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A HISTORY OF THE

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FROM THEIR LEAVING THE

CAPE COLONY

TO THE

OVERTHROW OF DINGAN.

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GEORGE McCALL THEAL.

[*Reprinted from "South African Illustrated News."*]

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CHAPTER I.

Comparison of Bantu Tribes.

The whole of Central and South-Eastern Africa is occupied by a section of the human race which European writers now usually term the Bantu. This word in the dialects spoken along the coasts of the Cape Colony and Natal simply means people.* In the division of mankind thus named are included all those Africans who use a language which is inflected principally by means of prefixes, and which in the construction of sentences follows certain rules depending upon harmony in sound. The Bantu family is

* In the language of the Xosa, Tembu, Pondo, Zulu, and other coast tribes: UMNTU a person, plural ABANTU people; diminutive UMNTWANA a child *i.e.* a little person, plural ABANTWANA children, abstract derivative UBUNTU the qualities of human beings, diminutive UBUNTWANA the qualities of children. In the language of the Basuto MOTHO a person, plural BATHO persons. The pronunciation, however, is nearly the same, the h in batho being sounded only as an aspirate and the o as oo, baat-hoo.

divided into numerous tribes politically independent of each other. Each tribe is composed of a number of clans, which generally have traditions of a common origin at no very remote date ; in some instances, however, the tribes consist of clans pressed together by accident or war, and whose relationship is too remote to be traced by themselves.

The individuals who make up the Bantu group vary in colour from light bronze to deep black. Some have features of the lowest negro type : thick projecting lips, broad flat noses, and narrow receding foreheads ; while others are almost Asiatic in appearance, with prominent and in rare instances even aquiline noses, broad upright foreheads, and lips but little thicker than those of Europeans. Among the southern tribes these extremes may sometimes be noticed in the same village, but the great majority of the people are of a type higher than a mean between the two.

Ordinarily they present the appearance of a peaceable, good-natured, indolent people ; but they are subject to outbursts of great excitement, when the most savage passions have free play. The man who spends the greater part of his time in gossiping in idleness, preferring a condition of semi-starvation to toiling for bread, is hardly recognizable when, plumed and adorned with military trappings, he has worked himself into frenzy with the war dance. The period of excitement is, however, short. In the same way their outbursts of grief are very violent, but are soon succeeded by cheerfulness.

They are subject to few diseases, and are capable of undergoing without harm privations and sufferings which the hardiest Europeans would sink under. Occasionally there are seasons of famine caused by successive droughts, when whole tribes are reduced to eat wild roots, bulbs, mimosa gum, and whatever else unaided nature provides. At such times they become emaciated, but as long as they can procure even the most wretched food they do not actually die, as white people would under similar circumstances. Nor does pestilence follow want of sustenance to the same extent that it would with us.

It is probable that no people in the world have less of what Europeans would term the necessities of life than the Balala or Bechuana slaves. They are tribes broken in war, who have lost everything but life. They can cultivate no grain, for their home is the desert, and every ear grown at a watering-place would be taken by their masters. The choicest portions of all the wild animals they kill and all the peltries are appropriated by their lords. Garbage, such as the poorest European would turn from with loathing would be to them a luxury. Yet they thrive and multiply, and, when a favourable opportunity occurs, can emerge from this condition, make gardens, breed cattle, and inflict upon other tribes the evils they have themselves undergone.

At the beginning of the present century the great range of mountains which forms the eastern rim of the central basin of South Africa was a dividing line between two sections of Bantu that have many characteristics in common, but between whom there are some remarkable differences. The section on the outer side of the rim, and occupying the lower terraces* between it and the sea, comprised the following tribes :—

1. The Amaxosa, bordering on the Cape Colony, and inhabiting the district between the Great Fish and Bashee rivers. This tribe was the advance guard of the Bantu race, and was in contact on the south and west with Europeans and Hottentots.
2. The Abatembu, occupying the district between the Bashee and Umtata rivers.
3. The Amampondomisi.
4. The Amampondo.
5. The Amaxesibe.

* Until this century was well advanced the greater part of the highest terrace, or that adjoining the Drakensberg, was almost uninhabited except by Bushmen. The coast tribes fancied that it was too cold for them in the winter months ; and the mountain tribes, who were accustomed to a much severer climate, had never been so pressed for space on the inner side as to necessitate a surplus population crossing the barrier.

6. A number of tribes—the Amabele, the Amazizi, the Amahlubi, the Abasekunene, and many others of less importance—occupying the territory that is now the Colony of Natal. The Amamfengu or Fingos of the present day are descendants of these people.
7. The Amabaca, who also occupied at that time a portion of Natal, and whose descendants are now to be found in Griqualand East.
8. The Amangwane.
9. The various tribes that were welded together by Tshaka and have since formed the Amazulu or Zulus. With these must be included the Matabele, who under Umsilikazi migrated into the interior, and are now to be found near the Zambezi.
10. The Amaswazi.

Beyond these, or from Delagoa Bay northwards, the coast region was thickly populated, but the tribes there were too remote to need mention in connection with the subject of these chapters.

This group, from the Amaxosa to the Amaswazi, may conveniently be called the Coast Tribes of Southern Africa.

On the other side of the great mountain range which, at a distance of about one hundred and twenty miles, runs nearly parallel with the margin of the Indian Ocean, the most advanced tribe on the south was the Baphuti, whose origin will presently be told. They were thinly scattered over the district stretching southward from Thaba Bosigo to the Orange River.

Next came a group of five tribes terming themselves the Mayiane, the Makhoakhoa, the Bamonageng, the Batlakoana and the Baramokhele. They spoke the same dialect, and claimed a descent from common ancestors, which, however, they could not trace; but politically each was independent of the others, except when accident or the abilities of some chief gave supremacy for a time to a particular ruler among them. They occupied the valley of the Caledon from about the parallel of Thaba Bosigo northwards. It will be

well to regard them with particular attention, for their descendants form the nucleus of the present Basuto tribe.

Adjoining them to the north, and occupying the country along the banks of the Sand River, was a tribe named the Bataung, the members of which could not be distinguished by any custom or peculiarity of dialect from the five tribes, but which had never yet in its traditional history been politically connected with them.

Along the southern bank of the Vaal, between the district occupied by the Bataung and the Drakensberg, were various clans of kindred blood, the remnants of which are now to be found intermingled with the Basuto. It is unnecessary to give their titles, as their individuality has been completely lost, and none of them have ever taken an important part in events since Europeans became acquainted with the country.

To the north-east at no great distance was a tribe known as the Batlokua, celebrated among their neighbours as skilful workers in iron and traders in implements made of that metal. They occupied the country along the slopes of the Quathlamba, about the sources of the Wilge and Mill rivers, in the present district of Harrismith. Closely allied with the Batlokua and mixed up with them by intermarriages were the Basia, whose villages were built along the Elands River. Mokotsho, chief of the Batlokua, about the beginning of the century took as his great wife Monyalwe, daughter of Mothage, chief of the Basia. Their eldest child was a daughter, Ntatisi, after whose birth Monyalwe, according to custom, was called Ma Ntatisi, a name which subsequently acquired great notoriety. Their second child was a son, Sikonyela, who will frequently be met with in these pages.

There is no necessity to enumerate the tribes that then occupied the inland mountain slopes further to the northward, for they will not appear in the course of this history.

The group here mentioned, consisting of the Baphuti, the Mayiane, the Makhoakhoa, the Bamonageng, the Batlakoana, the Baramokhele, the Bataung, the Basia, and the Batlokua, may for convenience

sake be termed the Basuto or the Mountain Tribes of Southern Africa.

The country which they inhabited is to South Africa what Switzerland is to Europe. It lies along the inner slope of the highest portion of the Drakensberg, and the lowest point of it is more than five thousand feet above the level of the sea. It is almost destitute of trees, but is covered with good pasturage, and its valleys. especially those drained by the streamlets that feed the Caledon, contain excellent soil for agriculture. During the winter months, or from May to August, the mountain tops are frequently covered with snow, and in summer violent thunder storms pass over the country and cause it to produce food in abundance for man and beast. The land along the head waters of the numerous streams that flow into the Vaal is thus capable of supporting a very dense population, as is also the narrow belt between the Caledon and the Maluti range, but eastward of that chain the surface is so rugged that it is considered to be uninhabitable. In summer, however, it is used as grazing ground for horned cattle, which are then driven up from the villages in great herds.

Parts of this territory have been made by nature almost impregnable. Isolated mountains abound, some of them with their sides of naked rock so nearly perpendicular that the summits are only accessible by two or three narrow paths between overhanging cliffs, where half-a-dozen resolute men can keep an army at bay. The tops of such mountains are table lands well watered and affording good pasturage, so that they can be held for an indefinite time.

The western limits of the Mountain Tribes were not defined in any other way than that the people, being agriculturists, spread themselves out no further than they could make gardens, which they could not do on the great plains of the present Orange Free State. Over those plains roamed Bushmen preying upon the countless antelopes, and Koranas with their herds of horned cattle and flocks of sheep.

Some ninety or a hundred miles north-west of the last kraals of the Mountain Tribes the outlying villages

of a third section of the Bantu race were to be found. The most southerly tribe in this direction was the Batlapin, who were, however, not pure Bantu, for in their veins was a mixture of Korana blood. Next to the northward were the Barolong, a tribe that will frequently appear in these pages. Beyond the Barolong were the Bahurutsi, the Bangwaketsi, the Bakwena, and many others whose titles need not be mentioned. This group may be termed the Bechuana or the Central Tribes of Southern Africa, as the territory which they occupied is about midway between the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. West of them lay the great Kalihari Desert. Between them and the Mountain Tribes was an arid plain, not so formidable a barrier, however, as that separating the Mountain Tribes from those of the Coast.

There is less difference between the last two groups here described than between the first two, though the customs of the Mountain Tribes are in many respects, like their geographical position, intermediate between the others. They speak three dialects of a common language, but while a Mosuto,* for instance, and a Morolong understand each other without difficulty, a Mosuto and a Zulu cannot converse together.

The religion of the Bantu, which all of these tribes not only profess, but really regulate their conduct by, is based on the belief that the spirits of their ancestors interfere in their affairs. Some of them have a very dim conception of the existence of a supreme all-powerful being, but they offer no sacrifices to him, nor do they speculate upon his attributes or regard

* Explanation of terms :—

Mosuto, a single individual of the tribe.

Basuto, two or more individuals or the tribe collectively.

Sesuto, the language of the Basuto. The Basuto use the word also to denote characteristic customs.

Lesuto, the country belonging to the tribe.

Basuto, used by Europeans also as an adjective signifying pertaining to the people so called. A Mosuto would use the expression "of the Basuto."

So with Morolong, Barolong, Serolong, Motlokua, Batlokua ; &c., &c., &c.

him as interesting himself in their troubles or their joys. Every man worships the spirits of his own ancestors, and offers sacrifices to avert their wrath when he deems that they are angry with him. The clan worships in the same way the spirits of the ancestors of its chief. Where all the clans which compose a tribe are under chiefs descended from a common ancestor, the bond of religion tends to keep them together. There is an individual recognized by them all as the tribal priest, who offers sacrifices on important occasions to the spirits of their dead chiefs, and who exercises enormous influence over every member of the tribe.

But this powerful element of union is wanting when a tribe is composed of clans of different origin, unless time and favourable circumstances have welded them together. The religion of the people is of the same nature, but the object of propitiation is different. The influence of the individual who offers the sacrifices does not extend beyond the clans whose chiefs are descendants of one family. There are in fact as many such individuals as there are ruling families whose relationship cannot be traced. The alien clan consults only temporal interests, and is not prevented by religious scruples from rebelling against its paramount chief. A tribe so constituted may be kept together by the nominal head preserving a balance of power among the sections, but it has little military strength.

The Bantu have no definite idea of the mode of existence of their deities, but the southern tribes suppose them to inhabit dim underground caverns. They regard the unseen world in which they believe with unmingled dread, and drive reflection concerning it from their thoughts whenever it is possible to do so. Before their intercourse with white men it had never struck them that the acts of this life could have any effect upon the spirit after death. They are in no sense an imaginative or speculative people, but direct their entire attention to such material objects as immediately affect their welfare.

In such a condition progress towards a higher kind of life, unless directed by some external agency, is

nearly impossible. In other words, self-development must be a very slow process, if it can be accomplished at all. For, first, their greatest dread is that of offending the spirits of their ancestors, and they hold that any departure from established customs will assuredly do this and therefore bring evil upon them. Next, their belief in witchcraft is opposed to progress of any kind. For a man who is not a chief, and who differs from his fellows by being mentally in advance of them, inevitably draws suspicion upon himself of being a wizard, and where there is no foreign controlling power, surely falls a victim to their fury.

The belief in witchcraft is to this day the cause of a terrible amount of suffering among the tribes that are independent. All events that cannot be readily comprehended—sickness in man, murrain in cattle, blight in crops, even casual accidents—are by them attributed to the agency of wizards and witches, and not the slightest compassion is felt for any unfortunate wretch whom the recognized witchfinder of the community points out as guilty. Confiscation of property, torture, death, are the penalties of being charged with this ideal offence. It is believed that one man can bewitch another by means of any such thing as a few hairs from his head, a clipping of a finger nail, a piece of clothing, or indeed anything whatever that belongs to him, or can be brought into contact with him, or can be concealed in or about his hut. Occasional cases of real poisoning undoubtedly occur, and each such case is additional proof to them that their belief is correct.

They have strong faith in the power of charms to turn aside evils, believe in the efficacy of certain medicines to give them courage or to make them invulnerable in battle, divine the issue of warlike operations by revolting cruelties practised on animals, have an intense fear of meeting with ghosts, and a firm belief in the existence of malevolent water spirits. All this is common to the different sections of the Bantu in Southern Africa, but in some respects the Mountain Tribes are even more superstitious than those of the Coast. The former are actually guided in half their

actions by the position in which some bones of the character of dice fall when they are thrown.

All of these tribes, when first encountered by Europeans, were acquainted with the use of iron, which they smelted for themselves, and of which they made implements of war and husbandry. The occupation of the worker in this metal was hereditary in certain families, and was carried on with a good deal of mystery, the common belief being that it was necessary to employ certain charms unknown to those not initiated. But the arts of the founder and blacksmith had not advanced with them beyond the most elementary stage. They made clumsy hoes for turning up the ground, but instead of an opening for a handle these were provided with a spike which was driven into a hole burnt through the knob of a heavy piece of wood. The assegai was common to all, and in addition the Mountain Tribes made crescent-shaped battle-axes, which were fastened to handles in the same manner as the hoes. On these implements of war they bestowed all their skill, and really produced articles almost as neatly finished as a European workman could have made them. They worked the metal cold, and were unable to weld two pieces together.

In manufactures of wood they displayed about the same ability. Out of a single block they would carve, with the aid of fire, such an article as a spoon or a heavy knobbed stick, and by dint of time and patience could cut out on it fairly executed images of animals; but the construction of a box, or anything that would require more than one piece of wood, was entirely beyond them.

Of the use of stone for building purposes the Coast Tribes knew nothing, and the Mountain Tribes very little. None of them had ever dressed a block, but the cattle folds, which along the coast where wood was plentiful were constructed of branches of trees, in the mountains were made of round stones roughly laid together to form a wall. The quern, or handmill for grinding corn, which was in common use, consisted of undressed stones, one flat and the other round or oval.

All had great skill in dressing the skins of animals,

of which their scanty clothing was composed. The Interior Tribes excelled in this art, and equalled, if they did not surpass, the neatest European furriers in making robes, which they stitched with sinews by the help of an awl. They manufactured strong earthenware pots, plain rush mats, and serviceable baskets. The Coast Tribes preserved their grain in pits excavated beneath cattle folds, but the Mountain Tribes used for this purpose enormous baskets, which were perfectly watertight, and which could be exposed to the air without damage to their contents.

The people of all the tribes are inheritors of a system of common law admirably adapted to the circumstances in which they live. It has come down to them from a period so remote that its origin is lost in the mists of antiquity. Not only its salient points, but its minutest details, have been transmitted from generation to generation by means of the care taken by certain individuals in every clan to make themselves acquainted with it, the custom of all trials being held in open court, the perfect freedom of speech which every individual enjoys, the habit of always deciding cases according to precedent, and the conservatism of the people, who would not permit a change from the customs of their ancestors.

This common law is adapted to people in a rude state of society. It holds every one accused of crime guilty unless he can prove himself innocent, it makes the head of a family responsible for the conduct of all its branches, the village collectively in the same manner for each resident in it, and the clan for each of its villages. There is no such thing under it as a man professing not to know anything about his neighbour's doings ; the law requires him to know all about them, or it makes him suffer for neglecting a duty which it holds he owes to the community. Every individual is not only in theory but in practice a policeman.

In some respects it is cruel. The most serious offence under it is dealing in witchcraft, and it allows the use of torture to force confession from a person charged with the commission of this crime. Its

punishments are, in rare cases (treason, acts involving the tribe in war, &c.) death ; in ordinary cases (murder, theft, assault, &c.) fines, varying from a single head of cattle to everything a man possesses. Many offences that in a European code would be classed as criminal are by it regarded as civil only, and the comparative magnitude of crimes differs considerably from the standard we have adopted. In the case of chiefs doing wrong the law is often impotent, for these privileged individuals act as if they are above it, and are sometimes so regarded by the commonalty.

The system of land tenure is a very good one, for it allows individuals to have private rights in as much ground as they can make use of, and leaves all that is not cultivated or built upon in possession of the public. The great chief of each tribe is in theory the owner of the whole of the territory pertaining to his subjects. He holds it for the benefit of the tribe, and draws no revenue whatever from it. He can permit a foreign community to reside upon any unoccupied portion of it, but this permission holds good only for his own life, and his successor may require such a community to leave without any one feeling that he is acting unjustly. The great chief can only alienate ground permanently with the consent of the whole of his councillors and of the leading men.

The sub-chiefs of a tribe, or the heads of the different clans of which it is composed, have no other power over the ground in their respective districts than the right of allotting gardens to such of their people as need them. Each family has its own recognized garden, which it retains without interference as long as the ground is kept in cultivation, but it cannot be sold, nor can it be even lent to another without the consent of the chief of the clan. Footpaths are everywhere free to all. The pasture lands are common property, but certain portions are marked out by the chief for use in winter only, and anyone permitting cattle to graze there at other seasons is liable to punishment. In this way pauperism and the acquisition by individuals of unduly large areas of land are alike prevented.

It is no uncommon occurrence for small and weak tribes, or fragments of tribes, to seek protection from some powerful ruler, and to have a tract of country assigned to their use within his domains. They give in such cases a few head of cattle as a mark of recognition of their subjection and of his sovereignty. Such clans are viewed as vassals, their chiefs possessing indeed full power of government of their own adherents, but bound to acknowledge the head of the tribe from whom they hold their land as their superior in all matters affecting the combined communities.

In comparing the Central and the Mountain with the Coast tribes when Europeans first came in contact with them, the former are found to have attained a somewhat higher degree of perfection in such handicrafts as were practised by them all. Their government was less despotic, for matters of public importance were commonly submitted to the decision of a general assembly of the leading men. The males were found aiding the females in agriculture, though the hardest and most constant labour was by them also left to the women. Their habitations were vastly superior. The house of a Mochuana had perpendicular walls, and consisted of a central circular room, with three or four apartments outside, each being a segment of a circle. It was surrounded with an enclosed courtyard, and was, with the exception of being destitute of chimney or window, as capacious and comfortable as the cottage of an ordinary European peasant. The hut of a native of the coast region was a single circular room, covered by a low dome of thatched wickerwork, and no effort was made to secure the slightest privacy. Midway in convenience between these was the hut of a resident in the mountain land.

But with these exceptions, all comparisons between the tribes must be favourable to those of the coast. The Bantu of the interior are smaller in stature and much less handsome in appearance than the splendidly formed men who live on the terraces between the Drakensberg and the sea. In all that is comprised in the word manliness they are vastly inferior.

Truth is not a virtue that one who knows what savage life is would expect to find in any Bantu tribe. The late Mr. J. C. Warner, in his day one of the ablest officials in the Native Department of the Cape Government, a man who had been for years a mission teacher, and who was selected for an important office solely on account of his devotion to the work of improving the Tembus among whom he was living, in a report to the Colonial Secretary dated 13th of November 1867, tersely summed up the views of veracity entertained by the Coast Tribes. He wrote: "Falsehood is not even considered a disgrace. In fact, if a man could extricate himself from difficulties, escape punishment, or gain some other advantage by lying, and did not do so, he would be thought a fool." Instances, however, have not been rare of Zulu and Xosa chiefs making promises and adhering faithfully to them, but the word of the very best of the interior chiefs has always been found to be worth absolutely nothing.

The deceptive power of all these people is something wonderful to Europeans. But there is one member which the coast native cannot control, and while with a countenance otherwise devoid of expression he relates the grossest falsehood or the most tragic event, his lively eye betrays the passions he is feeling. When falsehood is brought home to him unanswerably, he casts his glances to the ground or around him, but does not meet the eye of the man he has been attempting to deceive. The native of the mountains and of the interior, on the contrary, seems to have no conception whatever of shame attached to falsehood, and his comparatively listless eye is seldom allowed to betray him.

In 1868, when the country of the Basuto under Moshesh was annexed to the British Empire, Governor Sir Philip Wodehouse requested several highly competent officers to draw up papers for his use upon the customs of the people. The best of these papers is from the pen of the late Mr. John Austen, who was afterwards magistrate of the southern district of Basutoland. Mr. Austen had little education from

books, but he was shrewd and observant, and had long experience to guide him. In his younger days he had been for ten years connected with mission work. Then as Superintendent he had kept order for fifteen years among the mixed clans in the Wittebergen Reserve (now the District of Herschel), where he had administered a rude but effective kind of justice. His knowledge of native customs, habits, thought, and motives of action, was very extensive indeed, as is shown by his reports, which almost invariably correctly forecast events. He drew his information from native sources, and thoroughly understood how to sift native evidence. In the Reserve he had been a trader as well as Superintendent, and though that employment was not justifiable so far as his magisterial duties were concerned, it gave him an additional standpoint for observation. With all this he had a good deal of kindly feeling and sympathy for the people among whom the greater portion of his life had been spent. Here is his description of the mountain chiefs in a paper carefully compiled for the information and guidance of the Government :—

"The Basuto chiefs differ from the frontier Kaffir chiefs only in deceit and plausibility. There is not that manliness of character so often met with amongst Kaffir chiefs. They are either most arrogant or abject, and have very little sense of honour, which virtue you will find to some extent among Kaffir chiefs. They are subject to the most degraded forms of superstition and (belief in) witchcraft, which applies to the tribe generally. I am not speaking of those under the influence of the missionaries, who are looked upon by the chiefs and their heathen followers as having lost caste and as enemies of their tribe and the customs of their forefathers. The Basuto chiefs as a whole are much more morally degraded than the chiefs of any other tribes."

The above graphic paragraph is quoted because of the authority of the writer, and because it contains in a few words the substance of a large amount of trustworthy evidence that has not yet been published, all tending to show that in falsehood and plausibility the coast tribes are surpassed by those of the interior.

The native of the coast is brave in the field, as our forces have over and over again experienced: his inland kinsman is in general an arrant coward. The one is modest when speaking of his own exploits, the other is an intolerable boaster. The difference between them in this respect is very great, and is exemplified in many ways, but a single illustration will give an idea of it. Faku, son of Gungushe, chief of the Pondos, by no means the best specimen of a coast native, once wished to show his regard for Mr. Henry Fynn, who was then residing with him in the character of diplomatic agent of the Colonial Government. He brought him a hundred head of cattle and presented them with this expression, "You have no food to eat, and we desire to show you our wishes towards you, take this basket of corn from the children of Gungushe." An inland chief presents a half-starved old goat to his guest with the expression "Behold an ox!"

There is a very important difference in their marriage customs. A native of the coast region will not marry a girl whose relationship by blood to himself can be traced, no matter how distantly connected they may be. So scrupulous is he in this respect that he will not marry even a girl who belongs to another tribe, if she has the same family name as himself, though the relationship cannot be traced. He regards himself as the protector of those females whom we would term his cousins and second cousins, but for whom he has only the same name as for the daughters of his own parents, the endearing name of sister. In his opinion union with one of them would be incestuous, something horrible, something unutterably disgraceful. The native of the mountains almost as a rule marries the daughter of his father's brother. The sons of Moshesh, the present chiefs of Basutoland, are nearly all married to their own full cousins. It keeps wealth and power in the family, they say. There is nothing else in their customs, not even the fearful depravity which is yet to be mentioned, that creates such disgust as this intermarriage does in the minds of the coast natives. They attribute to it the insanity and idiotcy which are prevalent in the mountains, and they say

the Basuto deserve to have idiots for children, as their marriages are like the marriages of dogs.

The circumcision rites of the tribes are also different. On the coast there is nothing secret about the ceremony. The youths of a clan wait until a son of the chief is sixteen or seventeen years of age, when all are circumcised at the same time. The retainers are held to be bound by the very strongest ties to the young chief who is their associate on this occasion, and as a rule they are found through life always ready to do or to suffer anything and everything for him. This ceremony gives them the privileges of men. At its close they are lectured and instructed in their duties by their elders, their friends make them presents to start them in life, and as soon as convenient after it they conclude the marriages which their fathers or guardians have arranged.

With the mountain tribes, there are ceremonies by which the youths are formed into guilds or lodges with passwords. The members of these lodges are bound never to give evidence against one another. The rites of initiation are kept profoundly secret, but certain horrible customs performed on some of these occasions have become known. One of these customs is that of infusing courage, intelligence, and other qualities. Whenever an enemy who has acted bravely is killed, his liver, which is considered the seat of valour, his ears, which are considered the seat of intelligence, the skin of his forehead, which is considered the seat of perseverance, and other members, each of which is supposed to be the seat of some desirable quality, are cut from his body and baked to cinders. The ashes are carefully preserved in the horn of a bull, and during the circumcision ceremonies are mixed with other ingredients into a kind of paste and administered by the tribal priest to the youths, the idea being that the virtues which they represent are communicated to those who swallow them. This practice, together with that of using other parts of the remains of their enemies for bewitching purposes, accounts for the mutilation of the bodies of those who fall into their hands in war, a practice which has more

than once infuriated white men whose friends have been thus treated, and caused them to commit deeds from which they would otherwise have shrunk.

The corresponding ceremony through which young females pass, as practised by the coast tribes, might be deemed the most degrading rite that human beings have ever been subject to, if it were not known that among the mountain tribes it is even more vile. All that the most depraved imagination can devise to rouse the lowest passions of the young females is here practised. A description is impossible.

Chastity in married life can hardly be said to exist among the coast tribes. By custom every wife of a polygamist has a lover, and no woman sinks in the esteem of her companions on this becoming publicly known. The law allows the husband a fine from the male offender and permits him to chastise the woman, provided he does not maim her, but in the opinion of the females the offence is venial and is not attended with disgrace. Favoured guests have female companions, who are, however, generally widows, allotted to them. Still, chastity has a value in the estimation of the men, as is proved by the care with which the harems of a few of the most powerful chiefs are guarded. It might be thought that the framework of society would fall to pieces if domestic life were more immoral than this, but in point of fact a Zulu or Xosa village is a scene of purity when compared with the kraal of a mountain chief. Here is a description taken from a paper drawn up by the Rev. E. S. Rolland in 1868 for the information and use of Sir Philip Wodehouse. Mr. Rolland was born and brought up in Basutoland, was strongly attached to the Basuto tribe, and there was no man living more competent to describe the manners of the people. He wrote :—

"The possession of a large number of women is a great source of wealth and influence to a Basuto chief. Each wife or concubine has her own hut and establishment, and enriches her husband by the produce of her gardens and labour, and by her children, the boys being servants and cattle herds, and the girls being available for sale. A polygamist is thus able, from

the abundance of food which he possesses, to exercise hospitality to a great extent, without any expense ; and as a visitor or faithful retainer is entertained not merely with food and lodging, but also by the loan of a wife during his stay, he is induced to come often and to remain long, all the while tendering his services in return for the benefits he enjoys, and which are of a nature to be highly appreciated by a sensual and barbarous people.

"The chief also secures the services and adherence of many young men who are too poor to purchase wives, by bestowing one of his own concubines upon them either temporarily or permanently. In either case the children belong to the chief, who is considered as the nominal father and owner.

"On account of the number of wives and the abundance of food at the kraal of a wealthy chief, he cannot fail to assemble around him a number of retainers. The feasts and dances which are constantly going on furnish an ever recurring opportunity for sensual indulgence."

Another revolting custom of the mountain tribes is that of polyandrous marriages. A man who has not the requisite number of cattle to procure a wife, and whose father is too poor to help him, goes to a wealthy chief and obtains assistance from him on condition of having joint marital rights.

By all the tribes polygamy is practised. Marriage is an arrangement, without any religious ceremony, by which in return for a girl cattle are transferred to her relatives by the husband or his friends. It does not make of a woman a slave who can be sold from hand to hand, nor does it give her husband power to maim her. In its best aspect this method of marriage is a protection to a woman against ill usage. If her husband maims her, or treats her with undue severity, she can return to her father or guardian, who is allowed in such cases to retain both the woman and the cattle. In its worst aspect it permits a father or guardian to give a girl in marriage to the man who offers most for her, without the slightest reference to her inclinations, and with a certainty that she is being

consigned to what elsewhere would be termed a life of infamy.

To this day the position of more than nine-tenths of the females of the southern Bantu tribes is such as is here described, but it is not so easy now as it was sixty or seventy years ago for a stranger to become acquainted with the worst features of the system under which they live. Through contact with Europeans they have come to know that we look with loathing upon many of their habits ; and in the desire to stand well with strangers, which even the lowest share, they are careful to conceal all that is most offensive in our eyes. The teaching of missionaries has elevated a small section of the people very greatly above the general mass, though the morals of the majority of the converts may still seem low when compared with a European standard. It is this section that strangers are most likely to come into contact with and form their impressions from, and by them departure from the rules which the missionaries have established is studiously concealed.

The most prominent virtue of the Bantu tribes of South Africa is devotion to their chiefs. Unquestionably this devotion retards their civilization, unquestionably also it has caused enormous loss of blood and money to Europeans in this country, nevertheless it is a virtue in them. It is the bond that holds society together. Its strength consists in its being of a religious as well as a political nature. To offend the spirits of the dead chiefs by rebellion against their representative is something that a tribesman will hardly dare to do, so that a chief who has no rivals in his own family will be obeyed implicitly. Among the coast tribes this feeling of devotion to the chief is perhaps not stronger than it is in the mountains, though, owing to their more manly character, it is usually more prominently exhibited.

Another noticeable feature is their hospitality to equals and superiors. To so great an extent is this carried that it may almost be said that food is common property. They have two meals in the day, the principal one being at sunset. Anyone passing by at

that time, friend or stranger, provided only that he is not inferior in rank, sits down without invitation or ceremony and shares in the meal. In most villages there is a hut set apart specially for the accommodation of strangers, though it is usually in a dilapidated state, owing to its being the business of the community and not of any particular person to keep it in repair.

Whether these people as a whole are capable of rising to as high a stage of civilization as Europeans have attained is as yet doubtful. For nearly three-fourths of a century the agents of numerous missionary societies have been labouring zealously among them, and large sums of money have been expended in efforts to educate them, but the great mass of the population at the present day exhibits very few signs of mental improvement. Ploughs, axes, woollen blankets, and several other articles of European manufacture have come into general use, and there has been a ready adoption of European weapons of war, but as far back as can be traced no individual among the Bantu of South Africa has invented or improved a useful implement. The desire of at least nine-tenths of them is to live as their remote ancestors lived, and if it were possible to accomplish this, they would cheerfully renounce the use of all the products of European skill.

But while the great body of the southern Bantu remains mentally unimproved, numerous individuals have emerged from the mass and have shown abilities of no mean order. A score of preachers might be named equal to the average European in the kind of intellect required in their calling. Masters of primary schools, clerks, and interpreters, many of whom are as well qualified for their duties as the white men who usually fill such situations, are to be met by hundreds. As agents in courts of law many of them would undoubtedly equal Europeans, but practically this sphere of occupation has not hitherto been open to them, and their best friends do not desire that it should be. One individual of this race has translated Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* into the dialect of the Xosa tribe, and the translation is as faithful as any that have been made in the languages of Continental Europe. Another

has composed plaintive music, such as the converts at the mission stations love to sing, for a considerable number of hymns and songs in the same dialect. As mechanics they do not succeed so well. A few among the many who are trained in the different industrial institutions continue for some years to labour as blacksmiths, carpenters, typesetters, &c.; but they are almost without exception very far inferior to European workmen, and generally abandon such occupations after a short trial. They take little or no pride in doing what falls to them in a proper manner, and are therefore unable to compete with white men.

The Bantu of South Africa are probably the most prolific people on the face of the earth. Their actual rate of increase cannot be given, because no census has yet been taken except in small localities; but it is certain that they have more than trebled in number within the last half-century. All the females are married at an early age, very few women indeed are childless, and in most of the tribes provision is even made by custom for widows to add to the families of their deceased husbands.

The foregoing brief description of these people is necessary to give the reader sufficient knowledge of their characteristics to understand the following chapters. A full account of their government, language, religion, traditions, manners, customs, and laws, would fill several volumes. The most complete information concerning them is to be found in still unpublished manuscripts in the different Government offices in Cape Town, but printed works upon the subject are plentiful and obtainable without difficulty. For the guidance of those who may desire to consult such works, a list is here given :—

De Koffers aan de Zuidkust van Afrika, Natuur en Geschied kundig beschreven. Door Lodewyk Alberti, voormaals Land drost van het Distrikt Uitenhage. One volume octavo Amsterdam, 1810.

Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa. By William J. Burchell. Two volumes quarto, London, 1822 and 1824. This admirable and trustworthy work is profusely illustrated with coloured plates and woodcuts equal in accuracy to photographs.

Travels and Researches in Caffraria: describing the character, customs, and moral condition of the Tribes inhabiting that por-

tion of Southern Africa; with Historical and Topographical Remarks illustrative of the state and prospects of the British Settlement on its Borders, the introduction of Christianity, and the Progress of Civilization. By the Rev. Stephen Kay. One volume crown octavo, London, 1833.

Wanderings and Adventures in the Interior of Southern Africa. By Andrew Steedman. Two volumes octavo, London, 1835.

Caffres and Caffre Missions; with Preliminary Chapters on the Cape Colony as a Field for Emigration and Basis of Missionary Operation. By the Rev. H. Calderwood. One volume crown octavo. London, 1858.

The Story of my Mission in South-Eastern Africa: comprising some Account of the European Colonists: with Notices of the Kaffir and other Native Tribes. By the Rev. William Shaw. One volume crown octavo, London, 1860.

The Basutos; or Twenty-three Years in South Africa. By the Rev. E. Casalis. One volume crown octavo, London, 1861.

A Popular Account of Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa. By the Rev. Dr. Livingstone. One volume crown octavo, London, 1861.

A Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs. Compiled by direction of Colonel Maclean, Chief Commissioner in British Kaffraria. An octavo volume of 164 pages, Cape Town, 1866.

The Past and Future of the Kaffir Races. By the Rev. William C. Holden. One volume octavo, London, 1866.

Nursery Tales, Traditions, and Histories of the Zulus, in their own words, with a Translation into English, and Notes. By the Rev. Canon Callaway, M.D. One volume octavo, Springvale, Natal, 1868.

Kaffir Folklore, or a Selection from the Traditional Tales current among the People living on the Eastern Border of the Cape Colony. By Geo. McCall Theal. One volume octavo London, 1882..

Proceedings of, and Evidence taken by, the Commission on Native Affairs. A Government Blue-book printed at Graham's Town in 1865.

Report and Evidence of Commission on Native Laws and Customs of the Basutos. A Blue-book printed at Cape Town in 1873 by order of the House of Assembly.

Report and Proceedings, with Appendices, of the Government Commission on Native Laws and Customs. A Blue-book printed at Cape Town in 1883.

Annual Blue-books on Native Affairs since 1874, being reports of officers of the Cape Government throughout the native territories.

Numerous *Grammars* and *Dictionaries* in the different dialects, the work of missionaries of various denominations and nationalities.

And a large number of books the titles of which will be given in the following chapters.

CHAPTER II.

THE DEVASTATIONS OF TSHAKA AND MOSELEKATSE.—COMMENCEMENT OF MOSHESH'S CAREER.—THE BAROLONG TRIBE.—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FRENCH MISSION IN THE LESUTO, AND THE LONDON SOCIETY'S AND WESLEYAN MISSIONS TO THE BECHUANA.

About the year 1783, or perhaps a little later, one of the inferior wives of Senzangakona, chief of a tribe living on the banks of the river Umvolosi, gave birth to a son who was destined to tower high in fame above all his contemporaries. The boy who had come into the world was Tshaka, the terrible Zulu conqueror of later years. At the time of his birth the Zulu tribe was small and without influence. It was not even independent, as it was tributary to the Abatetwa. The only reputation the Zulus had then acquired was that of being keen traffickers, expert pedlers of such wares as constituted the basis of commerce in South-Eastern Africa.

Tshaka grew up to be in person one of the handsomest of the splendidly formed men that composed his tribe. In all the feats of agility in which the youths of his people take so much delight he was unequalled, if native traditions are to be believed. At that time white men had no intercourse with any of the Coast Tribes beyond the Amaxosa, and our knowledge of Tshaka's early life is therefore drawn entirely from native sources. But from 1824 to the date of his death he was frequently visited by Europeans. Among these, Messrs. F. G. Farewell, J. S. King, H. F Fynn, and Nathaniel Isaacs have given accounts of him, and they all describe him in similar terms. In 1825 Mr. King wrote of him as "upwards of six feet in height and well proportioned, the best pedestrian in the country, and exhibiting in his exercises the most astonishing activity." He appeared then to be about thirty-six years of age, but he must have been several years older.

While Tshaka was still quite a youth he excited the jealousy of his father, and was compelled to flee for his life. He took refuge with Dingiswayo, chief of

the Abatetwa, his father's feudal lord. This Dingiswayo was a man who had gone through some curious adventures, and had seen some strange vicissitudes of fortune. In his younger days he had been suspected of treasonable designs against his father Jobé, and only escaped death by the devotion of one of his sisters. With her aid he managed to get away from the executioners who were sent to kill him, and then for many years he was lost sight of by his people. They believed him to be dead, instead of which he was wandering from tribe to tribe until at length he reached the border of the Cape Colony. While he was there a military expedition was sent to the frontier, either the small one sent by Lord Macartney to the village of Graaff-Reinet in 1797, or the much larger one sent by General Dundas in 1799. If it was the latter, the chief topic of conversation among the Amaxosa would certainly be the engagement between General Vandeleur's forces and Cungwa's clan, in which a few trained soldiers drove back a large body of natives and inflicted upon them tremendous loss. At any rate Dingiswayo came to hear something about the European military system, and he reflected a good deal upon what he heard.

Prior to this date the method of conducting war by all the South African tribes was very simple but not very effective. The chiefs led their followers and were obeyed by them, but the army was really an undisciplined mob. It was divided into two bands, the veterans who wore plumes, and the young men whose heads were bare. Each warrior was trained from early youth to the use of his weapons, but was never drilled to act in concert with his fellows or to perform the simplest military evolution. A campaign was a sudden swoop upon the enemy, and seldom lasted longer than a few days.

While Dingiswayo was gathering information his father Jobé died, and the Abatetwa, believing that the rightful heir had perished, raised the next in succession to be their chief. But by some means the wanderer came to hear of his father's death, and sent word to the tribe that he intended to return. The message

was followed by news of his approach, and it was announced that he was mounted on an animal of wonderful strength, beauty, and speed. The Abatetwa had not yet seen a horse, so that the eclat of their lost chief's return was considerably heightened by his making his appearance on the strange animal. There was no doubt as to his identity, and he was received with rapture by the majority of his late father's subjects. His brother made a feeble resistance, but was easily overcome and put to death.

Dingiswayo now set about turning the information he had gained to some account. He formed his men into regiments, and appointed officers of various grades to command them. When this was accomplished he made war upon his neighbours, but was satisfied with conquest, for though ambitious he was not particularly cruel.

Such was the chief under whose protection Tshaka placed himself. The Zulu refugee became a soldier in one of Dingiswayo's regiments, from which position he raised himself by courage and ability to a situation of command.

When Senzangakona died the Zulus feared to acknowledge his legitimate heir as his successor, as by doing so they might displease their paramount lord. They therefore applied to Dingiswayo, who, trusting to the fidelity of Tshaka, nominated him to the vacant chieftainship. As long as Dingiswayo lived, Tshaka and he worked harmoniously together. But at length, in a skirmish with a tribe which he had made war upon, the chief of the Abatetwa was made prisoner, and was put to death by his captor.

The army then did what armies in such circumstances are prone to do: it raised its favourite general to supreme power. Tshaka now conceived schemes of conquests on a vast scale, and devised a much more perfect system of organization and discipline than had before existed. The males of the united tribes with their vassals that acknowledged his sway were divided into regiments, each of which had its own kraal or portion of a kraal when several were stationed together. The soldiers were not permitted

to marry without the consent of the chief, and this was only given to a regiment after long and meritorious services. The regiments were distinguished from each other by the pattern and colour of their shields, and a spirit of emulation between them was encouraged and kept up by various devices.

As soon as a youth was fit to bear a shield he was required to join the army, and thereafter he had no companions but soldiers until the chief's permission to marry was obtained by his regiment. The practice of circumcision was abolished, as being useless now that another mark of manhood had taken its place. The army was provided with food mainly from the herds captured in war, and the female portion of the community furnished what grain was needed. Constant drilling, reviews, and mock fights occupied the time of the soldiers when they were not engaged in actual war.

The weapon previously in use was the assagai, or light javelin, which was thrown at the enemy from a distance. Tshaka substituted for it a heavy short-handled spear. The warrior who returned from battle without his weapon forfeited his life. To protect his person, he carried an enormous shield of stout ox hide, upon which he received the assagais hurled against him.

The world has probably never seen men trained to more perfect obedience. The army became a vast machine, entirely under command of its head. There was no questioning, no delay, when an order was issued, for to presume upon either was to court instant death. Most extraordinary tasks were sometimes required of a regiment to prove its efficiency in this respect. At a review an order would sometimes be given which meant death to hundreds, and the jealousy between the regiments was so great that if one hesitated for a moment the others were ready to cut it down.

When attacking an enemy, the army was drawn up in two divisions. The division in advance was in the form of a crescent, the ends of which were termed the horns, the centre being known as the breast. The

rear division was the reserve. Its formation was that of a square or parallelogram, and its place was behind the breast, as the best position from which to strengthen any weak point.

With an army of forty or fifty thousand men thus highly disciplined Tshaka commenced a series of wars which did not terminate until between Delagoa Bay and the Umzimvubu River there was no tribe left to withstand him He was not satisfied with mere conquest, in his opinion an enemy was not subdued unless it was exterminated. His soldiers were ordered utterly to destroy the people they marched against, to kill all the old and all the children of both sexes, to reserve none but a few lads to be their carriers and the comeliest girls who were to be brought to him. These orders were literally carried out. The tribes passed out of sight, and the country beyond the Zulu military kraals became a desert. A few only of the neighbouring clans saved themselves by begging to be incorporated with the Zulu power, and conforming in all respects to the Zulu system.

Tshaka governed his people with such cruelty as is hardly comprehensible by Europeans. Every one who displeased him in any way was put to death. All who approached him did so unarmed and in a crouching posture. He never admitted any woman to the rank of wife, though at his various places of residence over twelve hundred females were maintained. His custom was to distribute to his favourite officers such of these women as he no longer cared for, when their places were supplied by captives. To prevent rivalry by members of his own family he suffered no son of his to live. And yet his people were devoted to him, so proud were they of the military fame which his genius had enabled them to acquire.

When Tshaka commenced his career the lower terraces of the territory that is now the Colony of Natal were the most densely peopled districts of South Africa. The soil was rich, the water plentiful, the climate such as the coast natives love. If the tribes there had united for defence they might have succeeded in holding their own, but combination in time of dan-

ger, apparently so natural, appears seldom to be resorted to by barbarians. Frequently, on account of some petty jealousy, they rejoice at the downfall of neighbours and lack the foresight to see that their own turn will come next. It was so with the tribes of what is now Natal. One after another they were attacked, and though several of them fought desperately, all were overpowered and ruined. Some instances of obstinate defence by isolated parties are still preserved in the memory of the aged, of which the following may serve as a specimen :

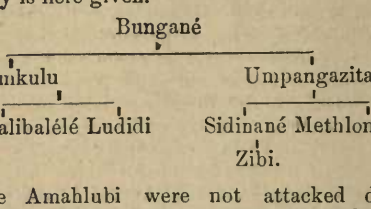
Umjoli, chief of the Abasekunéné, had taken to wife a woman named Gubela, of the Amabélé tribe. She was a person of most courageous disposition, and as her husband's character was just the reverse, she placed herself at the head of his warriors, and resolved to die rather than flee. For a long time she succeeded in defending herself and the portion of the tribe that adhered to her, for after her first achievements, she separated from her craven husband, and the people were divided between them. Her name soon grew so famous that a song was composed in her honour, two lines of which read as follows :—

> At Gubela's they don't use bars to kraals,
> But for gates make heaps of heads of men.

Valour, however, did not prevail, and in the end Gubela's people shared the fate of all the rest. Remnants of the Amabélé, the Amazizi, the Abasekunéné, the Amahlubi, and a few others of less note managed to escape by fleeing southward and taking refuge with the tribes on the border of the Cape Colony. Their descendants are the Fingos of the present day. The Amabaca, now living in Griqualand East, are descendants of the remains of another fugitive tribe. The only people left in the greater part of the present Colony of Natal were the remnants of a few clans who had adopted cannibalism as a means of existence.

One section of the Amahlubi demands particular notice. The original home of this tribe was the district between the Buffalo and Tugela rivers, where they were living in the year 1820. Their great chief at that

time was named Bungane, and as from him some men have descended who have played an important part in South African history, a genealogical table of the family is here given.



The Amahlubi were not attacked directly by Tshaka's armies, but by Matiwané, chief of the Amangwané, who was himself endeavouring to escape from the Zulu spear. The Amahlubi were driven from their homes with dreadful slaughter, in which their great chief Bungané and his principal son Umtimkulu both perished. Some clans of the defeated tribe, as has been already stated, fled southward. One division, under Umpangazita, the second son of Bungané in rank, endeavoured to escape by crossing the mountains to the westward. An incident strikingly illustrative of savage life caused them to set their faces in this direction. Some fifteen or eighteen months previously a quarrel had taken place between Umpangazita and his brother-in-law Motsholi, who thereupon left the Hlubi country with two or three thousand followers, and took refuge with the Batlokua. The chief Mokotsho was then dead, and his widow Ma Ntatisi, was acting as regent during the minority of her son Sikonyela.

Ma Ntatisi received Motsholi with hospitality, and for about a twelvemonth the intercourse between the Batlokua and the strangers was of a friendly nature. But Motsholi, when visiting Ma Ntatisi, would never partake of food presented to him, and was always accompanied by some of his own followers carrying provisions for his use. He assigned as a reason that what was offered to him was the food of the deceased Mokotsho, as if he would say that he suspected Ma Ntatisi of having caused Mokotsho's death by poison,

and feared to eat what she prepared lest he might share the same fate. This came at length to be considered a gross insult by the regent and her people.

In the winter of 1821 Sikonyela, then about 16 or 17 years of age, was circumcised, when he determined to notify his entrance into the state of manhood by a deed becoming a warrior. With a band of youthful adherents he fell by stealth upon Motsholi, killed him and about twenty of his people, and drove off the cattle. The murdered chief wore a necklace without a fastening, and to obtain this Sikonyela cut off his head.

Some of the adherents of Motsholi fled to Umpangazita, and informed him of what had taken place. It was just then that the Amahlubi were compelled to leave their own country. Umpangazita thereupon resolved with assagai in hand to demand the restoration of the well-known necklace from the treacherous Batlokua, and to avenge the death of his brother-in-law while escaping from his own antagonist. It is owing to this circumstance that the natives accuse the Batlokua of being the cause of the wars of extermination west of the Drakensberg.

The Amahlubi were closely followed by the Amangwane, and so hot was the pursuit that the aged and feeble with thousands of helpless children were of necessity abandoned on the way, that the more vigorous might escape. They crossed the Drakensberg and fell upon the Batlokua, who were dispersed and compelled to abandon all their possessions to their conquerors. Under Ma Ntatisi the defeated tribe fled southward. The district between the Drakensberg and the Sand River was almost depopulated. The Basia disappeared entirely. The great wave of war that was rolling onward passed over the Bataung country also, and the greater portion of that tribe perished. One division, however, under a chief named Molitsané, who will frequently appear in these pages, escaped by fleeing across the plains to the Bechuana country beyond the Vaal, where its adventures will presently be related. Another small division, under a chief named Makwana, who was of higher rank than

Molitsané, also escaped the general destruction by hiding away for a time.

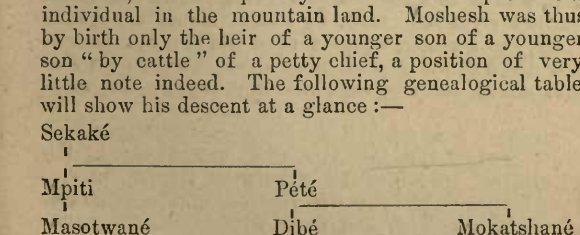
The Batlokua pursued by the Amahlubi, and the Amahlubi pursued by the Amangwané, then fell upon the country occupied by the five tribes of the Mayiané, Makhoakhoa, Bamonageng, Batlakoana, and Baramokhélé. At that moment, just when these tribes most needed an able head, there was not a single man of note among them. Motlomi, chief of the Bamonageng, whose name is still held in great veneration by the Basuto, had exercised paramount power over them all during his lifetime, but he had died in 1814 or 1815, and there was no one of sufficient ability to take his place. It was therefore not as one strong determined people that the five tribes met the torrent of invasion, but as little bands, each trying to hold its own, without a common plan of action.

Vast numbers of people of all ages died by the club and assagai. In a short time the cattle were eaten up, and as the gardens ceased to be cultivated, a terrible famine arose. Thousands, tens of thousands of people perished of starvation, other thousands fled from the wasted land, and many of those who remained behind became cannibals. It is impossible to form an estimate of the number of individuals belonging to the Mountain Tribes who perished at this time. The only tribe whose losses can be even approximately computed is that of the Batlokua. They were reduced from about one hundred and thirty thousand to fourteen or fifteen thousand in number, only a small proportion of the loss being from dispersion. If the destruction of human beings in what is now the Lesuto and in the north-east of the present Free State be estimated at three hundred thousand, that number must be greatly under the mark. And on the other side of the mountains at least half a million had perished. Compared with this, the total loss of human life, occasioned by all the wars in South Africa in which Europeans have engaged since first they set foot in the country, sinks into insignificance.

While these devastations were taking place, a young man, son of a petty chief of the Baramokhélé, began

to attract attention. His name was Moshesh. His family was one of so little note that in a country where the genealogies of men of rank have been carefully handed down for twelve or fifteen generations, antiquarians cannot trace his lineage with absolute certainty beyond his great grandfather. Some of them indeed, since Moshesh's rise, pretend to give the names of several of his more remote ancestors, but these names are disputed by others, and all that is generally agreed to is that the family was in some way related by marriage to the ruling house of the Bamonageng. Certainty begins with Sekaké, a petty chief who died about the middle of last century leaving a son named Mpiti.

If the custom of his people had been followed, after Sekaké's death his brothers should have taken his widows; but either by accident or design his great wife fell to one of his friends who was a stranger, being a native of the coast region. By this man the woman had a son, who was named Pété. According to European ideas Pété would certainly have no claim to represent Sekaké, but his mother having been Sekaké's wife, by Bantu custom he was considered Sekaké's son. His elder brother Mpiti was, however, held to be the heir. Pété lived until the year 1823, when he was killed and eaten by cannibals. He left two sons, Dibé the elder and Mokatshané, the younger. About the year 1793 Mokatshané's wife gave birth to a son who on attaining manhood took the name of Moshesh, and subsequently became the most prominent individual in the mountain land. Moshesh was thus by birth only the heir of a younger son of a younger son "by cattle" of a petty chief, a position of very little note indeed. The following genealogical table will show his descent at a glance:—



Many years later the official praisers, a class of men who attend upon every native chief, related that Motlomi, the last paramount ruler of the five tribes, had named Moshesh as his successor and had predicted his future greatness; but their statement rested upon flattery alone. Motlomi was dead long before Moshesh had an opportunity of emerging from obscurity.

The family of Mokatshané was a large one. Among his sons who were born after Moshesh were Makhabané (father of Lesawana or Ramanela as now called), Poshuli, Mohali, Moperi, and Lelosa (or Job), all of whom will appear in these pages.

Moshesh first saw the light at Lintshuaneng, on the Tlotsi, where his father's clan was living. He grew up to be a man of commanding appearance, attractive in features, and well formed in body. In his youth he was an ardent hunter of the elands and other large animals that were then to be found at no great distance from his home, and this exercise developed his strength and activity.

Upon the invasion of his country, Moshesh, then a vigorous young man of eight or nine and twenty years, collected a party of warriors, chiefly his former companions in the chase, and made a stand at the strong position of Butabuté, but was attacked there by Ma Ntatisi, and was defeated, when his followers were brought to great distress. During the winter of 1824 he removed some distance to the south-west and took possession of Thaba Bosigo, a mountain so formed by nature as to be a fortress of great strength, and which has never yet been taken by a foe. Noné, a Baphuti chief, had a village at the foot of the hill, but he was plundered of his provisions by Moshesh's chief warrior Makoniané, and was then driven away by the newcomers.

Moshesh now conducted various expeditions against the Batlokua and the Amahlubi, and owing to the adroitness with which his plans were formed, he was invariably successful. His fame as a military strategist rapidly spread, and from all parts of the mountain land men came to Thaba Bosigo to join him. With an impregnable stronghold in his possession, in

which the families and effects of his retainers were secure, it was easy for the rising chief to make sudden forays and fall upon his enemies at unguarded points. Each successful expedition brought new adherents, until the Basuto of Moshesh became a strong party, devoted to their leader. For two or three years the Amangwané were the most powerful people in the country, and during this time Moshesh paid court to their chief, professing to be his vassal, and paying him tribute from the spoil taken in his excursions.

After a time the most formidable of the invaders perished or left the ravaged country. A great battle was fought on the banks of the Caledon between Umpangazita, or Pakalita as he was called by the Basuto, and Matiwané, in which the Amahlubi were defeated with great slaughter. The chief and those who escaped fled to a mountain, but were followed by the enemy and driven from the stronghold. In the last stand that they made, near Lishuané, Umpangazita was killed. Most of the young men were then taken to be carriers for the Amangwané, and such as remained placed themselves under the protection of Moshesh, and with his consent settled in the district of Mekuatling. These people and their descendants, together with some fragments of the Amangwané and other tribes subsequently broken, are the Fingos of recent Basuto history.

After the destruction of the Amahlubi, an army which was sent by Tshaka fell upon Matiwané, who was defeated and compelled to retire from Basutoland. Crossing the Orange River and the Quathlamba Mountains in a southerly direction, he then attacked the Abatembu. This tribe applied to the Colonial Government for assistance, and to save the natives on the frontier from annihilation or dispersion, a combined military and burgher force was sent against the Amangwane. The Galekas also joined the Tembus against them. In August, 1828, Matiwané's power was completely broken. He with a few of his adherents fled northwards to Dingan, Tshaka's successor, by whose orders they were all put to death. Those of his people that were left in Kaffirland then lost their

distinguishing name and were absorbed in other tribes, some of them even becoming mixed with the Fingos of the frontier.

The Batlokua, reduced to one eighth or one tenth of their original number, now settled along the Upper Caledon, and began to resume the occupations of an agricultural and pastoral people. Sikonyela, son of Ma Ntatisi, was their recognised chief, but his mother, who was considered a person of ability, still exercised supreme control over the tribe.

The government of Moshesh was mild, and he had sufficient wisdom and prudence to spare and protect all who submitted to him, whether they had been previously friendly or hostile. Even parties of cannibals left their caves, placed themselves under him, and began again to cultivate the ground. By a couple of successful forays upon some Tembu clans below the mountains, he acquired considerable wealth in cattle. Most of the adult individuals of high rank among the mountain tribes had perished, so there was no obstacle to the people adopting as their head the young chief, whose abilities as a ruler as well as a military leader were soon widely recognized. Moshesh thus became the central figure round whom the scattered and impoverished Basuto rallied, with a view of recovering and retaining the territory that had been occupied by their fathers, or more correctly a portion of that territory together with the district between it and the Orange River which had been previously inhabited partly by the Baphuti, but chiefly by Bushmen. He had already become by conquest the paramount chief of the Baphuti, a tribe of mixed blood, an account of whose origin will show how easily in times of peace bordering people become blended together.

About the beginning of last century a band of refugees calling themselves Bamaru, or people of the clouds, migrated from Zululand to the country south of Thaba Bosigo. These people adopted Basuto customs and intermarried with the Bamonageng, by whom they were termed Mapethla, or the pioneers.

After the establishment of the Bamaru, some

Bahalanga, or people of the sun, crossed the mountains from the district which is now Natal, bringing hoes and red ochre to exchange for peltries. These Bahalanga were of the Amazizi tribe. They took back such a favourable account of the country that a party of their friends resolved to migrate to it, and accordingly left their ancestral home on the head waters of the Tugela and established themselves in the neighbourhood of the present Morija. These immigrants were under the leadership of a chief from whom the late Morosi traced his descent. They also, like the Mapethla, mixed freely with the tribes to the northward, intermarried with them, and adopted their customs. In course of time the descendants of these immigrants spread over the district between Thaba Bosigo and the Orange River, remaining, however, politically independent of their neighbours. By these they were termed Baphuti.

At the time of the great invasion, the Bamaru dispersed in the Cape Colony, but the chief Mokuané and his son Morosi went no further than the present district of Qathing, on the left bank of the Orange River, where they established themselves.

Early in 1825 a band of Basuto under command of Mohali, a brother of Moshesh, fell upon the Baphuti and plundered them of nearly everything they possessed, carrying off even their women and children. Some of these were subsequently redeemed with beads, but others were taken as captives to Thaba Bosigo. A few months later Mokuané made submission to Moshesh, and was received by that rising chief as a vassal. In the tribute which on this occasion he paid was a famous yellow ox of immense size, with horns artificially trained to meet over its nose, the transfer of which was regarded by the contracting parties in the same light as civilized nations would look upon the affixing of seals to a formal treaty. When this was accomplished the prisoners were restored to their relatives.

From that time Moshesh was regarded as the supreme chief of the Baphuti, and consequently the territorial lord of the land on which they lived. Somewhat later the scattered members of the Bamaru returned from

the different parts of the colony where they had taken refuge, placed themselves under Mokuané, and became incorporated with his people. Thenceforth they also took the name of Baphuti.

The first wave of invasion that rolled over the mountain land had now spent itself, and where numerous tribes living in plenty had once been, there were only left a few wretched Bataung under Makwana between the Vet and Sand rivers, the remnant of the Batlokua under Sikonyela on the Upper Caledon, and the remnants of all the rest gathered together under Moshesh, whose seat of government was the stronghold of Thaba Bosigo. To prevent the chief of the Zulus sending an army into the country, Moshesh professed to be his most obedient vassal, and appeased him by sending frequent subsidies of plumes and peltries.

The wave of war that followed spent its chief fury upon the tribes inhabiting the territory now comprised in the South African Republic, but it did not altogether spare the mountain people. We are now to make the acquaintance of the terrible Umsilikazi, whose fame as an exterminator of men ranks second only to that of Tshaka.

His father, Matshobané by name, had been in his early years an independent chief, but to save himself and his people from annihilation he had voluntarily sought admission into the Zulu tribe. After his death his son became a favourite with Tshaka, and was raised in time to the command of a large and important division of the Zulu army. In person he was tall and well-formed, with searching eyes and agreeable features. The traveller Harris described him in 1836 as being then about forty years of age, though as he was totally beardless it was difficult to form a correct estimate. His head was closely shorn, except where the elliptical ring, the distinguishing mark of the Zulu tribe, was left. His dress consisted merely of a girdle or cord round the waist, from which hung suspended a number of leopards' tails; and as ornaments he wore a single string of small blue beads round his neck and three green feathers from

the tail of a paroquet upon his head. Such in appearance was Umsilikazi, or Moselekatsé as he was called by the Bechuana.

He had acquired the devoted attachment of that portion of the Zulu army under his command, when a circumstance occurred which left him no choice but flight. After a successful onslaught upon a tribe which he was sent to exterminate, he neglected to forward the whole of the booty to his master, and Tshaka, enraged at the disrespect thus shown by his former favourite, despatched a great army with orders to put him and all his adherents to death. These, receiving intimation of their danger in time, immediately crossed the mountains and began to lay waste the country that is now the South African Republic.

The Bechuana looked with dismay upon the athletic forms of the Matabélé, as they termed the invaders. They had never before seen discipline so perfect as that of these naked braves, or weapon so deadly as the Zulu stabbing spear. All that did not flee to the desert were exterminated, except the comeliest girls and some of the young men who were kept to carry burdens. These last were led to hope that by faithful service they might attain the position of soldiers, and from them Moselekatsé filled up the gaps that occurred from time to time in his ranks. The country over which he marched was covered with skeletons, and literally no human beings were left in it, for his object was to place a great desert between Tshaka and himself. When he considered himself at a safe distance from his old home he halted, erected military kraals after the Zulu pattern, and from them as a centre commenced to send his regiments out north, south, and west to gather spoil.

It is impossible to give the number of Moselekatsé's warriors, but it was probably not greater than ten thousand. Fifty of them were a match for more than five hundred Bechuana. They pursued these wretched creatures even when there was no plunder to be had, and slew many thousands in mere wantonness, in exactly the same spirit and with as little compunction as a sportsman shoots snipe.

During several years the Matabélé bands made occasional raids into the Lesuto, and they kept its people in a constant state of terror. Their last visit was in 1831, when an army sent by Moselekatsé besieged Thaba Bosigo, but could not capture the stronghold. When the besiegers were reduced by want of food to retreat, and were in great distress, Moshesh sent them a supply of provisions, with a message that he desired to live in peace with all men. They went away singing his praises, and never attempted to take Thaba Bosigo again.

At this time the country along the Orange was infested by Griqua and Korana maraunders. These vagabonds would have been altogether despicable if they had not been mounted on horses and armed with guns, animals and weapons not as yet possessed by the followers of Moshesh. They belonged to the Hottentot race, a people physically inferior to the Basuto, and much below them in civilization. Bands of Griquas and Koranas were in the habit of swooping down upon parts of the Lesuto where they were least expected, and carrying off whatever they took a fancy to. The assagai and battle axe afforded no protection to the victims of these raids against the firearms of the plunderers. Men and women were shot down without pity, often through a mere passion for cruelty, and children were carried off to serve their captors as slaves. To ravages of this nature the Basuto were subject for some years, until the Griqua robber bands were exterminated or dispersed among communities living further to the westward, and the Koranas suffered reverses which taught them to respect their neighbours.

About the time of the last Matabélé inroad wonderful accounts were beginning to be told in the Lesuto of the great power of certain people called missionaries. Ten years earlier, or about the close of 1821, Moshesh had first seen white men, a party of colonial hunters, among whom were Messrs. Gerrit Kruger and Paul Bester, having penetrated to the banks of the Caledon and met him there. These hunters had been eye-witnesses of the terrible sufferings of the

Basuto at that time, they had even seen instances of cannibalism, and they had been so affected that they distributed whatever food they could spare and shot all the game they could reach for the starving people. Conduct like this, so different from the actions of men of his own colour, had created a favourable opinion regarding Europeans in the mind of Moshesh. From this date onward white men occasionally visited the country along the Caledon for hunting purposes, and their intercourse with the Basuto was of such a nature as to confirm the first impressions of the chief.

The accounts of the missionaries which reached the Lesuto about 1831 were to the effect that they were not only benevolent, courageous, and provided with terribly destructive weapons, like other white men, but that they possessed magical powers. In short, they were believed to be the medicine-men of the Europeans. When an individual among the Southern Bantu wishes to gain the favour of a chief, he fumigates himself with the smoke of a certain root before making his appearance, in the belief that it will cause the heart of the chief to open to him. The stories told of the Rev. Mr. Moffat, missionary among the Batlapin at Kuruman, led to the belief that he possessed a knowledge of some exceedingly powerful medicine of this kind. About the close of 1829 he had visited Moselekatsé, who was then living some hundred miles east of Mosega, and had acquired such influence over that dreaded conqueror that when during the following two years the Bahurutsi, Bangwaketsi, Bakwena, Barolong, and other Bechuana tribes were nearly exterminated by the Matabélé, the Batlapin were spared. The Basuto concluded that Mr. Moffat could only obtain such influence by means of magic, and they became most anxious to obtain a missionary who would impart such valuable knowledge to them. They were told also of the astonishing effects produced by missionaries at Griquatown and Philippolis. The wild, savage Griquas, wanderers who knew nothing of agriculture, people who were without property or law, had been collected together

at these places, and had become comparatively wealthy communities, formidable by reason of their possession of horses and guns. In the estimation of the Basuto, the horrible cruelty of these people and their propensity to plunder did not detract from, but rather added to, the merits of what they believed to be the effect of missionary instruction.

Moshesh acted in this matter exactly as a native chief to-day would act if he desired to obtain the services of a reputed powerful rainmaker resident in the territory of another chief. He sent two hundred head of cattle to Adam Kok, the captain of Philippolis, with a request that he might be supplied with a missionary in return. On the way the cattle were seized by a band of Korana maraunders, but the circumstance came to the ears of the Rev. Dr. Philip, Superintendent of the London Society's missions in South Africa, who was then on a tour of inspection, and it led to one of the most important events in the history of Moshesh's tribe, the establishment of missionaries of the Paris Evangelical Society in the Lesuto.

The first missionaries of this Society arrived in South Africa in 1829. They were three in number. One of them, the Rev. Mr. Bisseux, took up his residence at Wellington, in the Cape Colony; and the other two, the Rev. Messrs. Samuel Rolland and Prosper Lemue, proceeded to the Bechuana country and endeavoured to found a station at Mosega, which was then occupied by the Bahurutsi tribe under the chief Mokatla. On their way they were joined by the Rev. Jean Pierre Pellissier, who had followed them from France. Their stay at Mosega was brief. The advance of Moselekatsé and the destruction of the Bechuana compelled them to abandon that part of the country, and they then founded a station at Motito, not far from Kuruman, where they collected together a number of fugitives from the north.

Meantime two clergymen, Messrs. Eugene Casalis and Thomas Arbousset, and a missionary artisan, Mr. Gossellin, were on their way out to reinforce the station at Mosega among the Bahurutsi. On their arrival at Cape Town they learned what had transpired in the

interior, and on Dr. Philip's recommendation they turned their attention to Moshesh's people. In June, 1833, these missionaries reached Thaba Bosigo, and were warmly welcomed by Moshesh, who gave them permission to settle wherever they chose in his country. They selected a fertile and well-watered valley about twenty-five miles from Thaba Bosigo, and there established a station which they named Morija. The valley when they first visited it was uninhabited, but Moshesh sent some members of his own family, among whom were his sons Letsie and Molapo, with a large party of people, to take up their residence close to the white men and be instructed by them.

The subjects of Moshesh were very willing to learn from strangers the arts which made the white men so rich and so powerful. Their views, of course, were at first limited to potent charms and medicines, as the principal means of advancement; but they showed that they were not deficient in brain power, so that the missionaries had good hope of being able to raise them speedily in the scale of civilization.

Messrs. Arbousset, Casalis, and Gossellin found the strip of country about thirty or forty miles in width along the north-western side of the Caledon from about latitude 29° to 29° 30′ thinly inhabited by Basuto. On the opposite or south-eastern side of the river, a similar belt, extending to the Maluti or Peaked Mountains, was much more thickly peopled, though its inhabitants were few compared with the number reached at a later date. Game of many kinds was abundant, which of itself was proof of a sparse and poorly armed population. Along the head waters of the Caledon the Batlokua were living, between whom and the Basuto of Moshesh there was a bitter feeling of enmity.

At nearly the same time the Rev. Mr. Pellissier, finding that the services of three missionaries were not needed at Motito, was looking for a suitable site further southward for another station. Mr. Clark, one of the London Society's teachers, had been for some time engaged in a fruitless effort to instruct some Bushmen and to induce them to settle perma-

nently at a place just below the confluence of the Caledon and the Orange. Dr. Philip handed the so-called Bushman School over to Mr. Pellissier, who named the place Bethulie, and induced a fugitive Batlapin clan from the neighbourhood of Kuruman, under the chief Lepui, to settle there. These were afterwards joined by some refugee Barolong. Bethulie was not peopled by Basuto, nor was a claim to its ground ever made by Moshesh, but from this date there was a close connection between it and the stations of the same Society in the Lesuto.

A few months later the population of the country along the western bank of the Caledon opposite Thaba Bosigo was largely increased by the arrival of several bands of refugees under the leadership of some Wesleyan missionaries. The settlement of these people makes it necessary to give an account of the Barolong tribe.

According to the traditions of the Barolong, their ancestors nineteen generations ago migrated from a country in the far north. They were then under a chief named Morolong, from whom the tribe has its name. The country which they left was a mountainous and well watered land, where the sun at one season of the year was seen on their right when they looked towards the east. This description corresponds fairly well with the region of the great lakes, and if a quarter of a century be allowed as the average length of a chief's rule, the Barolong left it about the year 1400 of our reckoning.

Exactly as in the case of the Kaffirs on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony, it is not the first chief of the tribe, but one of his immediate descendants, who is the great hero of their legends. What Tshawé is to the Amaxosa, Noto, the son of Morolong, is to the Barolong. It was he who taught his people the use of iron for weapons of war and the chase, who gave them the hoe as an implement of agriculture, and who adorned their persons with metal trinkets. These legends prove that the traditions of the tribes are not chronologically accurate, for it is certain that the use of iron was known to the ancestors of the

Amaxosa, Barolong, Basuto, &c., before their separation.

During four generations the tribe was migrating southward, but then it reached the river Molopo, and fixed its permanent residence in the region which is nearly encircled by that stream. At this time the Bahurutsi separated from the main branch, and became independent. And now during the government of many successive chiefs, all of whose names have been preserved, the tribe enjoyed peace and became constantly stronger and wealthier. Occasionally a swarm would migrate eastward or north-westward, but this loss was more than made good by accessions of destitute alien clans.

In the time of Tao (the lion), fourteenth in descent from Morolong, the tribe reached the zenith of its greatness. Its outposts extended from the Molopo southward to the junction of the Hart and Vaal rivers, and from the desert eastward to Schoon Spruit. This extensive region was not occupied solely by the Barolong and their dependents. There were in it Bechuana clans who did not acknowledge their supremacy, independent hordes of Koranas with whom the Barolong were frequently at war, and numerous Bushmen, the real aborigines. It is frequently the case that Bantu tribes, though quite independent of each other, live with their clans intermingled. Their government in such instances is more tribal than territorial. It is only when the white man comes to interfere with them that they desire to have boundary lines laid down. Then, naturally, each independent chief claims the whole region in which his adherents are living, and immediately contentions arise. In this way the Barolong of the present day maintain that "the country of Tao" was that bounded by his most distant outposts, which when reduced to geographical terms means the Molopo on the north, the Vaal on the south, Schoon Spruit on the east, and the Kalihari Desert on the west.

Tao died at Taung, on the Hart River, about the year 1760, and with him the power of the Barolong ended. Feebleness of character in his descendants of the great line, untimely deaths, and personal feuds

combined to break up the tribe. Civil war followed, and the next generation witnessed a number of clans, each really independent of the rest, though all admitted a supremacy of rank in the house of Ratlou. The line of descent of those chiefs who have since attained celebrity is here given, as without a knowledge of their names and relationship to each other later events cannot be understood.

Tao

Ratlou	Tsili	Seleka	Rapulané
Seitshiro	Thutloa	Koikoi	Molekané
Mokoto	Tawané	Moroko	Makhowé
Gontsé	Montsiwa	Sifunelo	Matlabé
Moshété		Moroko	
		Tsepinaré	

It was not alone a division of the Barolong proper that followed the death of Tao, but the adopted clans took advantage of the favourable opportunity, and made themselves independent. Among these were the Batlapin, who occupied the southern part of the country. From this time until 1823 the different divisions of the Barolong were continually moving about from place to place, and it was seldom that all the sections were at peace.*

In 1817 the London Society founded the mission station of Kuruman with the Batlapin, who were then under the chief Mothibi, and absolutely independent. In 1821 the Rev. Mr. Moffat went to reside at Kuruman, and very shortly made the acquaintance of the Barolong. He was an eye-witness of the disastrous events of the next few years, and has given a graphic

* The Rev. John Campbell travelled through the "country of Tao" in 1820, and reached the chief kraal of the Bahurutsi, then some distance north of the Molopo. The general condition of the people at that time may be ascertained by referring to his work entitled *Travels in South Africa undertaken at the request of the London Missionary Society, being a Narrative of a Second Journey in the Interior of that Country.* Two vols. 8vo., London 1822.

account of them in his *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa*, a volume published in London in 1842.

In 1823 the waves of war which originated in Zululand began to roll over the Barolong country. One great horde consisting principally of Batlokua, after devastating a vast region, when near Kuruman was turned back in its course of destruction by a body of Griqua horsemen under Andries Waterboer. Mr. Moffat witnessed the engagement. Then Sebetoane, who was born of humble parents on the banks of the Caledon, but whom Dr. Livingstone found at the close of his life the head of the powerful Makololo on the Zambezi, with a band of Basuto attacked and plundered the people of Tawané. After these came the fugitive Bataung under Molitsané, who have been already mentioned, and fell upon the wretched Barolong,

One clan, under the chief Sifunelo, had already migrated southward, and early in the year 1823 was fortunate enough in its wanderings to fall in with two Wesleyan missionaries, the Rev. Messrs. Broadbent and Hodgson, who were seeking a field of labour in Bechuanaland. These gentlemen took up their residence with the clan, which shortly afterwards tried to find a resting place at Makwasi, on the northern bank of the Vaal On one occasion, during the temporary absence of the missionaries, Makwasi was attacked by Molitsané's Bataung, and a considerable amount of spoil was taken, among which were a few cattle belonging to Mr. Broadbent. Thereupon the Griqua chief Andries Waterboer, constituting himself protector of the missionaries, proceeded with an armed party to Makwasi, pretended to hold an investigation, found Sifunelo guilty of seizing the cattle, and fined him six hundred oxen. The fine was paid, as the Griqua band was armed with muskets and was too strong to be resisted. It was subsequently ascertained that Sifunelo was entirely guiltless, and through the influence of the missionaries the Colonial Government brought such pressure to bear upon Waterboer that he restored the six hundred oxen. This was the first occasion on which our Government had any dealings with the Barolong.

In 1826 Sifunelo's clan left Makwasi, and, moving about a hundred and twenty miles to the south-west, halted at Platberg, on the southern bank of the Vaal. There they remained until the close of the year 1833, when the Rev. Messrs. James Archbell, John Edwards, and Thomas Jenkins, Wesleyan missionaries who succeeded Messrs. Broadbent and Hodgson, led them to Thaba Nchu, a mountain west of the Caledon and distant from Thaba Bosigo about fifty or sixty miles.*

The pressure of circumstances brought the remaining Barolong clans together, and in 1824 Mr. Moffat found the chiefs Gontsé, Tawané, and Intshi residing together in one large town, which contained some twenty thousand inhabitants, including clans of the Bahurutsi and Bangwaketsi. Each chief governed his own section of the town. Gontsé had the largest following, though Tawané was considered the strongest of them.

The great tribe of the Bangwaketsi under the chief Makaba was not yet broken. Mr. Moffat went to visit Makaba, and found him living north of the Molopo. The missionary estimated the number of the Bangwaketsi at seventy thousand at the lowest computation.

The condition of the whole country north of the Orange and west of the Drakensberg at this time was such that the Griqua and Korana marauders, who have already been described as devastating the Lesuto, had the Bantu population entirely at their mercy. Little bands of these ruffians, mounted on horses and carrying firearms, rode at will from the Caledon to the Molopo, plundering wherever there was anything worth seizure and shooting all who offended them.

After all these came Moselekatsé at the head of the terrible Matabélé. In 1830-31 he fell upon the Bangwaketsi and nearly exterminated them, their chief Makaba perishing at the head of his warriors. Next followed the destruction of the Bahurutsi and Bakwena. After this the Matabélé chief fixed his head-quarters on the banks of the Marikwa and sent his warriors against the Barolong.

* See *A Narrative of the First Introduction of Christianity amongst the Barolong tribe of Bechuanas*, by the Rev. Samuel Broadbent. A small 12mo volume, London, 1865.

Some of these then fled to the desert, where they became Balala, poor wandering wretches, with no cattle or gardens, but living like Bushmen on game and wild plants. Part of one clan, with Matlabé its young chief, was incorporated with the Matabélé. Gontsé and Tawané with a few followers fled southward. Just at that time the Wesleyan missionaries were preparing to conduct the clan under Moroko, Sifunelo's son, from Platberg on the Vaal to Thaba Nchu. Gontsé and Tawané joined Moroko, and moved onward with him. In the country of the Bahurutsi, Bangwaketsi, Bakwena, and Barolong, to use the expressive words of one of the chiefs when giving evidence many years later at Bloemhof, there was now no other master than Moselekatsé and the lions.*

* The utter desolation of the territory between Moselekatsé's outposts and the neighbourhood of the Caledon is known to us not only from native accounts, but from the published works of a number of English travellers who visited it during the next few years. The extracts which follow will indicate where more complete information is to be obtained:—

In 1835 an exploring expedition under direction of Dr. (afterwards Sir) Andrew Smith left the Cape Colony and penetrated the interior as far as the Limpopo. The expedition went up and returned through the "country of Tao." In his published Report (1836) Dr. Smith states that between Kuruman and the Kalahari Desert, that is in the territory respected by Moselekatsé on account of Mr. Moffat, he found "some large kraals of Batlapin, Barolong, and Batlaro." On the border of the desert he found "a small community of Barolong trusting entirely for support to the spontaneous productions of nature." These and the following are the only references to the Barolong which he makes: "After leaving the neighbourhood of Latakoo we met with few inhabitants till we reached the country of the Matabélé, distant about two hundred miles in a north-east direction. In former days this intervening district was inhabited by Batlapin and Barolong, but at present it is only the resort of the poor of those tribes and of the Bahurutsi."

Captain (afterwards General) William Cornwallis Harris travelled and hunted in this territory in the year 1836, when he visited Moselekatsé. His account of the country and the people is one of the most valuable works on that part of South Africa ever published. It is entitled *The Wild Sports of Southern Africa, being the Narrative of a Hunting Expedi-*

It was in December 1833 that Gontsé, Tawané, and Moroko, the heads of three of the divisions of the Barolong, being the descendants and representatives of three of the sons of Tao, with their respective clans were led by the Wesleyan missionaries to Thaba

tion through the territories of the Chief Moselekatsé to the Tropic of Capricorn. The fifth edition was published in London in 1852. Captain Harris says: "We continued to advance to the northward by marches of ten and fifteen miles each day, over extensive rugged tracts strewed with numerous stone walls, once thronged by thousands, but now presenting no vestige of inhabitants. Wherever we turned the hand of the destroyer was apparent. 'The locusts' wasting swarm which mightiest nations dread' is not more destructive to vegetation than he (Moselekatsé) has been to the population of this section of Southern Africa. We frequently travelled for days without meeting a solitary human being, occasionally only falling in with the small and starving remnants of some pastoral tribe of Bechuana that had been plundered by Moselekatsé's warriors. These famished wretches hovered around us, disputing with vultures and hyenas the carcases we left, which they devoured with such brutish avidity as scarcely to leave a bone to attest the slaughter."

In 1844 Mr. Henry M. Methuen travelled through the "country of Tao," and hunted in it. In his *Life in the Wilderness or Wanderings in South Africa* (1846), though he gives much information concerning other tribes, he never mentions the Barolong, thus showing by negative evidence how few of them were left in the land of their fathers.

The Rev. J. J. Freeman passed through the "country of Tao" in 1849. At Setlagolé he found a Barolong kraal of considerable size, the first he saw after passing the French mission station of Motito. Of the country between Setlagolé and the Molopo he says in his *Tour in South Africa* (1851): "We found all this immense tract of country, this seemingly interminable plain, absolutely and literally unoccupied."

Mr. Roualeyn Gordon Cumming made five hunting expeditions into the interior, as far as the Bamangwato mountains, between 1843 and 1849. He passed through the "country of Tao" several times and hunted in it, but one searches in vain for any mention of the Barolong in his *Five Years' Adventures in the far Interior of South Africa, with Notices of the Native Tribes and Savage Animals* (1850).

The same may be said of Mr. James Chapman, who was frequently in the country after 1849, and yet makes no mention of the Barolong in his *Travels in the Interior of South Africa.* (Two large volumes, 1868.)

Nchu. They were accompanied also by small parties of Koranas, Griquas, and half breeds, who had no settled home, and for whom the missionaries were desirous of obtaining ground in some place where they could attempt to civilize them. At Thaba Nchu the strangers found a petty chief named Mosémé governing a few small villages, but he informed them that he was subordinate to Moshesh and had no power to give them permission to settle.

The Basuto, so long accustomed to regard all strangers as enemies, were somewhat alarmed when tidings were carried through the country that a body of unknown people, among whom were Koranas, had appeared at Thaba Nchu. Two of the French clergymen immediately proceeded to ascertain particulars, and having learnt the object of the strangers, communicated it to Moshesh. The fact that Europeans were the leaders of the immigrants sufficed to dispel the fears of the Basuto, and Moshesh, glad to get friendly settlers on his border and hoping they would become incorporated with his own people, cordially consented to their location on the vacant land west of the Caledon. A document purporting to be an absolute sale to the Wesleyan Missionary Society of a tract of ground about Thaba Nchu, several hundred square miles in extent, was drawn up on the 7th of December 1833, and signed by Moshesh and Mosémé on the one part and Messrs. Archbell, Edwards, and Jenkins, on the other. The price paid is said therein to have been seven young oxen, one heifer, two sheep, and one goat. But there was no competent interpreter present when the arrangement was made, and it is very evident that Moshesh did not regard the transaction in the light of a sale, as he must at that time have been entirely unacquainted with any other system of disposing of land than that practised by tribes of his own race. He could not have comprehended the nature of the document, and in after years he constantly maintained that he had never intended to alienate the ground. On the other hand the Wesleyan missionaries have always held that the ground was not his at the time to alienate, that it was really open

for any one to settle upon, and that the deed of sale was only drawn up to prevent any claim to it thereafter being made by the Basuto.

With the same object in view, on the 17th of July 1834 they purchased from Moshesh and Sikonyela jointly an extensive tract of land round Platberg and bordering on the Caledon. In the deed of sale, which is signed by both the chiefs, it is stated that eight head of horned cattle, thirty-four sheep, and five goats were given in payment, but the view of the missionaries some years later, when Moshesh claimed to be their feudal lord, was that the purchase had been concluded as a friendly arrangement to prevent either the Basuto or the Batlokua from interfering with them or making pretensions to the ownership of the land.

The whole of the Barolong were located by the Wesleyan missionaries at Thaba Nchu, where a town was built and a mission station established. Matlabé was still a subject of Moselekatsé, but shortly after this, hearing that his kinsmen had found a place of comparative safety, he made his escape and joined them. Of the four Barolong chiefs then at Thaba Nchu, Gontsé was the highest in rank; but so thoroughly impoverished was he, and so completely had his followers been dispersed or destroyed, that his name hardly ever appears in the numerous documents written at that period by European residents at the station. Being without talents of any kind, he was of no note whatever. Tawané, the next in rank, has left more traces of his residence at Thaba Nchu, because he had sufficient energy to turn his followers into a band of robbers, and was one of the wasps that Moshesh afterwards charged with having dared to sting him.* Matlabe was entirely sunk in obscurity.

* James Backhouse, a missionary of the Society of Friends, who visited Thaba Nchu in 1839, in his *Narrative of a Visit to the Mauritius and South Africa*, gives a brief notice of Tawané. In the Rev. Mr. Broadbent's book already referred to, his name is mentioned three or four times. Traces of his residence at Thaba Nchu are also to be found in the *Journal* of the French Missionary Society, and in the three volumes of *Basutoland Records* published in 1883. In no instance is much information given concerning him, but he is represented as a petty chief with less power and influence than Moroko.

Moroko alone, owing partly to his clan having fled before the great disasters and partly to the guidance of the missionaries, was a man of power and influence.

The other natives who were brought by the Wesleyan missionaries at this time to the western bank of the Caledon were :

1. A clan of Koranas under a leader named Jan Hanto, who died shortly after this and was succeeded by Gert Taaibosch. These were Hottentots, with habits ill-fitted for a settled life, as they were still a purely pastoral people. In disposition, language, and customs, as well as in colour, they differed greatly from all the members of the Bantu family. The least stable in character of any people on earth, without attachment to locality of birth or residence, so impatient of restraint that their chiefs possessed little or no power, indolent to the last degree, careless about the future so long as immediate wants were supplied, regardless of the rights of others, callous to the sufferings of human beings or dumb animals, these Koranas yet surpassed the Bantu in power of imagination and in speculations upon the workings of nature. The clan under Jan Hanto migrated from beyond the Vaal River, the grazing grounds on which they had previously tended their herds being far away to the north-west. They were now located at Merumetsu.

2. A small party of half breeds, of mixed European and Hottentot blood, under a captain named Carolus Baatje. These people, who were located at Platberg, came from the northern districts of the Cape Colony.

3. A small party of Griquas under a captain named Peter Davids. This was the remnant of a comparatively large body of Hottentots and people of mixed European, Hottentot, Bushman, and negro blood, who had lived for many years by hunting and by plundering defenceless tribes, but who had recently met with fearful punishment. In 1831 Barend Barends, who was then their head, sent nearly the whole of his best fighting men on a plundering expedition. The band left Boetchap (in the present Colonial Division of Barkly West), and by making a long detour to the eastward fell unexpectedly upon the principal Matabélé

cattle post and swept off nearly the whole of Moselekatsé's herds. The Matabélé warriors were at the time engaged in a distant expedition. Only some old men and boys could be got together, to follow the Griquas, who were retreating with their booty in such fancied security that they did not even post sentinels at night. Just before dawn one morning they were surprised by the Matabélé, when only two Griquas escaped to return to Boetchap and tell the tale of their exploit and the fate of their companions. Those who had remained at home then placed themselves under the guidance of the Wesleyan missionaries, and accompanied them to the Caledon. They were located at Lishuané.

At all the settlements mentioned above, and also at Imparani among the Batlokua, Wesleyan missionaries were henceforth stationed.

Immigrants of still another race were now making their appearance. As early as 1819 small parties of European hunters began to penetrate the country between Cornet Spruit and the Caledon, and a few years later they occasionally went as far north as Thaba Bosigo. In their wanderings they encountered no other inhabitants than a few savage Bushmen, and they therefore regarded the country as open to occupation. About the same time some nomadic Boers from the district of Colesberg were tempted to make a temporary residence in the district between the Orange and Modder rivers, on ascertaining that grass was to be found there during seasons of drought in the colony. They did not, however, remain long, nor did they come within several days' journey of the Basuto outposts. But from this period they continued to cross the river whenever pasturage failed in the south, and gradually they made their way eastward.

At length a party of fourteen or fifteen families settled at a place which they named Zevenfontein, on the western bank of the Caledon, with the intention of remaining there permanently. They found no people in that neighbourhood but Bushmen, and no one objected to their occupation of the land. With this exception, hardly any of the Boers who moved into

the district along the Caledon at this early date contemplated settlement. They merely sought pasturage for a few months, or they visited it in hunting expeditions, in either case coming and going as suited their convenience.

About this time the Basuto who had fled from their country heard in the distant districts in which they had taken refuge that a chief of their own race was building up a nation, and that his government afforded protection without being tyrannical. They began therefore to return to the land of their fathers, and every year now saw a great increase in the population. These refugees brought more than mere numerical strength. Many of them came from the Cape Colony, where they had been in service, and these took back with them as the most valued of all possessions the weapons of the white man, weapons which they believed would protect them against suffering again such awful calamities as those they had formerly gone through. Other native refugees were also swelling the population of the Lesuto. Fragments of different broken Bechuana clans, hearing of the wisdom and generosity and valour of Moshesh, came and asked to be taken under his protection.

And so the power of Moshesh was growing rapidly. The Boers when they returned to the banks of the Caledon, after an absence of only a few months, often found a Basuto village where they had grazed their herds on their previous visit, and questions began to be asked as to who had the best right to the ground. At first, however, this was a question of little importance, for there was still so much vacant land that by one or the other moving a little further, room could be found for all.

In 1835 the residents at Zevenfontein were called away to assist in the protection of the border of the colony against the Kaffirs, and when the war was over and some of them returned, they found that the ground they had occupied had in the interval become a Mission Station. The Rev. Mr. Rolland, of the French Missionary Society, had left Motito to the sole care of Mr. Lemue, and had moved to Zevenfontein with a horde of refugees, composed partly of Bahurutsi who

had once lived at Mosega and partly of the remnant of a Barolong clan under a petty chief named Moi. For agricultural purposes Zevenfontein was vastly superior to any locality that could be selected in the Bechuana country, it was close to the other stations of the French Society, and it was a long way from Moselekatsé. For these reasons it had been selected by Mr. Rolland. It was not at that time within Moshesh's jurisdiction, but Mr. Rolland considered it convenient to acknowledge his authority as paramount, and the station became a kind of semi-independent fief of the Basuto chief. Subsequently also several little clans of Basuto origin settled there. Mr. Rolland changed the name of Zevenfontein to that of Beersheba.

Though portions of the territory formerly occupied by the Mountain Tribes were in this manner again becoming peopled, the inhabitants, descendants of the former owners and new settlers alike, were kept in constant alarm. If there had been a disposition to forget that a growth of prosperity would certainly induce a fresh invasion either of the Zulus or the Matabélé, an occasional raid by the last named served as a reminder of the dangerous situation in which they were living.

In 1834 a band of Matabélé, while scouring the country along the Vaal to prevent its occupation, came upon a little party of Griquas who had imprudently ventured on a hunting expedition in that direction. Peter Davids, the captain of Lishuané, was with the party, and with the thoughtlessness characteristic of his race, he had taken his family with him. The consequence was that one of his daughters and a nephew were made prisoners, though the others, having horses, managed to escape. The lives of the captives were spared. Captain Harris in 1836 saw the girl in Moselekatsé's harem at Mosega, and ascertained that the boy was still alive.

In addition to the books mentioned in the body of this chapter, the following works may be consulted by those desiring further information upon the Zulu and Matabélé conquests:—

Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa, comprising a View of the present state of the Cape Colony. By George Thompson.

Two volumes octavo, London, 1827. Also in one volume quarto with maps and plates. A most trustworthy and valuable work.

Narrative of Voyages to explore the Shores of Africa, Arabia, and Madagascar, performed in H. M. Ships Leven and Barracouta, under the direction of Captain W. F. W. Owen, R.N. Two volumes octavo, London, 1833. This work contains with other information Mr. Farewell's account of Tshaka.

Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa, descriptive of the Zoolus, their manners, customs, etc., with a Sketch of Natal. By Nathaniel Isaacs. Two volumes crown octavo, London, 1836.

Relation d'un Voyage d'Exploration au Nord-est de la Colonie du Cap de Bonne-Esperance, entrepris dans les mois de Mars, Avril, et Mai, 1836, par MM. T. Arbousset et F. Daumas, Missionaires de la Société des Missions Evangéliques de Paris. An octavo volume of 608 pages, with map and plates, published at Paris in 1842. This work contains an account of a journey from Morija to the Vaal River and back by another route, with a description of the country traversed and the various clans encountered. It gives a vivid picture of the desolation and misery caused by the wars in those regions a short time previously. It also contains a large amount of information upon native customs. There is an English translation published at Cape Town in 1846, but it is without the chart or plates. An edition published at London and Aberdeen in 1852 contains the chart.

Zululand, or Life among the Zulu Kafirs of Natal and Zululand, South Africa. By the Rev. Lewis Grout, for fifteen years a Missionary of the American Board in South Africa. One volume octavo, London, 1862.

Ten Years North of the Orange River. By the Rev. John Mackenzie. A crown octavo volume of 523 pages, Edinburgh, 1871.

CHAPTER III.

The Causes of the Great Emigration. The Emigrant Farmers and Moselekatse.

The emigration from the Cape Colony of many thousands of substantial burghers, with the determination to seek a new home in the wilderness where they could be free from what they regarded as intolerable oppression, is an event unique in the history of modern colonization.

No people not of British descent ever presented such favourable material for the formation of a dependency loyal to Britain as did these South African

colonists when forty years before they came by conquest under British rule. They were men of our own race, of that sturdy Nether Teuton stock which peopled England and Scotland as well as the delta of the Rhine. With the main stream of their Batavian blood had indeed mingled many rivulets not of Batavian source, but the stubborn current had flowed on unchanged, absorbing and assimilating them all. First and most important was a tributary of Huguenot origin. At one time it had made up about a sixth of the whole blood, but before the middle of the eighteenth century it was completely absorbed. Larger in volume, but even more easily assimilated, was a tributary from lands now included in the German Empire. Upon close examination, however, it is seen that nearly the whole of the Germans, so termed, who made their homes in South Africa in the early days of the settlement were from the border land, where the High and Low Teutons were intermingled, so that much of this blood was probably akin to the Batavian. Denmark, Sweden, even Scotland, supplied rills, but so tiny that they were lost at once. One family, now widely spread, traced its origin to Portugal.

These South Africans spoke a dialect which our great Alfred would have understood without much difficulty, which is nearer to the language of the men who fought under Harold at Senlac than is the English tongue of to-day. Their religion was that of the people of Scotland, of a large proportion of the people of England. That there was nothing of the nature of race antagonism between them and us is shown by the readiness with which intermarriages have taken place ever since the Colony came under our flag. Even the feeling of dislike which long commercial rivalry engendered between the English and Dutch in Europe was not shared to any appreciable extent by the colonists of South Africa. There is in truth hardly any difference in sentiment between these men and a body of Englishmen or Scotchmen of equally limited education that can not be referred to what hereditary instinct would create between a purely agricultural and pastoral people living for nearly two centuries in

seclusion from the rest of the world and a people chiefly engaged in manufactures and commerce with the working of modern ideas all around them.

Why then did these men abandon their homes, sacrifice whatever property could be carried away, and flee from English rule as from the most hateful tyranny? The causes are stated in a great mass of correspondence addressed by them to the Colonial Government and now preserved with other colonial records, in declarations published by some of them before leaving, in letters to their relatives and to newspapers, and in hundreds of pages of printed matter prepared by friendly and hostile hands. The declaration of one of the ablest men among them assigns the following as the motives of himself and the party that went with him:—

Graham's Town, 22nd January, 1837.

1. We despair of saving the Colony from those evils which threaten it by the turbulent and dishonest conduct of vagrants, who are allowed to infest the country in every part; nor do we see any prospect of peace or happiness for our children in a country thus distracted by internal commotions.

2 We complain of the severe losses which we have been forced to sustain by the emancipation of our slaves, and the vexatious laws which have been enacted respecting them.

3. We complain of the continual system of plunder which we have for years endured from the Kaffirs and other coloured classes, and particularly by the last invasion of the Colony, which has desolated the frontier districts and ruined most of the inhabitants.

4. We complain of the unjustifiable odium which has been cast upon us by interested and dishonest persons, under the name of Religion, whose testimony is believed in England to the exclusion of all other evidence in our favour; and we can foresee, as the result of this prejudice, nothing but the total ruin of the country.

5. We are resolved, wherever we go, that we will uphold the just principles of liberty; but whilst we will take care that no one is brought by us into a condition of slavery, we will establish such regulations as may suppress crime and preserve proper relations between master and servant.

6. We solemnly declare that we leave this colony with a desire to enjoy a quieter life than we have hitherto had. We will not molest any people, nor deprive them of the smallest property, but, if attacked, we shall consider ourselves fully justified in defending our persons and effects, to the utmost of our ability, against every enemy.

7. We make known that when we shall have framed a code of laws for our guidance, copies shall be forwarded to this colony for general information ; but we take the opportunity of stating that it is our firm resolve to make provision for the summary punishment, even with death, of all traitors, without exception, who may be found amongst us.

8. We purpose in the course of our journey, and on arrival at the country in which we shall permanently reside, to make known to the native tribes our intentions and our desire to live in peace and friendly intercourse with them.

9. We quit this colony under the full assurance that the English Government has nothing more to require of us, and will allow us to govern ourselves without its interference in future.

10. We are now leaving the fruitful land of our birth, in which we have suffered enormous losses and continual vexation, and are about to enter a strange and dangerous territory ; but we go with a firm reliance on an all-seeing, just, and merciful God, whom we shall always fear and humbly endeavour to obey.

In the name of all who leave this colony with me.

P. Retief.

But formal declarations such as the above are not in all instances to be trusted. It is much safer to compare numerous documents written at different times, by different persons, and under different circumstances. For our subject this means of information is as complete as can be desired. The correspondence of the Emigrants with the Cape Government was the work of many individuals and extended over many years. The letters are usually of great length, badly constructed and badly spelt,—the productions, in short, of uneducated men ; but so uniform is the vein of thought running through them all that there is not the slightest difficulty in condensing them into a dozen pages. When analysed, the statements contained in them are found to consist of two charges, one against the Imperial Government, the other against the agents in South Africa of the London Missionary Society.

The Imperial Government was charged with exposing the white inhabitants of the Colony without protection to robbery and murder by the blacks ; with giving credence in every dispute to statements made by interested persons in favour of savages, while refusing to credit the testimony—no matter how reliable—of

colonists of European extraction ; with liberating the slaves in an unjust manner ; and generally with such undue partiality for persons with black skins and savage habits as to make it preferable to seek a new home in the wilderness rather than remain under the English flag.

The missionaries of the London Society were charged with usurping authority that should properly belong to the civil magistrate ; with misrepresenting facts ; and with advocating schemes directly hostile to the progress of civilization and to the observance of order. And it was asserted that the influence of these missionaries was all powerful at the Colonial Office in London, by which the Colony, without a voice in the management of its affairs, was then ruled absolutely.

In support of the charges against the Imperial Government, the Emigrants dwelt largely upon the devastation of the Eastern Districts by the Kaffir inroad of December 1834, which was certainly unprovoked by the colonists. Yet Lord Glenelg, who was then Secretary of State for the Colonies, justified the Kaffirs, and not only refused to punish them, but actually gave them a large slip of land—including the dense jungles along the Fish River—that had long been part of the Colony, and made no other provision against the recurrence of a destructive invasion than a series of treaties with a number of barbarous chiefs who had no regard for their engagements. This event is the most prominent feature in the correspondence of the Emigrants, it is fairly recorded, and the language used is in general much more moderate than that employed by the English frontier colonists when relating the same circumstance.

Next stands the removal of all restraint from the coloured population of the Colony, without the protection to the whites of even a Vagrant Act. Several of the Colonial divisions had been for ten or twelve years overrun by fugitives from the Basuto and Bechuana countries, who had been driven from their own homes by the troubles already recorded. These people were usually termed Mantatees or Makatees

from the supposition that they were all subjects of Ma Ntatisi. Towards the Eastern Frontier, Kaffirs, and after the war Fingos, wandered about practically wherever they chose. In the remainder of the Colony, Hottentots, free blacks, and mixed breeds came and went as they pleased. How is it possible, said the farmers, for us to cultivate the ground or breed cattle with all these savages and semi-savages constantly watching for opportunities to plunder us, with no police, and no law under which suspicious characters can be arrested and made to account for their manner of living?

Much is said of the reproofs of Sir Benjamin D'Urban by the Secretary of State, and, after 1838, of the dismissal of that Governor.* The Emigrants asserted that he was the best Governor the Colony had had since it became subject to England; they dwelt upon his benevolence, his ability, his strict justice, his impartiality to white and black, his efforts to promote civilization; and then they complained, in words more bitter than are to be found when they referred to any other subject, that the good Governor had been reproved and finally deprived of his office because he had told the plain truth regardless of the London Missionary Society, and had endeavoured to mete out to black criminals the same justice that he would have meted out had they been white. There is now no one in South Africa who does not agree with the Emigrants in this matter. Nearly half a century has passed away since Sir Benjamin D'Urban was forced into retirement by Lord Glenelg, and during that period the principal measures which he proposed have been approved of and adopted, while the successors of those missionaries who were his bitter opponents are at present among the strongest advocates of his system of dealing with the natives.

Concerning the liberation of the slaves there is less in this correspondence than one might reasonably

* Sir Benjamin D'Urban remained in South Africa after being deprived of office until the reversal of his policy towards the natives was admitted by most people even in England to have been a mistake. He did not leave the Cape until April 1846, just after the commencement of the War of the Axe.

expect to find. Many scores of pages can be examined without any allusion whatever to it. Nowhere is there a single word to be found in favour of slavery as an institution, the view of the Emigrants with hardly an exception being fairly represented in the following sentence taken from a letter of the Volksraad at Natal to Sir George Napier :—"A long and sad experience has sufficiently convinced us of the injury, loss, and dearness of slave labour, so that neither slavery nor the slave trade will ever be permitted among us." It is alleged, however, that the emancipation, as it was carried out, was an act of confiscation. It is stated that most of the slaves were brought to the Colony in English ships and sold by English subjects; that when in 1795 the Colony was invited by English officers of high rank to place itself under the protection of England, one of the inducements held out was security in slave property, at the same time those officers warning the colonists that if France obtained possession she would liberate the slaves as she had done in Martinique, thereby ruining this colony as she had ruined that island ; that the English Government had recently and suddenly changed its policy, and required them to conform to the change with equal alacrity, whereas they were convinced that gradual emancipation, with securities against vagrancy, was the only safe course. The emancipation had been sudden, and the slaves had been placed upon a perfect political equality with their former proprietors. The missionaries applauded this as a noble and generous act of the Imperial Government, and they were told that by every one in England it was so regarded. But at whose expense was this noble and generous act carried out? Agents of the Imperial Government had appraised the slaves, generally at less than their market value. Two-fifths of this appraisement, being the share apportioned to the Cape out of the twenty million pounds sterling voted by the Imperial Parliament, had then been offered to the proprietors as compensation, if they chose to go to London for it, otherwise they could only dispose of their claims at a heavy discount. Thus

in point of fact only about one third of the appraised amount had been received. To all slaveholders this had meant a great reduction of wealth, while to many of those who were in debt it was equivalent to the utter deprivation of all property.

Their case against the missionaries of the London Society, briefly stated, was this :—

In the month of March 1799 the first agents of this Society, Dr. J. T. Vanderkemp, Mr. J. J. Kicherer, Mr. Jas. Edmonds, and Mr. Wm. Edwards, landed at Cape Town from the *Hillsborough*, a convict ship bound to Botany Bay, in which they had taken passage from England. The Moravian Society was already working in South Africa, but on a small scale, and was then, as it has been ever since, on the most friendly terms with the colonists. The four missionaries of the London Society, who announced that they would speedily be followed by others, were received with enthusiasm. Fifty-seven years earlier the Established Church had driven from the Colony a foreign teacher who had ventured to administer the sacraments to his converts, but now the ministers of that church were among the foremost to welcome the agents of the London Society. Two of these were laymen, and within a few weeks after their arrival they were ordained in the Dutch Reformed church at Tulbagh. The South African Missionary Society, which is yet in existence, was formed at this time with a view of coöperating in the work of converting the heathen. Nothing indeed could surpass the kindly welcome which the missionaries received from the colonists, nor the expectations of cordial assistance which they were induced thereby to entertain.

But in a few years all this was changed, and the most prominent missionaries of the London Society and the colonists had no other feeling towards each other than that of direct antagonism. It had come to be seen that their views and interests were so divergent that concord was hardly possible. The missionaries desired that the blacks should be collected together in villages, the colonists were unwilling that they should be thus withdrawn from service. Teach

them the first step in civilization, to labour honestly for their maintenance, and add to that oral instruction in the doctrines of Christianity, said the colonists. Why should they be debarred from learning to read and write, and as there can only be schools if they are brought together in villages, why should they not be collected together? replied the missionaries.

Then came another and a larger question. By whom should the waste places of the land, the vast areas which were without other occupants than a few roving Bushmen, be peopled? By the white man, said the colonists; it is to the advantage of the world in all time to come that the higher race should expand and be dominant here; it would be treason to humanity to prevent its growth where it can grow without wrong to others, or to plant an inferior stock where the superior can take root and flourish. By Africans, said the missionaries; this is African soil, and if mission stations are established on its desolate tracts, people will be drawn to them from the far interior, the community will grow rapidly, those who are enlightened by Christianity here will desire in their turn to enlighten their friends beyond, and thus the Gospel teaching will spread until all Africa stretches out its hands to God. Coupled with such arguments, which were constantly used by missionaries in the early part of this century, before their enthusiasm was cooled by experience, were calculations that appealed strongly to the commercial instincts of people in England. A dozen colonial farmers required something like a hundred square miles of land for their cattle runs; on this same ground, under missionary supervision, three or four hundred families of blacks could exist; these blacks would shortly need large quantities of manufactured goods; and thus it would be to the interest of trade to encourage them rather than the colonists. Already, said they, after only a few years training many blacks can read as well or better than the ordinary colonists, and are exhibiting a decided taste for civilization.

There was thus a broad line of demarcation between the colonists and such of the missionaries as held these

views, and the tendency on each side was to make it still broader. It was deepened into positive antipathy towards those missionaries who, following Dr. Vanderkemp's example, united themselves in marriage with black women, and proclaimed themselves the champions of the black population against the white. Everyone acquainted with South African natives knows how ready they are to please their friends by bringing forward charges against any one whom those friends dislike. Unfortunately the missionaries Vanderkemp and Read were deceived into believing a great number of charges of cruelty made against various colonists, which a little observation would have shown in most instances to be groundless ; and thereupon they lodged accusations before the High Court of Justice. In 1811 between seventy and eighty such cases came before the Circuit Court for trial. There was hardly a family on the frontier of which some relative was not brought as a criminal before the judges to answer to a charge of murder or violent assault. Several months were occupied in the trials, and more than a thousand witnesses were examined, but in every instance the most serious charges were proved to be without foundation. Only a few convictions, and those of no very outrageous crimes, resulted from these prosecutions, which kept the entire colony in a ferment until long after the circuit was closed.

Thus far every one will approve of the sentiments of one party or the other according to his sympathy, but in what follows no unprejudiced person who will take the trouble to study the matter thoroughly can acquit the anti-colonial missionaries of something more faulty than mere error of judgment. For years their writings teemed with charges against the colonists similar to those they had brought before the High Court of Justice. These writings were circulated widely in Europe where the voice of the colonists was never heard, and they created impressions there which no refutation made in South Africa could ever counteract. The acts, the language, even the written petitions of the colonists, were so distorted in accounts

sent home that these accounts cannot now be read by those who have made themselves acquainted with the truth without the liveliest feelings of indignation being excited.

The great bulk of what was thus written in prejudice never indeed came to the notice of the colonists, but occasionally a missionary report or letter was translated into Dutch and circulated among them. Dr. Philip's *Researches in South Africa*, published in 1828, added greatly to the bitterness already existing. Some extracts from Dr. Vanderkemp's letters, quoted in that work, were specially irritating. In one letter, after grossly misrepresenting certain public events, Dr. Vanderkemp had written that "it was not so easy to eradicate the inveterate prejudices against our work among the heathen out of the stony hearts of more barbarous inhabitants; and it was evident that our relation to English benefactors was only a pretext to give vent to a deeper rooted enmity against God, his Christ, and the extension of his kingdom of love and grace among the heathen." By the "more barbarous inhabitants" Dr. Vanderkemp meant a body of colonists, and his dreadful accusation against them was made because they held different views concerning the best means of civilizing the Hottentots. In another extract it was seen that Dr. Vanderkemp had proposed to the Government that "no boer may engage such a member (*i.e.* one whose name was inscribed on the books of the Bethelsdorp station) in his service, by annual contract, except in presence and with consent of the missionary, and that no fieldcornet have any authority within the institution." The Rev. Mr. Read was found petitioning that the missionaries and residents at mission stations should be exempted from payment of the ordinary taxes. These and many more quotations of a similar tendency were all endorsed and eulogized by Dr. Philip.

The colonists learnt that in England they were regarded as cruel barbarians because they refused to permit Hottentot herds swarming with vermin to be seated in their front rooms at the time of family

prayer. They found themselves pictured as the harshest of taskmasters, as unfeeling violators of native rights. And of late years it had become plain to them that the views of their opponents were being acted upon at the Colonial Office, while their complaints were wholly disregarded.

Although the expression London Missionary Society, without the names of individual missionaries, is frequently found in the correspondence of this period, it was really only a section of its agents that was in collision with the colonists. Instances were not rare of missionaries of this Society commanding the highest esteem and affection of the population of European descent. Among these may be mentioned Mr. Kicherer, who, while continuing the work which he came to this country to perform, ministered as a clergyman of the established church to a large European congregation; Mr. Pacalt, the founder of the station close to George, whose earnest devotion to duty, blameless life, and Christian love for white and black alike, caused him to be regarded almost as a saint; and Mr. Brownlee, the founder of the first permanent Kaffir mission; without referring to very many of later date. With the agents of the other Societies, Moravian, Wesleyan, Scotch, German, and French, the colonists were in general on friendly terms, though they were far from being in accord with all of them on all subjects.

Several causes of dissatisfaction besides those above mentioned contributed to the impulse for emigration, but all in a very slight degree. Judge Cloete, in his *Five Lectures*, mentions the severe punishment inflicted upon the frontier insurgents of 1815 as one of them, and there is no doubt that it was so with some families, though no trace of it can be found in the correspondence of the Emigrants. The substitution in 1827 of the English for the Dutch language in the colonial courts of law was certainly generally felt as a grievance. The alteration in 1813 of the system of land tenure, the redemption in 1825 of the paper currency at only thirty-six hundredths of its nominal value, and the abolition in 1827 of the courts of landdrost and heemraden unquestionably caused much

disaffection, though all of these measures are now admitted by everyone to have been beneficial. The long delay in issuing titles to farms, the cost of which had been paid to Government years before, is mentioned as a grievance in some of the declarations.

Some years later when, owing to the internal weakness of the different Emigrant Governments coupled with security against violence by natives, it became possible for runaway debtors and rogues of different descriptions to live and thrive upon the borders of their settlements, it was frequently asserted by their enemies that the farmers had left the Colony principally to free themselves from the restraints of law. But this charge was as untrue as it was ungenerous. The early Emigrants constantly maintained that they left the Colony to free themselves not of law but of lawlessness. A few men of indifferent character may have gone with the stream, but the boast of the Emigrants as a body was that they left in open day and after their intentions had been publicly announced. That they should be followed by men whose motives were different was quite natural, but they cannot in justice be blamed for it.

On leaving the Colony the Emigrants maintained that they ceased to be British subjects. They asserted that the Cape having become an English possession by conquest and subsequent cession by its former sovereign, they were English subjects while they remained within its bounds, but that no allegiance was due to the King by them when they left it, as they were not His Majesty's subjects by descent. This claim, however, was not admitted by either the Colonial or the Imperial Government, who denied their right to throw off their allegiance in this way.

Most of the Emigrants abandoned the Colony in parties or bands, each party under an elected leader termed a commandant. The first to leave was a little band of forty-nine individuals* from the Division

* Louis Triechard with wife and four children, Carel Triechard with wife and two children, Hendrik Botha with wife

of Albany, under a leader named Louis Triechard. Triechard was a man of violent temper, and had given vent to his animosity to the Imperial Government in such blustering language that he was regarded by the Colonial Authorities as capable even of joining the Kaffirs against the English. At the close of the war of 1834—5 Colonel Smith offered a reward of five hundred head of cattle for his apprehension, which led to his leaving at once.

This party was joined before it crossed the colonial border by another of equal size under Johannes Rensburg.*

Together they had thirty wagons. Travelling slowly northward, in May 1836 they reached the Zoutpansberg, where they halted for a while. After a short delay, Rensburg's party moved on again, and soon afterwards encountered a tribe of natives, by whom it was believed they were all murdered. Many years later, however, it was ascertained that two of the children had been spared, and had grown up among the savages.

With a view of ascertaining the distance of Delagoa Bay and the nature of the intervening country, a few months later Triechard's party also left the Zoutpansberg, though with an intention of returning and forming a permanent settlement there. Their design was frustrated by fever, which attacked them and carried off several of their number, and the tsetse fly, which destroyed nearly the whole of their cattle. In April, 1838, feeble and impoverished they reached the Bay, where they met with most unbounded hospitality

and five children, J. Pretorius with wife and four children, G. Scheepers with wife and nine children, H. Strydom with wife and five children, J. Albrecht with wife and five children, and a young man named Daniel Pfeffer.

* Johannes Rensburg with wife and four children, S. Bronkhorst with wife and six children, G. Bronkhorst the elder with wife and one child, G. Bronkhorst the younger with wife, Jacobus de Wet with wife, F. van Wyk with wife and two children, P. Viljoen with wife and six children, H. Kraukamp with wife and three children, N. Prins with wife and eight children, and M. Prins.

from the Portuguese authorities. There they remained for more than a year, during which time their number was constantly diminishing by fever. At length their friends, hearing where and in what condition they were, chartered the schooner *Mazeppa* to proceed to Delagoa Bay to their relief, and in July, 1839, the remnant of the party, twenty-five in number,* were landed in Natal. One young man, a son of Louis Triechard, had gone to Mozambique in a Portuguese vessel before the *Mazeppa* reached the Bay, but in the following year he managed to travel overland to his friends in Natal. Thus of the ninety-eight individuals who formed the first body of emigrants, all had perished except the twenty-six who reached Natal in a state of destitution and the two still more wretched who were living with the savages.

During the winter of 1836 preparations for emigration were being made all over the Eastern and Midland Districts. The Government was perfectly helpless in the matter. The Attorney-General, Mr. A. Oliphant, was consulted by the Governor, and gave his opinion that "it seemed next to an impossibility to prevent persons passing out of the Colony by laws in force or by any which could be framed." On the 19th of August, Sir Benjamin D'Urban wrote to the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Andries Stockenstrom, that "he could see no means of stopping the emigration except by persuasion and attention to the wants and necessities of the farmers." In that direction the Governor had done all that was in his power, but he could not act in opposition to the instructions of the Secretary of State. Sir Andries Stockenstrom himself, in replying to an address from the inhabitants of Uitenhage, stated that "he was not aware of any law which prevented any of His Majesty's subjects from leaving his dominions and settling in another country, and such a law, if it did exist, would be tyrannical and oppressive."

Before this time the second party of Emigrants had

* Mrs. H. Botha and five children, Mrs. G. Scheepers and five children, Mrs. J. Pretorius and two children, three young men, and seven orphan children.

left. It consisted of farmers from the Tarka, and was under Commandant Andries Hendrik Potgieter, a substantial burgher of kindly disposition and moderate views. Attached to this party, and acknowledging Potgieter as Chief Commandant, was a body of burghers from the district of Colesberg. The subsequent sufferings of this section of the party and the events which those sufferings gave rise to entitle it to particular notice. It consisted of Carel Cilliers with his wife and six children, Johannes du Toit with his family, Johannes Botha with his family, three families Kruger, eight families Liebenberg, four families Brookhuizen, four families Brits, and three families Rensburg. These did not all move out in one body, but about half of them joined Potgieter and went on in advance, and the others followed as fast as they could get away.

Commandant Potgieter directed his course northward past Thaba Nchu until he came to the Vet River. On its banks close to the site of the present village of Winburg, he found a remnant of the Bataung tribe under the chief Makwana. Makwana claimed the whole country between the Vet and Vaal rivers as having been in possession of his tribe before the recent wars, but he was then in an abject condition, poor, powerless, and afraid to do anything that might draw upon him the notice of Moselekatse. Under these circumstances he was very ready to enter into an arrangement with Potgieter, by which he ceded to the Emigrants all the land between the Vet and Vaal rivers, except a tract which he reserved for the use of his own people, upon condition of being protected from the Matabele and provided with a small herd of cattle. This arrangement having been concluded, the Emigrants in fancied security scattered themselves over the vacant country, and some of them even crossed the Vaal and went down along its northern bank to the junction of the Mooi.

On the 24th of May a party consisting of the Commandant Hendrik Potgieter, his brother Hermanus Potgieter, Messrs. Carel Cilliers, J. G. S. Bronkhorst, R. Jansen, L. van Vuuren, A. Zwanepoel, J. Roberts, A. de Lange, D. Opperman, H. Nieuwenhuizen,

and C. Liebenberg, left the Sand River for the purpose of inspecting the country to the northward as far as Delagoa Bay. For eighteen days, or until they reached Rhenoster Poort, they met no natives, but from that point they found the country thinly inhabited. On their way they visited Louis Triechard's camp at the Zoutpansberg. The distance proving greater than they anticipated when they set out, they turned back before reaching Delagoa Bay, and on the 2nd of September arrived at the spot where they had left the last Emigrant encampment on their outward journey, where they found that a dreadful massacre had just taken place.

The massacre had been committed in the following manner. Mr. Stephanus P. Erasmus, a fieldcornet living on the Kraai River in the present Division of Aliwal North, had got up a party to hunt elephants in the interior, and had gone some distance north of the Vaal River for that purpose. The hunting party consisted of Erasmus himself, his three sons, Mr. Pieter Bekker and his son, and Messrs. Johannes Claasen and Carel Kruger. They had with them a number of coloured servants, five waggons, eighty oxen,and about fifty horses. They had not been very successful, and were slowly returning homewards, still hunting by the way. One morning they left the waggons and cattle as usual in charge of the servants, and forming three small parties, rode away in different directions. In the evening Erasmus and one of his sons, who were together during the day, returned to the waggons and found them surrounded by five or six hundred Matabele soldiers, being a band sent out by Moselekatse to scour the country. It was ascertained long afterwards that the other two sons of Erasmus and Carl Kruger, who formed a separate hunting party, had been surprised by the Matabele and murdered. The Bekkers and Claasen were out in another direction, and when the Matabele came upon them they were some distance from each other. The first two escaped, the last was never heard of again.

Erasmus and the son who was with him rode for their lives towards the nearest party of Emigrants,

who they knew were not further off than five hours on horseback. They obtained the assistance of eleven men, and were returning to ascertain the fate of the others when they encountered a division of the Matabele army, and turned back to give notice to those behind. The families furthest in advance had hardly time to draw their waggons in a circle and collect within it, when the Matabele were upon them. From ten in the morning until four in the afternoon the assailants vainly endeavoured to force a way into the lager, and did not relinquish the attempt until fully a third of their number were stretched on the ground. Of thirty-five men within the lager only one, Adolf Bronkhorst, was killed, but a youth named Christian Harmse and several coloured servants, who were herding cattle and collecting fuel at a distance, were murdered.

Another party of the Matabele had in the meantime gone further up the river and had unexpectedly fallen upon the encampment of the Liebenbergs. They murdered there old Barend Liebenberg, the patriarch of the family, his sons Stephanus, Barend, and Hendrik, his son-in-law Johannes du Toit, his daughter, Du Toit's wife, his son Hendrik's wife, a schoolmaster named Macdonald, four children, and twelve coloured servants; and they took away three children to present to their chief. The two divisions of Matabele warriors then united and returned to Mosega for the purpose of procuring reinforcements, taking with them large herds of the Emigrants' cattle.

Six days later Erasmus, in his anxiety as to the fate of his sons, rode to the spot where his waggons had stood and found there nothing but the bodies of five of the servants. His waggons were seen at Mosega by Captain Harris a few days later, and the same traveller learnt that two of the captive children, being girls, had been taken to one of Moselekatse's residences further north. He does not seem to have heard of the captive boy. At that time the Emigrants themselves were ignorant that the children were still alive, as until Captain Harris's return they believed that all had been murdered.

As soon as the Matabele were out of sight the

farmers hastened across the Vaal, and formed a lager at the place since known as Vechtkop, between the Rhenoster and Wilge rivers. The lager was constructed of fifty waggons drawn up in a circle, firmly lashed together, and every opening closed with thorn trees.

The month of October was well advanced when one morning a few frightened Bataung rushed into the camp and announced that a great Matabele army was approaching. Immediately the horses were saddled, and after a short religious service conducted by Mr. Carel Cilliers, the farmers rode out with Commandant Potgieter at their head, and encountered a division of Moselekatse's forces, about five thousand strong, under Kalipi, Moselekatse's favourite captain. Riding close up, they poured a volley into the mass of savages, and then retired to reload their clumsy guns. This manœuvre they repeated, constantly falling back until the lager was reached. The Matabele now thought they had the farmers in a trap, and encircling the camp, they sat down at some distance from it and feasted their eyes with a sight of their supposed victims. After a while they suddenly rose, and with a loud hiss, their ordinary signal of destruction, they rushed upon the lager and endeavoured to force an entrance. There were only forty men, all told, inside, but luckily they had spare guns, and the women knew how to load them. The assailants were received with a deadly fire, and they fell back, but only to rush on again. The waggons were lashed together too firmly to be moved, and finding it impossible to get to close quarters, the foremost Matabele soldiers abandoned their usual method of fighting and hurled their heavy assagais into the lager. One thousand one hundred and thirteen of these weapons were afterwards picked up in the camp. By this means they managed to kill two of the defenders, Nicholas Potgieter and Pieter Botha, and to wound more or less severely twelve others. Still the fire kept up by those who remained was so hot that Kalipi judged it expedient to retire, and in less than half an hour after the first rush, the Matabele turned to

retreat. They, however, collected the whole of the cattle belonging to the Emigrants and drove them off, leaving not a hoof except the horses which the farmers had been riding, and which were within the camp. Potgieter with his little band followed them until sunset, and managed to shoot a good many, but could not recover any cattle. On their return to the camp they counted a hundred and fifty-five corpses close to the waggons. Altogether, the Matabele had now killed twenty whites and twenty-six persons of colour, and they had swept off a hundred horses, four thousand six hundred head of horned cattte, and more than fifty thousand sheep and goats.

Just at this time the first families of the third party of Emigrants from the Colony arrived in the neighbourhood of Thaba Nchu. This party came from the division of Graaff-Reinet, and was under the leadership of Mr. Gerrit Maritz, who had previously been the proprietor of a large waggonmaking establishment and was a man of considerable wealth. They had not less than one hundred waggons with them, and as their flocks and herds were very numerous they were obliged to travel slowly and to spread over a great extent of country. Almost the first information of the earlier Emigrants which came to their ears after they crossed the Orange was brought by Hermanus Potgieter to Thaba Nchu, to which place he was sent by his brother to seek assistance for the families at Vechtkop, who were left in a helpless condition by the loss of their cattle.

The Rev. Mr. Archbell, Wesleyan missionary at Thaba Nchu, spared no exertions to procure aid for his suffering fellow Christians. Through his influence Moroko lent some oxen, the missionary sent his own, the farmers in the neighbourhood went with their teams, and by these combined means the whole of Potgieter's camp was brought back to Thaba Nchu. Upon the arrival of the distressed people, Moroko treated them with great kindness. He gave them corn, and even lent them cows to supply their children with milk

As soon as possible the Commandants Potgieter

and Maritz assembled a force for the purpose of punishing Moselekatse. The Griqua captain Pieter Davids eagerly tendered the services of his followers, in the hope that the expedition might effect the release of his daughter and his nephew. Matlabe, the petty Barolong chief who had once been a soldier in the Matabele armay, volunteered to be the guide. A few Koranas and Barolong engaged their services with a view to sharing the spoil. As ultimately made up, the force consisted of one hundred and seven farmers on horseback, forty of Peter David's Griquas and five or six Koranas, also on horseback, and sixty natives* on

* This does not agree with statements made of late years on behalf of Montsiwa, in which Tawane is represented as having entered into alliance with Potgieter and as having furnished a powerful contingent on the express understanding that he should have the whole "country of Tao" restored to him. (See among numerous other statements to this effect Par. 38 of Captain Harris's Memorandum in Imperial Blue-book C—3635 of 1883.) The authority on which I give the total number of Barolong that accompanied the commando is the following :—

Mr. Gerrit Maritz, who having quarrelled with Mr. Potgieter took the whole credit of the expedition to himself, in a letter which he wrote to a friend on the 17th of March 1837, and which was immediately published in several of the Colonial newspapers, says, "ik ben uitgetrokken tegen Masselikatse met 107 man Burgers, benevens 40 Bastaards, en 60 man van de Marolesen."

Captain Harris, who had just returned from Moselekatse's country and who was acquainted with all the circumstances, in his account in *The Wild Sports of Southern Africa*, states it as "sixty armed savages on foot."

Judge Cloete, in his *Five Lectures on the Emigration of the Dutch Farmers*, delivered in Natal in 1852 and 1855, and published in Cape Town in 1856, gives the number of the entire commando as two hundred, without saying in what proportions the force was composed.

The Rev. Mr. Grout, in his *Zululand*, follows Harris and says "sixty armed savages on foot," and as he like Judge Cloete had the very best means of information concerning this event, while the sources of their knowledge were different, if this was an error and the party had been a large one he would most likely have corrected it.

Mr. Carel Cilliers, who accompanied both this and the next expedition against Moselekatse, in his journal published in H.

foot belonging in about equal numbers to the clans of Gontse, Tawane, Moroko, and Matlabe.

Under Matlabe's guidance the commando pursued its march through a country so desolate that after crossing the Vaal not a single individual was met, and the approach of a hostile force was quite unknown to the Matabele. At early dawn on the morning of the 17th of January 1837 the military camp in the valley of Mosega was surprised. This camp consisted of fifteen separate kraals, and was under command of the induna Kalipi, who happened at the time to be away at Kapayin fifty miles further to the northward.

Seven months earlier three American missionaries, Dr. Wilson and the Rev. Messrs. Lindley and Venable, had taken up their residence at Mosega with Moselekatse's permission. The chief had met Christian teachers before, but he had never comprehended even the first principles of the doctrines which they endeavoured to expound. As soon as he ascertained that the preaching of the American missionaries was against

J. Hofstede's *Geschiedenis van den Oranje Vrijstaat* ('s Gravenhage, 1876), never once mentions auxiliaries. He says: "En de nood drong ons dat wij met 107 man het ondernam om tegen de magtige vijand op te trekken, en onze God gaf hem in onze handen, dat wij hem een groot nederlaag gaf en 6,000 beesten van hem namen, en niet een van ons gemis."

Mr. J. G. van Vuuren, who was with the commando, in his evidence before the Bloemhof commissioners in 1871 says, "about forty coloured people with us under Matlabe."

Matlabe himself, in his evidence on the same occasion says, "Tawane gave two sons, Gontse also gave two of his sons; Tawane's sons took a small number of Kaffirs with them, also Gontse's sons, and I took fourteen, including myself; Moroko did not send any men, but three of his men joined us afterwards."

Against all this evidence, in addition to the overwhelming testimony of subsequent events, the advocates of Montsiwa have to support their views nothing but a letter from Mrs. Erasmus Smit, who was in the Emigrant camp at the time and who wrote to her son in overdrawn language of hundreds of the Marolese helping them; the evidence of Moroko at Bloemhof, in which he says "we mustered a great many men;" and the assertions of some of Montsiwa's followers made for the first time more than a quarter of a century after the event.

his actions he forbade his people to listen to them, and shortly afterwards he left Mosega and went to reside at Kapayin. The missionaries had been attacked by fever, and some members of their families had died ; but they still continued at their post, hoping and praying for an opportunity of carrying on the work to which they had devoted themselves. On the morning of the 17th of January they were awakened by the report of guns, and rushing out of their hut they saw clouds of smoke rising above the entrances of two of the passes into the valley, indicating the position of the farmers under Potgieter and Maritz.

The Matabele soldiers grasped their spears and shields, and rushed forward ; but volleys of slugs from the long elephant guns of the farmers drove them back in confusion. Their commanding officer was away, and there was no one of sufficient authority to restore order. The soldiers took to flight, and were hunted by the farmers until the sun was high overhead, when it was computed that at least four hundred must have been slain. The commando then set fire to the military kraals, and having found in the valley most of the waggons that had belonged to their murdered friends and six or seven thousand head of cattle, it was considered advisable to return to the Caledon. Not a single individual, European or native, had been hurt on their side. The missionaries and their families returned with the commando. The native contingent acted as herds, and received payment in cattle for its services. Matlabe, in his evidence at Bloemhof, stated that he "got forty-seven head, and Tawane's and Gontse's sons each thirty-seven head ; he received the most cattle because he was the leading man and the guide."

After returning from Mosega, Potgieter removed his camp from the neighbourhood of Thaba Nchu to the Vet River, about where Winburg has since been built, where he was strengthened by numerous families from the Colony. Unfortunately jealousy of each other, that evil which was afterwards so prominent among the Emigrants, had already begun to appear. Potgieter and Maritz quarrelled, and party feeling was bitter and strong.

In April, 1837, another band of Emigrants arrived in the neighbourhood of Thaba Nchu. It consisted of twenty-six families from the Winterberg,* in all one hundred and eight individuals, besides servants, and was under the leadership of Mr. Pieter Retief, a man of great worth. Mr. Retief, who traced his descent from one of the Huguenots who fled from France after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and came to South Africa in 1688, was born and brought up near the present village of Wellington, but had removed to the Eastern Frontier, and in 1820 when the British Settlers arrived he contracted with the Government for the supply of provisions to them. In this capacity he was brought into close contact with the leading Settlers, and soon acquired their confidence and esteem. Subsequently heavy losses in building contracts reduced his circumstances, and he then went to reside at the Winterberg, where the war of 1834-5 still further impoverished him. At this time he was Field Commandant of his Division. His remonstrances against the policy pursued towards the Kaffirs after the war brought him into disfavour with Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom, who wrote to him in such a style as to increase his irritation. He then resolved to leave the Colony, and was immediately elected by the intending Emigrants from the Winterberg to be their head. A document embodying the reasons for emigrating was then drawn up, and was published in the *Graham's Town Journal*, upon which the Lieutenant-Governor officially announced that he had struck Mr. Retief's name out of the list of Field Commandants because he had signed it.

Upon his arrival at Thaba Nchu, Mr. Retief was elected Commandant-General of all the Emigrants, then numbering over a thousand souls. His first task was to compose the quarrel between Potgieter and Maritz, and he apparently succeeded in restoring friendship between them, though it only lasted a short

* Pieter Retief and family, James Edwards and family, 3 families Greyling, 7 families Rensburg, 2 families Malan, 3 families Viljoen, 1 family Meyer, 1 family Van Dijk, 2 families Joubert, 1 family Dreyer, 3 families Van Staden, and a schoolmaster named Alfred Smith.

season. His next care was for the observance of public worship. There was no ordained clergyman among the Emigrants, but there was an old missionary teacher, by name Erasmus Smit, and he was engaged to conduct the services. Mr. Maritz was recognized as landdrost or magistrate. Mr. Retief then visited the chiefs Moroko, Tawane, Moshesh, and Sikonyela, and entered into agreements of mutual friendship with them.

While these arrangements were being made the number of the Emigrants was rapidly increasing. They were arriving by single families as well as in parties. One large band under Mr. Pieter Jacobs came from the division of Beaufort. Another under Mr. Jacobus Uys came from Uitenhage. This last numbered more than one hundred souls, and was composed entirely of Mr. Uys's sons and daughters with their wives and husbands, children and grandchildren, for the leader was nearly seventy years of age. He was one of the most widely respected men in South Africa. His son Pieter Lavras Uys had won the admiration of the British Settlers by his gallant conduct in the Kaffir war, and when the party reached Graham's Town on its way towards the border, the residents of that place testified their sympathy by a public deputation which in the name of the community presented a large and very handsome bible to the old man.

By the end of May there were more than a thousand waggons between the Caledon and Vaal rivers, and Mr. Retief resolved early in June to send another expedition against the Matabele. He had already sent word to Moselekatse that if everything taken from the Emigrants was restored he would agree to peace, but no answer had been returned. Sikonyela, Moroko, and Tawane, seeing the farmers in such strength, offered their services, which Mr. Retief declined with thanks, as he knew from experience how impossible it would be to satisfy the demands of native allies. The expedition, however, was prevented from proceeding by rumours that the Griquas of Waterboer and Kok were preparing to attack the Emigrants.

About this time, possibly a month earlier or a month

later, Dingan, Tshaka's successor, sent an army against Moselekatse. The Matabele were defeated by the Zulus in a great battle, in which one of their regiments perished almost to a man. They saw their cattle in possession of the conquerers; but they had courage and discipline enough to rally, and by another engagement they managed to recover some of their herds. The Zulus then retreated to their own country, taking with them among the captured cattle some oxen and sheep that had once belonged to the Emigrant farmers.

During the winter of 1837 the quarrel between Potgieter and Maritz was revived, and the whole of the Emigrants were affected by it. Retief found it impossible to restore concord. From this time onward for some years jealousies were so rife and party feeling ran so high that it is not safe to take the statement of any individual among the Emigrants as an accurate version of occurrences. Even the account of Mr. J. N. Boshof, the calmest and best writer among them, is distorted by partisan feeling. These jealousies caused the secession of a large number of the farmers from the principal body under Mr. Retief. The parties of Potgieter and Uys resolved to set up distinct governments of their own, the first on the ground purchased from Makwana, the last somewhere in the territory that is now the Colony of Natal. To Natal also Retief determined to proceed, and in October he paid a preliminary visit to that district. While he was absent the second expedition against the Matabele took place.

The commando consisted of two divisions, mustering together three hundred and thirty farmers, one division being under Hendrik Potgieter, the other under Pieter Uys. It was also accompanied by a few native herdsmen, exactly how many it is impossible to ascertain, as they are not even mentioned in any of the contemporary accounts. Matlabe, in his evidence at Bloemhof, said that "he did not go himself, he sent three of his brothers with twenty men, but none of the other captains did that he saw." Moroko may have furnished two or three men, but no record can

be traced of a single man having been sent by either Gontse or Tawane.

In November 1837 this expedition found Moselekatse on the Marikwa, about fifty miles north of Mosega, where it attacked him, and in a campaign of nine days inflicted such loss that he fled far away beyond the Limpopo, never to return. The accounts as to the number of the Matabele killed on this occasion are very conflicting, both in the documents of the time and in the relations of the actors many years after the event. Mr. Carl Cilliers, who was with the expedition, in his journal set it down as over three thousand.* The Rev. Mr. Lindley, who obtained his information from members of the commando and who wrote immediately after the event, evidently thought four or five hundred would be nearer the mark. His words are: "On returning to his encampment Mr. Retief found that a considerable number of the farmers were absent on an expedition against Moselekatse. . . . The expedition against Moselekatse had about the same success as the one in January, 1837." Between these extremes there are many accounts, no two of which agree in this respect. The fighting—or rather the chase of the Matabele army, for no farmer was killed—took place over a large extent of ground, and the dead could not have been counted. This matters little, however, for the fact remains that the punishment inflicted upon Moselekatse was so severe that he found it necessary to abandon the country he had devastated, and flee to the far north, there to resume on other tribes his previous career of destruction.

Six or seven thousand head of cattle were captured by the expedition, and given over to the native herdsmen to take care of. One night these were surprised by a small party of Matabele, when several of the

*His words are: "Daarna gingen wij andermaal met 330 man tegen hen, en op deze keer gaf de Heer onze God hem weder in onze handen dat wij hem ten onder bragten, en over de 3,000 van hen sneuvelden, zoo dat zij toen hun land verlieten, en wat de zijne was is de onze geworden."

Barolong lost their lives, and some of the cattle were retaken. In the division of the captured stock the native herdsmen were very liberally dealt with, Matlabe's people receiving sixty-nine head for their services.

After the flight of Moselekatse, Commandant Potgieter proclaimed the whole of the territory which that chief had overrun and now abandoned forfeited to the Emigrants. It included the greater part of the present South African Republic, fully half of the present Orange Free State, and the whole of Southern Bechuanaland to the Kalahari Desert except the district occupied by the Batlapin. This immense tract of country was then almost uninhabited, and must have remained so if the Matabele had not been driven out.

CHAPTER IV.

The Overthrow of the Zulu Power by the Emigrant Farmers.

In order to understand the events that took place when the Emigrant Farmers entered Natal in 1837, it is necessary to go back several years, to cast a glance at a little settlement of Englishmen on the shores of the Bay, and to resume the thread of Zulu history.

In 1822 some merchants at Cape Town formed a joint stock company for the purpose of trading with the natives on the south-eastern coast, and with that object fitted out a brig named the *Salisbury*, of which Mr. James Saunders King, who had once been a midshipman in the Royal Navy, was then master. The supercargo and principal agent of the company was a man of great energy, named Francis George Farewell, formerly a Lieutenant in the Royal Navy, and a close friend of Mr. King. The *Salisbury* put into Algoa Bay on her passage up the coast, and found there His Majesty's exploring and surveying ship *Leven*, under command of Captain Owen. Mr. Farewell went on board the *Leven*, and obtained from Captain Owen a good deal of information concerning the coast. Seven Kaffirs had been selected by the Cape Government

from the convicts on Robben Island and given to the exploring expedition as interpreters, and two of these, named Fire and Jacob, were transferred with their own consent by Captain Owen to Mr. Farewell. Fire was shortly afterwards accidentally shot, and Jacob managed to run away, but was subsequently met under strange circumstances.

The *Salisbury* visited Delagoa Bay, St. Lucia Bay, and Port Natal, but the voyage was an unfortunate one for the company that fitted her out. Mr. Farewell, however, was so impressed with the capabilities of Natal for colonization, and of its port as a gateway for trade with the interior of the continent, that he resolved to return and establish himself there. He induced several others to join him in this enterprise, among them being Mr. Henry Francis Fynn, the son of an English trader in Cape Town whose business had been suppressed by the Government in 1806 owing to his having exported some specie contrary to law. In March 1824 Mr. Fynn and twenty-four other individuals sailed from Table Bay for Natal in a sloop named the *Julia*, leaving Mr. Farewell behind to await the decision of the Government upon their application to be taken under its protection. They reached their destination safely, but the hearts of most of the adventurers soon failed them, and they returned to the Colony in the sloop. On the second voyage of the *Julia* Mr. Farewell proceeded to Natal, taking with him several Hottentot servants. The party of Europeans there then consisted of Messrs. Farewell and Fynn, with two seamen named John Cane and Henry Ogle, and a boy named Thomas Holstead.

A wilder venture can hardly be conceived than that of these few Englishmen. All that they knew of the country around them was that its soil seemed rich, that it abounded with elephants, that it was almost uninhabited, and that Tshaka claimed it. In August Mr. Farewell, accompanied by Mr. Fynn, Henry Ogle, three of the crew of the *Julia*, and two Hottentots, visited Tshaka at his principal military kraal, where no European had ever been before. They were surprised to find there the interpreter Jacob, who had

run away from the *Salisbury* the year before at St Lucia Bay, and was supposed to be dead. Jacob, who had received from the Zulus the name of Hlambamanzi, was high in Tshaka's favour, and had already a large drove of cattle and several wives. He was obliging enough to commend his former master to his present one, and Mr. Farewell was therefore well received. He had taken as a present with other articles some ointments and simple medicines, which greatly pleased the Zulu chief, whose high opinion of their value was enhanced by a wound from which he was suffering healing very rapidly when dressed by his visitors. In return Tshaka presented to Mr. Farewell a number of oxen, and attached his mark to a formal document in which he "granted, made over, and sold unto F. G. Farewell and Company the entire and full possession in perpetuity to themselves, heirs, and executors, of the Port or Harbour of Natal, together with the islands therein, and surrounding country," which is described as running about a hundred miles inland and embracing the coast ten miles to the south-west and about twenty-five miles to the north-east of the harbour. This deed was dated the 7 h of August, 1824. Besides the mark of Tshaka himself, it had upon it the marks of four of the indunas or officers of rank, among whom Jacob appeared under his Zulu name, and it was signed by the whole of Mr. Farewell's party.*

In the following year Mr. King was in Cape Town again, where he heard from the master of a small vessel which had just come down the coast that his

* There are two copies of this deed in the Colonial records. One is attached to a memorial of Mr. Eric Gustaf Aspeling, of Cape Town, dated 13th of May 1843, in which he asked the Governor for compensation for the ground therein described, on account of his having married Mr. Farewell's widow. The other is attached to a memorial of Messrs. J. R. Thomson & Co., merchants of Cape Town, of nearly the same date, also asking for compensation, as the deed had been lodged with them as part security for goods sold on credit to Mr. Farewell. In neither case was the application successful. My account of these transactions is taken from original letters of Messrs. Farewell and Fynn in the Colonial Office.

friend, Mr. Farewell, was in need of assistance at Natal, and he resolved to go to his aid. He was then in command of a trading brig called the *Mary*, and he had with him a young man named Nathaniel Isaacs, whose *Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa*, published in 1836, contain a very complete account of the events of the next six years. On the 1st of October 1825, the *Mary* was wrecked while attempting to cross the bar at Port Natal, and her crew, with Messrs. King and Isaacs, were involuntarily added to the little community.

The circumstances in which these Europeans were placed were not favourable to the growth of a civilized community. They were under the dominion of Tshaka, and though they kept him friendly by frequent presents, they were obliged more than once to accompany his armies to war. On one of these occasions, of which Mr. Isaacs has given the particulars, that adventurer himself was severely wounded. They endeavoured to induce the Home Authorities to recognize their settlement as a British possession, but failed in their applications. Meantime a few natives who had been living concealed in thickets ventured to place themselves under the protection of the strangers, and very shortly they became practically petty chiefs, each with his own following.*

* Mr. Fynn set the example in this respect. In his account of these transactions he says that upon their arrival at Port Natal some three or four hundred natives were found in a famishing condition in the thickets around the bay. Tshaka allowed him to collect these poor wretches together, and afterwards permitted him to receive some refugees from Zululand upon his reporting each case. Tshaka would not permit any trade whatever with his subjects, and all their business transactions were with him in person. They made him presents, rarely of less value than £100 at a time, and in return he gave them large quantities of ivory and grain and droves of cattle. Mr. Fynn says he frequently received fifty and sometimes a hundred head at a time, and corn in such abundance that he had no use for it. The Kolo tribe had once owned the country between the Umzimkulu and Umtentu rivers, but it was reduced to a few wretched wanderers. Its chief, Umbanti by name, was a soldier in Zululand. Tshaka allowed Mr. Fynn to locate the Kolos on a part of their old territory and at his

Bitter feuds soon arose between Messrs. Farewell and King. They had obtained a considerable quantity of ivory, when a trading vessel put into the bay and gave them an opportunity of exchanging it for merchandise, principally muskets and ammunition, with which they armed some of their followers.

The crew of the *Mary*, under the guidance of the carpenter, Mr. Hatton, built a small schooner on the southern shore of the lagoon, in which in April 1828 Tshaka sent an embassy with Mr. King to the Cape Government. But the little vessel, on putting into Algoa Bay, was not permitted to proceed further, and after three months detention she returned to Natal. The Zulu ambassadors were sent back in a man-of-war without any treaty, such as Mr. King desired, having been entered into, the policy of our Government at that period being an avoidance of anything like responsibility for a new settlement on the coast.

The Zulu Chief had for some time determined to destroy the tribes between the Umzimvubu and the Cape Colony, and while his ambassadors were at Port Elizabeth he sent an army against them, which marched unopposed to the Bashee. Tshaka himself, with one regiment as a body guard, remained at the Umzimkulu. There Mr. Fynn, by persuading him that the Colonial Government would certainly protect the frontier tribes, induced him to recall the army until the result of Mr. King's mission to the Cape could be known.

Just at this time the Amangwane under Matiwane, having crossed the mountains from Basutoland, were

request gave Umbanti his liberty. Mr. Fynn says that he then formed two establishments, one near the Port, and one west of the Umzimkulu. To the people of each of these establishments he gave cattle and grain, which he derived from Tshaka's liberality. After a time the Zulu chief granted him the whole country between Mr. Farewell's district and the Umzimkulu, and attached his mark to a document to that effect. Over that large tract of country he was the chief, being responsible to Tshaka for the conduct of the people residing in it. He estimates the number of natives ultimately collected under the different European chiefs at over five thousand souls.

despoiling the Tembus. The Authorities at the Cape were appealed to for assistance, and a mixed burgher and military force was sent against the intruders, which destroyed the Amangwane. Tshaka's warriors had fallen back before the colonial commando crossed the Kei, or an English and a Zulu army would have met in battle half a century before our struggle with Cetywayo.

Early in September 1828 Mr. King died at Natal, and was within a few months followed to the grave by Mr. Hatton, the builder of the little vessel. There had been no additions to the European party since the wreck of the *Mary*, but about this time Mr. Fynn was joined by his brother William McDowell Fynn, who had been sent from the Cape to Delagoa Bay at the instance of the Government to search along the coast for a small vessel named the *Buckbay Packet*, which was supposed to have been lost. Having obtained tidings of the wreck, he made up his mind to cast in his lot with his brother. Subsequently he was joined by his father and another brother, both of whom died at Natal after a short residence there.*

On the 23rd of September 1828 Tshaka was assassinated at Tukusa, a military kraal on the river Umvoti, within the present Colony of Natal, and about fifty miles from the Port. The mother of the chief had died a few months before, and such great numbers of people had been butchered for not participating in his grief, as he said, that even the most bloodstained of the Zulus were appalled. A large part of the army, after returning from the Bashee, had been sent against a tribe beyond Delagoa Bay, but had not been successful. Several thousand men had been slain, thousands more had fallen victims to dysentery, and the survivors were retreating in the greatest distress from hunger. At this juncture Dingan and Umthlangana, two of Tshaka's half brothers, and Umbopa, his most trusted attendant, entered into a conspiracy to put him to death.

From his brothers, Tshaka seems never to have

* Memorial of William McDowell Fynn, dated 3rd July 1843, in the Colonial Records.

anticipated any danger. Dingan was according to native ideas of higher rank by birth, but the original Zulu tribe was such a small fraction of the nation then existing, that he was not suspected of ambitious designs. Tshaka was sitting conversing with several of his attendants when the conspirators attacked him. Dingan struck the first blow, but it was his treacherous servant who gave the death wound. His body was left uncovered on the ground, but the next day it was buried, the residents of the place having been struck with superstitious dread when they saw that the hyenas had not devoured it.

Shortly after the death of Tshaka, Dingan with his own hand murdered Umthlangana, his brother and fellow conspirator. Another brother with several sub-chiefs refused to acknowledge him as their head, and a short civil war followed, which resulted in the flight of one of Dingan's principal opponents and the extermination of all the others. The one who fled was named Qeto. He had with him a horde called the Amakwabi, with which he crossed the Umzimvubu and committed dreadful ravages south of that river.

The remnants of the conquered tribes far and near hailed Dingan as a deliverer, and for a year or two after his accession his government really was an improvement upon that of his predecessor. But gradually he began to display the vilest qualities. The favourites of Tshaka were the ablest men in the country, for that chief appreciated talent in his officers, and even had sufficient magnanimity to spare the men of rank in clans that sought incorporation with the Zulu power. Most of these were murdered by order of Dingan. Tshaka delighted in a display of force, Dingan in gaining his ends by treachery. The devastations of the latter were trifling in comparison with those of the former, only because there was so little left within his reach to destroy. Five years after his assumption of power his people felt his tyranny as much as they had felt that of Tshaka.*

* Captain Allen F. Gardiner, of the Royal Navy, who visited him in 1835, in his *Narrative of a Journey to the Zulu*

The Europeans at the bay were invited by Dingan to remain there under his protection for commercial purposes, and they were well pleased to do so. On the 1st of December 1828 Messrs. Farewell and Isaacs sailed from Natal in the little schooner built there, with a view of procuring goods in the Colony. All that were left of the crew of the *Mary* went with them, so that there remained at Natal only Messrs. H. and W. Fynn, John Cane, Henry Ogle, and Thomas Holstead. Upon the arrival of the schooner at Algoa Bay she was seized and detained by the Authorities, and of all who had embarked in her, only Mr. Isaacs saw Natal again. In April 1830 he returned in an American trading vessel.

Mr. Farewell a second time interested a good many people in his scheme of colonizing Natal, and, after an absence of several months, in September 1829 he was returning overland with a party of young Englishmen and some waggons loaded with merchandise when his career was terminated. He with two companions named Walker and Thackwray, and some native attendants, left the waggons one afternoon, and rode on horseback to pay a visit to Qeto, with whom he had been acquainted in Zululand. They were received with apparent friendship, but Qeto did not conceal his annoyance at their intention of proceeding to trade with his enemy Dingan. A hut was given them to sleep in, and at a late hour they lay down to rest. Just before dawn next morning a band of

Country in South Africa (London, 1836) gives several instances of the despôt's ferocity which fell under his observation. William Wood, who lived with the Great Chief for some time when nothing unusual was taking place, in his *Statements respecting Dingaan, King of the Zoolahs* (a pamphlet of 38 pages, Cape Town, 1840), asserts that the executions at the kraal where he was residing were at the rate of fourteen a week. Staff Assistant Surgeon Andrew Smith, who was the head of an exploring expedition, in his report, dated 6th of May 1834, says: "As characteristic of his (Dingan's) system of proceeding, I may only mention that when I was at his kraal I saw portions of the bodies of eleven of his own wives whom he had only a few days previous put to death merely for having uttered words that happened to annoy him."

Amakwabi fell upon them and murdered the three Europeans and five of their native servants. They then proceeded to the waggons and plundered them. The remainder of the party managed to escape. After Mr. Farewell's death John Cane and Henry Ogle divided his people between them, and a few years later, owing to constant accessions to their clans, they were the most powerful chiefs in Natal.

Early in 1829 Dingan was visited by an exploring expedition from the Cape Colony. The members of this expedition were Dr. Cowie, district surgeon of Albany, and Mr. Benjamin Green. They left their waggon and most of their Hottentot servants at Dingan's residence, and proceeded on horseback to Delagoa Bay, where they found fever raging so severely that the European inhabitants of Lorenzo Marques had been reduced from forty to six in number, and one hundred and fifty corpses had been thrown overboard from two ships in the harbour. Their horses died, and the explorers were compelled to leave on foot. On the 4th of April Dr. Cowie died, and was followed a few hours afterwards by one of the Hottentot servants. Four days later Mr. Green died, after having given the journal of the expedition to the interpreter, who brought it to the Colony.

Mr. Farewell's enthusiastic description of Natal and of the extensive trade in ivory and skins of wild animals that might be carried on there had the effect of inducing several young men to follow him, so that a year or two after his death the European community at the Port was larger than ever before. Mr. James Collis, after visiting the Bay in 1830 in an overland journey from Graham's Town, returned in 1831 and established himself as a trader. He took with him several assistants, among whom were the parents of William Wood, who was afterwards Dingan's interpreter. Several men also, who had no other occupation than elephant hunting, made Natal their place of residence about this time.

Dingan's promise of protection did not relieve the Europeans of anxiety as to their safety. They placed greater confidence in their firearms and in the dense

thickets into which they could retire in case of necessity. In 1831, owing to a regiment being sent by Dingan in a fit of passion to destroy John Cane and his people, they all fled in alarm, Isaacs never to return, though the others soon went back.* Again in June 1834 they all fled over the Umzimkulu, being apprehensive of an attack. On this occasion, however, their alarm was due to a mistake; and Dingan, to restore confidence, withdrew all his soldiers from the country south of the Tugela for thirty-five or forty miles upwards from the sea, which has never since been occupied for more than a few days by a Zulu army. In September 1834 Messrs. Henry and William Fynn left Natal not to return, and they both soon afterwards took service in the Native Department of the Cape Government.

In this year, 1834, Natal was visited by a party of farmers from the Colony, who travelled overland with fourteen waggons. Among them was Mr. Pieter Uys. They inspected the Bay, where they met with a very friendly reception from the European residents, and they thoroughly explored the uplands, where they were charmed with the luxuriant pasturage and fertile well-watered soil. The district seemed to them to invite settlement. Having satisfied themselves as to its capabilities, they returned to the Colony to find that the Eastern Districts had been laid waste by the Amaxosa during their absence.

In January 1835 Captain Allen F. Gardiner paid a visit to Natal, having travelled overland from the Colony, his object being to prepare the way for the establishment of Christian missions among the Zulus. He states, in his *Narrative of a Journey to the Zulu Country*, that there was then at the Bay but one house constructed after a European model, and that was built of reeds and mud. It was occupied by Mr. James Collis, the principal trader at the place, who lost his life by an explosion of gunpowder a few

* Just before this event the interpreter Jacob, or Hlambamanzi, ended his career. He was put to death by Henry Ogle, acting under order of Dingan.

months later. There were about thirty Europeans, a few Hottentots, and some two thousand five hundred blacks resident in the immediate vicinity, but as their huts were all carefully concealed in the thicket, the place presented a wild and deserted appearance.

Captain Gardiner was present when a site was selected for the township of Durban,*—23rd of June 1835,—an event of which he gives the following interesting account :—

This afternoon a very characteristic meeting was held in one of Mr. Berkin's huts, for the purpose of selecting the site for a town. On my arrival I found the hut filled with individuals expressly convened for this purpose. Almost total silence was observed,—the subject was not even hinted at, nor had any chairman or leading person been appointed to introduce the business.

At length a voice cried out, "Now let's go and settle the bounds," on which I risked a question, hoping it might elicit a programme of the contemplated proceedings : "Are all present agreed as to the expediency of building a town ?" to which it was replied that their presence on this occasion was a proof that they were unanimous on this point.

Thus began and ended this important conference, and off they all scampered in a posse to inspect the ground, some walking, others seated on the floor of a waggon without either tilt or sides, which was drawn at a stately pace by ten oxen. Short pipes, an indispensable accompaniment, were in full action on all sides. Being the winter season, it was a sort of reunion of hunters, who, tired of chasing sea-cow and buffalo, were now sighing for town houses and domestic cheer. The appearance of any one of these forest rangers would have gained the medal for any artist who could have transfixed his *tout ensemble* upon canvas. At length a pause was made.

"This'll do," cried one.

"That's the spot," exclaimed another.

After some minutes of such like random conversation, the whole party were compactly collected and the business was at length entered upon and conducted in a rational manner, every proposition being subjected to the votes of those who were present and carried or negatived accordingly.

It was in this impromptu manner that the town of D'Urban was named, its situation fixed, the township and church lands appropriated, and, in short, as much real business gone through as would have required at least a fortnight's hard writing and debating in any other quarter of the globe.

* The site first selected was a little further up the shore of the lagoon than where the present town is built.

The regulations for the new town, with the provision for a church and a hospital, show the little European community to have been an intelligent and progressive one. Including Captain Gardiner, his interpreter, George Cyrus, and his waggon driver, Richard King, the whole white population did not amount to thirty-five souls. They held advanced views upon representative government, as is proved by the following petition to Sir Benjamin D'Urban :—

May it please your Excellency.

We, the undersigned British subjects, inhabitants of Port Natal and its vicinity, have commenced building a town, called D'Urban* in honour of your Excellency.

We hold in our possession extensive tracts of excellent land, a considerable portion of which has long been under cultivation. Many of us are occupied in conducting a valuable trade in hides and ivory, the former of which is almost exclusively obtained within the limits which by mutual consent of surrounding chieftains have been conceded to us.

In consequence of the exterminating wars of Tshaka, late King of the Zulus, and other causes, the whole country included between the Umzimkulu and Tugela rivers is now unoccupied by its original possessors, and, with a very few exceptions, is totally uninhabited.

Numbers of natives from time to time have entered this settlement for protection, the amount of whom at this present moment cannot be less than three thousand. These all acknowledge us as their chiefs, and look to us for protection, notwithstanding which we are living in the neighbourhood of powerful native states, without the shadow of a law or a recognized authority among us.

We therefore humbly pray your Excellency,—for the sake of humanity, for the upholding of the British character in the eyes of the natives, for the well being of this increasing community, for the cause of morality and religion, to transmit this our petition to His Majesty's Government, praying that it may please His Majesty to recognize the country intervening between the Umzimkulu and Tugela rivers, which we have named Victoria in honour of our august Princess, as a Colony of the British Empire, and to appoint a Governor and Council with power to enact such laws and regulations as may be deemed expedient by them, in concert with a body of representatives chosen by ourselves to constitute a House of Assembly.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

*Now usually written Durban.

There was one ever present cause of irritation between Dingan and the European settlers. Fugitives from his tyranny were continually placing themselves under the protection of the white chiefs at the Bay, and naturally the Zulu despot was incensed at any interference between him and his subjects. On the other hand, the Europeans found it difficult to turn away the poor creatures who applied to them, and whose only fault might be that they were relatives or dependents of some one that had incurred the wrath of Dingan, who in many instances condemned to death not only an offender but his entire family. The danger the Europeans were in from this circumstance was, however, so great that they consented to a proposal of Captain Gardiner, which was embodied in the following treaty:—

Dingan from this period consents to waive all claim to the persons and property of every individual now residing at Port Natal, in consequence of their having deserted from him, and accords them his full pardon. He still, however, regards them as his subjects, liable to be sent for whenever he may think proper.

The British residents at Port Natal, on their part, engage for the future never to receive or harbour any deserter from the Zulu country, or any of its dependencies, and to use every endeavour to secure and return to the King every such individual endeavouring to find an asylum among them.

Should a case arise in which this is found to be impracticable, immediate intelligence, stating the particulars of the circumstance, is to be forwarded to Dingan.

Any infringement of this treaty on either part invalidates the whole.

Done at Congella this 6th day of May, 1835, in presence of

UMTHLELA } Chief Indunas and Head Coun-
TAMBUZA } cillors of the Zulu nation.
G. CYRUS, Interpreter.

Signed on behalf of the British residents at Port Natal.

ALLEN F. GARDINER.

Under this treaty Captain Gardiner himself conveyed a party of four fugitives back to Dingan, by whose orders they were starved to death. The Captain was now considered so trustworthy that Dingan gave him authority over the whole of the Natal people, with permission to establish a mission station at the Bay

and also in the district along the northern bank of the Tugela, which was under the induna Nongalaza. Captain Gardiner thereupon returned to England as speedily as possible, with a view of procuring men to occupy these posts.

In 1835 the first American missionaries, six in number, arrived in South Africa. Three of them went northward to Moselekatse's country, and the others, Dr. Adams and the Rev. Messrs. Champion and Aldin Grout, proceeded to Natal. They visited Dingan at his residence, Umkungunhlovu, and obtained permission to establish themselves in his country. In February 1836 their first station was founded about eight miles from the Bay, on the river Umlazi; and in November of the same year they commenced another, which they called Ginani, on the Umsunduzi, about ten miles north of the Tugela. In July 1837 the three who had been compelled to abandon Mosega joined their colleagues in Natal, and shortly afterwards commenced two other stations, one thirty miles south-west of the Bay and the other about the same distance beyond Ginani.

In June 1837 Captain Gardiner reached Natal again, having brought with him from England the Rev. Mr. Owen of the Church Missionary Society. By dint of coaxing, Dingan's consent was obtained to Mr. Owen being stationed at Umkungunhlovu. The missionary had his wife and sister with him, and was accompanied by an interpreter named Hulley. Captain Gardiner took up his residence at the Bay, at the station which on his former visit he had named Berea, where he endeavoured to act in the double capacity of a missionary and a magistrate under the Imperial Act of August 1836, "for the prevention and punishment of offences committed by His Majesty's subjects within certain territories adjacent to the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope."

This Act extended the colonial criminal law to all British subjects within any territory adjacent to the Colony and south of the twenty-fifth degree of latitude, and made crimes committed by such persons cognizable in colonial courts. It empowered the Governor of

the Cape Colony to grant commissions as magistrates to persons in such territories to arrest, commit to custody, and bring to trial before colonial courts His Majesty's subjects charged with crime. The Act, however, was not to be construed as investing His Majesty with any claim or title to sovereignty or dominion over such territories.

The Europeans in Natal, upon being informed of the authority claimed by Captain Gardiner by virtue of a commission which he held under this Act, immediately resolved not to submit in any way to his control. They desired, they said, to be recognized as a British Colony, and to have proper courts of law established ; but to submit to the operation of an Act which took no cognizance of offences committed against them, which left them without protection to be robbed or murdered, while it tied their hands even against self defence, was something which as free men they could not consent to.

This was then the condition of affairs when Pieter Retief visited Natal. Dingan claimed the whole country between the Drakensberg and the Sea as far south as the Umzimvubu, but did not practically exercise direct authority south of the Tugela. There were six mission stations, three north of the Tugela and three south of that river, occupied by five ordained clergymen (four American Presbyterian and one Church of England), two medical men, and one Captain of the Royal Navy, nearly all of whom had families with them. At Durban and in its vicinity there were about thirty Englishmen residing either permanently or in the intervals between hunting excursions. The leading man and largest trader among them was Mr. Alexander Biggar, whose fate, with that of his two sons, will presently be told. Several of these Europeans were living as chiefs of native kraals, and exercised power even of death over their followers. The actual number of blacks between the Tugela and the Umzimvubu cannot be accurately given. No estimate of that period rises as high as ten thousand, yet it would not be safe to say that there was not fully that number between the two rivers. They were living in

the most secluded places, and kept out of observation as much as possible.*

Early in October 1837 Pieter Retief in company with a few of the leading Emigrants set out from the neighbourhood of Thaba Nchu for the purpose of examining the capabilities of Natal and obtaining Dingan's consent to its occupation. On the 19th the party arrived at the Port, without having met a single individual after they crossed the Drakensberg. The residents of Durban were greatly pleased on hearing that it was the desire of the Emigrants to settle in their neighbourhood. They presented Mr. Retief with a warm address of welcome, and did all that was in their power to assist him. A messenger was immediately sent forward to announce his intended visit to Dingan, and some days were then spent in examining the harbour and the country around it.

On the 27th the party left the Port for Umkungunhlovu, accompanied by John Cane and Thomas Holstead, two of the oldest inhabitants of Natal, in the capacity of guides and interpreters. Their reception by Dingan was outwardly as friendly as it was possible to be. He seemed to agree with what Mr. Retief said concerning the advantages to his people of a European settlement in their neighbourhood, and he promised to take the request for land south of the Tugela into consideration and give a decisive reply in a few days. In the mean time he entertained the farmers with exhibitions of dances, in one of which nearly two hundred oxen, all of the same colour, were mixed with the men of a regiment and went through certain manœuvres with the most perfect accuracy. Among the stock recently captured from Moselekatse were some of the sheep taken by the Matabele from the Emigrants on the Vaal. Dingan informed Mr. Retief that most of these were dead,

* A list of the titles of the fragments of tribes then occupying the present Colony of Natal, furnished by Sir Theophilus Shepstone, is given in an Appendix to the *Report and Proceedings of the Commission on Native Laws and Customs*, printed at Cape Town in 1883.

but he restored one hundred and ten as a present, and offered the skins of the others.

On the 8th of November, Mr. Retief arranged to return to his friends. On leaving, Dingan gave him a document written by the Rev. Mr. Owen, in which the Zulu chief stated that he was willing to grant the land asked for, but the farmers must first recover and restore certain cattle that had recently been stolen from one of his outposts by a party of horsemen clothed as Europeans and armed with guns. He asserted that some of his people suspected the robbers were farmers, and he wished them to prove their innocence. It was, however, certain that the Zulus knew the plundering band to be some of Sikonyela's Batlokua.

The conditions seemed to Mr. Retief very easy of fulfilment. The stolen cattle were only about seven hundred in number, and the Batlokua, by driving them through an Emigrant encampment and thereby bringing the trail upon the farmers, had made themselves liable to be called to a reckoning. Mr. Retief therefore returned to the Caledon, sent for Sikonyela, and when that chief appeared informed him that he would be detained as a prisoner until the cattle stolen from the Zulus were given up. They were at once surrendered, and the great body of the Emigrants thereupon moved off to Natal. In the course of a few weeks nearly a thousand waggons crossed the Drakensberg.

The Emigrants spread themselves out along the Blue Kraus and Bushman rivers, and Mr. Retief then prepared to visit Dingan again to deliver the cattle recovered from Sikonyela. But by this time many of the farmers had acquired such a feeling of uneasiness as induced them to urge their leader not to venture again into the Zulu despot's power. A man whose life was of less value to the community they thought should be sent, and there were not wanting many who nobly volunteered to fulfil the dangerous task. Mr. Maritz offered to go with only three or four others. Put Mr. Retief objected to anything that might lead Dingan to suspect that they distrusted

him, and he therefore determined to go himself and take a suitable escort of volunteers. Some sixty of the best men among the Emigrants offered to accompany him, and several of these imprudently allowed their sons—boys from eleven to fifteen years of age—to go also. Before they left, Thomas Holstead and George Biggar arrived at the Bushman River. The last named was a young man who had been residing in Natal since 1834, and who came up from the Port as his father's agent to ascertain the requirements of the Emigrants in the way of trade. He remained for this purpose after Mr. Retief's party had left. Thomas Holstead, who had been thirteen years in Natal, and who spoke the Zulu language as readily as the English, went again with Mr. Retief as interpreter. There were also about thirty Hottentot servants leading spare horses with the party.

On their arrival at Umkungunhlovu, 3rd of February 1838, Dingan expressed himself highly satisfied with their conduct, regretting only that they had not brought Sikonyela bound to him to be put to death for having dared to plunder a Zulu cattle post. He asked for some firearms and horses which the Batlokua chief had been required to give up, but appeared satisfied when he was informed that these had been restored to their legitimate owners. As on the former occasion, the farmers were entertained with exhibitions of dances and sham fights. The day following their arrival Dingan requested the Rev. Mr. Owen to draw up a document to show that he had given the farmers a country to live in. Mr. Owen thereupon drafted a paper in the English language, which met with Dingan's approval after it had been thoroughly explained to him. The document was then signed, and the chief handed it to Mr. Retief. It was as follows :—

Umkunkinglove, 4th February, 1838.

Know all men by this,

That whereas Pieter Retief, Governor of the Dutch Emigrant Farmers, has retaken my cattle which Sinkonyella had stolen from me which cattle he the said Retief now delivered unto me :—I, Dingaan, King of the Zoolas, do hereby certify and declare, that I thought fit to resign unto him,

Retief, and his countrymen, the place called Port Natal, together with all the land annexed ; that is to say, from the Togela to the Omsovoobo Rivers Westward, and from the Sea to the North, as far as the Land may be useful and in my possession.

Which I did by this, and give unto them for their everlasting property.

Mark x of King Dingaan.

Witnesses,

M. Oosthuizen,
A. C. Greyling,
B. J. Liebenberg,
Moaro x Great Councillor.
Juliavius, x Do.
Manondo, x Do.

Grants similar to this, and covering the same ground or portions of it, had been previously made by Tshaka and Dingan himself successively to Messrs. Farewell, Fynn, King, Isaacs, and Gardiner; and under no circumstances would such a cession, in native estimation, mean more than permission to occupy the ground during the lifetime of the reigning chief, whose supremacy as feudal lord would be assumed. But Dingan from the first was only seeking to lure the farmers to destruction, and never intended his cession to mean anything.

The farmers were entirely thrown off their guard by the trouble that was taken apparently to entertain them. On the morning of Tuesday the 6th Mr. Retief and his party prepared to return to their friends, and went to take leave of Dingan, whom they found, as usual, surrounded by warriors. Great care had been taken to show them that according to Zulu custom no one could approach the chief armed, and consequently when they were requested to leave their guns outside the kraal, they did so without suspicion of danger. They were received in the ordinary manner, and were pressed to seat themselves and partake of some beer, which was being handed round freely. While in this defenceless position, into which they had been so carefully entrapped, Dingan suddenly called out "seize them," when instantly the Zulu soldiers rushed upon them. Thomas Holstead, the interpreter, cried

out "we're done for," and added in the Zulu language "let me speak to the king." Dingan heard him, but waved his hand in token of dissent, and called out repeatedly "kill the wizards." Holstead then drew his knife, and mortally wounded two of his assailants before he was secured. One of the farmers also succeeded in killing a Zulu, but the others were seized before they could spring to their feet. They were all dragged away to a hill where executions were commonly performed, and were there murdered by having their skulls broken with knobkerries. Mr. Retief was held and forced to witness the death of his companions before he was murdered. His heart and liver were then taken out and buried in the path leading from Natal to Umkungunhlovu, but no other mutilation of the bodies took place, nor was their clothing removed.

Some of the servants had been sent for the horses when the farmers went to take their leave. These were surrounded by a party of soldiers, and were also put to death. One of them nearly made good his escape by the fleetness of his feet, but eventually he was run down and killed like the rest. In all there perished on this memorable morning sixty-seven Europeans* and about thirty Hottentots.†

* Their names were Dirk Aukamp, Willem Basson, Johannes de Beer, Matthys de Beer, Barend van den Berg, Pieter van den Berg the elder, Pieter van den Berg the younger, Johannes Beukes, Joachim Botha, Gerrit Bothma the elder, Gerrit Bothma the younger, Christian Breidenbach, Johannes Britz, Pieter Britz the elder, Pieter Britz the younger, Pieter Cilliers, Andries van Dyk, Marthinus Esterhuizen, Samuel Esterhuizen, Hermanus Fourie, Abraham Greyling, Rynier Grobbelaar, Jacobus Hatting, Thomas Holstead, Jacobus Hugo, Jacobus Jooste, Pieter Jordaan, Johannes Klaasen, Abraham de Klerk, Jacobus de Klerk, Johannes de Klerk, Balthazar Klopper, Coenraad Klopper, Lukas Klopper, Pieter Klopper, Hendrik Labuschagne, Barend Liebenberg, Daniel Liebenberg, Hercules Malan, Carel Marais, Johannes van der Merwe, Pieter Meyer, Barend Oosthuizen, Jacobus Oosthuizen, Johannes Oosthuizen, Marthinus Oosthuizen, Jacobus Opperman the elder, Jacobus Opperman the younger, Frederik Pretorius, Johannes Pretorius Marthinus Pretorius, Matthys Pretorius the elder, Matthys Pretorius the younger, Pieter Retief, Isaac Roberts, Johannes

While the massacre was taking place, Mr. Owen sat in his hut, not knowing but that any moment he might hear the footsteps of the messengers of death. Dingan sent word to him that the farmers were being killed because they were wizards, but that he need not fear for himself. Notwithstanding this message, he felt that his life was in imminent danger, as the chief appeared to delight in nothing so much as in treachery. His interpreter, Mr. Hulley, was absent at the time, but his wife and his sister were with him. Another European who was present was a youth named William Wood, who had been living for several months at Umkungunhlovu in the capacity of interpreter to Dingan. Both Mr. Owen and Wood

Roberts, Christian van Schalkwyk, Gerrit Scheepers, Johannes Scheepers, Marthinus Scheepers, Stephanus Scheepers, Stephanus Smit, Pieter Taute, Gerrit Visagie, Stephanus van Vuuren, Hendrik de Wet and Johannes de Wet.

† It was at one time generally asserted, and is even yet believed by some persons, that John Cane instigated Dingan to commit this massacre. In the Colonial Records I have found only one letter bearing upon this subject. It is dated 29th of July 1838, and was written from Port Natal by Mr. Edward Parker, a recent arrival there, to Major Charters, Military Secretary to Sir George Napier. Mr. Parker accuses John Cane of having caused the massacre of Retief's party by treacherously sending a message to Dingan that the Boers, who had run away from the Colony against the wishes of the English Government, would try to drive him from his country, and that the English would not assist them. Parker states that Daniel Toobey, a clerk in Maynard's business at the Bay, informed him he had it from Cane's own mouth that he had sent such a message. On the other hand, in none of the statements by Zulus concerning the massacre is any such charge brought against Cane, though if it had been correct they would almost certainly have mentioned it. Neither Mr. Owen nor William Wood, both of whom would most likely have heard of such a message and been questioned by Dingan concerning its accuracy, say anything of it. Cane's subsequent conduct also is inconsistent with the commission of such an act. The real evidence against him, apart from popular belief, being very weak, and the probabilities of the case being all in his favour, I have not referred to this charge in my relation of the massacre. A similar charge was made against Henry Ogle, and even against the Rev. Mr. Owen, by a few prejudiced persons, but failed to obtain credit.

have published accounts of the massacre. They remained at Umkungunhlovu a few days in order that Dingan might not suspect them of having lost confidence in him, and then they retired to Natal. Before they left, Dingan asked Mr. Owen for his best waggon and most of his household effects, which the missionary did not think prudent to refuse.

A few hours after the massacre two other Europeans arrived at Dingan's kraal. They were the Rev. Mr. Venable and his interpreter, Mr. James Brownlee. The indunas at the different stations had shortly before this issued orders that no person whatever was to attend the mission services or schools, and Mr. Venable was deputed by his colleagues to visit the chief and endeavour to get these orders countermanded. But when he learned what had happened, he thought it best to say nothing of the object of his journey. As soon as he could prudently leave he did so, and gave notice to his colleagues at the different stations, all of whom retired immediately to the Bay.

At noon on the same day some ten thousand Zulu warriors marched towards Natal, with the intention of falling upon the Europeans before they could hear of what had happened and prepare for defence. Having divided themselves into several bands, at early dawn on the morning of the 17th they burst upon the foremost parties near the present village of Weenen, which has obtained its name, meaning wailing or weeping, from the events of that day. Men, women, and children were barbarously murdered, and every European in that part of Natal must have met with this fate had not, fortunately, two or three young men escaped, who hastened to inform those further on of the imminent danger in which they were. These at once made the best possible preparations in their circumstances, by forming lagers or camps by drawing their waggons in circles about them. Hardly had they time to effect this simple arrangement when they were were assailed, but in no instance were the Zulus able to penetrate these camps, though great numbers perished in the attempt. At one place on the Bushman's River they persevered for a whole day in the endeavour to reach

the farmers, whose ammunition was nearly exhausted when a shot from a three-pounder, in ploughing through a mass of the assailants, struck down several of their leading men, which caused the remainder to retreat precipitately. In the defence of the lagers the women were nearly as serviceable as the men, by loading spare muskets for their husbands and brothers.

As soon as the Zulus retired, the farmers hastened to learn the fate of their friends in front, when they found that all who had not had time to take shelter in lagers had been murdered. All their cattle had been swept off, and their household goods had been destroyed. The waggons had been broken to pieces and burnt for the sake of the iron in them, and beside the ruins lay the corpses of men and women, boys and girls, in some cases horribly mutilated. In one place two girls, named Johanna van der Merwe and Catherina Prinsloo, about ten or twelve years of age, were found still living, though one had received nineteen and the other twenty-one stabs of the assagai. They were tended with care, and recovered, though they ever after remained cripples. In another place, on a heap of corpses lay the mangled remains of George Biggar, the young Englishman from the Bay. Altogether forty-one men,* fifty-six women, one hundred and eighty-five children, and about two hundred and fifty coloured servants were thus cut off without warning.

* Their names were Christian de Beer, Stephanus de Beer, Zacharias de Beer, Josua van den Berg, Andries Bester, Wynand Bezuidenhout, George Biggar, Johannes Botha the elder, Johannes Botha the younger, Roelof Botha, Abraham Bothma, Louw Bothma the elder, Louw Bothma the younger, Jacobus Coetsee, Gerrit Engelbrecht the elder, Gerrit Engelbrecht the younger, Willem Engelbrecht, Laurens Erasmus, Michiel Grobbelaar, Stephanus Grobbelaar, Willem Jacobs, Johannes Joubert, Josua Joubert the elder, Josua Joubert the younger, Laurens Klopper, Frederik Kromhout, Christian Lochenberg, Hendrik Lochenberg the elder, Hendrik Lochenberg the younger, Marthinus van der Merwe, Willem van der Merwe, Joachim Prinsloo, Carel Roos, Johannes Roos the elder, Johannes Roos the younger, Adrian Russouw, David Viljoen, Willem Wagenaar, Pieter de Wet, Frans van Wyk, and Cornelis van Zyl.

The survivors of this fearful massacre, after ascertaining the full extent of their loss, held a consultation to decide upon what was to be done. One or two proposed to withdraw from the country, but they were put to shame by the women, who declared that they would never leave Natal till the blood of their relatives was avenged. Their earnest, deep seated religion supported them in this hour of distress, and gave a tone to all their proceedings. What had happened, said one, was in punishment for their sins, but let them call upon God and He would certainly help them. And then from that sorrow-stricken camp went up their cry to the God of heaven, that He would not forsake His people nor let the heathen triumph over them. The discussion was not so much what was expedient for them to do, as what was it their duty to do. The resolution they arrived at was that it was clearly their duty to punish the murderers of their friends. For this they were then too weak, but they were not left long without assistance.

Commandants Potgieter and Uys, upon hearing of these events, hastened across the Drakensberg to the support of their countrymen. The Englishmen at the Bay, having ample proof from the fate of Thomas Holstead and George Biggar that they were in the same danger, offered to raise a native commando to attack Dingan from one direction while the farmers should do the same from another. This was decided upon, but even in this juncture the jealousies which were the bane of the Emigrants prevented that action in obedience to a single will which alone could command success. After Mr. Retief's murder, Mr. Maritz became the head of the whole of the parties in Natal, and they desired that the expedition against Dingan should be under his command. But neither Hendrik Potgieter nor Pieter Uys would serve under him, nor would one of these serve under the other. At last it was arranged that Mr. Maritz should remain in command of the lagers in Natal, while Messrs. Potgieter and Uys should proceed against Dingan, acting in concert, but each having independent control over his followers.

Early in April the two expeditions set out. The

one from the Port consisted of about twenty English traders and hunters, the same number of Hottentots, and from a thousand to fifteen hundred natives. These last were nearly all fugitives from Zululand, so that their fidelity could be depended upon. The whole expedition was nominally under command of Mr. Robert Biggar, a brother of the young man who had been murdered;* but in reality each white chief, such as John Cane and Henry Ogle, had absolute authority over his own people and obeyed only such orders as pleased him. Four days after leaving the Port this commando reached a Zulu kraal, from which most of the men were absent. They secured here the whole of the cattle, variously estimated from three to seven thousand head, and a considerable number of women and girls. The bonds of discipline were too weak to stand the strain of this success. Cane's people raised a quarrel with Ogle's as to the division of the spoil, and a combat with sticks took place in which the latter were badly beaten. The English leaders saw that they could not advance further until the plunder was disposed of, and they therefore returned to Natal.

In the meantime Commandants Potgieter and Uys were advancing towards the Zulu capital. Between them they had three hundred and forty-seven men. Take the fact of their being mounted and armed with muskets into consideration, and this expedition must still remain one of the most daring events on record, considering that Dingan could bring into the field at least a hundred times their number of warriors, trained to despise death in battle, disciplined to move in concert, and armed with the deadly stabbing assagai. The loss of their horses at any moment must have been fatal to the commando. For five days their march was unopposed, the country which they passed through appearing to have been abandoned.

On the 11th of April they came in sight of a division of the Zulu army, which they attacked impetuously,

*He had been resident in Natal since 1833. His father and brother arrived in 1834.

and were drawn into a skilfully planned ambuscade. Before them were two parallel ranges of hills, between which was a long defile, and into this the farmers were led by the Zulus apparently retreating before them. Uys's division was in advance. When in the narrowest part of the gorge they found themselves surrounded by an immense force which had been lying in ambush, and by which they were so hemmed in that they could not fall back rapidly after firing and again load and charge, as was their mode of fighting with Moselekatse. The horses of Potgieter's division became almost unmanageable through the din created by the Zulus striking their shields. There was but one course open. The farmers directed all their fire upon one mass of the enemy, when, having cleared a path by shooting down hundreds at once, they rushed through and escaped. They left their led horses, baggage, and spare ammunition behind.

The loss of the farmers in this engagement was ten men,* among them the Commandant Pieter Lavras Uys. He was assisting a wounded comrade when he received an assagai stab. As he fell he called out to his followers to leave him and fight their way out, for he must die. His son, Dirk Cornelis Uys, a boy of fifteen years of age, was some distance off, but looking about he saw his father on the ground, and a Zulu in the act of stabbing him. The gallant youth turned his horse and rode to help his parent, but could only die at his side. Englishmen will remember how bravely another son of the same Commandant Uys conducted himself forty-one years later in our war with Cetywayo, and the manner of his death at Hlobane on the 28th of March 1879.

While this event was taking place, the Englishmen at the Port were about to leave for the second time. The quarrel concerning the division of the spoil taken on the first occasion was, however, not altogether made up, so that neither Ogle, nor his people, nor his partizans, would go again. The second expedition

*Pieter Lavras Uys, Dirk Cornelis Uys, Joseph Kruger, Francois Labuschagne, David Malan, Jacobus Malan, Johannes Malan, Louis Nel, Pieter Nel, and Theunis Nel.

consisted of seventeen Englishmen, about twenty Hottentots, and fifteen hundred natives, of whom between three and four hundred were armed with muskets. It was nominally under command of Mr. Robert Biggar, as before. A few miles south of the Tugela the commando came in sight of a Zulu regiment, which pretended to take to flight, left food cooking on fires, and even threw away a number of shields and assagais. The Natal army pursued with all haste, crossed the Tugela, took possession of a kraal on the northern bank, and then found it had been drawn between the horns of a Zulu army fully seven thousand strong.

The battle that was fought, on the 17th of April, was one of the most desperate contests that ever took place on that blood-stained soil. Three times in succession the Natal army beat back the regiments that charged furiously upon it. Then a strong Zulu reinforcement came in sight, and renewed the enemy's courage. Another rush was made, which cut the Natal army in two, and then all hope of successful resistance was over. One of the divisions tried to escape, but the only open path was down a steep bank of the Tugela and across that river. A Zulu regiment hastened to cut off the retreat of the fugitives, and many were killed in the water; but four Englishmen, two or three Hottentots, and about five hundred Natal natives managed to get through. The other division was entirely surrounded. But no lion at bay ever created such havoc among hounds that worried him as this little band caused among the warriors of Dingan before it perished. The young regiments were selected to charge upon it, while the veterans looked on from a neighbouring hill. Whole masses went down before the withering fire, the survivors recoiled, but again they were directed to charge. At last a rush of a regiment, with another in reserve close behind, carried everything before it, and the stubborn fight was over. A thousand Natal natives had perished, and probably three times that number of Zulus. Thirteen Englishmen lay dead on the field of battle, Robert Biggar, Henry Batts, C. Blanckenberg, William Bottomley,

John Cane, Thomas Carden, John Campbell, Thomas Campbell, Richard Lovedale, Robert Russell, John Stubbs, Richard Wood, and William Wood.

After this victory Dingan's army marched leisurely to Durban ; but fortunately the *Comet*, a small vessel bound to Delagoa Bay, had called at Natal and was then lying at anchor there. The American missionaries, except Mr. Lindley who had volunteered to remain behind and report occurrences, had already left in a vessel bound to Port Elizabeth. Mr. Owen and his family, with Mr. Lindley, and the surviving residents of Durban, took refuge on board of the *Comet* at night and on one of the islands in the lagoon during the day. The natives retired to the thickets. The Zulus remained nine days at the Bay, during which time they destroyed all the property they could find, leaving not even a dog or a fowl alive. They then returned to Umkungunhlovu to report themselves.

Some eight or nine Englishmen,—among them Alexander Biggar, Henry Ogle, Daniel Toohey, Charles Adams, and Richard King,—now resolved to try their fortune once more in Natal, and accordingly they left the island and sought out the natives in the thickets. The missionaries sailed in the *Comet* to Delagoa Bay and thence to the Cape Colony. They and most of their colleagues intended to return as soon as prospects should be favourable ; but of them all only Mr. Lindley, Dr. Adams, and Mr. Aldin Grout saw Natal again.

Commandant Hendrik Potgieter with his adherents also left Natal at the same time. Party feeling was running so high that there were not wanting those who attributed the disaster in which Pieter Uys lost his life to mismanagement on Mr. Potgieter's part. He had the country purchased from Makwana, and that abandoned by Moselekatse, to fall back upon ; and he did not therefore care to remain in Natal, where the opposing faction was much stronger than his own. A large party recrossed the Drakensberg with him. On the 16th of May an officer sent to make inquiry by the Civil Commissioner of Colesberg met them two days march on the inland side of the

mountains, moving towards Sand River. There they remained until the month of November following, when they proceeded onward to Mooi River and formed on its banks the first permanent settlement of Europeans in the present South African Republic. To the town which they built there they gave the name Potchefstroom in honour of their chief. Henceforth until September 1840 this party had a government of its own, separate from and independent of that of the other Emigrants. Its Volksraad claimed jurisdiction over the whole territory north of the Vaal and also over the northern half of the present Orange Free State.

The secession of Mr. Potgieter's adherents was, however, more than compensated by the arrival at Natal of fresh parties from the Colony. The largest of these consisted of thirty-nine families who came from Oliphants Hoek and were under the leadership of Mr. Carel Pieter Landman. In May Mr. Maritz's camp was visited by Fieldcornet Gideon Joubert, of the division of Colesberg, and Mr. J. N. Boshof. Mr. Joubert's object was to endeavour to induce the Emigrants to return to the Colony. Mr. Boshof was Civil Commissioner's clerk at Graaff-Reinet, and visited Natal from sympathy with his countrymen, whom he joined shortly afterwards. Both of these gentlemen drew up reports upon the condition of the people and the country. That of Mr. Boshof has been published, and that of Mr. Joubert is still in manuscript in the Colonial Office. The Emigrants were found to be fully resolved to remain in Natal and to punish Dingan as speedily as possible. Mr. Landman had been appointed Commissioner, and was absent on a visit to the Port, near which in compliance with a request of the English settlers a camp was about to be stationed. At this time there were in Natal about six hundred and forty male Europeans capable of bearing arms and three thousand two hundred women and children.

On the 16th of May Mr. Landman, with the concurrence of the few remaining Englishmen at Durban, issued a proclamation taking possession of the Port in the name of the Association of South African Emi-

grants. He appointed Mr. Alexander Biggar landdrost and Mr. William Cowie fieldcornet. Mr. Biggar, who was suffering under great depression of spirits consequent upon the loss of his sons, did not care to perform the duties, and therefore a few weeks later Mr. L. Badenhorst was appointed landdrost in his stead. He, in his turn, after a very short tenure of office was succeeded by Mr. F. Roos.

In July Sir George Napier issued a proclamation inviting the Emigrants to return to the Colony, promising them redress of well founded grievances, stating that they could not be absolved from their allegiance as British subjects, and announcing that whenever he considered it advisable he would take military possession of Port Natal. It had previously been announced that "the determination of Her Majesty's Government was to permit no further colonization in this part of Africa, nor the creation of any pretend d independent State by any of Her Majesty's subjects, which the Emigrant farmers continued to be." But proclamation and announcement alike fell upon deaf ears, for those to whom they were addressed were resolved not to return.

In August Dingan's army attacked the camp on the Bushman's River again, but was beaten off with very heavy loss, though only one farmer, Vlodman by name, was killed.

Most of the Emigrants were at this time in great distress from want of proper food and other needs of life, so much property having been destroyed and so many cattle swept off. Disease, in the form of low fever, broke out among them, probably induced by insufficient nourishment and clothing; and many must have perished if supplies of medicine and other necessaries had not been forwarded by their countrymen at the Cape. This winter was indeed one of such suffering and hardship that it was long remembered as the time of the great distress. Mr. Landman was now the nominal head of the Emigrants in Natal, for the health of Mr. Maritz had completely broken down, though he lingered in life until early in October.

In November a Commission sent by Governor Sir

George Napier visited Natal. Its object was to ascertain exactly the condition and number of coloured apprentices with the Emigrants,—these being entitled to full freedom on the 1st of December,—and to demand that they be permitted to return to the Colony. Mr. Gideon Joubert, the Commissioner, found no difficulty in carrying out his instructions. In most instances the farmers had already freed their apprentices, and where this was not the case they were without exception offered the choice of returning with Mr. Joubert or of remaining as servants with wages. Nearly all of them preferred to remain, so that Mr. Joubert brought back with him only eight men, eleven women, and twenty-one children.

In November Mr. Andries W. J. Pretorius, a man whose name was often to be heard during the next fifteen years, arrived in Natal, and was immediately elected Commandant General. Mr. Pretorius had visited the country on a tour of inspection just before the massacre of Mr. Retief's party, and had been so well satisfied with its appearance that upon his return to Graaff-Reinet he and his friends resolved to remove to it. The new Commandant General was a man of considerable wealth and of high character. His family traced its descent through many generations to Johannes Pretorius, son of a clergyman at Goeree in South Holland, who arrived at Cape Town in the early days of the settlement; and they prided themselves upon having preserved an unstained reputation for integrity during that long period. Mr. Pretorius, like most of the farmers of that day, had received so little education from books that he had no knowledge of modern history or the condition and relative strength of European nations, but in bible history he was as well versed as his remote ancestor could have been. His knowledge and his opinions indeed, as well as his virtues and his failings, were those of the seventeenth, not of the nineteenth century. At this time he was in the noontide of life, being thirty-nine years of age, and was in full vigour of mind and body.

Early in December a strong commando was ready to take the field against Dingan. It was under direction

of Mr. Pretorius as Commandant General, Mr. Landman being the officer next in rank. Guided by experience, the farmers determined to take a considerable number of waggons and some artillery with them for defensive purposes. Mr. Alexander Biggar, whose grief for the loss of his sons was inconsolable, joined the burgher army with a small party of natives to act as scouts. Altogether four hundred and sixty-four men mustered, exclusive of the Commandants.

The march towards Umkungunhlovu was conducted with the greatest caution, so as to prevent a surprise. Scouts were continually out in all directions, and every night a lager was formed by drawing the waggons up in a circle and lashing them together. The commando resembled an itinerant prayer meeting rather than a modern army on the march, for the men were imbued with the same spirit as the Ironsides of Cromwell, and spoke and acted in pretty much the same manner. There was no song, no jest heard in that camp, but prayers were poured forth and psalms were sung at every halting place. The army made a vow that if God would give them victory over the cruel heathen, they would build a church and set apart a festival day in every year to commemorate it. The church in Pietermaritzburg stands as a sign that they kept their vow. They did not wish to fight merely for the sake of revenge. On three occasions the scouts brought in some Zulus whom they had captured, and Mr. Pretorius immediately sent these to Dingan to inform him that if he would restore the property taken from the Emigrants they were prepared to enter into negotiations for peace.

Dingan's reply came in the shape of an army ten or twelve thousand strong, which attacked the camp at early dawn on Sunday the 16th of December 1838. The camp was on the bank of a river, which here formed a long and deep reach, giving complete protection on that side. Another side was also well protected by a water drain, then dry, with steep banks about fourteen feet deep, which opened into the stream. The Zulus attempted to effect an entrance into the camp by sheer pressure of numbers on the two open sides, and they persevered in their efforts

for two full hours, notwithstanding the terrible havoc created among them by the fire of the artillery and of the farmers' guns, which carried slugs three ounces in weight. At last they concentrated their strength on one point, when Mr Pretorius led a body of horsemen out and attacked them in the rear, while they were being mown down in front. This movement decided the action, for the Zulus, finding themselves between two fires and utterly unable to reach either, broke and fled. There were four or five hundred in the water drain and along the bank of the river, and these were all shot down. The farmers had three men slightly wounded, Mr. Pretorius himself being one of them. They estimated the number of Zulus lying dead around the camp at over three thousand. The ground was covered with corpses and gore, and even the water was discoloured. From this circumst nce the stream on the bank of which the carnage took place received the name of the Blood River.

On the 17th the commando moved forward, and on the 21st reached Umkungunhlovu, when it was found that Dingan had set fire to his capital and had fled with his army to the thickets and ravines skirting the Umvolosi River. The first man to enter the still burning town was Mr. Jacobus Uys, brother of the late Commandant, and next to him was young Jacobus Uys, the late Commandant's son. Mr. Carel Cilliers, the most earnest preacher and at the same time one of the very best warriors in the camp, was not far behind. But they found nothing living in that awful place which had been the scene of so many murders and so much woe. On the hill outside of the town they discovered the skeletons of Mr. Retief and his companions, who ten months before had fallen victims to Dingan's treachery, and whose murder they were then avenging. The bodies appeared never to have been disturbed since the day of the massacre. The riems with which the victims had been dragged to the place were still attached to the skeletons. All the skulls were broken, showing how thoroughly the murderers had done their work. The skeleton of Mr. Retief was recognized by some fragments of clothing and a

leather despatch bag which he had suspended from his shoulder. In this bag was found the deed of cession of Natal, written by Mr. Owen, in a perfect state of preservation.

After the interment of the remains, a camp was formed some miles further on, and then Mr. Pretorius sent a patrol of two hundred and eighty horsemen in pursuit of Dingan. A Zulu army was found in an extensive and broken valley having rocky and precipitous sides, and here for nearly a whole day the farmers were skirmishing. Towards evening they found that another body of Zulus was closing them in from behind, when they resolved to turn at once and cut their way out. In doing so they were obliged to cross a swollen rivulet, and here the enemy got among them and killed Mr. Alexander Biggar, five Emigrants, named Gerrit van Staden, Barend Bester, Nicholas le Roux, Marthinus Goosen, and Johannes Oosthuizen, and five of the Natal natives. The others got away in safety.

The commando then commenced its return march. When it reached the Buffalo River a patrol was sent out, which was fortunate enough to fall in with a herd of four or five thousand cattle guarded by only a hundred men. The guards were shot and the cattle seized.

During the absence of this commando, a military detachment arrived from Port Elizabeth and took possession of the Bay of Natal. It consisted of a company of the 72nd Highlanders and a few gunners, altogether about a hundred men, and was under command of Major Samuel Charters of the Royal Artillery. Mr. (now Sir) Theophilus Shepstone accompanied it in the capacity of Kaffir interpreter. After landing the troops, on the 4th of December Major Charters proclaimed that he had taken military possession of all the ground surrounding the Bay within two miles of high water mark, and declared martial law in force within these bounds. There was standing near the Point a substantial stone building, recently erected as a store for Mr. Maynard, with a small wooden building close by belonging to Mr. John Owen Smith of Port

Elizabeth. These were obtained from their occupants, and were converted into storehouses for provisions, magazines for arms, &c. Three guns were landed and mounted on neighbouring sand hills which commanded an extensive range. The troops were provided with tents, which they occupied until wattle and daub barracks could be erected. The whole encampment was enclosed as soon as possible with stockades cut in the mangrove thickets, and it then received the name of Fort Victoria.

The objects of this military occupation are stated by Sir George Napier in a despatch to Earl Glenelg, dated 16th of October 1838, to have been

1. To prevent all supplies and warlike stores from entering the Port, by which means alone he could prevent aggression against the native tribes by the Emigrant Farmers, and thus put a stop to further bloodshed.
2. To prevent the Emigrants establishing an independent Government, by being in possession of the only seaport through which gunpowder and other necessary supplies could be conveyed to them; and by which means he was sanguine enough to hope that emigration would cease.

In a proclamation dated the 14th of November 1838, His Excellency declared his determination to seize the harbour of Port Natal, erect a fort, and keep possession of the same until otherwise directed by Her Majesty's Government, in consequence of the disturbed state of the native tribes in the territories adjacent to the Port, arising in a great degree from the unwarranted occupation of parts of those territories by certain Emigrants from the Colony, being British subjects. In this proclamation it was stated that

"The said occupation shall be purely military and of a temporary nature, and not partake in any degree of the nature of colonization or annexure to the Crown of Great Britain; wherefore the said Port shall be, and the same is hereby declared to be, closed against all trade except such as shall be carried on under the special licence and permission of the Govern-

ment of this Colony, any clearance or permission granted by any British, Colonial, or Foreign Custom House to the contrary notwithstanding. And in order to ensure the maintenance of this prohibition, I do hereby authorize and require the officer who shall be in command of the said fort to prevent, by force of arms if necessary, the entry of any vessel into said harbour for the purpose of trade, or the landing from any vessel of any cargo of what description soever on the coast adjacent to the said fort, unless such vessel be provided with such licence as aforesaid."

The proclamation gave the commander of the fort power to expel or confine any persons whom he might consider dangerous. It directed him to search for, seize, and retain in military possession all arms and munitions of war which at the time of the seizure of Port Natal should be found in possession of any of the inhabitants, care being taken that the same should be kept in proper order, and receipts being granted to the owners thereof.

This action on the part of Sir George Napier was regarded in a very unfriendly light by the Emigrants, but neither he nor any other Englishman could look with indifference upon their design of establishing an independent republic upon the sea coast, with a harbour through which access to the interior could be had. Even those who sympathized most deeply with them approved of the Governor's taking possession of the Port, but would have been better pleased if it had been declared a permanent British possession and the safety and welfare of the Emigrants had been provided for.

Major Charters took possession of a large quantity of ammunition which was found in the stores of Messrs. Maynard and John Owen Smith, as well as the contents of a small magazine belonging to the Emigrants. Upon the return to Natal of the commando under Mr. Pretorius the Volksraad deputed Mr. Landman to confer with Major Charters, and to receive from him the ammunition which they hoped he would not detain after full information concerning them had been given. The Major, however, declined to release it

without a pledge from the leading Emigrants that they would not again cross the Tugela and would only use it for defensive purposes. This pledge they declined to give, on the ground that they were a free people and the ammunition was property which they had a right to.

At this time there were three small Emigrant camps close to the Port. One consisting of about five and twenty or thirty families, under Mr. L. Badenhorst, was near the head of the Bay. A second, rather larger, was at the Umlazi; and the third, of about fifteen families, was ten or twelve miles beyond in the same direction. The last two were under Andries de Jager and Jacobus Uys.

Major Charters returned overland to Cape Town as soon as the troops were settled, leaving Captain Henry Jervis of the 72nd in command. This officer held a commission under the Imperial Act for the prevention and punishment of offences committed by British subjects within the territories adjacent to the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. Under it he summoned a farmer who was accused of assault to appear before him, but the farmer declined to attend, alleging that he was a member of an independent community and responsible only to the landdrost appointed by the Volksraad. Thereupon Captain Jervis referred the case to Sir George Napier, by whom he was informed that it would be inexpedient to press the matter. Thus began and ended the attempt to exercise judicial authority over the Emigrants at Natal, for in no other instance was the slightest effort made to interfere with their civil government. In the absence of instructions from the Secretary of State, which were repeatedly solicited, but in vain, the Governor could do nothing more than inform them on every opportunity that they were still regarded as British subjects, and officially ignore their Volksraad and courts of law while all the time they were acting as an independent people.

At this time Pietermaritzburg* was laid out. It

* Now usually termed Maritzburg for the sake of brevity.

received its name from the late Commandants Pieter Retief and Gerrit Maritz. Here from this date onward the Volksraad, or Governing Council of the Emigrants, met. It consisted of twenty-four members, elected annually, who met every three months, and not only exercised supreme legislative power, but appointed all officials, the Commandant General included.

Early in 1839 an attempt was made by Captain Jervis to bring about an agreement of peace between the Emigrants and Dingan. He obtained a messenger from Henry Ogle, whom he sent to Dingan to ask that he would appoint delegates and direct them to proceed to Natal to talk matters over. As afterwards seen, Dingan had no intention of concluding peace. He had lost about ten thousand men in all the engagements, but his army was still so large that he was by no means humbled. He was, however, quite ready to enter into an arrangement which would enable him to keep a constant watch upon the Emigrants' proceedings. He therefore sent delegates to Natal with three hundred and sixteen horses and a message indicating a wish for peace.

On the 26th of March Dingan's delegates had a meeting close to the fort with Mr. Pretorius and some other leading Emigrants, in presence of Captain Jervis, when they were informed that peace would be made on the following terms :—

1. That the cession of land by Dingan to the late Mr. Retief for the farmers should be confirmed and ratified by him.
2. That Dingan should restore all the cattle, horses, arms, ammunition, and other property which his army had stolen from the camps and the farmers, and make good on demand all the damage sustained by the Emigrants from his people.
3. That any Zulu passing the boundary of the land ceded by Dingan, and thus coming within the acquired territory of the farmers, should be shot, and *vice versa*.*

* In Captain Jervis's report of this meeting (manuscript in the Colonial Office) the conditions are stated differently, but imply almost the same. The above is the wording of the terms as subsequently signed.

The Zulu delegates professed to consider these conditions fair and reasonable, but said they would require to be approved of by Dingan. They accordingly returned home, and shortly afterwards came back to the Bay with a message to Captain Jervis to the effect that the farmers' property had been collected and would be delivered to them if they would send for it. Captain Jervis hereupon communicated with the Emigrants at the nearest camps, and they with the Volksraad at Maritzburg. Upon this Mr. Pretorius assembled a commando of three hundred and thirty-four burghers near the junction of the Mooi and Tugela rivers, where he formed a camp, and then sent a Commission consisting of Messrs. William Cowie, J. A. van Niekerk, and J. P. Roscher, to Dingan for the property.

Dingan was found by the Commission at a new town built about four hundred yards from the site of the one that had been burnt six months before. He stated that much of the farmers' stock had died, and that many of the guns had been lost, but he sent back with the Commission thirteen hundred head of horned cattle, about four hundred sheep, fifty-two guns, and forty-three saddles, which were delivered at the camp on the 7th of June. To the Commission Dingan expressed himself as very anxious for peace, but circumstances that indicate the still unbroken spirit of the people are noted in the report of the interview which Mr. Cowie furnished to Captain Jervis. The great indunas were not sent to the Emigrant camp, on the alleged ground of fear, but two petty captains were deputed to arrange matters. These informed the Emigrant leaders that Dingan was quite willing to agree to the terms delivered to the Zulu delegates in presence of Captain Jervis at the Bay, to which Mr. Pretorius replied that there was then no obstacle to peace, that they estimated the losses and damages still due at nineteen thousand three hundred head of cattle, but part of that might be paid in ivory if more convenient. The captains then affixed their marks to the conditions of peace, and promised on behalf of their master that delegates of rank should ratify their acts and that a quantity of ivory which had already

been collected should immediately on their return home he sent to Mr. Pretorius on account.

As soon as the conditions were signed, the Commandant General wrote to Captain Jervis, requesting the delivery of the ammunition belonging to the Emigrants, on the ground that there could be now no pretence for detaining it. Captain Jervis replied that he would give it up immediately upon the following declaration being signed :—

"We the undersigned, Leaders of the Emigrant Farmers, parties to the late treaty of peace with the Zulus, and others, do hereby solemnly declare that provided the ammunition which was seized by the troops on the occupation of Port Natal is restored to us, it is not the intention of ourselves and people to turn our arms against the Zulus or any other of the native tribes, but to restrict ourselves to measures of self defence alone, on the territory which we now occupy."

Neither Mr. Pretorius, nor any other of the principal leaders, however, would admit the right of an English officer to impose any conditions whatever, and so the powder and lead remained in the magazine of Fort Victoria. That there was no scarcity of ammunition among the Emigrants was well known, and if other evidence had been wanting it was proved by a fire which broke out on the evening of the 3rd of June in one of the camps near Pietermaritzburg, in which nine individuals lost their lives, ten others were severely injured, and the waggons and household effects of twenty-nine families were utterly destroyed. The principal damage was caused by the explosion of the gunpowder stored in the different waggons.

On the 30th of June two messengers arrived at Maritzburg from Dingan. They brought no ivory, but said they had come to ratify the terms of peace and to enquire when the cattle would be taken over. But the Volksraad ascertaining that they were persons of no rank, declined to confer with them further than to direct them to inform Dingan that he must send some of his chief captains within twelve days, otherwise they would treat with him no longer, but settle

matters with a commando. On several occasions after that messengers arrived, but they did nothing else than deliver compliments, make promises, and apologize for mistakes, until it became evident that Dingan's only object was to ascertain whether the farmers kept in lager or were dispersing over the country.

At this time the Emigrants were agitated by a rumour that a large body of English colonists would shortly be landed at Port Natal with the object of overturning their Government. Great as was the danger from Dingan, they regarded this as greater. On the 31st of July the Commandant-General and the Volksraad wrote to Capt. Jervis: "we shall never allow people to establish themselves here without subjecting themselves to the jurisdiction of this community." "The bones," wrote they, "of our innocent and treacherously murdered relatives and friends at the Bushman's River will remain a lasting evidence of our right to this land until another beacon of similar materials shall overshadow ours." On the 11th of November the Volksraad passed a resolution to oppose the landing of immigrants without its previous consent, and if such immigrants should be attended by a military force too great to be resisted on landing, to carry on a guerilla warfare agaist them.

But their fears were groundless. The Home Government was indisposed to add another acre of land in South Africa to the Empire. Sir George Napier could get no instructions how to act. The 72nd Highlanders were expecting orders to embark for Europe, and the Governor therefore made up his mind to withdraw the little garrison from Fort Victoria and to leave the Emigrants entirely to themselves. His own opinion, often repeated and urgently pressed upon the successive Secretaries of State, was that Natal should be constituted a British Colony, but, as he stated in a despatch to Lord John Russell, dated 22nd of June 1840, "the reiterated expression by Lords Glenelg and Normanby of their merely temporary and conditional approval of the military possession of the port, their observations on the expense

attending it, and the apparently fixed determination of Her Majesty's Government not to extend Her Colonial possessions in this quarter of the world, made him feel confident that the colonization of that country would never be sanctioned, and therefore he felt the further retention of the post might give rise to hopes or even fears which it was probably the wish of Her Majesty's Ministers not to foster."

On the 24th of December 1839 the troops embarked in a vessel that had been sent for them. The ammunition of the farmers was at last restored without any guarantee as to its use, and they saw all the symbols of English sovereignty disappear, though in a friendly farewell letter of Captain Jervis he stated that they were still considered British subjects. Under such circumstances, however, they might reasonably conclude that the Imperial Government had practically abandoned its claim to their allegiance.

About four months before the departure of the troops a very important event took place in the Zulu country. Umpande, or Panda as he is usually termed by Europeans, one of the younger sons of Senzangakona, entered into a conspiracy against Dingan. In ability he was far inferior to either of his brothers, and almost immeasurably lower than his son Cetywayo in later years. But he possessed a large amount of low cunning, and he was clever enough to seize the opportunity that then occurred to improve his position. A great number of the incorporated Zulus, the remnants of tribes that had come under Tshaka as the only means of saving themselves,—were ready to rally round any leader who could give them reasonable hope of deliverance from incessant bloodshed and tyranny. The induna Nongalaza declared for Panda, and they joined him. The rebel chief with a very large following then crossed the Tugela, and sent three messengers to Landdrost Roos at the bay to ask protection from the Europeans. These messengers arrived on the 14th of September and stated that Panda was accompanied by Nongalaza, Sotobe, and six other great indunas.

The Emigrants at first regarded Panda with suspicion,

as it was by no means certain that his flight was not merely a pretence to draw them to destruction. But in an interview which he had with the Volksraad on the 15th of October, he convinced the members of his sincerity, and permission was given to him to occupy for the time being a tract of land between the Tugela and Umvoti rivers. On the 26th of the same month he was installed "Reigning Prince of the Emigrant Zulus" by a Commission from the Volksraad, of which Mr. F. Roos, landdrost of the camps around the Bay, was President. An arrangement was soon afterwards entered into that the Volksraad should demand from Dingan immediate payment of their losses, and that in the event of Dingan's non compliance the Emigrants should assist Panda to depose his brother, in which case he undertook to pay the debt. It was understood on both sides that the first clause was a mere matter of form, and Panda therefore paid about two thousand head of cattle at once.

In accordance with this arrangement, on the 4th of January 1840 the Volksraad directed Commandant General Pretorius to march against Dingan, to demand from him forty thousand head of horned cattle, and if they were not given, to take them by force. Ten days later a burgher commando of four hundred men, supported by five or six thousand of Panda's adherents under Nongalaza, set out for Zululand. Their approach was made known to Dingan by his spies, and recognizing the gravity of the position in which he was placed, he attempted—possibly in earnest—to come to terms with the Emigrants. There were two officers immediately under him whose advice he frequently sought, and through whom he carried on his government. Their names were Tambusa and Umthlela. The first named of these he now sent to the Emigrant camp to renew negotiations for peace.

Upon Tambusa's arrival he and his servant Kombazana were made prisoners, and contrary to all law and justice were brought to trial before a court martial. Panda and some of his officers were kept by Mr. Pretorius in his own camp as security against treachery, the column under Nongalaza being at some distance

and marching in a parallel line. These persons, who would assuredly do all in their power to cause the death of one of Dingan's magnates, were allowed to take part in the mock trial. Panda acted indeed in the double capacity of prosecutor and judge. He attributed the massacres of the Emigrants to the advice given to Dingan by Tambusa, and accused the chief prisoner of many other enormities. Tambusa, finding himself in the hands of those who were determined on his death, acted with the utmost calmness and dignity. He admitted the truth of what Panda asserted against him, and without asking mercy for himself, demanded the release of his servant on the ground that he was bound to obey any orders given to him. But Kombazana, on his part, displayed equal pride by refusing to be separated from his master even in death. They were both condemned to be executed, and the sentence was carried out a few hours later on the same day, 31st of January 1840.

This act of Mr. Pretorius,—for the chief blame must rest upon him,—was a great mistake as well as a great crime. It gave those who were jealous of his influence an opportunity to attack him, which they at once availed themselves of. In the Volksraad he was accused of having exceeded the authority entrusted to him by creating a tribunal with power of life and death. His partizans, however, were so strong that after a time the charges against him were allowed to drop.

Immediately after this event a messenger from Nongalaza brought word to the burgher column that on the day preceding, 30th of January, he had fought a great battle with Dingan's army, and had won a complete victory.

This battle proved to be a decisive one. At its commencement Dingan's army was superior in number, but a body of his troops went over to Panda's side, and turned the scale. Those who were faithful stood their ground, and fell as became Zulu warriors. The slaughter on each side was enormous. The two best regiments of Dingan perished. The veterans who had won their plumes under Tshaka preferred to die rather than show their backs to the traitors who had

deserted their cause, and the issue of the day was still doubtful when the cry echoed along Nongalaza's ranks, "the Boers are coming." It was not so, but the belief that it was answered Nongalaza's purpose. The remnant of Dingan's army, the men who could not flee from a foe armed with spear and shield, gave way in their fear of those dreaded horsemen who had power to deal out death without meeting it themselves. A bushy country spread out before them, and favoured their escape. The battle was over, and the terror which the Zulu name had inspired for twenty years as a thing of the past.

Dingan fled northward to the border of the Swazi country, where he built a kraal in a secluded and tolerably secure position. There he was soon afterwards assassinated by a Swazi who stole upon him unawares. Those who had adhered to him in his misfortunes then tendered their submission to Panda, by whom they were received with every mark of favour.

After the decisive battle, an enormous booty in cattle fell into the hands of the conquerors About forty thousand head were delivered to Mr. Pretorius, and were subsequently distributed among the Emigrants in proportion to their losses.

On the 10th of February Mr. Pretorius formally installed Panda as King of the Zulus, but in vassalage to the Emigrant Volksraad, to which he promised fidelity. It was arranged that he should remove his followers to the north side of the Tugela, but that the ground on which he was to reside should be an appanage of the Republic of Natal. To this end the following proclamation was issued by Mr. Pretorius on the 14th of February 1840 :—

In the name of the Volksraad I take possession of all the land from the Tugela to the Black Umvolosi; and our boundary shall in future be from the sea along the Black Umvolosi River to where it runs through the double mountains near its source, and so on along the Randberg in the same direction to the Drakensberg, including St. Lucia Bay, as also all sea coasts and harbours already discovered or that may yet be discovered between the mouths of the Umzimvubu and the Black Umvolosi rivers.