

After coming up with them they were five or six days before they passed Bosjesman's River, and afterwards came to a great Bay in the Sandy Country, with three Islands. (they are small, white and round, the furthest about four or five miles from shore). There is not much surf in this Bay. Sondags River falls into it.

Only five of their party remained together when they came to this bay, viz., De Larso, Larey, Couch, the armourer, and himself (Robert Price).

Here Couch died. They buried him and said prayers over him, and shook hands, and swore they would never separate again till they got into a Christian country.

At this Bay they were overtaken by John Hynes and Evans, who told them Warmington was left behind almost dead. Larey went back and brought him.

By this time they had found sand creepers, a kind of cockle that hides under the sand, so that they had plenty of victual when joined by Hynes and Evans.

The Armourer went back with Evans to look for Lillburne, Fitzgerald, and others, but never returned—losing his own life to save his comrades. Evans returned the same night.

After leaving Sondags river they came to a creek called Kuga, and then to Zwaartzkops River which is salt water, and from the top of the hill could see the Islands in the Bay of Sondag's River.

When he was alone on a Sandhill gathering Hottentot figs, De Larso, have laid down to sleep under a bush near him, he saw a man, whom he at first took for one of his companions, but seeing a gun on his shoulders, immediately ran to him as fast as he could, which was not fast, his legs being swelled, and fell down at his feet for joy! and then called to De Larso, who spoke Portuguese.

Their companions were below by a whale, by the sea side, as they intended to stop three days here, but when they were called, this man, John Potose, carried them to the house of Christian Feroos with whom he seemed to be a partner.

They all remained there three days, and three days more at another house in the neighbourhood belonging to Daniel Koning. Then five were sent to the *Landross van Swellendam*, he, Robert Price, remaining at the second house near Zwaartzkops River.

From *Landross van Swellendam*, Warmington and Larey were sent to the Cape. Hynes remained at Landross,* and Evans and De Larso came back to Zwaartkops with thirty or forty wagons and horses, and about 100 people under Capt Miller, intended to go to the wreck, in quest of more of the people who were saved.

Evans and De Larso went on with the party. They got within five days of the wreck, but came back, their horses being tired and the Mambookers opposing them, they left the wagons at the Nye, which is a very large river full of great stones, and has a rapid stream. It is near the Bamboo Bay, and is fresh water. In their journey from the wreck they had to go up it three days before they could cross, on account of the great stones. The country is inhabited on both sides.†

He—Robert Price—remained near Zwaartkops till the wagons and people returned. They were absent from the place at least a month, and had been within a day's journey of where they were robbed, but never were to the wreck, nor had token of the ladies and Captain, except that they saw, in a Kafir house, a great coat that they thought was the Captain's. In their journey they saw several dead bodies.

De Larso came from Cape in the same ship with him, Robert Price (*viz.*, *Laurwig*, Capt. Stainbeck) and is gone to Denmark. In the same ship came also William Hubberly, the 2nd Mate's servant, and Francisco Feancon who remained with the Kafirs, and were brought from thence by the Hottentots, and the same time with Lewis—these are also gone to Denmark.

Evans stayed at the Cape, intending to be a farmer, but he will be soon home when he hears of peace, as he was very much afraid of being pressed.

Although they saw no farms till they came to Zwaartkops, there are some beyond it, but not near the sea-coast.

* Mr. Dalrymple evidently mistakes pl of for office or person.

† The failure of this expedition—which occurring so soon after the wreck might have been expected to be fruitful in result—seems to reflect much discredit upon the ability and courage of its leader, Muller. He failed with forty wagons and horses, and 100 men, when Van Reenen succeeded with half dozen wagons and twelve men.

He remained with King at Zwaartkops 3 or 4 months, and used to go hunting with them. They set out in the morning and reached Sondag's River before night and there stayed to hunt. Plenty of elands, white and brown, which go in great droves, always with the wind, Hart Beesten, Buffaloes, &c.

He cannot of his own knowledge say any one is dead but William Couch. He cannot recollect how long they were from Zwaartkops to *Landross*, they were so happy to get into a wagon to ride, that the time past quick away, and they stayed three days at Captain Miller's.

The natives make a fire by rubbing sticks somehow.

The women are clothed in long skins, down from the shoulder to the knee, dressed very soft.

To make butter, they put milk in a leather bag and let it grow sour, and then tie a string to the bag and haul it up, and down over the branch of a tree till butter is made.



CHAPTER XI.

ANOTHER ACCOUNT OF THE LOSS OF THE "GROSVENOR,"
INDIAMAN—BEING THE REPORT OF WILLIAM HUBBER-
LY, ONE OF THE SURVIVORS ALLUDED TO IN THE
FOREGOING NARRATION.*

ON the 4th of August, 1782, the *Grosvenor*, Indiaman, was wrecked on the Coast of Africa. He remained with the wreck three days. Just after leaving the wreck, some of the natives seized the Captain, who was in the rear, and tried to strip him.

The first day they did not march above 4 miles, and saw some houses at a distance, but avoided them.

On the 2nd day they met a man who talked Dutch. Before they met this man the natives had used them very ill, throwing stones, but desisted on his talking to them. Whilst the ladies were with them, he thinks they could not have gone above 5 or 6 miles a day. Kereani carried the child from the wreck. In the 2nd day's march they left Bastiano Naardcen behind.

On the 3rd day after they left the wreck a party of about sixty kafirs, with women amongst them, led by a Captain, with their lances and targets, came to inquire what they were and where going, as they understood. They came round, and Mr. Hays, the purser, was sent to treat with them by signs. After some time he persuaded them to sit down, and he cut gold lace and put round the womens' heads, which they seemed pleased with, and brought some sweet potatoes and other roots, a few ears of Indian corn, and two or three cakes of bread, which were divided amongst the ladies and children, and people about the Captain.

This party continued with them until about sunset, and

* As before, the original is copied verbatim. Presumably it was dictated to Mr. Dalrymple, but it is not so stated.

then went away. The natives who had followed from the wreck had no aims, and continued stealing what they could find, but this party seemed to be people of a different village.

On the 4th day the Captain took a lance from one of the natives, which began a quarrel. They had been throwing stones at us as before. One of them, running away, fell down, and our people beat him with a stick. We continued heaving stones and running after them for 2 hours. After the man we beat fell, they began to heave their knobsticks, and sharp pointed sickles. Before they had only thrown stones.

When the Captain got the ladies and the baggage placed upon a rising ground,—the natives not having stones so ready to throw, he made signs for them to leave off, which they did at last, and on giving them buttons, &c., they brought some potatoes and their wounded man to show, who was very much bruised, and it was a wonder he was not killed. They stayed then about two hours, the natives seeming quiet. They then walked on, and were not molested.

On the same day they again saw the Dutchman. The Captain promised to reward him if he would conduct them to the Cape. He said he did not want money—only copper. The Captain said he would give him plenty of copper if he would go with them. He said he only wanted a little copper for himself and those about him, but would not go. They remained that night in a valley where there was good water.

On the 5th day they came to the Dutchman's house. When they came near, the natives came out from their houses, and the Dutchman brought his child and asked the Captain for a bit of pork. The Captain said they had very little, but gave him part. The Dutchman had no cattle himself, but there was plenty about the village. They would not sell any without the headman's leave. Several of the natives came out and wanted to talk to us, but the Captain would not let anybody hold conversation with them but the person who was talking to the Dutchman.

When the Captain found the Dutchman would not go, he requested a guide, promising to pay anything he asked, and send him back from the Cape. He pretended to talk to the

chief of the village, and two men were accordingly appointed as guides. Then the Dutchman took his leave.

Perceiving the guides seemed to be leading us into the country, most of our people objected to go inland, but by the Captain's persuasion, they went a little way. The natives kept following, throwing stones. When we came to a valley the Captain proposed halting, and endeavoured to make peace as before. When we halted, the guides joined the rest and began heaving stones. The Captain ordered everybody to sit down, and made signs for the natives not to throw stones, but they would not desist, and threatened to throw down great stones on us. They seized the bags in which our flour was, and ripped them up with their lances and scattered it on the grass. Upon this a party of the sailors got up and went away, leaving the Captain, officers and ladies. The Captain, &c., followed them. The natives stripped the ladies of their earrings, and everything they found hard. Threatening to kill them if they resisted.

Hubberley went on with Mr. Shaw, and came up with the sailors by the side of a river, most of whom joined them that night. But the Captain, Mr. and Mrs. Mosca, Mr. and Mrs. Logie, and some of the children, did not join that night but slept on a hill adjoining, and came up with them in the morning.

On the sixth day they crossed a river. This was the first river they had seen since they left the ship, but had passed a small creek before. After leaving the river he went on with a party of sailors and Lascars, leaving the Captain, ladies and passengers. Kircanco, with the child, was left with them.

Having straggled on this day about twenty miles, at night they halted and formed a party of about fifty. After parting with the Captain they were stopped by the natives who stole their buttons, but did not throw stones or offer any violence. They saw many huts near the banks of the river, but had no further intercourse with the inhabitants.

On the 7th they passed up inland, just keeping in sight of the sea, in hopes of seeing people. Saw but few, and those would not spare anything, but offered no violence. This day they did not travel above twelve miles.

On the 8th they came to the mouth of a very large river. It was salt near the mouth, and about quarter mile over, with a rapid stream, but the water was fresh where they crossed. They attempted to go up the banks, but they were so rocky and steep they could not. The Lascars went up a large hill full of wood, and the rest followed, where they found a spring of fresh water, and that night got about a mile and a half from the mouth of the river.

On the 9th they tried to go further up the country. There was a large creek which they attempted to get round, but could not. Here they left Wren, Bianco, and Paro, and fell in with some huts in the creek, about a mile from the river, Captain Talbot and Mr. Williams bought some milk for buttons. All that day was spent in looking for a passage, but they could not find any, and slept nearly in the same place.

On the 13th they left the Lascars, crossed the creek at low water, and found plenty of wild celery and sorrel on the riverside. The banks of this creek are muddy. They walked a good way alongside of it trying to find a path up the country, and had not gone above three miles when the natives appeared, and again threw stones and robbed them. This day they left Colonel D'Espinette.

On the 11th they had not got above a mile when they were again attacked and beaten by the natives. Some of the men, running away, found a passage across the river. They passed through a great village before they arrived at it, the inhabitants of which did not follow or offer to molest them.

When Hubberly came up he found them standing in the middle of the river, they being fearful it was too deep to cross, but he, being a good swimmer, crossed it, and found it up to the shoulders only, with a few deep holes in it.

After crossing the river, they walked on, keeping the sea in sight; saw many inhabitants and met with a small river about 3 or 4 o'clock,—which they crossed, and found another large village, the people of which offered them no molestation, but would not spare them any food. After passing this village, and going up a very high hill, they left Capt. Talbot, and about two miles further came to another village, through which they passed without interruption; the inhabitants only coming out to look at them.

On their leaving this village, one of the natives ran on before, making signs for them to follow, but he soon got out of sight. They had not, to that time, seen any wild beasts, but few snakes, and those small. They halted that night in a valley and saw villages about a mile or two distant.

On the 12th they passed some villages in the forenoon, but saw none in the afternoon, nor did they see the sea all day. In the evening they came to the bed of a large river, almost dry, running between two mountains, which they crossed and then halted for the night.

On the 13th they kept towards the sea, not seeing any inhabitants and got sight of it before dark at about 4 miles distance. This day they met with no beaten paths, but walked through long grass nearly up to their heads.

On the 14th they came to a river about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the sea, but were obliged to stop on account of high water. Saw a village at a distance. Whilst they were here some of the inhabitants came down and behaved very quiet, and when signs were made to them for a bullock, they drove one down and sold it for a gold watch chain, killed it for them, and gave them lances to cut it up, and brought them milk which they sold for buttons.

Having dressed the bullock, they took the hide and cut it up for shoes, and gave the guts to the natives, which they broiled and ate.

After sharing out the remains of the bullock they crossed the river. Hubberly carried over Mr. Shaw's clothes, who crossed naked. On their crossing the river some of the natives seemed inclined for mischief, but were prevented by their chiefs (as he afterwards knew them to be, by beads about their necks, &c.) These were quite a different people from those where the ship was wrecked. Their hair was curled in strings, with brick-dust and grease. They were the first Hubberly had taken particular notice of. They went on after passing this river, about a mile and a half nearer the sea, and then stopped for the night.

On the 15th they travelled about 20 miles along shore, and saw no inhabitants.

On the 16th the same.

On the 17th they divided into two parties. Mr. Shaw's

party, which consisted of about twenty, including Hubberly, went up the country leaving the others. This day their remaining stock of beef exhausted, they eat the bullocks hide which they had made into shoes. In their march they met with something like cabbage sprouts which made them sick. When boiled it looked like tobacco, and growing near some old huts, they concluded it was wild tobacco.

On the 18th they walked slanting inland about twenty miles. Met with no inhabitants, but saw several old beaten paths.

On the 19th they passed some old uninhabited villages, and met with plenty of water, but no food except wild celery and sorrel.

On the 20th, resolving to come back to the shore, they kept slanting towards the sea. The country was mostly woody, with a few large sand hills about four miles off shore.

On the 21st they got to the seaside, but the tide being in, they could get a few periwinkles, which they ate raw.

On the 22nd they came to a fisherman's hut. He had no cattle but gave them some muscles, and showed them where to get more. At first they ate them raw, and the black man boiled a Cadgaree pot full for them.

On the 23rd they travelled about twenty miles along the beach, and gathered shell fish. The beach was fine hard level sand, but the mountains woody and uninhabited. Towards evening they crossed a small salt water river, and saw some huts at a distance.

On the 24th* they came to a large river about ten miles further. The tide was running out strong. John Brown, Hynes, Fitzgerald, Fruil and Simpson, swam over. Warmington followed them, lost part of his clothes, and narrowly escaped being drowned. Those that remained thought it most prudent to make rafts to swim across, but being very hungry, went down to the shore to see what they could pick up. They found a few periwinkles and limpets. When they returned they found the stream so rapid that they thought it best to go up the country, and cross it the next day. This night they lost their flint and steel.

* Hubberly seems to have had a remarkable memory, as (according to Mr. Dalrymple) he fixes every march with its date.

On the 25th they tried to find a passage up the river side, but could not get above half a mile on account of the rocks. They then returned to fish, and four more of their party being determined to swim across, were left at the river side, which they crossed at low water. After making another fruitless search for a passage, they returned and finding some clothes (which they afterwards learnt the swimmers had left behind as too heavy) concluded they were drowned, which determined them, at any rate, to go up the country in search of a more favourable crossing.

On the 26th they left Jacob Augel behind, he being sick and unable to walk, and about a mile and a half off found a passage up the country, which they followed all day without being able to cross the river, and saw several sea cows, an animal with which this river abounds. The country was wooded but not inhabited, though there were marks of inhabitants being there. This day they killed a snake about three feet long and eat it. At night they kept strict watch, being fearful of the sea cows, which came out of the river to graze upon the banks. They are as big as two oxen and of a blackish colour.

On the 27th they crossed the river about seven miles from the mouth, and saw several huts but no inhabitants. They walked down towards the sea, and ate of a purging black berry, which grew on a tree like a cherry tree, and a plum, blue, with a stone the size of an Orlean plum. This night they slept in a thicket near the side of the river.

On the 28th at sunset they got to the side of the sea, about four miles from the river's mouth, and could get no provisions, but saw a deer.

On the 29th they travelled along shore and stopped at low water to gather limpets and periwinkles, after which they walked on about fifteen miles.

On the 30th they still kept along shore, but saw nothing particular.

On the 31st they came to another river, where they halted for two days. The weather blowing hard there was nothing to be got but sorrel and celery from the rocks. Plenty of drift wood coming on shore, they made a raft, binding it with their clothes, and a root weed which grew on the shore. Hubberly swam the raft over, with one

person on it at a time only. Whilst they were here a Lascar of the Captain's party came up with them, who told them that the Captain, Mr. Newman, and a great many others, had left the ladies the same day as they did, Colonel and Mrs. James came on with the Captain's party. but were left behind with a few sailors who determined to continue with them. In their march they stopped at different places three days for the Captain, who was sick. When the Captain's party arrived at Seacow River, and finding the stream too rapid to cross, they went up country, leaving the Lascar, who swam across.

On the 34th they set off again, and in the evening came to another river, which they could not cross till low water. They found here nothing but celery and a few berries.

On the 35th they crossed the river, about two miles from the mouth, and came down to the sea again at low water, and got some muscles and limpets, after which they walked on till 5 o'clock, and finding a small running stream, they stopped for the night.

On the 36th they found a fisherman's hut on the beach with only one man in it, and there stayed until low water, and he showed them the best place to gather muscles, after which they walked on till they came to a small river and there slept.

On the 37th they crossed the river at low water, about a quarter mile from the mouth, got some muscles, and walking on until the evening, found a standing pool where they halted. On the banks of this pool they saw the foot-marks of cattle that had been down to drink, but no signs of the country being inhabited.

On the 38th they kept along the beach—at low water got some muscles and oysters, and saw cattle grazing at a distance, but no people.

On the 39th they found plenty of shellfish, and came to a small river where they stopped, and crossed it at low water. Two hours after passing this river Mr. Shaw, the second mate, being very ill and unable to proceed, they halted for the night.

On the 40th they walked slowly along the beach, stopping several times for Mr. Shaw, who grew worse. At low water they got plenty of shellfish, and finding a spring of good water, halted for the night, during which it rained very hard.

On the 41st they came to another small river which they crossed at low water, about a mile and a half from the mouth. Mr. Shaw continuing very ill, they halted for him several times, and finding a thicket near the beach, where there was good water, rested for the night.

On the 42nd they proceeded on their journey ; Mr. Shaw grew much worse.

On the 43rd, finding Mr. Shaw unable to walk, they halted 3 days, at the expiration of which time he died. Whilst waiting for Mr. Shaw, a party of the natives came down, and signs being made them for a bullock, they were given to understand they had some. Some of them wanting to go with the natives up the country for the bullock, signs were for them to keep back, and one should be brought, but they never returned. During this 3 days halt they had plenty of shell fish, but their water was a mile distant from them.

On the 47th, in the morning, they buried Mr. Shaw, and then proceeded on their journey.

On the 48th they came to a small river, and, seeing some huts on the opposite side, they crossed it at low water. Upon crossing this river about 20 of the natives came, before they could get on their clothes, took some of their jackets, cut the metal buttons off and then threw stones at them. They saw cattle grazing at a distance, but when they made signs for a bullock, the natives threatened to heave their lances, upon which they left them and proceeded on their journey.

Four or five days after they met with 2 Lascars, who had stopped at a Malay's hut near the sea side. He told them he could procure provisions provided that they had any thing to purchase it with. Mr. Williams gave him a gold watch chain, and some of the people gave him a few rupees. He promised to come back next day with a bullock, but never returned. The wind blew so hard all this day, that they could not get anything from the rocks.

About the 55th, after waiting 3 days and the Malay not returning, they concluded he would not come back at all, and therefore set out on their journey, and in the evening at low water, finding plenty of shell fish, stopped for the night.

On the 56th they came to the mouth of a large river, on

the opposite side of which they saw a woman and two-children catching shell fish. They made signs to her to direct them where to cross, and she, in return, made signs to them to go further up the country, which they did for the remainder of the day, without being able to cross. This day the Lascar that belonged to the Captain's party was left behind.

On the 57th they crossed the river early in the morning, and, seeing some of the natives, made signs to them for provisions, who, in return, made signs for them to go down towards the sea, which they accordingly did, and reached it before the evening, and could get nothing but sorrel and wild celery, nor had they any fresh water that night.

On the 58th they walked along the beach, and, at low water, got some shell fish. They also met with a small fresh water stream, but had no water at night. There was plenty of cattle grazing at a distance, but they saw no inhabitants.

On the 59th they came to the banks of the Stoney River, and finding fresh water, slept there that night. It rained very hard and was blowing weather all day. Off the mouth of this river, in the sea, there is a large rock, which appeared like the wreck of a ship, at the distance of about a mile and a half from the shore.

On the 60th they got on to the rocks to fish, and there found Geo. McDonald, the carpenter's mate. He had left the Captain at Sea Cow's River, where the Lascar did, and gave the same account of him. The Captain and the rest of his party went up the country and McDonald swam across the river. He said he had been at the mouth of the Stoney River six days, and had attempted several times to cross it, but could not. There was some huts near the river's mouth, where he had been, but could not get any refreshment from the natives. He had also seen Bianco and Paro between Sea Cow and Stoney River. This night John Howes died.

On the 61st they went up country for a place fit to cross the river, and left McDonald behind, he being lame and not able to walk. At two miles distance they came to a village, and asked the inhabitants for provision, upon which signs were made for them to depart. After which they arrived at another village, where two men came out of

an hut, brought some milk and wanted "*zimbe*" for it. Mr. Williams cut some buttons off his coat and offered them, which they refused and made signs for rings for their fingers and arms, and when they found none was to be had they drank part of the milk themselves, carried the remainder to their hut, and returned brandishing their lances and heavy stones, and were joined by several others, who pursued them some considerable distance. In the evening they came to the summit of a very high hill, and perceiving the river much narrower, determined to go down and cross it. The natives following, rolled down large stones after them, and then came down and searched and beat them. They found on Mr. Williams part of a watch which they took, and at sunset left them. About 11 o'clock this night they made an attempt to cross the river, but finding it too deep, they thought it most prudent to remove, for fear of another visit from the natives in the morning.

On the 62nd they kept along the banks of the river, and came to a small village, where they were stopped as before, and a gold watch taken from Mr. Williams, after which a black man joined the natives, who could talk Moors, Portuguese, and Dutch, and being told what had happened, made them return the watch, but when the Kafir saw it opened he desired to have the case, which Mr. Williams accordingly gave him, and desired to have a bullock or any other food in return, but was told they had not enough for themselves. They then asked the black man how far they were from a Dutch settlement? He said not far, but he did not know what distance, and showed them where to cross the river, in order to proceed to the Cape, on which Mr. Williams gave him the inside of the watch. A little before dark they crossed, stepping from one large stone to another, between which, in many places, it was very deep.

On the 63rd they walked down towards the sea, and saw one hut only, with a woman in it. In the evening they found fresh water, and some small red berries growing on a large tree, which had a dry woody taste.

On the 64th they got down to the sea, and found plenty of muscles and oysters. This day James Stockdale grew very sick.

On the 65th they kept along shore and at low water found shell fish. It was drizzling rain, and the wind blew hard all day. At night they came to a small river. Stockdale grew much worse.

On the morning of the 66th they crossed the river, and told Stockdale they would stop at low water to catch shell fish, and wait till he came up.

On the 67th they kept along the beach. When Stockdale came up with them in the evening, he was almost dead.

On the 68th Stockdale, being unable to proceed, was left behind, after which they walked along the beach, but it being hard blowing weather they could get no refreshment. The coast was rocky and mountainous, with no signs of inhabitants.

On the 69th at low water, they got a few muscles but no fresh water.

On the 70th they came to the mouth of a large river, and being exceedingly thirsty, dug a large hole in the sand, and found some brackish water. After refreshing themselves with it and some muscles, they proceeded up the country to find a crossing. The country was woody, mountainous, and uninhabited. In this day's march they found plenty of sorrel, and a black berry that grew up very high trees.

On the 71st they crossed about 7 miles from the river's mouth, about middle deep. The water was fresh where they crossed. After crossing this river they walked on, and at night stopped at a thicket about four miles from the sea, where they found a black plum, very good, growing on a large high tree.

On the 72nd they reached the sea, and got plenty of shell fish and fresh water.

On the 73rd they crossed 2 small rivers.

On the 74th they fell in with a party of the natives who beat and then left them.

On the 75th at low water they caught a good many shell-fish, which they had no sooner done than the natives came down, and again beat them and took away their fish. Hubberly was so much beaten that he fainted away.

On the 76th the natives came down again, and took away some of their clothes, but did not beat them.

On the 77th they came to the mouth of another large

river, where they found plenty of muscles and oysters, but no fresh water. It was blowing weather all day.

On the 78th it continued raining all day, and the ground being very dry sucked it up almost as fast as it fell. But much in want of water, to spread the clothes to catch the rain, and stopped under the shelter of the trees until next morning.

On the 79th at low water, they found a small stream that was rather brackish, the tide having flowed into it. It continued raining all day. In the evening they caught a dog which they supposed belonged to some of the natives. They hung it with hankerchiefs, cut it up with muscle shells and then broiled it.

On the 80th they went to the rocks and got some shell fish which the natives took from them, and then put their fire out, which obliged them to go back to the place where they had stopped the preceding night, and had left a fire burning (a rule of theirs.) This night John Suffman died.

On the 81st they found better water and plenty of shell fish. A discharged soldier, servant to Mr. Beale, whom he called Jonas, drank too freely of the water and died in the night. Mr. Trotter also grew very ill.

On the 82nd the weather being settled, they thought of crossing the river, but Mr. Trotter begged they would stay with him that day. Some of the natives came down, beat and used them very ill, but went away in the evening.

On the 83rd they made a raft, which Hubberly swam across, with Mr. Williams, and Mr. Taylor hanging upon it, and swimming a little. Mr. Trotter was left behind.

About twelve days after they came to a large river; some natives appeared, and made signs that they did not understand, and then hove stones, after which they took Mr. Williams, threw him into the river, and there stoned him to death.

When Mr. Taylor and Hubberly saw that, they tried to escape, but Mr. Taylor not being able to run away, he left him and hid himself in a thicket. The natives overtook Mr. Taylor and bruised and cut him in several places with stones, after which they searched about for *him* with their dogs, but not finding him, at sunset they departed, after which he returned to the mouth of the river, where he found Mr. Taylor and persuaded him to cross, which they accordingly did early next morning on a raft.

After crossing the river Mr. Taylor grew so faint and ill from the wounds he had received the preceding day, as scarce to be able to walk, which made them halt very often. This day they found plenty of shell fish on the beach, but no fresh water.

The next morning Mr. Taylor was too ill to proceed any further, and being very thirsty, he went in search of water, and having found a spring about a mile off, returned with some in two large shells to Mr. Taylor, which recovered him a little, but in the afternoon he grew worse and died.

Hubberly being now left alone, very much fatigued, and his legs greatly swelled, stopped two days to rest himself in a thicket near the place where Mr. Taylor died. He then walked along the beach eleven days by himself, at the expiration of which time he grew very ill, and finding it impossible to subsist much longer on the beach, he determined at any rate to go up the country in search of the natives, that they might either supply him with food or kill him, as they had done some of his companions, and perceiving some cattle grazing at a distance he accordingly walked up the country, and following their track, at about three miles distance from the sea he came to some huts, where he found only women and children, the men being out hunting. The women behaved very friendly and gave him some milk. In the evening the men returned with some meat, which they dressed and gave him a part.

He stayed with these people three days, and slept in the cattle kraal amongst the cows. Whilst he remained with them they gave him some milk, which was the only food they had for themselves.

After being thus refreshed and having procured the best directions the natives could give him to the Cape, he left them, and in the course of ten day's journey passed thro' several villages, the inhabitants of which were very friendly, and gave him milk. In one village a few women and children threw stones at him, but they were instantly prevented by the men.

At length he arrived at a small village, which was the last of the huts, where he found Thomas Lewis, who told him that Bianco, Paro and three Lascars were at a neighbouring village on the sea side. Here he remained with Lewis until the party of Hottentots, sent by Daniel King, arrived, and conducted them to the Cape.

CHAPTER XII.

AN EXTRACT OF THE NARRATIVE OF THE LOSS OF THE "GROSVENOR" EAST-INDIAMAN, WHICH WAS WRECKED UPON THE COAST OF CAFFRARIA, SOMEWHERE BETWEEN THE 27TH AND 32ND DEGREE OF SOUTHERN LATITUDE, ON THE 4TH OF AUGUST, 1782; COMPILED FROM THE EXAMINATION OF JOHN HYNES, ONE OF THE UNFORTUNATE SURVIVORS; BY MR. GEORGE CARTER, HISTORICAL PORTRAIT PAINTER, UPON HIS PASSAGE OUTWARD BOUND TO INDIA.

ON the 13th day of June 1782, the *Grosvenor* sailed from Trincomale, [in the East Indies,] and about a month after saw a sail, which was the only one that came in view till the 4th of August, when the ship went on shore. Two days before it had blown very hard, and seems to have continued to do so, as at four o'clock a.m. on that day, being Sunday, the ship was lying to, under a fore-sail and mizen-stay-sail. As this was the case, it is more than probable that they had not been able to take an observation for some days, especially as the atmosphere is generally cloudy near the shore. They likewise may have been affected by the currents, which are often met with on the edge of banks near this shore, and which are known sometimes to be very rapid and uncertain.

These circumstances in some measure account for that error in their reckoning which occasioned the loss of the ship, for the man at the wheel heard Capt. Coxson tell the company, at dinner, the preceding day, that he then considered himself as 300 miles from the nearest land. Notwithstanding which, the next morning, before it was light, the ship struck.

John Hynes, a seaman, was it this time aloft, with one Lewis, and several others, striking and sending down the fore-top-gallant-mast. While there, Hynes asked Lewis if he did not think that it was land where the breakers

appeared ; to which the latter answering in the affirmative, they all hastened down to inform the third mate, whose watch it was, of so alarming a circumstance. Instead of paying any attention to their information, Mr. Beale only laughed at their want of knowledge, and gave not the least credit to their conjecture. Upon which Lewis ran into the cabin and acquainted the captain, who instantly came out, and ordered to wear ship. The helm was accordingly put hard a-weather, the mizen-stay-sail hauled down, the fore-top-sail and jib loosed, and the after-yards squared ; by which her head was nearly brought round. But before this could be accomplished, her keel struck ; and as she thumped very hard, every soul on board ran immediately upon deck.

Horror and apprehension was now strongly painted in every face : which the captain endeavoured to dispel by every means in his power. In order to pacify the passengers, he assured them that he was not without hope of being able to save them all ; and therefore begged them to be composed. In the first place he ordered the carpenter to sound the pumps. This was done ; but no water was to be found in the hold, the stern lying high on the rocks, and the fore part being considerably lower, all the water had run forward. About ten minutes after the ship had struck, the wind came off shore, a circumstance that gave additional strength to their apprehensions ; for they now were afraid they should be driven out to sea, and thereby lose the only chance they had of avoiding that death which seemed to await them.

The gunner was ordered by the captain to fire signal guns of distress, but upon his attempting to go into the powder room, he found it so full of water as to prevent all access into it. The captain then ordered the main-mast to be cut away ; and presently after, the fore-mast : but without any effect ; and the ship being within a cable's length, or about 300 yards of the shore, all hopes of saving her were at an end.

It is not in the power of language to describe the state of distraction to which every one on board, particularly the passengers, were at this time reduced. Despair was painted on every countenance. Mothers were crying and lamenting over their children ; husbands over both ; and all was

anarchy and confusion. Those who were most composed were employed in devising methods to gain the shore. As one of the most probable, they set about framing a raft of such of the spars, masts and yards as could be got together, and it was hoped that by this means the women, children and sick would be safely conveyed to land. In the meantime three men attempted to swim to the shore with the deep sea line. Two of them reached the land; the other perished in the attempt. By means of this small line a much larger one was conveyed to the shore, and by that a hawser. In drawing the latter ashore, the two men were assisted by a great number of the natives, who by this time had crowded to the water's edge to behold the uncommon sight.

The masts, driven by the surf and current, found their way to the shore; and as soon as they were got within reach they were quickly stripped of the iron hoops by the natives, that being the metal most prized, for making the heads of their assaygays or lances. When the hawser was hauled on shore, it was fastened round the rocks, and the other end made fast to the capstern on board the ship, by which means it was hauled tight. By this time the raft, about which most of the people on board had been employed, was completed, and a nine inch hawser fastened round it. It was then launched overboard, and veered away towards the stern of the ship, that the women and children might the more readily embark upon it from the quarter gallery. Four men got upon it, in order to assist the ladies; but had scarcely taken their station before the violence of the surf snapt the hawser in two, although it was a new one, and the raft driving on shore, was upset; by which means three out of the four men were drowned.

All hands began now to do the best they could for themselves. Some had had recourse to the only method there now appeared to be left for getting ashore, viz. by the hawser, made fast to the rocks, hand over hand; and despair giving strength and resolution, several of the seamen gained the shore, while others, who were incapable of accomplishing it, dropped, and were drowned; the latter amounted to fifteen. It should have been observed, that when the masts were ordered to be cut away, the yawl and jolly boat were hoisted out, with an intention to be applied

in saving the crew ; but these were no sooner over the side of the ship, than they were dashed to pieces by the violence of the surf.

About this time the ship separated, just before the main-mast ; and the bows veering round, came athwart the stern. The wind at the same time providentially shifted to its old quarter, and blew directly upon the land ; a circumstance that contributed greatly towards saving those who still remained on board, who all got upon the poop, as being nearest the shore. The wind, now, in conjunction with the surges, lifting them in, that part of the wreck on which the people were, in an instant rent asunder, fore and aft, the deck splitting in two. In this distressful moment they crowded upon the starboard quarter ; which soon floated into shoal water, the other parts continuing to break off those heavy seas that would have dashed them in pieces. Through this incident every soul on board, even the ladies and children, got safe on shore, except the cook's mate, who being drunk, would not be prevailed upon to leave the wreck. Upon this occasion, the seamen that had already gained the land by means of the hawser, did all in their power to succour those who needed their assistance.

By the time they had all got on shore, the day was far spent, and night came on apace. The natives, who had retired with the setting sun, had left the embers of their fire. With this our people lighted three others, of wood collected from the wreck, and having got together some hogs, geese and fowls, which had been driven on shore, they supped upon them for that night. In the meanwhile, every one wandered up and down the shore, in order to see what they could pick up that would be of service to them : and a cask of beef, a cask of flour, and a leager of arrack were found. These being delivered to the captain, he served out a proper portion of each to every person. Two sails, that had been driven on shore, were likewise brought to him ; and of these he ordered two tents to be made, for the ladies to repose themselves in, the ensuing night.

On the morning of the 5th, the natives, who were woolly-headed, and quite black, came down and began to carry off whatever seemed to strike their fancy. This conduct excited in the minds of our people, particularly the

women, a thousand apprehensions for their personal safety ; but they were agreeably surprised to find that they contented themselves with plundering. The next day was spent in collecting together every article that might prove useful upon the journey they were about to take, for it was intended to make the best of their way by land to the Cape of Good Hope. Upon examining what was collected, they found they were in possession of two casks of flour and a tub of pork. They had also two leagers of arrack ; but these the captain prudently ordered to be stove, lest the natives, getting at it, might, in a fit of intoxication, destroy them all.

Capt. Coxson now called all the survivors of the shipwreck together, and after having shared the provisions among them, represented 'that as he had, on board, been their commanding officer, he hoped they would still suffer him to continue his command.' To this it was unanimously answered, '*By all means.*' He then proceeded to inform them, that from the best calculations he could make, he was in hopes of being able to reach some of the Dutch settlements in fifteen or sixteen days. And in this the captain was not much mistaken : For as the shipwreck is supposed to have happened somewhere about the 29th degree of southern latitude, and the most northern of the Dutch colonies extend beyond the 31st degree, this might have been done, had not the intervention of the rivers, which lie between, too much retarded them. Encouraged by this hope, they set off on the 27th, in order to obtain the end of their wishes as soon as possible. Previous to their march, they made a Dutch Jack, which they carried before them, thinking that the colours of that nation would be sooner known and respected than those of the English. A man, whose name was O'Brien and who had been an East India soldier, having a swelled knee, would not set out with his shipmates, but stayed behind. The poor fellow said that as it would be impossible for him to keep up with them, he would endeavour to get some pewter and lead from the wreck, of which he would make little trinkets to amuse the natives, hoping thereby to ingratiate himself with them, and learn their language, till he should be better able to get away. He added, that he might as well even die with them as to end his life on the way in excruciating pangs from pain and danger.

They now all moved forward, and were followed by some of the natives, others staying by the wreck. As our people proceeded, they found a tolerably well-trod path from village to village. The Caffres continued to follow them, for about three miles, taking away from them, from time to time, whatever they liked, and sometimes throwing stones at them. They soon after were met by a party of the natives consisting of about thirty, whose hair was made up in the form of sugar-loaves, and their faces painted red. Among them was a man who spoke Dutch. His name, as they afterwards learnt, was Trout. Having committed some murders among his countrymen, he had fled to these parts for refuge and concealment. When he came up to the English, he enquired who they were, and whither they were going; and on being told that they were English, had been cast away, and were endeavouring to find their way round the Cape of Good Hope, he informed them that their intended journey would be attended with unspeakable difficulties; that they had many nations to go through, and many deserts to pass, exclusive of the dangers they would experience from the vast numbers of wild beasts they were sure to meet with; all of which, he said, would render their attempt nearly impracticable.

This information did not in the least contribute to raise the spirits of the shipwrecked wanderers. They offered the man any money he should require to conduct them to the Cape, but could not prevail upon him to undertake it. The reasons he gave were, that he was afraid of putting himself into the power of the Dutch. Besides which, as he had a wife and children among the natives, he was well-assured that they would never consent to let him go, if he was ever so much inclined to do it. Finding their solicitations on this head fruitless, they pursued their journey, and travelled on in the same manner for four or five days, the natives constantly assembling about them in the day time, and taking from them whatever they pleased; but as soon as the sun went down they invariably retired. During their stay, however, they kept the travellers in continual alarms by handling the ladies roughly, and exasperating their husbands in particular, and the people in general, to acts of violence.

As they went on, they saw many villages, but kept as far from them as possible, to avoid the impertinence of the

inhabitants. They now came to a deep gully, where they met with three of the natives, who all had lances in their hands, and upon their approach called out *Zembe*. This was understood to mean, *Give us something*; but perhaps it was intended to signify that they took them for Zimbaous, as it appears by the chart that there is such a nation; and with whom, at that time, they might probably be at war; for they held their lances several times to the captain's throat. At last being irritated beyond his patience, the captain caught hold of one of them, and wrenching it out of the fellow's hand, broke it, and kept the barb. The natives then went away, and seemed to take no further notice of them for that day.

But coming the next day to a very large village, they found there the three natives just mentioned, who had collected together three or four hundred of their countrymen; who were all armed with lances, and targets made of the hides of elephants. As the English advanced these people stopped them, and began to pilfer, and to insult them; till at length they fell upon them and beat them.

Our people now concluding that it was the intention of the natives to kill the whole body, they formed the resolution of defending themselves to the last extremity. Accordingly, after having placed the women, the children, and sick, at some distance, under the protection of about a dozen of their company, the remainder, to the number of eighty or ninety, engaged their opponents for about two hours and a half; maintaining, during the whole time, a kind of running fight. And at length having got possession of a spot of rising ground, where they could not be surrounded, a sort of compromise took place between the contending parties.

During the encounter a great number were maimed on both sides, but none killed. Mr. Newman, one of the passengers, had the shaft of a lance stuck into his ear, and from the violence of the blow attending it remained insensible for two hours. After a pacification had taken place, several of the company cut their buttons from their coats, and gave them to the natives, together with other little trinkets; upon which they went away and returned no more.

As soon as Mr. Newman was tolerably recovered, the

English proceeded on their march; and that gentleman being supported by two men, they were able to get on five or six miles further before it grew dark. They now made a fire, and rested for that night in the open air. During the night they were so terrified with the noise of the wild beasts that the men were obliged to keep watch and watch, for fear they should approach too near. What a situation this for ladies who had been delicately brought up, and lately used to all the luxuries of the East!

The next morning they were joined again by Trout, the Dutchman, who informed them that he had been on board the wreck, and had got from it a load of iron, pewter, lead, and copper, which he was now carrying to his Kraal. He then enquired how they came to fall out with the natives, an account of which he had received. He advised them to make no resistance in future, especially, as from their not having any weapons of defence, all opposition would be ineffectual. And he was of opinion that if they followed this advice they would meet with less obstruction from them. He was dressed in a morning gown, belonging either to the captain or to one of the passengers; and when he had held this short conversation, he took up his load of plunder, and marched off. At this interview he was quite alone.

When the Dutchman was gone, our people pursued their way; and towards the close of the evening, came to a deep gulley, where they agreed to pass the night. Fires were accordingly made, the watch was set as usual, and those whose turn it was to rest, as well as the women, children, and the sick, went to their repose; their rest, however, was so disturbed by the howlings of wild beasts, that they could get but little sleep. Indeed these unwelcome visitors came so near this night as to cause a general alarm; and it was as much as the guard could do to keep them off with firebrands.

The day no sooner dawned than they began to move forward. And as they proceeded, a party of the natives, about noon, came down upon them and began to plunder as usual. Among other things they took from them their tinder-box, flint, and steel, which proved an irreparable loss. Every man was now obliged to travel by turns with

a firebrand in his hand ; and the natives continued to follow, as usual, till it was almost dark. They at length came to a small river, which was the first they had met with ; but the tide being flood, they could not cross it ; they therefore determined to spend the night there.

Before the natives retired they grew more troublesome than they had hitherto been. They seized the gentlemen's watches ; and the hair of the ladies coming down, they discovered that they had hid their diamonds therein, and without any ceremony took them away. Nay, they even looked carefully to see if they could find any more. The gentlemen could not conceal their indignation at these outrages ; but all they got from the plunderers in return, were blows with their lances, or with knobbed sticks, about three feet long, which they generally carried with them.

It now began to grow dark ; and it became necessary to make a fire ; but as those who carried the firebrands, at this time, happened to lag behind, the ship's cook, and two others seeing, on the opposite side of the river, the remains of a fire, which the natives had made to burn the long grass, they swam over, and returned with lighted firebrands upon their heads. A fire was now made, and those whose turn it was rested their weary limbs there for that night.

The next day, at ebb tide, they all waded over the river ; and being without fresh water, Colonel James proposed digging in the sand, in order to find some. The colonel's proposal was carried into execution, and attended with success. Here, also, the provisions they had brought with them being nearly expended, and the fatigue of travelling with the women and children very great, the sailors began to murmur ; and everyone seemed determined to take care of himself. Accordingly the captain, with Mr. Logie, the first mate, and his wife ; Mr. Beale, the third mate ; Colonel James and his lady ; Mr. and Mrs. Hoosea ; Mr. Hay, the purser ; five of the children ; Mr. Newman ; and Mr. Nixon, the surgeon, agreed to keep together, and travel on slowly as before ; and many of the seamen, likewise, induced by the great promises made them by Colonel James, Mr. Hoosea, &c., were prevailed upon to stay behind with them, in order to carry what little provision was left, and the blankets with which they covered themselves in the night.

While Mr. Shaw, the second mate ; Mr. Trotter, the fourth ; Mr. Harris, the fifth ; Captain Talbot and his coxswain : Messrs. Williams and Taylor ; M. D'Espinette, M. Olivier, and their servants ; and the remainder of the seamen, among whom was Hynes, in all about forty-three, went on before. A young gentleman, about eight years of age, whose name was Law, crying after one of the passengers, it was agreed to take him with them, and to carry him by turns whenever he should be unable to walk.

This separation, however, did not take place without much regret on all sides. They had shared together hitherto the difficulties and distresses incident to their situation, and through these, were familiarized to each other ; to part therefore in a strange land, and almost without hopes of meeting again, could not be accomplished, at least by the more susceptible part, without many pangs.

The two parties having come to the foregoing resolution, they now separated ; the second mate and his party going on first. But the next day, about 8 o'clock in the morning, those who had left the captain's party, having been waiting all night by the side of a river for the ebb tide, were overtaken, and the whole company once more united. This unexpected meeting, tho' their separation had been of so short a continuance, afforded them all great satisfaction. It was a moment of transport. The inconveniences that had occasioned their disunion were for the present forgotten ; and every heart glowed with unfeigned affection. Being thus united, they all crossed the river, and travelled in company together for the whole of that day, and part of the next. The natives sometimes joined them, but contented themselves with pilfering such trifles as came in their way, and running off with them.

They now arrived at a large village, where they found Trout, the Dutchman, who showed them his wife and child. He told them that this was his place of residence ; and again repeated that the natives would by no means suffer him to depart, even if his inclination led him to return to his own country. He gave them further directions relative to their journey, and informed them of the names of the places they had to go through, with the rivers they had to pass. Having received these directions from

Trout, to whom they acknowledged themselves obliged, the *Grosvenor's* people proceeded on their journey, some of the natives attending ; who, however, departed as usual when it grew dusky.

They all spent the following night together, but finding in the morning that their provisions were expended, and observing it was low water, a party went down to the sea side, in order to gather shell-fish, and were fortunate enough to find a considerable number of oysters, muscles, limpets, &c. The best oysters they found at the mouth of the river, where the sea water was a little tintured by the freshet. These were divided among the women, children, and sick ; for the tide coming in while they were employed, they were prevented from getting enough for every one. As soon as the fishing party was returned, and they had enjoyed their scanty repast, they all continued their march together ; about noon arrived at a small village.

Here an old man came out with a lance in his hand, he levelled at our people, making, at the same time a noise somewhat resembling the report of a musket. This was supposed to mean that he apprehended they would kill his cattle ; for he instantly drove his herd into the Kraal. A Kraal is a plot of ground within a ring fence, into which the natives of this country, every evening, drive their cattle, in order to preserve them from the attacks of the wild beasts. The old man did not follow our people, but some other inhabitants of the village did, and behaved very ill.

Our party all travelled on together, till about 4 o'clock, when it was once more agreed to separate. The reasons which induced them to take this step were these : Had they remained united in a body, they were not a match for the numbers of natives that in a few hours could come down on them, having found that they were obliged to be passive even to a few. Besides, by marching in separate bodies, they would not be so much an object of jealousy and suspicion to the nations they were to pass through ; and would at any rate divide their attention. And further, when in small parties, they could the more readily procure subsistence. Induced by these reasons, however disagreeable it might be to part, after being united, as they were, by misfortune, they took different courses, and separated, never to meet again.

The second mate's party, as before enumerated, being that to which Hynes had attached himself, their proceedings must in future be the subject of our attention, as his information could not extend beyond his own party.

The fate of the party left behind remains to the present hour known; and as often as recollection brings it to the memory, it cannot but excite a sigh from every compassionate breast. But what are the feelings of common humanity to the excitations of friendship or affection; the idea of delicate women, wandering through unfrequented wilds, subject to the rapine and licentiousness of unfeeling savages; or of men lately blessed with ease and affluence, becoming a prey to hunger, and nakedness, and what pangs must the friends and relations of the unhappy wanderers hourly experience! The only alleviation they can know is the hope that the kind hand of death has released from their accumulated woes the ill-fated sufferers.

The purposed separation having taken place, the party to which Hynes belonged travelled till it was quite dark, when arriving at a convenient place for wood and water, they made themselves a fire, and took their repose. The next day they marched upwards of thirty miles; and as they went on, saw a great number of the natives, who seemed to be inquisitive about who and what they were, but gave them no molestation. When it was almost dark they came to an extensive wood, which they were afraid to enter, lest they should mistake the way, and be incommoded by the wild beasts. Therefore, as they found water where they were, they made a large fire, and continued upon the skirts of it for the night. They could, however, enjoy but little sleep; for the wild beasts kept howling in such a manner that those who were upon the watch were not a little terrified.

The day following they continued on their march till noon, without any other food than wild sorrel, and such berries as they observed the birds to peck at. During the whole of the way they did not meet with one of the natives. They now reached a point of rocks where they got shell-fish; and thus refreshed, they went on till they came to the side of a large river, where they reposed. The next morning, finding the river very wide and deep, and there being some of the company who could not swim, they

came to a determination to follow the windings of it ; in order to look for a place that was fordable.

They marched for a considerable time along the banks of the river, and in their way passed many villages, but could procure no relief from any of the inhabitants, who, instead of affording them the least assistance, immediately drove their cattle into their kraals.

After a tedious journey up the river, not finding it too narrow, as they expected, they came to the resolution of constructing catamarands, or floating stages, in order to pass it. For this purpose they collected together all the dry wood they could meet with, and lashing it together with woodbines and their handkerchiefs, they placed the little boy, before spoken of, with those who could not swim upon it ; and this being done, those who were able to swim pushed it across before them. In this manner they all got over safe. The river was not less than two miles over.

They now steered their course down that side of the river which they had just landed on, in order to get once more to the sea-side to obtain provisions. It was three days since they had left the sea, and during all that time they had scarcely tasted anything but water, and a little wild sorrel ; their lassitude and fatigue, therefore, may be easily conceived. But 'heaven tempers the wind to the shorn lamb ;' and under the same protection and guidance, the unhappy wanderers, at length, reached the sea shore. The tide being out, they got plenty of shell-fish, and after their spirits were refreshed, they reposed their weary limbs.

They now continued their course along the side of the sea, or as near to it as possible ; and this they did for three or four days, that they might not be at a loss for provisions. The natives met them sometimes, but suffered them to pass unmolested. The country near the coast now began to be very woody, mountainous, and desert. And thus it continued, till on the fourth day they came to a high mountain, the side of which was covered with wood, and they were obliged to take this route, as the rocks near the shore rendered that way impassable. In order to pass through this wood, which appeared to be of very considerable

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extent, they began their march before day-break, and entered it just as the sun arose : and a most fatiguing day this proved. They had a new path to beat, where perhaps the human foot had never before been imprinted, and as many of the company were bare-legged, they were greatly incommoded. Uncertain which way to proceed, they were frequently obliged to climb the highest of the trees in order to explore their way ; so that night approached, and they were nearly sinking under the fatigue, before they reached the summit of the hill.

They now found that they had got through the wood, and were entering upon an open spacious plain, which lay before them, with a fine stream of water running through it. Here they slept for this night, taking care first to make an unusual large fire, and keeping strict watch and watch, the wild beasts being accustomed in their nocturnal prowlings to come here for water ; which rendered the situation of the wanderers extremely perilous, and it was with great difficulty they drove them off. When they returned, Hynes got upon one of the loftiest trees, in order to discern which way the sea coast tended. Then it was that he found they had another wood, or a continuation of the same, to go through, before they could descend to the bottom of the hill. Having well noticed the windings of the sea coast, he came down from the tree ; and soon after the party set off, and shaped their course towards this wood, in the best manner they were able ; and they reached it just as the night shut in, overcome with fatigue ; the difficulties they had to encounter being almost incredible. Not a path was there to be found but such as the lions, tigers, and other ravenous beasts had made.

Night closing in when they arrived again on the coast, the first thing they did was to make fires, but as it was too severe a business, after the toils and fatigues of the day, to forage for wood sufficient to maintain three fires for the whole night, which were absolutely necessary for so many people ; they divided to each man his portion of the fire they could make, into which, by putting his oysters, muscles, &c., he got them open. They were obliged to have recourse to this method, as there was not a single knife belonging to the whole company ; the natives having

stripped them of everything but their cloaks. On this spot they reposed, but found no water.*

The next morning they pursued their journey ; and about noon found upon the beach a dead whale, which had been driven up by the tide to high-water mark. The sight of such a stock of provisions afforded them no little pleasure. But they were at a loss how to render it of any service, not one of the party being possessed of an instrument that would cut it. Indeed if it had been in their power to cut it up, some of them, though famished, would have refused to partake of it, their stomachs nauseating such food ; while others, having made a fire upon it, dug out with an oyster-shell the part thus grilled, and made a hearty meal.

A fine level country now presented itself inland ; upon sight of which, supposing they had got out of the country of the Caffres, and had reached the northernmost of the Dutch settlements, some of the party thought it would be most advisable to take their route that way ; while others were of opinion that it would be safer and better still to keep near the sea. After many arguments on the propriety and impropriety of this step, it was at length agreed, even reduced as their number had been by the first separation, once more to divide. Mr. Shaw, the fourth mate, Mr. Harris, the fifth mate, Messrs. Williams and Taylor, Capt. Talbot, Isaac Blair his coxswain, and seamen to the number of twenty-two, among whom was Hynes, resolved to proceed inland ; while the carpenter, the ship's steward, the cooper, Monsieur D'Espinette, M. Olivier, and their servants, with about 24 seamen, took the sea-shore.

The party to which Hynes had connected himself, (whose route, as before observed, we can only pursue) struck, as they intended, inland, and marched for three days and three nights through a fine pleasant country. In their

* It may be necessary here to describe the form and dress of the first nation they had passed through. The complexion of the natives was of a dark copper colour, and they had longish woolly hair, which they wore drawn up in the form of a cone, upon the top of the head. Their noses were prominent, and they were well featured. In their form they were robust and well proportioned, and they went quite naked, except a slight covering round the lions.

route they saw a great number of kraals, but they were all deserted. Nor had they, during the whole time, anything to subsist on but a few oysters, which they had brought with them from the sea coast, and some berries and wild sorrel, which they gathered on the way. They therefore thought it most advisable to return again to the sea-shore; which they did, and by the time they reached it, were in a very weak and low condition. The tide happening to be out, they got some shell-fish to allay their hunger. As they proceeded up a steep hill, soon after the late separation had taken place, Captain Talbot, being much fatigued, sat down several times to rest himself; and the whole company did the same. But the captain repeating this, through weariness, too often, the rest went on, and left him. His faithful servant Blair, observing his master in this situation, went back, and was observed to sit down by him; but neither of the two were ever more seen or heard of.

The next day they pursued their journey, and about noon came to a small river, where they found two of the carpenter's party, who, not being able to swim, had been left behind. Their joy at thus being overtaken, and rescued from their solitary situation, was very great; and much more so when promised assistance in crossing the river. These two men had been preserved, during the time they were left alone, almost by miracle; for while they were on the beach getting shell-fish, their fire went

When they go a hunting, or upon the appearance of bad weather, they wear the skin of some wild beast, a lion, tiger, &c. This covers them by night, and protects them by day, either from the heat or the rain. If the weather is hot, they wear the skin-side inwards; if it rains, the hairy side. One of their principal qualifications is, that they are extremely swift on foot.

The women, who are likewise well proportioned, and their countenances not unpleasing, go nearly naked. They wear no manner of clothing, except a kind of net round the middle. Their houses are constructed of poles, stuck into the ground in a circular form, and brought together at the top, which is then thatched with reeds and long grass. The bottom part is wattled without, and plastered with cow dung within. In the centre they dig a hole, about three feet deep, wherein they make their fire; and around this hole the family, lying on their skins, take their repose. The constructing of their houses is a work in which the women employ themselves, while the men are engaged in fishing or hunting.

out; and as this was their only protection in the night, it is a wonder how they escaped being devoured by the wild beasts. It was with great difficulty that they were got over the river, and they then proceeded together for about four days. They came to a river of such a breadth, that none of the company thought it prudent to attempt to pass it; and therefore they marched along the banks of it, in hopes of finding a more practicable place.

In this direction they proceeded, until they came to a village, where they saw the inside of a watch, which they found some of the carpenter's party had exchanged with the inhabitants for a little milk. Perceiving from this that such a traffic was not unacceptable, Mr Shaw showed them the inside of his watch, and offered them a part of it for a calf. The offer appeared to be accepted, and the calf was accordingly driven into the kraal to be killed; but the natives had no sooner got what was to have been the price of it into their possession, than they withheld the calf, which they immediately drove from the village.

Our people continued their march along the river for several days, and in their way passed many villages, without being molested by the natives. At length they came to a part where they thought they might be able to get over. They accordingly set about forming a catamarand with all expedition, which they launched, and all safely passed the river, except the two men whom they had found by the side of the other river, who were so terrified, that the raft was no sooner pushed from the shore, than they quitted their hold, and turned back, so that when the party had gained the opposite shore, they took a last view of these unhappy men, whom they saw no more.

They proceeded in a slanting direction, towards the sea shore, which they reached about noon on the third day. Here they slept, but found themselves without the necessary article, water. Next day, at the ebbing of the tide, they got some shellfish; and as soon as they were refreshed, they pursued their journey. In the course of that day's march, they fell in with a large party of the natives, which Hynes thinks were named Mangonies. By these they were used extremely ill, and from whom, as they were unable to make any resistance, they received many blows. In order

to avoid such treatment, they all ran into the wood, where they continued till the savages were gone, when they re-assembled and resumed their route.

They had not gone far before they could plainly perceive imprinted on the sand the shape of human feet; which they concluded were made by some of their late companions. With the hopes of joining them, they followed their supposed footsteps for a while, but at length lost every trace of these among the rocks and grass. Thus disappointed, they continued their march till they came to another river, the water of which rose to a considerable height, but it was not broad. Upon which, they instantly made a small catamarand, just sufficient to hold their clothes, with a few oysters and their firebrands, and pushing it before them as they swam, reached the opposite shore in safety where they rested themselves.

During the two following days they met with nothing very remarkable, but at the expiration of that period they overtook the party that had separated from them, headed by the carpenter, who seemed to have suffered more than they. Upon coming up to them they learnt that the carpenter had been poisoned by eating some kind of fruit, through hunger, with which he was unacquainted. And likewise, that the two French gentlemen, Messrs. D'Espinette and Olivier, with their servant, being totally worn out by famine and fatigue, were left behind. The little boy, Master Law, was still with them, having hitherto borne the inconveniences of so long a journey in a most miraculous manner.

The two parties being thus once more united travelled on together, and had not proceeded far before they came to a sandy bank, where they found a couple of planks, in each of which was a spike nail. Elated with having obtained what was now esteemed as valuable by them as by the Caffres, they immediately set fire to the planks, and having taken out the nails, flattened them between two stones, and shaped them into something like knives. This was a most valuable acquisition to men in their situation, and those felt happy who possessed them.

Some way further, they came to another river, which they intended immediately to cross; but one of the men accidentally turned up the sand, and finding fresh water, they

were induced by this providential circumstance to pass the night here, and crossed the river next morning.

It had been their constant practice, whenever it lay within their reach, to make for the sea side, without which, they must long since have been starved. On gaining the shore this day, they were most agreeably surprised to find another dead whale left by the tide on the beach. But their joy at this discovery was not a little damped by perceiving that they had been observed by a large party of the natives, who immediately came down upon them. As these intruders were armed with lances, they had every reason to conclude that their designs were hostile. The natives, however, no sooner saw in what a deplorable situation they were, and how unable to make any opposition, than they conducted themselves in so pacific a manner as to dispel their fears. One of them even lent those who were employed on the whale, his lance, by the assistance of which, and the two knives, they were enabled to cut it into junks: And putting these into their bags, they pursued their way, till they could find wood and water to dress it.

The day following they came to a river, where one of the people was taken ill, whom they were obliged, from severe necessity, to leave behind, and saw him no more. Being in possession of the fish they had lately met with, they had at present no occasion to retard their progress by seeking for shell fish; they therefore prosecuted their journey with all the expedition it was in their power to make, and they continued to do so for about four days.

The knives they had with them, enabled them to keep a more regular account of their time, than they had for a long while done. Having procured a stick, they cut a notch in it for every day, and for Sundays a notch crossways. In this manner they kept a sort of reckoning; but having one day lost the stick as they were crossing a river, they were no longer able to refer to it, and the care they had taken was of no avail.

As they generally kept as near as they could to the sea shore, it is not to be wondered at that they had many rivers to pass, some of which were very broad. The coast, from that part of Caffraria, on which they were wrecked, to the Cape of Good Hope, abounds with them, con

sequently their progress was greatly obstructed, and they were enough to deter those who could not swim from proceeding.

They soon after reached a new river, by the side of which they seemed very much inclined to take up their residence for the night, but as there was no fresh water to be met with, they thought they should be obliged to pass it; however, finding a great quantity of large berries which were eatable, and which rendered the wants of the company supportable, they remained where there were.

Next morning it was blowing fresh, and the weather being very cold, some of the company were unwilling to cross; but Hynes, and about ten others, impatient to get forward, swam over, and left the rest behind, among whom were the little boy. When these had gained the opposite shore, they pursued their journey, until they came to a place where they met with shell-fish, wood and water. Here they halted two days, in expectation of the others coming up; but as it still continued to blow fresh, it was concluded that they had not ventured to cross the water. Hynes and his party, therefore, thinking it in vain to wait longer for their timorous companions, went on, and soon afterwards came to another river, which they likewise crossed; and having, by digging in the ground, found fresh water, reposed there for the night.

The returning morning saw them on their journey, which they had not pursued many hours before they discovered a dead seal, which the surf had left on the shore. Only one of the knives, made of the nails, as before related, was in the possession of this party, and it had become so blunt as to be nearly useless; they, therefore, sharpened it by the same means as they had at first given it an edge, and with it and some sharp shells which they found on the beach, cut up the seal. Having performed this, they dressed some of it on the spot, and carried the remainder with them; and when they came to a convenient spot for wood and water, again reposed themselves.

The next morning, the party left behind overtook that in which Hynes was. Since the death of the carpenter, the conducting it had devolved to the ship's steward. It appeared that they had suffered much, and had been

severely treated by the natives ; so that, what with fatigue, hunger and other incidents, five of them had died since their separation.

Having shared, between them, the remainder of the seal, and taken some repose, the party set off together, and, after some time, came to a lofty mountain, which they found they should be obliged to cross or to go round the bluff point of a rock which projected considerably into the sea. The latter passage was much the shortest ; they chose that, but had soon to repent of their determination, for the surf broke so violently against the rock that they had all nearly been swept away by it. Their escape was almost miraculous. In their solicitude to preserve themselves, four or five of the men lost their allowance of the seal, of which each bore his share ; but their great misfortune was that their firebrands were all extinguished.

They now proceeded on their journey, but were greatly dispirited by the loss of their fire ; an article that was so necessary, not only for dressing their food, but for their defence by night against the wild beasts, with which most of the country they passed through abounded. The inconvenience that must irresistably attend the extinction of their brands dwelt upon their minds, and threw an additional gloom over their progress.

As they marched on in this disconsolate mood, they came in sight of several female natives, who, the moment they were discovered, took to their heels and ran away. When the party came up to the spot on which these women were, it was perceived that they had been employed in catching fish, and what was their satisfaction, when they found that the fire at which the natives had been dressing their fish was not extinguished. They lighted their brands, and, after having reposed there for a few hours, proceeded on their way. It must be remarked that they usually stopped at those places where they found wood sufficient to furnish them with necessary firing, but never where they could be supplied with water only, as, without wood they could not sleep in security.

The next day they came to a village where the natives had a young bullock, and offered to barter with them for it. The outside of a watch, some buttons, &c., being

offered in exchange, they were readily accepted, and the beast driven into the kraal, where it was killed by our people with one of the native's lances.

The natives took out the entrails, with which they were much pleased, and the carcass was divided among our party in the following manner :—That no one might have reason to complain of an unjust distribution, as soon as the whole was cut up into pieces, as equal in quantity as possible, one of the men stood with his back towards them, and being asked who should have the piece held up, mentioned the name of the person. By this means every one of the company were satisfied. Nor was the youth forgotten on the occasion. The skin, also, was cut into pieces, and distributed by lot ; and those who got any part made makeshift shoes of it. They took up their quarters for that night near the village, and next morning they crossed the river, each carrying his portion of provisions.

This was the only instance where they had been able to obtain any sustenance from the natives during their journey, except now and then the women would give the child a little milk. Though the age of this young gentleman was ill-suited to combat the inconveniences of so long a journey, yet, in such an unprovided state, he got on tolerably well upon the whole. Where the road was even and good, he walked, and was able to keep pace with the party ; but when they came to deep sands or wade through high grass, which was often the case, the people carried him by turns. When they went on fishing parties, he was stationed near the fires, in order to keep them alight ; and on their return was rewarded with a part of the spoil.

They again marched on, and came to a sandy desert, which took them ten days to pass. Here they entirely lost sight of the natives. In passing this desert, they had a great number of rivers to cross, so that had it not been for the food which they carried with them, they must inevitably have perished. They, fortunately, were not at a loss for wood, finding a sufficient quantity on the banks of the rivers, which had been brought down by the floods, and by digging in the sand they seldom failed to get water.

They perceived that they were now got into another

nation, the people of which Hynes thought were called Mambookces,* through which they travelled for five days.

During that time the natives sometimes used them very ill, and at other times suffered them to pass unmolested.

Being now upon the borders of the sea, they were met by a party of natives, who, by signs, advised them to go inland, and pointed out the path they were to pursue. This path they accordingly took, and after having travelled about three miles, they came to a village where they found only women and children.

Here they rested awhile, and the women brought out a little milk, which they gave to Master Law. The milk was contained in a small basket, curiously formed of rushes and so compact as to hold any liquid. During their stay, they examined several of their huts, where they had an opportunity of seeing the manner in which they churned their butter. The milk was put into a leather bag, which being hung up in the middle of the hut, was pushed backward and forward by two persons standing at the sides; and this they continued to do till the butter arrived at a proper state of consistence. When it is properly prepared, they mix soot with it to anoint their bodies. This operation not only serves them as a security against the intense heat of the climate, but renders them active, and gives them that agility which the inhabitants of Africa are well-known to exhibit, both in the chase and in battle.

While the travellers were resting themselves, the men belonging to the village returned from hunting, each bearing upon the point of his assaygay, his division of the spoil they had taken, which consisted of a piece of deer weighing about ten pounds. As soon as they saw the strangers, they gathered round them in a ring, and seemed to gaze on them with admiration. After which, they showed them two bowls of milk, which they appeared to be willing to barter; but as the English had nothing left that would prove acceptable to the natives, they had the mortification to see it applied to other purposes. The bargain being declined, the savages brought from their huts sticks fuzzed at the ends, and seating themselves

* A nation named Mambook lies near the sources of the river Groote Visser, about the 27th degree of south latitude, bordering on Caffraria.—HYNES.

round the bowls, dipped their sticks into the milk, and thus, in a short time, sucked the whole of it up.

They had scarcely finished their meal than they all rose hastily up, and in an instant went off in different directions at which our people were very much surprised. There were at least forty of them. The noise of some of their companions at a distance seeming to have awakened their attention, they scampered into the woods and were out of sight in an instant. It was not long, however, before they returned with a deer they had killed; which our people begged very fervently to be permitted to partake of, but in vain; and night coming on, they insisted that their visitors should quit the kraal. This they were forced to comply with, and, after walking four or five miles, they laid themselves down to rest.

As soon as the sun arose, our people pursued their journey and continued to do so for several days, during which they passed many villages, where they saw a great number of oxen; but as they were so unhappy as to have nothing to offer them in exchange, they were obliged to be content with the sight only. The natives would part with nothing without a valuable consideration, unless it was now and then a little milk for the youth. They, however, suffered them to pass without molestation.

They now came to another river, but the tide being flood, it was too wide to cross. Near the mouth of it they saw three or four huts, which contained only women and children, the men being from home. The flesh of some sea-cows, and sea-lions, was hanging on the huts to dry, of which the women gave the travellers a part. They slept that night at a little distance from these huts. The next day, nine of the company, among whom was Hynes, swam over the river, while the rest, from an apprehension of not being able to succeed in such an attempt, stayed behind, notwithstanding it was not a mile over at low water, and the greater part fordable.

Those who had crossed the river had not proceeded above three or four miles before they observed a seal sleeping just about high-water mark. As they drew near, the animal awoke, and instantly made towards the water. But, being provided with long, pointed sticks, which they called their muscle-sticks, they surrounded him, and thus

cut off his retreat, by which means they at length killed him. As soon as he was dead they cut his flesh into junks, and taking every man his portion, proceeded on their march. They travelled four or five days, during which they saw many of the natives, who behaved tolerably civil. Now and then, indeed, they encountered some that, after overhauling them (as the sailors express themselves), gave some of them a blow or two.

They now came to another river, which they were obliged to cross. In passing these rivers, when they did not construct a catamarand, their usual method was to tie their clothes up as tight as possible, and then fasten the bundle with a band round their foreheads, by which means it appeared something like a turband. Into the front of these bundles they stuck their firebrands, which, standing upright, were thus kept from being extinguished by the water. Two of the party, in crossing this river, were unfortunate enough to drop their brands; this loss, however, was made up by the rest, in the best manner they were able.

Having passed the river, they proceeded on their route, and the next day found a whale. Being thus provided for a time, and of course there being no necessity for their hurrying on as usual, they took up their abode on this spot for two days, in hopes of the other party falling in with them. But, as they afterwards learnt, those they had left behind, by keeping more inland, had missed them and got on before. They had by this time cut up as much of the whale as they could carry, and, being much refreshed, they pursued their journey with alacrity, having now no necessity to turn out of the way, or to loiter in quest of food. Thus they went on for eight or ten days, during which they had many rivers to ford; and, as they travelled, they discovered by some small pieces of rags they found scattered here and there, which could only belong to their countrymen, that their friends must have passed them.

A large sandy desert now lay before them, which separates the nation of the Mambuckees from the Tambuckees.* This they entered, and, finding towards the

* The nation of the Tambuckees lies rather to the southward of the Mambuckees.—HYNES.

close of the first day, that there was but little prospect of them obtaining either wood or water, they were much disheartened. To their great joy, however, at the entrance of a deep gully, they saw written on the sand, the following direction :—“ *Turn in here, and you will find plenty of wood and water.*” They were not backward in obeying the pleasing mandate ; and, on entering the gully, found a neat alcove, where, from the inscription, the remains of their extinct fires, and several other traces, they were assured their late companions had reposed themselves. The next day they continued their journey, and went on for the four or five succeeding ones without meeting with a single interesting circumstance except that their fatigue increased as they proceeded.

As they went on, a bluff point of rock presented itself, which, upon coming up to, they found to project so far into the sea as to hinder their progress. They were therefore obliged to betake themselves again to the more inland parts. The food with which the whale had furnished them was now exhausted. They had not, however, proceeded far before they came to a large pond of water, and here they determined to pass the night. Some, therefore, instantly set about looking for wood, while others carefully examined the banks of the pond, in hopes of finding some kind of sustenance. While the latter were thus employed, they luckily found a great number of land crabs, snails, sorrel, &c., on which they made a very satisfactory meal, and then enjoyed a comfortable night's rest.

As soon as the day broke, they rose refreshed, and again continued their march. At length coming to a wood, which extended a long way to the left, towards the sea side ; they entered the skirts of it, and as they proceeded, they observed many trees torn up by the roots. They were not a little surprised at this circumstance ; but they had scarcely got through the wood when their surprise was converted into astonishment and terror : for in the long grass with which the ground was covered, up started thirty or forty large elephants. At a loss whether to retreat or to proceed, they stood for some moments in a state of suspence : however, by taking a circuit of about a hundred yards, they passed these enormous creatures without their doing them any injury, or following them.

The grass, in this place, Hynes supposes, might be about eight or nine feet high, a height that may seem somewhat extraordinary to persons not acquainted with tropical situations and their effects, but which is known, by those who have, not to exceed the truth. The author has heard, before he was himself an eye-witness of this phenomenon, the following circumstance relative to it, from a gentleman whose ingenious works the world has been long acquainted with, and who resided a considerable time in Africa. Being one day inclined to make a short cut across a piece of land, of little more than an acre in extent, he had nearly lost his life in the attempt. What with the loftiness of the grass, and the extreme heat of the sun, it was with the utmost difficulty that he accomplished his purpose. When he opened a passage through it with his hands, in order to get forward, excluded as he was from the air, the sun scorched him almost to madness; and when he suffered it to remain in an erect state, in which it formed a canopy over his head, he was almost suffocated for want of breath; so that his preservation was nearly a miracle.

But to return to the shipwrecked travellers. They reached the sea shore that night, but the tide being in, they could procure no shell-fish. This they felt very severely, as they had fasted a long while, and besides, were totally worn out with fatigue. By such an extreme of hunger were they oppressed that those who were still in possession of the shoes they had made out of the skin of the young bullock, or had preserved the worn out pieces of them, having singed the hair off, broiled them; and of this unsavoury dish, rendered as palatable as it could be made by some wild celery which they found there, the whole party partook.

At low water they went as usual to the rocks to procure shell-fish, and as they proceeded on, they often perceived evident traces that the division of their party they had left behind, had now got the start of them. After having travelled two days more, they fell in with a hunting party of the natives on the sea shore. These men were distinguished, from any they had seen before by wearing on the right foot a kind of shoe, which they used in hunting. When they took a leap, they bounded from that foot, and in doing this they showed great dexterity. The travellers were permitted by this party to pass quietly along; and during

four or five days that they marched through this district, though they fell in with many villages, and saw a great number of the natives, they were not in the least molested.

Soon after they came to a small river, which they swam over; and the same day they arrived at another. Both these rivers were salt, as were likewise all the wells which they dug near them; so that they were obliged to allay their thirst with such berries as they could find. In three or four days they came to a more barren country, the natives of which appeared to be poorer than those they had hitherto met with. They had no cattle, nor anything to subsist upon, but what they procured by fishing and hunting. Here the travellers encountered innumerable difficulties. These were not, however, of long continuance, for it was not above three or four days more before they reached the nation of the Caffres, which they found to be a populous and fine country.

During their march through this nation, they one day saw a great number of the natives, (Hynes believes near three hundred) exercising themselves on a fine gradual slope, in throwing the assagay or lance. Being arranged in two lines on opposite sides of the lawn, one of the men rolled, with all his strength, from the top of the descent, a wooden ball; and so expert were they that in its passage they would lodge their lances in it.

They continued their march through the whole extent of this fine country; but notwithstanding it abounded in cattle, the inhabitants would neither bestow any upon them, nor suffer them to purchase any by way of barter. Nay, so apprehensive were the natives of the strangers stealing their cuttle, that they constantly drove them away as they approached the kraals. Nor was this precaution confined to this point; wherever the English came, they were driven away with sticks, stones and other missile weapons; so that all the food they were able to obtain was shell fish, collected from the sea side. Without this resource, they must long since have perished.

As there subsisted at this time an inveterate enmity between the Caffrees and the Dutch colonists, who had treated them with unparalleled cruelty, this may account for the behaviour of the former to the shipwrecked English, who, being of the same colour with the Dutch, partook of

their resentment. The Caffres are otherwise, according to M. Vaillant, a humane and quiet people.*

About three or four days after this our people came to a river, and as soon as they had crossed it were met by a party of the natives, one of whom had a piece of a silver buckle belonging to the ship's cook stuck in his hair. It seems the cook had bound bits of cloth about his buckles in order to preserve them, as he set a value upon them; but it now appeared that he had been obliged to break them up in order to barter away for food. And even when he had done this, (as they afterwards found) he was disappointed, for, as had invariably been the case, except in the instance of the young bullock before mentioned, no sooner was the price deposited, than the purchase was withheld, and our people driven away.

In the same manner, the party, with whom Hynes was, were driven away by the body of natives they had now fallen in with, and obliged to continue their march till near ten o'clock at night, when coming to a place where there was a little wood and water, they reposed themselves, but they set off again before it was light, in order to avoid a repetition of the ill-treatment they had received from the natives the preceding evening.

About twelve o'clock on that day they came to a place at which, as there was good water, with a probability of getting plenty of shell-fish, and where, being very much fatigued, they determined to spend the night. They did so, but the rain poured down so violently, attended with thunder and lightning, that four of them were obliged to hold their canvas frocks over the fire to prevent it from being extinguished. They staid next day till it was low water, as well to get shell-fish as to dry their clothes,

* The country known by the general denomination of Caffraria, is a very extensive region, bounded on the north by Negro-land and Abyssinia; on the west by part of Guinea, Congo and the sea; on the south by the Cape of Good Hope; and on the east by the sea. It is divided into several territories and kingdoms, of which little is known, and is computed to be 700 miles long and 660 broad. But the part now inhabited by the people named the Caffres is much more confined, it extending only from about fifteen or thirty degrees of southern latitude. It is, however, more populous than any other nations in Africa. [It is difficult to tell whether these notes are by Hynes or Carter. To my own notes, I will, in future append my initials, *i.e.* D. O. F. M.]

which had been thoroughly soaked by the rain : so that they did not commence their march till near eleven o'clock. About four they arrived at a large village, where the inhabitants assembling together, set upon our people, whom they treated very roughly. Several of them were wounded by the assailants, and among others Hynes received a wound in his leg from a lance, the scar of which was visible when I met with him. Another had his skull fractured, which rendered him delirious ; and he continued so till he died ; an event that soon after took place.

Hynes was knocked down, and being supposed by his companions to be dead, was left on the spot. He remained in a state of insensibility for some time. At length, however, he recovered ; and when he did so, the natives were at a considerable distance off, and his countrymen totally out of sight. Remembering from the face of the country the way they intended to pursue, he followed as expeditiously as he was able ; and in two or three hours came up with the party. His appearance gave great satisfaction to his companions, who concluded that he had been killed by the savages, but they were very happy to find their mistake.

From this time they saw no more huts, and found they were entering on a very large sandy desert. After travelling several days upon it, they fell in with three of the natives, who seeing our people advance, immediately fled into the country, and were not seen again. It was now with the utmost difficulty that they could procure food, the sea side seldom proving rocky. And when they found a small reef, on which there was a probability of procuring any shell-fish, they were perhaps obliged to wait half a day for the ebb tide, it being impossible to get at them till then.

When they came to a place where any were to be caught, they were very assiduous to collect as many together as they could ; they then opened them in the fire, and taking out the fish, put the whole in a cloth, and carried them by turns.

In four days more they arrived at a large river, which they afterwards learned from the Dutch was named Boschisman's river. Here they found Thomas Lewis, who being sick, had been left behind by the other party. He informed them that he had travelled inland, and had fallen

in with many huts, at one of which he had got some milk, and at another beaten. He added, that reaching the place where he now was, he had found himself so weak, and the river so wide, that he knew it was impossible for him to attempt to cross it, indeed to bear any more hardship or fatigue. He was therefore, he said, determined to return to the nearest Kraal, as the natives could but kill him, and he was sure to die if he proceeded. In vain did his companions strive to get the better of this prepossession. They would have persuaded him to hold up his head, and look forward with a hope of out-living his present hardships, and getting at last to the Cape. But all their encouragement was ineffectual; both his body and his spirits were so broken down, and his cup of life so embittered by such a long succession of hardships, that despair found him an easy prey; in spite of all their entreaties he went back to the natives, and most probably found there a speedy termination to his woes.

Our people loitered near the sea shore, in hopes of meeting with some kind of sustenance, when to their great joy they were fortunate enough to find another deal whale. Their stock of provisions being thus replenished, they halted where they were two days, which very much refreshed them. During this period they cut the flesh of the whale, as usual, into junks, and taking as much with them as they could well carry, crossed the river on catamarands. They now once more lost sight of natives and their huts, and were kept in continual alarm by the wild beasts, whose incessant howlings in the night greatly disturbed and terrified them. For these parts were more particularly infested than any they had hitherto passed through.

On the fourth day after they had passed the river, they came up, about noon, with the little boy and ship's steward. From these they learnt, that the evening before they had buried the cooper in the sand at no great distance. Hynes having a curiosity to see the place, the steward accompanied him. But to their great surprise and horror they found that some carnivorous animal had taken up the body and carried it off. They were convinced of this by traces in the sand, for at least half a mile through which the creature had dragged the corpse in a very irregular manner.

They also could plainly distinguish, by the vestiges of these ravenous beasts on the sand, the manner in which they prowl in the night for their prey : As they scented along the ground, it could be discerned that they turn aside to every stone and stump of a tree, in order to examine whether it would be productive of anything to satisfy their appetite. Hynes's party presented the steward and the child with some of the flesh of the whale, which they eat, and were much refreshed. They now all proceeded together, and continued to do so for eight or ten days. How the youth was able to hold out for so long a time, and through so many difficulties, must excite the wonder of every one.

They came to a point of rocks, and as their whale was by this time wholly expended, they thought it proper to go round the edge to search for what sustenance the sea might afford. This they did, but it took up so much time, that they were obliged to sleep upon the rocks, where they could only procure such water as was brackish.

In the morning the steward and child were taken ill, and being unable to proceed, they requested the rest of the party to continue where they were that day. This was readily consented to. The next day they all found themselves disordered through the extreme coldness of the rock on which they slept, against which the little clothing they now had was not sufficient to defend them. This, as may naturally be supposed, must greatly affect men, broken down with fatigue and anxiety, as they were.

The steward and child still continuing ill, our people agreed to stay another day, and, if, at the expiration of that time, they should not be better, they would be under the disagreeable necessity of leaving them behind. Their humanity, however, was not put to this severe test ; for in the course of the night the poor child resigned his breath, and ceased any longer to share with his companions in their fatigues and sorrows.

Having prepared early in the morning whatever they could muster for breakfast, they intended to have called him to partake of it as soon as all was ready, being willing to allow his tender frame as much indulgence as possible. They had left him, as they supposed, asleep, near the fire, around which they had all rested during the night. But

what was their surprise when they found that his soul had taken its flight into another world !

The witnesses of this affecting scene being no longer able to render him any assistance, they bestowed a last sigh on the departed innocent, and leaving him in the place where the cold hand of death had arrested him, moved on. The steward, who still continued ill, did not find his illness or his sorrows alleviated by this fresh affliction ; on the contrary, the loss of a young person he so much valued, and who had so long been the object of his tenderest care, nearly overwhelmed him, and it was with the utmost difficulty his companions got him along. They, however, did get on, and had walked about two hours, when Robert Fitzgerald asked for a shell of water : Hynes complied with his request, and he drank it with great avidity. He then asked for another shell full, which having received and drank with equal relish, he laid himself down, and instantly expired. His companions left this man likewise on the spot where he died, and departed without being much shocked at the event ; as every one of them was worn out with hunger and fatigue, and rather considered such a deliverance as a consummation devoutly to be wished than to be dreaded.

As they proceeded, another of the party, William Fruel, complained of his being very weak. Having said this, he sat down upon the sand by the sea side. Here his companions, compelled by necessity, left him, and went on, in order to seek for wood and water, telling him that if they could find either, they would return, that he might partake of the benefit. At some little distance they turned their eyes back, and saw that he was crawling after them. And having sought in vain for a comfortable resting place, they likewise were obliged to lay themselves down on the sand for the night, without having been able to find a drop of water.

Recollecting the situation of Fruel, one of the party went back to see if he could get him on. But notwithstanding the person went within view of the place where he had left him, he was not to be seen ; and they all concluded that as he had nothing to shelter or protect him, the wild beasts had carried him off. As soon as daylight appeared, they proceeded on their journey ; and as they had

had no water since the middle of the foregoing day, they suffered exceedingly from thirst. The glands of their throats and mouths were much swollen, and at length they were necessitated to drink their own water.

Whatever their distresses had been, they were not to be compared to the situation to which they were now reduced. Indeed they now experienced the extreme of human misery. The next day, which was the second in which they had existed without food or water, they were so very thirsty, that when any of them could not furnish himself with a draught of urine, he would borrow a shellfull of his companion who was more fortunate, till it was in his power to repay it. Here the ship's steward, and another of the party, unable to survive their melancholy situation, expired. Our people were still obliged to sleep upon the sands, the track they pursued being bounded on one side by mountains of sand, and on the other by the sea; and they continued without food or water, except the half of a fish which they found in their way. But this scarcely afforded a mouthful to each. Indeed some would not touch a bit of it, lest, without water, it should only add to the misery they already endured.

Next morning two more of the party were reduced to a very languishing state, but they still walked on, dreading to be left behind. One of them, however, had not proceeded far before he laid himself down, unable to proceed a step farther. His companions shook hands with him, and recommending him to the mercy of heaven, as it was not in their power to afford him any assistance, left him to expire.

They again went on, but without finding any alleviation to their woes, till about five o'clock in the afternoon, when they came to a deep gulley, which they entered, in hopes of meeting with water. Here they found another of the *Grosvenor's* crew dead. He was lying upon his face in the sand, with his right hand cut off at the wrist. So singular a circumstance could not but excite the astonishment of our people; and it was recollected, that while living, it was a common asseveration used by the deceased, "*May the Devil cut my right hand off if it be not true.*" Extraordinary as this might appear, and ridiculous as any inference may be thought by some, the fact is no less true.

than strange, and it very sensibly affected, for the time, his messmates. John Warmington, the boatswain's mate, who was one of those that lost their clothes in crossing the river, as before related, took this opportunity of supplying himself by appropriating to his use a part of those which were found on the deceased.

Notwithstanding their distressed situation, they marched on till night, and then laid themselves down to sleep, without taking any sustenance but what their own urine afforded them. The next day brought no abatement to the miseries of these famished wanderers. Necessity, however impelled them to proceed, though nothing but despair presented itself. To such a state of weakness were they now reduced, that they had proceeded but a little way before another of the party dropped, and was left to his fate.

They were now reduced to three, viz., Hynes, Evans, and Warmington; and these were nearly on the point of sharing the fate of their companions. Their faculties drooped apace; they could scarcely hear or see; and at the same time a vertical sun darted its beams so intensely upon them that it was with the utmost difficulty they got on.

Next morning the three forlorn travellers went on; but by this time their thirst was so extreme (the only liquid they had to quench it adding to their torment) that Warmington earnestly importuned Hynes and Evans to determine by lot who should die, in order that by drinking his blood the other two might be preserved. Hynes was grown so weak that he was almost childish. Upon hearing Warmington's proposal, his tears flowed in plentiful streams down his cheeks, but he would by no means consent to it. He said, that if, as they went on, he should become so very feeble as to drop, they then were at liberty to do what they pleased with him, if they thought it would tend to their own preservation; but as long as he was able to walk, he would not think of casting lots. Warmington hearing this, would proceed no farther, upon which the other two shook hands with him and left him.

It was almost impossible for the mind of man to imagine a situation so truly deplorable and alarming, as that to which these poor wretches were at this time reduced. The

susceptible heart sometimes feels inexpressible concern at seeing the approaching exit of one friend : What anguish then must the unhappy wanderers experience with such repeated ravages of death before their eyes, and these rendered more terrifying by the expectation of being themselves the next victim to his unrelenting dart ! Human nature shudders at the bare idea !

Hynes and Evans now made another effort to get on, but with their best exertions they made very little progress. About ten o'clock they saw something before them, which had the appearance of large birds. Elated with the sight, they entertained a hope of being able to get some of them, and thereby allay the torments they endured. But what was their surprise to find, as they approached nearer, that they were men. Being nearly blind, and almost in a state of idiotism, they did not at first recollect who their new-found companions were ; but after some time they discovered that they were four of the steward's party, from which they had been separated. One of them, a lad of about eleven years of age, whose name was Price, came a little way to meet them ; their first enquiry was, whether they had any fresh water, and being answered in the affirmative, they appeared to be inspired with new life.

The party they had just joined, now made enquiry in their turn, what was become of the rest of Hynes's companions. To this he replied that they were all dead except Warmington, whom they had left behind them that morning. Upon which Berney Leary, and Francisco de Lasso, went in search of him. Before Leary and De Lasso set out, they charged the two who remained behind by no means to permit Hynes and Evans to have much water, as several had expired by drinking too freely and eagerly. But so impatient were they to quench that thirst, which had so long tormented them, that they laid themselves down to drink at the spring, and might have exceeded the bounds of prudence had not Price and the other closed up the sand, and thereby prevented them. They then took them to an alcove, at a little distance, and having given them a small quantity of shell-fish, left them to their repose, while the former went out to forage.

Leary and De Lasso having found Warmington, returned

with him ; and when Hynes and Evans awoke, they began to recount to each other the hardships they had encountered, particularly in traversing over the last desert. Hynes was informed by Leary that they had buried on it the Captain's steward. After which they had not gone far before they were reduced to such distress for provisions, that a consultation was held what was to be done in their present exigency, in which it was determined to send two of the party back, in order to cut off some of the flesh of the recently buried steward ; and bring it for their immediate support.

The two men accordingly set out for that purpose, but having overshot the place, they turned about to regain it ; when through the kind interposition of Providence, instead of taking back to their companions disgusting human flesh, they carried the more pleasing flesh of a young seal, which they found close to the steward's grave, newly driven on shore, and fresh bleeding. This proved a most seasonable relief, and enabled them to reach the alcove where they now were.

They likewise gave Hynes and his two companions an account of the singular manner in which they got shell-fish. They had observed on the banks of a river a great number of birds, in the act of scratching up the sand ; after this they soared into the air with something in their mouths, which they let fall upon the stones, and then descending took up their prey. These manoeuvres catching the attention of the hungry travellers, they watched the birds for some time, and coming up to the same place, they found that when the tide was in, the shell-fish, as there were no rocks on that coast, buried themselves in the sand, and attracting the instinctive depredations of the birds, were obtained in the foregoing manner. Thus was Providence pleased to point out to our people the means of procuring food, without whose intervention they must undoubtedly have perished.

Among other circumstances which Hynes and Evans recounted in their turn to the party they had joined, they mentioned that the ship's steward, whom they had left to expire on the road, had very decent clothes on ; and these being articles which the latter stood much in need of, one of the party, whose name was Dodge, proposed, if Evans would show him the way, to go back and bring them.

Evans, who was by this time tolerably recovered, accepted the proposal, and they set out together early the next morning. In the evening Evans returned, but without his companion. On being asked the reason of coming alone, he informed them that Dodge had been so very indolent, and came on so slowly, that had he walked his pace he should never have got back to the alcove. He further related to his companions that when Dodge and he reached the place where the steward had been left, they could see nothing of him, from which it was concluded that he had died, and afterwards had been carried away by the wild beasts.

As for Dodge, he was seen by Evans lagging considerably way behind ; but as he did not join his companions, and was never seen after. Hynes entertained not a doubt but that he had also become a prey to the wild beasts ; as not a day passed without their seeing lions, tigers, or wolves. Of wolves they had seen twenty at a time lying on the grass ; and in order to drive them away, it was their common practice repeatedly to shout as loud as they could, which never failed of having a proper effect.

They employed themselves for the two following days in collecting shell-fish, which they broiled, in order to constitute a stock of provisions for their march. Having obtained a sufficient quantity, they constructed a catamaran, and passed the river.* This they effected with very great difficulty, as it was of a great breadth, and the current so strong that they had nearly been driven out to sea by it.

When they had gained the shore, they could not help looking back with terror and amazement at the length of the way they had been driven down by the rapidity of the stream. Here they likewise found the species of shell-fish that hides in the sand, as before related. According to Hynes's account it is of a triangular form, and has the power of sinking, with great facility, wherever it finds moisture, which it did nearly as fast as they could dig for them. It is about two inches long, and three broad, and pointed at one end, with which it makes its way into the sand.

The whole party by this time consisted of six persons

* This river is probably the Zou Dags river, which is very wide, and lies to the N. E. of the Schwarts river, mentioned afterwards.

only, and they travelled on together still over a desert country, where neither hut or native was to be seen. After proceeding about six days, they came to another river, which Hynes says he has since heard is called Schwarts or Black river, where they took up their abode their night.

The country now began to wear a more pleasing aspect. It appeared to be more fertile than any they had passed for some time, and at a considerable distance from the shore they could discern huts. An accident happened in this place which gave them great alarm. The grass by some means taking fire, it spread with such rapidity that it was with the utmost difficulty they were able to extinguish it. Their apprehensions upon this occasion were very poignant, as they were much afraid the blaze would bring the natives down upon them, and excite their resentment.

The next morning they swam over the river, which was not so wide as the former; and they had not gone far before they saw another whale lying on the sea shore. Being thus provided with food, they determined to erect a hut, and to rest themselves for four or five days. But on searching for water, that necessary article was not to be met with. They therefore cut up a part of the whale, and when each of them had got as much as he could conveniently carry, they proceeded on their route. They had not, however, travelled above two hours before they came to a much more desirable spot, where they halted, and reposed themselves. It was a thicket which afforded shelter, and where they met with water.

Next morning four of the party went back to the whale, in order to bring off a larger supply; and De Lasso and the boy (Price) were left to take care of the fire, and to gather wood against the return of night. During the absence of the four, the boy, who was in the wood, perceived at a little distance two men, each with a gun in his hand; and being much intimidated at their appearance, retired hastily towards the fire, whither he was pursued by them.

These men belonged to a Dutch settlement in the neighbourhood, and were in search of some strayed cattle, when they perceived Price; and observing at the same time the smoke which arose from the fire, concluded he would take that way, and followed him to it. The name of one of the men was John Battores, who being probably

a Portuguese, and De Lasso an Italian, through the great affinity of these two languages, they made shift to understand each other.

When Battores heard their melancholy tale, he desired they would conduct him to the place where their companions were. Upon which they all went back together to the whale, where they found our people employed in cutting it up. Battores made them throw the whole of the whale's flesh away, and desiring them to follow him, promised that they should have better food, and be supplied with every necessary when they reached the habitation to which he belonged.

The joy that instantly beamed forth in every breast, upon receiving this pleasing intelligence, is not to be described, or scarcely to be conceived. And the effects it produced were as various as extraordinary. Every faculty seemed to be in a state of violent agitation: One man laughed; another cried; and another danced. Comfort and these unhappy wanderers had been so long estranged to each other, and their nervous system was so out of tone, that the convulsive expressions of their satisfaction are not to be wondered at. But their spirits grew more composed when they were informed that they were now within the settlements of the Dutch, and not more than four hundred miles from the Cape of Good Hope.

The space they had to walk to the house, which was three miles distant, was comparatively tripped lightly over, notwithstanding they were so much enfeebled by their long and tedious march. The recital of some of their adventures beguiled the way; and all was rapture, all was peace.

Battores was not the master of the house to which their steps were directed, but principal servant to Mynheer Christopher Roostoff, who, when he was made acquainted with their distresses, treated them with great kindness.

He immediately ordered some bread and milk to be given them; but, under a mistaken idea, he furnished them with such a quantity, that by eating voraciously, and overloading their stomachs, they had nearly killed themselves. After they had made their meal, sacks were spread upon the ground for them to repose on.

It had been a long while since they had known anything of the calculation of time; days, weeks, and months had

imperceptibly slipped away, without their being able to note them according to the accustomed divisions.

They were now informed that the day on which this happy reverse of fortune took place was the 29th of November, so that, as they were shipwrecked on the fourth of August, it must have been one hundred and seventeen days since their leaving the ship; during which time they had suffered incredible hardships, and had often been preserved miraculously.

The next morning Mynheer Roostoff ordered a sheep to be killed, upon which our people breakfasted and dined. After this, another Dutchman, whose name was Daniel Quin, and who lived about nine miles distant, came, with a cart and six horses, to convey the party towards the Cape of Good Hope. Hynes thinks that Quin was a kind of commandant. Monsieur Vaillant thus speaks of the method by which the colonists obtain the title of commandant: "A colonist, (says he,) who lives two hundred leagues up the country, arrives at the Cape, to complain that the Caffrees have taken all his cattle; and intreats a commando, which is a permission to go, with the help of his neighbours, to retake his property; the governor, who either does not, or feigns, not to understand the trick, adheres strictly to the facts expressed in the petition; a preamble of regular information would occasion long delays; a permission is easily given,—it is but a word—the fatal word is written, which proves a sentence of death to a thousand poor savages, who have no such defence or resources as their persecutors." This account gives us an idea of the commando or commandants of that country, such a one Quin probably was, and likewise of the disposition of the colonists situated in the interior parts.

But to return to the travellers.—The boy, Price, whose legs were sore from the hardships he had undergone, was kept at Mynheer Roostoff's, who kindly undertook his cure, and said he would contrive to send him after the rest. The others went in the cart that was provided for them, but the path, or road, if it may be so called, was so very rugged and bad that they were almost shook to pieces. They passed two farm houses before they reached Quin's, where they stayed four days to refresh themselves.

From this time they were forwarded in carts from one settlement to another, till they came to Swellendam,

which lies about one hundred miles from the Cape. During the whole of the way, wherever they passed the night, all the farmers in the neighbourhood used to assemble in order to hear their story; and being moved with compassion, gave them many little necessaries of which they stood in need. At Swellendam they stayed till the deputy governor, who resided at that place, sent a messenger to the Cape, as there was at this time war between Holland and Great Britain, to know of the governor what was to be done with them. An order at length came for two to be sent to Cape Town to be examined. The others were directed to remain where they at present were. Warmington and Leary accordingly proceeded to the Cape. Hynes and the rest stayed at Swellendam about a month, and during that time they had an opportunity of observing that the country around this place is in general rocky; but in the valleys there were vineyards, pastures, and corn fields.

They afterwards learnt that Warmington and Leary, after having undergone an examination, were shipped on board a Dutch man-of-war lying in the bay, with directions for them to be put to work. Here they remained for some time, but Warmington having discovered, one night, that the boatswain had smuggled some pepper from the ship, he imprudently hinted that he would give information of what was going forward. Upon which the boatswain desired him and his companion Leary to get into the boat; which they had no sooner done, than he put them on board a Danish East-Indiaman, that was then weighing anchor; and which immediately sailed. By this incident, these two had an opportunity of getting first to their own country,

The governor at the Cape having learnt from the information of Warmington and Leary, the particulars of the loss of the *Grosvenor*, and the consequent sufferings of the crew and passengers, notwithstanding the enmity that existed at this time between the two nations, was excited by that humanity which does honour to the human nature, to send out a large party in quest of the unhappy wanderers. This detachment consisted of one hundred Europeans and three hundred Hottentots, attended by a great number of waggons, each drawn by eight bullocks. The command was given to Captain Muller, who had orders to proceed, if possible, to the place where the ship lay, and load them with such articles as could be saved. After which, they

were to endeavour to find out such of the sufferers as were wandering about the country, or in the hands of the natives.

It being necessary to have some of those who had passed over the extensive tract that was to be explored, as guides, De Lasso and Evans, who had now tolerably recovered their strength, were fixed on for that purpose. Hynes still continued very ill, and Price had not yet reached Swellendam. The party took with them beads, and a number of trinkets, in order to ransom those of the unfortunates that might fall in their way. And they proceeded till the natives interrupted their passage. The dissensions between the Caffres and Colonists, as already noticed, probably occasioned this interruption.

In their way they found three of the shipwrecked mariners, viz., Thomas Lewis, William Hatterly (or Hubberly), and another. William Hatterly was the servant of Mr. Shaw, the second mate, and he had kept company with that party till all but himself had expired. He then walked on, melancholy and forlorn, till he had reached the spot where he was met by the Dutch. At other places on the road they met with seven more men (Lascars) and two black women, one of whom was servant to Mrs. Logie, the other to Mrs. Hosea. From these women was obtained the following interesting information: They said that about five days after the party to which Hynes had attached himself parted from the captain and the ladies, they also took separate routes, the latter intending to join the Lascars; but what become of either, after this separation had taken place, they knew not. They indeed saw the Captain's coat upon one of the natives, which led them to conclude that he was dead.

After the waggons had been prevented by the natives from proceeding, some of the party travelled fifteen days on horseback, in prosecution of their plan; but the Caffres still continuing to harrass them, and obstructing their passage, they were obliged to give up the undertaking; and they came back, after having been absent three months.

Captain Muller returned to Swellendam with his troops, bringing with him the seven Lascars and two black women, together with the three Englishmen he had picked up on the road, the boy Price, and his two guides De Lasso and Evans; but the farmers who had attended the

expedition with their waggons filed off to their respective homes in the different colonies. The black people were detained at Swellendam, and the English were sent to the Cape, where having undergone a long examination by the Governor, he permitted them to take their passage for Europe on board a Danish ship, then lying in the harbour, that wanted hands.

The captain of the Dane promised to land them in England, as he passed through the Channel, but being very short of hands, he carried them all to Copenhagen, except Price, who was put on shore at Weymouth. From Deumark they soon after reached London; furnishing an example to British seamen that even the most unparalleled hardships are to be surmounted; and that when they leave their native country, on the most hazardous or most distant expeditions, a return to it is not to be despaired of. And while we sympathize in the woes, or lament the loss of those who were left among the inhospitable savages, we cannot but admire the goodness of Providence in so miraculously preserving these few.*

* The following persons were left with Captain Coxon, of whom no accounts are received.—Mr. Lovie, chief mate; Mr. Beale, third ditto; Mr. Harris, fifth ditto; Mr. Haye, purser; Mr. Nixon, surgeon; Robert Rea, boatswain; John Hunter, gunner; William Mixon, quartermaster; John M'Daniel, and James Mauleverer, carpenter's mates; John Edkins, caulker; William Stevens, butcher; Colonel D'Espinette; seven seamen; four servants, and two discharged soldiers from Madras.

Passengers left with Captain Coxon.—Colonel James, Mrs. James Mr. Hosea, Mrs. Hosea, Mrs. Lovie, Mr. Newman, Captain Walterhouse; Adair; Miss Dennis, Miss Wilmott, Miss Hosea, Master Saunders, Master Chambers, children; and eight black servants.

The following persons died on their way to the Cape.—William Tromson, midshipman; Thomas Page, carpenter; Henry Lillburne, ship's steward; Master Law; Thomas Simmonds, quartermaster; Robert Auld, cooper; W. Couch, captain's steward; Lau. Jonesque, boatswain's yeoman; All. Schultz, Thomas Parker, Patrick Burne, R. Fitzgerald, and John Blanc, seamen; Mr. Williams, Mr. Taylor, and John Sussman, passengers.

Left in different parts, exclusive of those who remained with the Captain.—James Thompson, quarter-master; George Read, armourer; Mr. Shaw, second mate; Mr. Trotter, fourth mate; George Creighton, caulker's mate; Laurence M'Ewen, Edward Mouck, John Squires, Isaac Blair, William Eruel, Charles Berry, James Simpton, Jacob Angel, John Howes, and John Brown, seamen; William Ellis, Edward Croaker, and James Stockdale, discharged soldiers.

The only new light, I believe, that can be thrown on this unfortunate affair, is to be found in the travels of the ingenious and humane Vaillant. Being arrived on the borders of Caffraria, and determined on entering that country with the philanthropic view of endeavouring to bring about a peace between the Hottentots and Caffres, he carries his philanthropy a step further and wishes at the same time to afford assistance to the unfortunate people whose sufferings have been just described.

"A misfortune which had lately happened," says that worthy man, "contributed not a little to heat my imagination. I was informed that six weeks before, an English ship, the *Grosvenor*, East-Indiaman, had been wrecked on the coast; that part of the crew and passengers, escaping the turbulent element, unfortunately fell into the hands of the Caffres, by whom they were barbarously destroyed, the women excepted, who were reserved to undergo still greater hardships; some few, it was supposed, had escaped, and were now wandering on the coast, or exploring melancholy and almost impenetrable forests, where they could not fail in the end of perishing miserably. Among these unfortunate people were several French officers, prisoners of war, who were coming to Europe.

"My heart," continues he, "was wounded by this afflicting detail; a thousand projects bewildered my head. I could not be above fifty leagues from the unfortunate spot. Various means occurred to succour the unhappy sufferers, whose situation was so truly deplorable. I proposed these means to my companions, but every proposal was refused. In vain I offered presents, prayers, entreaties; nay, even threatenings had no more weight. I however flattered myself, I should find among the colonists some, whose hearts would not only enter readily into my pacific measures with the Caffres, but assist in every endeavour to succour to the unhappy people that had been ship-wrecked; the image whose misfortunes perpetually followed me.

"How cruel a situation for women! condemned to drag a painful life in all the horrors of agonizing despair. A desire to procure them liberty; to bring them away with me; employed all my thoughts, and deafened me to every obstacle."

A party of Caffres having paid him a friendly visit at his camp, he informs us further on the subject, "that the news of their departure made him more eager to question them, as he had by no means forgot the unhappy sufferers who were shipwrecked in the *Grosvenor*."

"They could not," says he, "give me so ample an account as I wished in this particular, being simply acquainted with the fact. Situated towards the north-west, they were further from the sea than myself, and could give no positive account of this melancholy catastrophe; they had, indeed, seen some of the effects taken from the wreck, which had been exchanged with other goods for cattle; even the Caffres now at my camp possessing some trifling part of the property. One showed me a piece of silver coin which he wore at his neck, and another a small key. They likewise described, as well as they could, a curiosity which had been divided among them. By their account I judged this must have been a watch, whose wheels they had separated, and formed into different ornaments. And I was convinced I was right in my conjecture, when on showing them mine, they all exclaimed it was the same thing, only of a different colour, theirs resembling the piece of coin the Caffre wore about his neck. They added, that the most valuable of the effects had been taken by their countrymen that inhabited the sea coast, who were in possession of a great quantity of pieces similar to that they had shown me. As for the people who had escaped the wreck, they had been informed some were found dead upon the sand, but that others, more fortunate, had reached some country inhabited by white people."

Monsieur Vaillant having entered the country of the Caffres, attended by a few of his Hottentots, and falling in with a small party of the Caffres, he thus continues the subject. "I enquired about the shipwrecked vessel, but learned little more than I was before acquainted with: That it had been cast away on the coast of Caffraria.

"I judged this melancholy event had happened beyond the country of the Tambouches, as high as Madagascar, towards the channel of Mosambique. These people assured me, that, besides the difficulties I should have to encounter, after having passed their limits, among several other rivers, we must cross one that was too wide to be

swam over, and must advance a great way towards the north to find it fordable. They added that they had seen several white men among the Tambouches some time ago, when they exchanged some merchandize with that people for nails taken from the wreck ; but being now at war with them, they could procure no more."

Upon reflection, it seems a very great pity that the captain should have quitted the place where the ship was wrecked. By collecting the scattered fragments of the wreck, as they drove on shore, a boat, one would suppose, might have been constructed, capable of containing the whole of those who were saved, as was done by Captain Wilson of the *Antelope* packet. And particularly so, as the carpenter's and caulker's crew all got safe on shore. They might then have coasted it all along shore, putting into every bay as they proceeded, in order to water and refresh. They would thus have found a much easier and quicker passage to the Cape than by attempting, as they did, to travel by land, subject to a thousand difficulties, the slightest of which were much too arduous and fatiguing for delicate women and children to encounter. One cannot help reflecting upon the conduct of the third mate, who appears to have been highly culpable, in not attending to the first alarm of seeing land, and instantly convincing himself of the truth of it. Even a moment in such a situation was not to be lost. By an immediate attention the ship might in all probability have been put about, and by that means saved ; whereas, when it was attempted by the captain, it was then too late. In ten minutes after the ship had struck, the wind came off shore ; so that if she had been put about in any time, the effect would have been that her head would have paid off, which would have been a most fortunate circumstance, and the consequence the saving of the whole.

(Captain Coxon is said to have declared to the unfortunate sufferers that he expected to be able to get to a Dutch settlement in sixteen days. Surely, in that time, one would suppose he might have finished a boat ; hooks and lines might have been made, and fish caught, which must have proved a more ready way of procuring a subsistence than in passing through an unknown country, whose productions they were unacquainted with. They would at the same

time have avoided the perilous rencontre either of the natives or of ferocious animals. The author is the more confirmed in this opinion from the circumstance of Trout, the Dutchman, telling the captain that he had been on board the wreck, and got from thence a load of iron, pewter, lead and copper. It may be opposed to this that Captain Coxon might have been too much harassed by the natives to attempt such a work in the situation they then were. But as we are given to understand that they always left the place at sun-set, means might have been used to prevent this constant interruption. We know that wood in abundance, and probably bamboo, grows in those parts; and as a number of hardy fellows, equal to any enterprise, were saved, enough could have been collected in the course of a few hours to have formed a *cheveaux de frize* round their little camp; and thus fortified, the natives would have been more inclined to barter with them than to have disturbed them.

Hooks and lines might have been formed of twisted or plaited grass or silaments of the cocoa-tree; or the sails might have been unravelled for that purpose. Indeed, a hundred methods might have been had recourse to, in order to supply those necessary implements. Weapons of defence also, might soon have been made, equal to any of those they had to encounter. And whoever has seen the Masoula boats at Madras, knows that much may be done without hammer or nails, even in boats of burthen. In short, unless this imprudent resolution proceeded from the want of unanimity, which I need not say, in all situations that are any ways similar to theirs, is extremely unfortunate, the oversight was a very great one, and not to be accounted for.—G. CARTER.

FATE OF THE CAPTAIN'S PARTY.

Supplementary by the Editor of the "Natalian."

The narrative from which we glean the following supplementary information, relates to the "Loss of the American ship *Hercules* [at the mouth of the Beka] on the coast of Caffiaria, June 16th, 1796, as given by Captain

Benjamin Stout, then in command of her." The *Hercules* left Bengal for London, laden with rice, on 17th March, 1796, and as Captain Stout tells us in the narrative, "nothing material occurred until the 1st of June following, at which time we reached 35° south latitude, and 28° 40' east longitude. It then began to blow a gale, which progressively increased until the seventh. Though bred to the sea from my earliest youth, all that I had either heard or read of before presented no adequate idea of those sublime effects which the raging of the elements produced. The ship, raised on mountains of water, was in a moment precipitated into an abyss, where she seemed to wait until the coming sea elevated her again to the clouds. The incessant roaring of the wind and waves produced an awful sensation in the minds of the most experienced seamen, who for some time appeared in a state of stupor, while others, less accustomed to the dangers of a maritime life, vented their fears in cries and exclamations. Night came on worse than the day had been, and a sudden shift of wind, about midnight, threw the ship into the trough of the sea, which struck her aft, tore away the rudder, started the stern-post, and shattered the whole of her stern-frame. . . . As the next day advanced, the weather appeared to moderate; the men continued incessantly at the pumps, and every exertion was made to keep the ship afloat. At that time we were about two hundred leagues from the eastern coast of Africa. . . . The ship being for some time unmanageable, and, in spite of all our efforts, frequently standing with her head from the land, I got a rudder made out of the topmast, and fixed in the place of the one we had lost. But it was found of little avail without the help of the long-boat, which I, therefore, ordered to be hauled athwart the stern; and this served, though with the greatest difficulty, to get the vessel's head towards the shore, while the wind was variable from the eastward. . . . On the evening of the 15th we discovered land at about six leagues distance. At this moment all on board expressed their joy by shouts and acclamations, and the ship still kept nearing the shore, with five feet water in her hold. In the morning of the 16th, being then about two miles from the land and the wind from the westward, I ordered the anchor to be let

go, that a last effort might be made to stop the leaks, and, if possible, save the ship. But her stern was shattered in such a manner that, after another consultation with my officers, it was finally resolved to run her on the coast then opposite to us. Another gale was threatening, and no time was to be lost. We were now on the coast of Caffraria, within a few leagues of the place where the river Infanta [Fish River] empties itself into the sea. As the crisis approached, we resolved to meet it with fortitude; and I therefore gave directions to set the head-sail, to heave the spring tight, in order to get the ship's head towards the shore, and then to cut the cable and the spring. My orders were obeyed with the greatest promptitude. After running within half a mile of the shore, the vessel struck on a cluster of rocks: the swell was at this moment tremendous, and, from her heaving so violently, it was scarcely possible for men to hold on. In this situation she remained three or four minutes, when a sea took her over the rocks, and carried her about a cable's length nearer the shore. Here she struck again, and continued heaving in, with a dreadful surf, which every instant made a break over her. . . . There the natives who had kindled fires, appeared in great numbers. They were mostly clothed in skins, armed with spears, and accompanied by a great many dogs; a party of them seized one man who had landed, and conducted him behind the sand hills lining the coast, which hid him entirely from our view. Twelve of my people now launched themselves on different spars, and whatever pieces of timber they could find. Braving all difficulties, they at last gained the beach: which they had no sooner reached, than the natives came down, seized and conducted them behind the sand hills also. . . . The whole night was spent in anxious consultations, and the approach of day was anticipated with considerable anxiety. When it did come, not an individual was to be seen, until nine o'clock, when all the people who had landed were observed making towards the shore, and we soon perceived them beckoning and inviting us to land. . . . The first object of my enquiry, on our all getting ashore, was, naturally, the fate of my unfortunate crew; and I then enjoyed the heartfelt pleasure of beholding them all around me, except those in

the long-boat and one man who perished near the shore. I then addressed myself to the natives, endeavouring to explain myself by signs. Fortunately there was a Hottentot present who had lived with the Dutch farmers, and could speak their language; my third mate was a Dutchman, and these two served as interpreters. . . . This being, as I conceived, at no great distance from the spot where the *Grosvenor* was lost in 1782, I inquired whether any of the natives remembered such a catastrophe. Most of them answered in the affirmative, and ascending one of the sand hills, pointed to the place where the *Grosvenor* suffered. I then desired to know whether they had received any certain accounts respecting the fate of Captain Coxon, who was proceeding on his way to the Cape, with several men and women passengers that were saved from the wreck. They answered that Captain Coxon and the men were slain. One of the chiefs having insisted on taking two of the white ladies to his kraal, the Captain and his people resisted, and not being armed, were immediately destroyed. The natives, at the same time, gave me to understand that at the period when the *Grosvenor* was wrecked their nation was at war with the colonists; and as the Captain and his crew were whites, they could not tell but they would assist the colonists in the war, provided they reached their farms. This intelligence so directly affected my own situation that I desired to know on what terms the Caffres and the colonists now stood. "We are friends," said they, "and it will be their fault if we are not always so." This answer relieved me from a very serious embarrassment. But the fate of the two unfortunate ladies gave me so much uneasiness that I most earnestly requested the natives to tell me all they knew of their situation; whether they were alive or dead, and if living, what part of the country they inhabited. They replied, with much apparent concern, that one of the ladies had died a short time after her arrival at the kraal, but they understood that the other was living, had several children by the chief. "Where she now is," said they, "we know not." After receiving every possible information on this melancholy subject, we principally employed ourselves, during the remainder of the day, in assisting the natives to save whatever came on shore from the wreck."

The following is from the "A. & S. Regimental News," 91st Highlanders, copied into the *Times of Natal* of May 7th, 1885 :—

"OLD COINS.—Five silver coins, recovered from the rocks where the Indiaman, the *Grovesnor*, was wrecked in 1782, have been deciphered by a Mahomedan Priest at Durban, who gave them as of the Emperors of Delhi—the oldest date was that of Shah Alim, A. II., 1107-1112—the Arabic name of the rupee is 'nessfer Jules.' The Mollah could not give an account of the two small gold coins that have a three-quarter figure impressed on them, the stamping has slightly split the edges. A few Venetian sequins also have been obtained. One of these coins is in possession of Lieut.-Colonel Robley ; the figure of St. Mark is on one side in an oval of sixteen stars ; on the other blessing a diminutive Doge, whose name, abbreviated, is that of the Doge, AL. MOCENIGO—1763-76. The gold is of a bright colour and in good preservation. Captain Turner, of the trading steamer *Lady Wood*, of Durban, states that the debris of the *Grovesnor* wreck is amongst rocks and in the surf, which makes diving difficult. Dynamite has been used in the rocks, and then the sands scraped with buckets. A great number of small gold coins were found in a cannon which he burnt. The native chief at this place will not allow the guns to be touched. A legend handed down amongst the inhabitants of the district is that sailors took a box ashore and buried it, and that treasure is hidden somewhere.



CHAPTER XIII.

THE SURVIVORS OF THE "GROSVENOR."

UPON the appearance in the *Cape Monthly Magazine* of July 1859, of Jacob Van Reenen's journal recounting his adventures in search of said survivors, Mr. George Thompson (author of the book entitled "Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa" published by Henry Colburn of London in 1827), wrote to that periodical as follows :—

I notice with no small interest the article in your current number, in relation to the loss of the *Grosvenor*, Indiaman ; Mr. Van Reenen's journal ; and the allusion to a paragraph published in "Chambers Repository" some time ago, when all the points you have drawn to notice were the subject of my consideration. I then prepared a hasty sketch of the circumstances connected therewith, and to clear up some points I conceived in error by the otherwise generally faithful and intelligent publishers. Through some accident, however, it was never published. I therefore now submit it to you, and should you deem it worthy of a place in your interesting periodical, it is at your service. The paragraph in question reads as follows, to which I will add the comment made at the time :—

THE WAR IN KAFFRARIA.

T' Slambies' widow, Nonnie, who possesses considerable influence with her tribe, is the grand-daughter of Miss Campbell, one of the three unfortunate daughters of General Campbell who was wrecked in the "Grosvenor," East Indiaman, on the East coast of Africa, during the last century, and compelled, all three of them, to become the wives of Kafirs.

In some measure I fear, leading the public to imagine that descendants of the *Grosvenor's* crew exist among the Kafirs, causing, doubtless, to the interested, through con-

sanguinity, much uneasiness. Little more than two generations having elapsed since the melancholy wreck occurred, many parties must still live in England who claim relationship to the unfortunate people. From the general accuracy of your statements, with some diffidence, I question the accuracy of the above report, and beg to refer you to the best, and I believe the only satisfactory, narrative of the lamented event, detailing an unparelled amount of suffering, and which you will find in the *American Magazine* for 1797, vol. xx. There we have the passengers enumerated.* The following persons having been left with Captain Coxon, of whom no accounts are received; Mr. Logie, chief mate; John Hunter, gunner; Mr. Beale, third mate; Wm. Mixon, second master; Mr. Harris, fifth mate, John M'Daniel, James Mauleverer, carpenter's mates; Mr. Haye, purser; Mr. Nixon, surgeon; John Edkins, caulker; Robert Rea, boatswain; Wm. Stevens, butcher; Col. D'Espinetto; seven seamen; four servants, and two discharged soldiers from Madras.†

Passengers left with Captain Coxon; Colonel and Mrs. James; Mr. and Mrs. Hosea; Mrs. Logie; Mr. Newman; Captain Adair; Misses Dennis, Wilmot and Hosca; Masters Saunders and Chambers, children, and eight black servants.

The following persons died on their way to the Cape; Wm. Thompson, midly; Page, carpenter; Lillburne, steward; Master Law; Simmons, second master; Ant. Cooper; Couch, captain's steward, Jonesque, yeoman, All Schultz, Thomas Barker, Burne, Fitzgerald, and Blane, seaman; Williams, Taylor, and Sussman, passengers.

Left in different parts, exclusive to those who remained with the Captain: Thomson, Read, Shaw, Trotter, Crighton, Mr. Ewen, Monck, Squires, Blair, Fruel and Burny, Simpson, Angel, Howes and Brown and Ellis, Croker, and Stockdale, discharged soldiers.

In this very complete and detailed statement, no Misses

* John Hynes's account of the shipwreck, &c., was published in the magazine alluded to, and will be found preceding this letter of Mr. Thompson's.—D. C. F. M.

† Mr. Thompson had evidently not perused the account of Lewis, Wainwrighton, Price, Larey, or that of Hubbsley.—D. C. F. M.

Campbell are mentioned, and no such parties appear to have been on board. I had hoped, after Captain Marryat's work (*The Mission; or, Scenes in South Africa*. "Routledge, 1853) though partly imaginary, that all doubts on the subject had been set at rest. To account, however, for the continued excitement is not difficult, from the innumerable statements, full of discrepancies, thro' hearsay evidence and the blending of other wrecks long antecedent to that of the *Grosvenor*. If you refer to Van Reenen's expedition in quest of the survivors in 1791, only nine years after the stranding of the *Grosvenor*, published by the late well known and gallant Capt. Riou, R.N.; and referred to in *my travels* in 1827, you will find that among the Tamibookies the party found three European women, and no less than 400 of mixed blood. The present chief of the country, Faku, is such. The women referred to were far advanced in years, and had no knowledge whatever of their arrival amongst the savages, and I think it may safely be inferred that no one of the *Grosvenor's* crew survived, beyond those who reached the Colony, and whose names are given in the narrative alluded to. Their numbers gradually diminished in the most difficult route along the beach, continually interrupted with formidable rivers. The journey from the wreck, only 300 miles as the crow flies, occupied one hundred and seventeen days, before reaching the Zwaartkops River and the first colonial settlers. One of the sufferers has often excited in me a thrill of sympathy, viz., the little passenger boy Law, only twelve years of age, who only perished a day before the meeting with the colonists. He was a favourite with the crew, and thro' them had been enabled to bear so long against the unequal task at so tender an age. Between the Kieskaina and the Sundays River the mortality was great. Some years ago, when on a visit to the Kowie, a friend discovered thro' the casual drifting of the sand on the hill skirting the coast the skeleton of evidently a European, in a sitting posture, as might be expected of one yielding to exhausted nature.

My friend Capt. Garden, of the 45th Regt., has recently proceeded to England with a view of publishing interesting particulars concerning the Zulu tribes, and his visit to the wreck of the *Grosvenor*, which he still found in existence,

having veritable relics of the remains. Her guns were upon the beach as described by Van Reenen. Capt. Garden made enquiry on the spot, and subsequently on his journey thro' Kaffraria, regarding the report of existence of descendants of the *Grosvenor*, but in vain. All, I believe, he could obtain was a faint clue to an individual said to have been a grandson of a petty officer of the ship.

The matter, however, in my opinion is very doubtful, and although at one time I imagined it possible that some of the descendants of the shipwreck might be in existence, I have, after many searching enquiries, come to the conclusion that not one remained to perpetuate the memory of the sad disaster; and the surviving relations of the missing may rest assured that their blood mingles not with the savages of Kaffraria.

With regard to T'Slambie's widow Nonubie, whom you mention as being a grand-daughter of Miss Campbell, one of the three daughters of General Campbell, who was wrecked in the *Grosvenor*, the statement is incorrect, Nonubie having but a bare trace of European blood in her. If these few remarks tend to relieve the minds of any still brooding over the harassing idea of their kindred being mingled with the Kafirs, I should hope they will feel the same satisfactory conviction that Sir Charles felt in the following paragraph extracted from Capt. Marryat's work already alluded to: "Alexander sat down by the bed, and entered into a full detail of the results of his expedition to Port Natal, reading over all the memoranda which they had collected, and satisfactorily proving that the descendants of the Europeans then existing could not by any possibility be from those who had been lost in the *Grosvenor*, East Indiaman. Sir C. Wilson listened in silence to all Alexander had to say, and then, joining his hands above the bed clothes, exclaimed 'Gracious Lord, I thank thee that this weight has been removed from my mind.'"

CHAPTER XIV.

BATTLE OF MUIZENBERG.

HAVING now—it will be fully conceded—exhaustively given every particular concerning an event that has for a very long time been very interesting, but which has been a kind of mystery in the minds of many, I must now, after a turn at “Adventure” begin the narration of the irregular warfare which prefaced subsequent “Battles,” of which, it seems, South Africa is the hot bed, as well as the “Grave of military reputations.”

The first irregular warfare began under the “Commando” system in 1789, when the Dutch Government at the Cape being unable to protect their frontier burghers against inroads of Kafirs, these energetic gentlemen simply took the law in their own hands, and, in the year above mentioned the Landdrost of Graaff-Reinet called out a Commando, and took the field. *This was the first movement of importance against the Kafirs, videlicet,* as the beginning of the reprisals that led to regular warfare.

But the very first martial movement was against the Hottentots in 1653—under Commander Jan van Riebeeck, of the Dutch East India Service at the Cape, as I have pointed out.

My father, Donald Moodie, says, in his translation of Van Riebeeck’s journals in his Cape “Record” published in 1838 (page 39) “It was finally, after much deliberation, and upon serious consideration, resolved to send out in that direction this very night (Oct. 23) a party of 17 active soldiers, victualled for 4 or 5 days, under Corporal Jan van Harwarden, a person of discretion and conduct—with orders to halt at the wood until daybreak, and then, on finding it safe to make the attempt, to set out for False Bay, or wherever Herry may be with our cattle, and either with or without the Saldanha Captain; and on falling in with Herry, to see to get possession of the cattle, and also, if possible, by fair means, or by force, to bring Herry and

his people hither, keeping at the same time a good watch, so that our men may not be deceived or destroyed by one or the other." There were also at several times other expeditions not worth mentioning.

However, the Landdrost found that the Kafirs, against whom he was now moving, were of vastly superior metal in fighting to the indolent Hottentots, and the consequence was that a state of anarchy succeeded and continued until 1793, until, after some more scimmages, a peace was made with 'Ndlambe.

Matters went on in this unsatisfactory state until events transpired in Europe which were destined to change altogether the position of affairs at the Cape. At the breaking out of the French Revolution there were two parties in Holland, one of which was opposed to the Government of the Stadtholder. This party naturally sympathised with the French Revolutionists. The alliance of the Stadtholder with England drew the French armies upon Holland. In February, 1793, Dumouriez invaded that country, but it was reserved for Pichegru to overrun it, which he did during the severe winter of 1794-5, when the rivers were frozen so solidly, that he could move his armies readily in any direction. The democratic party gave the French an enthusiastic welcome. The Government was immediately remodelled, and an alliance, offensive and defensive, between the French and Batavian Republics was signed at the Hague on the 16th of May, 1795.

Nearly half of the Dutch navy had already been seized by England, under the pretence of keeping the ships from falling into the hands of the French, and the Stadtholder had fled to England and requested that power to *take possession* of the Dutch Colonies, *and hold them* in trust for himself.

In accordance with the above, Admiral Elphinstone and General Craig were sent out by the British Government to the Cape with a fleet and troops, and arrived at the Cape in June, 1795. They also brought a letter from the Prince of Orange to the Cape Government, stating that they were sent out to protect the Colony against the French, and directing that the troops and ships should be received and considered as in amity and alliance with Holland.

The officer in charge of the Cape Government,

Commissary Sluysken, seemed to have looked with suspicion upon this order from a Prince in exile, and as he had no instructions from the Chamber of Seventeen, he rejected the proposal to permit the troops on board the fleet—which had anchored at Simon's Bay—to land, and peremptorily refused to place the Settlement under the protection of Great Britain.

A call to arms was the result. Sluysken called to his aid the burghers of Swellendam. But these refractory gentlemen had already rebelled against an effete Government, which expected them to pay taxes for land that they had to fight for themselves, whilst they supplied the Dutch Commander with cabbages and cauliflowers at his own price. They therefore declined the call to arms.

However, about 1600 Burghers of the Cape and Stellenbosch districts rallied to the support of the Government, and these, with some armed slaves, and a few regulars, occupied the Pass of Muizenberg—a strong position, between Simon's Bay and Cape Town.

Four hundred and fifty men of the 78th Regiment, and 350 marines, being the whole military force under General Craig, were then disembarked and possession was taken of Simon's Town on the 14th July, 1795.

After some delay in waiting for reinforcements, the English officers determined to attempt to carry Muizenberg. Eight hundred seamen landed from the fleet, commanded by Captains Spranger and Hardy of the *Rattlesnake* and *Echo* ships of war.

The English General advanced to the attack at the head of about 1,600 men, while a heavy fire was opened from the ships of war ranged along the beach opposite the Dutch encampment. De Lille, the Dutch General, threw out some small parties of mounted burghers, Hottentots and slaves, to annoy the English by skirmishing, but as these parties were easily driven back, he was prevented from using his cannon against the advancing foe. Some companies of soldiers, with the Naval Brigades, following close behind the fugitives, safely reached the hill side above the pass, and easily put the whole Dutch force to rout.

The Dutch retired so hastily, and in such confusion, that the sailors, in their eagerness to overtake them, threw away

their muskets, and ran forward with cheers. The loss on the English side was trifling, amounting only to 19 killed and wounded.

Having lost Muizenberg, which should have been defended to the last extremity, De Lille rallied his forces at a place a little to the northward, where there was a battery which enfiladed the head of the Pass. But from this position he retreated in disorder upon the first appearance of the British troops issuing from the pass to attack him. General Craig encamped at Muizenberg, and was reinforced by about 300 men from St. Helena.

On the 4th of September, 1795, the remainder of the British fleet, having on board 3,000 soldiers, anchored in Simon's Bay. Upon intelligence of this reaching Wynberg, the burghers commenced to desert their colours in such numbers that soon all chance of further resistance was gone. On the 14th, the British force, now 5,000 strong, marched to Wyuberg, and after slight skirmish, took possession of the camp, and on the morning of the 15th of September, 1795, the Colony was surrendered.

General J. H. Craig on September 21st, thus writes, of one of these engagements, to Secretary of State Right Hon. Sir Henry Dundas :—

On the morning of the 1st of September, the enemy having lined the mountains above us with Hottentots and burghers militia, commenced a fire of musketry upon our camp, which, from the total want of effect that had attended a former attempt of the same nature, was little attended to, till, unfortunately, the picket of the reserve, being too much occupied in covering themselves from it, neglected their front, from whence the enemy poured in considerable numbers, and forced them with some loss. Capt. Brown, with the 78th Grenadiers, advancing, however, to their support, the enemy were immediately driven down the hill again, and the ground of the piquets re-occupied. In this affair Major Moneypenny of the 78th, was severely wounded, and we suffered a great loss in being deprived of the assistance of an officer of distinguished zeal and activity in command of the reserve, with which he had been charged since our march from Simon's Town. Capt. Dentane, of the St. Helena troops, was also wounded.

The remains of the old battery at Muizenberg are still to be seen, and it must be mentioned that several members of the colonial force distinguished themselves—especially a Capt. Cloete who commanded a Hottentot corps, and a Mr. Du Plessis, who headed a party of burghers, and attracted the General's notice by his courage.

Judge Watermeyer says "some national feeling in favour of the Fatherland may have lingered, but substantially every man in the Colony, of every hue, was benefitted when the incubus of Dutch East India Company was removed."



CHAPTER XV.

CAPTURE OF THE FLEET OF THE DUTCH ADMIRAL "LUCAS."

ON the 5th of August, 1796, information reached Cape Town that a Dutch fleet had left Europe, and might be expected at any moment. Admiral Elphinstone, who was then, in Simon's Bay put to sea with a fleet of twelve ships of war.

On descrying this fleet the Dutch were in great joy, imagining the ships to be those of their friends, the French. But they were soon undeceived, when to their great surprise the British drew up in line of battle across the Bay. They now perceived they were completely shut in, and that no chance was left for escape. The Dutch officers had some idea of running their vessels ashore to prevent falling into the hands of the English in a perfect state, and to attempt to make their own escape into the country. General Craig, however, expecting they might have such intentions, sent an officer with a flag of truce to inform the Dutch Admiral that if the ships were injured he would allow no quarter.

The next morning—August 18th, 1796—Elphinstone sent a flag of truce to the Dutch Admiral, Lucas, requiring him to surrender without delay. Resistance or escape was equally impracticable, and, therefore, after an ineffectual request for one of the frigates to convey him and his officers to Europe, he surrendered at discretion.

On boarding the prizes the Dutch were found to be completely demoralized. The English commander was obliged to place a strong guard over the Dutch officers, to prevent them from being maltreated by their own men, so indignant were they for being taken in such a trap. In some instances the men were trampling on their own colours, and casting the vilest terms of reproach upon those by whom they had been betrayed. They were almost destitute of provisions, and had been on short allowance so long that many of them looked half starved.

A large number of the Dutch mercenaries and conscripts at once volunteered to enter the English service. Elphinstone accepted their offer, and as soon as he reached Table Bay with his prizes, put them on board some Indiamen, taking an equal number of able seamen in return.

And so the entire force of ships and men, composing an expedition from which the Batavian Government expected nothing less than the recovery of the Colony, fell into the hands of the British, without a shot being fired, or a drop of blood spilt.

In the year 1796, Jager Afrikaner, the descendant of a line of Hottentot chieftains, who had been for some time a shepherd in the service of a farmer named Pienaar, driven to fury by ill-treatment and abuse, rose against his master, murdered him, and took possession of several guns which were in the house. He then raised a band of followers, with whom he fled to the lower banks of the Orange River, where he fixed his residence.

Some time afterwards he removed to Great Namaqualand, and there became a terror to all the neighbouring tribes, as well as to the farmers on the Colonial frontier. Commandos were sent against him, but to no purpose. For several years he carried on such a career of devastation and bloodshed as had never before been witnessed in those regions. But he was at length conquered by a Missionary, and under the new name of Christian Afrikaner, became a staunch friend and supporter of Mission work in Namaqualand.

In November, 1798, when General Dundas was at the head of affairs, a story which, between Boers and British, has become old, was enacted. A Boer named Van Jaarsveld was arrested by the officials for forgery. His Boer friends turned up, and setting Mr. Bresler, the Landdrost, at defiance, rescued him, but they were afterwards obliged to surrender. Some were heavily fined, and others sentenced to death, but the sentence was never carried out.

The above was followed by an outbreak of Hottentots and Klaas Stuurman, who, in revenge for persecution, fell upon the Boers and plundered a great many homesteads, but did not murder.

A lawless ruffian farmer of herculean proportions named

Cocnraad Buys, who had married Ngqika's mother, now roused up the Kafir Chief Cungwa, persuading him that if he did not act upon the offensive and chase the British troops from the frontier, he would be driven off his loved territory. The result of this pernicious advice was soon apparent.

General Vandeleur, having left a small garrison in the village of Graaff-Reinet, was on his march to Algoa Bay with a view of embarking his troops for Cape Town, and was unsuspecting of an enemy being close at hand, when in a thicket, a charge was made upon his line by Cungwa's followers, aided by several white renegades like Buys.

In this, the above *first engagement between Kafirs and British troops*, the assailants were repulsed with heavy loss, though the nature of the ground was in their favour.

Unfortunately a small detachment of the 81st, under command of Lieut. Chumney, was surprised when out of reaching assistance, and, after a desperate defence against overwhelming numbers, 17 men, including the officer, were slain. The General then continued his march to Algoa Bay, where he erected and garrisoned a small fort for the purpose of securing that important position against a foreign enemy, after which he took ship for Cape Town, with the remainder of his forces.

One of the renegade whites—they were two brothers Lochenberg; a German named Cornelius Faber: and an Irish deserter from the army; besides several young men connected with old and respectable Colonial families—well, one of the renegade whites induced the Hottentots to join Cungwa, and thus let loose upon the colony a host of savages.

The prospect of plundering thus before his eyes, now proved too much for 'Ndhlambe and his followers to resist, so that they all fell in with the torrent of invasion.

The united bands first ravaged the district of Graaff-Reinet; burning the houses and seizing the cattle, and then advanced beyond the Gamtoos River, where they met and defeated a commando under Tjaardt van der Walt, who fell in the engagement. When the death of this leader, who was a man of bravery and military genius, became known, the farmers lost all hope, and thought of nothing but flight.

The work of plunder and destruction was continued as far as Cayman's River, near the present village of George ; but there the raiders were met and defeated by the burghers of Swellendam, aided by a small body of British troops. They then retired beyond the Sunday River, having destroyed a vast amount of property in addition to what they carried off.

In November, 1799, during a terrific gale, eight ships were driven ashore in Table Bay ; one being a Danish man-of-war ; and another the British war-ship *Sceptre*, whose crew of 300 souls all perished.

On the 27th of March, 1802, the Treaty of Amiens was signed. Europe was exhausted and required breathing time in order to prepare for still greater struggles than those she had just gone through. One of the conditions of peace, insisted on by France, and agreed to by England, was that the Cape Colony should be handed over to the Batavian Government. In accordance with this agreement a force was despatched from Holland to relieve the British garrison and occupy the forts of the Colony.

The 1st of January, 1803, was fixed for the British evacuation of the Cape, and the English troops had actually commenced to embark, when a vessel arrived with orders to delay the cession, as it was probable that war would break out again immediately. The Dutch troops were therefore cantoned at Wynberg, where they remained until February, 1803, when fresh orders were received and the Colony was given up.



CHAPTER XVI.

BATTLE OF BLAAUWBERG.

THE Cape had hardly been transferred to the Dutch when the war broke out again between France and England. France and Holland were then so united that war with one meant war with the other, and accordingly one of the first acts of hostility was the seizure by the English of all the Dutch vessels in British ports. It was certain that Great Britain would attempt to recover possession of South Africa; but highly as it was valued by the Batavian Government, there was one other dependency of that Power considered of greater importance, and to its defence all the energies of the Republic were directed. That was the Island of Java, and thither General Jansseus was directed to send a great portion of the army under his command, retaining only 2,000 men in garrison at the Cape. The Governor complied with these instructions, and immediately took steps to increase his own power of resistance by arming and drilling the colonists, and by organizing a battalion of Hottentots, and a corps of Malay Artillery. He also caused magazines to be erected beyond Hottentot's Holland, and military stores to be collected there, so that in the event of Cape Town falling into the hands of the enemy, he would have something to fall back upon, and by endeavouring to prevent supplies from reaching the city, might possibly compel the invaders to retire. His plans were the best that could be formed under the circumstances, but the forces with which he had to contend were so powerful as to make all attempts at resistance vain.

In the evening of the 4th of January 1806 a British fleet, under the command of Sir David Baird and Sir Home Popham, came to anchor between Robben Island and the coast.

By noon of the 6th January all was ready. The *Diadem*, *Leda*, *Encounter*, and *Protector* were moved so as to cover the heights above the beach with their heavy guns, and a small transport was run ashore in such a manner as to form a breakwater outside of the landing place.

The 71st, 72nd, and 93rd Regiments, which formed the Highland Brigade, under the command of Brigadier General Ferguson, were then conveyed on shore, though the passage was attended with great difficulty. The sea was breaking with violence, but only one boat was swamped. It contained 36 men of the 93rd Regiment, all of whom were drowned.

On the 7th January the 24th, 59th, and 83rd Regiments were landed, together with sufficient water and provisions for the immediate use of the army. The ships of war had covered the landing place so effectually during the disembarkation that only four soldiers were wounded and one killed by the fire of the enemy, though a detachment of Dutch sharpshooters was posted on a commanding height.

On the morning of the 8th the army, which was formed into two brigades, commenced its march towards Cape Town. The Dutch sharpshooters were easily driven from their position, and then the ascent of the Blaauwberg was made. On reaching the summit the Dutch forces were seen advancing in readiness for battle, for as soon as General Janssens received authentic information as to where the English were landing, he hastened to meet them.

General Janssens' army was about 5,000 strong, but only a small portion of it consisted of regular troops, the remainder being composed of Mounted Burghers and a battalion of French seamen, and marines from the stranded ships *Atalanta* and *Napoleon*. He had twenty-three pieces of cannon, whilst the British had only eight, but the troops commanded by General Baird were veteran soldiers, which more than compensated for his deficiency in artillery. To prevent his flanks from being turned, which was the object of the enemy, the English commander extended his lines, and then ordered his left wing to advance. The Highland Brigade, of which this part of his army was composed, pressed steadily forward under a deadly fire, answering shot for shot while the artillery was playing upon their opponents from another direction.

The Dutch stood their ground bravely until the Highlanders charged with the bayonet, when they broke and fled, leaving 700 men dead and wounded on the battle field. Janssens having in vain endeavoured to rally his flying troops, retired, as arranged, to Hottentots Holland,

When the roll was called it was ascertained that the loss of the British was 212 killed, wounded, and missing.

At four o'clock on the afternoon of January 10, 1806, the articles were signed, by which the city was placed in the possession of the British; Janssens and his troops retiring with honours of war, and being provided with the means of conveyance homeward.

In taking leave of the above subject we might glance at an amusing extract from the pen of a Captain Carmichel who was engaged in the affair. The Captain says, in his notes, that pending negotiations, he, with some troops, marched to the Paarl. "On our arrival" says he "we found the people prodigiously civil. Every door was thrown open for our reception, and several of the inhabitants carried their kindness so far as to send even to the Parade to invite us to their houses.

Some of our speculators ascribed this marked hospitality to fear, while others, inclined to judge more favourably of human nature, imputed it to general benevolence of disposition. Those who suspended their opinion on the subject had the laugh at the expense of both, when, on our departure next morning, the true motive was discovered in the amount of their bills!"

After the first fall of Napoleon, the Government of the United Provinces was remodelled by the Allied Powers, when the Prince of Orange became King of the Netherlands.

On the 13th of August, 1814, a convention was signed by the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the Sovereigns of Great Britain and the Netherlands, according to which all the foreign possessions of Holland, which had been seized during the war by England, were restored, except the Cape of Good Hope, Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice. These colonies were then ceded to Great Britain for £6,000,000 sterling, with the stipulation that Dutch ships were to be permitted to obtain refreshments and repairs at Cape Town on the same conditions as English vessels, and that the colonists should not be debarred from carrying on trade with Holland.

The possession of the Cape Colony was then formally ratified to Great Britain by the Congress of Vienna in 1815, and no attempt has since been made to wrest it from her.

CHAPTER XVII.

KAFIR WAR OF 1811.

THE first Kafir War of any consequence occurred in 1811.

The continual thefts and acts of violence (says Mr. Theal) practised by the Kafirs in the Zuurveldt (now Albany) had by this time become so unbearable that it was determined to drive them all out of the Colony, and a large force was placed under command of Colonel Graham for that purpose.

At the same time Landdrost Stockenstrom of Graaff-Reinet was sent to apprise the chief Ngqika that no enmity was intended towards him, but that hostile operations would be conducted solely against Ndhlambe, Cungwa, and the other Kafirs who insisted remaining within the colonial border, but yet would not desist from plundering the colonists. With this assurance Ngqika was satisfied, and that chief took no part in the transactions that followed.

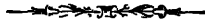
The British force entered the Zuurveldt in three divisions, the right under Landdrost Cuyler, the left under Stockenstrom, and the centre under Captain Fraser, the Commander-in-Chief being with the last named division. On the 28th of December, 1811, Stockenstrom, with about forty men, left his camp for the purpose of seeking an interview with Colonel Graham. On their way to headquarters they fell in with a body of Kafirs of the Imidange Clan, and the chivalrous Landdrost, who was well known to these people and had always been their friend, hoping to be able to make them retire without bloodshed, rode in amongst them and dismounted.

He was followed, not without apprehension of danger, by some of his party; but this frank conduct seemed to have the effect of securing the good will of the Kafirs and a friendly intercourse followed. Suddenly intelligence was brought that the right and central divisions of the British force had commenced operations, and that blood

had already been shed. This report infuriated the Kafirs, and with wild yells they fell upon the little party, fourteen of whom, with the Landdrost, they cruelly put to death. The remainder owed their escape to the fleetness of their horses.

This inhuman act provoked a terrible retaliation. From that day all Kafirs who resisted were shot; their crops were destroyed; their kraals burnt down; and their cattle seized. No prisoners were made, and the wounded and infirm were left to perish. The Chief Cungwa, who was ill and unable to get away, was slain near the present village of Alexandria, where he had been long residing. The murder of the Landdrost and his party was fully avenged. About 20,000 Kafirs and the chief Ndhlambe, succeeded in making good their escape across the Fish River. The forces employed in the expedition consisted of some English troops; a Hottentot regiment of foot that had been raised by Sir David Baird, *and which afterwards became the Cape Mounted Rifle Corps*; a body of Burghers, and some Hottentot levies from the Missionary Institution of Bethelsdorp. The head quarters of the troops engaged in this service was placed in a central position, *to which, in August, 1812, the name of Graham's Town was given*, after the commanding officer.

On the 30th of May, 1815, one of the most disastrous shipwrecks ever known on the coast occurred. The East India Company's ship *Arniston* was lost on Cape L'Agulhas, and 344 persons, among whom were Lord and Lady Molesworth, perished.



CHAPTER XVIII.

BOER REBELLION OF 1815.

THE next event fraught with results that long afterwards, and especially in 1881, were terribly evidenced, was the "Rebellion of 1815." It appears that at that time—at the coming of Lord Charles Somerset—the Boers were very much discontented with certain land laws, and another cause of ill-feeling was that complaints made against them by Hottentots were investigated by different Courts, and that they were occasionally mulcted in fines for acts which they believed their colour gave them every right to commit.

This, then—says the late Judge Cloete—was the state of feeling generally prevalent throughout the remote country districts, when in the month of October, 1815, another Commission of Circuit, of which I was Registrar, held its session at Graaff-Reinet, when one of those "untoward" events took place, which set the whole Eastern Province in a blaze, drove a great mass of population into open rebellion against their Sovereign, and brought the heads of several respectable families to an ignominious death, thereby causing an alienation from, and bitterness of feeling towards the local Government, which a lapse of very many years has not been able entirely to eradicate.

At the opening of the session at Graaff Reinet the Landdrost of that district (Sir A. Stockenström) acting as ex-officio prosecutor, informed the Court that a farmer named Frederick Beznidenhout, living in the Baviaans River District, had refused to appear before the Court of Landdrost and Heemraden on a charge of ill-treatment of a Hottentot preferred against him, and that he had threatened to shoot the messenger, or sheriff, if he ventured again to approach his premises. He was known to be a person of a very daring character, and the Land-

drost therefore applied for a warrant as "personal summons" (as it was legally termed) ordering him forthwith to appear in person before the Commission. The Court granted this application, and from the lawless habits of the individual, and his daily intercourse with Kafirs, whom, it was known he admitted and dealt with, contrary to the law then existing; the Court gave an order authorizing the messenger, who was sent off with the summons, to call in the aid of the nearest military force if he thought it necessary, or apprehended any danger.

The messenger, on reaching the neighbourhood, was informed that some Kafirs had been seen at the Baviaans River, and thereupon applied to Lieut. Rousscau, in command of the Boschberg post (now the village of Somerset) for his aid; who immediately, with 20 men of the Cape Corps, entered the Baviaans River Poort, towards the residence of Bezuidenhout.

To a lover of Nature, this is a particularly picturesque spot, which was selected afterwards by Scottish Immigrants, headed by Mr. Pringle, as their location. At the time of the occurrence now detailed, it was, however, only notorious for the impervious nature of the bush around, for the lawlessness of its inhabitants, and the facilities with which they maintained constant intercourse with the Kafirs, in defiance of the strict law forbidding all such intercourse under the severest penalties.

Upon approaching the residence of Bezuidenhout they found him fully prepared to meet them: for, taking up a position (with a powerful half-caste person in his employ) behind the walls of a cattle kraal—both being armed—the rebel called upon them not to advance, as the first man would be shot! Undeterred by this menace, Lieut. Rousseau ordered his men to extend themselves in skirmishing order, and to attack the spot, when Bezuidenhout, for fear of being surrounded, after a hasty shot,—which luckily did not take effect—fled into his house, and escaping thro' the back door, rushed into a thick bush and jungle near the house, where strange to say that upwards of an hour, this party of 20 active "trackfinders" failed to trace the retreat of the two fugitives.

After again and again following their track up to a ledge of rocks, where it at once became lost, they chanced

to espy in a remarkably precipitous impending rock, or "Krans" the shining muzzles of two rifles, protruding from a hole in that ledge, thus announcing the lair into which they had got. Lient. Rousseau thereupon crawled with difficulty to the top of those rocks, and there, being stationed a few feet above the aperture of this cavern, he challenged Bezuidenhout to come out and surrender, acquainting him with the nature of his errand, and assuring him of personal safety, upon his merely engaging to accompany the messenger of the Court, on the summons he was ordered to serve upon him, but the answer he gave was that he (Bezuidenhout) would never surrender but with his life!

Finding then all his efforts in vain to bring him to reason, and anxious to get out of these kloofs with his men before night, Rousseau, keeping his position above, directed his men, silently, to form in two files—each party scrambling up in opposite directions from under the rock. When the heads of each column having got a few inches under the entrance, one party rushed forward, and threw up the two projecting barrels, which were instantly fired off without effect, while the leading man of the second column fired his deadly rifle straight into the cave, from whence a cry immediately issued for mercy and surrender. All firing at once ceased, when the half-caste Hottentot crawled forth, stating that he surrendered himself, and that his master lay mortally wounded within the cave.

The men of the detachment even then with difficulty got into this grotto, which proved of stalactite formation, and of goodly dimensions within, where several guns and a large quantity of balls and ammunition were found collected; evidently showing that this place had been long prepared for a retreat in a similar emergency; and, at the entrance lay the expiring corpse of the unhappy victim of his own obstinacy, having in the recumbent position in which he had placed himself before the cave, received the fatal shot through both the head and breast.

Finding that the surrounding bush was occupied by Kafirs with whom Bezuidenhout had kept up daily intercourse, Lient. Rousseau hastened to retire out of these kloofs before nightfall, taking the half-caste Hottentot in custody, whom he sent up to Graaff-Reinet, where he was

put upon his trial, but after a full enquiry into all those particulars, he was acquitted and discharged; and the Commission of Circuit proceeded soon after passing by the present towns of Somerset and Graham's Town, to the town of Uitenhage, where the trial of several important cases awaited their arrival.

While engaged in the midst of these trials, an officer stationed at Graham's Town arrived one evening (having left that town the morning of the same day) with the astounding intelligence that the farmers of the Somerset and Tarka districts were all in arms, and were about to attack Captain Andrew's post, which was stationed along the northern banks of the Fish River, to prevent any inroads from Kafirs in that quarter; and that Major Fraser, in command at Graham's Town, had immediately proceeded to the scene of action. Within an hour from the receipt of that intelligence, Colonel Cuyler who was both Landdrost at Uitenhage and the Commander of the Frontier, started on horseback, and within 48 hours, to the surprise of the rebel farmers (who were then still discussing their plan of operations) informed them of his presence, and desired to know the cause of those proceedings.

He then ascertained that upon the death of Bezuidenhout his relatives and his neighbours had assembled at his farm immediately after the departure of Lient. Rousseau and his detachment, to commit his remains to the grave, and on that occasion John Bezuidenhout, a brother of deceased, had become exceedingly excited, impressing upon all around that an act of gross outrage and illegality had been committed upon the deceased, by his house having been surrounded and his person attacked by the military, as every burgher could only legally be arrested by his Veldt-cornet or the civil authorities. This address had created universal sympathy, and all those present at once engaged to avenge themselves for his outrage by attacking the nearest military post, and expelling the British forces from the Frontier.

They felt, however, that such plans ought to be more considered and matured before being carried out, and they had accordingly resolved to send out circular letters to the neighbours around, calling upon them to meet together and consider the present state of the country, while Cornelius

Faber, a brother-in-law of the Bezuidenhouts, immediately started to hold a conference with Ngqika, to solicit him to make a joint attack upon the military posts, so as to expel the British forces from the Frontier, promising him a full share in the booty. Several meetings were accordingly held in the more immediate neighbourhood by those inclined to join the rebels, and they all resolved to place themselves under the command of Hendrik Prinsloo, of the Boschberg, and of John Bezuidenhout, and having determined upon this first step, other circulars were widely sent abroad to the adjoining districts, inviting and commanding them to meet in arms at a particular spot on a day named to "expel the tyrants from the country."

One of these circulars having providentially got into the hands of a loyal and well affected farmer, he lost no time in forwarding it to the Deputy-Landdrost of Cradock, Mr. van der Graaff, who forwarded it immediately to Capt. Andrews, wherupon the latter sent out a military party and apprehended Prinsloo, while preparing to leave his farm and join the first assembly of men in arms. He was immediately secured and taken in custody to Capt. Andrew's post, who by this intelligence had also had time to strengthen his position and put it in some state of defence, when, two days after, 3, to 400 men in arms appeared before it, and summoned him to give up the post, and deliver up the prisoner Prinsloo. At this time Faber joined them from Kafirland, with the unsatisfactory intelligence that Ngqika had given him a most evasive reply, to the effect that he would call his Impakati (Councilors) together, and take some time to consider; evidently following out the often experienced Kafir policy, of watching the tide of events. (Ngqika said he was like one who was between two fires, and he wished to see which way the wind blew.)

Some vacillation was thereby created in the operations of the Boers, and this became more apparent when that active officer, Major Fraser, succeeded the same evening in throwing himself into the post, and opening communication with them, and when Col. Cnyler also, two days after, arrived upon the spot, and informed them that all their plans were fully known, and would be signally punished. Before, however, proceeding to any extremities, a worthy

field commandant, William Nel, volunteered to go among the rebels, and, if possible, avert from them the impending hazard they were running. He fearlessly continued to visit them for two days, was on several occasions in imminent danger of his life from some of the most violent and lawless of the rebels, who evidently saw that he was succeeding in opening the eyes of some to the dangerous position in which they were placed; when the leaders, Faber, Bezuidenhout and others, to counteract this impression, which they also saw manifesting itself, called the whole of their host together, and exacted from them a solemn oath—which they all took while ranged in a circle, loudly exclaiming that they would remain faithful to each other until they had expelled the tyrants from the Frontier!

Col. Cuyler, despairing upon this intelligence to bring about their submission by peaceable means, sallied forth the next morning early, out of Capt. Andrew's post, at the head of a troop of the 21st Light Dragoons, and a troop of loyal burghers, headed by Commandant Nel, and finding an advanced post of the rebels, Col. Cuyler at once ordered the troops to advance upon them, when about 30, forming their left wing, threw down their arms in token of surrender; and the remainder, falling back upon their main body, they gave up all hope of further resistance, and slowly retired with all their wagons and cattle into the fastnesses of the Baviaan's River, where (they were well aware) a small force could hardly expect to dislodge them.

Some further attempt to bring the Boers to submission having again failed, Major Fraser on one side, the Landdrost Stockenstrom upon another, and the Deputy Landdrost of Cradock on a third point, arranged a combined movement, by which they entered and cleared simultaneously all the fastnesses of that impervious glen; the result of which was that most of the followers of this band, now enclosed, contrived at night stealthily to escape by passes with which they were familiar. But the principal leaders still determined to reject all terms, broke up with their wagons and all their necessary "material," and contrived to get out of that district without direct opposition, and proceeded as far as the Winterberg, immediately bordering upon Kafirland, where they expected to meet

with safety ; but Major Fraser, with a detachment of the Cape Corps, succeeded at length in completely surrounding them in a deep kloof, where they were come upon while outspanned ; but rejecting all offers of surrender, John Bezuidenhout, Stephanus, Cornelius and Abraham Botman ; Audries Meyer ; Cornelius Faber, his wife, and his young son, fourteen years old, took up a position behind their wagons, from whence they maintained a regular skirmish for some time, killing one of the Cape Corps, and wounded another, and it was not until Bezuidenhout was shot, and Faber and his wife were both wounded, that the troops succeeded in taking them all prisoners.

They were from thence guarded by a military escort, and committed to the gaol of Uitenhage, where, subsequently, some fifty or sixty more persons who were traced, and known to have joined in the rebellion, were secured, and a special commission, appointed at Cape Town, soon arrived there to try the offenders. After some preliminary enquiry, thirty-nine persons out of the whole party were selected as the most culpable, who were put upon their trial upon the charge of high treason, and waging war against His Majesty, and after a lengthened and painful trial, a sentence was passed condemning six of the leaders (viz. Hendrik Prinsloo, Stephanus Botman, Cornelius Faber, Theunis de Klerk, Abraham Botman, and J. Kruger) to suffer capital punishment ; and all the others, after witnessing the ignominious death of their leaders, to undergo various degrees of punishment by transportation, banishment, and fines, according to the various degrees of their proved culpability. Upon this sentence being forwarded to the Governor of the Colony for his "fiat" before being carried into execution, His Excellency was pleased to commute the sentence of one of the leaders (Kruger) into transportation for life ; but with regard to them all, the sentence directed that they should be led to a remarkable plot of ground or plateau called the "Slachter's Nek," being the very spot where these leaders had exacted from all their followers the oath to stand by each other until they had "expelled the tyrants."

Thither they were taken under a strong military escort, and, on the 6th March, 1816, under the direction of Colonel Cuyler, the sad preparations were made, in the presence of

a large concourse of the friends and relatives of those about to undergo the punishment of death, and who were gathered together from all parts of the Frontier, to take a last farewell of those whose lives were to be forfeited ; although it appeared that some hope was still entertained among them that their lives would be spared. In these hopes they were, however, sadly disappointed, when they saw the scaffold prepared to receive the *five* culprits, who with perfect resignation and firmness, under the spiritual guidance of a worthy minister, the Rev. Mr. Herhold, simultaneously mounted the fatal ladder, from which, at a given signal, they were launched into eternity.

But even then they were doomed not to find an end to their misery. From the hasty and imperfect manner in which the scaffold had been constructed, it proved insufficient to bear the weight and dying struggles of these five powerful men thus thrown off. The whole fabric gave way, and the unfortunate men, slowly recovering from the asphyxiated state into which they had been partially thrown, crawled up to the officer whose painful duty it was to see to the execution of that sentence, calling aloud for mercy. This was responded to by all their friends placed without the circle, who, viewing this as a signal dispensation of Providence, were with difficulty kept from forcing themselves through the military array, and, with screams and shouts, joined in the cry for mercy.

But the stern nature of his duty left the kind hearted Colonel Cuyler no alternative but to see the execution carried out to the letter of the sentence.

The culprits were again secured—every preparation was again hastily made, so as not to allow the day to pass within which the sentence directed the execution to take place ; and amidst the cries and clamours of their friends, the five unfortunate beings were doomed again singly to mount the ladder ; and the last rays of the setting sun shone gloomily upon the five expiring sufferers, now dangling in mid air, until life became extinct ; when they were cut down and their earthly remains buried under the scaffold by the hands of the executioner, and amid the cries and sobs of their friends, to whom their last request, to obtain the dead bodies, was refused. Thus ended the rebellion of 1815.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE "MAKANA" WAR OF 1819.

WE now come to the war of 1819, which was principally brought about by a noted character in Kafir South African History, Makana, who, fancying he had a high mission, so successfully moulded the Ndhlambe clans into a large whole that the principal Frontier Settlement, Graham's Town, was at one time in great danger of falling before the Ndhlambe legions.

Makana, was, certainly, one of those most extraordinary characters who appear occasionally on the stage of savage as well as of civilized society. By the colonists he was called "Linksh," and by some of the Kafirs "Nxeli," both words meaning "left-handed." Possessed of great powers of mind, he had framed a creed for himself, by combining what he could learn of Christianity with different native superstitions, and had announced to his countrymen that he was in communication with the spirit world. It was he who taught them to bury their dead, for before his time the corpses of common people were merely dragged away from the kraals and exposed to be devoured by carrion birds and beasts of prey. His bearing was that of a man who claimed superiority even over chiefs, and who knew that his orders would be obeyed. Unlike all others of his countrymen in their uncivilized state, he scorned to beg, but claimed as a right whatever he required. On one occasion he demanded an ox from a rich man, and was refused. Ndhlambe instantly caused every thing the man had to be seized, and the whole tribe apprehended that some calamity would befall them on account of the offenders' presumption, until Makana assured them he was satisfied with the punishment inflicted. Ordinary witch doctors often possess this power, but Makana cannot in justice be ranked with one of these. He aimed (says Theal) at moulding a nation into form, by uniting its fragments under a common head,

and giving it nobler aspirations than it had before. He was a hero among his countrymen, and to this day his memory is held in reverence by thousands of them.

The Ndhlabes having totally routed the forces of Ngqika, a Government ally, it was decided to attack them, and accordingly in 1818 Col. Brereton was sent against them, and joining his forces with those of Ngqika, scattered the enemy in all directions, and secured a large booty in cattle.

Some time afterwards Makana was in a position to assume the offensive, and the celebrated attack on Graham's Town was the result.

Mr. C. L. Stretch, of Somerset East, who was an eye witness of and combatant in this engagement, and now the only officer living who aided in the gallant repulse by Col. Wiltshire, in a most interesting contribution to the *Cape Monthly Magazine* of May, 1876, says :—Having called out the chosen warriors from the various clans, Makana mustered his army in the dense bush of the Great Fish River, and found himself at the head of 9,000 men. His arrangements were conducted with so much secrecy that the danger was only discovered by us on the morning of the battle.

Three days previously the Government Kafir Interpreter to Col. Wiltshire, commanding the Frontier forces, informed him—as it afterwards appeared, in order to weaken the strength of the European troops—that “he heard a noise towards Kafir Drift” meaning the assembling of the enemy at that distant locality from Graham's Town. The interpreter “Klass Mika” was in the confidence of Makana, and knew right well that he was advancing in an opposite direction ; but the commander fell into the trap by detaching the Light Company of the 38th Regiment to patrol in the direction pointed out by Mika, and they did not return until the Kafirs had been repulsed.

Early in the morning of the 22nd April, 1819, Col. Wiltshire was inspecting a detachment of the Cape Mounted Corps, when the Hottentot Captain Boezac, who fortunately happened to be that day in Graham's Town with a party of his Buffalo hunters, apprised him of the information he had just received, that Makana was advancing by a line of country known since as the

"Queen's Road." The Colonel taking an escort of ten men with him, galloped off to observe Makana's position, when he unexpectedly came in view of it, for a portion of the Kafir force was resting in a ravine which skirts the present race course, previous to advancing on the town. The Colonel was known to the Kafirs, and only to the fleetness of his faithful steed "Blucher" was his escape secured, for the enemy at once gave chase, and he barely reached the troops, which, in the interim had been assembled on the slopes of highland adjacent to the town. Four companies of the 38th Regiment formed a hollow square, and with a well secured company of Artillery, awaited the rush of the host of barbarians.

We afterwards learnt that at the break of dawn the warriors were arrayed for battle, and before they were led on to the assault were addressed by Makana in an animated speech, in which he is said to have promised the aid of the Spirits of Earth and Air to assist their cause, and to countervail the boasted prowess of the white man's fire.

Thus excited, they followed after Colonel Wiltshire, who pressing on his foaming steed, only reached the square a few moments before the assailants, and commanded the troops to fire. The field pieces were loaded with shrapnel shells, which with the destructive fire of musketry, every shot of which was deadly, opened spaces like streets in the courageously advancing masses, with their wild war cries; and they were literally mowed down, while their showers of assegais fell short or ineffective. Their various chiefs, but all under the general direction of the Prophet himself, and his chief Captain Dushani, the son of Ndhlambe, continued cheering them on almost to the muzzles of the British guns, for they told their followers that they were only charged with "hot water" and many of the foremost warriors were now seen breaking short their last assegai to convert it into a stabbing weapon, in order to rush in on the troops, according to Makana's directions, and decide the battle in close combat.

This was very different from their usual mode of bush fighting, but the suggestion of it evinces the leader's judgment, for if boldly and promptly acted on, it could not have failed of success; the great bodily strength and agility

of the Kafirs, as well as their vast numbers, would have enabled them to overpower the feeble garrison in a few minutes.

At this critical moment, and while other parties of the barbarians were pushing on to assail the place in flank, the Hottentot Captain Boezae, with 130 of his people, rushed intrepidly forward to meet the enemy, along the river bank from the old Cape Corps barracks. He was personally known to Makana, and was a man of great coolness too, and familiar with the fierce and furious shouts of the Kafirs, singling out of the boldest those who, in advance, were encouraging their men to the final onset, Boezae and his followers, some of the best marksmen in the Colony, levelled in a few minutes a number of the most distinguished chiefs and warriors. The onset was for a moment checked. The troops cheered, and renewed with alacrity their firing, which exhaustion had somewhat slackened. At the same time Lieut Aitchson of the Artillery, with his guns, opened up a most destructive fire of grape shot. Some of the warriors madly rushed forward and hurled their spears at the artillerymen, and fell among the slain. But it was in vain; the front ranks were mown down like grass. Boezae pressed on the flank of the enemy, and increased their destruction. Those behind recoiled. Wild panic and irretrievable rout ensued.

Makana, after vainly attempting to rally them, accompanied them in their flight. They were pursued but a short way, for the few Hottentot Cavalry durst not follow them into the ravines, where they speedily precipitated themselves. The slaughter was great for so brief a conflict. About 2,000 Kafirs strewed the field of battle, and many perished of their wounds, along, and in the rivulet leading down to the Cape Corps barracks. There I beheld the dead in considerable numbers, some of them having grass props stuffed into the gunshot wounds, under the vain impression that it would stop the hemorrhage. Nuka, the interpreter, was amongst the slain. He was discovered in the ranks of the enemy by Mr. Raffarty, saddler of the Cape Corps Cavalry, who properly shot him—a fate he richly deserved for his treachery, whereby the military strength of the garrison was reduced from 450, minus the Light Company of the 38th Regiment, a hundred strong—

thus leaving only 350 European soldiers, and a small detachment of Mounted Hottentots under Sergt.-Major Blakeway, to encounter the power of Makana.

At one period of the fight—Col. Wiltshire informed me at dinner a few nights after—he “*would not have given a feather for the safety of the town.*” Boczac, however, with his brave band of invincible Buffalo hunters, rushing intrepidly forward on the flank of the pressing wave of barbarians, contributed considerably to the panic and defeat that followed.

The main portion of the Kafirs who escaped retreated by Botha's hill and Hermanns' Kraal (Fort Brown) and so panic stricken were they that Lieut. Cartwright, an officer of the R. A. Corps, was allowed to pass them with 17 men unmolested. And yet so satisfied had Makana been in his own mind that he was irresistible, that some thousands of women and children were resting on the hills above the town, with their mats, pots, and cooking jars, during the encounter, waiting to take possession of the place.

So the whole affair drew to an end, and, at length, the great Makana, Warrior, Chief, and Prophet, accompanied by two of his wives, surrendered himself to Landdrost Stockenstrom as a prisoner. Walking into camp with the magnanimity of a Roman Warrior, he said “If I have occasioned the war, let me see whether my delivering myself up to the conquerors will restore peace to my country.” Previous to his removal from the camp I went, with other officers, to see him, and we could not help feeling for his fallen position, and surprised at his lofty demeanour and appearance. He did not speak much except to request Col. Wiltshire, with whom he was acquainted, “not to continue the war, as all their cattle had been taken by Col. Brereton, and his people were starving.”

After Makana's surrender Ndhlambe and the other chiefs sued for peace. Makana was sent to Uitenhage, and from there conveyed on board H.M.S. *Nautilus* in Algoa Bay, and afterwards placed on Robben Island in charge of the commandant there. A year or two after being on the Island, he, and some other prisoners under sentence for life, endeavoured to make their escape in a boat, with which they attempted to land on the Blueberg