you are only the king's dogs." On my Interpreter's wife, her husband being away with the waggon, they lavished every opprobrious name. At length they came to a box containing Mrs. Owen's wearing apparel of which she had the key. It was in vain to say it could not be opened. They obstinately contended that the secreted cloth was there and said they would not go away till it was opened. Having broken it open, all my wife's wearing apparel was strewed on the ground in the sight of these men. They then went into Miss Owen's tent, examined her bed, boxes, bundles, etc. Next they went to my Interpreter's waggon, which is his house and to a bell tent. In the meantime they endeavoured to enrich themselves with the spoils which they saw, but in vain. Being satisfied at length that I had not stolen the cloth. I desired them to inform the king that I was exceedingly displeased, and that I should not suffer any more of his cloth to be sewed till I had spoken personally to him. However, Christian meekness required that I should forbear and forgive on this occasion, I thought it prudent to express strongly my displeasure, to prevent a recurrence of such insult and to establish my character with him. They dispatched one of their number to the king with my message. He replied, that it was William who had caused these words between us, it was he who had told a lie, and I must chastise *him* and not be displeased with himself for he was not displeased at me, for the man who had sworn by God that I had not the cloth. I answered firmly that I should not chastise William, that the king must send for me on the return of my Interpreter, and in the meanwhile his cloth should not be sewn. The men said the king intended his words as an apology, but I said he must apologize to me himself. This was one occasion in which I was called to a temperate course, neither to give way on the one hand to timorousness under the plea of meekness or on the other to resentment under the plea

of just indignation. But the greatest danger is yet to come, and I fear for myself lest I may err.

Jan. 11th.—Dingarn this morning, in order to reconcile me, sent a cow to slaughter, and promised that when Mrs. Owen returned he would send another, but that I must eat that one to-day, for which purpose he had sent men to kill it. I replied, that I thanked him, but that it did not take away my soreness of heart. In the evening I took a ride with William up the stream which runs by the town, with a view to see whether the water could be drawn off to irrigate any part of the country. Dingarn who saw us sent a large body of people to bring us back, alleging that there were lions up that river, at the same time sending a man to the station to enquire where I was going. It seemed as if he thought I was going away. He called me to him on my return and was much pleased when I told him of my object, saying I must go by day and not by night. I said this river I thought lay too low, but that I would examine some other rivers. He asked whether corn would grow in the dry season. He then asked me if the cow was killed, and on my repeating what I said this morning, he began to question William and his servants. Towards the former he was very civil, but with the latter, somewhat violent. At length he said William had mastered them and then told me he was sorry at what had happened, but his servants had put him out. I said I had some more words to say, but they were of that nature, I could not speak them by a boy. I must wait for the Interpreter. The king said he cried in his heart, but again laid the blame on his servants. I repeated my former words. After we left I heard his voice. He was speaking very loud and violently on the same subject. I am glad he is brought in some degree to his senses, tho' it seems he will cast the blame on any one but himself.

Jan. 12th.—Dingarn having perceived that I was determined to stand by William saw that the most likely way to propitiate me was to acquit *him*. He therefore easily turned the scales in his favour last night. This morning he sent me a present of 4 cows with their calves and an ox in order to wash (as he said) my heart. He also asked my forgiveness. I replied that I was ready to forgive, because the word of God told us to forgive those who injured us. I thanked him for his cows, but said I should have been equally ready to forgive him if he had not sent them, but had only expressed himself sorry and asked pardon. The messenger was the fiercest of the 3 men who executed their commission with such zeal the day before yesterday, but to-day he was turned into a lamb. I told him that he had not yet asked my forgiveness for his incivility and bad words, for tho' the



king had told him to search my house he had not told him to be saucy. At first he denied that he had behaved ill, but having left he returned and confessed he had been saucy. I then gave him a snuff box with which he was much pleased. In the afternoon the king sent me a girl whom I was to consider as a gift. The former girl was only lent to me and she was now to return. When the king *gives* a girl (he says) she is as much your property as if he had given you a cow. I am glad of this as I am assured she will always remain with us, and there will be the greater hope of instructing her in the Gospel. Nomjiji, the former girl wept when she went away. At the return of the waggon to-day her joy was inexpressible at seeing her mistress again, as was that of Tataza her fellow servant who is also lent me. Thinking that I had now gone far enough, I sent Dingarn a present of a few pinnafores as a token that I had forgiven him.

*Jan. 13th.*—Spent 2 or 3 hours this morning with Dingarn in his hut. He sent for me to read a letter which he had received from Mr. Cane, a settler at Port Natal. He had given an order to Mr. Cane to make him a waggon and had written to him, thro' me, to ask why he was so long about it. Mr. Cane gave a singular reply, such as he did not expect, that in consequence of the reports which were circulated at Port Natal that the Zoolu army was about to attack that settlement, he had been so occupied in making preparations for defence that he had not time to complete the order; but as soon as the settlers could safely leave the *bush* and repose quietly in their huts the work should be done: the Conqueror of the nations must admit that it was every man's duty to keep a good look out against him, tho' he, Mr. Cane did not himself believe the reports. This was the first information I had received of the settlers having taken to the bush, tho' I knew that reports were in circulation of a meditated attack of the Zoolus. These reports are industriously propagated by run away Zoolus of whom it is said there have been many lately besides Isiguabani's party. They are doubtless without foundation. Dingarn was very serious when I read this part of the letter; at length he expressed his sorrow and surprise that the white people should not believe his word, when he had so positively stated by his messengers that he had no such intention as they imputed to him: and he wished very *much* that I would send some one from my establishment to contradict the rumours. I said I would think on this subject, on which he thanked me. In allusion to the emigrant Boers, Mr. Cane recommended Dingarn to draw a line from the source of the Eloffe (Illovo) or rivers Umkomaz, 20 or 30 miles South of Port Natal, to the Tugala, parallel to the sea, about 20 miles

from it, and regularly convey the country on the sea side of the line to the settlers of Port Natal, leaving all the country on the other side to the Dutch. He positively assured him that Isiguabani "the rebel" was not harboured by any white man in the neighbourhood of Natal, referring to the "treaty," which he said ought not thus to be broken. I had not much opportunity in consequence of the conversation which arose out of these points to say much on my private concerns. I therefore told him briefly how much his conduct had at first displeased me. He made as full an apology as could be expected from a savage and indeed seemed truly ashamed and sorry for what he had done. Thinking this a good opportunity, I told him that I felt much *downcast* on account of the children. I said that the boys whom I taught at first had now gone away to their respective villages; that those who now came were quite new to me and I was no further advanced than I was the first day. I asked him what other plan he could think of. He said he thought the present plan would have succeeded, but it appeared that it would not. He did not know of any other plan except this: to tell the Parents when he dismissed them to their homes that he had work still for their children. Here I left the matter for the present.

*Jan. 14th, Sabbath.*—Whilst instructing my native servants this afternoon, I took occasion from the late affair with Dingarn to illustrate the doctrine of the atonement. I said that when the king had displeased me he had sent me as they knew an ox to wash my heart, to take away my anger. Now we have all greatly displeased God, but it is impossible that cows or oxen or the like can take away his displeasure. Therefore, Jesus Christ, his son, gave himself for us: it is he who washed all displeasure and wrath away from the mind of God. They seemed to comprehend the idea. It would be criminal in me if I did not feel great interest in the souls of these children.

*Jan. 18th.*—Dingarn sent for me in the morning to know my determination as to sending my Interpreter to Port Natal, to contradict the rumours that are afloat there of his designs against that settlement. I consented to his request, after he had promised to supply Mr. Hully's lack of service by sending his people for various materials for building two houses that are now in the course of completion, one for my Interpreter himself, the other for my English female servant. Dingarn expressed himself greatly pleased with these houses, which he had observed with his telescope, and wished one to be built for himself like them, only without sides. As I promised that this should be done, he sent to have the materials ready, viz., poles and straw mats. Owing



king had told him to search my house he had not told him to be saucy. At first he denied that he had behaved ill, but having left he returned and confessed he had been saucy. I then gave him a snuff box with which he was much pleased. In the afternoon the king sent me a girl whom I was to consider as a gift. The former girl was only lent to me and she was now to return. When the king gives a girl (he says) she is as much your property as if he had given you a cow. I am glad of this as I am assured she will always remain with us, and there will be the greater hope of instructing her in the Gospel. Nomjiji, the former girl wept when she went away. At the return of the waggon to-day her joy was inexpressible at seeing her mistress again, as was that of Tataza her fellow servant who is also lent me. Thinking that I had now gone far enough, I sent Dingarn a present of a few pinnafores as a token that I had forgiven him.

*Jan. 13th.*—Spent 2 or 3 hours this morning with Dingarn in his hut. He sent for me to read a letter which he had received from Mr. Cane, a settler at Port Natal. He had given an order to Mr. Cane to make him a waggon and had written to him, thro' me, to ask why he was so long about it. Mr. Cane gave a singular reply, such as he did not expect, that in consequence of the reports which were circulated at Port Natal that the Zoolu army was about to attack that settlement, he had been so occupied in making preparations for defence that he had not time to complete the order; but as soon as the settlers could safely leave the bush and repose quietly in their huts the work should be done: the Conqueror of the nations must admit that it was every man's duty to keep a good look out against him, tho' he, Mr. Cane did not himself believe the reports. This was the first information I had received of the settlers having taken to the bush, tho' I knew that reports were in circulation of a meditated attack of the Zoolus. These reports are industriously propagated by run away Zoolus of whom it is said there have been many lately besides Isiguabani's party. They are doubtless without foundation. Dingarn was very serious when I read this part of the letter; at length he expressed his sorrow and surprise that the white people should not believe his word, when he had so positively stated by his messengers that he had no such intention as they imputed to him: and he wished very much that I would send some one from my establishment to contradict the rumours. I said I would think on this subject, on which he thanked me. In allusion to the emigrant Boers, Mr. Cane recommended Dingarn to draw a line from the source of the Eloffe (Illovo) or rivers Umkomaz, 20 or 30 miles South of Port Natal, to the Tugala, parallel to the sea, about 20 miles

from it, and regularly convey the country on the sea side of the line to the settlers of Port Natal, leaving all the country on the other side to the Dutch. He positively assured him that Isiguabani "the rebel" was not harboured by any white man in the neighbourhood of Natal, referring to the "treaty," which he said ought not thus to be broken. I had not much opportunity in consequence of the conversation which arose out of these points to say much on my private concerns. I therefore told him briefly how much his conduct had at first displeased me. He made as full an apology as could be expected from a savage and indeed seemed truly ashamed and sorry for what he had done. Thinking this a good opportunity, I told him that I felt much *downcast* on account of the children. I said that the boys whom I taught at first had now gone away to their respective villages; that those who now came were quite new to me and I was no further advanced than I was the first day. I asked him what other plan he could think of. He said he thought the present plan would have succeeded, but it appeared that it would not. He did not know of any other plan except this: to tell the Parents when he dismissed them to their homes that he had work still for their children. Here I left the matter for the present.

*Jan. 14th, Sabbath.*—Whilst instructing my native servants this afternoon, I took occasion from the late affair with Dingarn to illustrate the doctrine of the atonement. I said that when the king had displeased me he had sent me as they knew an ox to wash my heart, to take away my anger. Now we have all greatly displeased God, but it is impossible that cows or oxen or the like can take away his displeasure. Therefore, Jesus Christ, his son, gave himself for us: it is he who washed all displeasure and wrath away from the mind of God. They seemed to comprehend the idea. It would be criminal in me if I did not feel great interest in the souls of these children.

*Jan. 18th.*—Dingarn sent for me in the morning to know my determination as to sending my Interpreter to Port Natal, to contradict the rumours that are afloat there of his designs against that settlement. I consented to his request, after he had promised to supply Mr. Hully's lack of service by sending his people for various materials for building two houses that are now in the course of completion, one for my Interpreter himself, the other for my English female servant. Dingarn expressed himself greatly pleased with these houses, which he had observed with his telescope, and wished one to be built for himself like them, only without sides. As I promised that this should be done, he sent to have the materials ready, viz., poles and straw mats. Owing



to the dryness of the season no thatch is to be procured. He has taken a fancy to have the posts of his hut painted with green paint, which he thinks will look better than the profusion of beads which now ornament them. I have supplied him with the paint. As his habits are so sedentary it is an advantage that our buildings are in sight: otherwise he never would have seen them. I asked him what he would say supposing that the Natal people still did not believe him. Then (said he) we must stand and look at one another, for I can do nothing more.

*Jan. 22nd.*—In the evening I was sent for by the king to read a letter he had received from Mr. Retief, the Gouverneur of the Dutch Farmers. It stated that the affair with Sinkoyella (the native chief of the Basootoos or Mantitees, against whom Dingarn sent the Boers to recover his cattle which had been stolen) had happily been settled without bloodshed: that he had very easily got him into his hands and bound him hand and foot, after which he confessed that he had stolen 300 head of cattle from the Zooloos, and began to pray earnestly for his life. Mr. Retief then released him, after he had made many humble confessions of his wickedness in not having attended to the advice of his Missionary. He endeavoured to impress Dingarn with the obligation of God's Law, which required him to release the prisoner, and in a separate letter requested me also to press this point. To punish Sinkoyella he had made him deliver up 700 head of cattle and also 63 horses and 11 guns, for without these he could not have accomplished the theft. The cattle were to be sent to Dingarn, but the horses and guns were distributed amongst Mr. Retief's own people. Sinkoyella's cattle had been stolen by the Bastards, so that his people were obliged to aid him in furnishing the stipulated number. In his letter to me, Mr. Retief informed me of the great relief his arrival afforded the Missionaries in Sinkoyella's country, for they were in great fear of a Zoolu army coming to avenge the wrong done to this nation. Dingarn made no observation to the letter, but by *his manner* gave me strong reason to suppose that he was disappointed at the relief of Sinkoyella, and that the guns were to be given to *him* I impressed upon him the duty of releasing Sinkoyella according to the law of God, but he made no reply.

*Jan. 23rd.*—Early in the morning I was sent for to reply to the above letter, when my suspicions of Dingarn's cruelty were but too fully confirmed; for he requested me to write to Mr. Retief to say that he had told a lie in *promising* to send Sinkoyella a prisoner, if he should succeed in taking him, for he had seized him, bound him and then let him go again. The best way to avoid writing such matter as this,

I thought, was mildly to remonstrate and tell him that I was sure Mr. Retief would be displeased with him, if he sent him such a message and that I did not wish to be in any way the means of creating dissatisfaction between them. I said that I knew Mr. R's reason for not delivering the the prisoner up, meaning that it was against the law of God, but he interrupted me, saying "And I know it too: it is because he thought I should have put him to death: but no such thing: I only intended to talk to him and then I should have let him go, but as he evidently was afraid of displeasing the Dutch, he changed the tone of his language and said that *he* was not angry, *he* did not say that they had told a lie, but he could not stop his people's mouths, who would be sure to say so, therefore in order to satisfy them it was necessary that Mr. Retief should send *him* the guns and horses along with the cattle. I said that Mr. R. had distributed these amongst his own people, and he could not take them away again. But Dingarn said that Mr. R. had told *his* people that if he wished to have them they should be sent. When the cattle, guns and horses arrived he promised to assign the Dutch some land. The whole communication was indicative of the cruelty, artfulness, trickery and ambition of the Zoolu chief, who I have too much reason now to fear is induced by the example of other native chiefs to make himself strong by the "isibani" or musket, the power of which he dreads on the one hand and covets on the other. Tho' he has not a horse in his dominions he will, if possible, be glad to train up a body of cavalry for occasions in which their service may be wanted. I knew not in what way to avoid writing the letter; it needed no remarks from me to convince Mr. Retief of the character, duplicity and designs of the king of the Zoolus.

*Jan. 24th.*—The day being cloudy and cool we determined on taking a long walk, to visit some natives at a distance, chiefly for the purpose of picking up new words and phrases, and were out 7 hours. We did not take an Interpreter. At every place where we stopped the villagers came out and sat about us, behaving with very great civility and propriety. At Nobamba a large town we were completely environed by a dense mass of the inhabitants. When the Indoona came forward to salute us, an avenue was made for him to approach our seat. The first question he asked, was whether we wanted food, and at my request sent for the common beverage "amas" or sour milk, a great refreshment in these warm climates. He refused payment, saying, he was an Indoona, but presently asked me to make him a present of some beads. It is impossible that the inhabitants of any English village could have behaved with more modesty and decorum than



the multitudes of half naked savages which now surrounded us. I spoke as well as I could on common topics.

*Jan. 25th.*—We were invited by the coolness of the weather to take another long walk to see the natives and were out 4 hours. We took William with us to interpret. At Ekaia-kunina (the town where I spent a Sabbath on my journey hither and preached the word of God, but which town with the Inhabitants has been since removed near the capital), we sat as usual under the shade of the nearest tree, which happened to be some distance from the gate. Nevertheless, the natives, after eyeing us for a while, came and sat round us to the number perhaps of 150, in the form of a semicircle. One man being rather loquacious was rebuked by his neighbour who said, "Be still that we may hear," and indeed I spent here a most interesting visit of about an hour. The text which in my own mind formed the ground of my discourse was "he gave them rain from heaven, etc." I asked who made the rain. They said they did not know. I then explained to them how God made both the wind and the clouds and that the clouds poured down the rain. I spoke to them further on the creation of the world, but they confessed they did not understand, so new to them were all ideas of this nature. A great many now withdrew, but those that were sitting nearest to me said, "We will stay and hear," whilst the others who remained drew nearer and sat as close as their numbers would allow. There was more than a willingness, there was an eagerness to hear. At length they said, "they heard," and one man in particular who answered some questions right seemed much pleased and encouraged when I told him he had spoken the truth. They said *they* had not heard these words but *I* had and therefore they would not object to them. One man asked me whether I had been with God or had seen him, not disputing but wondering. I said he spoke to my heart. I had not seen him, but everything I saw convinced me that he existed. Another asked how can the world be destroyed, for I had been speaking of the general resurrection at the end of the world. I wished to shew him that if he could tell me how the world came into being, I would tell him how it would perish: the same power which made, could also destroy. When I told them that God for my sins had threatened to throw me into a fire, but that his word pointed out to me the way in which I might escape that fire, they understood, and I then said that God had sent his son Jesus Christ from heaven, who had taught and died and risen again, and that thro' him we might all escape this punishment. To all this they hearkened. O! may the word take root. At a small village which we also visited, the natives were equally ignor-

ant of God. When I asked them if they knew "the chief above." They asked, "Is there one?" "Can he see us if he is in the air?" "He must be a good climber," but it appeared that they did not know I was speaking of God, they thought I was talking to them of King George. Of God they said they had heard from some white man, but had forgotten his name till I mentioned it. I returned home with a joyful heart and amidst many depressions to which I am occasionally but sinfully, subject, I saw that there was every encouragement to persevere in the study of the language, as not only abundant access is given to the people at their own towns or villages but their ears are already opened to attend to the Gospel.

*Jan. 26th.*—Two women were executed to-day for the alleged crime of witchcraft.

*Jan. 29th.*—Spent the forenoon in visiting some distant places. At one town as the sun was hot and there was no tree, I entered within the gate and sat under a shield house, a small building supported by props, in which the shields of the regiment are deposited. As soon as I had sat, I was completely hemmed in by a host of natives, whose first question was what I wanted. Some loquacious persons amongst them for some time made a little confusion. At length, in allusion to the want of rain, which had destroyed their crops, I said it was God who either gave rain or withheld it as he pleased. As William was interpreting these words, a dead silence prevailed, and I observed that every single eye in the whole multitude was fixed upon him. There were persons of both sexes and of all ages between 1 and 200 grown people. As soon, however as the name of God was mentioned, a man sitting next me, who I believe was the Indoona, abruptly rose up and went away. I then had a long conversation with my benighted audience, to whom it was necessary that I should explain the omniscience and omnipotence of the Great Creator, as they were entirely ignorant of him. In illustrating the latter point, I said, he might strike us all dead here in a moment, if he pleased, and with the same ease raise us again from our graves. With reference to this power to kill them, they asked, "Why what have we done?" In speaking of Hell a little boy asked will not the fire kill the people? I said No, it will burn for ever and they will never die. At this there was a general laugh at the seeming impossibility of the thing. At length I spoke of Jesus Christ; they asked how long ago it was since he came, and whether he had told me to come to them. I said he had spoken inwardly to my heart. One man said that I lied, on which I asked whether they all said so, but some who were sitting nearest to me replied, "Why



should you tell us lies?" Some indeed seem disposed to mock, but by far the greater part were quiet, attentive and I hope, interested. At length having, as I thought, spoken to them as much as they could bear, I took my departure, tho' I was grieved and disappointed afterwards, that I left them so soon. On the one hand they had no reason for supposing I would tell them lies, on the other what I did tell them seemed in itself incredible, so contrary was it to the experience of the outward senses. The incredibility of my assertions caused them to laugh. On my return I passed Ekaiakunina, but tho' I longed much I dared not revisit this place so soon. O!, that some day a statement of the love of Christ may powerfully touch the hearts of some who hear me.

*Feb. 2nd.*—Dingarn sent for me at sunrise to write a letter to Mr. Retief, who with a party of the Boers is now on his way to the Zoolu capital. The letter was characteristic of the chief. He said that his heart was now content, because he had got his cattle again: he requested that the chief of the Boers would send to all his people and order them to come up to the capital with him, *but without their horses*: he promised to gather together all his army to sing and dance in the presence of the Dutch, who he desired would also dance: he said he would give orders that cattle should be slain for them in every place thro' which they passed on their road, and he promised to give them a country. I asked how they could come without their horses. He said tell them then that they must bring their horses and dance upon their horses in the middle of the town, that it may be known who can dance best, the Zooloos or the Abalongo, the general term for white people. Nothing was said about the guns or horses taken from Sinkoyella. The Dutch will be too wise to expose themselves in the manner proposed, but I cannot conceive that Dingarn *meditates* any treachery, which, however, he would have the power (if he chose) to exercise toward them, should they venture to come.

*Feb. 3rd.*—Large parties of Zooloos in their war dress were yesterday evening entering the town. This morning when we were at family prayers the unusual sound of muskets was heard from the west; this proved to be the arrival of the Boers who presently entered the town on horseback with their guns in their hands. An immense concourse of Zooloos were present to receive them. The deputation (in number about 60) brought with them the cattle which they had recovered from Sinkoyella. The Boers immediately shewed Dingarn the way in which they danced on horseback by making a sham charge at one another making the air resound with their guns. This was something the Zoolu chief had

never witnessed. In their turn the Zooloos exhibited their agility in dancing. About noon I paid a visit to Mr. Retief, who with his party (after the amusement was over) were seated under the Euphorbia trees fronting the gate of the town. The answer he gave to Dingarn when he demanded the guns and horses was to shew the messenger his grey hairs and bid him to tell his master that he was not dealing with a child. The Missionaries in Sinkoyella's country had sent away their wives in expectation of the Zoolu army. Mr. Retief had allured the chief into his tent, and here clapped him in irons, saying he had news from Dingarn. Mr. Retief called in the evening. Not only had the wives of the Missionaries fled, but they themselves had their horses ready at their door when they heard of the arrival of the Dutch. Sinkoyella called on Mr. Retief and asked what news from Dingarn. He said he would tell him next morning. Accordingly when he came he clapped him in chains. A tribe which has been nearly destroyed by the Zooloos has claimed the protection of the Boers. This is the tribe against which Dingarn sent out an army soon after the Boers left (as already related in my journal) under pretence that it was designed against Sinkoyella. He endeavoured to make me and my Interpreter believe that the cattle which had been captured from this weakened tribe had not been seized by *his* orders. Three chiefs and about 650 men, the remnant of those who have at various times been slain, have been taken at their earnest request under the protection of the Dutch: it has been the practice of Dingarn to send an army against them every 2 or 3 years by which means all their young men have been cut off. They are not cannibals as the Zooloos affirmed.

*Feb. 4th, Sabbath.*—With the sun the singing and dancing commenced in the town in order to afford amusement to the Dutch. It was their intention yesterday to attend Divine worship here to-day, but it does not appear that they considered it well to disappoint the Zoolu chief by postponing the amusement for a single day. I felt grieved because it would have had an amazing influence on Dingarn's mind, if they had not only resisted on this occasion his desires to entertain (saying it was Sunday) but had also come in a body to the station. Nevertheless, it is one of those things which, however much to be regretted, it is not our part rashly to censure, as I am persuaded there was no wilful or predetermined contempt of the Day or the Divine word. Our Sabbath services as usual. English service in the hut morning and evening. Our congregation composed only of 2 families my own and my Interpreter's, but of 3 nations, English, Dutch and Zoolu, part of my



Interpreter's family speaking Dutch. In the afternoon instructed my native servants—2 girls and a boy—I commenced with the beginning of the Bible and have explained to them a few of the first chapters. Narratives they soon comprehended and easily remember, but to impress them with a sense of sin is at present impossible. All I can say is that, as they do not yet know God's law (the transgression of which is sin) they cannot say they are *not* sinners. So far only can I hope at present to carry their consciences with me. They seem to have now a fixed idea of the origin of man of which they knew nothing before. When I ask them to repeat any narrative (as of the fall) which I have told them they will one after another give a very good compendium of what they have heard. There is no difficulty arising from want of parts. No less than a hundred boys from the town attended, to learn their letters and syllables. The number which attends generally varies from 20 to 40, many more than used to come; but they do not attend every day and only at uncertain intervals. Two or three of the boys (who are Dingarn's servants) are making some little progress and what encourages me most, they always seem interested. These boys have attended from the beginning, but all the rest are new comers and know scarcely anything. The attendance of the children depends entirely on these servants of the king. They call them out whenever they have opportunity or inclination, but in the case of non attendance they always plead the king's business to which I can say nothing. But the circumstance of their progress, apparent interest in what they learn and their great influence over the other boys is so far encouraging. The orthography of the language is not yet settled, so that only some syllables can be taught without the fear of disappointment in having to change the mode of writing in certain cases. By the time that we can produce a book or get it printed, I hope some few will be able to read. At present either some easy Zoolu words are written with a pen on a card, and we are kindly furnished with an elementary book by the American Missionaries from their own press at Port Natal. Gangetoli, my own servant, is the most forward as well as the quickest boy, but he had previously been sometime at one of the American stations.

*Feb. 6th.*—A dreadful day in the annals of the mission! My pen shudders to give an account of it. This morning as I was sitting in the shade of my waggon reading the Testament, the usual messenger came with hurry and anxiety depicted in his looks. I was sure he was about to pronounce something serious, and what was his commission! Whilst it shewed consideration and kindness in the Zoolu monarch

towards me, it disclosed a horrid instance of perfidy—too horrid to be described—towards the unhappy men who have for these three days been his guests, but are now no more. He sent to tell me not to be frightened as he was going to kill the Boers. This news came like a thunder stroke to myself and to every successive member of my family as they heard it. The reason assigned for this treacherous conduct was that they were going to kill him, that they had come here and he had *now* learned all their plans. The messenger was anxious for my reply, but what could I say? Fearful on the one hand of seeming to justify the treachery and on the other of exposing myself and family to probable danger if I appeared to take their part. Moreover I could not but feel that it was my duty to apprise the Boers of the intended massacre whilst certain death would have ensued (I apprehended) if I had been detected in giving them this information. However, I was released from this dilemma by beholding an awful spectacle! My attention was directed to the blood stained hill nearly opposite my hut and on the other side of my waggon, which hides it from my view, where all the executions at this fearful spot take place and which was now destined to add 60 more bleeding carcasses to the number of those which have already cried to Heaven for vengeance. There (said some one), they are killing the Boers *now*. I turned my eyes and behold! an immense multitude on the hill. About 9 or 10 Zoolus to each Boer were dragging their helpless unarmed victim to the fatal spot, where those eyes which awaked this morning to see the cheerful light of day for the last time, are now closed in death. I lay myself down on the ground. Mrs. and Miss Owen were not more thunderstruck than myself. We each comforted the other. Presently the deed of blood being accomplished the whole multitude returned to the town to meet their sovereign, and as they drew near to him set up a shout which reached the station and continued for some time. Meanwhile, I myself, had been kept from all fear for my personal safety, for I considered the message of Dingarn to me as an indication that he had no ill designs against his Missionary, especially as the messenger informed (me) that the Boer's Interpreter, an Englishman from Port Natal was to be preserved. Nevertheless, fears afterwards obtruded themselves on me, when I saw half a dozen men with shields sitting near our hut, and I began to tremble lest we were to fall the next victims! At this crisis I called all my family in and read the 91st Ps., so singularly and literally applicable to our present condition, that I could with difficulty proceed in it! I endeavoured to realize all its statement and tho' I did not receive it as an absolute



provision against sudden and violent death, I was led to Him who is our refuge from the guilt and fear of sin, which alone make Death terrible. We then knelt down and I prayed, really not knowing but that in this position we might be called into another world. Such was the effect of the first gust of fear on my mind. I remembered the words, "Call upon me in the day of trouble and I will hear thee." But of the Boers, Dingarn, the Mission, the Providence of God, I had other thoughts. Dingarn's conduct was worthy of a savage as he is. It was base and treacherous, to say the least of it—the offspring of cowardice and fear. Suspicious of his warlike neighbours, jealous of their power, dreading the neighbourhood of their arms, he felt as every savage would have done in like circumstances that these men were his enemies and being unable to attack them openly, he massacred them clandestinely! Two of the Boers paid me a visit this morning and breakfasted only an hour or two before they were called into Eternity. When I asked them what they thought of Dingarn, they said he was good: so unsuspecting were they of his intentions. He had promised to assign over to them the whole country between the Tugala and the Umzimvubu rivers, and this day the paper of transfer was to be signed. My mind has always been filled with the notion that however friendly the two powers have heretofore seemed to be, war in the nature of things was inevitable between them, but I dreamed of the ultimate conquest of the Boers who would not indeed be the first to provoke, but who would be the sure defenders of their own property, and the dreadful antagonists of the Zoolu nation, who could hardly be kept from affronting them, not to mention that real or imaginary causes of quarrel could not fail to exist between two such powerful bodies. The hand of God is in this affair, but how it will turn out favourably to the Mission, it is impossible to shew. The Lord direct our course. I have seen by my glass that Dingarn has been sitting most of the morning since this dreadful affair in the centre of his town, an army in several divisions collected before him. About noon the whole body *run* in the direction from which the Boers came. They are (I cannot allow myself to doubt) sent to fall or to join others who have been ordered to fall unawares on the main body of the Boers who are encamped at the head of the Tugala, for to suppose that Dingarn should murder this handful and not make himself sure of the whole number with their guns, horses and cattle would be to conceive him capable of egregious folly, as he must know that the other Boers will avenge the death of their countrymen. Certain it is as far as human foresight can judge, we shall speedily hear either of the massacre of the

whole company of Boers, or what is scarcely less terrible of wars and bloodshed, of which there will be no end till either the Boers or the Zoolu nation cease to be.

To Dingarn's message this morning, I sent as guarded a reply as I could, knowing it would be both foolish and dangerous to accuse him at such a season of perfidy and cruelty. Moreover, as his message to me was *kind* and well intended, shewing a regard to my feelings as well as my safety (however criminal his conduct to others) I judged it prudent and proper as well as reasonable to thank him for letting me know. Sorrow prevailed on every countenance in our little circle: my Interpreters wife wept to whom the messenger spake kindly saying, "Too-lā, too-lā musuku Ka lā," be still, be still, don't weep. As her husband is away her case is peculiarly trying, for he will not know what is become of her. We have no means at any time except thro' Dingarn of communicating either with our American Brethren, Capt. Gardiner, Port Natal or the Colony, except when Capt. G. has sent any of his own people here. Under present circumstances all communication is stopped and the Togala is moreover said to be now full. I cannot have any more communication with Dingarn at present, and even if he sends for me I know not how I shall go. In my hurry this morning and under the sudden impression of my feelings, I forgot to my great grief the American Missionaries and omitted to ask Dingarn by his messenger to acquaint them with the transaction as he had done me. When the messenger was gone it was too late, as even my native servants were afraid to go down. I was quite ready to go myself, but Wm. Wood, my young Interpreter was too much petrified for me to ask him to accompany me. On the former occasion when the first reports of the massacre of the Dutch were spread (which now appear after all to have been but too true), the American Brethren said they never would have left the country themselves, as *us* in it (?) All we could do now was to recommend them in prayer to the Divine mercy, and we hope that wisdom will be given to each of us to know how to act. At present all is still as death: it is really the stillness of death, for it has palsied every tongue in our little assembly. Since writing the above Mr. Venable has arrived from Temba station on the Umhlatosi. His coming was unexpected, as it was peculiarly seasonable for his presence administered comfort, and mutual conference under present circumstances was much to be desired. The occasion of his coming to the king, was however, very painful. Mungo, the principal Indoona of Congela had called about half a dozen of his men and enquired of them the reason why they had attended the teaching of the



Missionaries. He then gave an order, that no one in future, neither man nor woman should go to be taught, and that the children should not go and learn to sew. Mr. Venable intended coming to see the king in this business, but yesterday morning about 10, four messengers arrived who had been travelling all night from the capital, in order to bring James Brownlee, the Interpreter, to interpret for the king. They said that William as well as Mr. Hully, my own Interpreter, were not here and that Thos. Halstead, the Boers Interpreter was at Capt. Gardiner's, a palpable lie, for he was here when the messenger left on Sunday evening, and I tremble to say is now amongst the number of the slain: so the natives to say tho' Dingarns servant this morning informed me he was not to be killed. The reason for this call from James Brownlee is mysterious, he is a boy and the king likes him; for what end he should have sent in so unaccountable a manner and with such haste is surprising. On Mr. V's arrival he was surprised to see the Boer guns under the trees and the natives handling them freely, but they themselves not to be found, but described as having gone a hunting, etc. At length Umthlela the Indoona told him that the Boers were killed. Mr. Venable made no reply, and the savage, remorseless Indoona asked him if he did not *thank* the king for having killed them. Before this conversation, Mr. V. had told him for what purpose he had come to see the king, and Umthlela had asked him what they wanted to teach. Being told the "Book," he asked, cannot you teach us to shoot, or to ride? At length our friend left and came to the station where as he saw no one about as usual he expected to find *us* also gone. Our conversation has been partly on the wisest course to be adopted in the present exigency. We agree that we have no security for life. The man who brings our milk informs us that the army went out to-day against the Boers. We tremble for the result. In the evening the king sent to me for some medicine to heal a man who had been wounded by a spear in a quarrel with another Zoolu.

*Feb. 7th.*—In the morning two Indoonas with an attendant called. One of them patted his breast, a common gesticulation of friendship. No Indoona had ever been to the station before and they asked to see the hut, waggon, etc. They were remarkably civil. They had been sent by the king to inform me that it was not his intention to kill either me or the other missionaries, for we had come into his country by *fews* and *fews*: he could live in peace with us, for we were his people. All George's people, meaning the British were his, i.e., he liked them, but the Amaboro were not his people: nor where they George's. He said that all the *armies* that

came into his country should be killed, that the Amaboro (Boers) were going to kill the king: they had come like an army and had fallen into a passion with him. Many other causes were then assigned for their slaughter, as that they had not brought Sinkoyella and his people prisoners. Some of the other reasons I could not well understand nor did I trouble myself about them as there was but one true reason, the dread of their power and that the whole was a premeditated preconcerted plan of Dingarn who was anxious to see in order that he might butcher them all at once, I cannot now have a reasonable doubt, tho' I could not imagine previously that his designs were so treacherous. The thought frequently entered my mind but I rejected it. I said little in reply to the king. I remarked that I had come into his country only to teach the Book: that I was not a fighting person, as those who taught the Book in my country did not handle the gun.

I did not give an adequate description of the dreadful carnage yesterday. I omitted to state that many of the Boers had children with them, some under 11 years of age, as I am informed, as these were all butchered. They also had their Hottentot servants and these were likewise slaughtered besides their Interpreter and his servant. The number of slain must have been nearer a hundred than sixty, but if there had been ten hundred it would have been all the same. Dingarn afterwards sent for Mr. Venable and his interpreter. He set the latter to unhalter some of his newly acquired horses which were knee haltered. As he never possessed a horse before, none of his own people were as yet adequate to this office. The usual messenger who comes to the station was thrown yesterday and seriously injured, nevertheless, he was obliged to come this morning, tho' apparently in great pain. When the above task was performed the sun was too hot: the king went into his hut and there was no conversation. The thermometer to-day in our hut is at 101°, higher than it has ever been. In the evening, Mr. Venable went down again to the king. He professed that he had given orders that Thos. Halstead, the Boers interpreter, should be saved, but his people were not able to distinguish him. This is Dingarn's usual method when he does a thing of which he is ashamed, he throws the odium of it upon his people. So he professed great surprise that Mungo should have prohibited the people from attending the teaching, and said he should send a messenger to him. He lamented that the Port Natal people should be afraid of him and said that they had built a fort. He observed that Capt. Gardiner and he had fallen out. He said that he should never send us away or drive us out, but if at any time the teachers should



wish to go and see their own people and would come and say, "Thlala gooshle,"—farewell—or rest quietly he would not stop them.

*Feb. 8th.*—Troops of warriors have been seen going to-day to join the army which is gone out against the Boers. The story that they intended to kill the king has been propagated, and is confidently believed by the natives. Mr. Venable left us to-day after having conferred together on the wisest course to be pursued. As the natives state that Thos. Halstead told the king lies it is probable that he was dissatisfied with his manner of interpreting, and this no doubt was the reason that he sent in such haste for James Brownlee. If my Interpreter had been here he probably would have been sent for and have got himself into trouble also. But ere James arrived the Boers were no more.

*Feb. 9th.*—My Interpreter returned to-day to the great joy of all. The natives on his journey had industriously concealed from him the massacre of the Boers, tho' by their whispering and reserve, he feared that something was amiss, and other circumstances led him to suspect that they had been slaughtered, and as the angel of death has been lately crying with a loud voice to all the fowls that fly in the midst of heaven. "Come and gather yourselves together," he judged from the numerous birds of prey flying over the hill, whitened with the bones of men and the saddles piled one upon another at the gate of the town, that the deed had been done. Our appearance at his arrival alone silenced his fears on our account. It may be long ere the news reaches Port Natal, as the Tugala is so full that it cannot be crossed without great difficulty. It can only be conveyed by means of deserters, who have so often given a false alarm that their story may not be credited. The king sent for my Interpreter soon after his arrival and gave him a very plausible account of the late unhappy affair. He said if he had not dispatched the Boers, they would have fired at him and his people before they left; and that when their guns were examined they were all found to be loaded with ball. The perfidious tyrant gave the following account of the manner in which they were seized. He invited them all into the cattle fold to take leave of him. His people were then ordered to dance, and forming themselves as usual into a half moon, they came nearer and nearer to the Boers, till he gave the command to lay hold of the unsuspecting victims of his jealousy. In the confusion their Interpreter was seized contrary to his wish.

Having duly considered our present situation and the proper course to be pursued, I determined this afternoon

to go and inform Dingarn of my intentions. I have considered that as war is inevitable and my situation at the capital peculiarly dangerous, as in case of actual danger, flight is impossible, and whatever may be Dingarn's indifference we should hardly escape the fury of his subjects we are not secure at this place. We see a storm coming and it seems prudent to hide ourselves whilst we can. Had I any charge here, a flock to tend or encouraging hearers to whom to preach the Gospel of Salvation, I should I trust be ready to stay and I hope we had made up our minds that should Dingarn offer any hindrance to our going we should receive this as the voice of Providence and be contented and happy to remain in the assurance that work of some kind or other was appointed us. If on the other hand the way should be opened for a safe and honourable retreat from the country, prudence would point out to us the importance of taking the opportunity and waiting to see what further openings Providence may hereafter make into the Zoolu country. Accordingly I took a handsome present of red cloth to the chief, with which he was much pleased, calling me his friend. I then said I wanted to have some talk with him, and then acquainted him with my resolution of going on account of the troubles which were coming. He told me to tell him what was in my heart. Was I leaving (he asked) on account of the Boers. I said that was my reason for I feared there would be war. He asked what war? I said between his nation and the Amaboro. He was grave but said he would wish me a pleasant journey. I then told him I should leave in his charge the cattle which he had given me and certain goods which I should not have room for in my waggons, and that I hoped at a future time to return. He was remarkably smooth and indeed I fancy he anticipated my departure after his sad and wicked conduct the other day. He told me that I must see him again before I went and he would speak to me, for said he as you are going I must speak too—as if he had something behind which he could not at present disclose.

*Feb. 10th.*—The smoothness of Dingarn yesterday instead of satisfying me, only excited my apprehension and I slept under a painful foreboding of something evil to follow. God be praised who has taken away my fears. Early this morning the chief sent for me to tell me the words which I was to speak at Port Natal. On my arrival he called several of his great Indoonas about him and having (with my Interpreter) taken my seat in the midst of them he began to acquaint them with my determination of leaving, saying he did not know the reason whether it was that I was fretting for the Boers or for some other cause. However, he said



he had no objection to my going and he would wish me a pleasant journey. His tone and manner more than his words gave me reason to apprehend that something was still in his mind, and as he went on speaking his manner became more vehement, so that I knew not whereunto it would tend. He entered into a long account of Capt. Gardiner's first arrival in the country, and his request for Missionaries and having railed at him with much contempt, he concluded by saying that instead of bringing on his second visit, as he had promised (so Dingarn pretended) a ship load of goods, he brought *this man*, pointing to me. He said it never was his wish that white people should build houses in his country: he had no objection to their coming on a visit and then returning, but he had told them again and again, it was not his mind that they should build houses: however, they would not believe him: they would not take his No: they were determined to come and live here, and that when I came to Nobamba, I asked him to build another house for a future teacher at Congela: but he now would ask me one question. Who was it that sent for me? Did he send for me? As far as his impetuosity would allow me to speak, I told him that I had come with Capt. Gardiner by his permission, and that he had apparently given me a hearty welcome. He said that Capt. Gardiner had *forced* him to build a hut for me, he had been so pressing in his solicitations, that he could not for shame refuse, but now he wanted to know who sent for me? for he heard reports continually from that place pointing to the station, that I had said he sent for me here only to kill me. He referred to our native servants, who he said reported that I spoke evil of him: that we praised God, but when we did so always had him in our hearts: we praised God (he said) but reviled him: and to shew me this was the case he would send for the girls who were at my house that they might speak in my presence all that they had heard us say against him, for this charge did not apply to me only, but to my wife and sister also, and to every member of my establishment, except my Interpreter, who he said was the only one of us that had not told lies of him. Accordingly he despatched two messengers for the servants. It was in vain for me to tell him that they could not understand the language which I spoke, he would not hear reason, nor would he have credited my testimony if I had told him that they spoke lies. Indeed I could not say that we had not in our own language spoken to one another of his vices, but never as I remember in the presence of our servants, before whom we were careful never to mention the king's name. His own conscience, however, I saw to be at work, he knew in himself that he

was guilty of such and such crimes; he would naturally suspect that I also would be ready to condemn him and would therefore readily hearken to any reports to this effect. Ever since the late tragic affair, we have had (as might naturally be expected) seasons for prayer and reading out of the usual course: our native servants could not only observe this and they put their own construction on the nature and object of these meetings, and it happened yesterday that one of the king's servants arrived just as we were so engaged, and stopped till the service was over, and I confess I had the king in my *heart* at the time. It was impossible for those about us not to see that the slaughter of the Boers had made a deep impression on us, everything we said and did was therefore interpreted as a denunciation of that crime. Dingarn said that I always carried it well before his messengers, but after they were gone we fell to murmuring and reviling. Before them I studiously put on an air of tranquillity, but to force our eyes and countenances to speak a different language from our hearts all day long was what we never thought of. He said that whenever of late he had sent up messengers with beer (who seem now only to have been spies), they saw us all fretting. This, however, was a tale. I think I did not manifest any fear when I sat on this trying occasion before the king and his chief Indoonas, if possible less regardless of human life than the despot himself, arraigned for a crime which in a native would be certain death, viz., speaking evil of the king, my witnesses, however, incompetent to bear testimony, being sent for and knowing that independent of all other motives, fear alone would make them speak anything to my detriment; but that both myself and interpreter had great fears secretly operating in our hearts cannot be denied—but like a prisoner awaiting the sentence of his judge, I was in a measure pacified when I heard the despot declare that he had *sworn* he would never kill his missionaries. However, my confidence was not placed either on the word or oath of the Zoolu monarch, but on him who has said, "Lo, I am with you always," at the same time as I had no absolute provision in the word of God against violent death, I composed my mind whilst the chief was speaking to think of another world to which I hoped my spirit would fly. In the meantime, I felt the alarm which the sudden call for the servants would occasion Mrs. and Miss Owen, and the rest of our little establishment. Presently the messengers returned with the two girls and the boy. One of the former had attached herself to us by her good conduct, good humour and the hope of doing good to her soul. Of all persons I should least have suspected her of propagating a false rumour



against us. Nevertheless, when required to speak, she lifted up her voice in condemnation of her master and mistress, she who had been the peculiar subject of our united daily instructions. Faultless hitherto she now openly declared with special reference to Mrs. and Miss Owen, that the king was the subject of our discourse all the day long: that she did not hear half what we said, but only when we mentioned "his name," she knew the purport of our observations: she said they had called him an evil doer, a murderer and a rogue, and that when the king had sent to say he would not kill us, Mrs. Owen had said he was deceiving us: that when I received a kind message from the king, I did not believe him, but took my book and walked about, that I did not trust the king's word when he sent to say he should spare us, but that I prayed to God to deliver us from him: and that I prayed to God to condemn the king. She said that I looked thro' a telescope when they were dragging away the Boers, and that thereupon I fainted with horror. The boy and the other girl corroborated her evidence. The king then said to his Indoonas, "you hear what they say." It pleased God, however, to restrain their passions and they said nothing. As I now did not so much fear immediate violence, as destruction on the road by connivance of Dingarn without his express sanction, whereby he would shelter himself from the odium of our death as in the case of Thos. Halstead, I directed my Interpreter to give him a hint that if mischief were to befall us on the road, the blame would certainly be laid on him. Indeed I could not tell him what evil might not result from this manifestation of his anger, even if no evil were designed or thought of at present. It was impossible to tell what consequences might not follow from the zeal of his captains and people, who are not influenced by those restraints which in some measure tie up the hand of the monarch himself, or how they might not influence him against me. For the present, however, appearance were favourable and I felt an unspeakable relief. Dingarn said that he was not angry with me, but only wished to shew me my faults. He had before said that if I had not asked to go he should soon have sent me away because I spoke evil of him. By degrees the storm subsided, and at length he told me to write a letter to the Governor of the Colony, to give his reasons for killing the Boers, viz., that they had laid claim to his cattle, saying they belonged to them, for he had taken them from their common foe Umselekaz, who had stolen them from the Boers: that they fell into a passion with him about this: that they wanted before they left to fire a salute with blank cartridge as they did on their arrival, but that their real intention was to kill

him, as a proof of which when their guns were examined after their death, they were found to be loaded with ball. He told me also to write that he would not allow white people to build houses in his country. This letter will not go without a suitable P.S. from myself. In the warmth of his anger at the beginning of the interview, he gave me this message to take home to my countrymen, which I now deliver; that his people are not such fools as I expected, I had thought to come here and blind them, but they would not be deceived by me. Finally, however, without scarcely my speaking, for really I had no opportunity, he would not hear and extreme caution was necessary on my part, his wrath by the goodness of God seemed to be quite appeased and we left at length with a lighter heart than even after the calm interview of yesterday. Mrs. and Miss Owen, seeing us come out of the gate were made happy, for they did indeed expect nothing else than to see us dragged out, especially when they saw a large force collected at the gate which afterwards moved in the direction of the Boers. Such has been our state this week, that we have often been in fear where no fear was. The messenger who came for the girls and who spoke no doubt the sentiments of the king, asked them why they did not believe the king when he sent us promises of his protection: he said we made him a liar by not believing him and resorting to God for deliverance. We immediately commenced packing our waggons: when however, the oxen arrived it was found that their feet were sore: many of them were in other respects sick and all exceedingly poor, nevertheless, we determined to proceed as we could. It was impossible, however, to get ready the same evening, and one more night we slept at the station. It was an anxious, trying day, but we closed it by a refreshing season of worship at which I expounded the vision of Jacob's ladder.

*Feb. 11th, Sabbath.*—The sacredness of the day did not I considered put any obstacle in the way of our departure. For fear of any delay, it was necessary for our peace, that we should leave immediately and get out of the country as soon as practicable: indeed tho' we now fear no danger, yet prudence requires that we should make all the speed possible for fear of any change in the despot's mind, lest he repent of sending us away quietly. Feeling this, we had determined to set off early this morning, but we were scarcely up when Masipulu, the king's head servant, with a boy came to announce to me that it was his masters wish, that I should leave behind me *all* that I could and he would give me a span of oxen which he had sent to Port Natal to be broken in for my waggon which he had ordered to be made there.



As neither waggon nor oxen were now likely to be sent to him, and *he* after the murder of Thos. Halstead, might be afraid of sending a messenger to bring them, he was ready enough to give the oxen to me as an inducement for me to leave behind goods of sufficient value. I had already selected a large box full of presents of various kinds to secure his favour at parting, but now added a quantity of dingareen. Masipulu who was determined to make the best bargain he could, having extorted from me all of the above article I had, and still charging me with having more, sent the boy to the king to tell him the result. If it had not been for the search of my house by this very servant on a former occasion for some supposed stolen goods, and if Mr. Champion's house had not once been searched for some blankets of his own, which the king said he possessed and kept from him, it is possible that my waggons must have been unpacked in order to satisfy the covetous eyes of the king's servant, and the king himself, that I really had no more. Dingarn, however, had learned better manners and being probably well pleased with what I had sent him returned answer that if I had no more I could give him no more. In the process of the bargain, frequent messages had passed between the king and his servant which were all communicated by or to the boy apart in a whisper and I suspected that Dingarn had his eye on one of my waggons which I had been told I must leave in his charge packed with various articles, to him, of no value, such as books till I could send for it. As, however, I never expected an opportunity would occur after the late dreadful transaction of sending for it, I almost despaired of ever seeing the waggon or its contents again. Still however, I abstained from making any offer of it. At length, our oxen being inspanned, the waggon being loaded with the chief necessaries belonging to both families (having commended ourselves in prayer to the God of mercies), we left the station now to be converted into a fold for the horses of the unhappy Boers who had been slain. In both families we numbered 12 individuals, besides a native boy whom my Interpreter has lately brought from Capt. G's settlement. We struck our two tents and having put them in the waggon, commenced our walk, for *such*, and not a ride we calculated the journey would mainly prove, the waggon being only sufficient to hold the children and my surviving horse having commenced yesterday with the disease peculiar to horses in this country. However, we had leisure to think of and no mind to care for the inconveniences and discomforts of such a mode of travelling. We left no one behind to whom to bid adieu: the only regular flock I had, my 3 servants, had betrayed me. On arriving at the town, Masipulu seized

hold of my horse and said the king wanted to see me again before I went. The first question he asked, was whether the other waggon was going to stay, and then he made a request for it. I considered that valuable as the waggon was this was not a time for refusing it, especially as I had little hope of ever getting it again. I thought it best therefore to give it frankly and openly with as good grace as possible. Immediately as Esau was appeased by the present which Jacob sent him, so was the wrath of this self-willed powerful chief turned away and his heart seemed to be turned toward me. Instantly, without asking, he restored to me all the cows which he had previously given me, but which I had resigned to him, he appointed 2 men to conduct me as far as the Tugala with orders that they should supply me with milk everywhere on the road, and that 4 beasts should be slaughtered for me at places which he specified: he immediately sent a host of young men to the waggon which I had given him to empty its contents and convey them to the American Missionary station near the Tugala: he also granted me a boy to lead my waggon, which he had denied me yesterday; he said that his oxen at Port Natal were mine, and when his Indoonas who were about him, rather found fault with his liberality toward me, saying that 3 oxen were enough for slaughter, he excused himself. Finally when I wished him farewell or in the native phrase "rest quietly," he pointed his hand the token of friendship and said, "Hamba goothle, Kakulu, Kakulu, Kakulu, etc. repeating the last word 10 times, as if he had said an exceeding, an exceeding, an exceeding pleasant journey to you. These were the last words I heard from the despot and probably shall ever hear him speak again. I trust his wish for me will be realized, and that he will let me depart in peace, but I fear that my last wish for him will not be verified. The righteous Judge according to the ordinary tenor of his Providence will not allow him to rest in peace: and human foresight is able in concurrence with a scriptural view of Divine Providence to apprehend that troublous times are coming upon him and his nation. He himself seems not to apprehend this, but if he knew the character of his antagonists as recent circumstances have plainly discovered it in their wars with Umselekaz, he would know how dreadful it is to provoke their wrath and what determined powerful enemies he has made himself by this act of aggression as inconsiderate and unwise as it was perfidious and cruel. But all these things will tend for good and the ultimate spread of the Gospel. We have been praying that a way of access may be made for the introduction of the Gospel into the Zoolu nation, and now in a way in which we did not expect. God (if we



may at all conjecture), seems to be working his own plans. The pride and insolence of the Zoolu chiefs are the main hindrances to the promulgation of the truth. When that pride is abated, the way will be made more easy for the entrance of the Gospel. God is now humbling the pride of the nation generally, and of chiefs in particular, he has permitted them to fall by their own pride, self conceit and wickedness into such an atrocity as will in all probability bring ruin upon themselves and the nation, from which it will never recover and thus the way will be prepared for the missionaries of the word. In the view of this we adore the inscrutable ways of Providence and perceive that the very fact which is driving us away from the country will ultimately contribute to the establishment of the truth. Having left the chief, he sent a message to request me to inform all whom I met that it was probable he should send an army soon against the Amaponda country—Faku's tribe—beyond the Umzimvubu between Port Natal and Caffraria. As the real destination of an army is generally concealed, it is probable that some other country than the Amaponda is in Dingarn's eye at this moment, and that this information was only given to deceive. Having proceeded with the waggon to the nearest military town, we outspanned: the baggage bearers came up all armed with shields and spear, and sat down with us under a tree. Many heavy articles were left behind, and my boxes were obliged to be opened and their contents distributed amongst the bearers. We travelled till dark when we pitched our tents on an elevated position. Thus passed a day, the least like a Sabbath I remember ever to have spent.

*Feb. 12th.*—Early in the morning before inspanning Dingarn sent to ask if I had any more *needles* and *thread* to give him, also if I had any green baize. We pursued our journey in quietness. The weather was favourable for travelling, being cool, but in the evening a thick mist coming on which ended in rain, not knowing the time of day we halted about 2 miles from a village. Uncertain whether we could get to another before dark. The tents were pitched on the long wet grass, but fuel could not be procured for fire.

*Feb. 13th.*—Decamped as early as possible from our uncomfortable situation without breakfast. Continued rain obliged us to stop at a village beyond, where we crept into a hut. The tents were afterwards pitched, it being a contest between suffocation and damp. My waggon was so out of repair (not that in which we have usually slept) that at night during the heavy rain the bed was almost afloat. The natives were very civil and our attendants took care to

execute the king's orders in procuring milk and necessaries for us.

*Feb. 14th.*—Spanned in but only to expose ourselves to more wet. At night we encamped short of our proposed resting place owing to the waggon standing fast in crossing the ford of a small stream. As the vehicle was inclined at an angle of 45° it formed no very commodious sleeping place. The natives brought us milk in the dark from a distance perceiving that for some reason we had not been able to reach the village.

*Feb. 15th.*—A span of oxen which I had written for arrived from Mr. Venable to relieve mine. The uncomfortableness of walking so much in the rain was exchanged to-day for the opposite trial of heat. The shade of a wide spreading Euphorbia tree formed a grateful refreshment after many miles of fatiguing walk in the noon day sun. The waggon was capsized to-day, and so injured that it was with difficulty it could be made a sleeping place.

*Feb. 16th.*—Owing to the injury the waggon sustained yesterday, it was impossible for anyone to ride. We walked many miles in the rain till we arrived at Temba on the Umhlatoozi, the station of Mr. Venable and Dr. Wilson. The latter friend happened to be at the other American station when the news of what had taken place at the capital arrived. The natives had concealed the direful event for several days and the first intelligence was obtained by a messenger whom Dingarn dispatched with letters from me and Mr. Venable. Immediately on hearing it, two persons fled across the river, a carpenter resident at Natal and a Hottentot, both of whom were in the service of Mr. Champion. They were directed by him to return with a boat. By them the late occurrence will be spread at Port Natal.

*Feb. 17th.*—Dr. Wilson set off to the king with presents to take leave of him, he and Mr. Venable having thought it good to depart as soon as possible.

*Feb. 18th, Sabbath.*—English service in the morning—social prayer at night.

*Feb. 22nd.*—Dr Wilson returned. The king had been civil and was somewhat anxious that the Missionaries should stay, promising that the edicts of the Indoonas should be revoked, and that women and children should be instructed. Notwithstanding this, the Brethren after mature reflection did not think it prudent to stay, nor did they put much reliance on Dingarn's promises.

*Feb. 23rd.*—We left Temba having waited there the return of Dr. Wilson, expecting the Brethren would accompany



us with the waggons, and that we should mutually help one another in the passage of the Tugala. As, however, another visit to the king was necessary, only Mr. Venable accompanied us, intending to go as far as Ginani, the other American station, to confer with Mr. Champion. Crossed the Umthlatoosi, and in the evening encamped on the banks of the Umlalasi. Here the rain fell in such torrents that the ground being moistened where our tent was pitched, the stakes gave way and the frail tabernacle fell over our heads, and as the rain poured thro' the waggon, no shelter of any kind was found that had the advantage of security. As no hut was nigh, some took refuge in a small bush and others under the waggon.

*Feb. 24th.*—Crossed the Umlalasi at low water. This river appeared to be more infested with Hippotami and alligators than any I have seen. Several hippopotami we observed resting in the stream with their huge heads just above water. We also saw two alligators, one of these about 10 or 11 feet long, was very near us, swimming just under the surface, now and then raising its head or tail above water. As their motion does not produce a single ripple in the stream, they are very dangerous as they may be close at hand, tho' quite unperceived.

*Feb. 25th., Sabbath.*—English service in the tent. Mr. Venable returned in the evening from Ginani whither he had proceeded forward alone on foot yesterday. Mr. Champion crossed the Tugala this morning.

*Feb. 26th.*—Arrived at Ginani. Here we heard that Dingarn had sent to Mr. Champion desiring him to write to Capt. Gardiner, with cruel effrontery, telling him to send men to witness the slaughter which his army had caused at the Dutch camp. This was the first positive information we had received of the further massacre of the Dutch, for to the reports of the natives who had said they were all cut off to a man, having been surprised at daybreak by the Zoolus, we paid little attention, knowing how false their rumours often are. It seemed to us, however, now that there was *some* truth in what we had heard, tho' we knew well how to deduct from this sort of boasting.

*Feb. 27th.*—Another messenger arrived from Dingarn with orders to request Mr. Champion (had he been at home), to write to Capt. Gardiner a civil letter, qualifying the terms of the former, in which the king had expressed his anger at the black people at Port Natal for always speaking evil of him. He now wished to say that he did not mean to blame the white people, who to his knowledge had never spoken evil of him: that he should be glad to see them in

his country, whenever they chose to come: that the Missionaries were at liberty either to go or stay, and that those who went, might come and see him again. All this either proceeded from fear: or it was said in hopes of renewing an intercourse from which he derived so much profit and which he might be afraid (and with reason) was about to drop. Arrived in the evening at the Tugala, which we found very full.

*Feb. 28th.*—A boat having been left at the opposite side of the stream, another was constructed by my Interpreter, simply for the purpose of fetching it across, planks having [been] brought from Ginani for this purpose.

*March 1st.*—Engaged most of the day in transporting our baggage over the river, the stream of which was very strong.

*March 2nd.*—The water having risen considerably in the night, it was deemed dangerous for the cattle to cross on account of the violence of the stream. Four men who had been despatched by Capt. Gardiner to wait for us at the river, arrived at the ford. They brought intelligence from Port Natal of the total defeat of the Zoolu army after about 50 of the Dutch, including women and children had been killed. These accounts were brought by some black people who were at the Dutch camp at the time of the assault. As their statements may be exaggerated, I forbear to mention them particularly.

*March 3rd.*—A half pipe barrel having been fastened inside the empty waggon, the oxen swam across the river without a leader, drawing the floating vehicle after them.

*March 4th, Sabbath.*—English service in the morning, native service (for Capt. Gardiner's men) in the afternoon. In the evening a waggon arrived from Capt. Gardiner (to whom I had written) to supply the want of the waggon I have left behind. The settlers at Port Natal intend commencing immediate war with Dingarn and to unite with them all the black people at the settlement. The latter are carried forward with the hopes of plunder and of thus retrieving the losses they have sustained from the Zoolus, who at different periods have subdued the various tribes to which they originally belonged. This spirit works in Capt. Gardiner's men who seem to regret much that they are not allowed to join the intended expedition.

*March 5th.*—Dr. Wilson and Mr. Venable the remaining missionaries arrived and crossed the river in the evening. The former when he took his last leave of the king, saw the cattle which had been taken from the Boers. They were some thousands in number. Only about 15 guns were brought away.



*March 6th.*—Proceeded on our journey. On the road we met a man whom Capt. Gardiner had despatched with a letter informing me of the arrival of Mr. Hewitson by the Mary Schooner. This was joyful tidings indeed.

*March 8th.*—Arrived at Ambanati, where we were joyfully welcomed by our friends and congratulated on our merciful preservation thro' the country, as the Natal expedition was in contemplation and might have reached the ears of Dingarn before we crossed the boundary. We now learned the full purport of the message which the king had sent to Capt. Gardiner to which the subsequent one delivered to me at Ginani, was meant as an apology. Dingarn had sent to say that as the Port Natal people had made themselves his enemies by not coming to see him, he should some night come down suddenly upon them, drive all the people away and build at that settlement. He said he should come down in a more sudden way than he had attacked the Boers, and told Capt. Gardiner to go and see the havoc which he had caused at their camp.

*March 9th.*—The uncertainty of our plans requiring that we should go as speedily as possible to Port Natal in order to take advantage, if necessary, of the return of the Mary to retire to the Colony, as well as to confer with my coadjutor, Mr. Hewitson, we left Ambanati this afternoon.

*March 10th.*—Rode forward to Berea. On my way met 2 natives, who were going to Ambanati to inform Capt. Gardiner that the Natal expedition was preparing to go against the Zoolu country on Monday.

*March 11th, Sabbath.*—Rode down to the bay in the morning in order to welcome by (sic) long expected brother and fellow labourer, Mr. Hewitson. On my way I passed the Natal camp. One of the settlers civilly invited me to dismount and I gladly sat down among them, as it was my intention if God should give me an opportunity to reason with them on the sinfulness of the undertaking which they had in view, the only motives of which appeared to be plunder and revenge. I remained sometime with them as they were quite prepared to converse on the subject with perfect civility tho' certainly with great warmth. They denied that either of these was the motive and said that self preservation, the first law of nature, alone actuated them to carry the war into the enemies' country. I said if that was the case they ought not to return with any cattle. I said this, believing in my heart that the hope of getting cattle was the main inducement for the invasion, but as I would not judge their motives, I left them to God and their own consciences, and reminded them of his omniscience and the account which they must one day give to him. After a very long

discussion the commandant thanked me for speaking my sentiments openly to *them*, rather than to the natives. Just after I had taken my leave, I met Richard King, who drove my waggon into the interior, and with whom I had formed in consequence some acquaintance, as he had evinced several signs of a humbled and serious mind, just opening to instruction. I asked him whether *he* intended to join the expedition. With great feeling he said he would not if I did not advise him. He professed not to have made up his mind, but feared he must follow the rest. Such is the power of example. He was at the Dutch camp when the Zoolus attacked it and gave me the following authenticated account of the dreadful scene. At daybreak on Saturday the 16th ult. the savages surprised an outpost of the Dutch camp in a perfectly defenceless condition, when the families were all in bed. About 250 individuals including men, women and children were massacred. It is not said that a single person escaped. Some were slaughtered as they lay in their waggons. Others were alarmed, rose and fired. The noise of the guns alarmed the main body, who sending in the direction from which the report proceeded discovered that an army was at hand. Unsuspicious of Dingarn and the Zoolus, they at first thought that the English at Natal had sent the natives at the settlement against them. Then they imagined that Umzelekaz, their old enemy had come out against them. When R. King told them they were not his men, but by their dress he knew them to be Zoolus, they could scarcely believe him. Some prisoners whom they took, informed them of the massacre of Mr. Retief's party. Richard King himself, was in danger at first from the Zoolus, two of whom meeting him unarmed, had endeavoured to spear him, and afterwards from the Boers, who knew him to be an Englishman. The camp was perfectly defenceless, the waggons not having been put in any order as usual when they fortify themselves: nevertheless, such was the terror of their muskets that the main army of Zoolus were afraid to make a general charge, which if they had done, would have succeeded (it is said) in the total ruin of their adversaries. They soon took to their heels, and the Boers pursued them that day to the Tugala. The next day they renewed the pursuit, and found multitudes on an island in the river, skinning some sheep which they had plundered. The Boers fired and many of the Zoolus plunging into the river were carried away by the stream. The lowest computation makes the loss of the Zoolus amount to 500 men.

On conferring with Mr. Hewitson on the best plan to be pursued at the present crisis, the insecurity and unsettled state of the country seeming to make it desirable to retire



for a season from this place, he suggested a plan which commended itself to my attention as preferable to any I had thought upon. It was that we should go to the Dutch camp, and commence a school and the ministry of the Gospel among the Boer families. The advantage of this plan in a missionary point of view consisted in the favourable entrance our connexion with the Dutch as teachers would hereafter afford us amongst the natives in S.E. Africa, when the Boers take possession of the country, as they doubtless will. If this plan shall be acted upon, we do indeed, for a season to give up missionary labour amongst the Zoolus, but only as we hope to enter into the field again with better hopes of success, as the friends of the conquering party. Certain facilities were afforded us for the execution of this plan. Mr. Rows, a pious Dutchman, who accompanied Mr. Hewitson in the vessel from Algoa Bay to establish himself in the country as the Boers merchant, offered to introduce us and should we go to assist us in a sabbath school. Another vessel the Ligonier cutter having arrived in the Bay, and being bound to stop 3 weeks, sufficient time is given for consideration: also for sending an offer of our services to the Dutch, and receiving a proper escort to attend us on the road. Mr. Hewitson returned with me to Berea. On our way we met a large troop of native warriors headed by a white man, some with guns, others with spears. The word "izinkumbi," locusts, was marked on the flag, and as they moved forward they sung a war song to the following effect: "The wild beast (Dingarn) has driven us from our homes, but we will catch him."

*March 12th.*—The army did not start to-day as was intended. We removed with our waggon and tent to the Bay, and Mr. Hewitson and myself and two others went shares in a boat value £15, to take us on any sudden emergency on board either of the vessels now riding in the Bay. A ship is the best or only real human security we could have in the event of Dingarn coming down with all his force to attack this place. As some of the settlers were on the point of going on an embassy to the Boers for the purpose of agreeing on the day of attack. I write a letter to the Governor by them, offering our services freely, but requiring explicit information as to the location and security of their camp. Mr. Rows wrote also and desired them to send 8 waggons as an escort before the end of 3 weeks, otherwise we should depart with the Ligonier cutter. It was understood that I did not absolutely pledge ourselves to go, having been strongly dissuaded from this plan by friends on account of the peril attending it to whose judgment much attention

was due. Mr. Rows himself had sufficient need of the waggons, if we did not think it prudent to adhere to our original proposal.

*March 13th.*—The embassy having refused to carry to the Boers a sealed letter, my epistle of yesterday was opened and read. In the afternoon the Natal army departed. It was a thousand strong, and headed by several of the settlers. Many, however, of these staid behind. About 100 of the natives carried guns. The black people are generally the remains of various conquered tribes. Many of them were formerly chiefs. A declaration of war has been formally declared by the Natal settlers against Dingarn. Independent of the murder of Thos. Halstead in cold blood, the most grievous charge they bring against him is the massacre of 17 coloured people of Port Natal, who were sent into the Zoolu country, before the Boers were killed, by Mr. Plandenberg\* with goods to trade. Dingarn sent for Mr. Plandenberg, desiring that he would come himself. On his refusal the enraged chief gave orders that the 17 black people should be put to death and then seized their goods. It is certain that Dingarn had taken great offence at no white person having come for a very long time to see him (the Boers excepted). This was one of the charges he brought against them, when he sent the threatening message before mentioned, viz., that the settlers had made themselves his enemies by not coming to visit him.

*March 17th.*—News has arrived to-day from the commandant of the Natal forces, that an embassy from the Boers proceeding hither in order to agree upon some plan of union with the Natal people, met him on the road: the Dutch and English will now unite against the Zoolus. Dingarn it is said, has sent his army out, but the destination of it is not known. Spies will be sent out from hence to ascertain its movements.

*March 18th, Sabbath.*—Conducted English service in the morning: in the afternoon the Rev. G. Champion, addressed a few native women at the camp in their own tongue.

*March 19th.*—We commenced this day a school for English and Hottentot children at the camp, intending as soon as convenient to join the native children with them. The parents expressed much pleasure and thankfulness: the school was held in a small hut.

*March 23d.*—I visited the camp this day, partly to superintend the school, but chiefly to reprove and exhort some of the white people, who were guilty in the night of a drunken frolic, almost unpardonable and which produced serious

\*Blanckenberg.



alarm to all the families residing at the Point. Between 12 and 1 o'clock in the morning. Mr. Hewitson awoke us, having been alarmed by the report of guns at the camp, firing in volleys and with such rapidity as left no doubt on our mind that the Zoolus were on the attack, where we got into our boat, which conveyed us on board the vessel. Presently the firing ceased and in the morning, we learned that a few lawless men had under the influence of grog, which has been conveyed in abundance by the ships, in mere fun occasioned us all this alarm. I walked about the camp (which is a small square fortified in a manner, on every side by waggons, thorns, planks, poles, etc., and containing several huts) searching for those whom I had heard to be leaders in the offence. I could see no one at first, but a few hottentot and native families, sitting under the waggons. At length hearing voices, I entered a hut where 2 white men were lying on the ground asleep, and two others playing at cards. I set before them the dreadful effects of drunkenness in this life and the next, and exhorted them to repentance. Visited also a sick Hottentot.

FRANCIS OWEN.

Port Natal, March 25th.

*March 25th, Sabbath.*—English service in the morning at the Point: so is the point of land at the entrance of the harbour called. The American Missionaries ready to sail in the afternoon attended, as also a few of the Natal residents. Immediately after service, on coming out of the wooden building where I had conducted worship, according to the rites of our Church as usual, we were much gratified with seeing upwards of 200 natives, viz., women and children (for there were no men) collected and seated on the ground in order to hear the words of God. They had, everyone, walked about 2 miles along the beach from their villages situated higher up the bay. To these Mr. Champion expounded in their own tongue the Parable of the Prodigal son. At high water the wind which had long been adverse, having in the course of the night shifted, our friends including Capt. and Mrs. Gardiner set sail. The latter we never expected to see in this country again, but our American friends purposed returning and we entertain the hope that future events may yet afford them encouragement for a renewal of their labours in this part of South Africa. The Rev. Mr. Lindley remained behind. We watched the vessel till it had safely crossed the bar of sand at the entrance of the bay.

*March 26th.*—We removed our tents and waggons from the Point to an uninhabited island in the middle of the Bay, which we had fixed upon as a temporary residence, partly

for security and partly to be near the camp, where there is at present the greatest population both of white and black people.

*March 28th.*—I received a letter from Mr. Maritz, the present Governor of the Dutch, in answer to mine, in which I had made a proposal of my services for a time as their teacher—without, however, absolutely pledging myself. He appears to have been much gratified with my offer, thanks me cordially for it, but says he cannot give me a perfect answer at present, as he is just ready to march against the enemy and is busy preparing his commando.

*April 1st, Sabbath.*—After instructing our native servants this morning in Watt's first catechism, and being much interested in them, we sailed to the Point intending to hold English service. Here we learned the lamentable intelligence that many of Capt. Gardiner's men have within the last week been killed by the Zoolus. They had in their eagerness for plunder gone with their guns over the Tugala, driven the people away and carried off a quantity of cattle. On their return they feasted on the spoil and as they lay afterwards amongst the cattle, were killed by the Zoolus, who had tracked them and surprized them when asleep. Such was the rash and mad conduct and such the miserable end of those who have for so many months heard daily the sound of the Gospel. How little can the outward word, without a Divine blessing accompany it alter the character of a native! the heart of a Zulu is mad upon cattle and when he can by any means, fair or foul, procure his object, no gratitude for past favours, no kindness, no advice, no inducement whatever can restrain him. Read the Church service and preached to about 12 or 15 Europeans. The natives began to assemble outside as Mr. Hewitson was reading the lessons. We took them under some trees, where I spoke to them by my Interpreter the words of life. If the precious word does not take immediate effect there is no cause to be discouraged. I was thankful that the Lord brought so many women and children from a distance under the sound of the Gospel. Returned to the Island where another party had assembled immediately on my leaving it for the Point. These had walked thro' the water from the opposite side of the bay, but had come earlier than I had appointed. They waited some hours and then went home. I sent for them and they returned immediately and listened to the Gospel under the shade of a tree. I told them to send their children to morrow to be taught. I was much refreshed by the duties of the day, and particularly encouraged by the voluntary attendance of the People. O! may the Lord give them a sincere desire to be instructed in his most blessed



will and Word. In the evening had service amongst ourselves.

*April 2nd.*—In the morning instructed our native servants out of Watt's Catechism and afterwards sailed with Mr. Hewitson and Mrs. Owen to the camp to commence a school with the native children whose parents I had desired yesterday after service at the Point to send them. About forty assembled, most of them girls. Under a tree we taught them by my Interpreter the existence, goodness and Providence of God, beginning with these first principles which are not yet formed or fixed in their minds and hoping very shortly to lead them to the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ who is their life. The external aspect of so many interesting children cheerfully assembling to be taught the truth was pleasing and encouraging, tho' their extreme ignorance prevents the indulgence of a hope that they can speedily be enlightened: but if the Lord shall be pleased to work with us (and his blessing we may confidently expect) then we may sow in hope assured that in due season we shall reap if we faint not.

In the afternoon the report of guns from a distance announced the return of the commando (as it is called), which went from hence on the 13th ins. Instead of combining with the Dutch (as it was arranged by some), they contented themselves with attacking the Mangalosi or rather with plundering their cattle for there were scarcely any men to attack, they being absent. This people are a conquered tribe tributary to Dingarn living on this side the Tugala and having a king over them. When Isiguabani, the chief who deserted Dingarn as mentioned in my journal, saw the king, he exclaimed, that as he was not a Zoolu, he would not soil his spear with his blood. The commando carried off (it is said) 4,000 head of cattle and 500 women and children. The younger women will be as great a prize to the natives as the cattle. They will bring them up as their own children and finally sell them for wives at 2 or 3 cows a piece in the manner they are accustomed to do with their own daughters. The commando only lost 2 men, one of whom was bitten by a snake and the other shot dead by Cane (one of the heads of the marauding party) being in the act of concealing, with a view to appropriate to himself, some of the stolen cattle, before an actual division had been made of the spoil. This fact was related by Mr. Cane himself, and it plainly shews the awful state of things here, that an Englishman can on his own authority, without fear of being called to account by any human tribunal, thus take away life. There is no king in Israel: every man does whatsoever is right in his own eyes. A cow may now be purchased for 15s. Before this commando the price was 45s., but we have come to the

resolution, not to buy any of the stolen cattle, but to purchase (if at all) of those who did not go out on this predatory warfare.

*April 8th, Sabbath.*—Instructed our native servants in Watt's Cat., and then sailed to the Point, where we conducted English service. Very few attended: one reason of the small attendance was no doubt the stirring of conscience and the hatred of reproof. A few native women and children afterwards assembled from 2 of Mr. Cane's villages for Christian instruction. Some came to the Island from the other side of the Bay, shortly after our departure, but left before we returned. It is impossible for them to attend again on account of the tide. In the afternoon Mr. Hewitson went over the water to deliver tracts to some white people, who seeing him, fled at his approach, as they guessed the object for which he came. English service in the Evening amongst ourselves. The camp is now broken up and the people are dispersed at their homes, so that our schools are necessarily at an end.

*April 13th, Good Friday.*—English service on the Island, where Mr. Cane's family have come to reside for security, it being stated that Dingarn has offered a reward for his life. In the course of the week another commando has gone out against the Zulu monarch. A division under Robert Biggar went out in the beginning of the week and another under Cane this morning. Very few of the settlers are left behind, all of them, with very few exceptions having arranged themselves under one or other of these heads. I hope that amongst these exceptions one or two have been deterred by principle.

*April 14th.*—The times are very unfavourable for any regular active employment: nevertheless, this morning at low water I crossed to the South side of the bay, and took a long walk with a view of exploring the native villages and ascertaining whether any Christian instruction could be given them, and in what way. Following a winding path which conducted me to the top of the hill, I came suddenly up to a village containing about 16 or 20 huts in the midst of a bush. They presented a very desolate appearance having not a single inhabitant of any age or either sex in them. Presently, however, a lame man who had been bitten by a shark, came up and told me that the women and children were all in the fields at work. The men (I knew) had all gone out to fight. After this I saw 3 more villages all situated in the midst of a bush containing each about 12 huts. There were a few women at each place who expressed a desire to be taught. These people, tho' now they acknowledge a white man, Mr. Ogle for their chief, are not like the other inhabit-



ants of Port Natal refugees from the Zulu country or broken remains of various conquered tribes who have fled here at different times of late years, but are the original inhabitants of Port Natal, and as it appears the rightful possessors of the soil. They have never been conquered, and have occupied the ground from time immemorial. There are altogether 9 villages of them and they speak a dialect very different from the Zulus and other inhabitants of Port Natal.

*April 15th, Easter day.*—English service at the Point, attended by such of the settlers as had not gone out to fight. Tho' the ministry of the word to Europeans does not directly come within the bounds of my peculiar work and office, I, nevertheless, esteem it a great privilege, as well as a necessary duty to seek (if may be) their souls: and amidst the darkness which prevails around, and all the occasions for spiritual deadness which a Missionary must feel, more especially at the commencement of his work, before the natives can have any sympathy with him or appreciate his objects, it is one means of animating the soul, which I desire to profit by and in watering others to be watered myself. The natives did not attend after the service as usual, tho' desired yesterday to do so, but in the afternoon several of Mr. Ogle's people and a great many children came to the Island. This was entirely owing to my visit yesterday. After speaking the truth to them and encouraging them to attend, promising to visit them again at their own homes, we held English service and partook of the Lord's supper. The communicants were, however, all found amongst my own and Mr. Hewitson's family. The children whom I questioned after my discourse were unable to tell me who was the Maker of the world. They did not appear to have ever heard a name for the Deity.

*April 16th.*—After returning from an interesting visit at the house of mourning, the sick bed of Capt. Haddon, master of the brig Comet now in the Bay, I heard an authenticated report of the proceedings of the commando. Mr. Cane has just sent 9 men stating that 12 spies who had been sent in advance by Mr. R. Biggar from the Tongata had fallen in with the advanced guard of the Zulu army which is on its march to Port Natal and driven them as far as the main body. On the return of the victims spies to Mr. Biggar he sent word to Mr. Cane to bring his division up as quick as possible that they might form one body to attack the enemy. The object of Mr. Cane in sending these men was to put us on our guard.

*April 17th.*—A sad and awful day. I took a long walk in the morning chiefly with the view of visiting some more of Mr Ogle's villages. On arriving at the first I saw a young

warrior, and on my asking him and the women who were about, whether they would like to be taught, he returned answer that the whole commando had been destroyed by the Zulus and that all the white men were killed, particularly naming Cane. I pursued my walk to Mr. Ogle's own village, but ere I arrived the sound of weeping and lamentation met my ear. I entered Mr. Ogle's hut where a great number of natives were assembled. He himself had not gone out this time to fight and he now acquainted me with the various reports which he had heard which tho' differing in many particulars all agreed in this that there had been a great slaughter both of the natives and white people. He had scarcely began to tell me what had happened when a native woman arrived bringing further intelligence at which all the women in the village set up loud cries and wailings, running in all directions crying in their own language, Alas! Alas! As yet no man had arrived from the commando who had actually seen the fight, but in a few minutes a warrior arrived with his gun, having fled 75 miles in a day and a half from the very scene of action. The intelligence he brought corroborated the former reports respecting the general massacre of white people and black and now the scene was heart rending beyond all example. The tumultuous cries of the distressed women whose husbands were supposed to have been slaughtered made the air to resound. One woman was seen walking with her hands at the back of her head crying mournfully "Booya Baba," return my father. An English woman among the rest was almost frantic with grief. In the meantime the men gathered eagerly round the messenger to hear particulars. There were two white men at the village besides Mr. Ogle, one of these I addressed well knowing his person and character. As it was expected that the Zulus would pursue their victory and come down immediately on Port Natal, I observed that it was of paramount importance that we should be prepared for an eternal world and exhorted them to seek the Lord. Mr. P. expressed himself as already at peace with God. I asked if he kept his commandments. He said No, but he committed himself to his mercy. I then shewed him the vanity of trusting in the mercy of God and living in known sin, exhorted him to break from the sin of drunkenness and encouraged him by the promises of the Gospel. After leaving the village I heard the voice of weeping and lamentation for more than a mile. At night we went on board the Brig Comet, Capt. Haddon, which providentially is now in the bay.

*April 18th.*—Visited a white man Joseph Brown who with 3 other Europeans effected their escape. He was lying under a waggon severely wounded in his knee. He had



received two other wounds which were now healed. It appears that the Natal army crossed the Tugala at day break on the morning of the 17th and attacked a Zulu village. In a short time myriads of the enemy were seen pouring down the hills. Such of the Natal natives as fought with spears run to the white people and the natives who carried guns for protection at the same time casting off the white calico which had been tied round their bodies as a badge of distinction. Being followed by the enemy, it was impossible now to distinguish the Zulus from the Natal natives. It is stated that multitudes of the black people fled and were pursued by thousands of Zulus who killed more in the flight than in the battle. The loss on both sides was very great, but all the leaders of the Natal army being killed, Dingarn may justly reckon that he has triumphed over his foes in this quarter. The impression made on my mind by this event was that of awe. Nearly every individual of the party with whom I conversed on my arrival at Port Natal and dissuaded from the fight, besides many others of the white men whom I knew and had seen so lately had perished. Of 17 Englishmen who went out only 4 returned and amongst those who died were many who lived in gross immorality, such immorality as they themselves would be ashamed of in a Christian community but which the want of those restraints which the influence of Christianity imposes, had sanctioned. In a moment had the ungodly perished, they were the authors of their own ruin, and having once about a year or two ago assisted Dingarn in a war he was carrying on against a chief called Sopusuza in the neighbourhood of Delagoa Bay, who had fled to some rocks and was accessible only to gun shot, the God of judgment now seemed to require blood for blood and they fell by the hands of that very chief whose favour on that occasion they purchased.

*April 22nd, Sabbath.*—The violence of the wind prevented us from sailing to the Point (as usual) to hold service. As we were about to commence prayers in the tent a small party of Boers was seen galloping along the opposite beach. In the evening we received tidings from them of the result of their first battle with Dingarn in which they had lost their brave commander Peter Uys.

*April 23rd.*—In the morning sailed to the Point and called on the newly arrived Boers. From a Scotchman in their party I learned pretty full particulars of the commencement of hostilities between them and the Zulu chief. On the 6th ins a commando consisting of 300 fighting men under Peter Uys left the Camp and proceeding into the Zulu country found no enemy till they arrived within half an hour's ride and were in sight of the capital. Dingarn had ordered all

the cattle to be driven away so that they found but one stray ox. The Despot's army was drawn up on some rocks thro' which there was a narrow pass where the Boers were to make their egress before they could reach the royal residence. The rocks formed a half circle, on each quadrant sat a division of the Zulu army guarding the pass. A third division remained at some distance to fall on the rear of the Boers as soon as they had entered the ground which the Zulus had chosen for the fight. By this means they hoped to surround them and prevent all opportunity of escape. Peter Uys divided his men into 2 principal parties which were to commence fight with the 2 divisions of Zulus who were arranged on the rocks. A smaller division under Cobus Uys was stationed by itself with orders not to attack the third party of Zulus unless they should happen to make the first onset. The division which Peter Uys commanded advanced and fired. The party of the enemy whom this division attacked were quickly put to the route. Meanwhile the other main division of the Boers met with a signal defeat. Having fired not more than 16 shots they fled. The Zulus returning from the pursuit and being quickly joined by the other two divisions now hemmed in the remaining Boers. Before this however Peter Uys, his son a boy about 12 years old who fought at his side and 10 other men had fallen. They were surrounded in a clough from which they were not able to extricate themselves. Uys received a wound on his thigh and fell from his horse. Being mounted again he continued to fight but fainting from the loss of blood he once more fell from his horse when he was heard to exclaim "Fight your way out, my brave boys, I must die." The Zulus then came and speared him. The Boers being surrounded by the enemy who were vastly their superiors in numbers continued the fight for about an hour and half—keeping up a continued fire—dismounting and advancing several paces till they were able to take a sure aim at their adversaries, and then retreating to their horses (which are trained to stand perfectly still in the midst of this noise of firing) mounting and loading. On the other hand the Zulus were not able to come sufficiently near to take aim with their spears (which on this occasion they threw) before they were shot. Thus about 500 of them were killed though some reckoned their loss at 1000. At length the Boers unable to make their enemy retreat were obliged to effect a retreat for themselves—and this they accomplished by directing a fire simultaneously to one point of the ring and having made a lane with their guns thro' the Zulus they rode over the dead bodies and escaped. A party of nine hid themselves in some Indian corn in order to cut off some spies who had been observed to follow them all day with a view to



notice the place of their encampment and to fall on them at night. At sunset as these spies 7 in number approached the place where the liers in wait were concealed, the latter issued forth and each shot his man dead in a moment. Thus ended this awful day. The battle was fought about 10 o'clock on the 11th inst. The Zulus might justly claim the victory tho' it was dearly bought. In the afternoon I attended a meeting of the principal surviving inhabitants of Port Natal. The object of this meeting was to greet the Boers on their expected arrival and settlement at Port Natal. The deputation who arrived yesterday had come with the express view of learning the feelings of the Natal settlers on the subject of their arrival. Mr. A Biggar took the chair and having expressed his own feelings as decidedly favourable to the settlement of the Boers at Natal he desired such Englishmen as were present to give their opinion. After others had spoken, I agreed with the general view but asked whether they would countenance (if they should arrive) a missionary establishment, would they allow a Missionary of the Church of England to assemble the natives around him for the purpose of imparting religious truth. In answer to this question the chairman with great warmth (not to say intemperately) declared his decided opposition to such a measure—pleading the evil effects which had resulted from the Missionary establishments of the London Missionary Society in the Colony, which he had himself experienced, for it was the practice of hottentots to run away from their masters and take refuge at the Missionary station where they were encouraged to remain by the Missionaries who protected them. It was in vain for me to point out that we had no such intention of protecting runaway servants but merely to assemble the natives who had not engaged themselves to any master and who were *free* to live where they chose. The mention of the *freedom* of the natives appeared however to give offence as my meaning was not or would not be understood. I was told however that we could not hinder runaway servants taking refuge with us, as they would live on the station without our knowing them—at the same time the chairman said there would be no objection to our keeping a school for the native children at their own residence, but the objection was to the collecting of the natives round a Missionary establishment. It being remarked that this conversation was not to the point, I ceased—and no unpleasant feeling I apprehended remained. In the evening 2 guns from the ship, the appointed signal of danger admonished us immediately to come on board. We all therefore entered our little boat which was crowded and except for the kind Providence of our ever watchful God some of us must inevitably have been drowned, for a

line had been drawn from the ship to the opposite to enable those who were on that side of the water more speedily to come with their boats to the ship. The mast of our little vessel in the darkness of the night having come into contact with this line, she was on the point of capsizing when my Interpreter who sat at the helm prudently turned the sail and threw a due proportion of weight into the other side of the boat—but I never felt myself so near death and considering the force of the stream, the darkness of the night and the numbers of our party it is certain but for a kind Providence some of us must have been drowned. On arriving at the ship we heard that a large army of the Zulus had been seen at the Umgani about 8 miles distant advancing down to Port Natal and had commenced by driving away the cattle which they found there.

*April 24th.*—The army made its appearance about 9 a.m. on the hill where Berea stands. We could only see them by the aid of glasses, nor was it possible to ascertain the correct number of the enemy. No one, however, thought of making any resistance. We were able to trace their motions by the telescope all day whenever any opening in the bush afforded us the opportunity. They never once came near the water, being deterred by the sight of the vessel and the report of her guns.

On board the Comet, Port Natal,  
April 26th, 1838.

My dear Sir.

It is with deep regret and great disappointment I inform you of the painful necessity which puts an end (at least for the present) to our mission at Port Natal. The settlers have most of them been killed, as I informed you in my last, together with about 400 of the natives. The Boers have invaded Dingarns country, but failed of making that impression on him which they anticipated. They lost Peter Uys, their brave, faithful and revered commander, and one whole division of 150 men were put to a shameful flight. The other division of 150 led by Peter Uys was completely surrounded by the Zulu army supposed to consist of 7,000 men, and after an hour and half's hard fight they were obliged to make a lane thro' the enemy with their guns in order to effect a retreat. They killed, however, it is said between 5 or 600 Zulus and lost 10 of their own men. The Zulus selected very advantageous ground for the fight, which took place within half an hour's ride and in sight of Unkundinghlovo, my late residence. This battle was fought on the 11th inst. Whilst I write the Zulus are actually at Port Natal, the whole country is at their disposal—there being no one to oppose them. They have been here since Monday the 23rd



inst. We see them plainly from the vessel with our glasses. The natives having fled to the bush to conceal themselves from the enemy and escape death. They have been at Berea—but have not yet fired it. I expect to lose such of my property as is there and when the vessel goes, the store at the point which contains more will also be ransacked. Whatever is useful to the natives will probably be carried away by them—everything else fired. We have lost all our cattle in common with the other inhabitants, but thank God our lives have been preserved. If the gracious Providence of our God had not sent a ship into the bay, Mrs. and Miss Owen with Mrs. Hewitson must, as well as ourselves, have been concealed in the bush—but we are now safe in the ship. There is no course left for us to pursue but to take our passage to Delagoa Bay and from thence to the Colony. The Captain will not touch at Port Natal on his return. Insecurity, however, is but one of the discouraging circumstances. The Dutch, I fear, will never allow a station for Missionaries. The natives who abhor them will all leave the place except such as may be compelled from necessity to serve them. Under these circumstances, I deem it would be loss of time to remain any longer here. When affairs are settled and the contest between the Boers and Zulus decided (which is now thought by most to be very doubtful as to its issue), then we may determine on renewing the mission. I write in great haste, 2 messengers who have brought letters this morning from the Amaponda country being in haste to return. Pray excuse therefore these hurried lines. I am thankful for this opportunity of sending this account, brief as it is.—I remain, yours truly and affectionately,

F. OWEN.

May 4th.—Having ascertained from the natives that the Zulus had left the country, Mr. Hewitson and I rode to Berea with the view of seeing what devastation had been made there. We found that the house had been broken into and every trunk, box, case, bale or bag emptied of its contents, the empty boxes themselves broken and piled in disorder on the floor. Not a vestige of cloth, calico or anything which could by any means be converted into apparel was left behind. Everything which could be of any use to the natives or possessed in their minds any external beauty was carried away and scarcely anything whatever left but provisions of various kinds, salt, sugar, flour, etc., which were scattered on the floor and in the midst of which lay half covered a soiled immense quantities of books, many of which were of great value. The chief loss fell on Capt. Gardiner, but much of the property of the mission was also

here, not however, so much as might have been if I had not previously removed the greater part of it to the Point.

On Friday afternoon, May 11th, by a S.W. wind the Comet left the harbour bound for Delagoa Bay. On Saturday, May 20th, we reached Lorenzo Marquees, the Portuguese settlement about a mile up the English River, which flows into the Bay and anchored immediately opposite the fort. The Governor with some others came on board, and we were kindly favoured with the use of a Government [house] during our temporary stay at the Port. We were treated kindly also by the Commandant of the Fort. As a proof of the unhealthiness of this situation, there is the hull of a small schooner of 60 tons on the beach, the crew of which *all* died from the influence of the climate when they came into the country to trade. We here saw the shattered remains of Louis Triecharde's party which was the first company of Emigrant Farmers that left the Colony some years ago. The afflictions they have undergone are of a truly pitiable kind. Out of 18 families comprising about 100 individuals who emigrated under Triecharde, two married men only, viz., Triecharde and his son and a few widows and children are all that now remain. Nine complete families who separated from Triecharde were destroyed by the native tribes thro' which they had to pass in quest of a settlement. Five times generally in the night was Triecharde's party assaulted by the savages some of whom were armed with bows and poisoned arrows. The farmers were, however, always successful in driving them away with their guns. On one occasion in the night, the Mantitees, a tribe in the interior, were about to fall on them with 60 men when the younger Triecharde shot their leader, who, as he fell received in his side one of his own poisoned arrows. His weapons were taken and shewed us, particularly the arrow in question. But these were not the only dangers this party were obliged to encounter. Having escaped the violence of man, they began one after another to fall victims to the climate. The Portuguese sent an escort to bring them to Delagoa Bay, where they are now suffering from the bilious intermittent fever which they caught in the course of their wanderings. Several have died since they reached that place, and no less than 3 adult persons perished in the short time we were there. One of these was the younger Triecharde's wife, whom I buried at the side of her Mother in law. The rest we left all ill, with very few exceptions, nor is it probable that a single individual amongst them will survive as there is no medical man to advise them, or anyone that understands medicine. The settlement of Lorenzo Marquees contains about 100 inhabitants including



Portuguese, Mozambiques, and one or two Malays. Most of the inhabitants are connected with the Government or are soldiers belonging to the fort. They have no priest or any form of religion and tho' the Governor is married, yet others live in the same way that our own countrymen have done at Port Natal, in a system of disgraceful polygamy, purchasing the daughters of natives for cattle or goods, and these they call their wives. In Delagoa Bay the wives are also the slaves of their husbands—for this has been a slave port and the inhabitants continue to purchase slaves of the natives. They, however, treat them with kindness, tho' for the first few days they confine them in chains to prevent them running away, as we saw. The "English river," which shortly branches out into 3 streams is at Lorenzo Markees about 2 miles broad and is navigable with ships for many miles. There are distant mountains in the horizon, but the country about Delagoa is flat and contains very poor pasture. There are scarcely any cattle, but such as belong to the Dutch, who have immense flocks and herds. The natives as well as the Portuguese seem to live chiefly on rice, Indian corn, poultry, pigs, etc. Oranges, lemons, citrous, pine apple and bananas also grow here, as well as the cocoa tree and other fruits. The whole country as far as the south bank of the English River nominally belongs to Dingarn. It is occupied by various tribes who are all tributary to that despot. These trade with the Portuguese by means of boats of native structure, the only instance (I believe) of this species of native workmanship in S.E. Africa. The name of Dingarn has spread terror even beyond the coasts of Delagoa and his trade extends as far as Inhamban on the Tropic. The Portuguese were once surprised by an army of Dingarn—the Governor was killed and the fort destroyed. The native population is very great in the neighbourhood of Lorenzo Markees. About a mile from the settlement there is a native town consisting of a vast number of little villages of huts with some distance between each. Having no cattle they have no fold, so that the town assumes quite a different appearance from a Zulu or Kafir town, which consists of huts build round the cattle fold. These huts at Delagoa Bay are also conical, not bee-hived like the Zulu and Kafir huts. The language here spoken by the natives is a remote dialect of the Zulu, many of them however, speak the proper Zulu dialect and also Portuguese. The ships having discharged her cargo and exchanged it for ivory (both elephant and sea cow teeth), and Indian corn, we set sail early on Saturday morning, June 16th, and being carried most of the voyage before a prosperous gale of wind, we had a speedy passage to Algoa Bay where we

anchored on Friday, June 22nd, being greeted with much cordiality by our friends.

FRANCIS OWEN.

Port Elizabeth, July 9, 1838.

Received in London Oct. 16, 1838.

The remainder of Mr. Owen's diary, though interesting in consequence of his attempt to establish a mission in Mosekatze's country, is not of the same historical value as the account of his difficulties and dangers in Natal and Zululand. Every useful purpose, therefore, will be served by epitomizing the history of his doings from the date at which we have now arrived until that of his departure from South Africa in 1841. This procedure will have the advantage of relieving us from reading, not only the numerous sermonizings and expositions which the good man gave on every possible opportunity, but also many personal details of no interest to any one but himself. In this manner the narrative is continued.

On his arrival in Port Elizabeth, the Rev. F. McClelland introduced him to Lieut. Daniell. This gentleman was one of the most enterprising of the 1820 settlers. He had a location, then called Sidbury Park, about thirty miles south west of Grahamstown. Probably the most progressive sheep farmer of his time, he did much towards improving the breed of sheep and was thus one of the founders of the wool industry of the Eastern Province. At this time he was anxious to build a church on his domain and to provide religious advantages for the many people scattered about in that part of the country. He had already held meetings at his place and obtained promises of support, but that was all which had been done when Lieut. Daniell met Mr. Owen at Port Elizabeth. Mr. Owen accepted the invitation to officiate at Sidbury. Indeed, he was in great perplexity as to his future procedure, as, with the abandonment of the Zulu mission, the justification for his drawing support from the Church Missionary Society was at an end. He had been sent out to minister to the heathen—the Zulu heathen; to undertake such work as that at Sidbury was not in accordance with the objects which the Society had in view. For a time, however, there was nothing else to be done, thus the Rev. F. Owen became the parish priest of Sidbury. In his diary he says, "We are now for a time at a place between Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown, about 30 miles from the latter. The occasion of our coming here was the invitation of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood who are very numerous, all attached to the Church of England, but without any Church, Pastor, School or any means of religious instruction whatsoever. One of these, Lieut.



Daniell, now an extensive sheep farmer, has 70 coloured people, Fingoes and Hottentots on his farm alone, and others have in proportion. Mr. Daniell was introduced to me at Port Elizabeth by Mr. McClelland, the Chaplain, whom I accompanied to his farm, the latter end of July, and performed Divine service in his house to a very attentive audience collected together on a short notice. A new town called Sidbury, where we are now residing, is just beginning to shew itself on his farm, and the foundation stone of a church is shortly to be laid. It was suggested that I should supply the new town and neighbourhood with pastoral instruction till the appointment of their chaplain. From thence I went to Grahamstown and being recommended to Fort Beaufort, a military post on the frontier, on the Kat river, in the immediate neighbourhood of the celebrated Maqomo's tribe, as a wide field for ministerial usefulness. I rode there and spent an interesting Sabbath when I preached to the military on the parade and twice to the inhabitants, once in the barrack room and the other time in a school room used by the Wesleyans. We are all engaged now in the study of Dutch, which is indispensable in South Africa, and ought to be learned before leaving England. Until I know this I can do scarcely anything directly for the Hottentots or Fingoes. I have parted of course with my Interpreter whom I engaged for three years. He consented freely to the annulling of the agreement, but has been very troublesome since in demanding compensation for his losses from the Zulus in cattle, etc., tho' I made no claim on him for upwards of £20 in which he stood in debt to me for money advanced. He has since claimed £60, and when I withstood him he would have gone to law, but the attorney into whose hands he put the affair insisted on arbitration, to which he consented, but when the arbitrators met, Richard Hully was not forthcoming.

All communication by sea with Port Natal is now stopped by proclamation from the Governor, with the view of preventing the farmers from being supplied with warlike stores. A vessel, however, had sailed from Algoa Bay with lead and powder before the proclamation was issued. By the return of this vessel we expect to hear of the result of the sale of the articles which we left behind. The Governor\* is strongly convinced of the necessity of making Port Natal a British settlement. There are not two opinions on that subject here. I saw him at Grahamstown."

Presumably there was not enough work at Sidbury to keep Mr. Owen fully employed, albeit he devoted much

\*Sir George Napier.

attention to the study of Dutch and Hebrew, from which latter he derived "much refreshment." Hence he divided his time between that place and Grahamstown and Fort Beaufort; at the former place taking work for Mr. Heavyside and ministering to the prisoners in the goal and at the latter, holding services with the soldiers. He was ever diligent in obeying the dictates of his conscience, endeavouring to extend the boundaries of the Christian fold and refusing to allow his failures to discourage him. In one of his wanderings he met a Jew—a hopeful Israelite—as he called him. So successful was he in his proselytising that the Jew acknowledged the force of his Christian arguments and was persuaded to attend Church twice a day (presumably Sundays). But the good missionary's joy and elation over the one sinner who repented were considerably damped, when he discovered that the wily Jew was, in reality, a hopeless Israelite. For he had communicated with his people in England and was eventually furnished with counter-arguments to all he had heard. Thus in spite of Mr. Owen's persuasive teaching, as Dingarn had remained Dingarn, so the Jew remained a Jew.

On October 31st, Mr. Owen had the satisfaction of taking part in the ceremony of the laying of the foundation stone of Sidbury church. This was an important event in the history of the Anglican Church in South Africa; for it was the commencement of an era of activity in that denomination. A procession consisting of the whole body of Anglican clergy in the Eastern Province, viz., Revs. McClelland, Heavyside, Barrow and Owen moved to the spot where the Lieut Governor Colonel Hare, who went from Grahamstown for the purpose, laid the stone with all due ecclesiastical formality. Before the building was finished Mr. Owen was far away.

Continually haunted by the conviction that he was not in his proper sphere and regretting the expense he was causing the Church Missionary Society without having it in his power to further the object it had in view, Mr. Owen seized every opportunity of finding a mission field which he could enter with the least risk and exposure and with the greatest prospect of success. In March 1839, there seemed to be a possibility of recommencing the mission in Zululand. Dr. Adams and Mr. Lindley arrived in Grahamstown with the news that Dingarn had expressed his regret for his treatment of the missionaries and was willing to allow them to return. Mr. Owen, however, had had enough of Dingarn and took but little time to decide against placing himself once more in the power of that blood-thirsty wretch. Mr. Lindley then suggested Bechuanaland—Moselikatze's country—where



he himself had worked for a short time before he was compelled to leave it in consequence of war between the Boers and Moselikatze. Mr. Edwards, the London Society's Missionary at Kuruman had written to Mr. Lindley on October 30th, 1838, as follows:—"We understand that Moselikatze fled to the north east and at length came in contact with a powerful tribe who hardly left him a man. We do not know where he is, or if living at all. We are assured that numbers of people have again collected at Moseka. A party of hunters came from here lately. I have often longed to see you return and retake Moseka. I do think a Mission might now be attempted without any prospect of interruption excepting from Dingaan, should he retreat from the Boers and eventually find his way to this country."

As Mr. Lindley was returning to Natal, the Bechuanaland field seemed clear for Mr. Owen. Further, about this same time, namely April, 1839, another envoy from the distant north appeared in Grahamstown and completed all that was necessary to enable Mr. Owen to make his final decision:

This was the Rev. P. Lemue, a French missionary from his station at a place called Motito, situated a little to the north east of Kuruman, but some considerable distance from Mosega. A tribe of Bechuanas called the Bahurutsi had lived round about Mosega and among them the French missionaries had formed a station. But Moselikatze with his murderous horde had swooped down among them, drove forth those they did not kill and seized the territory. The missionaries had then to abandon their station. They formed another at Motito where they were when all this came before Mr. Owen. He now decided upon the abandoned Mosega as his new field of labour. Thus the light which he prayed might be thrown upon his path at length shone forth.

Before undertaking this new work, he felt the necessity of re-awakening the interest and enthusiasm for his mission, which on his arrival, had been so pronounced, but which by this time had died down and become almost non-existent. The interest in the Society had waned and subscriptions had dwindled almost to nothing. No less apathetic than Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown was Cape Town, whence so much had been expected but so little done. To that place, therefore, he deemed it necessary to go and commence his propaganda. Detained at Port Elizabeth for a few days while waiting for the departure of the "Hope" steamer, he assisted Mr. McClelland in all his good works. Among these was his ministrations to fourteen shipwrecked sailors. The *Betsy* and *Sarah* bound from Batavia to Amsterdam was wrecked off the mouth of the Bushman's river when

all on board were drowned but these. Mr. Owen distributed tracts among them and improved the occasion by reading to them the account of St. Paul's shipwreck. They were very grateful.

On May 10th, Mr. Owen embarked on the steamer "Hope" for Cape Town, where he arrived on the 13th, and was hospitably received by the Rev. E. Judge, the military chaplain. 'Twere needless to enumerate the visits made, the people interviewed and other activities which were to culminate in a public meeting. If people did not hear of the stirring adventures with Dingaan and the projected mission to Mosega, it was no fault of Mr. Owen. In his diary for May 16th, 1839, it is interesting to note "This day was kept as a fast by several of the ministers in the town and their congregations in consequence of the late visitation of the measles, by which it is said that three fourths of the inhabitants have been attacked and one twentieth of the population (from 1,000 to 1,500 out of 20,000) have died." With reference to this entry in the diary, it may be stated that the year 1839 was remarkable for one of those mysterious and widely spread outbreaks of disease which seem to have puzzled the medical fraternity and which, probably for want of more accurate knowledge, have been called "measles" or "influenza." On February 20th of that year, like the "influenza" of 1918, "measles" suddenly and with considerable violence broke out in Cape Town and from that date to March 25th, a little over a month, there were, in that place alone, no less than 6,655 cases with 51 deaths. The extraordinary thing about it was that almost simultaneously it broke out in places very far removed from one another and with which there was very little or no communication. Not only were there many sufferers in the far away Colesberg, but even the Boer voortrekkers in Natal were smitten. Captain Jervis in a despatch to Sir George Napier dated July 1839, said "The measles have spread over the whole country and through all the camps, they are generally of a mild form, especially among the natives, but I have heard of fifty or sixty deaths at the Bushman's Rand (the then name for Pietermaritzburg). It may further be of interest to note that there were similar outbreaks in 1807 and 1867. But to return to Mr. Owen in Cape Town. He seems to have met with encouragement from the clergy of all denominations, except strange to say, the Rev. Mr. Hough, the Anglican chaplain and incumbent of St. George's church—now the cathedral. Mr. Hough did not regard the Church Missionary Society with a friendly eye, though he was prepared to support the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. When, therefore, Mr. Owen met him at a vestry



meeting of St. George's, he (Mr. Hough) proposed that all monies collected should be divided equally between those two Societies—a measure which did not meet with the approval of Mr. Owen and those who supported him. So Mr. Hough disassociated himself from the movement altogether. He would neither take the chair at the proposed public meeting nor preach on behalf of Mr. Owen's work. This was a singularly unfortunate attitude on the part of Mr. Hough—considering that up to this late date, 1839, there was absolutely no missionary credit to the Anglican church, while so many other denominations had long been labouring among the African heathen. The Governor, Sir George Napier, also declined presiding at the meeting in pursuance of a principle he had laid down “to attend no public meetings, whatever.”

The great meeting was held in the old Commercial Exchange under the presidency of Sir John Wyld, the Chief Justice. There were also present Mr. Justice Kekewich and Mr. Musgrave, the Attorney General. Apart from any purely missionary interest, an account by an eye witness of the terrible affairs in connection with Dingaan could not fail to be an attraction; this probably accounted for the large attendance there seems to have been. The material result of the meeting was £16 collected at the door. Mr. Owen does not state whether any annual subscriptions were promised. He preached at Rondebosch, Wynberg and other places and received collections varying in amounts from eleven to fifteen pounds. He sought permission to preach in St. George's, but Mr. Hough refused it. Not so the Rev. Mr. Faure of the Dutch Reformed Church and Rev. Mr. Stegman of the Lutheran Church, both of whom on hearing of Mr. Hough's refusal placed their pulpits at Mr. Owen's disposal. In the diary for June 23rd we read, “Preached for Mr. Judge in the military chapel. Afterwards went to St. George's. After service went into the vestry to take leave of Mr. Hough. I acquainted him with my intention of preaching in the Lutheran Church in aid of the resources of the Society as he had not seen good to open his own pulpit for this object. He told me that my course was illegal, that I could not officiate in a Lutheran Church without the consent of His Excellency who, as Ordinary, supplies the Bishop of London's place. I observed that I knew of no law to prevent me and that I was not bound to ask the Governor's consent. After a long conversation, he bid me a friendly adieu, saying that difference of opinion need not prevent charity.” The fear of the Governor or the Bishop of London did not deter Mr. Owen preaching in the Lutheran Church.

The only real discouragement Mr. Owen met with was the account of the state of the Mosega country, which he received from the Rev. Mr. Wright, the missionary of Griquatown, who was then in Cape Town. According to this, the Boers intended to settle in Moselikatze's country, which they claimed by right of conquest, and that the expelled Bakurutsi, who were then settled on the Hart river under the protection of the Griqua chief, Waterboer and the Bechuana chief, Mahura, would fear to return to Mosega. Mr. Wright further stated that on his journey down he had met a long line of Boer waggons moving towards the Orange river. He asked the Boers where they were going. They replied “Beyond the Great River; but where then?” he asked, they replied that they did not know, but they doubted not that the Lord would give them a country. They compared themselves to the children of Israel going out from Egypt—“the land of oppression”. As Mr. Wright was going out, Waterboer, the Griqua chief, a respectable Hottentot gentleman, came in and sat down in the parlour. I told him I was a missionary and that I was going to the Bakurutsi country. He said in Dutch “The missionaries have already been driven from that country and how now will you go?” I replied that as Moselikatze was defeated and his tribe broken up I was not afraid of him. He said there were other marauders besides him, mentioning particularly Jan Bloem, a Bastard chief, son of a Dutch farmer. I asked if he would venture to attack a missionary settlement. He said yes, if he wants cattle, and the settlement is unprotected.

Notwithstanding these unfavourable reports, Mr. Owen's obstinate opposition to discouragement was not shaken; he became the more determined to brave any difficulty he might meet with at Mosega. On June 25th, he preached the forbidden sermon in the Lutheran Church and reaped an offertory of £16 5s. towards his Society's funds,\* and then the next day he embarked on the Hope steamer for Algoa Bay and having been “sea sick all day and night,” he landed at Port Elizabeth on July 1st. There, for the next ten days, as in Cape Town he organised meetings, preached sermons and in other ways beat up interest in his mission. On July 13th, he arrived in Grahamstown. From this date until August 8th, he was busy with his preparations for his great trek. These were not the less active in spite of the disquieting rumours from far away Bechuanaland. On July 4th, Mr. Lemue wrote advising Mr. Owen to go to Mosega via Kuruman and Motito, avoiding Griquatown. On the 17th Mr. Edwards, who does not seem to have been

\*The bills he had drawn on the Society from January to April 1839 amounted to £1,362 15s. 11d.



well disposed towards the Griquas, wrote from Kuruman. "The Griquas, those from Griquatown, are making ready to go to examine the fountains and country round Mosika, with a view to taking up their residence there on the return of Waterboer from Cape Town; if the Griquas get possession of that country, they will, Griqualike, rule and lord it over the natives of the interior." He (Edwards) doubted whether Mr. Owen would do well in touching at Griquatown on his way, as the Bakurutsi had no confidence in the Griquas and would probably have none in Mr. Owen if they knew he had been there.

On August 8th, 1839, Mr. Owen with two waggons and twenty six oxen, moved out of Grahamstown. His party consisted of his wife and sister and the leaders and drivers. As far as it is possible to trace his route, he seems to have taken the present Cradock road through Hell Poort and crossed the Great Fish river at De Bruin's drift. He tells us that he passed the Lieut. Governor Stockenstrom's farm, hence he must have travelled by the Kagaberg and over the site of the present town of Bedford. On August 17th, he reached Cradock. At all the halts he read the Dutch Testament to his men and catechised them. He left Cradock on the 21st with the object of making for Philippolis in the present Orange Free State, but avoiding Colesberg. It is not possible to follow further his course over the very sparsely or almost uninhabited country as he does not seem to have taken any particular road. On the 28th, he tells us that he came to an isolated Boer farm house and that he, with his wife and sister, entered. The Boer was reading aloud a religious book to his numerous family and would take no notice of the visitors until he had finished. At the end of the reading, however, all were invited to supper. "It was here," says Mr. Owen, "I learned that the Boers believe that I was apprized of the intended massacre of Retief and his party and that I did not acquaint him with the horrid plot which was laid against him." At other Boer farms where he calls, he says, "I related as usual the circumstances of Retief's murder, and my own concern therein." On August 31st, the waggons reached the Orange river, opposite the French mission station of Bethulie. Mr. Owen calculated that by this time they had done 290 miles since leaving Grahamstown. The river was crossed without difficulty, when the party went on to the mission station where they were welcomed by the Rev. Mr. Pellisier. After a short rest at Bethulie the journey was continued to Philippolis, in Adam Kok's country, which was reached on September 5th. Here Mr. Owen found the Griquas, "like the Hottentots", he said "an idle set, sitting listless and lazy all day long. I could not

procure a guide for love or money. Several Boers reside in the Griqua country in the neighbourhood of some fountains, paying rent for a certain period for their farms. The chief (Adam Kok) and council of the Griquas in this district have, however, lately passed a law by which at the expiration of their leases, the Boers are to quit the country, and no more Dutch farmers are to be permitted to hold lands."

Ever anxious to make himself efficient in the work he undertook, Mr. Owen, while at Philippolis commenced the study of the language in which he was to minister to his prospective congregation—namely Sechuana. He was by this time a fair master of Dutch and, as we have seen, he had made fair progress in Zulu, and in his off hours he "refreshed himself" with Hebrew. On Sunday, September 8th, he attended the chapel, where he found the Griquas in decent European clothes. "Mr. Schreinar, the missionary, preached in Dutch, the Griqua interpreter rendered Mr. Schreinar's sermon into the Griqua or Hottentot language, being a language of "clacks," as there is scarcely a word without one or more of them. If we did not know it was spoken by human beings, it would scarcely appear to be a language of our race."

At Philippolis Mr. Owen overtook his coadjutors, Mr. Wallace Hewitson, the lay reader who had been with him in Natal and Mr. Robert Philips, a surgeon, with their wives. These people had started from Grahamstown some time before Mr. Owen and were to meet him on the road, as they now did, and formed one party. The difficulty of finding the way, or perhaps more correctly—finding some one who could and would point it out to them, presented itself. None of the Griquas would help them. It was not until September 14th, after having visited native villages far and near, that two natives were persuaded to go with them. Thus the more northern journey was commenced. A time of tribulation ensued. The breaking of axles caused much delay and when at length these were mended the oxen and horses had strayed so far away that days were taken in finding them—some they never found; there was want of water and fuel on the grassless, limitless wastes of that desolate country, and then to crown all these joys was the discovery, that, having battled so far, their would-be guides did not know the way. Fortunately Mr. Owen met some trek-Boers who were able to put him in the right direction, in return for which service he gave them some tracts and expounded to them the Epistle for the day. After this he took his compass for his guide. On September 26th, the party arrived at Ramah on the river, and another the 30th, reached the



Vaal. There Mr. Owen met a trading and hunting expedition returning to the South with a waggon laden with hides. The information the travellers had to impart was not encouraging. There were no people residing at Mosega, so they said, though there were a few poor Bahurutsi in the distant mountains; the country round about Mosega was fine and well wooded, but the road to it was waterless, very difficult and infested by lions. Mr. Owen had already come across the spoor of lions and had been concerned for the safety of his oxen. Pushing on nevertheless, he reached Campbell on October 2nd. There he found letters from Messrs Lemue and Edwards awaiting him, the tone of which quite decided him to avoid going near Griquatown. Cornelius Kok, the chief of Campbell, was bad friends with both the pious Waterboer of Griquatown and the regenerate Adam Kok of Philippolis. On the 4th, the party left Campbell, when the worst part of the journey was encountered. Four Griquas who had been hired at that place to show them the way went some distance and then struck for more pay and not getting what they demanded, returned. On the road to the next stopping place, Daniell's Kuil, the oxen were got along only with difficulty, as their feet had become sore on account of the stoney ground and they suffered from thirst. On their arrival at that place they had been without water for twenty-seven hours and fifteen continuously in the yoke. After a rest and, presumably, a drink, they laboured on to the next water at "Korning Fountain," thirty-six miles. Many foot marks of lions leading to the water place were discernable. But all this did not deter Mr. Owen in the study of Sechuana. He was now approaching Kuruman. So he rode forward on horseback in advance of the waggons and arrived there on the 8th. Mr. Edwards warmly welcomed him and sent off three and a half spans of oxen to assist with the waggons. These reach Kuruman two days later. The outlook at that place was not bright. The native crops had failed in consequence of the severe cold and no corn could anywhere be purchased. It was much the same with meat. No native could be persuaded to part with any cattle except for guns, gunpowder and lead, consequently no business was done with them.

In this parlous state of affairs, therefore, and to take precaution against probable distress, it was decided that Mr. Hewitson should make an expedition to the Emigrant Boers and endeavour to purchase necessaries from them; rather a hopeless journey as he did not know where to find them and in any case, it could not but be a very long journey. There was the further difficulty that money was scarce and it was felt that the Boers would not be willing to accept bills

on anyone in the Colony. Mr. Hewitson went. And Mr. Owen continued with the study of Sechuana. On October 22nd, with some borrowed slaughter cattle and a supply of seed wheat, barley, oats and all kind of vegetables as well as slips of Kuruman trees, Mr. Owen left in a north easterly direction for Mosega. Mr. Philips remained at Kuruman in consequence of Mrs. Philip's delicate state of health. On the 24th, Mr. Owen reached Motito where Mr. Lemue received him with open arms and induced him to stay some little time. While here some of his things were stolen from his waggon. Mr. Owen compares the honesty, or perhaps dishonesty, of these people with that of the Zulus. "During my stay in the Zulu country," he says, "I never had a single article stolen and might have emptied my waggon on to the road without fear."

On his further journey to Mosega, Mr. Owen deviated from the usual route, he went to Taungs and paid his respects to the chief Mahura. No details of this visit are given and there is no entry in the diary for November, 1839.

Mr. Owen reached Mosega early in December and found the reports of its depopulation true. It is strange that he should have wanted to settle there at all, seeing the small field there was for his enthusiasm and activity. Tents were pitched and preparations for the construction of a more permanent abode were commenced. This was to be a hut of the Bechuana type. He prevailed upon the few natives he found there to cut and carry poles, to prepare some land for sowing and he endeavoured to persuade them to be taught. With all this, Mr. Owen continued to study Sechuana with which he had so advanced by this time that he attempted the translation of a catechism into that language. But there were so few to listen to his good words. He therefore determined, while making Mosega his head quarters, to visit chiefs and tribes living at a distance. Hence he started off alone to the Bakwain country, as he had heard that the chief Bobi was a likely convert and supporter of the mission. On his way he met Mokatla and other Bahurutsi chiefs, and learnt from them that they stood in awe of the Boers. They refused to return to Mosega unless the Boers were previously consulted and their permission gained. They (the chiefs) asked Mr. Owen to write to them and obtain their sanction, and in the event of a favourable answer, they would congregate again at Mosega. But if unfavourable they asked Mr. Owen to go to them on the Hart river. Mr. Owen did not write the letter. On his further journey to the Bakwains he found another village of Bahurutsi, who were living in dread of Dingarn and daily expected an invasion by his army. On Christmas day 1839, while continuing



his journey, he learnt that an army of Dingarn had actually molested the Bakwain, had seized all their cattle and driven the people to the Bamangwati in the north east. He therefore returned and reached "home" on December 28th. All now were anxious about Mr. Hewitson, for he had been gone nine weeks and nothing had been heard of him. Not only on his, but on their own account was there ground for anxiety. There were twenty persons to feed besides some hungry Bechuanas who were doing some work for them. All the slaughter cattle which had been brought from Kuruman, as well as all the meal, flour and rice were gone, so that there remained at this time little more than some biscuits and raisins. The only feasting there seemed likely to be at this time was that on the part of the lions, for they, undoubtedly also hungry, drew so near to the camp as to create considerable fear, especially among the draught oxen which were quite aware of their danger.

On January 9th, 1840, when the remainder of the biscuits and raisins was gone and when in order to stave off starvation, all were compelled to seek roots or anything else which could be eaten, to their great joy Mr. Hewitson returned. But not as full handed as he should have been. He had managed to procure a flock of sheep and some cattle, including milch cows. He had had a tedious and dangerous journey. The sheep lambed and made it difficult to get along, and the delay thus caused placed all at the mercy of the Molapo lions. These made an onslaught and scattered the animals in all directions. One cow and one draught ox were completely devoured, while five cows, six calves, two heifers one bull, two draught oxen and three horses ran away. Mr. Hewitson's own life was in danger. As soon as Mr. Owen heard of all this, and in the hope of recovering some of the wandering stock, he himself with a party of natives set out to search for them. But he had not gone far before he came to the conclusion that it was a job for the natives. So offering a reward to any who would go forth and recapture what might be left of the frightened animals, he returned. Some time afterwards four Bechuanas went back with four cows with their calves, but how many they had really captured was uncertain, for experience showed that these people were not above stealing cattle which were already in the kraal. He lost sheep, he says, in consequence of the natives who had charge of them having been "unfaithful to their trust," in short, they had stolen them. The people among whom he had gone to work sadly needed praying for. Towards the end of January, nearly all the men, including his Interpreter, deserted, so that the prospects of the Mosega mission—never at the best of times very bright—were now almost

nothing. Beyond superintending the building of his Bechuana house, there was little for him to do but study Sechuana. In order to continue this and to make a commencement of translating a portion of the Bible into that language, he returned for a time to Kuruman. In his ox waggon with Mrs. Owen, but leaving Miss. Owen, he departed from Mosega on January 24th, reaching Motita on February 4th, and arriving at Kuruman two or three days later. He was there until March 12th. A new trouble met him there. Mr. Edwards, the missionary, brought before Mr. Owen certain charges of a somewhat serious character against Mr. Philips, the surgeon. The investigation of these led to Mr. Philips being informed that it was not in the interest of the mission that he should be any longer connected with it. Shortly after this, Mr. Hewitson found that he had had enough of this kind of missionary life and expressed a very earnest desire to be allowed to return to England. Mr. Owen, however, remained undaunted, and was as determined as ever to master Sechuana and locate a congregation at Mosega. On his return journey he again deviated to "Touns" (Taungs). "We travelled westward from Lattakoo three days in succession without meeting with inhabitants." But at Taungs he met a great concourse of people with their chief Mahura, and higher up the Hart river he came upon a large tribe of the Bahurutsi under the chiefs Motlaka, Moilue and Motlalue. In all cases he endeavoured to persuade them to move to Mosega. They were, however, too contented to remain where they were. "You can move a cattle kraal," they said, "but not a whole tribe." Hence still congregationless, Mr. Owen pursued his journey back to Mosega. At one place two lions were seen to come from the water and to hide in some reeds. The native servants fired in their direction, when a large lion emerged from the reeds on the far side and retreated. Other lions in the reeds gave evidence of their presence by their growling. Mr. Owen reached Mosega on April 3rd, after an absence of about ten weeks. On May 2nd, 1840, he was able to move into his new residence, which was just completed and ready for his accommodation. The number of rooms it contained is not stated, most probably there was only one. The walls were of wattle and daub, thick and well calculated to keep out the wind and rain, it had a comely thatched roof which was conical and supported by a pole which stood in the middle of the floor; the door was a marvel of convenience and could be easily entered without stooping; all that was necessary to complete this desirable residence was a window and a chimney, these, however, were developments of the future.



On May 6th, he started off again to Kuruman, apparently on account of shortage of provisions. He returned on July 13th. For four out of these seven months he was away from his would be station. With all his eagerness to carry on the work he had undertaken, he had, so far, done practically nothing, and yet surely there were most promising openings at Taungs or with the people on the Hart river. By this time he was able to preach and pray extempore in Sechuana, so that he was independent of an interpreter and could go afield and hold service among those who would not go to Mosega.

But now that he had come to know something of the country and its people and could speak their language fairly well, all came to an end somewhat suddenly. On September 20th, he received a letter from the Church Missionary Society, dated the previous January, announcing their determination to abandon the South African Mission. So much money had been spent, and though no fault of Mr. Owen, so little had been done, that it was thought better to concentrate on work in other parts of the world. Mr. Owen himself acknowledged that his mission could not be carried on without a still larger expenditure and the service of more men, a course which could not be but detrimental to the claims of those who saw greater prospects of success. Forthwith, he commenced his preparations for leaving Bechuanaland. Ten days after receiving the letter, Mr. Mrs. and Miss Owen, with their three waggons in which all their earthly possessions were packed, left the new hut, empty and desolate. Mr. Hewitson had to remain at Mosega for a time, partly on account of there not being enough oxen to take him and his family away, and partly because a crop of wheat was coming on and it was thought well that he should remain until it was ripe and could be reaped.

The last journey from Mosega to Kuruman was not a pleasant one. The party left on September 30th. The weather had become intensely hot and water was scarce. The oxen had to do one stretch of fifty miles without a drink. Lions beset their path, but they seem to have been of an extremely timid breed, for they could always be frightened off. On one occasion on this journey the native drivers, when looking for fuel, surprised—and were surprised by—five lions, but no harm ensued. The waving of arms and shouting sufficed to scare them away. On October 5th, the party reached the Great Choni (?) or salt pan, and then passing Loharung (?), reached Motito on the 9th and arrived at Kuruman on the 14th; where they remained nearly five months, until March 18, 1841.

Mr. Owen was now in great uncertainty and perplexity as to his future. The Society suggested that he should go to the West Coast of Africa, and endeavour to do there what he had failed to do in South Africa. To this proposal, neither he nor Mr. Hewitson would listen. He argued, and rightly, that there would be a new and unwritten language to be learnt before he could hope to be of any real use, and a still greater obstacle was the fear of the unhealthy climate. He was quite sure Mrs. Owen would not live long in those parts. For these chief reasons, therefore, he declined the offer.

The long delay at Kuruman was caused by the heavy rains which had made ox waggon travelling almost impossible, the rivers were full and impassable. Moreover, Miss Owen had met with an accident and could not easily move. Lastly there was the wait for the wheat crop which it was hoped to save. This had almost come to maturity when the rust attacked it and the whole of it was lost. Mr. Hewitson's stay at Mosega, therefore, had been of no avail. He reached Kuruman on January 31st, 1841. On March 18th, the combined party left Kuruman and reached Graaff Reinet on April 28th. Thence to Grahamstown where they arrived on May 21st, 1841. Mr. Owen had now become very disheartened and disgusted with the Church people who, he considered, ought to have helped him but failed to do so. "It is but little," he said "that the Church here can or *will* do for the Society and that little is done very coldly." He hoped that something would eventually be done for the Church (Anglican) mission in South Africa, though the present one has to be given up. He thought that "no permanent good will ever result from an appeal in this quarter, though the people are well able to give—the association has never met and no subscriptions have been raised since I set off to Mosega." With all hope of Christianizing native South Africa shattered, after all the time and trouble he had spent in learning three languages, the horrors he had suffered in Zululand and his disappointment in Bechuanaland, he left South Africa feeling that some years of his life had been wasted. He sailed from Cape Town for England on September 30th, 1841, and arrived in the Downs on December 7th. His connection with the Church Missionary Society then ceased. He settled down to a quiet parish life at a place near Sheffield. He died of fever at Alexandria, Egypt, November 14th, 1854.

*Note on Motito and Mosega.*—Reading the history of native, Boer and missionary matters of the thirties and forties, the names of Motito and Mosega sound as those of places in



almost inaccessible parts of Africa. Today, they are, so to speak, next door. Motito (or Motiton, as it is called in the Surveyor General's map of 1895), is situated about forty-five miles west of Vryburg and about thirty five from Kuruman. Mosega (Mosika in missionary journals), so intimately associated with the name of the great Moselikatze is now on the railway line from Johannesburg to Mafeking, from which place it is about thirty miles and ten south west of Zeerust. It is a charming valley watered by a tributary of the Marico river. Shortly before reaching Otto's Hoop, in going in the train from Zeerust to Mafeking—a stone monument may be seen on the left of the line, at a halt called Zendlingpost (missionary station). This is of great interest and recalls the first attempt of white man and woman to settle in that part. It marks roughly the grave of Mrs. Wilson, the wife of Dr. Wilson, one of the American missionaries who came to South Africa in 1835. These good people endeavoured to establish a mission among Moselikatze's people, but failed in consequence of trouble between the Boers and that chief. Mrs. Wilson arrived at Mosega on June 16th, 1836 and died of fever three months later—on September 18th. Dr. Wilson seems to have put *in* the grave with his wife's body a small stone, 12 inches long, 6 inches broad and 3 inches thick. On the stone are carved the following words: "Beneath this lies interred Ja—wife of ye Revd. A. E. Wilson. M.D. Missy of ye Am Bd to ye Matabele. Her spirit was —lled away to join ye assembly of ye just—n Heaven soon after she commenced her toils in this land. Her flesh sleeps till ye resurrection when it will rise to testify ye benevolent desires of her husband and those connected with him to impart ye blessing of ye Gospel to ye natives of Africa. Xn reader remember thy time like hers may be short. Work while thou hast life for Christ. Oh<sup>b</sup>, Sep. 1836." In 1912 while some digging operations were in progress, the stone was unearthed and very fortunately, was seen and seized by J. G. Gubbins, Esq., B.A. (Clare College, Cambridge), now one of the most progressive farmers in the district—and a great lover of South African Antiquities. He presented it to the Museum in Pretoria, where it now is, and further, in connection with the Martha Washington Club in Johannesburg, had the present stone monument erected on the spot. There is a facsimile of the stone as well as the following inscription.

"Erected in 1914, by the Ladies of the Martha Washington Club, Johannesburg. Two hundred yards south west of this spot is site of the first station of the American Board's Mission to the Matabele, founded in 1835. There lie the remains of Mrs. Wilson, the first white woman to lay down

her life within the Transvaal, as chronicled by the following inscription now in the Pretoria Museum."

It is to be regretted that more monuments of this nature have not been erected at places where so much South African history has been made.

#### **Joseph Kirkman's Story.**

The following is an account of the affairs in Zululand at the time of Mr. Owen's visit. It is written by Joseph Kirkman, who was interpreter to the American missionary, the Rev. Mr. Champion. He thus speaks of the things he himself saw and did. The account is of great historical importance as it gives information in connection with Retief's visit, of which Retief himself was entirely and blissfully ignorant, namely, that it was Dingaan's intention to murder him during his first visit, in November, 1837. Kirkman's statement quite disarms any suspicion there may have been that Dingaan was instigated or in any manner influenced by anyone in Natal to commit the horrible murder of February 6th, 1838. The document, a copy of the original, was sent to me by a descendent of Joseph Kirkman, a lady in Port Elizabeth, to whom I am most grateful for this kindness. It renders the account given by Mr. Owen much more complete:—

During Mr. Lindley's first residence in Natal, he and I were living far apart until the Dutch Zulu War broke out. I was at that time stationed with the Revd. G. Champion on the bank of the river Umyenduzi. Mr. Venables and Dr. Wilson were on the Umbayas, a small stream running into the Umshlatuya river. A short time before Pieter Retief's first visit to Dingaan, Dr. Wilson had to be sent for to attend Mrs. Champion, and was accompanied by Mrs. Venables. A few days before their arrival, Retief called on his return from his visit to Dingaan, gave a full statement of all matters affecting his interview with the Zulu king, stating how kindly he had been received, and that the king had conceded to all his demands, and further, that he, Retief intended to make a second visit to the Zulu king accompanied by sixty or more men well armed. Mr. Champion did and said all he could to dissuade him from so dangerous an undertaking, and Mr. Retief told Mr. Champion to be under no fear on his account, for it took a Dutchman, not an Englishman, to understand a Kaffir. Mr. Champion reminded Mr. Retief that he was an American, Mr. Retief replied that the difference was so small, that it was not worth alluding to. Mr. Champion told Mr. Retief that he had now had two years practical knowledge of the Zulu king, and begged to warn Mr. Retief against taking any such step for that as sure as Mr. Retief paid a second visit to Dingaan accompanied by sixty or more men, so sure would the



king have them all put to death. He further assured Mr. Retief that the step he contemplated was fraught with the gravest consequence to him and all his people, and that God would hold him responsible for the lives of all the men Mr. Retief intended to sacrifice so uselessly. All was to no purpose, neither Mr. C. nor I could dissuade him from his mad enterprize. Mr. Retief then went on his way to Natal, and there engaged Mr. Holsted, his Interpreter, to return with him to Zululand. What took place on Mr. Retief's return to the Zulu King is a matter of History.

His first visit was the cause of the slaughter of Usilwebanas people. Silwebana had been ordered to kill Mr. Retief and, the five men who had accompanied him on his way to Natal, orders had been sent to him to invite Mr. Retief and his party into the Kraal to entertain them with a dance, milk and beer, and while so engaged, fall on them and kill them. Silwebana refused to carry out the King's order, but he soon discovered that his life was no longer safe, and made an attempt to flee to Natal, but this was foreseen, and a large force was placed on the banks of the Tugela, so that on his arrival there he was attacked by an overpowering force, and lost over six hundred of his men, numbers were drowned. The Tugela being full. Many women were taken captive, brought back and put to death. These were brought passed the mission house more to taunt the Missionary, and to show him his helplessness to save them, and also to harrow his feelings. Two women and one sucking babe were taken out of the Mission house and put to death before our eyes. The mother and babe were not quite dead only stunned and left for the vultures to finish. At the risk of my life, I saved both mother and child. By the time I got to them the vultures were about 10 yards off the bodies, and when I got there they only moved a few yards off. I had no sooner put the mother and child in safety and started off for home than the horrid things fell on the old grandmother. When I returned with milk for the child, and medicine for the battered mother from Mrs. Champion, the grandmother was but a few scattered bones, as white as snow. Such was my first experience of Zulu savagery, but by no means the last. The mother and child had hidden under the long Tambookie grass with the bottle of milk for the child and a calabash of water for the mother, about 9 o'clock at night I asked Mr. Hopkins to accompany me to bring them to the mission house where Mrs. Champion attended, and did all in her power for the poor woman, and finally Mr. Hopkins boated them along with seven other refugees over the Tugela during the night, he being the only other white man on the mission station, except Mr. Champion had to do that by himself as I was

but a lad and unable to assist. It was shortly after these tragical events that Mr. Venables and Dr. Wilson arrived from the Umbayo Mission Station. By this time Mrs. Champion was much better. Her time and attention had been taken up in attending and dressing wounded Zulus. Many of them, after being several days on the banks of the Tugela, managed to crawl to the Mission Station for help. One woman had 18 wounds on her body. During the stay of Mr. Venables and Dr. Wilson, on one Sabbath day about  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 3 or 4, while we were having dinner a shadow darkened the door, and everyone at the table turned to look for the cause of the sudden darkness, there stood a zulu warrior in full tails and fully armed making his obeisance to Mr. C. He stated that he had been sent by Dingaan to request Mr. C. not to be alarmed that he, the king, had put Retief and all the Boers to death. That the Boers had made three attempts to surround the Kraal at night, but were from their small numbers unable to do so, that Mr. C. had his full permission to leave and go to Natal or remain, should he wish to do so, in either case he would be fully protected. Mr. C. requested me to tell the King's messenger that he was deeply pained to hear of the slaughter of the Boers, but thanked the King for the offer to allow him to remain or leave the Zulu Country, but for the present he would remain. After dinner being over and the King's messenger had left, a consultation was held between Mr. C. and Dr. W. as to what was best to be done, which I was asked to attend. It was after some discussion, decided that were Mr. C. to leave it would endanger the lives of the brethren at the Umbayi, and that Mrs. V. and Dr. W. had to return at once and break up the mission and fall back on the Umsindusi Mission, eight miles from the Tugela and there await events. An event, however, occurred likely to upset all plans decided on, and threw a dark shade over all present and consternation among the two ladies. I strongly objected to Mr. and Mrs. C. leaving before the more distant mission had broken up and come here. At this moment Mr. Hopkins entered in an authoritative manner and demanded that Mr. C. and all here should leave at once for Natal and be over the Tugela before day-light, as we would all be butchered before morning if we remained. Mr. C. asked him how he came by his information and very quietly declined to act on Mr. H's advice, saying it would be very imprudent to do so, as it would most likely result in the massacre of the brothers and sisters at Embayo. Mr. Hopkins then in great wrath said, "You are a fool sir." He then withdrew and returned in half an hour and stated that he had talked with all the Natal servants including Mr. Venable's driver and leader, and they all agreed to leave



at once. They were ready to help all to Natal provided they started that night. Mr. C. told Mr. Hopkins, that if he was of opinion that his life and that of the servants were in danger, he Mr. C. would not prevent them from leaving, but that he regretted their doing so, as he did not believe there was any danger until a battle with the Boers had taken place and the Zulus had sustained a defeat. In the meantime there would be chance enough to get away. Mr. H. then addressed me in these words, "Kirkman you had better pack up and be off with me and not act the fool." I quietly reminded him that Mr. C. was to me in place of my father, and that nothing should induce me to leave them in their time of trouble.

You may imagine our feelings in the morning when we found all hands gone, including Mrs. Venables driver and leader, and no one to take her and Dr. W. home to their station on the Embayo, about 60 miles inland. Mrs. Venables became fearfully excited, lamented her absence from her husband saying she would gladly die with him if she could get back home, I then offered to drive her and the doctor home if one of the three boys placed by Dingaan under Mr. C's care would go as leader. My offer was accepted and we started at noon, travelled all night through, and arrived at our destination the next evening to find that Mr. Venables had gone to the Kings Kraal to try and induce him to permit Mr. James Brownlee to return home. Brownlee having been taken by force by the king's orders up to the Ungunguhlova one of Dingaans principal kraals containing 2,500 huts, to teach the Zulus to ride the Boers horses and the use of their guns. After four days Mr. Venables and Mr. Brownlee returned. Events thickened and dangers grew apace. The Zulus tone changed and they became quite hostile towards us. It became apparent that some event of moment had taken place, every man went about fully armed, but we could get no information from them. We concluded that a fight had taken place and that the Zulus were defeated. After Messrs. Venables and Brownlee had returned, it was decided that I should leave at once for the Umisindus' Mission station, a step fraught with greatest danger to myself. The next day I left, taking the road via Buluwayo, Congello and Eshowe; thence across the Umgoya, passed the large military kraal, Intomblo. That route was selected on account of its shortness. The lower road was much infested with lions and elephants, and the Umhalayi was infested with alligators, as I should have one night out, it was not deemed safe. Shortly after starting I overtook a Zulu warrior on his way to Congella to join his regiment, when all South Zululand were making for an attack

on the Boers. I induced him to carry my kit as far as Congella, on we went little knowing what awaited us ahead. After travelling about 6 or 8 miles we came to a large kraal, and from an old man at work on a skin petticoat at the kraal gate, I asked some food. He eyed me keenly for a time, then remarked as though talking to himself. What a pity this is walking into death's jaws. He called to a girl to bring a pot of milk and ground mealies. In the meantime I asked what he meant by the remarks he had made. He replied, My child, for you will have to pass Gogo's Kraal, he is now at home and will most surely kill you. I asked, cannot I avoid his kraal? He answered No! and do not try to do so for his people will tell him a white boy had passed, and he would be so enraged at your not calling, he would send out men to kill you. No, you had better pass his Kraal by the proper road, that will show him you did not intend to avoid meeting him and will also prove to him that you do not fear, and have no bad motive or evil purpose in view. The old man advised me to push on and get home as soon as possible, as the whole country was in great excitement, as the King's troops had been beaten back by the Boers, and that a very large army was about to start to make another attack. That Gogo was greatly disappointed at not being able to take command of the South Zulu force, he being the head Indoona of Congella and Inteulelo. He would be too happy to put to death the first white man he came across. The old man strongly advised me to return and not risk my life. I told him I was on my way home and must run all risks to arrive there, that the Umfundisi at home during my absence had no one to interpret for him. After having partaken of the kind old man's hospitality, thanking him for his advice and kindness. I resumed my journey, hardly thinking or caring what might happen on ahead. Some 4 or 5 miles brought us in sight of Gogo's Kraal, and it appeared I had already been reported for as I approached the Kraal, a great tall man was standing at the upper end of the cattle kraal apparently watching 6 large pots of about 3 or 4 gallons full of meat, for the old butcher was ill and died a few days later, seeing the old chief at the upper end of the kraal, the Zulu carrying my kit said it would be unsafe to pass without calling on him; accordingly I walked up to him and saluted him. He deigned no reply, and glared at me like a tiger, I began to feel rather uncomfortable, when at length the old Satan—for if the devil ever entered man on earth he was in that old Zulu Chief—spoke. He was one of Chaka's greatest and bravest warriors, tall, stout, well made, and one mass of ghastly scars, making him look most hideous, in fact a monster of the first degree. He is drawn in Capt.



Allen Gardiners book "High in the Air." The fiend at length spoke, Dog are you on your way to the King. I replied No. Dog are you not taking that blanket to the King. I replied No. Dog do you dare say that that blanket is not being taken to the king. I again replied No. The same question was repeated for the third time, I answered I have told you the blanket is not being taken to the King. He then said, you dog, that kind of blanket is worn only by the king, I as great a chief as I am, dare not wear that blanket, unless given me by the King, and more, a blanket of that magnificent kind is only bestowed on those that stand highest in the King's favour and you, dog, dare tell me that you sleep under that blanket, I will kill you now, you dog. In less time than it takes to write these words I was encompassed within a wall of human fiends, each with a club poised over my head, ready to strike. There appeared no hope of escape, for a second hope died within me, I was young and life was sweet; a thought rose within me to defy the old fiend, and I looked him full in the face and very calmly said to him, you dare not rob the King of his prerogative for the king only has the right to kill a white man, you can send me a prisoner to the king, but you dare not take my life, for you are one of the king's dogs yourself and you know you have no power to kill me, for your life would pay the forfeit. After glaring at me for a moment or two, the fiend turned on to the Zulu, who had the cause of this fearful ado on his shoulder (the said gaudy blanket) and said, you at least I can kill, your regiment is on the march to attack the Amabumi, and you here with this white dog, at the same time digging his long nails in the man's face till the blood began to flow. This he did three or four times till at last the poor man could not stand it any longer and asked the chief, Do you know who I am? You dare not kill me, I am the man who fought at such a battle and killed so many men, and was presented to the King on the return of the army, stating his name. During all this time the men who stood as a wall around us had never lowered their clubs, but, on the Zulu stating his name and rank, the human wall at once melted away without any order from the old chief. Some of them belonged to the same regiment. After these fellows had disappeared the old savage said to me with a wave of the hand. Go dog, no food of mine shall you taste. I lost no time but turned away sharp. The Zulu came up and touched me, said, Walk slow and don't for the life of you look back, as soon as we were out of hearing, he said, as soon as we are out of sight we must make a run for life, and hide in the first thicket we come to. This man will send an armed body of men to murder us on the sly. At this moment it began to rain

hard, which was in our favour. We had not run far before we came to a very thick bush. We at once plunged in and sat down. In about five minutes five men with stout uplifted clubs were seen by us, in full chase on our track. We had, for a short distance, kept the footpath, but the great downpour of rain had quite obliterated our footmarks. They passed us on the run. The Zulu then said that we had to remain where we were until their return. In about a quarter of an hour the five men returned looking quite disappointed. As soon as they were out of sight, I told the friendly Zulu that we must push on fast and that I did not consider it would be safe to go via. Congella, but to make a short cut over the Umgoye and risk all dangers, save that of man. The rain kept pouring down and I do not believe I should ever have reached Mr. Champion's Mission station, as after what had taken place at the old Chief's kraal. I should scarcely have ventured to go to another to pass the night, and being unarmed, might readily have fallen a prey to lions and tigers. On we went as fast as rain and slippery ground would allow us. Just at this time, I heard the crack of a whip, much to my surprise and joy Mr. Owen hove in sight. The king having permitted him under escort to leave Zululand for Natal. I at once paid and thanked my Zulu friend and joined the Revd. Owen's party, and returned with them to their Embayo station. The Rev. Owen's wagon having had a capsized was much broken. Four days were spent in putting it in order. On the fifth morning I left the Embayo with Mr. Venables in company with the Rev. Mr. Owen. He for Natal under a Zulu guard, Mr. Venables and myself for the Umyunduyu Mission to consult with Mr. Champion as to the advisability of abandoning the Zulu Mission until the termination of the Zulu Boer War. Encamped for the first night on the Umlalayi heights a most appalling thunderstorm broke over our small camp. On the following morning it took us till 12 o'clock to dry clothes and bedding. Mr. Venables and I then started on foot for the Tusendusi, at which place we arrived at 10 o'clock at night. We had to pass the cattle kraal and soon saw that no cattle had been kralled for many days. Stating this to Mr. Venables, he said, Let us push on to the homestead, we did so and found all still, no one at home. The doors all locked. We struck a light and found stuck in the thatch under the verandah, a note stating that after Dr. Wilson and Mrs. Venables and self had left for the Umlalayi, Mrs. Champion became so much alarmed that Mr. C. had deemed it best to cross the Tugela into Natal. and that we would most likely find him awaiting us on the South bank of the Tugela. The Natal side. On the following



morning we started very early for the Tugela. We there learnt that Mr. C. had passed on to Durban. We, therefore, had to retrace our steps to the Embayo Mission station, 60 miles into Zululand. Being now very hungry and tired we called at a large kraal, and got a pot of sour milk and a mat each to rest on. I lay down and was soon fast asleep. I was awakened by the tramp of a large body of armed men entering the kraal, but did not get up, but lay quite still with my eyes almost closed, when, as the armed men passed on, one of their number stepped out and walked where we lay down, drew his spear and stood over us and made as though he would thrust it through us, saying, Oh! had I but the king's permission, how soon would I kill these dogs. Let them thank the king. On seeing this I woke Mr. Venables and told him about it. Taking from this kraal 10 oxen which Mr. Champion had left for our use, we started on our weary tramp back. This was on a Sunday, being barefooted I suffered fearfully during that day's long tramp, as we neared the Umlalayi we came up to Mr. Owen's camp, he not travelling on Sunday and as it was late we spent the night with him. There, with Mr. Owen, we, much to our surprise, found Mr. Venables' driver, leader and servants fleeing from the Zulu Country, without these men the mission wagon could not be moved. After much trouble, Mr. Venables persuaded the men to return with him, he assuring them not a day should be lost in packing up. On Monday morning my feet and legs were so swollen I was unable to go any further with Mr. V., so remained and accompanied Mr. Owen's party on their way to Natal. That day we crossed the Madikulu and encamped. The headman of the Zulu guard sent to a kraal, and a fat cow brought and killed for Mr. Owen. This killing of a fat beast had to be done at each night's camping, Mr. Owen asked me if this waste of God's good gifts could not be prevented. Stating there was no need to slaughter so often and asked me to tell the Indoona not to kill the cow, as he, Mr. Owen, did not require the meat. The Indoona replied, my orders are to kill a cow or ox every day for you, and it matters little whether you want it done or not or take the meat or leave it, there are many who are very much pleased to have it to eat, and I must tell you that so long as I am in charge of you one will be slaughtered every day.

Our next stage brought us to the Revd. Champion's station where Mr. Owen found fifty bundles of his things that had been sent down by the king from the Umgungumhloo. The king having taken one of Mr. Owen's wagons, but as the one wagon was so full, these goods had to be left in Mr. Champion's house. From here to the north bank of the

Tugela was but eight miles. On arriving there the tents were pitched. Mr. Owen then asked Mr. Hulley to take the waggon on the morrow and bring the goods from Mr. Champions station. Mr. Hulley refused, saying the goods were not worth the risk. I then offered to go for them, provided a Miss Owen went with me to select such things as were most required, as the wagon could not take all at the same time. I put on six deals and one large 60 or 80 gallon cask to make a float. We returned the same day by sun down. On the following day Mr. Hulley and myself set to work and made a flat boat with the deals, corked the joints with tallow, when the boat was finished Mr. Owen was very anxious to communicate with Capt. Allen Gardiner, who resided at the mouth of the Tongati River some thirty miles or more from the Tugela to get help, I offered to go as no Zulu would dare to go without the king's orders. I crossed over in the boat we had made at 12 o'clock, reached the Umvoti at sundown, where was a hunter's hut in the shape of a quantity of long grass thrown on the top of the bough of a tree in which I slept, a short time before dawn I was very much alarmed by a great noise sounding like the tramping of a large number of large animals round the shanty, moving carefully to the opening, named a door, I saw a large number of sea cows feeding round about. I then started off and arrived at Captain Gardiners at 12 noon. Left on return journey at 1 p.m., arrived at Tugela at 10 p.m. and found Mr. Owen had crossed and camped on the south bank. On the next day toward sun down Messrs. Venables and Wilson came down to the river with their wagons.

Hulley and I crossed over with the boat and set to work to bring over all effects, also Mr. and Mrs. Venables and Dr. Wilson. Then an attempt to bring over the first wagon was made as soon as the oxen got into deep water the leaders turned back. The boat being a square one could not stem the current and was taken down the river some distance, as I was pulling the two oars it was considered I was too weak, and that I had better take the whip and drive. In this wagon was lashed the 80 gallon cask, bung hole up, but in the hurry the bung was not put in. About the middle of the river the wagon rolled over several times, the cask taking in water. The oxen made for the south bank, the boat being carried down a great distance by the current. The wagon sank as soon as the cask filled, as the oxen neared the bank the people made every effort to get hold of the tow line and after much trouble succeeded and drew the front oxen to land, got all the oxen out, and lashing the wagon to a tree it was left in the river. The boat then crossed over for the other wagon. This one having no cask to float it sank



when in the deep water taking down the two after oxen which were drowned. After much labour with the boat, the wagon rolling over many times it landed on a sand bank midway in the river, after many attempts the boat at length got to it. The oxen were cut loose and driven to the land, leaving the two dead ones floating fast to the disselboom. The Missionaries were very anxious to get to Durban, so the wagon was left in the river, it being considered unsafe to linger on the banks of the Tugela border of the Zulu country, as Dingaan had told the Missionaries he could not protect them after they had crossed the Tugela. That they were liable to be attacked by his spies many of whom were on the South side of the river watching the Boers, and had orders to kill all whites they fell in with. A push therefore was made night and day, and in about 3 days all were safe at the Umlaas Station. The Rev. D. Lindley had also arrived there from the Ifuma mission station. It was then decided at a meeting of all the members of the missions that as war between the Boers and Zulus was likely to last some time, possibly a year, they had better leave Natal for a time until the war was over. It was decided also that Mr. Lindley should remain and watch events and that I should remain with him as interpreter. This was a most stormy time and full of alarms. The thirty white men got together a force of about 2,500 men and made an inroad on that part of Zululand on the Tugela beyond Grey town, and took over 3,000 head of cattle, also many women and children, and were thereby so elated that another expedition was decided upon, and a large gathering of whites and natives was held at Congella to decide when, where, and how that was to be done. I accompanied Mr. Lindley to this gathering and, he, after hearing all the discussions, tried all in his power to dissuade them from so mad an undertaking, he strongly urged them not to cross the Tugela, but to act upon the defensive for that Dingaan would without fail pour a strong force into Natal to re-take the cattle lately captured by them, and that it would tax their utmost power to repel this force. He was then asked to leave the white men, fearing his influence on the natives. Mr. Lindley had, therefore, to return home on the Umlaas, having failed to dissuade them from their mad enterprise. Some considerable time was passed in getting up this expedition, and Mr. Lindley attended most of their meetings, with the hope of turning them from their contemplated raid, as also the Rev. Mr. Owen who had remained to watch events. After much delay and many wranglings, and even some fighting among the leaders, the expedition marched for the Tugela. On the day they started Mr. Lindley and I rode after it and turned back many

old Kafirs who, when asked where they were going, said they were going for cattle. These men were Amalala, they were armed with Pig-skin shields and spears, many of them were so old they used walking sticks. The great part of this day was spent in turning numbers of these old worn, misguided men back, and so saving their lives, as most of the men that formed the expedition were massacred.

#### A Voice from the Basuto.

In order to learn something of the Dingaan—Sikonyela affair—if possible from native sources, I sought the assistance of that veteran, Joseph Millard Orpen, Esq., who had spent so many years in an official capacity in Basutoland. Mr. Orpen referred the matter to the Rev. R. Ellenberger, one of the French missionaries, who was born and spent all his life among the Basuto. The following correspondence and translations from the Sesuto are the results. For these I express my grateful acknowledgement to Mr. Ellenberger. His view of Dingaan's motives for murdering Retief and his people is interesting. There can be but little doubt but that Dingaan, having realised that as the Boers had been sufficiently powerful to chastise the mighty Moselikatze for his misdeeds, he himself might not be able to hold his own against them, should occasion arise, hence his scheme and intrigue to rid himself of them. With reference to Sikonyela's circumcision jibe, it should be stated that though circumcision was the rule among native tribes, without which grown boys were not admitted to the status of manhood, Chaka, Dingaan's predecessor, in defiance of all tradition, forbade the practice among the Zulus, who, apart from the respect of terror, their warlike and blood-thirsty prowess created, had really lost caste. No wonder Dingaan was disappointed and angry at not getting Sikonyela within his grasp.

E.L.\* le 17 Dec. 1920. 6h. a.m.

Bien cher Monsieur Orpen,

Voici les deux traductions demandées par Mr. le professeur Cory. J'ai été extrêmement honoré de faire sa connaissance. J'espère qu'il voudra bien excuser mon mauvais anglais!

Quand à la question que m'avait posée Mr. Cory touchant la raison pour laquelle Dingaan aurait tué les Boers de Retief, je crois qu'il est possible d'y répondre de trois façons qui se complètent d'ailleurs l'une l'autre.

1<sup>o</sup>. Ayant recouvré son propre bétail & n'ayant aucun désir de rendre aux Boers le leur il les fait leur pour se débarrasser

\*East London.



d'eux (cette raison était tout à fait suffisante pour un chef sanguinaire tel que Dingaan).

2°. Le fait que les Boers avaiént en l'audace de venir réclamer leur bétail jusque chez lui (ce que jamais aucun chef indigène, si puissant fut-il, n'aurait osé faire !) était une raison plus que suffisante pour que Dingaan s'empressât de punir de mort une pareille " effronterie."

3°. Dingaan savait très bien la redoutable puissance des Blancs & comment ils avaient traité Moselekatse. En conséquence il n'avait aucun désir de les voir venir s'installer chez lui, sachant bien que le moindre " prétexte " serait ensuite " raison suffisante " pour que les Boers, devenus nombreux, annihilent ses régiments avec leurs armes à feu. Demander à Dingaan l'autorisation de venir s'installer dans son pays e'était donc exposer sa vie de la façon la plus imprudente.

Les 3 raisons combinées étaient plus que suffisantes pour motiver le meurtre.

Veillez agréer cher & honoré Monsieur ainsi que Mr. le professeur Cory l'assurance de mon bien respectueux dévouement  
R. Ellenberger.

Taken from the Leselinyana of 1st August, 1905.—

At the time when Sekonyela was already living at Ihoonaeng, he sent an army on a war expedition in Zululand. He captured the cattle of Ijoobe (an Amahlubi chief). He had pretended going to mourn a dead man and comfort a certain Mothemokholo as comfort to the Matebeles is found in war. Having captured the cattle, he took them home. Dingaan then sent to Sekonyela saying: " These cattle are mine, if you have captured them without knowing so, give them back to me." Sekonyela answered Dingaan's messengers saying: " Tell that impubescent boy that if he wants to be circumcised let him come and I'll circumcise him." That message wounded hard Dingaan's feelings.

Now it happened that whilst Dingaan's messengers were still on their way to Sekongela, the Zulu chief had sent an " impi " to capture the Boer's cattle at Pretoria (Phama) in Motsilekatzi's country. They had found that the Boers were away on an elephant hunting expedition. After they had gone with the captured cattle the Boers (came back and) followed the spoor. They arrived at Dingaan's place at the very same time as the messengers who had been sent to Sekongela. The Boers said: " The spoor of our cattle leads to your place, Dingaan." He answered saying: " They are here, but my cattle have been stolen by a certain man who lives on the top of a rock, it is a Mosuto." The Boers replied: " We do not know him." Dingaan gave them some men to go and show them where that man lived and he

promised them a reward big enough to include all their cattle, if they could bring him back his own cattle from that Mosuto.

When they passed at Isvehlo's place, that son of Nkejane gave them a guide. When they reached Joala, Boholo's neck, the guide returned home. The other went on and arrived at Megeleng (Ficksburg). When they passed Ihoonaeng, they sent word to Sekonyela to come down so that they could greet him and know him (viz., make his acquaintance, R.E.). They said that they were just passing and that it would be well if he also could know them. Sekonyela came down and they took hold of him. 'Ma-Nthatisi (the mother of Sekonyela, R.E.) called out for all the cattle of the tribe to be gathered together so as to free Sekonyela. He was set free on the handing of a large number of cattle. The Matebeles (Zulus, R.E.) who were with the Boers wanted Sekonyela to be taken to Dingaan, but the Boers refused to do so. The Zulus then got in a temper and left the Boers. When Dingaan heard of it he said that they were right and the Boers were wrong.

When the Boers arrived at Dingaan's place, the Zulu chief called up his regiments to sing for the Boers. When he called the Boers to come and listen and admire. He placed the Boers in the center of the circle made by his warriors and he himself ascended an elevated platform so as to overlook his regiments. When Dingaan clapped his hands his warriors got hold of the Boers who defended themselves with knives. The regiments had been ordered to kill only with knobkerries. There was a great slaughter of Boers.

It is in that year that the Boers made war on Dingaan.

Translated by R. Ellenberger from the Sesuto article published by a Mosuto historian called Azareele Sekese, who lives at Leribe, Basutoland.

#### **Sekonyela made Prisoner.**

The capture of such a quantity of cattle from Dingaan nearly brought Sekonyela a catastrophe. The Zulu chief had already thrown some of his regiments upon a certain Palule, descendant of Mohlapahlapa, and killed a lot of his people because the said Palule had joined the Batlokoas in the raid made in Zululand. Eighteen months passed without Dingaan finding out a way of getting hold of Sekonyela. The opportunity was given him by the coming of certain Boers whose object was to get lands from him. Indeed there came to Dingaan at Umgungunhlovo, at the end of 1836, Pieter Retief with 60 Boers and over 30 servants, to ask the great chief lands in Natal. Dingaan hesitated, but in the end he consented to give them part of the country,



on condition that they would help him to recover the cattle which had been taken away by Sekonyela. Retief consented at once to do so. He left Umgungunhlovo with his whole escort and having called a good many other Boers to join him, they went to the Batlokoa chief, under pretence to solve a question which they had already spoken of, viz., the permission for all the Boers going to Natal to pass through his country with their wagons and belongings. Sekonyela had answered that he would consult his mother 'Ma-Nthatisi, and now Retief pretended that he had come for the Queen's answer.

Retief and Sekonyela spoke together in a friendly way. Next day they met again. It was in the missionary's garden, at Mpharane. As they were sitting on the ground, Retief described him several European things among which the way malefactors, when caught, were handcuffed. As Sekonyela had never seen such irons, Retief took out from his saddle bag a pair of handcuffs, which he had purposely brought with him. Then he said: "So that you should well understand the way they are used, allow me to put them on your wrists." So he put them on and locked them. A little while after Retief said: "Chief, know that you are now caught and that I have been sent by Dingaan to get back all the cattle that you have taken from him the year before last. Therefore you must understand that you will not be let free until you have given them all up. Moreover, if you do not hasten to do so, we'll take you to Dingaan as he wants you."

The missionary Allison tried to show Retief the enormity of such a shameful act and to have Sekonyela set free. But Retief and his 300 (? R.E.) men refused to do so. The whole of the Batlokoa tribe was in an uproar, yet they managed to quickly get the cattle together and hand them over to Retief who forwarded them to Dingaan and, when he knew that they were out of the Batlokoa's reach, he freed Sekonyela.

Pieter Retief and his 64 men took the cattle to Dingaan and arrived at his place on the 3rd February, 1838. The Zulu chief rejoiced and was thankful. He gave them the land that they had asked for and a document, proving the gift, was written by Mr. Owen, Dingaan's missionary, and signed (? R.E.) by Dingaan and his councillors. Whereas on the 6 of February, whilst they were enjoying the chief's food (? R.E.) Dingaan ordered them all and their servants to be killed. . . . .

He who sows wickedness, reaps wickedness.

Translated by R. Ellenberger from the Sesuto text of the late Revd. D. Fred Ellenberger's History of the Basutos.

**Account of the Rev. Owen's visit to Zululand in the year 1873, as related by Mr. R. B. Hulley, the interpreter for Mr. Owen.**

In the month of June 1837, I was engaged by the Revd. Mr. Owen to accompany him to Zululand in the capacity of Interpreter and Artizan.

We started in the same month from Butterworth, a Wesleyan Mission Station in Gcalekaland, with three wagons—two for the conveyance of the Mission Party, which consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Owen, and myself and family, the third wagon containing provisions for the journey.

The bulk of our goods were sent round by ship to Algoa Bay to await our arrival at the Natal Port. Usarile, then a young man, was about this time acknowledged as paramount chief of his tribe. On the third day of our departure from Butterworth, we crossed the Bashee river about twelve miles below the Clarkebury mission station.

On the banks of this river near Clarkebury, lived Ufandana, the Regent in Tambookie Country during the minority of Umtikaka son of the deceased Chief Umgubancuka.

With great difficulty we crossed the Umtata at the lower wagon drift. Three days after we reached the mission station near the little Umgazi river in Pondoland. The station is about seven miles from the Chief's great kraal. Faku was at that time Chief of the Pondo's only.

Sometime after, he became an ally of our Government and was made paramount Chief over all the tribes in the territory between the Umzimkulu and the Umtata. The Pondo's were then living for the most part between the rivers Umtata and Umzimkulu, a few only residing on the northern side of the last mentioned river, and on neither side of the river were they residing more than twenty miles inland. The Amapondumsis, at this time under their own chief Umyeto (the Grandfather of the present Umhlonhlo) acknowledged Faku as paramount Chief. This tribe, then very small, was living near the Umtata, between the present wagon drift, and the one above mentioned at which we crossed. The Pondo people were in a great state of poverty their country having been clean swept of cattle by the Zulus, and but for the productiveness of the soil, the people must have been scattered. The Revd. Mr. Boyce was then missionary with Faku. On our arrival he called the Chief, and in order to secure his permission to our passing through his Country, stated the object of our journey.

Our trek from Buntingville to the Umzimbuvu was over an exceedingly broken and hilly country.



The Umzimbuvu we crossed at the ebb and flow drift so entering the country occupied by the Amabaca. These people were living mostly between the Gosa Bush and the Tabankulu Mountain. N'Capai was then the chief. I was told by his headman that the country in which they lived had been purchased by the tribe from Faku for 100 oxen. The chief thus became an Ally of Faku. The late Damas's sister was given in marriage to M'Capai to confirm this alliance of friendship. It was in this country I learned from the Bacas's near the junction of the rivers Umzimhlaga and Umzimoutu, that copper ore was plentiful, the people living on the spot, sold to the parts of tribes living at a distance. This ore they called Mgabu, green paint. I was also informed that the Xesibes, then a small tribe, were living in this country by the side of the Bacas's and that the two tribes had formed an alliance for mutual protection against their enemies.

Leaving these tribes we travelled on for about 120 miles through an entirely uninhabited country, nearing the Umzimto we found a few kraals belonging to the Fynns, who had formerly resided in Kaffirland. Passing on we crossed the Umzimto and Uncomasi; we neared the Illove where were residing a few more Caffres under John Cane and Ogle; we met with no natives. From this we trekked through heavy deep sand on to the Umlass, where, in the bush above the road Mr. Adams of the American Mission Board had formed a station. On reaching what is now Durban, we made our way to "Berea House," which had been built by Capt. Gardiner for the Church of England Mission. From this house the Berea took its name. At the Congella we found a small cottage built of reeds called "Congella House," belonging to John Cane.

Besides the two erections already mentioned, we saw but one other, a stone building at the point. On our arrival at Port Natal we found that the goods which had been sent by ship were already there.

After a short stay at "Berea House," leaving our wagons and families, we, Mr. Owen and myself, accompanied by Capt. Gardner (at whose request Mr. Owen had been sent to establish a Mission among the Zulus) went on to Zululand on horseback, in order that the missionary might be introduced to Dingaan, the Zulu Chief. Accompanying us we had a number of natives on foot carrying luggage and a few presents for the king, a circumstance which compelled us to travel slowly. On reaching the great place we met with a friendly reception. An ox was killed for the missionary, and two houses placed at our disposal, one for the use

of the Europeans of the party, the other for that of the native servants.

The day after our reaching the Great place we had an interview with the Chief who expressed himself as quite willing that we should settle in his country. An arrangement was entered into, by which we were to return at once for our wagons and building materials; he in the meantime was to build two huts about half a mile from the great place as temporary places of residence for us. In the month of August, we started on our return journey to Zululand with three wagons containing our families, building materials, provisions, etc. Mr. Richard King accompanied us as guide—there being no beaten track beyond the Tugela river, and only a faint track between that river and the Natal Bay. The rainy season not having set in we found no difficulty in travelling beyond what we met with in passing through the deep sand. In five days from our starting from the Bay, we reached the Tugela, and forded it with some difficulty. About ten miles beyond the river we came to an American Mission Station occupied by the Revd. Mr. Champion and family, by whom we were received with great kindness. Here we also found Mr. Brownlee, then a youth. We rested at this station four days, and after more than a weeks trek, reached in safety Dingaan's kraal. As the wagon came up to the king's kraal which contained at least a thousand huts, we were told to halt, in order that the white men, women and children, might be brought into the chief's presence and be introduced to him. This sudden summons was excusable as he had never before seen an English woman. On looking at our wives he expressed his surprise that they should wear such a weight of clothes. One of the children of our party on going up to shake hands with him, picked up a stone and threw it in his direction, at which the chief broke out into a laugh and said, "What, does he think I am only an ordinary Caffre?" After chatting with us and asking a few questions he sent a man to show the way to the huts which he had built for us. He told us that our oxen should be taken care of by his men, and that when we wanted them, we were to let him know and they should be sent to us.

For several days the king would send for us early in the morning and until nine o'clock of each day would keep us to answer any questions that he might put, and also that we might observe the manner in which he conducted his affairs with the people. During this time Mr. Owen made several requests that he might be allowed to speak to the people and pray with them. He made excuses of various kinds but at length appointed a day, the Christian Sabbath



when the Missionary was to conduct a religious service at the great place; that the king might hear for himself and see what it was like, but it was only to take place once, he did not wish to be troubled again.

On the appointed morning the Minister went to the great place and found there nearly a thousand men gathered to hear the message he had to deliver. There was not a woman within sight or hearing. The congregation sat on the ground inside the great enclosure forming a half circle several rows deep. Before the service commenced about a hundred large pots filled with Kaffir beer were brought and placed in front of the first row of men, and a large number of beer baskets were given the men of which they were to drink. The Chief then said, "Now my men there is something to quench your thirst while the white man is talking," and forthwith told the Missionary to commence his address, which he did through me as interpreter. The missionary after speaking for about half an hour and putting as much Gospel truth, as he could into his message was told by the king to stop as he had heard enough. Dingaan then said, "I have a few questions to ask you that I may understand." (1st). "Do you say there is a God and but one God?" The minister replied, "Yes." (2nd). "Do you say there is a heaven for good people and only one?" Reply, "Yes." (3rd). "Do you say there is a devil?" Reply, "Yes." (4th). "Do you say there is a hell for wicked people?" The minister replied, "Yes." Said the king, "If that is your belief, you are of no use to me or my people, we knew all that before you came to preach to us, I and my people believe that there is only one God—I am that God. we believe there is only one place to which all good people go, this is Zululand—we believe there is one place where all bad people go, there said he, pointing to a rocky hill in the distance. There is hell, where all my wicked people go. The Chief who lives there is Umatiwane, the head of the Amagwane. I put him to death, and made him the devil chief of all wicked people who die. You see then, there are but two chiefs in this country, Matiwan and myself, I am the great chief—the God of the living, Umatiwane is the great chief of the wicked, I have now told you my belief. I do not want you to trouble me again with the fiction of you English people. You can remain in my country as long as you conduct yourselves properly." This was the first and the last time Mr. Owen was allowed to preach the Gospel to the Zulus.

During the delivery of the Chief's speech after each sentence the men shouted with a mighty shout "Hail great Father,

thou art as great as an elephant." Mr. Owen greatly disappointed with this dictum of Dingaan's, still unwilling to give up all attempts to teach the people, requested permission to teach some of the children to read. "Yes," said the Chief, provided you begin with me. This the missionary agreed to and he said he would teach the king and as many more as he would wish. The Chief replied, "I won't trouble you as we cannot understand each other," pointing to me he said, "I appoint your interpreter as my teacher." This command was obeyed. The Chief commenced with the alphabet under my teaching, and very soon could read words of two syllables. At the end of two or three months he gave up his task, he had more important work to do. A war had broken out between the Boers and his people which took up all his time and thought.

During this time Piet Retief, Commandant of the Emigrant Boers with five Dutchmen and an English youth from Natal as interpreter paid Dingaan a visit to report to him that the Boers had trekked from the Cape Colony and were seeking a country where they might live in peace and quietness. The king asked him "Where is the place you would like to settle." Retief answered, "If I might choose I should like the tract of Country near the Natal Bay, as we white people need many things that come from over the sea." Dingaan thanked the party for coming to see him and said he would grant their request on a certain condition, if it was fulfilled he would give them the country lying between the Tugela and Umzimbuvu rivers, and between the Drakensberg and the sea. The condition was this. "You return and capture a certain Basuto chief—Sekonyela who had made a raid on the upper part of Zululand with mounted men and guns sweeping away a large herd of cattle—you must bring this chief to me, with his men, horses, and his guns, then you shall have what you request." Retief returned accompanied by ten Zulus with the answer of Dingaan to the Headman of his party, who were accompanied in Sekonyela's country. The Boers seized Sikonyela, but promised to release him, provided he would give up to them a certain number of cattle, horses and guns. This was complied with and in a fortnight from the time that Retief left Dingaan's kraal some of the Zulus were sent back to the Chief to tell him that the Boers were coming to see him having fulfilled his condition. On receiving this message from the Boers, Dingaan called for Mr. Owen, and requested him to write a letter to Capt. Gardiner, and John Cane, requesting them to be present at a meeting of the Boers which was to be held at his great place. To this request Mr. Owen agreed and I was sent with the letter. Twenty



of the Chief's men went with me ostensibly to carry anything I might have to bring, but really to watch my movements and to learn anything of importance that might arise. I delivered the letter to Captn. Gardiner, he declined to be present at the meeting telling me he did not think it would be safe. I returned with the Zulu guard, reached the Tugela to find it impassable, here I was detained eight days. Some time after crossing the river, ascending a hill, we came to a ridge overlooking the great place in the direction of the execution ground. I observed a large flock of vultures hovering over the place of the dead. At once I suspected that there had been some evil work going on during my absence. And leading my horse I descended the hill, about half way down I saw lying by the side of the path, the sleeve of a white shirt, which had been forcibly torn from the garment; it was partly covered with blood. This greatly alarmed me and I feared lest the mission party with my family had been put to death. When I reached the king's kraal I rode up to the principal entrance and from there saw a number of saddles piled one upon the other. I sent a messenger in to Dingaan to give notice of my return, but I was so anxious about the safety of my family, that without waiting for the messenger to come out, I mounted my horse and galloped off on the way to our huts, to see if they were alright. On coming to the hut occupied by my family, I glanced hurriedly in, on the table I saw plates and cups, with the remains of a meal but not a person was to be seen. This seemed a terrible confirmation of my worst fears. I turned from the hut and hastened to Mr. Owen's when near it my little son came out and running towards me shouting "Father's come." I found the rest of my family with the whole of the party safe, they were assembled in Mr. Owen's hut for family worship, I cannot tell how thankful I was to find all safe. I had only time to congratulate Mr. Owen and my family on their safety, and to drink a cup of coffee, when a messenger came in great haste from the Chief to call me to his presence. I at once hurried away, anxious to know what would come next. I was conducted into the inner enclosure, where was the Royal house, in which the king received me in a most affable manner, he congratulated me on my return, saying, "You will have a great many things to tell me, and I shall have much to you." I suppose you have been told by your people what has happened while you have been away?" I replied, "I have had no time as I hardly arrived when you sent for me, but my eyes tell me a great deal." "I must tell you," said the king, "that during your absence the Boers arrived. I kept them waiting as long as I could expecting you to return with

Captn. Gardiner and John Cane, when I could keep them no longer, I had them put out of harms way.

I see that every white man is an enemy to the black, and every black man an enemy to the white, they do not love each other and never will. I find fault with the Boers in that they disobeyed my instructions. The Chief that I told them to bring me, they let go. When he had told me this he turned round and said "Don't *you* think I have done a good thing in getting rid of my enemies in one stroke?" I replied "I cannot say whether you have done a good thing or not." He then said, "What is it that Captn. Gardner and John Cane had heard that lead them to decline coming to the meeting." I told him I could not inform him on the point." He returned, "I am sorry that they were not here as they fully deserved what the Boers received. When I asked you to tell me, if I had done a good thing, you replied you could not tell me. What was the reason of you saying so? I might have told you that yesterday my army was out, and half of it had gone to-day to attack the lagaar where the Boers are in camp, to kill all the men, women and children, and to bring their property to me. Now I ask what have you heard in the way of news while you have been away? I told him the news I had heard, was that the Boers had camped reaching from that of the Retief's party to the banks of the Orange River—why I told you that I did not know if you had done a right thing or not, was that I understood that you had killed some of men of one camp only, and that there were others behind. He had begun a war which neither he nor I could tell where it would end." The chief said, "If what you say is true, my men have deceived me. They told me there was only one camp 'Retief's' and in that there were only about thirty odd men and boys left to defend it." This concluded the conversation for the time. He said "You had better go home and hear the end," there is a pot of beer to strengthen you and I will send you a beast to kill. I learned that during my absence the Boers—numbering 60 armed men with the same number of after men had arrived bringing the cattle, etc., which they took from the Basuto chief, and that they had what they considered a most satisfactory meeting, that up to the last half an hour of the time they intended to start, they thought that all had gone well. The horses had been brought up and they were preparing to start when they were requested by the chief to enter the enclosure to come to him in a body to say "Good-bye," and to drink his health, then go home to their wives and children in peace. With this request was another, they should leave outside the enclosure all fire arms, not



suspecting any treachery they did what the king wished, stacked their guns, went to drink the king's health, and to receive cattle as food for their journey. When they reached near where the king stood at a sign from him they were surrounded by 1,000 zulus who had come under cover at night and filled the king's kraal. To prevent any resistance their necks were at once broken, then their bodies were carried to the executioner to be mutilated, then left to decay.

On the following morning I had a conversation with Mr. Owen about removing my wife and family to Natal. He told me if I thought it necessary to do so, I had better first ask permission from Dingaan. He at first declined to leave the country, but after thinking the matter over, also decided not to remain. He told me, that we had better go to the king together and request to be allowed to remove. Before we had done talking a messenger came from the Chief, saying he wanted to see us, we accordingly went. In reply to our request, he said, "I must take time to think about it, I don't yet understand you, I believe you are as much an enemy as the Boers whom I killed. My people tell me that when the Dutch were put to death you set up a loud cry. Would you cry for me if I were killed? No I don't think you would, I was told also that you stood on the front of the wagon with your glass in your hand, and that when you saw what was going on you fell down in a faint, and was taken up insensible. No you cannot be my friends, you are my deadly enemies, if I had done what was proper, I should have put you out of the way at the time I put to death my other enemies. Mr. Owen replied, "No you are mistaken, I am no man's enemy, much less yours." "I want to hear no more of your lies," said the Chief, "I have had proof that you are my enemies and I believe it, whatever you may say to be the contrary." On this Mr. Owen turned to me and said, "I have nothing more to say, I see that the Chief is in a great rage and we may prepare to die, if you have anything to say on your behalf say it now." For some minutes after this there was a dead silence, when it occurred to me to ask the Chief what had become of the young English interpreter who was with the Dutch at the great place. He replied, "You do well to ask that. He is dead. In the confusion of the time he was killed with the rest. I am sorry. I did not intend to take his life, but why do you enquire about him? I replied he was an Englishman not a Dutchman, and I understood you did not look upon an English subject in the same light as you looked upon the Boers and as you have killed him accidentally, would it not be well to report the matter to the British authorities?" The Chief asked, "How is that to be done?" I replied.

"The matter is easy. Here is Mr. Owen asking to leave this country, so why not get him to write down your statement and through him send it to the Government." The Chief replied "What you say is true, I see what you say is right, and turning to the boy standing near he said "Go to the missionaries house, and fetch pen, ink and paper." The ladies who were anxiously waiting to see what had become of us, on seeing the messenger they were much frightened, thinking he had come to summon them to the kings kraal, but learning his errand they were glad to know that no harm had come to us. When the messenger returned, Mr. Owen wrote down at the king's dictation. "That the Boers had come into his country professing friendship, but he had no doubt they were his enemies, treating them as such, he wished to report the accidental death of the young Englishman who in the confusion was killed with the Dutch." "Now I have done," he said, "leave the country as soon as you like, I shall detain one of the wagons and a span of oxen, the oxen for the other you have tomorrow." Mr. Owen thanked him for his permission to leave the country and we returned to our homes. Next day we inspanned one wagon and trekked past the great place, but were not allowed to leave until we had all been before Dingaan, I asked him if he thought it right for us to travel alone, as to use a native expression "the country is dead." He then gave instructions to two men who were standing by to go with us through the country, to see that we were not molested, and also that we were supplied with grain and meat until we reached the Tugela.

These men conducted us safely to the border of Natal, there they left us an ox to kill for food for the remainder of the journey. They returned bearing many greetings from Mr. Owen to the Chief and thanks for the kindness he had shown us while in the country. We then proceeded on our journey. As we passed the Mission Station of Mr. Champion, we found it deserted. The missionaries and family had left the night after the massacre. The English having received a message from the American missionary of the intended attack on the Boer lagaar. Richard King started with some natives on foot, walking night and day to reach the camp before the Zulus should make the attack. He reached the first camp to find that the Zulus had surrounded it, he passed on to the main body of Boers, reached them just in time to enter the lagaar before the Zulus could cut him off. We trekked on from the Tugela, got safely to the port and shipped from there for Algoa Bay. Thus ended our mission in Zululand.



Whilst in Zululand I had many opportunities of seeing the summary way in which people were put to death on most trivial charges.

One morning when at the great place giving the king his reading lesson, I saw coming over the ridge in single file 60 Zulu girls, each one with a pot of beer on her head, they came up singing, entered the enclosure and put down their burdens. As I passed by them on my way home, I saw that a pot of beer had been given them to drink. About an hour afterwards looking over towards the place of death, I saw a great commotion, but could not tell what it was, only supposed that one or more victims were being put to death. On enquiring of a messenger who had just come from the Chief's kraal as to what it was, he asked me if I had seen the 60 girls sitting inside the kraal? I told him I had, he said "They are all killed and the vultures are now eating their bodies." I asked the reason. He told me that the kraal from which they had come had shown some disrespect to the king, and that was the way he has shown his disapproval of their conduct. This was one of the many cases, though I did not witness any other execution on so large a scale as this, but so often were people put to death that the vultures were accustomed to sit round the great place outside the enclosure, and also within, without any fear whatever, and so soon as a man or woman was pinioned, ready to be carried away the vultures would run and fly on before, in order to be ready for the food which the king prepared so plentifully should be left for them.

On one occasion while out with my gun, the game I was after ran up the valley in the direction of the execution ground, and before I was aware, I found myself in the midst of human skeletons. It was a valley full of bones—not all dry. A glance round showed armlets of brass and copper strewn the ground.

Nothing here was ever touched by any human being, and no one went to this spot as the king told me next day, unless sent by him. I was in Dingaan's Hell. Forgetting all about my game, I hastened out of the place and got home as soon as possible.

THE VAN RIEBEECK SOCIETY  
FOR THE  
PUBLICATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORICAL  
DOCUMENTS.

---

*President :*

The Rt. Hon. Sir James Rose-Innes, K.C.M.G.

---

*Council :*

J. G. VAN DER HORST.  
A. C. G. LLOYD, B.A.  
Professor J. J. SMITH.  
Professor ERIC WALKER, M.A.

---

*Hon. Secretary and Treasurer :*

C. GRAHAM BOTHA.

---

*Bankers :*

THE STANDARD BANK OF SOUTH AFRICA.

---

*All communications should be addressed to the Hon. Secretary, The Cape Archives, Cape Town.*

LAWS OF THE SOCIETY.

- 
1. The object of this Society shall be to print, or reprint, for distribution among the members and for sale to the public, rare and valuable books, pamphlets and documents relating to the history of South Africa.
  2. The annual subscription shall be ten shillings, payable in advance on the 1st January. Life membership may be obtained by a single subscription of five pounds or more.
  3. Each member of the Society, having paid his subscription, shall be entitled to a copy of every work produced by the Society, and to vote at the General Meetings within the period subscribed for.
  4. The management of the Society's affairs shall be vested in a Council consisting of six members, *viz.*, a President, a Treasurer and Secretary, and four members.
  5. A General Meeting of the Subscribers shall be held annually in March.
  6. The Council shall meet when necessary for the dispatch of business, three forming a quorum, including the Secretary, the Chairman having a casting vote.
  7. Anyone preparing and editing works for the Society shall, if they desire it, receive gratis twenty-five copies of such works.



DIE VAN RIEBEECK GENOOTSKAP  
MET DIE DOEL OM  
SUIDAFRIKAANSE HISTORIESE DOKUMENTE UIT TE GEE.

Voorsitter :

Die Hoog Ed. Heer Sir James Rose-Innes, K.C.M.G.

Raad :

J. G. VAN DER HORST.  
A. C. G. LLOYD, B.A.  
Professor J. J. SMITH.  
Professor ERIC WALKER, M.A.

Ere-Sekretaris en Tesourier :

C. GRAHAM BOTHA.

Bank :

DIE STANDAARD BANK VAN SUID-AFRIKA.

*Alle mededelinge moet geadresseer word aan die Ere-Sekretaris, Kaapse Argiewe, Kaapstad.*

KONSTITUSIE VAN DIE GENOOTSKAP.

1. Die doel van die Genootskap is om seldsame en waardevolle boeke, pamflette en dokumente handelende oor die geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika te laat druk of herdruk, en onder die lede te versprei, en aan die publiek te verkoop.
2. Die jaarlikse subskripsie sal tien sielings per lid wees, vooruit-betaalbaar op 1 Januarie. Levenslang lidmaatskap is verkrybaar deur één betaling van vyf pond of meer.
3. Elke lid van die Genootskap wat sy subskripsie betaal het, mag één eksemplaar hê van elke werk deur die Genootskap uitgegee, en kan ook stem op die Algemene Vergaderings gehou, gedurende die periode waarvoor hy betaal het.
4. Die bestuur van die Genootskap sal bestaan uit 'n Raad van ses lede, n.l., 'n Voorsitter, 'n Tesourier en Sekretaris, en vier lede.
5. 'n Algemene Vergadering van die intekenaars sal in Maart elke jaar gehou word.
6. Die Raad sal vergaderings hou, wanneer nodig, om sake te bespreek; drie lede is 'n kworum, die Sekretaris ingeslote; die Voorsitter het 'n beslissende stem.
7. Elkeen wat werk voorberei of uitgee vir die Genootskap, sal, as hy dit verkies, vyfentwintig eksemplare daarvan gratis kry.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

\*Denotes Life Member.

AGRICULTURE, LIBRARY OF DEPARTMENT OF, Pretoria.  
ARCHIBALD, A. S., Port Elizabeth.  
ARDERNE, H. R., Cape Town.  
ATTWELL, ALF. B., East London.  
AUCAMP, J. H., Steynsburg.

BADENHORST, P. C., Pretoria.  
\*BAILEY, Sir A., Bart., Cape Town.  
BARRY, G. E., Johannesburg.  
BARRY, R. A., Pilgrim's Rest.  
BASSON, Prof. J., Stellenbosch.  
BASSON, M., B.A., Pietermaritzburg.  
\*BAXTER, W. D., Wynberg.  
\*BEARD, HENRY, Wynberg.  
\*BEARD, HERBERT, Kenilworth.  
\*BEATTIE, Sir CARRUTHERS, Cape Town.  
BEDFORD PUBLIC LIBRARY.  
BELL, G., M.A., Sea Point.  
BENJAMIN, Mr. Justice L. E., K.C., Cape Town.  
BENTLEY, A. B., Ladysmith.  
BERGH, IVAN, Cape Town.  
BERLEIN, Mrs., Sea Point.  
BEYERS, C., M.A., Swellendam.  
BEYERS, C. H., Pretoria.  
BLOMMAERT, Prof. W., Stellenbosch.  
VAN BOESCHOTEN, Sir J., Pretoria.  
\*BOSMAN, Dr. D. B., Sea Point.  
BOSMAN, F. C. L., Amsterdam.  
BOSMAN, I. D., Reddersburg.  
BOSMAN, Prof. J. C., Pretoria.  
\*BOTHA, C. GRAHAM, Cape Town.  
BOTHA, J. H., Stellenbosch.  
BOTHA, W. J., Maritzani.  
BOOYZEN, J. N., Pretoria.  
\*VAN BREDA, A. J., Cape Town.  
BRIGHT, H. HEPBURN, Cape Town.  
BRINK, A., Kenilworth.  
\*BROWN, J. J., Brandfort.  
BUCKLAND, Father, Grahamstown.  
BUBB, J. T., Pretoria.  
VAN DER BYL, Dr. P. A., Stellenbosch.  
VAN DER BYL, V., Cape Town.

CAMPBELL, W. R., M.A., Cape Town.  
CAPETOWN UNIVERSITY.  
CARMICHAEL, W., Tsolo.  
CENTLIVRES, A. S. v. d. S., Cape Town.  
CHRISTIE, C., Pretoria.  
CHURCHILL, Senator F. F., Cape Town.  
CILLIE, Dr. G., Stellenbosch.  
CLARKE, Mrs. M. M., Simonstown.  
CLARKE, S., Rondebosch.



## List of Members.

- CLAASSENS, S. J. H., B.A., Kroonstad.  
 CLAYTON, Lt.-Col. J. C. B., Cape Town.  
 \*CLOSE, R. W., M.L.A., K.C., Cape Town.  
 CLOUTS, Adv., Cape Town.  
 \*Coetzee, J. P., Prieska.  
 CONRADIE, D. G., Laingsburg.  
 CORBET, Mrs. A. F., Pretoria.  
 CORY, Sir Geo. E., Cape Town.  
 \*COUPLAND, Prof. R., Oxford.  
 \*CRAMPTON, Rev. W. M., Middelburg.  
 CRONWRIGHT, S. C., Cape Town.  
 CROSS, G., Pretoria.  
 CURREY, Hon. H. L., Rondebosch.
- DARKE, Miss, Cape Town.  
 DRAYCOTT, E. C., M.A., Kokstad.  
 DREYER, Rev. A., Cape Town.  
 DUFFETT, P. S., Sea Point.  
 \*DUNCAN, Hon. P., C.M.G., Pretoria.  
 DU PLESSIS, Rev. Dr. J., Stellenbosch.  
 DURBANVILLE PUBLIC LIBRARY.  
 DU TOIT, F. J., Johannesburg.  
 DU TOIT, S. F., Williston.
- EAST LONDON PUBLIC LIBRARY.  
 EDGAR, Prof. C. S., Stellenbosch.  
 ELDER, J. E., de Aar.  
 ELLIOTT, Dr. C. C., Cape Town.  
 ELTON, Miss L. C., Cape Town.  
 ENGELBRECHT, Dr. S. P., Pretoria.  
 ENGELBERG, Dr. F. V., Pretoria.  
 EYBERS, DR. G. W., Graaff-Reinet.  
 \*VAN EYSEN, J. L., Kroonstad.
- FAIRBRIDGE, Miss D., Claremont.  
 FARR, G. P., J.P., Bedford.  
 FAURE, P. H., Jacobsdal.  
 FEHRSEN, G., Malmesbury.  
 FLINT, Rev. Dr. W., Rosebank.  
 FORMAN, M. BUXTON, Pretoria.  
 FOUCHE, Dr. LEO, Pretoria.  
 \*FRAMES, P. ROSS, Johannesburg.  
 FULLER, Dr. E. B., Cape Town.  
 FULTON, J. R., Johannesburg.
- GARDINER, Mr. Justice, Cape Town.  
 GARDNER, M. B., Johannesburg.  
 VAN GASS, F., Johannesburg.  
 \*GELDENHUYS, L., M.L.A., Jo'burg.  
 GERBER, D., Stellenbosch.  
 GEYER, Dr. A. L., Cape Town.  
 GIE, Dr. S. F. N., Stellenbosch.  
 GLENNIE, F. M., Cape Town.  
 GORDON, Col. E. I. D., Elgin.  
 GRAAFF, Sir DAVID, Cape Town.  
 GRAAFF-REINET PUBLIC LIBRARY.  
 GRAHAMSTOWN PUBLIC LIBRARY.  
 GRANT, Mrs. W. F., Cape Town.  
 GREEFF, Dr. H., Port Elizabeth.

## List of Members.

- GREEN, MAURICE J., Cape Town.  
 GREENACRE, W., Durban.  
 GREENLEES, Miss M., M.A., Grahams-town.  
 GREY UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, Bloemfontein.  
 GROSSKOPF, Dr. J. F. N., Stellenbosch.  
 GUBBINS, J. G., Otto's Hoop.
- \*HARRIS, Sir D., K.C.M.G., M.L.A., Kimberley.  
 \*HARVEY, O. L., Pretoria.  
 \*HARVEY, T. E., Sevenoaks.  
 HAY, W., Cape Town.  
 HATTERSLEY, Prof. A. F., Pietermaritzburg.  
 VAN HEERDEN, J. S., Potchefstroom.  
 HENLEY, Miss P. M. INGRAM, Pietermaritzburg.  
 \*HERMAN, Dr. C. L., Cape Town.  
 \*HERSCHENSOHN, L. I., Pietermaritzburg.  
 HILL, F. G., Kroonstad.  
 \*HIRCHORN, F., Kimberley.  
 HOAL, W. G., B.A., LL.B., Cape Town.  
 HOCKLY, Mrs. H. E., Kenilworth.  
 HODGSON, M. L., B.A., Johannesburg.  
 HOFLAND, P., Johannesburg.  
 \*HOFMEYR, His Hon. J. H., Pretoria.  
 HOGG, A. G., Claremont.  
 HOLLANDSCHE LEESKAMER, Cape Town.  
 HOLLOWAY, Dr. J. E., Pretoria.  
 HOOGENHOUT, Dr. N. M., Pretoria.  
 \*VAN DER HORST, J. G., Cape Town.  
 HORTOR, W. E., George.  
 HUGO, Dr. D. DE V., Cape Town.  
 HULETT, Senator Sir LIEGE, Durban.  
 \*HULL, Hon. H. C., Cape Town.  
 \*VAN HULSTEYN, Sir W., Cape Town.  
 HUNGERFORD, J., Johannesburg.  
 HUSSEY, GEO., Cape Town.  
 HUYSMAN, N. K., Cape Town.
- IMPEY, Dr. S. P., Cape Town.  
 \*ROSE-INNES, Rt. Hon. Sir JAMES, Cape Town.  
 \*ROSE-INNES, Lady, C.B.E., Claremont.  
 IRELAND, Miss D., Dundee.
- \*JAGGER, J. W., M.L.A., Cape Town.  
 \*JARDINE, Major W., Cape Town.  
 JEFFREYS, Miss K. M., M.A., Cape Town.  
 \*JEPPE, J., Johannesburg.  
 JOHANNESBURG PUBLIC LIBRARY.  
 JOHNSON, H. A., Johannesburg.  
 JOLLY, Mrs. WM. A., Sea Point.  
 JONES, J. D. R., Johannesburg.



## List of Members.

- JORDAAN, J. J., M.A., Cape Town.  
 JORDAAN, J. W. A., Calvinia.  
 JOUBERT, G. J., Pretoria.  
 JURITZ, Dr. CHAS. F., Cape Town.
- \*KELSEY, E. L. R., Johannesburg.  
 KETTLEWELL, Rev. Canon P. W. H.,  
 Grahamstown.  
 KIESER, A., Stellenbosch.  
 KILPIN, R. C., Cape Town.  
 KIMBERLEY PUBLIC LIBRARY.  
 KOKSTAD PUBLIC LIBRARY.  
 KRIEL, T., Stellenbosch.  
 \*KRIGE, Hon. J., M.L.A., Caledon.  
 KROONSTAD PUBLIC LIBRARY.  
 \*KRITZINGER, M. S. B., Pretoria.
- LAIDLER, Dr. P. W., East London.  
 LAITE, H. J., Cape Town.  
 LAITE, W. J., Cape Town.  
 LANDSBERG, Dr. E. P., Cape Town.  
 LE ROUX, Miss I. S., B.A., Pretoria.  
 LE ROUX, Miss M. M., B.A., Stellen-  
 bosch.  
 LE ROUX, Prof. T. H., Pretoria.  
 LESLIE, Prof. R., Cape Town.  
 LEWIS, B., Cape Town.  
 LEWIS, Miss C., Wynberg.  
 LINDLEY SECONDARY SCHOOL STAFF.  
 LIPP, Mrs. CHAS., Vlottenberg.  
 LLOYD, A. C. G., B.A., Cape Town.  
 LOOPUYT, Mrs., Rondebosch.  
 \*LORENTZ, Dr. H. A., Pretoria.  
 LOUBSER, Dr. J. N. W., Bethlehem.  
 LOUW, A. H., Pretoria.
- MCGREGOR, Mr. Justice A. J., Bloem-  
 fontein.  
 MACINTOSH, Sir W., M.L.A., Port  
 Elizabeth.  
 MACMILLAN, Prof. W., M.A., Jo'burg.  
 MACSHERRY, Rt. Rev. Bishop, Port  
 Elizabeth.  
 MAINGARD, Dr. L. F., Johannesburg.  
 MALAN, Miss A. M., M.A., Cape Town.  
 MALAN, D. F., Ladybrand.  
 MALAN, J. H., Bloemfontein.  
 MALAN, W. DE VOS, Ceres.  
 MALCOLM, Lady EVELYN, London.  
 MALCOLM, Mrs. DOUGAL, London.  
 MALHERBE, Prof. D. F., Bloemfontein.  
 MALHERBE, Dr. E., Cape Town.  
 MALHERBE, Dr. F. E. J., Stellenbosch.  
 MANSERGH, L., C.B.E., I.S.O., Wyn-  
 berg.  
 MARAIS, Miss M., Plumstead.  
 MARAIS, D. J., Pretoria.  
 MARQUARD, L., B.A., Bloemfontein.  
 \*MARSH, Rev. T. E., Muizenberg.  
 MEJAN, N. M. C. V., Fish Hoek.

## List of Members.

- MELLOR, C. R., Cape Town.  
 MENDELSSOHN LIBRARY.  
 MERRIMAN, J. A., Wynberg.  
 \*MERRIMAN, Rt. Hon. J. X. Stellen-  
 bosch.  
 VAN DER MERWE, C. J., Kokstad.  
 VAN DER MERWE, Dr. F., Pretoria.  
 VAN DER MERWE, J. J., Van Wyks'  
 Hope.  
 MICHELL, Sir LEWIS, Rondebosch.  
 MILLER, NETLAM T., Robertson.  
 MILLER, T. MASKEW, Cape Town.  
 MINSHULL, G., Cape Town.  
 DE MOOR, Dr. S., Pretoria.  
 MOORE, Miss H., M.A., Potchefstroom.  
 MOORREES, Prof. A., Stellenbosch.  
 MORRIS, J., Cape Town.  
 MORRISON, Prof. J. T., Stellenbosch.  
 \*MOLTENO, P. A., London.  
 \*MOSSOP, Dr. E. E., Cape Town.  
 MUIR, Dr. J., Riversdale.  
 MUNDAY, EDGAR, Rondebosch.  
 MURRAY, CHAS., M.A., Sea Point.  
 MURRAY, Mrs. C., Alford.
- NATAL TECHNICAL COLLEGE, Pieter-  
 maritzburg.  
 NEDERLANDSCH Z.A. VEREENIGING.  
 NEL, J. G., Robertson.  
 VAN NIEKERK, J. F., M.A., Kakamas.  
 VAN NIEKERK, Dr. LYDIA, Stellen-  
 bosch.  
 NIEUWOUDT, Dr. G., Darling.  
 NITCH, St. JOHN B., Johannesburg.  
 NIXON, Adv. C. E., Cape Town.  
 NYHOFF, MARTINUS, Den Haag.
- O'BRIEN, W. J., M.L.A., Pieter-  
 maritzburg.  
 VON OPPELL, O.K.A., Pretoria.  
 \*OPPENHEIMER, Sir E., Kt., M.L.A.,  
 Cape Town.  
 ORENSTEIN, Dr. A., Johannesburg.  
 ORPEN, GERALD, Cape Town.
- \*PAPENFUS, H. B., M.L.A., Jo'burg.  
 PARKTOWN BOYS' HIGH SCHOOL,  
 Johannesburg.  
 \*PATERSON, Prof. A. C., Auckland.  
 PAYNE, CHAS., Villiersdorp.  
 \*PEROLD, Dr. A. J., Cape Town.  
 PETTMAN, Rev. C., Queenstown.  
 PIENAAR, Wel Eerw. D. E., Azoon.,  
 Uitenhage.  
 PLEWMAN, R. P., Boksburg.  
 PORT ELIZABETH PUBLIC LIBRARY.  
 POTCHEFSTROOMSE UNIWEBSITEITS-  
 KOLLEGE.  
 PELSNER, M., Pretoria.  
 PRETORIA GIRLS' HIGH SCHOOL.  
 \*PRYNNE, Major G., Cape Town.



*List of Members.*

RALLING, Miss M., Cape Town.  
 RAND CLUB, Johannesburg.  
 VAN REENEN, R. J., Bloemfontein.  
 REYBURN, Prof. H. A., Cape Town.  
 RHODES UNIVERSITY COLLEGE.  
 RICHARDSON, Miss S., Port Elizabeth.  
 DE RIDDER, J. A., Pretoria.  
 RISSIK, J., Pretoria.  
 ROBERTS, Senator A. W., Lovedale.  
 ROBERTS, Miss C., Lovedale.  
 \*ROGER, Dr. A. W., Pretoria.  
 RONDEBOSCH PUBLIC LIBRARY.  
 \*ROOS, J. DE V., Pretoria.  
 VAN ROOYEN, P. J. D., Plettenberg Bay.  
 \*ROOTH, E., Pretoria.  
 ROSE, Miss L., Port Alfred.  
 ROUSSEAU, J. J., B.A., Grahamstown.  
 ROUX, P. E., Lichtenburg.  
 ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE, London.  
 RUNCIMAN, W., Simonstown.  
 VAN SCHALKWYK, Dr. J., Graaff-Reinet.  
  
 SCHEPERS, H. J. M., Bloemfontein.  
 \*SCOTT, Miss H., M.A., Harrismith.  
 SEARLE, Sir MALCOLM, Cape Town.  
 SILBERBAUER, C. C., Cape Town.  
 SMARTT, Rt. Hon. Sir THOS., M.L.A., Cape Town.  
 \*SMITH, Senator C. G., Durban.  
 SMITH, Dr. HUGH, Cape Town.  
 SMITH, Prof. J. J., Stellenbosch.  
 \*SMUTS, J. A., Heidelberg, Transvaal.  
 \*SMUTS, Rt. Hon. J. C., M.L.A., Pretoria.  
 SNAPE, Prof. A. E., Rondebosch.  
 SOLOMON, H. R., Johannesburg.  
 \*SOLOMON, Sir W., K.C.M.G., Cape Town.  
 SOMMERVILLE, J., O.B.E., Pretoria.  
 \*SPILHAUS, A. W., Wynberg.  
 VAN DER SPUY, M. T., Clanwilliam.  
 STAFFORD, Miss S., Wellington.  
 STALS, C. J., Noorde Paarl.  
 STASSEN, S. L., Riebeeck East.  
 \*STEGMAN, E. DE V., Pretoria.  
 VAN DER STERR, W. C., Cape Town.  
 STEWART, P., Reddersburg.  
 STEYN, H. J. J., Johannesburg.  
 STEYNBERG, F., Stellenbosch.  
 STOKES, F. NOEL, Wellington.  
 STRANGMAN, E., Johannesburg.  
 STRATFORD, Mr. Justice, Pretoria.  
 \*STUTTAFORD, R., Cape Town.  
 STRYDOM, P. J., Potchefstroom.  
 SUTHERLAND, Miss L. S., M.A., Oxford.  
 SUTTON, Adv. G. G., Cape Town.  
 SWELLENDAM PUBLIC LIBRARY.

*List of Members.*

SWELLENGREBEL, Dr. N. H., Amsterdam.  
 SYFRET, E. R., Cape Town.  
 \*TAYLOR, J. B., Wynberg.  
 TATHAM, Mrs., Pietermaritzburg.  
 TENNANT, DAVID, Cape Town.  
 TUCKER, Senator W. K., Jo'burg.  
  
 UMTATA PUBLIC LIBRARY.  
 UITENHAGE PUBLIC LIBRARY.  
  
 VILLIERS, A. P., Hofmeyr.  
 DE VILLIERS, D. J. J., B.A., George.  
 \*DE VILLIERS, Mr. Justice J., Muizenberg.  
 DE VILLIERS, J., Paarl.  
 \*DE VILLIERS, Dr. J. F. B., Fransch Hoek.  
 VILJOEN, Dr. W. J., Cape Town.  
 VISSER, W. H., Johannesburg.  
 VIVIER, J. H. K., de Aar.  
 VOORTREKKER MUSEUM, Pietermaritzburg.  
 DE VOS, Miss H., Stellenbosch.  
 \*DE WAAL, B. H., The Hague.  
 \*DE WAAL, G. S. K., Zeerust.  
 WALKER, Prof. E., M.A., Wynberg.  
 VAN DER WALT, A. J. H., M.A., Potchefstroom.  
 VAN WARMELO, W., Pretoria.  
 WATERMEYER, Prof., Johannesburg.  
 \*WATT, Sir THOS., K.C.M.G., M.L.A., Cape Town.  
 \*WEBBER, W. S., Johannesburg.  
 WEIDEMAN, P. A. C., Calvinia.  
 WELCH, Dr. S. R., Cape Town.  
 WESSELS, P. G., Caledon.  
 DE WET, Rev. J. I., Volksrust.  
 DE WET, Hon. Senator N. J., Cape Town.  
 DE WET, S. D. F., Caledon.  
 VAN WYK, C. J. R., Erasmus.  
 VAN WYK, S. J., Erasmus.  
 WILKINSON, H., Queenstown.  
 WILSON, G. H., Cape Town.  
 WILSON, Dr. MARIUS, Cape Town.  
 WINTLE, F. W., Woodstock.  
 WITWATERSRAND COUNCIL OF EDUCATION.  
 WITWATERSRAND UNIVERSITY, Johannesburg.  
 WOOD, Dr. E. E., J.P., Muizenberg.  
 WOOD, W. SEALS, Johannesburg.  
 WOODSTOCK PUBLIC LIBRARY.  
 WORCESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY.  
 WYNNE, Mrs. M., Port Elizabeth.  
 WYNBERG PUBLIC LIBRARY.  
 WYNDHAM, Hon. H. A., London.  
 VAN ZYL, Mr. Justice H. S., Cape Town.







