

Cattle were observed in the bush, and shots were continually fired at the patrol from two or three individuals, but without effect. On Rademeyer's arrival the patrol entered the bush (the artillery firing an occasional shot over their heads from a three-pounder), and cleared it at once, the enemy retreating in the direction of Trompetter's and Committy's Bush. Three Kafirs were killed, and 5 horses and 83 head of cattle taken. The number of Kafirs appeared to be about 700.

The enemy, after being thus defeated, moved lower down the Fish River Bush, to the same point from whence they had been dislodged with so much difficulty by the colonial forces a few weeks before.

In this neighbourhood a party of 40 men of the civil force from Port Elizabeth, under Capt. Harries, had taken up a position, being placed there as a post of observation. At an early hour on the morning of the 7th inst. an alarm was given to this party that a body of Kafirs, about one hundred strong, had just seized the draught oxen, feeding on the opposite bank of the river. The horses were immediately called in, and a patrol of twenty men ordered out to endeavour to re-capture the cattle. Just as the patrol had saddled up for this purpose, and in less than half an hour from their first appearance, the enemy was seen issuing in considerable force from all the paths and defiles on the opposite side of the river, and, descending rapidly from the heights, began to cross the river at various points. The number at this moment in sight might amount to from one thousand to fifteen hundred, but as they still continued to pour forth from the bush, it was impossible to judge of the force which might still be in the rear. The patrol proceeded with promptitude in the direction where the enemy were crossing the river in greatest force, but after firing a few rounds, they deemed it prudent to fall back upon the encampment.

Capt. Harries, suspecting that the enemy's object was to surround the camp, detached a small party to observe their movements in the rear, who immediately reported that his suspicions were well-founded. This movement, which was evidently preconcerted, was executed with indescribable rapidity. From the moment that the enemy first issued from the bush, until they all but succeeded in

hemming in the party, occupied a space of only ten minutes. Capt. Harries having ascertained from personal observation that the report of his scouts was correct, and being satisfied that the post, which afforded no cover, was not tenable, then withdrew the remainder of his men from the camp. They had to make their way with considerable difficulty through bodies of the enemy, who were fast closing in, under cover of a dry ravine, lined with detached clumps of bush; and in doing so, nine Kafirs were killed and eight colonists, viz:—

Thomas Titterton, }  
Francis Clark, } Burghers of Port Elizabeth.

Sergeant Thomas Bilston, formerly of the Royal Horse Guards (blue). This was an industrious-deserving man, and much esteemed by his fellow townsmen. He received a shot through the leg while charging the enemy at Waterloo.

R. Shaw, of Graham's Town, wagon owner.

Four Hottentots.

The two men, Titterton and Clark, owed their fate to accidents with their horses. The saddle of the former turned with him, and his horse made its escape. The latter had a severe fall, and his horse also got away from him. In both instances their companions rendered them every assistance in their power, but Titterton was struck in the back with an assegai immediately after his accident; and Clark was so disabled by his fall that he made several ineffectual attempts to mount behind his companions. Jan Tys, a Hottentot, had a most narrow escape; having been hotly pursued, he jumped into a porcupine hole, where he lay ensconced while his pursuers actually passed over the spot, treading the dust into his face.

The tents, four wagons, and the baggage and supplies unavoidably fell into the hands of the enemy.

Several of this party are highly spoken of for their gallant conduct, particularly Messrs. Bance and Van der Kemp; the latter was made instrumental in saving the life of a young Englishman named Randall, who was in charge of a wagon; he was in the rear, and was on the point of being overtaken by three Kafirs, when Van der Kemp (a son of the late Dr. V. K.), levelled his gun and brought

down the foremost man, thus effectually ridding him of one enemy, and deterring the other two from further pursuit. The enemy, after burning the wagons, retired towards their own territory, in the direction of the Keiskamma.

On receipt of the foregoing intelligence at head-quarters, Lieut.-Col. Somerset, who happened to be in town, immediately proceeded to the scene of action, together with as many men as could be hastily collected together at the moment to accompany him. Major Bagot, with the Hottentot Provisional Infantry, was also directed to move towards the lower part of the district, and to occupy the defiles leading out of the Kap River Bush, in the direction of Bathurst. The supplies for the army, which were at the point of being sent forward, were ordered to remain in town, and all the movements connected with the commando to be delayed until further orders.

No certain information was gained of the further movements of the enemy, although Col. Somerset was using every exertion to overtake him, until the afternoon of the 9th March, when, as the Field-commandant Rademeyer was returning from Trompetter's Drift to his camp on "Moordelyke Kop," he observed a column of smoke to issue from a rocky kloof; he proceeded there with 40 men, and had no sooner entered the thicket than he found himself in the midst of a large body of the enemy. The gallant defence made on this occasion, and in particular the intrepidity of the leader of the colonial force, is well described in a letter addressed to the author by an officer serving at the time in the immediate neighbourhood of the scene of action, and of which the following is an extract:—"Early on the day mentioned, Rademeyer, not hearing from the Chief of the Staff, proceeded with 175 men towards Trompetter's Poort, patrolling the heads of the great kloof of the river. Here he fell in with the spoor of cattle and horses, followed by some Kafirs, who had entered the defiles to the right of the scene of action on the 12th February. Observing a fire in the bush, he, with a party of 40 men, descended into the kloof by a track which he followed until the pass became exceedingly narrow, the rocks on each side nearly touching each other, and the bush so impervious as to present an almost

impassable barrier to further progress. On reaching this point he was suddenly attacked by the enemy in force ; in fact he was completely surrounded before he had any intimation of the presence of an enemy. A fire of musketry was poured from the rocks around them, and the enemy rushed boldly on and among them, assegai in hand, from the bush, stabbing and bearing down every thing before them. The little band of colonists, gathering together and sustaining each other, poured a steady and continued fire upon their assailants ; and with such deadly effect that the bodies of those who fell on our side were covered by those of the slaughtered enemy. In one instance three of the enemy met their death whilst endeavouring to drag away their slain. Poor Bernard, the first who fell, was literally covered with the bodies of the opposing Kafirs. The main body of the patrol, hearing from the open country above the firing and shouting of the battle, dispatched a reinforcement to the aid of their comrades. Twenty men accordingly descended the kloof, and attacking the Kafirs with spirit succeeded in joining or being joined by the rest ; on which the enemy, daunted by this bold resistance, retired from the field of slaughter—as it might justly be called—for our slain lay on the ground covered by more than fifty of the enemy.

The following are the names of the brave men who fell in this affair :—

Adam Boshoff,	Andries Van Zyl,
Jan Bernard,	Johannes Roelstaff,
Jan Meyer,	Hermanus Wessels.

Those wounded were—

Frederick Keyser, his arm broke very severely with a gun shot.

Petrus Swart, gun shot through the thigh, very dangerously.

Marthinus Bernard, shot above the heel.

William Botha, assegai wound in the thigh.

Henry Pienaar, gun shot in the thigh.

Several had assegais and gun shots through their clothes, and among them the Commandant Rademeyer. Others had their apparel clotted with the blood of the enemy,

some of whom met their death at the muzzle of the gun, fired in the very act of pushing them away from the attack. It was indeed a most desperate affair, every one having to fight for his life, being encompassed by a host of infuriated enemies."

Such is the account furnished to us of this sanguinary affair, and which reflects so much credit upon the Commandant Rademeyer, and upon those who so ably seconded him in this gallant defence; and by which they extricated themselves from a situation where, to all human probability, the destruction of the whole party appeared inevitable.

While these proceedings were going on Col. Smith, having quitted Graham's Town on the evening of the 7th March, had established himself at Fort Wilshire, for the purpose of forming a central camp, and superintending the various operations in progress along the ridge of the Keiskamma, with a view of intercepting the enemy who was known to have entered the Fish River Bush. The determined repulse met with from the Field-commandant Rademeyer had dispersed a large part of that force, which had returned towards the Amatola, whither they were pursued by Col. Smith, with a mounted patrol. Several of the enemy's stragglers were shot by this patrol, and some of their huts destroyed, but the main body escaped owing to the tired state of the horses, which rendered further pursuit impracticable. It was quite evident at this time that the enemy was not in any force within the colony; patrols of his stragglers were occasionally seen, and some mischief done by them. A farmer named Andries De Lange had been killed by them while seeking his horses on the Fish River, and a mill just below Bathurst had been fired and destroyed; but still it was apparent that the main body of the enemy had retired into his own territory, and that his skirmishers were following as fast as possible.

On Monday, March 2nd, Col. Smith, accompanied by the Field-cornets Greyling and Nel, and ten other burghers, proceeded from Fort Wilshire towards Block Drift, where they forded the Chusie River. From thence they took the direction of the Chumie Institution to Lovedale—a station formerly belonging to the Glasgow Missionary Society—

and which they found had been fired by the enemy. Here an athletic Kafir, fully armed, was observed to run into the ruins of a house, which was immediately surrounded; and he was called upon through the medium of a Kafir guide to lay down his arms and surrender; but no inducement could prevail on him to comply: on the contrary, he threw an assegai which nearly proved fatal to one of the patrol. The infatuated savage was ultimately fired upon from a height above the Lovedale Institution, and killed. Col. Smith then proceeded to reconnoitre the position occupied on the Amatola by the enemy under Tyuli.

The intelligence which reached the colony at this period, end of March, 1835, from the interior to the N. E. was of a suspicious character, and such as to induce His Excellency the Governor to use every effort to bring Hintza to an unequivocal declaration before commencing operations in the enemy's territory. Accordingly, about the middle of March the Field-commandant Van Wyk, a man of distinguished steadiness and bravery, was dispatched, by way of the Tambookie country, on a mission to him. This officer was instructed to state, in the name of the Governor, that he would be treated as an enemy to the colony unless he "should unequivocally cease to countenance the hostile chiefs; neither affording them harbour, residence, or protection; and should send back all the colonial horses and other plunder which had been received into his country." Hintza declined the proposed interview, contenting himself with sending his principal chief, Klabaklaba, who, in answer to the demands of the Field-commandant, stated that before Hintza could give up the colonial cattle he must confer with his chiefs on the subject. Throughout this conference nothing decisive or satisfactory could be elicited. It was evident that the crafty and dishonest chief was exercising the utmost duplicity; and that whilst he was secretly inciting the other chiefs to hostility—receiving the plunder and furnishing them with reinforcements of men—he himself had not the courage to expose his own person, or to declare openly his hostility to the colony. From the moment of this interview the Governor appears to have been decided as to the course to be pursued, viz., that of viewing this chief as combined in the confederacy, and his people actually engaged in hostilities against the colony.

At this time unfortunately one English trader, named Rawlins, an intelligent and active young man, was killed. In the hurry of retreat his horse came upon a shelving ledge of rock, which it would not descend: here the barbarians overtook and dispatched him. The wife of this unfortunate man was at the institution adjacent, she having fled with her husband a short time before from the missionary station in Hintza's country; and she now found herself suddenly bereaved of her protector; far from home; surrounded by difficulties and danger; and with several young children depending upon her for support.

The result of this attack was the entire destruction or dispersion of the tribes under the chiefs Fooboo and Diko; all their huts burnt, and 2,000 cattle carried off. A tract of country, in extent twenty by ten miles, was completely devastated. It does not appear that this body of marauders were acting in concert with the confederate chiefs. They were supposed at the time to be a people who had joined a notorious character named Capaai, a renegade Zoola, who, having become disaffected to the sway of the ruling chief, had fled to this part of the country, where he had firmly established himself in a difficult and mountainous position to the N. E. of Amapondaland. It turned out, upon better information being obtained afterwards, that a large proportion of these marauders were Amapondas; nor was Faku, their chief, altogether free from suspicion of being concerned in the affair.

It is a remarkable circumstance that within a few days after the death of Rawlins in the Tambookie country his brother was slain by the Kafirs at Fort Beaufort under the following circumstances:—At this post the farmers of the surrounding country had assembled for protection; their cattle and sheep being sent out for pasture in charge of four or five armed men. On the day of the fatal occurrence the cattle had been placed, as usual, under charge of two young Englishmen named Rawlins and Carpenter, and two Hottentots. They had proceeded a few hundred yards from the post so as to be hid from observation by an intervening hill, when a party of Kafirs rushed down upon them, speedily killed two of the party, wounded the third, and drove off the cattle. One man succeeded in escaping to the camp, where a party was ordered to follow the

marauders; the pursuit however, was ineffectual. One hundred head of cattle were carried successfully off, and the plunderers escaped. The bodies of the men killed were found pierced with innumerable assegai wounds, and conveyed into Fort Beaufort; the wounded man was found lying in a state of insensibility at the bottom of a ravine to which he had fled from his pursuers, and where he had sunk down perfectly exhausted.

From an account, furnished us at the time, of the proceedings of the 2nd division, under Col. Somerset, we make the following extract:—

“Amatola Mountains, February 3, 1835. Having proceeded some distance, we observed a strong body of the enemy assembled on the summit of a mountain which bounded our view in that direction. On a nearer approach this mountain was found to present a sort of natural bulwark, and was joined by a small low neck of forest country to another range a little in the rear, proceeding to the eastward, and describing a large nook, from whence issue the several springs which form the source of the Buffalo. From this lofty position the enemy continued watching our progress, and he must from thence have had a view also of the whole of the country subject to the simultaneous attack of the several divisions. Suspecting that the enemy might be concealed in the adjacent kloofs, the howitzer was moved to a commanding ridge, and several shots and shells were fired, but without effect. In the meantime several parties were detached to endeavour to bring the enemy to action, but these only succeeded so far as to capture a few cattle. In the afternoon we returned to Pirrie, remained there half an hour, and then continued our march, in thick misty rain, to the camp, which we reached about 9 p.m. excessively hungry and fatigued, having been on horseback nearly eighteen hours.”

During these operations, the 4th division, under Field-commandant Van Wyk, had been extremely active and successful: 2,400 head of cattle had been captured, and several Kafirs killed. A considerable force of the enemy had taken shelter in a kloof, and, in expectation of surrounding them, the 3rd division, under Major Cox, was immediately ordered to move to the same point. In the course of these proceedings Van Wyk was stabbed in the



hand with an assagai, and a farmer severely wounded in the thigh by a musket ball. In spite, however, of the utmost vigilance on our part, the enemy effected his retreat; and it being probable that he might retire towards the colony, Major Cox was directed to connect his division with that under the Field-commandant at a given point towards the head of the Chusie.

During the night of the 5th April two Kafir spies entered the camp of the 1st and 2nd divisions, but they were detected, and one of them was shot by a sentry of the Mounted Rifles. At day-light on the 6th the camp was broken up, the whole of the troops moving in one column as far as Pirrie; here the two divisions again separated, the 2nd, under Col. Somerset, moving towards the Buffalo; the first continuing along the base of the mountains, taking the direction of the Buffalo Poort, an opening in the mountains within seven or eight miles of the sources of the river. The troops bivouacked on its eastern bank. The mountains, which were kept close upon the left hand during the whole of this day's march, are thickly clothed with large trees, and rise to a considerable elevation. The country immediately at the foot of the mountains is perfectly open, and was at that time clothed with the most luxuriant vegetation. The huts were more numerous than during the first day's march, and the patches of Indian corn and millet were more frequent than between the Keiskamma and the Debe. At the distance of seven or eight miles towards the coast the mimosa again appears thinly scattered over the face of the country, but there is no bush visible in that direction capable of affording shelter to marauders. The streamlets from the mountains are numerous, perfectly sweet, clear as crystal; and the principal bank of the Buffalo, on which the troops encamped, presented a scene which all agreed was particularly beautiful.

On the 7th, three hours before day-break, Col. Smith moved with one company of the 72nd Regt., three companies of the 1st Provisional Battalion, comprising 280 men, and 100 Swelleudam burghers, by the back of the lowest ridge of the Buffalo mountains, with the view of intercepting any of the enemy or cattle which might be retiring before the 3rd and 4th divisions, then on their

march higher up the mountains. On arriving at an elevated point he observed, on a distant mountain, a large number of cattle and many Kafirs emerging from the bush ; and to this point he immediately detached the three companies of Provisionals, under the command of Capt. Crause. The range of mountains on which the enemy was posted extends from the Buffalo Poort about nine miles in a north-easterly direction, and is, for the greater part, covered with a dense forest, broken near its edge by occasional green patches of pasturage, and everywhere intercepted with deep ravines, presenting in many places inaccessible precipices ; the mountain ridge being in every respect adapted to the peculiar warfare of the wily Kafir, and for the concealment of the only wealth he possesses—his flocks and herds. The course lay through a deep valley, at the bottom of which the force was divided ; Captain Crause and his company ascending one side of the mountain, which was almost inaccessible, and Captains Cowderoy and Bailie the other. They arrived at the summit, after hard toil, and approached nigh to the entrance of the forest containing the booty. At this instant, on the right of an opening in the forest, a party of Kafirs appeared nearly within shot, when an officer and thirty men were directed to enter the bush on that side, so as to intercept any cattle which the enemy might attempt to drive further into the thicket. In their progress this detachment fell in with the enemy's parties ; some skirmishing took place, in which several Kafirs were killed, and on our side a Sergeant named Cobus fell by a shot fired by the enemy. The remainder of the two companies boldly penetrated the bush, and here, being joined by Capt. Crause, they drove the enemy, who were numerous, before them, and succeeded ultimately in capturing and bringing out 5,000 head of cattle, besides goats, &c.

While these movements were executing on the enemy's flank, the rest of the division had moved up the mountain direct towards the enemy's position, and which was found to be perfectly inaccessible on the side by which they had approached it. Capt. Murray, of the 72nd Regt., advanced with his company to the assault with the utmost gallantry. The enemy showered down assegais and immense stones upon their assailants, and that with such effect as to

repulse them : Capt. Murray and four of his men being severely wounded in the assault (10). Finding this side of the rock so perfectly impregnable, the troops were withdrawn and directed to assault it in a different direction. To do this it was necessary to make a considerable circuit, during which a reinforcement of men arrived from the camp. Still the enemy defended the rock with great determination, frequently cheering, and throwing down large stones and assegais. At this moment the three companies of the Provisionals, with the cattle they had captured, approached the rock by the only accessible point, and finding what was going forward, immediately attacked the enemy with spirit ; about 100 women, and a considerable number of men, rushed forward and endeavoured to escape, but many of the men were killed. The rest kept up a constant but ineffectual fire for some time ; at length their courage failed them, and they fled with precipitation, leaping over the rocks and precipices in every direction. So difficult of access was this rock, even at the point where most accessible, that the assailants were obliged to pull each other up by their muskets. It was defended by the chief Teyolo, son of Dushanie, and nearly 600 of his chosen warriors. Thirty-seven of the enemy were killed and many wounded. In the forest the enemy were headed by the chief Eno in person. The result of this spirited affair was the capture of 4,000 head of cattle and goats innumerable, all of which were driven into the open ground on the side of the mountain, and taken possession of by a force stationed there to receive them. A Hottentot deserter, named Louis Arnoldus, who had served many years in the Cape Regiment, was taken prisoner ; he was surrounded in a cleft of the rock, where he had sought concealment ; and his gun having received a disabling shot on the trigger-guard, he surrendered. He was clad in a Scotch 42nd plaid by way of kaross, and was taken to the camp to be hanged ; but having been in Eno's confidence, his life was spared on his promising to point out the enemy's exact position, and give such other information as might be required of him on future occasions. The gun which this man was provided with was of the largest description of elephant gun, and its loud report marked it to be the same as that distinguished in the affair on the Fish River, as before mentioned.

During the time occupied by these proceedings the enemy had been actively employed in driving the great proportion of his flocks and herds far into the interior of the country ; and he had also made several incursions within the colony, apparently with the object of diverting the attention of the colonial force from penetrating further into the Kafir territory. Accordingly small bodies of Kafirs had shown themselves in various directions, and succeeded in capturing and carrying off several hundred head of cattle. At Mr. Collett's, on the Koonap, where, during the whole of this arduous struggle he had maintained his ground, though, repeatedly threatened and attacked, they succeeded in driving off his cattle and in killing his herdsman, a Hottentot who had distinguished himself by his bravery and fidelity, and who fell while defending his master's property against the attacks of the marauders. At the Kaga the enemy had attacked a party of farmers with great intrepidity, and had carried off upwards of 100 head of cattle ; and even as far within the boundary as Assegai Bush river they had made their appearance, wounded two servants of Mr. W. R. Thompson there, and escaped with sixty head of cattle. Every endeavour was made by Col. England, commanding the first line of defence, to check these inroads, but it was impossible, with every exertion, to guard effectually against these sudden attacks, or to capture the marauders in a country which afforded so many facilities for escape and concealment.

From the Kat River an excellently planned and well executed incursion was made into the enemy's territory by Capt. Armstrong, and a party of the burgher force under his command. Information having reached that officer that the enemy was in some force in the Chumie Hoek, he resolved on an immediate attack. Accordingly, on the 10th April he marched from the fort with 100 men of the Kat River burgher force and a small field piece. He gained the brow of the mountain above the Chumie Hoek before day-break of the 11th, and as soon as day dawned, and before the cattle were driven out of the kraals into their hiding places and fastnesses adjacent, descended into the plain. The attack was perfectly successful ; the enemy were completely surprised ; and the result was six of them killed, and nearly 800 head of cattle, thirty horses, and many goats

captured. The Kafirs made a faint demonstration to intercept his retreat, but a reserve of men had been posted on a commanding height with the piece of cannon, a few shots from which effectually checked their advance.

On the 17th April, 1838, no communication having been received from Hintza, the troops moved forward and reached the Missionary Institution of Butterworth, where the Mission House and Chapel were found in ruins. The Kafirs had knocked in all the doors and windows, and pulled down the bell and broke it on a stone. On the arrival of the troops, a great many Fingoes visited the camp, among whom were three chiefs, who stated their determination not to remain in the country after the departure of the colonial forces, and that they were resolved to throw off their subjection to Hintza. They offered to place themselves and their followers to the number of 970 men at the disposal of the Governor. The history and condition of these people excited very great interest, and much information having been obtained at the time, and since, on these points, we now place a brief outline of it upon record for the information of the reader. Their appearance, when equipped in their war dresses, is thus described by an officer present:—

“I witnessed this evening a beautiful scene: at a drift we met 47 Fingoes in their complete war equipments, with ornamented head dresses, shields, bundles of assegais, &c., singing in chorns a war song, the most harmonious thing I ever heard. When they came through the drift they held their shields over their heads, so as to cover and protect the whole person from any thing thrown down upon them while crossing it. They first quivered an assagai in their right hand; then collected in a dense mass; formed in a line two deep; then in three divisions; collected again; danced; whistled, from a faint soft strain, until it ended in a roar; shook their shields and assegais in such a manner that at first it seemed like the wind rustling a few leaves, until it rose to the deafening noise of a storm raging amidst the dense foliage of a large forest.”

An account of a proceeding on the part of Hintza's killing these Fingo people, in express contravention of the treaty just made with him, was immediately forwarded to the Governor by express, and perhaps nothing could have

so keenly aroused his indignation as the contents of this lespatch. The very feelings which had actuated Sir Benjamin in deciding upon the important step of rescuing, at their earnest entreaties, this degraded people from their cruel state of bondage, were outraged by this wanton massacre. Throughout this trying war benevolence had been the peculiar trait in all His Excellency's measures, and hence the duplicity of Hintza, which was now conspicuous, his utter faithlessness, and the ferocity of the Kafir character, appeared to burst upon him with resistless effect. Hintza and Bookoo who had now come in were immediately summoned to his presence, and the purport of the express communicated to them. The answer of the chief was characteristic—"Well," said he, "and what then; are they not my dogs?" The scene which ensued is thus described by an eye-witness: "This was beyond all endurance. His Excellency gave immediate orders that Hintza, Kreili, and Bookoo, and all the people with them, amounting to about 150, should be guarded; and told them that he should keep them as hostages for the safety of the Fingoes. He desired them instantly to dispatch messengers to stop the carnage, and said that if this infamous proceeding of their people continued after three hours had elapsed, he would shoot two of their suite for every Fingoe that was killed; adding, that if he found any subterfuge in the message they sent—as he had discovered to be the case in some of their former messages—he would hang Hintza, Kreili, and Bookoo themselves to the tree under which they were sitting.

"The Chiefs saw they were in jeopardy, and in less than ten minutes their most astute messengers were seen scampering off at full speed in different directions, with orders which were evidently given *this time* without subterfuge; for within the limited period it was officially announced by Colonel Somerset that the Kafirs had ceased to attack the Fingoes.

Hintza having accompanied Col. Smith on a pretence to hand over cattle, Godlonton says: On gaining the summit of the mountain from the Kye, Hintza requested, through the interpreter, to know in what position he stood, both as regarded himself and his subjects. The answer of the Colonel was distinct and candid: "Hintza, you have lived

with me now nine days ; you call yourself my son, and you say you are sensible of my kindness ; now I am responsible to my King and to my Governor for your safe custody. Clearly understand that you have requested that the troops under my command should accompany you to enable you to fulfil the treaty of peace you have entered into. You voluntarily placed yourself in our hands as a hostage ; you are, however, to look upon me as having full power over you, and if you attempt to escape, you will assuredly be shot. I consider my nation at peace with yours, and I shall not molest your subjects ; provided they are peaceable. When they bring in the cattle according to your commands, I shall select the bullocks, and return the cows and calves to them." To this, Hintza replied, "He came out to fulfil his treaty of peace, and with no intention to escape ; and the fact of his son being in our hands was a sufficient guarantee of his sincerity." The Colonel then added, "Very well Hintza, act up to this and I am your friend ; again I tell you, *if you attempt to escape, you will be shot.*"

Notwithstanding these specious professions, the Colonel had his suspicions aroused by the following circumstances : In the afternoon, about four o'clock, the troops reached a streamlet running into the Gona, when one of the Corps of Guides reported that two Kafirs, with five head of cattle, were near the camp, and that Hintza, on the plea of their being afraid to approach, had sent one of his people to bring them in. In place, however, of these Kafirs coming into the camp, they went off, taking with them a horse which had been sent to them by Hintza, and who declined to give any explanation on the subject. The suspicion excited by this circumstance was increased by the evasive answers given to the Colonel's repeated inquiry as to the point on which he desired the troops to move. On this subject nothing more could be elicited than "we are going right."

Early the next morning the troops were in motion, passed the Guadana hills, and bivouacked on the Guanga late in the afternoon. Here Hintza was again requested by the Colonel to state explicitly where he wished them to proceed. On this occasion he was much more communicative than before, and desired that they would march

towards the mouth of the Bashee, by a route which he would point out; and he further requested that they would move at midnight. This request was the more readily acceded to, it being evident that all the cattle from the kraals in the neighbourhood had been driven in the direction pointed out. Accordingly at twelve o'clock the troops resumed their march, and continued to move forward until eight o'clock in the morning. At this time the spoor of numerous cattle driven in that direction was quite recent; but as the men had been marching for eight hours, it was necessary for them to halt and take some refreshment.

At breakfast the chief appeared particularly uneasy; he evidently felt disappointed at the vigilance with which all his actions had been watched, and he observed peevishly,—“What have the cattle done that you want them? or why must I see my subjects deprived of them?” Colonel Smith observed in reply to him that he need not ask those questions; he well knew the outrages committed on the colony by his people, and that it was in redress of those wrongs the cattle were demanded. At ten o'clock the troops were again on the march. At this time Hintza appeared in high spirits, observing rather sarcastically—“You see how my subjects treat me, they drive their cattle from me in spite of me.” “Hintza,” replied the Colonel, “I do not want your subjects' cattle; I am sent for the *colonial* cattle which have been stolen, and which I will have.” “Then,” said the chief, “allow me to send Umtini, my principal counsellor, forward to tell my people I am here, that they must not drive away their cattle, and that the cattle of your nation will be alone selected.” This proposal was immediately agreed to, it appearing to hold out a chance of success; although it was quite evident that Hintza was meditating some mischief, and that the utmost caution was imperatively necessary. On the departure of Umtini, he was particularly enjoined to return that night, and which was faithfully promised. He quitted the camp at full speed, accompanied by one of Hintza's attendants, the chief exclaiming in high spirits,—“Now you need not go to the Bashee, you will have more cattle than you can drive on the Xabecca!”



On the approach of the troops to this stream, it was found that the great spoor of the cattle branched off in two directions; one track going to the left, up a high mountain; the other to the right, up a very high, abrupt, steep, and wooded hill upon the banks of the Xabeca, below which its bed is rugged, precipitous, and covered with brushwood. Hintza here said they must follow the track to the right, the cattle up the mountain being lost to them.

It had been remarked that this day Hintza rode a remarkably strong horse, and which he appeared particularly anxious to spare from fatigue, leading him up every ascent. The path they were now in up the hill from the bed of the Xabeca was merely a narrow cattle track, winding up the hill side, through the tangled brushwood, and occasionally passing between a cleft in the rock. Up this steep ascent the troops were leading their horses; Col. Smith, who was at the head of the column, being the only person mounted; behind him came Hintza and his followers leading their horses, the Corps of Guides following in the same order. On arriving near the summit of the hill, Hintza and his attendants silently mounted and rode quickly up to the Colonel, whom they passed on one side through the bushes. The Guides observing this immediately called out to the Colonel, who instantly exclaimed,—“Hintza, stop!” At this moment the chief, having moved on one side of the beaten track, found himself entangled by the thicket, with no other resource but to descend into the only path by which it could be cleared. The Colonel on the first alarm had drawn a pistol, on observing which the chief smiled with so much apparent ingenuousness, that the Colonel felt regret at his suspicions, and he permitted the chief to move on in front of him, preceded by three of the Guides, who mounted and pushed forward on witnessing the suspicious circumstances above detailed. On reaching the top of this steep ascent the country was perfectly open, with a considerable tongue of land running parallel with the rugged bed of the Xabeca, gradually descending for about two miles, and terminating at a bend of the river, where were several Kafir huts. On reaching this tongue of land, the Colonel had turned round to view the troops in the rear toiling

up the steep ascent, when the Chief instantly set off at full speed, passing the guides in front, towards the huts in the distance.

The guides (viz : Messrs. G. and W. Southey, and W. Shaw) uttering an exclamation of alarm, pursued, but without the most distant hope of overtaking the fugitive. Col. Smith was, however, better mounted, and spurring his horse with violence, he succeeded, after a smart run, and with the most desperate exertion, in overtaking him—he called to him to stop ; but he only urged his horse to greater exertion, stabbing at the Colonel with his assegais. The Colonel drew a pistol, but it snapped—a second was used with the like ill success. The pursuit was continued for some distance further,—the troops following in the rear as they best could. At length the Colonel, by a desperate effort, again reached the Chief and struck him with the butt-end of his pistol, which he then dropped. The Chief smiled in derision. The second pistol was hurled at him, striking him again on the back part of the head ; but with no other effect than causing him to redouble his efforts to escape. They were now within about half a mile of the Kafir huts. The Colonel had no weapons whatever, while the Chief was armed with assegais,—the case was desperate, and there was not a moment for reflection. Urging, therefore, his horse to its utmost energy, the Colonel again got within reach of the athletic Chieftain, and seizing him by the collar of the kaross or cloak by a violent effort he hurled him to the ground. At this moment their horses were at their utmost speed ; and on Hintza being thrown, the Colonel's horse refused to obey the rein, carrying his rider forward in spite of every endeavour to stop him. The Chief, though thrown heavily, was instantly on his feet, and drawing an assagei, threw it after his assailant with so much steadiness and accuracy that it only missed him by a few inches ; he then instantly turned off at a right angle, and fled down the steep bank of the Xabeca. The momentary delay caused by the incidents detailed enabled the foremost of the guides to approach to within gunshot distance ; and their leader, Mr. G. Southey, instantly called out to the Chief in the Kafir tongue to stop ; no heed was given to this, and he fired, wounding him in the left leg. Hintza fell, but in an instant regained his feet, and

continued his flight swiftly down the hill. Southey discharged his second barrel, and the Chief again pitched forward ; but once more recovered himself, and ultimately succeeded in gaining the cover of the thicket which lines the banks of the river. Southey and Lieut. Balfour followed, leaping down the shelving bank ; the former keeping up, the latter down, the stream. They had thus proceeded in opposite directions for some distance, when Southey was suddenly startled by an assegai striking the stone or cliff on which he was climbing ; turning quickly round at the noise, he perceived a Kafir, his head and an uplifted assegai being only visible, so near him that it was only by his recoil that he had room for the length of his gun. At the impulse of the moment he raised his piece and fired ; and Hintza, the Paramount Chief of Kafirland, ceased to live. The upper part of the scalp had been completely shattered and carried away by the discharge. Southey hastily divested the body of a brass girdle, and snatching up the bundle of assagais, which the Chief had retained during the whole of this arduous struggle, quitted the spot and rejoined the troops, reporting the occurrences to the officer commanding.\*

On receiving this information, Lieut. Poulestone, 75th Regt., was directed by Col. Smith to proceed with a party of men to the fatal spot in the ravine where the chief had fallen, and to convey the corpse from thence to the Kafir huts which we have before mentioned. This duty was punctually performed. The body was found by this officer lying in the situation pointed out ; and being carefully wrapped in the chief's cloak or kaross, was borne out of the thicket by the men, and deposited near the huts stated, in view of numerous Kafirs, who were observing the proceedings from the surrounding heights.

From a *post mortem* examination of the body, taken by Assistant Surgeon Ford, 75th Regt., soon after it had been deposited by Lieut. Poulestone, the following appearances were observed :—The top of the head was completely shattered, and the brains gone ; there was a laceration on

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\* The whole of the above details are given, nearly in the very terms of the official report made by Col. Smith at the time, and from a statement published by Mr. G. Scuthey.

the chin, and a fracture of the lower jaw ; a ball had entered the back part of the left side, and another wound in the calf of one leg.

Nothing perhaps can be considered more untoward or more to be deplored than all the circumstances connected with the death of this chief ; who never ought for one moment to have been trusted. Perfidy was the distinguishing mark of his character ; and his intention in proposing the expedition evidently was, not to fulfil his treaty, as he proposed, but to lead Col. Smith into the midst of danger, and if possible sacrifice him to his revenge and disappointment. This aim was defeated by the description and strength of the force employed, and by the extreme caution with which the expedition was conducted ; and hence the chief had recourse to every subterfuge to get the cattle out of reach, and when he had accomplished this, to escape himself. In this attempt he fell, and that with a credit which by no means comports with the baseness of his character, and the inglorious career which had marked his conduct through life.

A considerable number of cattle had been seen passing over the mountains in the direction of the Umtata, and in pursuit of these Col. Smith started at 3 o'clock the next morning, leaving his least effective men, jaded horses, and captured cattle in charge of Captain Ross, of the Mounted Rifles. It was here, during the Colonel's absence, that the lamented and gallant Mr. T. C. White, Major of the Graham's Town Volunteers, and Acting Dep. Qr.-Mr.-General to the burgher force, met his death by the hand of the barbarians. This public-spirited officer had been actively employed during the whole period of the campaign in making an accurate topographical survey of the Kafir territory, and in prosecution of this his favourite object he had ascended an eminence near the encampment for the purpose of sketching the surrounding country. Four men of the Cape Corps, had been ordered to accompany him, and these were posted at different points of the hill to guard against surprise. In spite, however, of this precaution, the wily Kafirs, crouching stealthily in the long grass, succeeded in approaching the spot unobserved, and suddenly springing upon the Major and the Corporal,

despatched them with their assegais before the other men could afford them the slightest assistance, or even apprise them of their danger. On the first alarm a party proceeded from the camp to the spot, where the body of the Major was lying pierced with many wounds on the head, loins, and back. His remains received a soldier's grave, dug under the shade of a bush with no other implements than the bayonets of his companions.

There can be no doubt but the death of this distinguished man must be viewed as retaliation for the death of Hintza. His deportment and his attendants marked him as a person of consideration, and his death was resolved on as a sacrifice to the manes of the departed chief. The death of this officer has been justly considered as a public loss. He was no ordinary man. To talents of a high order he possessed the nicest sense of honour, perfect independency of mind, and inflexible integrity. With an intellect of uncommon grasp, he displayed on all occasions an indomitable spirit, which no opposition could subdue, no difficulties discourage. As a practical farmer, and as the grand promoter of every undertaking which could add to the comfort of the inhabitants, and promote their general prosperity, the eastern province of this colony has lost in him one of its most valuable members.

Mr. Collett, of the Koonap, describes the next important event, which occurred on May the 19th, 1835.—About half-past 6 on the evening of Wednesday, the 13th, says he, and just before the moon rose, one of my people ran in to inform me a body of Kafirs were coming on. I immediately took up my gun, and ran towards the kraal, (not anticipating an attack on my house,) but not finding them there, I collected my people, whose apartments are at some distance from my own, and flew immediately back to my own dwelling, in which the Kafirs had by this time entered; but it would appear that three of the Kafirs, who remained outside at one of my windows, informed those within of our approach. Those rushed out, and ran instantly off. I, however, took the precaution to divide my people; so that whichever door they came out of, we might be ready to receive them; on approaching the front of my house, they came out from the kitchen, just as my men were coming up, and who immediately fired four

charges of heavy shot among them ; although not one of them was shot dead. We then pursued them into a small enclosure ; but the moon not being quite up, we could not well see them under the fence ; but as they were heard to say when in the house, they came to put us to death, we challenged them in their own tongue to come on, which they, however, declined, and ran off with inconceivable swiftness across the enclosed field. On returning to the house, I found, to my inexpressible grief, they had severely stabbed Mrs. Jacob Trollip in the right side, who with her husband were living with me, wounding also her infant, which she held in her arms, slightly in the leg. On examination I soon perceived Mrs. Trollip's wound was of a serious nature, and at day-break in the morning I sent to Beaufort for medical assistance. I bled her meantime myself, but it soon became evident her recovery was hopeless, the assegai having pierced nearly through her body. She expired the following day about one o'clock p.m., and before any medical aid could be procured, leaving her husband and one child about fourteen months old to lament her loss.

The following night the Kafirs again attacked my kraal, and in spite of every effort, got off with sixteen oxen and cows, so that I have now been compelled to send away my remaining track-oxen, although requiring them for immediate use, and also the one cow which we had in milk ; nor have I now a single beast on my farm."

About the time of the above fatal occurrence, two young men, named Chipperfield and Bentley, were proceeding towards the Nottingham party, when they were way-laid and murdered. Not making their appearance, a party of volunteers was sent in search of them, and the body of Bentley was found pierced with numerous assegai wounds. The remains of the other was not found until a considerable time afterwards. Another youth named Jubber, was sent out at Bathurst in search of horses, and when only a few yards from the village, over the brow of the hill on its eastern side, he was assegaied. The corpse was found the following day full of wounds.

Perhaps, however, the best idea of the state of the country may be formed by the perusal of an account,

written by Mr. M. Bowker and published at the time, to the following effect :—

About the 18th of this month the Kafirs carried off four of our best horses and three spans of good oxen. A few days after they attacked Philip Hobb's place (about three miles S.E. of Bathurst), threw an assegai at his wife's head, which cut through part of her cap, and carried off his cattle. On the 23rd, as two of my sons were returning in the evening from their duty of inspecting the captured cattle in this quarter, they observed the spoor of seven Kafirs on the sand before them, at the mouth of the Kleinemond, whom they presently perceived ascending an adjacent hill, where they sat down. My two sons rode up to them, and they ran down the hill, and just before they got into the bush, one of them fired a long shot, which was returned by the marauders, who then plunged into the bush. We gave notice of this to our only two neighbours, Williams and G. Smith; the former immediately set off for Bathurst, and the latter came with his family, people, and cattle under our protection, and we all removed to my son Miles's place, with our cattle and sheep, as less encumbered by bush, and where we could better protect them. The second day after our removal the Kafirs, to the number of twenty-five or thirty men, attacked us at half past six o'clock, being Sunday evening. About half of them had got over the rail of the cattle kraal, when one was shot by a spring gun placed at the kraal gate; and though he had a broken thigh, and was wholly unable to move, he threw his assegais at every body that approached him, and called out to his comrades not to mind, as there were few to contend with. The Kafirs, however, made off, and were fired at from one side of the kraal by my four sons, and from the other by six of our black people and two boys, all of whom behaved well, with considerable effect, being very near. One Kafir was observed, during the firing, creeping on his hands and knees to the nearest kloof with a broken leg. The Kafirs that had got into the kraal, finding themselves so warmly assailed, poured out, throwing their assegais on every side, wounding two of the black people. My sons had very narrow escapes, the assegais passing them close in every direction, whilst they

were firing with good effect ; so that the whole were driven off without getting a single head of cattle, though several broke out during the affray. The first that was shot was naked, and another must have gone off in a sad plight, as a kaross was taken up at a distance covered with blood, and many were severely wounded. In the morning my sons, following their spoor, found they had separated, and gone off in four different parties. They had previously attacked the three separate divisions of captured cattle in small parties, and been repulsed, without driving off any of them. My sons again this morning, on going on their inspection, met the principal officer coming to report that they had been again attacked with some success on the part of the Kafirs, who had got off with some cattle. All this, and official orders being issued that all were to repair to close protection, have induced us most reluctantly to take refuge at Bathurst, but which we purpose leaving again as soon as possible.

The following account from the published proceedings of the day will give a good idea of the nature of the struggle maintained at this period, June, 1835, within the New Province :

“ At 2 o'clock on the morning of 18th June, Lieuts. Bailie and Biddulph, with thirty of the Provisional Battalion each, were directed to march again to penetrate the deep recesses of the ravines, near the Line Drift road over the Keiskamma and the woody heights of the Umdezzeni, extending towards the *poorts* of the Buffalo, and to return to King William's Town. On this day five Kafirs were killed, many wounded ; one gun and many assegais taken ; four horses, thirty-five head of cattle, and great number of goats. The Kafirs appeared so numerous that Lieut. Bailie, conceiving it advisable to penetrate the woody kloofs of the Umdezzeni with a more efficient force, detached Lieut. Biddulph to head-quarters for a reinforcement. Col. Smith immediately directed Capts. Craven, of the 1st, and Rawstorne, of the 2nd, to march at 2 o'clock, when the moon was up, Lieut. Biddulph proceeding as the guide. In two days' operations, most judiciously and spiritedly conducted by these officers and their soldiers, the Kafirs had twelve killed and many wounded ; two guns, and many assegais were taken ; together with eleven horses,



forty-five head of cattle, and upwards of 1,000 goats ; a great quantity of corn was also destroyed. Our loss was one lieutenant, 1st Provisional Battalion, slightly wounded in the hand, and one Fingo shot through the thigh. The Fingoes behaved well, and several had bullets through their karosses. On the 18th Lieut. Biddulph's party had a very severe skirmish with the enemy, who were well armed. On the arrival of Lieut. Biddulph, orders were sent to Capt. Jarvis to detach Lieuts. Sutton and Granet, ten mounted and 50 dismounted men, to act in the rear of the heights of the Umdezzen, and to cut off any fugitives which might be driven over the Deba flats. This patrol, as was anticipated, fell in with the enemy, killed three, took many assagais, wounded several, and brought out of the dense bush twenty head of cattle, many goats, one Hottentot man, four women (one the wife of the celebrated Baba, captain of the Kafir-Hottentot company) and sixteen children ; the Hottentot states that Eno's white son was in the party attacked ; that the Kafirs are reduced to great extremity for want of provisions ; and harrassed and distressed beyond measure.

"The same day a patrol of twenty men, with Lieuts. Kelso and Puleston, succeeded in taking from T'Slambie's people, near the Kye, 157 oxen (fifty of their own cattle and the rest colonial) and four horses. The enemy were daring and numerous, attempting to retake the cattle, in which attempt several were wounded ; ten were armed with guns ; but as they never fired a shot, it is presumed their ammunition had been expended. Seven hundred head of captured cattle have this day arrived at the district head-quarters from Fort Warden and Wellington : and 1,400 head of captured cattle marched yesterday for Tambookie Vlei (Kat River Settlement).

"On the 25th June, Lieuts. Baillie and Biddulph, 1st Provisional Battalion, with thirty men each, again marched for the woods of the Umdezzen. Lieut. Biddulph has, however, since returned to King William's Town ; but Lieut. Baillie is still out ; his firing was heard this day near the Tabendoda Mountains."

This gallant young officer never had the good fortune to return. For some considerable time his fate, and that of the men with him, was enveloped in considerable mystery.

It appeared improbable that the whole party should be cut off, and not even one escape to tell the fate of his companions ; equally unlikely did it appear that the enemy, if he were so successful as to destroy the whole, would not vaunt of the exploit, and be encouraged to make his sallies from his fastnesses in the mountains with greater audacity. Subsequent events, however, sufficiently cleared up all the circumstances of this fatal occurrence, and which were as follows :—

The whole of this detachment marched from headquarters at four o'clock P.M. of the 25th June, and on approaching the kloofs, Lieut. Baillie directed Lieut. Biddulph to march upon them, to bivouac for the night, and penetrate them at daylight ; whilst he (Lieut. Baillie) would march by the Tabendoda mountains, enter the bush there, and intercept any of the enemy who might fly from the Umdezzeni in his direction : both to concentrate the following day under the Tabendoda mountains, from whence they were to return to the camp together. Whilst at the place of rendezvous, early on the evening of the 26th June, eleven shots were distinctly heard by Lieut. Biddulph's party in the direction of the thorny wooded country which skirts the base of the Tabendoda hill. This was answered by five guns, as agreed upon for the signal. To the surprise of Lieut. Biddulph the party did not join him that evening. The next morning they again heard firing in the direction of a ridge which divides the streams that fall into the Keiskamma on one side, and into the Buffalo on the other. During the whole of this day the firing was heard at short intervals, and Lieut. Biddulph waited for some time, expecting Lieut. Baillie to join him. Finally, two scattered volleys were heard, and no report afterwards. Lieut. Biddulph having waited the time they were ordered to continue out, then marched to headquarters, and reported his proceedings to the Commanding Officer.

It appears that Lieut. Baillie, on separating from this officer, soon entered the woody country which surrounds the Tabendoda. Here he was observed by the enemy, who was in great force in that immediate neighbourhood. On the afternoon of the 26th June, the Kafirs gave him "a fresh spoor ;" or, in other words, they walked before him

for the purpose of leading him into a difficult and rugged part of the mountains, where they had assembled in great numbers with the intention of attacking him. In the ardour of his pursuit he crossed the Tabendoda, and descended the valley of the Keiskamma ; coming so close upon the enemy by the evening as to wound some of them. After the close of the day, he commenced his retreat towards the place appointed for rendezvous ; but was unable to reach it, and slept on the top of a ridge, sheltered by the ruins of a dwelling, in which a trader named Kent, on the breaking out of the war, was barbarously murdered. At dawn of the following day, the Kafirs attacked the little party with great impetuosity, killing one man ; but were repulsed with determined bravery and with considerable loss. The chiefs, however, succeeded in rallying their followers, and in again leading them on to the attack. During this time Lieut. Baillie and his men were endeavouring to force their way through the wooded broken country down the face of the mountains, direct for the camp. At every step they were fiercely assailed by the barbarian foe ; who, however, paid dearly for his temerity. On reaching the base of the mountain, seven of this gallant little band had fallen by the assagai of the enemy.

Still the remainder made progress, and a part of them at least, would, there is every reason to believe, have escaped, having nearly reached the open country ; but on reaching the valley of the Malecudee (about two miles south of the Missionary Institution of Perrie), the enemy received a considerable reinforcement. This enabled them completely to surround their victims, and at the moment they were in the act of crossing a small stream, called the Umxesha, a large body of the enemy sprang up from the long grass in which they had concealed themselves, and made a desperate rush upon them. This was met by two volleys. But being at the moment compelled, from the nature of the ground, to separate into two parties, the whole, with the exception of their gallant officer, fell, pierced with innumerable wounds. He did not fire with his men on their making their final effort, but sprang into a small thicket near the spot, where with matchless heroism he met his fate. Three of the enemy rushed upon him, two of whom were shot dead by a discharge from both barrels of his gun. One of these was

a chief named Tchalecsay ; but he then, having no further means of defence, was instantly overpowered and slain.\*

The fate of Lieut. Baillie was not only deplored by his brother officers and by the men with whom he served, but by all who knew him. The high esteem in which he was held by the Commander of the Province may be gathered from the following extract from a "District Order" published on the occasion. Although his death had been then fully ascertained ; the particulars we have narrated above were not known for some time afterwards, and which will account for the phraseology made use of.

"Lieut. Baillie was an officer of the most cautious, though enterprising character, bold and undaunted, discreet and judicious, possessing every qualification to render him hereafter one of the brightest ornaments of his profession ; he had more experience in this desultory warfare than almost any other officer ; had frequently distinguished himself in his rencontres with the enemy ; and such was the unlimited confidence placed in him by the officer commanding the Province, and whatever was the number of men given him to command, complete success was anticipated. Some disaster of no ordinary cast, over which human foresight has no control, must have occurred to this officer and his gallant band ; and whatever it may have been, most assuredly he fell as he had lived—a soldier and a CHRISTIAN : affording a bright example of both.

On the 4th and 5th July, very extensive operations were directed by Col. Smith from the mouth of the Kye to the mouth of the Kahoon. These movements were not made without considerable resistance ; and in one instance, a detachment of the Colonial force had a most narrow escape from being cut off by the enemy. This party, under the command of Capt. Ross, of the Mounted Rifle Corps, having entered the Gonube bush, suddenly found themselves in the presence of a very superior force of the enemy, who attacked them furiously. At the very first

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\*The spot was subsequently visited by the father of this gallant and amiable young man, who collected the remains of the brave men who fell, and consigned them to one common grave on the spot, which is now marked by a heap of stones. The Rev. Mr. Chalmers was present on the occasion, and offered up, with the little party who had assembled, a most impressive prayer.

onset, Capt. Ross's horse was wounded under him, and several others belonging to his men captured. The defence, however, was no less determined than the attack: a steady, well directed fire was kept up, which being heard by other parties in the same neighbourhood, reinforcements arrived just as Capt. Ross, hard pressed by the enemy, had made good his retreat to the edge of the bush. With this addition to his force, the enemy was attacked in turn, and with so much success that six horses were re-captured, and a considerable number of cattle taken. In this affair, two of the colonial force were wounded, whilst many of the enemy were slain.

Towards the end of July, 1835, the following fatal occurrence happened on the coast, about 100 miles further to the eastward.

The *James*, a small coaster, newly-built in Table Bay, sailed thence on the 9th July, on a coasting voyage. On the 19th they lay to off the Kowie, and a boat was sent on shore for wood and water; but finding the village abandoned, they returned on board without either. The next day they hove to abreast of Red Hill River, and the boat was again sent ashore for a similar purpose. While engaged in procuring a supply, a party of about fifty Kafirs came suddenly out of the bush, but seemed at first very friendly, shaking hands, and showing other demonstrations of kindness. The head of the party, however, an old man with very white hair, seeing some arms in the boat, proceeded to seize them, and immediately a scene of disorder commenced. The master, uttering an exclamation of alarm, jumped into the boat; but instead of being followed by the others, they fled along the beach. One of them, the steward, being soon exhausted, was overtaken and dispatched it is supposed by the savages, a fate which also happened to the master, who was seen by the survivors lying on the beach, his body pierced by the assegais of the barbarians. The two men who escaped swam the river, keeping along the coast until abreast of the schooner, when they plunged into the surf and succeeded in gaining the vessel, which shortly afterwards returned to Table Bay with the intelligence of the disaster.

During the time of these occurrences, the enemy was

pursuing his plan of operations with varied success. On several occasions he suffered severely for his temerity ; but still the troops and the inhabitants were greatly harrassed, and in several instances sustained considerable loss. Some stragglers from the army, and in one instance a foraging party of seven young men, were cut off, and this so far emboldened the enemy as to tempt him to attack one of the newly established posts, named Fort Wellington. The assault was made with great spirit, but it was met with no less determination, and with much greater success, the enemy being repulsed with the loss of several of his bravest men.

Within the colony they were more successful. At Blue Krans, 14 miles S. of town, an attack was made on the cattle herds of Mr. Carlisle. They had just been kraaled for the night, and the herdsmen were seated on the ground, when they were fired on by the marauders, and one of them killed on the spot. A party of the enemy then rushed forward, and wounded another man with their assagais. The cattle to the amount of 200 head were surrounded and driven off, first taking the precaution to post men in the public roads to prevent, if possible, the transmission to town of the intelligence. The men, however, who escaped, contrived, by taking bye paths and scrambling on the rocks, to reach their master's dwelling with the report of the disaster.

But not only was the enemy particularly active, by means of numerous marauding parties, in making sudden incursions upon the colonists, but he also displayed considerable activity in his movements within the New Province,—plainly showing that the British forces would have much more work to perform, in fully subduing him, than had been calculated upon. On the night of the 5th August, a body of about 200 vigorously attacked the Fingo location near King William's Town. Two of these people were killed in their huts at the first onset, and a third severely wounded. The Fingoes, however, turned out in a moment, and the fight was furious on both sides. The shouts and yells of the combatants being heard by Col. Smith, a company of the Provisional Battalion, under Capt. Baillic, was ordered out to their support ; whilst a nine-pounder was fired amongst the assailants, which, if

it had no other effect, inspired the Fingoes with confidence, and they attacked the Kafirs with so much bravery that they at length succeeded in driving them over the ford of the Buffalo. Here, however, they again rallied, and disputed the passage ; but on the approach of Capt. Baillie they precipitately fled,—leaving 14 of their warriors dead on the field, amongst whom was a son of the chief Dushanie.

The next evening a strong patrol, under Capt. Baillie, marched to scour the ravines of the Keiskamma at the Tamegha, and from thence through the Umdezzini, to which point Capt. Jervis, with another detachment, moved on the 8th to co-operate. These parties not falling in with the enemy, as was expected, they returned to head-quarters, which they had scarcely reached when reports arrived that the enemy had attacked the Fingoes in the ceded territory, and with so much success as to capture all their cattle.

“ Perhaps in no one week, since the commencement of hostilities—if we except a few of the first days of July—has there been more depredations committed by the Kafirs than within the last seven days. They appear to have spread themselves out in small parties from the sea nearly to the Winterberg, and have, with various success, carried off a considerable number of cattle from the frontier farmers. One herd was carried off from Eland’s Kloof, a farm situated within three miles of Graham’s Town. On Manley’s Flat, about ten miles south of the town, the enemy succeeded in capturing and carrying off about 400 head of cattle ; but being speedily followed by a patrol of the Graham’s Town Mounted Volunteers, guided by Messrs. Driver and Manley, the owners of the stolen cattle succeeded in overtaking a part of them in the Kooms bush, near the residence of the unfortunate Mahoney, and in retaking about seventy-five head. In this thicket they fell in with another patrol of the Provisional Corps from Waai Plaats, which, having observed the spoor of the enemy, had followed on it until they came up with a few horses and cattle, also driven by the marauders, two of whom were killed in the rencontre which ensued, and the cattle and horses were re-captured. The Kowie Bush, up to within four or five miles of Graham’s Town, is supposed,

from the foot-marks, to be infested by the enemy in scattered parties ; and although several patrols have been out in quest of them, yet they have succeeded in eluding their utmost vigilance. In the upper part of the district the enemy have been less fortunate. A party of them having captured some horses from the Koonap, were followed so successfully by a few farmers that at length, after a most intricate pursuit, during which the Kafirs had made an abrupt double and returned into the colony, they were overtaken near De Bruin's Poort, and four of them shot dead in the affray which followed ; a fifth was severely wounded."

At this very period, while negotiations were going on, hostilities, on the part of the Kafirs, were carried on with as much activity and fury as had been experienced since their commencement. Amongst other exploits, they succeeded in capturing near 200 head of cattle belonging to the Government contractor, on the way from Cradock to the Kat River Settlement. Emboldened by this success, they made a similar attempt on a second herd proceeding to the same place. The situation selected for this enterprise was in a most favorable situation, called Bush Neck, an acclivitous bushy defile near the Winterberg ; but they were nevertheless repulsed after a smart skirmish, with the loss of four killed and several wounded. In the same neighbourhood they fired and consumed two stacks of corn, which had been saved at great risk and labour by a farmer named Klopper, murdered three or four herdsmen in the field, and swept off several small herds of cattle and many horses. Below Bathurst they again attacked the kraal of Mr. Bowker. The marauders had entered the enclosure, and were in the act of forcing open the gate, when a spring gun, which was attached to it, was discharged, wounding one man mortally, and alarming the others so much that they instantly fled. From Lieut. Griffith's, near Graham's Town, a flock of about 1,000 Merino sheep were carried off, but being quickly pursued, the great part was retaken in the bushy country near De Bruin's Poort.

In the course of these proceedings a large body of marauders had been traced to an intricate rocky defile near the mouth of the Guanga, a small stream of the ceded territory. The Field-commandant, P. Uys, being stationed in that



neighbourhood, immediately proceeded to the spot at the head of a party of farmers, guided by the petty chief Tzatzoe. On reaching the edge of the rocky kloof where the enemy had taken up his position, Tzatzoe and Uys descended its sides until within sight and hearing of the Kafirs, to whom they called out requesting them to lay down their arms and surrender. The reply to this demand was that they were men, and were resolved to fight; and in the next instant they commenced a furious attack upon the farmers, many of them breaking their assegais short for the convenience of stabbing at close quarters. The farmers, however, by a steady, well-directed fire, succeeded in repelling the advance of the enemy, who was ultimately compelled to fly to the bushy ravines for shelter, leaving eighteen of their number dead on the field.

On the afternoon of the 17th September, the very day on which the treaty of peace was finally ratified at Fort Wilshire, a party of the enemy, computed at forty strong, suddenly poured down from the woody heights above Grobbelaar's Kloof about ten miles S.E. of Graham's Town, and succeeded in carrying off 200 cattle belonging to several English settlers, who had formed themselves into a party for mutual protection. At the time of their capture there were no less than seven herdsmen, some armed with guns and others with assegais, in the field with them; one of these was severely wounded. Pursuit was instantly made by the persons on the spot, but night coming on, they were compelled to desist without overtaking the marauders. The next day the pursuit was resumed, and at night, whilst most of the men were thus employed, the enemy made a most furious attack upon the kraals in which were contained the remainder of the cattle, and that with so much success as to capture them, killing two Fingo herdsmen before the door. So audacious were these marauders that they even knocked out the windows and doors of the farm-house, calling upon the inmates to come out; who were, however, too few in number to think of resistance, except obliged to make it in self-defence. Some of these cattle were afterwards captured by a party which followed in pursuit, between whom and the enemy were some skirmishing, in which two or three of the latter were shot.

His Excellency the Governor, however, being satisfied, at the expiration of the three days allowed them, that the chiefs had used their best endeavours to repress the incursions of their dependants, proceeded finally to ratify the Treaties of Peace with them, as had been agreed upon.

*Peace was then granted to the Kafir family of GAIKA, and its Connexions and Dependants, in the name of the King of England, by His Britannic Majesty's Governor of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.*

The above tribe, and its different branches and connexions, being therein personally represented by

MACOMO,	}	For themselves,
TYALI, and		
ENO,		
KUSIA (son of GUANYA) for SUTA, and her son		
SANDILI,		
FADANI, for BOTMA.		

“ And the Governor then appointed a commission consisting of

1. The Hon. Colonel Smith, C. B., Chief Commissioner,
2. Lieut.-Colonel England, 75th Regiment,
3. The Rev. W. Chalmers, Glasgow Mission, and
4. Captain Stretch, Provisional Companies, 75th Regiment,

for the location, establishment, and regulation of the aforesaid chiefs.

Thus, after a most harassing and destructive warfare during the long period of nine months was this painful contest brought to a close. Painful indeed was it in a variety of ways; whether it be considered in reference to the loss of human life,—the waste of property,—the heavy expenditure,—the suspension to a considerable extent of the ordinary pursuits of the inhabitants, or in that humiliating spectacle which was presented in the busy efforts of a faction to support the pretensions of a murderous and unprincipled foe, in opposition to the sacred cause of those connected with them by the ties of blood and of country. Refer to the partial and false statements which have been

published and sent abroad to the world for no other purpose than to excite its hostility against the suffering colonists, and in these it will be found that the relative characters of the Kafirs and Colonists have been shamefully misrepresented. Invariably have the former been depicted as an oppressed people; while the plundered Colonists have been held up in a light which, if true, would render them undeserving of the smallest sympathy. Even during the progress of this arduous struggle for their very existence have their proceedings been perverted, and the most pertinacious endeavours made use of to blind the eyes of the public to their actual situation, and to the real merits of the warfare in which they were so suddenly plunged. The most unfounded statements have been transmitted home,—published in the leading periodicals of the day, and widely circulated to their great prejudice throughout the British Empire. Not that we contend, for a moment, that there was nothing to blame or deplore throughout this trying period; on the contrary, we believe some few acts were committed, as in all cases of this nature, which are deserving of the severest reprehension. The principal of these, and to which the public attention has been since especially directed, was the treatment of Hintza's body after his death. We refer to the fact of some person or persons having been weak or wicked enough to separate from the shattered head the ears of the fallen chief, with the absurd intention of preserving them as relics of a man so notorious in border history. Whilst, however, we express our abhorrence of such an instance of barbarism, we are bound, at the same time, strenuously to contend that no warfare ever was conducted in all its details with more forbearance and humanity than this;—in short, we cannot conclude more appropriately than in the words of the benevolent Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN, that it was a war of necessity, and not of choice; and waged—if ever war were waged—"PRO ARIS ET FOCIS."

With this grave rebuke to the Dr. Philip & Co's. faction the veteran Godlonton concludes his account of the 1835 war. He, with others, evidently seemed to think that this said faction were wont to dance a metaphorical fandango with demoniacal delight over the graves of the unfortunate Colonists.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

### THE KAFIR WAR OF 1834—35.

I NOW beg to submit two further accounts of this important war. It may be said that more accounts are unnecessary, but I would venture to point out, as aforesaid, that out of the mouths of many councillors (or witnesses) there is wisdom. Besides, separate relations by different witnesses and combatants are always interesting, as different writers put their stories from different points of view, and one of them, or the other, brings out many interesting details passed over by brother writers. I now therefore beg permission to give the "Personal Reminiscences" of this war by the late Cæsar Andrews, Esq., Secretary to the burgher forces under the then Colonel Smith, the hero of Aliwal. The Secretary says\* :—

At the close of the year 1834, the first intimation of hostilities on the part of the Kafirs was an account of the murder by Kafirs of Mr. Mahony and his son-in-law, Mr. Henderson, near what was known as the Clay Pits, where the Kafirs were supplied with red clay, which may be termed their war paint. Two of Mr. Henderson's children were in the wagon at the time of the murder, but were brought into Graham's Town by a Kafir servant who witnessed the destruction of Mr. Mahony and his master. After this event daily accounts of Kafir aggression, burnings of houses, murders and pillage continued to be received at Port Elizabeth.

Commandant Evatt and the officer (Capt. Brabazon) at that time stationed in Port Elizabeth in command of the regular troops, enrolled the inhabitants for defence, and they were drilled under civilian officers. Captain

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\* This interesting account is kindly sent to the author by a gentleman whose signature he is unable to decipher. Should these lines catch the donor's eye, it is to be hoped he will accept the thanks intended to be conveyed by them.

Giles Sandford was my captain. I did duty *one* night in the stone building, then known as the barrack, near Fort Frederick. What I saw there that one night had better not be mentioned. What I suffered and felt of insect life I may not venture to write about. A state of feverish unrest determined me to desert the following day, it being morally and physically impossible to encounter another night in the same locality. Accordingly next day I packed up a few changes of clothing, crossed the back of my beautiful little pony "Cupid," and armed with a double-barrelled flint gun and a good supply of ammunition, bade good-bye to friends and rode to Uitenhage with an order in my pocket to get three horses there belonging to Lieut. G——, which I was requested to take to Graham's Town.

Arrived at Uitenhage, I heard that Colonel Smith and his Hottentot servant (Manie) had just arrived after three and a half days' journey on horseback from Cape Town *en route* for Graham's Town; and I learnt that the Colonel was staying at the residence of the Civil Commissioner (Mr. Van der Riet), who I knew personally very well. My object being to proceed to Graham's Town and the seat of war, I asked the Civil Commissioner to introduce me to Colonel Smith, and was told he was taking a bath, but would soon make his appearance, which he shortly did. I was duly introduced, and observed that I understood the Colonel was on his way to Graham's Town, and that I should be happy to form one of his escort. *Rather* to my astonishment, the Colonel said: "Escort be d——d. I have ridden from Cape Town with my man Manie, and I shall ride into Graham's Town with him to-morrow." Seeing that I looked somewhat blank at this reply to my well-meant offer, the Colonel smiled and said: "Mr. Andrews, although I do not want an escort, I shall be glad of your company, but I start at four o'clock a.m., and if you wish to go with me you must be punctual as to time." At a quarter to four a.m. I was at the Drostdy, as the Civil Commissioner's residence was called, riding my own pony, and with three led horses. The Civil Commissioner furnished Colonel Smith and servant with hired horses.

The day was one of the hottest I ever experienced in South Africa, and our pace being fast (we were to reach

Graham's Town the same day), the Colonel's horse and that of his servant knocked up near the Coega, before we reached the Grass Ridge, and I furnished fresh horses from my lot. On our journey I had mentioned to Colonel Smith that I had been in 1829 Secretary to the Commandant-General Stockeustrom, and that I consequently had had some experience in frontier life, and that I had lived some time in Graham's Town. I found at the Sunday's River Hotel, at that time kept by Mr. Webber, I had to do A.D.C.'s and Secretary's duties. From the hotel we proceeded towards the Ado Heights; our party increased by the Field-cornet Mr. P. van Niekerk and Mr. Webber. On the top of the Ado and in the thickest part of the bush-path my horse fell with me, and I was so much shaken and stunned that, although I remounted at once, I had to be supported for some little distance, but a little brandy soon restored me and I shortly afterwards gave the Colonel another of my led horses. After some further hard riding we came in sight of Sidbury House, belonging to the late Lieut. Daniels, R.N., who had removed his sheep, &c., and his house was held by an armed party of his friends. Arriving within two or three hundred yards of the house we observed several horses grazing in charge of a boy riding a nice red schimmel, or roan coloured horse. The Colonel said to me: "Andrews, we must have fresh horses here, help yourself to one." I set my affection upon the one ridden by the boy and called upon him to give it up, but he rode off to the house and gave the alarm, and soon we saw several men, gun in hand, running from the house towards us. I cannot say I felt very comfortable, because I thought they might fire at us first and ask who we were afterwards. However, they came up to us, when Colonel Smith introduced himself, saying "he must arrive that day in Graham's Town to take command, and they must hire their horses and send some of their party to bring them back, or he would buy them and give them receipts for the purchase." The horses were hired and we proceeded on our journey, soon reaching Cypherfontein, where we found a Troop of Cape Corps awaiting us with led horses, and we entered Graham's Town about five o'clock p.m., having accomplished a journey of ninety-five

miles in thirteen and a half hours in one of the hottest days I have ever experienced in South Africa.

We found the streets in Church-square strongly barricaded and most of the women and children collected inside the church (St. George's), and all the stores inside the barricade were full of people, many from the country, and there were fears (perhaps groundless) of an attack on the Town. A good deal of panic and want of order prevailed until the arrival of Colonel Smith was announced, when some measure of confidence was restored.

I took up my quarters in the store of my old friend Edward Nourse, on the right side of Church-square, opposite St. George's. Here I met many old friends, Mrs. G——, who gave birth to her youngest child in Mr. Edward Nourse's counting-house; here I also met my very old friend, J—— C——. We had known each other in Graham's Town in early days in 1829-30.

The morning following my arrival an orderly sergeant came to the store where, as the Yankees would say, I was located, saying Colonel Smith wished to see me. Much fatigued as I was by the previous day's ride I speedily waited on the Colonel, when he asked me if I wished to go into Kafirland with him during the war. I told him I had joined him with that intention, that he might command my services in any way in which I could make myself useful. I was told to be at his office at a certain hour to be sworn in as Secretary to the burgher forces, and I was duly sworn in by Colonel England, of the 75th Regiment (afterwards Sir Richard England), and I afterwards commenced the most arduous duties of my office, requiring sometimes eighteen out of twenty-four hours application at the desk. My duties were to receive all communications from Field-commandants and Field-cornets, to inquire and report on all their applications for field supplies, to strike out such items as could not be supplied, and to initial amended lists to be countersigned by Colonel Smith, which were then handed to the Commissary-General (at that time Commissary-General Palmer), than whom there never was a better officer on the frontier. I had also to correspond with the Commandants and Field-cornets and interpret between the former and His Excellency Sir Benjamin D'Urban. In

carrying on the Dutch correspondence I was much indebted to Mr. Meurant (since Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate of Fort Beaufort), my knowledge of Dutch being at that time rather imperfect. Besides these duties I had to write military despatches, and, during Colonel Smith's absence in the Fish River bush had to receive and arrange all correspondence with our office and to wait on Sir B. D'Urban for instructions. This continued for some weeks until a forward movement was made towards Kafirland.

Graham's Town was thronged with Hottentot battalions, burgher forces from Graaff-Reinet and other districts, and troops of the line, the 72nd Highlanders being conspicuous in their splendid Highland uniform and black ostrich plumed bounets.

Many of the women attached to the Hottentot battalions were wonderfully fashioned, and their proportions called forth many exclamations of surprise from the Colonel, who had never seen anything like it before.

The two battalions mustered about 2,000 men. A contract for clothing was called for. Kafir truck was down in the market; brown Kafir cloth was cheap, and a contract was taken to clothe the Totties in brown Kafir cloth. It looked very well when new, but a march into the Fish River bush which soon followed made the bush brown, and the Totties scarecrows. A fresh contract to clothe the naked being inevitable, a little foresight dictated to the previous contractor that something more substantial than Kafir cloth would be required. All the obtainable moleskin was therefore purchased. When the second contract was called for, the first contractor got it, but with the understanding that he must abandon the military rank of Major in the Hottentot battalion which he held; of course, the military rank was readily parted with, and the contract retained.

The Graham's Town Volunteers were commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Sparks (a very smart officer). Some queer scenes occasionally occurred on the parade. On one occasion Colonel Smith, Chief of the Staff, was inspecting them, when one of the men, as the Chief passed, touched his hat to him. He was greeted with "None of your d——d politeness in the ranks, sir." The Volunteer, no doubt, thought his virtue was not properly rewarded.



I think I have said I slept in the store of my old friend Edward Nourse. Below was a store where guns, old muskets, &c., were collected. I one morning heard below, where the guns were kept, a clicking of locks going on, soon after a report, a whizz, and a bullet went through the slate roof, having passed only a foot from my bed. I followed a practice I had already acquired from my Chief, and gave those below my blessing.

When dining one evening with Sir B. D'Urban at Ayton's Hotel, Colonel O'Reilly came in announcing Capt. H——'s retreat from Trompeter's Drift with the loss of several men, wagons, &c. Colonel Smith was much excited and would not believe it possible. He was very angry, but afterwards, I believe, acknowledged the position to have been quite untenable, and that nothing but retreat had saved the party from annihilation.

Accounts continued to be received of houses burnt and cattle carried off by the enemy, when it was decided to send in a force to get in the rear of the invading Kafirs; this was done under command of Major Cox, and had the effect of causing the Kafirs to retreat with the cattle they had taken from the unfortunate border farmers.

A general move towards Kafirland, under Sir Benjamin D'Urban and Colonel Smith, Chief of the Staff, soon followed, and the following account is extracted from my diary:—

1835, Saturday, March 21.—Left Graham's Town with Colonel Smith's escort to join the camp at Fort Wiltshire. Bivouacked at Double Drift. Nothing occurred this day except our having observed the spoor of a very large lion near Botha's Hill, traced all the way to within a very short distance of Fort Brown.

March 22.—At break of day had a cup of coffee and proceeded to the camp, where a pleasing and, to me, a novel sight presented itself. Here nearly 1,600 men, with Commissariat and Ordnance train, were assembled, and the different occupations of camp life were going on with much activity. I found a comfortable tent pitched for Lieut. Arthur Balfour of the 72nd Regt. (A.D.C.), Colonel Smith and myself, and after the business of the day enjoyed an excellent dinner in the Colonel's tent. Could not help thinking if this is campaigning it is very

jolly, but who shall say how long this state of things shall last?

March 23.—At daylight this morning turned out at sound of “rouse” and accompanied the Colonel to observe the line of march of the 72nd Highlanders and the 2nd Battalion of the Provisional Infantry (Hottentots), ordered to march four hours every morning. The appearance novel and pleasing, and the country beautiful, affording a fine view of the Chumie and Amatola Mountains, where some smoke was seen in different directions denoting the presence of the enemy.

Colonel Smith, with an escort of eleven men, proceeded to Block Drift. On his return he reported having patrolled for a considerable distance in the direction of the Chumie and the Lovedale Missionary Institution, both of which had been burnt. While in the neighbourhood of the latter a Kafir armed with assegais was observed and immediate chase given. He took to the walls of the Mission House. Offers were made through an interpreter to induce him to give himself up, but these he rejected, and flung an assegai at one of the party, which narrowly missed him and stuck in his saddle. The Kafir then fell a victim to his obstinacy, being shot through the forehead by Field-cornet Greyling. The report of the gun having been heard by the enemy, the mountains were immediately covered with fire signals and smoke in various directions, this being the way in which Kafirs indicate the approach of an enemy. They, however, made no attack on Colonel Smith's small party. Passed a pleasant evening; the Colonel had to dinner the noble old Dutch Commandant of the Swellendam Burghers (Linde) and his son, Major Bagot and Captain Jarvis. The dinner was excellent, the evening cool, but mid-day had been insufferably hot.

March 24.—At the usual sound of the “rouse,” arose and accompanied Colonel Smith to the camp of the Dutch Burghers; found them mounted and presenting a formidable array two deep in line. Marched them out and endeavoured to put them through some trifling cavalry movements, which a few teachings would soon make them perfect in, such as riding by *threes*. They looked well in line, but though the men were willing enough to ride by threes their horses did not understand it. I had, on behalf

of the Colonel, *to do a little* swearing in Dutch. One of the Burghers, willing enough to obey the Colonel's orders, after many fruitless efforts addressed his neighbour, saying : "Neef Jacob, slaat toch mijn paard als het u belieft, de Colonel is te danig kwaai," which means in English, "Cousin Jacob, whip my horse if you please, the Colonel is very angry." The best spirit, however, prevails among the Dutch Burghers, and all learnt before the war was over to like the Colonel, who did his best to look after their comfort in the field.

March 25.—About the middle of the night was disturbed by the discharge of four or five guns among the pickets, and on inquiry found that five Kafirs had returned within a few yards of the camp and had been challenged by the sentries. They ran off, but the commotion caused by this trifling alarm in the camp gave some idea of what a night attack would cause.

March 26.—By break of day all were in commotion, and the camp, by about seven o'clock a.m. was removed to a better locality about two miles from the old camp. The axe in many hands was employed to cut down branches of trees to construct huts for the good Sir Benjamin D'Urban and the Chief of the Staff. The bower for the latter was constructed under my special superintendence, and soon afforded an agreeable shade from the hot sun, and the tents were pitched near to it. The day was passed in making all snug and comfortable, and a hot day was concluded with its usual accompaniments, a heavy thunderstorm and rain. Managed, however, to keep tolerably dry, and enjoyed an excellent dinner, Colonel Smith's A.D.C., Arthur Balfour, being an excellent caterer ; had as guests to dinner Capt. Halifax, 75th Regt., and Dr. Ford ; pitied many poor fellows in camp who could not fare so well at myself.

26.—Turned out considerably before daylight, had coffee and wrote some "officials." The chief started before four o'clock a.m. with a strong patrol. Closed a large mail and dispatched it to Capt. Van der Riet to be forwarded to Hermanns Kraal. I may here observe I had to receive all mails from other divisions of the forces in the field, our division being head-quarters, and that I, as Postmaster-General, had, as such, no easy task when connected with my other duties.

Colonel Smith's patrol, consisting of 400 men, surprised several kraals of Kafirs, took about 1,000 head of cattle and killed two Kafirs. One Burgher named Potgieter got a prick from an assagai in the hind quarter from a Kafir who had thrown himself into an inequality of the ground to escape pursuit.

31.—About three o'clock a.m. began to prepare for a march, and nearly at daylight moved off from our camp in the following order :—Commandant Linde's Burgher Force, nearly four hundred strong, seventy Cape Corps, Governor and Chief of the Staff with their escorts, 72nd Highlanders, Major Bagot's first Hottentot Battalion, Commissariat, Ordnance and Burgher Force, wagons, the rear guard being one hundred mounted Burghers under Field-Commandant Dreyer. The line of march when most compact occupied more than five miles. Passed Ford Wiltshire, where I was obliged to leave my best horse, dead. Some crossed the river at a deep and difficult drift, but the whole wagon train, troops, &c., fortunately passed through without accident. Bivouacked about three miles beyond the drift in a beautiful country, which exhibited evident signs of having been thickly populated by Kafirs. Numerous Kafir gardens were seen in every direction. After breakfast advanced about four miles, the march during the day being ten miles. Encamped for the night in a Kafir garden or corn-field, found the body of a Kafir supposed to have died from a wound plugged with grass. The night passed without any alarm, but the following morning observed the spoor of Kafirs on the road who were no doubt spies.

April 1.—Marched through a beautiful country and came to a hill affording a fine view of the T'Slambie's Kop, Gaika's Kop, and the wooded kloofs of the Amatola Mountains; observed the smoke of Kafir fires under T'Slambie's Kop; encamped for the night on the Debe Flats, near beautiful water; had a delightful bathe, but while enjoying it, it was reported that a large body of Kafirs was approaching; dressed rather hastily, and found it was a false alarm, and that it was Colonel Somerset's second division, which encamped two miles distant from ours. The night passed quietly.

April 2.—At midnight our head-quarter division moved on with Artillery, leaving wagon train in charge of Captain

Bailie, to the lower range of the Amatolas to the right of the T'Slambie Kop. The second division, under Colonel Somerset, moved to the extreme point of the range towards the Buffalo, whilst the third division, under Major Cox, advanced from the Chumie side to form a junction near the Keiskauma River. On reaching the top of the mountain, Kafir dogs were heard barking in the bush, and we could hear Kafir men talking, but the march through numerous kloofs and dense bush was performed without any Kafirs appearing until we entered the defile leading down to and facing the Keiskamma, when some cattle were seen and immediately pursued and taken without any resistance. In these defiles numerous spoors of cattle and some of Kafirs were observed, all going towards the Buffalo. Some cannon and musketry firing were heard on our left in the direction of Major Cox's division. On approaching the fords of the Keiskamma the Kafirs fired several shots, which were returned by those in charge of the captured cattle, but without any damage to either side. Crossed the river and met Capt. Wade with some of Linde's Burghers and one company of Major Bagot's Battalion; they had taken some cattle and shot one Kafir. They had discovered some caves in the mountain, which contained some hair-bottomed chairs, some saddles and caps, and part of dresses of Kafirs; they captured fifteen horses. After a halt of half an hour proceeded to Burnshill Mission Station, where we fell in with the 2nd Hottentot Battalion under Major Stockenstrom (part of Major Cox's division), who had, however, done nothing against the enemy. Reported the firing we had heard to have been for the purpose of getting some cattle out of the bush which Field-Commandant Linde (son of the old Commandant Linde) had taken.

Found the Missionary buildings still standing untouched. Soon after leaving Burnshill it became dark, and the Governor's escort, with that of the Chief of the Staff, forming the rear guard, it may be said, observed on the top of the mountain we were ascending a rapid fire of musketry. All prepared to meet a repetition of this, but on approaching the spot found the firing to have proceeded from a party of Dutch Burghers, who on a false alarm had fired to their front in the direction in which the Corps of

Guides were driving some captured cattle. A poor young man named Lloyd received a bullet through his back and through the lungs, from the effects of which he died some days afterwards.

Reached the camp in safety, having been on horseback with very little intermission, for twenty-two hours, the result of the day's work being the capture of 1,200 head of cattle, fifteen horses, five or six of the enemy killed, and the destruction of most of the kraals through which we passed by fire at night showing a lurid glare in every direction.

April 5.—In the evening the Chief of the Staff and his staff dined with His Excellency the Governor ; O. S. Dutton, his A.D.C., was not so good a caterer as ours.

April 6.—Mr. Rennie and thirty-five Burghers arrived from Van Wyk's Camp, now at Keiskamma Hoek. The party were attacked at one of the fords and the Commandant himself had a narrow escape, receiving a wound in the head from an assegai which was pulled out by Christian Muller, who stabbed the Kafir who threw it with his own weapon and killed him on the spot.

Several Kafirs and two Hottentots in arms against us were shot in the skirmish ; our party had one Hottentot shot, and two horses ran off with saddles and bridles. Orders given for the camp to be removed towards the Buffalo ; to-morrow at day-break a general advance of the army.

Monday April, 7.—At daylight the first and second divisions marched. A Kafir was shot by a Hottentot sentry at night, who observed an object crouching and silently approaching him ; he quietly continued on his beat, keeping his eye on the moving object ; when near enough to make sure of his aim he fired, reloaded, and kept on his beat until relieved by the guard, when he pointed to the object, which was found to be a stalwart Kafir with riems evidently intended to secure horses which he came to the camp to steal ; the body was found within a few yards of the Governor's tent.

April 8.—Our line of march to-day marked by burning Kafir kraals on every side, our route being on the Commetjes Flats near the Amatola Mountain range stretching towards the Buffalo. Bivouacked at the Missionary

Station of Mr. Ross, which had been completely destroyed by the Kafirs.

The second division separated from the first, and under Colonel Somerset, verged to the right, the first division proceeding to the Buffalo Poorts opposite to which our camp was formed. In the evening Capt. Wade having proceeded in advance of the camp in quest of the situation of Commandant Van Wyk's camp, reported having seen many Kafirs who attempted to cut off his passage. Colonel Smith gave directions for a patrol, consisting of his escort, the Corps of Guides, three companies of the 2nd Hottentot Battalion, one company of the 72nd Highlanders, and some of the Burghers, to march at three o'clock a.m. About seven o'clock a.m. heard heavy musketry firing in the direction of the advance on the face of a wooded mountain opposite to our camp. The firing continued to increase. In less than two hours five of the 72nd arrived in camp, each having received slight assegai wounds; report them to have been received in attempting to dislodge the enemy from a strong rocky position, since known as Murray's Kraus, very much like a castle with a narrow entrance. Soon after another of the 72nd was brought in badly wounded in the shoulder blade, penetrating the lung. Capt. Murray, 72nd Highlanders, came in wounded in the side, his cap had been pierced three times with assegais. The Grenadier Company of the 72nd and 4th Company of the 1st Battalion of the Hottentot Infantry were sent as reinforcements. About three o'clock p.m., the Kafir cattle began to rush from the wooded kloofs of the Amatolas in different bodies until dusk, when about 4,000 head were driven into camp. No one, who has not heard it, can conceive the bellowing of such an excited herd. The rebel Hottentot, Stoffel Arnoldus, was captured in the castle by some of Major Bagot's battalion, the stock of his gun, carrying half-pound balls, had been smashed by a shot. On our side only one man was killed, a sergeant of the 1st Hottentot Battalion, one officer (Capt. Murray), and six men of the 72nd wounded in these operations.

The rock high up on the wooded mountain was like a natural castle with one narrow entrance where the 72nd were wounded. It was valiantly defended by the Kafirs, who,

besides throwing assegais, rolled down large rocks on their assailants. The reinforcements, by making a detour, got above the rock, compelling the Kafirs to rapidly vacate it. Forty of the enemy were killed and many wounded. Many Kafir women gave themselves up, coming into camp in great numbers with much confidence; they were well fed and had tents provided for them. Many of the Kafirs during the fight at the Krans were observed to be making a rapid retreat to the opposite bush. The Kafirs engaged this day were Isushane's (Dushanie's son) and those of the old chief Eno.

In the evening Dr. Ford, 72nd Regiment, who had been out to examine Commandant Van Wyk's wound, returned to the camp with Mr. Rennie, escorted by eighty-five of Van Wyk's Burghers, and reported having been attacked in a narrow pass by Kafirs, several of whom they killed.

April 8.—Much writing preparatory to proposed attack to-morrow, the first division to attack the gorge of the Buffalo Mountain to the eastward, while the third division, under Major Cox, advanced by the north-west down the deep ravines about the source of the Buffalo River, the escorts of the Governor and Chief of the Staff and Corps of Guides, with a detachment of 72nd Highlanders and two six-pounder guns, occupying the open ground on the plains below, while Ensign Granet, of the Cape Rifles, with a detachment, was stationed on the extreme left. The affair commenced by throwing several shells into the thickly-wooded ravines. About ten o'clock a.m., Major Cox's division fired two shots from the three-pounders, which showed the position of his force to be on the mountain ready to descend into the ravines, into which he caused several shells to be fired. More firing heard to the right of Major Cox's position, being from a party of the first division. Soon after brisk firing heard from the ravine up which Ensign Granet had advanced. While these operations were going on two Hottentots came over from the enemy, delivering up their arms and bringing several Hottentots with them. About five o'clock p.m. returned to camp and learnt that Ensign Granet's party had killed four Kafirs, among whom was the Chief Zouto, and had captured three hundred head of cattle which he had been obliged to drive over a precipice, by which act nearly two-



hundred had been killed. Major Cox did not join our camp. Major Maclean, with second company of the 72nd Regiment, returned to camp. Firing heard during the night in the direction of Commandant Van Wyk's camp, and several shots were fired by sentries of that division.

April 10.—Order issued for the advance of the first and second divisions towards the Kei, the latter by a route towards the sea, the former by the great road into Kafirland or the Transkei; the third division to remain at the camp on the Buffalo, with a view to harass the enemy among his fastnesses in that neighbourhood; whilst the fourth division, under Commandant Van Wyk, proceeded to the Chumie for the same purpose.

Saturday April, 11.—Broke up the camp and marched as far as the Yellowwood trees, near to where we entered the great Kafirland road to the Kei.

Sunday, April 12.—Marched in the morning to the Gouubie, a wretched camp, very stony and water very scarce. Breakfasted here and proceeded to a valley about five miles beyond and encamped for the night. Very little shelter, and the tents hardly pitched before a severe thunderstorm commenced and heavy rain continued the greatest part of the night. Had to walk through long wet grass to dine with the Governor and his staff.

April 13.—Morning. Still raining, march delayed until nine o'clock on the morning of the 14th. Encamped for the night near a kraal belonging to Hintza's great captain and brother, *Boko*. Caught a Fingo in a garden, and heard from him that Boko with his men were on the other side of the Kei (distant about eleven miles) with a portion of the cattle stolen by the Gaikas from the Colony, which it was said Hintza intended to return. Several nice fat fowls were caught at this kraal, which served to improve our camp diet, and we obtained a good supply of Indian corn and pumpkins. Orders issued for a march to the Kei.

April 15.—Commenced the march towards the Kei. Col. Smith and escort, the Corps of Guides, and fifty of the Hottentot Legion under Capt. Wade, formed the advance party. The approaches to the river on both sides and the country on each bank is a succession of deep ravines and high rocky table-lands. On arriving at the Kei River observed various groups of armed Kafirs on every

head of the high land on the opposite side of the river. One of Iintza's Kafirs hailed us with the question "What river is this, what do you come here for?" Col. Smith on horseback stood midway in the river and, said through an interpreter, that as regarded Iintza, north-east of the Kei, it would be peace provided he (Iintza) came into camp to see the Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban. It was promised he should come, but I may here remark he never meant to come until driven into the camp by the active proceedings of the Chief of the Staff, who, with a flying column of between 300 and 400 mounted men, hunted him out of the T'Somo Mountain until he found Sir Benjamin's camp the safest place he could occupy with some forty followers, armed with assegais, and his great councillor Umtini, who was Iintza's Minister, without whose advice Iintza never spoke.

The Governor and the whole of the head-quarter division having crossed the Kei and formed a camp, messengers were sent to Iintza to say it would be peace on the east of the Kei if he would come into camp and meet Sir Benjamin D'Urban. He sent word to say he would come, but did not do so, and no doubt his people were employed in driving the cattle taken from the Colony by the Gaikas and sent across the Kei towards the Bashee River, and it became evident that Iintza never intended to come into the Governor's camp until forced to do so, although parties of Kafirs were stationed far apart in the kloofs intervening. The news of peace was soon known to all, and from a state of great alarm the Kafirs became perfectly confident and mixed unarmed with the force in the camp.

It was at this stage of affairs that a high medical officer conceived the idea of "astonishing the natives." Lucifer matches were in those days almost a new idea, drawn through a piece of sandpaper to ignite them. Seeing a few Kafirs in the neighbourhood he motioned to them to approach, which they did. Taking out a box of lucifers from his pocket he said "Kom hier zo," and sitting on the grass placed the open match box between his legs, when on the part of the Kafirs all was attention. The medico pulled the match through the sandpaper, it exploded, but unfortunately a spark fell into the match-box which also exploded, singeing his whiskers and eyebrows and half

suffocating the exploder, who looking up saw an expression of wonder and surprise in the faces of those he had intended to astonish, and he heard something which sounded like *maa wough*. An attempt by Sir Harry Smith, in 1851, to astonish the natives by blowing up a wagon at a great distance by means of a galvanic battery also proved a somewhat signal failure.

The Chief of the Staff was barely on the ground and tents pitched, when rain came down in torrents and we experienced a heavy thunderstorm. About eleven o'clock p.m. several shots were fired by Capt. Warden's Kat River party.

April 16.—Capt. Warden reported this morning the shots to have been fired by his party in consequence of their having observed several oxen driven past their post by the Kafirs, which they abandoned. This attempt to make off with the cattle is exactly in character of the race, who will rob you with the left hand while offering the right in amity. Kafirs told they would be inevitably hot if such attempts were made again. Messengers sent o Iintza to hasten his appearance in camp.

April 17th.—The march commenced at seven o'clock a.m. towards the Gona Mission station at Butterworth. Reached the station about three p.m., found the once neat Mission house not burnt, but completely ransacked, the windows and doors broken.

Numerous bodies of the Fingo tribe came into camp, and we learn from them that they entertain great fears about their safety among Iintza's tribe (the Galekas), by whom they had been held in a state of bondage for some time.

Joined by the T'Slambie Chief Pato and some of his followers, whose object seems to be to get a share in the captured cattle.

April 18.—This day received a deputation from Iintza, bringing an ox as a token of amity with the Colouy. Some oxen and horses brought into camp by Kafirs, said by them to have been taken from some of the T'Slambies.

Sunday, April 19.—Still at same camp. This morning three Hottentots who had been with the T'Slambie tribe gave themselves up, stating that they were taken in December last from Driver's wagons by the Kafirs. They

brought their firearms with them. They had left Boko (Hintza's brother) last night, who is said by them to be within a shot's distance with immense herds of cattle, chiefly colonial, and a great many sent by the chief T'Slambie in charge of two of his captains.

April 20.—This morning still at Butterworth, joined by second division under Colonel Somerset. Though considered a mounted force, mostly composed of the Cape Corps, which had delayed the advance of the invading force for its outfit for upwards of a month, twenty-one days after crossing the Keiskamma, it had when it joined head-quarter division not above ten serviceable horses, most of the men of the 2nd division arriving in camp in ox wagons.

A nephew of Hintza's repeated his visit to the camp to hear the Governor's word; told by the Governor "the word was with Hintza, and that any delay in his appearance in camp would be considered a declaration of war."

The whole of the day most inclement and cold, with constant heavy rain, which continued during the night.

April 21.—His Excellency inspected the second division at their encampment, half a mile from ours; it was in a wretched condition, and quite unfit for active service.

April 22.—Report brought in that the body of an Englishman lay murdered on the road about six miles from our camp. A party sent out which found it to be that of John Armstrong, of the Beaufort Levy, who had been sent off on the evening of the 19th with a party to convey the mails to Fort Wiltshire. Armstrong had remained behind his party, and fell a victim to treachery of pretended friends. One of our Artillerymen fell during the night over a rock near the camp; concussion of the brain having occurred, he died in the course of the day.

April 23.—Capt. Warden started for Clarkbury with forty of the Kat River Legion, ten of Major's Lowen's Corps, and fifty Fingoes, for the purpose of bringing away the Missionaries Ayliff, Palmer, Davis and Satchell, with the traders belonging to the Station. The fifty Fingoes came into camp singing their war song, armed with shields and assegais. Two natives, reporting themselves to be messengers from Boko, came into camp, but, being considered spies, were placed under guard; one of them, a

bastard Bushman, known as a great horse thief, was secured by a rein round his neck, and I believe received some castigation with a stirrup leather and was turned out of camp.

The remains of the Bombardier and of John Armstrong were buried to-day, the service being read by Mr. Chas. Bailie.

April 24.—Marched from Butterworth towards the T'Somo, about two hours' march from Butterworth. The Chief of the Staff, with about 300 mounted men, took a direction to the right of the column of march of the head-quarter division and passed the Komka River. Soon after observed several troops of cattle driven rapidly off; dispersed into several parties, pursued them, and after a hard chase succeeded in capturing nearly 4,000 head, the greater part of which were taken by the Chief of Staff himself, a trumpeter, and five men with him, although a considerable number of Kafirs were about them. On this occasion Lieut. Balfour, A.D.C., captured an uncle of the Chief Maquay, a brother of Sekoko. About twenty Kafirs were shot.

Bivonacked near a Kafir kraal surrounding the captured cattle, and about three o'clock a.m. started with about fifty men, Commandant Nel going in an opposite direction with nearly the same force. Just at daybreak ascended the Komka Mountain and came suddenly on a large number of Kafirs who fled, but the country being open they were soon overtaken and several shot; descended the mountain and breakfasted at a Kafir kraal from whence we observed a fire made as a signal to show the route of the army. Found the result of our operations last night and this morning to have been the capture of between 4,000 and 5,000 head of cattle, several horses, twenty Kafirs killed and some wounded, and the uncle of Maquay prisoner. Returned to head-quarter camp about four o'clock p.m.

April 26.—Before daylight Colonel Smith with two companies of Provisional Battalions, two companies of the 2nd Highlanders and about forty mounted men left the camp for an expedition to the T'Somo.

April 27.—Still at the same camp on the Izolo, where we are waiting Colonel Smith's expected return this afternoon.

The Governor and small escort rode out to reconnoitre the country, and brought in about 600 head of cattle. Upwards of 5,000 head sent in by Colonel Smith; the party bringing in the cattle report that one corporal of the Provisional Battalion was killed while employed in taking a portion of them. The noise at night from these captured cattle was something tremendous.

Received mail from Fort Wiltshire; report received from Major Cox of his having attacked the people of Macomo and T'Yalie, taken 200 head of cattle and killed several Kafirs.

Deputation from Hintza arrived this afternoon of four mounted Kafirs, who report Hintza's intention to visit the camp the following afternoon.

April 28.—The captured cattle sent to Butterworth under escort of Field-cornets Nel and Greyling.

In consequence of the four messengers who arrived at the camp yesterday having been detained, three other mounted and armed men arrived stating that Hintza would not come into camp until he had a message from the Governor to do so. These messengers said Hintza sent to know "Why Hintza must die." They were sent back with assurance of safety to Hintza, and we accordingly expect his sable majesty to-morrow.

April 29.—This morning Colonel Smith returned, and was shortly after followed by his party bringing in the remainder of the captured cattle, among which were many hundreds of colonial cattle taken from the Chief Jalausie.

At about 5 o'clock p.m. it was announced that Hintza himself was approaching the camp, where he and his son Kreli shortly after arrived with his escort or body guard of about thirty men, mounted and armed with assegais. On the Chief's approach His Excellency the Governor advanced a short distance and offered his hand, and, Hintza being conducted to a seat near the Governor's tent, His Excellency, surrounded by his staff, read to him, through an interpreter, the grounds upon which the Colonial Government claimed redress, and the terms upon which alone peace would be re-established, to all of which he listened with deep attention and made several important admissions; but endeavoured much to attribute most of the faults complained of to his want of power

amongst the chiefs, and he said that he would have sooner come into camp to see the Governor but was dissuaded from doing so by his councillors, who told him we should certainly kill him.\* He showed no appearance of fear. His carriage and address are dignified. Even during the whole of the trying scene in which, as before stated, his offences were enumerated, he maintained his composure wonderfully in the midst of those he looked upon as enemies.

In the evening his sable majesty and his son Kreli "dined" in the tent of the chief of the staff, and notwithstanding the weight of state affairs ate of several dishes with much relish and good appetite. He showed (much to the disgust of our A.D.C.) a particular partiality for the potatoes out of an Irish stew, and for coffee.

April 30.—This morning soon after daylight the whole camp turned out under arms, the staff and officers formed round His Excellency the Governor, and Hintza thought fit to subscribe to the terms laid down, which are that he should restore in five days 25,000 *head of cattle* and 500 *horses*; also 300 head of cattle to the widow of Purcell, the Kafir trader, who was murdered by the Kafirs; and the like number to the widow of John Armstrong; and further, in twelve months, to pay to the Colony 25,000 *head of cattle* and 500 *horses*. Peace was then proclaimed between the great Chief Hintza and Great Britain, and the cannon fired to the great surprise of Hintza and his suite.

In the course of the day a great quantity of brass wires, duffels, beads, knives, and saddles and bridles, and a splendid garment of red plush, ornamented with numerous beads, were handed to Hintza. He seemed greatly delighted and lost in wonder at their magnificence and value in his estimation.

This evening Hintza and his son Kreli dined as usual in our tent, and by way of dessert we were doomed for their

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\* History is said to repeat itself. In 1677, Kreli uses the same excuse made by his father in 1835 of inability to control his chiefs, and the same cause of the war was found to exist in the inveterate hatred of the Galekas towards the Fingoes tribe. Hintza would not come to see Sir F. D'Urban. Kreli would not meet Sir Bartle Frere, because his council dissuaded him.

entertainment and to our great discomfort to the alternate harmony (?) of the Scotch pipes of the 2nd Highlanders and the shrill trumpet.

By the active and incessant labour of Col. Smith and the force placed under his command from the 24th to the 29th, the following results have been produced. There can be no doubt that Hintza coming into the Governor's camp was hastened by Col. Smith's active operations in the T'Somo Mountains, where, on one occasion, he came on the flesh pots of the Chief smoking on the fires, and took a Kafir lady's head-dress, made of bluebuck skins, highly ornamented with white and blue beads. This was said to have been the head-dress of Hintza's great wife. It is now, or was some time ago, in possession of a cousin of mine in London, to whom I sent it. Besides the effect on Hintza's mind as to Col. Smith's active measures in hunting him up, there was the capture of nearly 20,000 head of cattle, several of the enemy killed, and the chief fully convinced of the superiority of the British arms, as evinced by his coming to terms to restore a large number of cattle and horses—which, to a people whose wealth consists in their herds, must be a sacrifice hard indeed. After events proved that Hintza did not intend to make the sacrifice, and that all his promises were insincere and untruthful. His duplicity justly cost him his life.

May 1.—Still at the same camp on the Izelo, and preparations made for a march to-morrow.

May 2.—We set our faces towards home, and on the way were met by the Chief Boko (Hintza's brother) and a party of his followers mounted and armed. The meeting between Boko and Hintza was very cool. Both proceeded with us to our new camp in the Debakazi. I would here mention an incident which occurred at our camp on the Debakazi. It was reported that the Galeka Kafirs had killed some Fingoes not far from our camp. Hintza and his brother Boko were immediately summoned to meet the Governor, who, through an interpreter, told them what had occurred. The reply of Hintza was "Well, may I not do with them as I like? Are they not my dogs?" The Governor, almost livid with anger, replied:—"You may do what you like; but for every Fingoe killed after this notice to you to stop the killing of Fingoes, I will, for every Fingoe killed, hang



two Kafirs, and you and your brother Boko shall be the two first"; and it is needless to say that after this expression of His Excellency's intentions it was some time at least before we heard of any more Fingoes being slaughtered. It is intended that we shall remain at this camp to receive the 25,000 head of cattle and 500 horses to be produced, according to treaty, in five days (don't we wish we may get them). I don't believe we shall get any beyond those we may capture when Hintza's promises are proved false.

This evening, the military guard being placed over Hintza and Boko, their men, nearly 120, began to handle their assegais, but the chief of the staff ordering the picket to wheel short round upon them, they quickly cried out they would give up their assegais; and, to avoid a recurrence of such a menacing attitude, they were deprived of their weapons, and a strong guard placed over the Royal family precluded any attempt at a rescue or any chance of escape of our valuable guests.

May 4.—During last night the camp was visited by a most terrific thunderstorm and heavy rain, which continued nearly all night. Despatched the mail and, under some escort, sent two messengers from Hintza to Macomo and Tyalie's people with offers from the Governor that their lives shall be spared and their *own* cattle returned if they come into any of the divisions and deliver up their arms, and requiring the unconditional surrender of the Chiefs themselves. It is almost needless to say none of these conditions were complied with. From the 4th to the 8th we remained at the camp at the Debakasio experiencing much rainy weather. Nothing occurred worth mentioning except the arrival of the missionaries and traders from Clarkbury.

May 9.—This morning we moved towards the Kei, preceded by the second division and accompanied by an immediate train of the Fingoe tribe, men carrying kerries and assegais, the women huge loads of domestic goods and children, and large herds of cattle of which no doubt they had spoiled their late taskmasters (the Galekas) as the Israelites did the Egyptians of old.

On the march, as the Governor's staff was proceeding along the road, a little black object was seen clinging to

something white. It proved to be a little naked Fingoe child holding on to the neck of a young white goat. Sir James Alexander, one of Sir Benjamin's A.D.C., took up the little one on his horse and carried it for some distance, when he handed it over to a stalwart 72nd Highlander, who took good care of it until it was subsequently claimed by its mother, who, in her flight before the Kafirs had been obliged to abandon it to save her own life.

May 10.—This morning the camp was put under arms, and, Sir Benjamin having caused Col. Smith to read a declaration of the aggressions of the frontier Kafirs, in concert with the Chief Hintza, whose breach of faith in respect to the restoration of the cattle and horses he strongly dwelt upon, he proclaimed the right bank of the Kei to be the future boundary of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, which was followed by a royal salute from the Artillery and three British cheers. The whole proceeding was then fully explained to Hintza, Boko, and their followers, and preparations were made for an expedition under Col. Smith towards the mouth of the Bashee Kiver. Hintza, his son Kreli, his Councillor Umteni, and several of their followers were to accompany it, and were to be considered as hostages for the due fulfilment of the treaty for the restoration of cattle and horses, which Hintza stated could only be recovered from his people by an armed force.

At 10 o'clock, a.m., the force selected for the expedition to the Bashee assembled, consisting of fifty Mounted Rifles and Kat River Levies, under Captain Ross; fifteen of the best mounted of the Corps of Guides under George Southey; the Chief of the Staff and escort; two companies of the 2nd Highlanders under Captain Murray; three companies of Provisional Battalion under Captain Crause; one wagon and pack bullocks conveying ten days' supplies of provision and ammunition, we once more turned our faces towards Hintza's territory.

May 10.—Col. Smith's expedition marched, by the old road, to within four miles of Butterworth, and experienced a heavy thunderstorm and rain during the night. Marched this day twenty-one miles.

May 11, seven o'clock, a.m.—Marched and breakfasted about five miles beyond the Missionary Station of Butterworth, passed the wooded hill called "Gwadana," and

bivouacked among some Kafir huts to the eastward of it, our march being twenty-two miles from our last night's halt.

May 12, two o'clock a.m.—Marched and at ten o'clock a.m. came upon the spoor of a large herd of cattle on the Gwadana, halted for two hours and leaving Mr. Fynn in charge of the wagons and commissariat with a guard of seventy men, being those most knocked up, we pursued the track of the cattle towards the mountainous country near the course of the Bashee, the mountains here being most precipitous, intersected with numerous ravines of enormous depth. Some time after leaving Fynn's camp, Hintza's Councillor, Umteni, under pretence of taking a message from the chief to his people, who were flying before us with their herds, obtained permission to leave, Col. Smith assuring him at the same time that if he did not return to the camp that evening, Hintza would be shot; he promised to return, but a lurking smile betrayed the joy with which he parted from us. He was afterwards observed on a mountain top on foot with his horse in hand watching our movements.

May 13.—Notwithstanding our heavy night march and the great heat of the day we continued to climb mountains and to descend into valleys until we crossed the river Shikiover (nearly ten miles from the nearest point of the Bashee). Before we arrived at this spot it had been observed, especially by Mr. George Southey, and also by some of the Corps of Guides, that Hintza and his two remaining followers had carefully saved their horses, leading them up all the steep ascents. After crossing the river all the troops and mounted men went up a steep mountain side, leaving Hintza armed with a bundle of assegais with George Southey and myself. Hintza pretended to be girthing up his blanket on his horse; he never rode on a saddle. George Southey here said: "Andrews, take your gun out of the bucket, this old rascal intends to escape, he and his followers have been saving their horses." I did take my gun out of the bucket and looked to the priming (we had flint guns in those days.) Hintza cast his eyes furtively at Southey and myself, but seeing that we were prepared he possibly determined to watch some more favourable opportunity, and continued his course on foot

leading his horse up the mountain side, following Col. Smith and the troops, who were all in advance. Southey and myself still guarded him, but about half way up the mountain side Hintza made a sign for me to hold his assegais while he mounted, which I did, but kept my gun in rest. He immediately pressed forward, passed most of the troops and at the top of the mountain got alongside of Col. Smith. A spur of the mountain not very steep went off on the right, the river we had passed turned round the foot of this spur and had a belt of willow and other trees on its banks. Hintza had not ridden long near Col. Smith when some one cried "Hintza's off." He had got some thirty yards down the spur when Col. Smith pulled a pistol from his holster and pointed it at Hintza, who immediately pulled up and looked so innocent that he returned the pistol to its place. However, it was not long before there was another cry "Hintza is off," and this time he had got a longer start, some fifty yards, making his way as fast as he could urge his horse down the spur towards the river. Col. Smith, mounted on the only horse that could overtake Hintza, pursued him, and again drawing out a pistol snapped it, but it would not go off, and Col. Smith threw it at the chief, but missed him; the second pistol also snapped, but was thrown with better aim than the first, hitting Hintza on the head, but the royal caput was too thick to suffer much, and he continued his downward course towards the river. Then the chief of the staff, quite unarmed, determined to *run him in*, although Hintza still retained his assegais. Col. Smith did run him in, and seizing him by the kaross where it meets at the throat he unhorsed him, Hintza falling heavily among the legs of the Colonel's horse, which fortunately bolted with the Colonel, for Hintza nimbly gathered himself, and drawing an assegai hurled it after Col. Smith, but it fortunately fell short. Meanwhile Hintza's horse had run away, and during the above occurrences George Southey had arrived within hail of Hintza, still making his way on foot towards the river. Southey in the Kafir language cried out to Hintza that if he would give himself up his life should be saved, but he still continued his course, when Southey fired his first shot and hit him in the fleshy part of the leg.

This did not appear to impede his progress, and after a second warning in Kafir Southey fired a second shot which wounded him in the left side; he fell for a moment, but gathering himself up he succeeded in getting into the belt of bush bordering the river, where, with some reason, it was thought there might be an ambuscade to assist in the chief's escape. George Southey, however, reloaded, and went into the bush on the river bank. While these movements were taking place several of our mounted men arrived near the river, Lieuts. Balfour and Oliver, Bisset, Driver, Sergt. Japps, Cape Rifles, &c. I watched from a slight elevation above the river to see if Hintza would go through and try to escape on the other side, and while in this position Col. Smith, having recovered command of his runaway horse, came up to me in a very excited state, saying "the old rascal," meaning Hintza, would escape, but he had hardly said so before we heard a shot and saw the smoke from it rise out of the bush, and immediately after George Southey stood on the river bank waving his hat, and we then felt sure that Hintza's race was run. There can be no doubt he richly deserved his fate; trusted to a great extent far more than he deserved, treated with the utmost kindness by Col. Smith, fed at his table, he was false from beginning to his miserable end. Southey on entering the bush saw Hintza standing up to to his knees in the river with assegai poised to throw at him. He had only time to bring his gun round and fire, the ball penetrated Hintza's head and instant death took place. The chief's body was removed and placed in a Kafir hut in the neighbourhood. There is no doubt Hintza never meant us to collect any cattle, and he led us into the strongest fastnesses of his country evidently intending the destruction of our comparatively small force, removed as it was more than 100 miles from any supports. Of the two followers of Hintza who also attempted to escape, one succeeded, the other was shot in a kloof.

After the death of the chief, taking his son Kreli with us, we pursued the spoor of the cattle towards the Bashee. We came in sight of them before sunset, and observed vast herds being driven off in all directions on the opposite mountain range (Bomvanaland, where Kreli in 1877 has recently done the same, repeating history), while about

2,000 head were observed over the river near its banks. Our mounted men, with Lieuts. Balfour, Oliver and myself assisting, quickly succeeded in capturing those in the valley, but from the great fatigue of both horses and men it became necessary to halt until 2 o'clock, a.m., when Col. Smith, leaving Capt. Ross and about 90 of the most knocked up men in charge of the captured cattle, proceeded among the mountains and ravines eastward of the Bashee on the track of the cattle which had escaped during the previous night.

Capt. Charles Baillie and sixty of the Provisional Battalion were detached to follow the course of the Bashee towards its mouth. Owing to the state of my horse's back, I obtained leave to remain with Capt. Ross' party, and here I had for some short time charge of Kreli to prevent him from attempting to escape. Major White, who was on Col. Smith's staff, also remained at Capt. Ross' camp. We had early breakfast together behind a Kafir hut off a shank of ham. Major White proposed that I should accompany him to the top of a spur of the mountain above us, remarking that we would be sure to have an adventure, and he would fill in the map of the country we had passed through yesterday. I replied that if Col. Smith found I could ride about the country he would naturally say my place was with him, but pointing out large numbers of Kafirs on the surrounding mountains overlooking our camp I tried to dissuade him from going, at least until Col. Smith's return to our camp, when he would obtain a sufficient escort. Capt. Ross also tried hard to dissuade him, saying he could only give him an escort of a corporal and four mounted men, but the poor Major would not listen to advice, and he started with his escort, having with him a led horse with theodolite, &c. Major White had not been an hour away when I heard a shot or it might be two, and looking in the direction he and his escort had taken, I saw several Kafirs pursuing his horse (one with the theodolite on it). Collecting a few men I went with them up to the steep ascent to meet the men running towards the camp. When we got near them they said Major White and the corporal had been killed by the Kafirs, and when they had sufficiently recovered from their panic they described how the Major had stationed himself

with the corporal at the head of a small wooded ravine from whence he could see the country we had passed through the previous day. The four men he had stationed at different points to watch the approach of any Kafirs. Those who killed Major White and the corporal had crept up to the wooded ravine and afforded only the chance of the one or two shots we had heard, when with assegais and knives they fell upon the Major and corporal and quickly despatched them.

A party of ten mounted men were sent to bring the bodies into camp. They were found partially stripped of clothing, with many wounds sufficient to cause immediate death. The party succeeded in bringing down the remains of the two murdered men, and the melancholy sight will long be borne in mind by those who witnessed it. But a short hour before Major White had been in full vigour, and in the exercise of an active and highly intelligent mind, and now all that remained was an inanimate and bloody corpse.

His loss will no doubt be esteemed a public one ; he had long been foremost in all works having for their object the public good. It is very mortifying that his topographical labours during the war have fallen into the hands of his murderers, and that thus much useful information is lost. It was my melancholy duty to see Major White and the corporal interred in the best manner our situation permitted, in graves dug, under the shade of a bush, with bayonets.

Col. Smith and his force returned to the camp on the Bashce about sunset and delivered us from much anxiety, as we now felt ourselves more than a match for our savage enemy, who were very numerous and evidently meant mischief. The death of Major White was severely felt by the chief of the staff, who had conceived a very high estimate of his character and ability. Scarcely had the tents been pitched and it was getting dark when the Kafirs made an attempt to retake the captured cattle, but met with so warm a reception from the 72nd Highlanders and others of our force that they left several dead on the field, and during the night carried others and wounded away.

Capt. Baillie's detachment still remained out, and about ten o'clock p.m. heavy firing in volleys was heard in its direction. Some time afterwards all returned to our camp

safe. Capt. Baillie reported that the path of his detachment had been beset by large numbers of Kafirs, several of whom they had shot. They had also burnt many huts, but the Kafirs declared they should never reach the camp, and that they intended the following day to retake the captured cattle from us, and that we should never leave the Bashee.

The cattle we had seen the previous day had been driven too far for either Col. Smith or Capt. Baillie's to overtake them in the fatigued state of our force, the natural consequence of several forced marches, not often excelled by troops. The morning after Capt. Baillie's return to our camp on the Bashee, he asked me to show him where Major White and the corporal had been buried, which I did. With my gun in hand on one side of the graves, Capt. Baillie (the Hedley Vickars of our camp) on the other with the Bible open at the xv chapter 1st Corinthians. I shall never forget what he said over the graves, it was this : "Mr. Andrews, what I am going to read of the burial service over our friends is not so much for the dead as for the living, for how do we know how soon this may be our own fate." This was indeed prophetic as regards poor Baillie. Subsequent events, which I may as well mention here, served to impress on my mind very strongly Capt. Baillie's remark. A very few weeks afterwards he with thirty of the Hottentot Battalion were employed in hunting up Kafir cattle, and observed some in a wooded kloof which, after the fashion of the Hottentot levies, they endeavoured to drive out of the kloof by firing into the bush. Thus they fired away nearly all their ammunition, when they were set upon by an overwhelming force of Kafirs, and after a brave defence with what ammunition remained, they were killed to a man. Capt. Baillie's body was afterwards distinguished by remains of his long hair, and the bodies of many of the enemy testified as to the stout resistance Capt. Baillie's party had offered, and the spot where *Charles Baillie the Good* rests, is still known as Baillie's Grave. He was a young man of strong religious feeling, and had much influence among the men he commanded, and among the coloured people generally whom he was brought in contact with. He was a man whose memory is deserving of every respect.



May 14.—We commenced recrossing the Bashee River, which occupied much time on account of the narrowness of the path through which the whole force and the captured cattle had to pass into and through the river.

The Kafirs showed themselves on the mountain tops in front, rear and flanks in vast numbers; we notwithstanding reached the top of the steep mountain on the south side of the Bashee in perfect safety. The Kafirs continued to follow us all day in great numbers, sometimes approaching very near us in the boldest manner, but hundreds throwing themselves down and moving off on all fours like baboons, if a shot was fired among them. (In those days the Galekas hardly knew what a gun was, except its effect occasionally on themselves). During our day's march it was computed that not less than 5,000 to 6,000 of the enemy were visible on both flanks and rear. Capt. Baillie bringing up the rear of the fugitive Fingoes who covered his men with their shields, sometimes dropped down in the long grass in the line of march, and on several occasions inflicted severe loss on the enemy by causing the Fingoes to open out of the mask of their shields, and proving to the Kafirs that they had others to deal with than the Fingoes. Notwithstanding our numerous foes we succeeded in reaching the camp where Fynn had remained with the wagon. All the captured cattle were brought in and nobody hurt. The Kafirs fired only two shots at us during the day, both wide of the mark. We were here joined by about 1,000 Fingoes, men, women and children. Among them was a Queen of huge dimensions, who occupied and it may be said filled our own wagon, which was placed at her disposal; she had two splendidly formed young Fingoes as her A.D.C.'s.

While on our march Col. Smith had the Fingoe warriors formed into three parts of a square into which the Queen waddled, resting an arm on each of her A.D.C.'s for support. Col. Smith addressed the Queen through an interpreter, pointing out to her and her people the advantage of British protection, and there is no doubt they have since realized the fact.

The country becoming open and flat the Kafirs ceased to follow us in any large numbers.

May 15.—Marched to within ten miles of Butterworth

and encamped near some Kafir huts, where we found abundance of corn for our horses.

May 16.—At 7 o'clock, a.m., arrived at Purcell's old trading station and encamped for the night, having observed in the evening vast herds of cattle being driven up the Kei towards the T'Somo, but the men having marched nearly 170 miles in six days were too much fatigued to pursue them with any chance of success, although quite ready to make the attempt. Better luck and more endurance was never displayed than that of the force comprising the expedition to the Bashee under Colonel Smith in 1835.

May 17.—This day we recrossed the Kei once more, and found the head quarter camp to be stationed about eight miles on the Colonial side of Warden's Post, a post newly formed, on which is placed a Howitzer 5½ inch; it will be garrisoned by about 190 men.

The last week's campaign has been one of no ordinary character; its effects must be beneficial to the Cape Colony. By the rapidity with which Col. Smith's expedition marched from the bed of the Kei to within sight of the surf at the left bank of the Bashee mouth, and of the waters of the Umtata, and back again to the Kei, bringing with us upwards of 1,000 Fingoes, more than 1,000 head of cattle and having marched upwards of 220 miles, the Kafirs must have been convinced of our power in condign punishment, while the death of Hintza must have shown the golden rule that "honesty is the best policy," and that deceit and treachery met its just reward, even in the person of their great chief. The late Hintza's son was now prisoner in the camp. Boko, Hintza's brother, was also a prisoner; he received the news of his brother's death with the most unmoved calmness.

May 18.—Still remaining at the same camp, and have much writing in consequence of our last week's expedition. Despatched a large mail by Commandant Linde and young Otto. General Order published by Chief of the Staff, giving full account of the expedition to the Bashee, and particularly mentioning the conduct of the force and its officers during the operations.

May 22.—Marched to the yellow-wood trees and encamped for the night, having passed in the day's march a beautiful valley to be in future called "Glen Aberdeen,"

very much resembling some of the finest English park scenery.

May 23. — Marched at 7 o'clock a.m. (the morning piercingly cold) to the Missionary Station on the Buffalo, henceforth to be called *King William's Town*. Found only the walls of the Mission-house standing, which will, under the superintendence of Col. Smith, soon become a suitable residence for the Chief of the Staff.

Preparations commenced for making this place the permanent head-quarters of the army of occupation.

May 25. — This morning Capt. Beresford, A.D.C. to His Excellency the Governor, proceeded to Graham's Town, having the Chief Boko (Hintza's brother), in charge. From thence he will proceed to England, bearing Government despatches.

This day appears in General Orders permission at my own request to return home, and make preparations accordingly, though not without a divided feeling of pleasure and regret, the latter at leaving many kind and newly acquired friends, and a life, though sometimes harassing, yet full of interest and excitement.



## CHAPTER XXV.

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### WARS BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND THE AMAXOSA.

I TAKE the following third account of this war from the book of Major General Bisset, C.B., and entitled "Sport and War, or Fighting and Hunting in South Africa :"

"The Kafir war of 1834-5 broke out a day or two before Christmas. Kafir wars generally do break out about that time of the year, because the crops in British Kaffraria are then standing and advancing towards maturity ; and as the Kafirs carry no commissariat with them they are thus enabled to find food everywhere : and another reason is that the weather is then warm, the days long, and the nights short.

"I was at the time but a boy of fifteen years old ; nevertheless, as martial law was proclaimed, all civilians had to serve under arms, and I joined the Bathurst Volunteers under Cammandant Bowker. The Kafirs had already entered Lower Albany, in the Cape Colony, and a patrol was sent to warn the farmers to give assistance where they could. The patrol consisted of about twenty civilians, of which I was one. We proceeded first to the Kereiga River, and on reaching Botha's Farm we saw the Dutch mothers snatching up their children and running in all directions. This was occasioned by some native leaders and drivers of wagons having run home from the "Cowie Bush"—a distance of six or seven miles—reporting that their masters were attacked and surrounded by Kafirs. They had left the farm that morning with two ox wagons to fetch rushes for thatching, and while returning from the Cowie River were attacked by Kafirs. The native servants fled, and the three Dutchmen were surrounded and left to fight it out ; two only of them had guns. They retired, but when out of the main bush had to take 'cover' in a small round clump of bush in the open. This small bush was surrounded by the Kafirs, who were afraid to enter, but kept throwing their assegais into it. The Boers loaded and fired as rapidly as they could, and we could hear this firing

at a great distance, and raced as fast as our horses could carry us to their assistance. On our approach the Kafirs fled into the forest, and we found two of the Dutchmen in a most exhausted and deplorable condition—one had nineteen and the other twenty-three wounds ; and strange to say, the man without the gun was untouched. There was no doctor with our party, so Paddy McGrath, the farrier, had to attend to the wounded. One poor fellow had a bad spear wound in the stomach, through which a portion of the entrails were protruding, and I had to hold him while Paddy McGrath put back what was outside. It was a nasty beginning of war, and three men actually fainted from the sight. McGrath was sufficiently a doctor to know that the man alluded to could not live, for he found one of the intestines cut in two. The poor fellow died a few days afterwards, while the one with the twenty-three wounds recovered. It was impossible to follow the Kafirs into the forest, so we returned with the wounded to the farm, and escorted the whole family into Graham's Town as a place of safety."

In describing a passage of the Fish River, General Bisset relates a joke which ought not to be lost sight of. The river being swollen, it appears that a plucky little auctioneer got washed off his horse, and adopting the parlance of his tribe shouted out—"Going, going—gone by God—," and down he went ; but somebody caught him by the collar as he sunk and pulled him out.

The affair of "Murray's Krantz" is next described. "Krantz" means a precipice, and the place was named after Capt. Murray of 72nd Highlanders, who was wounded on the occasion.

To resume the text "the Kafirs were quite prepared for us, for they commenced at once to throw down great rocks and spears, &c., from the precipices above, which former had evidently been collected for the purpose. We, however, forced our way on, until we came to the bluff or acute angle of the cliff itself ; here only one man could pass at a time, and as that man came to the corner he was either shot down or assegaid. I was at this time a volunteer in the Corps of Guides, under my old friend Richard Southey, afterwards Lieut. Governor of the Diamond Fields. Driver was the particular guide on this

occasion, and was himself wounded in the nose by an assegai as he endeavoured to get round the corner. Capt. Murray, 72nd Regt. was wounded on the hip, and several men were killed and wounded. The first assegai thrown wounded a man, and passed quivering into the ground not far from where I was standing. Walter Currie and myself stepped across to withdraw this assegai, and as we drew it from the earth twenty spears entered the same spot, as it came within line of vision, from some hundreds of Kaffirs who were in mass but beyond the corner.

“Sir Harry Smith had in the meantime detached some companies of native battalions to pass round the northern extremity of the precipice, and thus outflank the Kaffirs holding the point; but before they could accomplish the distance a plucky discharged soldier from the 75th Regt., named O'Toole, had got into such a position at the point that he could fire 'round the corner' as fast as the men could hand loaded muskets to him; and it was supposed that he was doing great execution, as we could see such an amount of wooden shafts of assegais that it looked like a waving field of corn. We very soon heard the rattle of our own musketry on the other side of the body of Kaffirs, and they were taken so unawares by the outflanking party that they had very little chance of escape. Many, however, did get away by leaping and throwing themselves down the declivities of the rocks. Louis Arnoldus, a rebel Hottentot, who was in command of the Kaffirs who had held this place, himself got so jammed in the cleft of a rock that he could not extricate himself; and although his gun—a great elephant gun, four to the pound—was shot to pieces he himself was untouched, and he was taken prisoner in that helpless position. When the stronghold at the point was carried it appeared that O'Toole's zeal had been thrown away, as every ball had struck a rock in the line of fire immediately round the corner. A little further on, where our men met those coming from the north, there was a good deal of slaughter; but the greater number escaped down the precipice, many of them being no doubt killed in the descent. The number of cattle on the plateau above was something incredible. A little way to the west there was a cattle track leading down to the

Governor's Camp, and a stream of cattle came pouring down this during the whole day. No less than 22,000 head of cattle were captured on this occasion.

"During the war of 1834-5 the troops under Sir Benjamin D'Urban crossed the Kei River and carried the war into the Trauskeian territory. The head quarters of the army halted at Butterworth, but a strong force, under Sir Harry Smith, moved up the left bank of the Kei towards the source of the Tzomo River. This advance was performed with forced marches, and enabled the troops to overtake vast herds of cattle, which were thus captured from the enemy. A great many troop horses "knocked up" upon this expedition, and were shot to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. The infantry officers' horses were in like manner destroyed, and it was curious to *see officers riding* at the head of their men *on pack bullocks*, guided by a thong through the cartilage of the nose of the ox. Besides, the skin of a bullock is so loose on its body that it is difficult to keep either yourself or a saddle on its back.

"The return into camp of this large patrol took nearly all day, from the long lines of cattle that had been captured and were being driven in. The next day the paramount chief of all Kaffirland, Iintza, surrendered himself to the Governor and came into our camp, with a number of his head councillors and others. It is customary on these occasions to present the great chief with one or more head of cattle for immediate slaughter, according to the number of his retinue. On this occasion only one was presented, and the Kaffir's mode of killing it deserves to be recorded. As showing the savage nature of these men (of whom many people erroneously judge by the standard of civilised ideas) the great ox was caught and pulled to the ground, while some of the menials were preparing a fire; the front and hind feet of the animal were tied together and stretched forwards and backwards by men pulling at them, the ox being turned and kept on its back. A Kaffir wizard or doctor, as they are sometimes called, plunged his assegai into the live bullock's stomach, making the hole sufficiently large in withdrawing the blade of the spear to admit of a man's hand and arm. The fat or covering of the inside immediately protruded, and this was pulled out,



*Murray & St. Leger.*

**NOVEL CHARGERS.**

*Cape Town.*



cut off, and thrown over the blazing fire; it frizzled up and became cooked almost instantly, and was then handed to the chief, who partook of it and handed portions to his head men. Not until this ceremony took place was the process of killing the ox continued. The witch doctor then plunged his arm in the hole, and he killed the animal by dividing the heart strings and blood vessels with his hand. Such are the Kaffirs in their savage life, and I am sorry to say I must detail a still more horrible scene that took place the next day, before I proceed to relate the circumstances attending the death of Hintza.

"We had moved back towards Butterworth, and were encamped for the night, when an alarm arose that the Fingoes were attacked by the Kaffirs. Now, the Fingoes had previously been serfs of the Kaffirs, and were living in great numbers amongst them. They were originally the dispersed tribes from Natal, who had fled from the vengeance of Tshaka, and taken refuge amongst these Kaffirs; and it having become known that Sir Benjamin D'Urban intended liberating these men from bondage, the Kaffirs rose on them, and the barbarities committed were atrocious. Men and women were killed and mutilated, and the young women had their bosoms cut out. The sight of these people flying in all directions into our camp was indeed most terrible to see.

"Shortly after this Hintza, failing to have the cattle he was judged to pay over brought in, suggested that he himself would go into the heart of his country with a small patrol and bring them in.

"This arrangement was agreed to, and Sir Harry Smith was named to command the expedition. I myself was at this time (May, 1835) a volunteer in the Corps of Guides, and was appointed one of Sir Harry's body guard.

\* \* \* \* \* Hintza now became very restless. Several messengers had been sent to him the day before, and his witch doctor was seen to tie a certain charm round his neck. Hintza used to ride his own horse, a splendid dark bay half-bred English horse, presented to him a year before the war by Piet Uys, a celebrated Dutch Boer, a great hunter and breeder of superior horses. Sir Harry was leading the column, with Hintza at his side, followed by a few Cape Mounted

Riflemen and the Guides. Iintza at one point pushed past Sir Harry, who had to restrain him.

“ On reaching the top of the high table land, a grand sight met our way. As far as the eye could range we saw thousands upon thousands of cattle being driven away from us. Sir Harry had his spy-glass out, and was looking at these masses. Iintza had been edging his way to the right, when all at once there was a shout, “ Iintza has bolted ! ” And indeed he had got a start of at least fifty yards before any one saw him. Sir Harry threw down his glass, and we one and all dashed after the fugitive, but no horse but the General’s was equal to that of the chief. After about half-a-mile’s race, Sir Harry overtook Iintza, and ordered him to pull up, but instead of so doing the chief made a stab with a bundle of assegais, which he had been allowed to carry, at the General. It was lucky it was a bundle and not a single assegai, for although parried with his right arm, the points of the seven assegais penetrated his coat over the right breast and entered the skin. In self defence Sir Harry drew a pistol and again closed on the chief, directing him to pull up, when he again attempted to stab him. Sir Harry then snapped the pistol at his head. By this time we, being still behind, could see about ten thousand Kaffirs crowning the hills in all directions. Iintza was making direct for his people, and there was no time to be lost. *Sir Harry once more closed with the chief*, and this time seized him by the collar of his tiger skin robe, and slightly dividing the space between them, hurled the chief headlong to the ground. Iintza was on his feet in an instant, and drawing one of his assegais, threw it after Sir Harry ; but his horse had bolted from fright at the chief’s fall, and the assegai fell short, but under the horse’s legs. Iintza was by this time at the edge of the table land, and running down the steep face of the mountain. We coming up, Sir Harry directed us to dismount and give chase, the ground being too steep for horsemen to follow. I fired two shots at the chief, but he gained the bush at the bottom of the hill and disappeared. William Southey, Driver, Balfour, and myself were the first to arrive on the spot, and Southey and Balfour entered the bush above, and Driver and myself below where the chief had disappeared, in order to

work towards each other. Southey was the first to come upon Mintza, who was half in the water. He had an assegai drawn and poised, and was in the very act of hurling it at Southey, when he put up his gun and blew the chief's brains out. The ball had entered the forehead and completely smashed his skull. I took the assegais and the charm from around his neck, and left immediately to carry the news to Sir Harry, who, though he did not wish the chief to escape, regretted that he had been killed. I received my first commission as an officer on this day."



## CHAPTER XXVI.

### THE GREAT TREK OF BOERS FROM THE CAPE COLONY.

THE causes of this Trek have been given over and over again, and so need not be here repeated. Suffice it to say that the "Abolition of slavery"; the depreciation of paper money; the lawlessness of the Frontier-Kafirs, and the encouragement given to Hottentot servants to complain of their Boer masters, added to a naturally roving disposition, set the restless Boers at work to seek for pastures new, where each one might build in peace, the lord and master of the heathen, and be so far apart that he could not see the smoke of his neighbour's chimney.

Accordingly as early as 1834, five Boers—viz: two of the Uys family; De Lange; Maritz; and Rudolph, as stated elsewhere, were sent to spy out the richness of the land of Natal, and they returned from thence to the Cape Colony and reported favourably.\*

But it was not until 1836 that a regular move was made. The first to leave was a little band of forty-nine individuals† from the Division of Albany, under a leader named Louis Trieckard. Trieckard was a man of violent temper, and had given vent to his animosity to the Imperial Government in such blustering language that he was regarded by the Colonial authorities as capable even of joining the Kaffirs against the English. At the close of the war of 1834-5 Colonel Smith offered a reward of five hundred head of cattle for his apprehension, which led to his leaving at once.

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\* I had already collected a long account of the incidents of this Trek from the same materials used by Mr. Theal, but upon that gentleman kindly directing my attention to his valuable and carefully condensed compilation, I gladly availed myself of it.

† Louis Trieckard with wife and four children, Carel Trieckard with wife and two children, Hendrik Botha with wife and five children, J. Pretorius with wife and four children, G. Scheepers with wife and nine children, H. Strydom with wife and five children, J. Albricht with wife and five children, and a young man named Daniel Pieter.

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

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

With a view of ascertaining the distance of Delagoa Bay and the nature of the intervening country, a few months after Triechard's party also left the Zoutpansberg, though with an intention of returning and forming a permanent settlement there. Their design was frustrated by fever, which attacked them and carried off several of their number, and the tsetse fly, which destroyed nearly the whole of their cattle. In April, 1838, feeble and impoverished, they reached the Bay, where they met with most unbounded hospitality from the Portuguese authorities. There they remained for more than a year, during which time their number was constantly diminishing by fever. At length their friends, hearing where and in what condition they were, chartered the schooner *Mazeppa* to proceed to Delagoa Bay to their relief, and in July, 1839, the remnant of the party, twenty-five in number,† were landed in Natal. One young man, a son of Louis Triechard, had gone to Mozambique in a Portuguese vessel before the *Mazeppa* reached the Bay, but in the following year he managed to travel overland to his friends in Natal. Thus of the ninety-eight individuals who formed the first body

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

† Mr. H. Botha and five children, Mrs. G. Scheepers and five children, Mrs. J. Preterius and two children, three young men, and seven orphan children.

of emigrants, all had perished except the twenty-six who reached Natal in a state of destitution, and the two, still more wretched, who were living with the savages.

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

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

Commandant Potgieter directed his course northward past Thaba Nchu until he came to the Vet River. On its banks,

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

On the 24th of May a party, the second, consisting of the Commandant Hendrik Potgieter, his brother Hermanus Potgieter, Messrs. Carl Cilliers, J. G. S. Bronkhorst, R. Jansen, L. van Vuuren, A. Zwanepoel, J. Roberts, A. de Lange, D. Opperman, H. Nieuwenhuizen, and C. Liebenberg, left the Sand River for the purpose of inspecting the country to the northward as far as Delagoa Bay. For eighteen days, or until they reached Rhenoster Poort, they met no natives, but from that point they found the country thinly inhabited. On their way they visited Louis Triechar's camp at the Zoutpansberg. The distance proving greater than they anticipated when they set out, they turned back before reaching Delagoa Bay, and on the 2nd of September arrived at the spot where they had left the last emigrant encampment on their outward journey, where they found that a dreadful massacre had just taken place.

The massacre had been committed in the following manner. Mr. Stephanus P. Erasmus, a field-cornet living on the Kraai River, in the present Division of Aliwal North, had got up a party to hunt elephants in the interior and had gone some distance north of the Vaal River for that purpose. The hunting party consisted of Erasmus himself, his three sons, Mr. Pieter Bekker and his son, and Messrs. Johannes Claasen and Carl Kruger. They had

with them a number of coloured servants, five waggons, eighty oxen, and about fifty horses. They had not been very successful, and were slowly returning homewards, still hunting by the way. One morning they left the waggons and cattle as usual in charge of the servants, and forming three small parties, rode away in different directions. In the evening Erasmus and one of his sons, who were together during the day, returned to the waggons and found them surrounded by five or six hundred Matabele soldiers, being a band sent out by Moselekatse to scour the country. It was ascertained long afterwards that the other two sons of Erasmus and Carl Kruger, who formed a separate hunting party, had been surprised by the Matabele and murdered. The Bekkers and Claasen were out in another direction, and when the Matabele came upon them they were some distance from each other. The first two escaped, the last was never heard of again.

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

Another party of the Matabele had in the meantime gone further up the river and had unexpectedly fallen upon the encampment of the Liebenbergs. They murdered old Barend Liebenberg, the patriarch of the family, his sons Stephanus, Barend, and Hendrik, his son-in-law Johannes du Toit, his daughter, Du Toit's wife, his son Hendrik's wife, a schoolmaster named Macdonald, four children, and twelve coloured servants; and they took



away three children to present to their chief. The two divisions of Matabele warriors then united and returned to Mosega for the purpose of procuring reinforcements, taking with them large herds of the emigrants' cattle.

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

As soon as the Matabele were out of sight the farmers hastened across the Vaal, and formed a laager at the place since known as Vechtkop, between the Rhenoster and Wilge Rivers. The laager was constructed of fifty wagons drawn up in a circle, firmly lashed together, and every opening closed with thorn trees.

The month of October was well advanced when one morning a few frightened Bataung rushed into the camp and announced that a great Matabele army was approaching. Immediately the horses were saddled, and after a short religious service conducted by Mr. Carel Cilliers, the farmers rode out with Commandant Potgieter at their head, and encountered a division of Moselekatse's forces, about five thousand strong, under Kalipi, Moselekatse's favourite captain. Riding close up, they poured a volley into the mass of savages, and then retired to reload their clumsy guns. This manoeuvre they repeated, constantly falling back until the laager was reached. The Matabele now thought they had the farmers in a trap, and encircling the camp, they sat down at some distance from it and feasted their eyes with a sight of their supposed victims. After a while they suddenly rose, and with a loud hiss, their ordinary signal of destruction, they rushed upon the laager

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\* Cornwallis Harris, of the Engineer Department of the East India Co. Service, who was out on a protracted hunting trip.—See his book.

and endeavoured to force an entrance. There were only forty men, all told, inside, but luckily they had spare guns, and the women knew how to load them. The assailants were received with a deadly fire, and they fell back, but only to rush on again. The wagons were lashed together too firmly to be moved, and finding it impossible to get to close quarters, the foremost Matabele soldiers abandoned their usual method of fighting and hurled their heavy assagais into the laager. One thousand one hundred and thirteen of these weapons were afterwards picked up in the camp. By this means they managed to kill two of the defenders, Nicholas Potgieter and Pieter Botha, and to wound more or less severely twelve others. Still the fire kept up by those who remained was so hot that Kalipi judged it expedient to retire, and in less than half an hour after the first rush the Matabele turned to retreat. They, however, collected the whole of the cattle belonging to the emigrants and drove them off, leaving not a hoof except the horses which the farmers had been riding, and which were within the camp. Potgieter with his little band followed them until sunset, and managed to shoot a good many, but could not recover any cattle. On their return to the camp they counted a hundred and fifty-five corpses close to the wagons. Altogether, the Matabele had now killed twenty whites and twenty-six persons of colour, and they had swept off a hundred horses, four thousand six hundred head of horned cattle, and more than fifty thousand sheep and goats.

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

at Vechtkop, who were left in a helpless condition by the loss of their cattle.

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

As soon as possible the Commandants Potgieter and Maritz assembled a force for the purpose of punishing Moselekatse. The Griqua captain Pieter Davids eagerly tendered the services of his followers, in the hope that the expedition might effect the release of his daughter and his nephew. Matlabe, the petty Barolong chief who had once been a soldier in the Matabele army, volunteered to be the guide. A few Korannas and Barolong engaged their services with a view to sharing the spoil. As ultimately made up, the force consisted of one hundred and seven farmers on horseback, forty of Pieter David's Griquas and five or six Korannas, also on horseback, and sixty natives on foot belonging in about equal numbers to the clans of Gontse, Tawane, Moroko, and Matlabe.

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

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

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

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

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

In April, 1837, *another band* of emigrants arrived in the neighbourhood of Thaba Nchu. It consisted of twenty-six families from the Winterberg,\* in all one hundred and

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

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

Upon his arrival at Thaba Nchu, Mr. Retief was elected Commandant-General of all the emigrants, then numbering over a thousand souls. His first task was to compose the quarrel between Potgieter and Maritz, and he apparently succeeded in restoring friendship between them, though it only lasted a short season. His next care was for the observance of public worship. There was no ordained clergyman among the emigrants, but there was an old missionary teacher, by name Erasmus Smit, and he was engaged to conduct the services. Mr. Maritz was recognized as laudrost or magistrate. Mr. Retief then visited the chiefs Moroko, Tawane, Moshesh, and Sikonyela, and entered into agreements of mutual friendship with them.

While these arrangements were being made the number

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

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

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

During the winter of 1837 the quarrel between Potgieter and Maritz was revived, and the whole of the

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

The commando consisted of two divisions, mustering together three hundred and thirty farmers, one division being under Hendrik Potgieter, the other under Pieter Uys.

The punishment inflicted upon Moselekatse was so severe that he found it necessary to abandon the country he had devastated, and flee to the far north, there to resume on other tribes his previous career of destruction.

Six or seven thousand head of cattle were captured by the expedition, and given over to the native herdsmen to take care of. One night these were surprised by a small party of Matabele, when several of the Baralong lost their lives, and some of the cattle were retaken. In the division of the captured stock the native herdsmen were very liberally dealt with, Matlabe's people receiving sixty-nine head for their services.

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

## CHAPTER XXVII.

### EARLY DAYS OF NATAL.

HAVING in a former chapter given some account of one of Natal's earliest visitors, Lieut. Farewell, who we have seen was killed by Qeto in 1830, I must now mention another celebrated early comer, whom I have slightly noticed before.

Captain Allan F. Gardiner, R.N., left Spithead for the Cape on the 26th of August, 1834. On arriving at that place, he travelled overland, up the Coast, to Natal, and arrived at the Bay of Natal on the 29th of January, 1835, and was, he says in his book, kindly received by Mr. Collis, a trader.

After staying at the Bay a few days, he went into Zululand to try and impress Dingaan with the necessity of establishing missions, and then returned to the Bay on the 14th of March, 1835.

He then at the request of the settlers set up a mission station on a Hill overlooking the Bay, and so called by him "Berea" (alluding to the Berea of the Gospel, where the natives accepted the Word). The gallant mariner says that on returning from Zululand and nearing the Bay, he saw large numbers of game, large and small, of all sorts. On reaching home and "outspanning" a dog was tied under the wagon. Shortly afterwards a fearful yelling and howling was heard. A huge panther had seized the poor brute. The Hottentot driver ran and got his gun, and levelling, shot the animal dead. His diary also informs us that a few days before a couple of panthers were seen in the moonlight, quietly squatted on the roof of their church, then building, and making a hearty meal off a large piece of beef, which had been suspended (by way of security) from the beams. The Captain says he saw no vestige of Farewell's Fort at the Bay.

After helping the little band of pioneers to mark out what is now the city of D'Urban (with its magnificent, luxurious, and colossal Town Hall), the Captain heard from



Dingaan that that potentate held him responsible (as treaty maker) for the good behaviour of the settlers at the Bay, and so he made up his mind to go to Cape Town to ask Sir Benjamin D'Urban for some force to compel Dingaan to keep *his* part of the bargain, and with this intention he left Natal for the Cape, with Henry Ogle, and Dick King—the latter driving the Captain's wagon. But finding the natives southward on the eve of war he turned back on the 3rd of Sept., 1835, determining to go by sea.

On the Cape side of the Umzimkulu, Gardiner came upon the locations of Fynn, Ogle, and Cane. It appears that in the month of June, 1833, Dingaan's army on its return from N'capais country, attacked a wagon belonging to some Hottentots, standing on the right bank of this river, and murdered all the people except three. This account soon reached Port Natal, and it was rumoured that this was the prelude to a general attack upon the settlement. On its way home a large detachment of the Zulu army passed near the Bay, which at once induced the natives to give full credence to the reports of their hostile designs, and, without waiting the development of their plan, they mustered in large parties—in some instances assisted by the white people—and began firing upon them from the bushes, as they pursued their route. The Zulus, unaccustomed to the use of muskets, and surprised at this unexpected attack, gave way, and unresistingly fled in all directions, until they regained the whole body, when all of them made their best way home.

No sooner was the above affair related to Dingaan than he ordered all his people then inhabiting the district between the Port and the Tugela to withdraw; and though two entire regiments were stationed there, the whole moved off, and have never since occupied any portion of the country to the southward of that river, which is still considered as their boundary in that direction. A simultaneous movement was at the same time made by the inhabitants of Port Natal, both black and white, who, naturally apprehensive of retaliation on the part of Dingaan, left the country, and fled beyond the Umzimkulu. The greater part of the latter soon returned, but many belonging to Fynn, Ogle and Cane still remained, and have established themselves in the places referred to,

forming permanent villages and cultivating the ground. These people still acknowledge the sons of their former chief.

Hottentots are the "happy-go-lucky" Paddies of South Africa—unfortunately, though, they are fast dying out. Gardiner, it appears, came across one who was distantly related to Baron Munchausen. The Tottie said he had been in pursuit of an elephant. So suddenly had he come upon the animal while watching its movements in a thick wood, that before he had time to retreat he felt the pressure of its trunk actually wound round his head. Had the grasp been lower it would have been fatal, but most providentially it merely lifted the cap from his head, and instantly, on finding himself liberated, with that presence of mind that danger oft induces, he dived between the animal's fore legs, and passing quickly in his rear, eventually effected his escape.

Wolves, says the Captain, on the return trip, were very numerous, and quite as fierce as in the Zulu Country. Ogle spoke of one very cheeky one with which he had an adventure at Hlom 'Ndhlini, when he was in the employ of Farewell. While sleeping in a hut with several natives belonging to the party, a spotted hyena entered, and seizing one of the Kafirs by the forehead, dragged him towards the door way, but was unable to proceed, as the wicker door, which slides between two short posts, had swung back and partly closed the opening by which he had forced his way. In this predicament the screams of the man, and the efforts of both, soon awoke the rest of the party, who, to their great surprise, found this unwelcome companion a prisoner among them. Shouting to the people in a hut near, some burning faggots were introduced, which had the instantaneous effect of liberating the sufferer and ejecting the disappointed intruder.

On Tuesday, the 15th of September, Gardiner says he rode to the Berea, where he found that an elephant had charged a group of Blankenberg's Kafirs. All crept away, but the beast caught one who ran and pounded him to death.

On Thursday, the 24th of September, our hero left the Bay to go by the Drakensberg route (the others being closed) to the Cape to see the Governor, and then go to England. On the eve of setting out, he says, he received

letters containing a most heartrending account of a dreadful accident to an affectionate friend, and those with him. Mr. Collis's Magazine, containing 1,500 lbs. of powder, had exploded the day before, and himself, his infant child, the native nurse, and a Hottentot named Klaas, had been killed, while several natives were severely hurt.

The circumstances which led to this awful scene, was related by a native who was present and severely burnt. Mr. Collis had gone in to the magazine to take out a gun. In order to try the flint he had imprudently snapped the lock with the muzzles pointed towards a powder barrel, when the gun, which he had carelessly put away loaded, but without priming, went off, and the explosion, which was heard many miles away, took place.

The mangled bodies of Mr. Collis and the Hottentot were blown to a considerable distance. The skull of the poor little infant, which was in the arms of its nurse, seated on the outside of an adjoining building, was fractured, and it shortly after died.

High up on the Umzimkulu Gardiner saw the wagon tracks of Piet Uys's party, made when they returned from Natal in 1834, in order to protect their families and property from the Kafirs who had broken out in the third Kafir war. Here the traveller was struck with the sight of a huge peak in the Drakensberg, which he then and there named "The Giant's Castle."

On the 3rd of December, 1835, Capt. Gardiner reached Algoa Bay, where he met Sir Benjamin D'Urban, who on the 5th despatched by the *Dove*, for Natal, a letter to Dingaan saying he was glad to receive his message, and that he would despatch an officer on behalf of the King of England to be in authority there in the place of Gardiner. While at Algoa Bay the latter met Dr. Adams, and Messrs. Grant and Champion, bound for Natal by the *Dove*.

On the 14th our hero was at Genadendal, and from there rode into Cape Town, and on Saturday, the 19th, he embarked on board the *Liverpool* (sent by the Imam of Muscat as a present to the King) anchored at St. Helena on the 2nd of January, 1836, and made the English coast on the 20th of February, where he landed in the pilot boat in the course of the evening, having been away from England just eighteen months.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

### NATAL.

“ Now shines the sacred morn, when from the East,  
Three Kings the holy cradled Babe address'd,  
And hail'd Him Lord of Heaven : That festive day.  
We dropped our anchors in an opening bay ;  
The river from the sacred day we name,  
And stores, the wand'ring seaman's right, we claim ;  
Stores we received !”

THUS, three centuries ago, wrote Camoens of the great navigator who, seventy-five years before, was the first man of European birth and Christian belief to set foot upon those shores. Vasco de Gama found there, in those days, a mild and hospitable race—and that race would have lived there to this day had the terrible uprising of the Zulu power not signalised its expulsion. British rule has done much to gather together under its wings the remnants of those devastated tribes, and it has now subverted the stronghold of the power that has so long stood in the way of humanity and civilisation.

The coast and Bay of Natal were at various times visited by the Dutch, English, and Portuguese; occasionally by parties wishing to explore the country to ascertain its capabilities for the purposes of trade; but mostly by crews of vessels wrecked on its inhospitable shores.

The first time that Natal was visited by the English appears to have been in 1683, when an English ship having been wrecked near Delagoa Bay, the crew, about eight in number, made their way overland to Cape Town, and received the assistance of the unsophisticated natives of the tribes through whose territories they travelled. The account given by them of the land on the eastern coast agrees pretty well with the present characteristics of that region, though civilisation has driven some of the animals to seek their habitation in more retired spots of the interior. The castaways stated that “the natural fertility of the country travelled through made the-

inhabitants lazy, indolent, docile, and simple. The rivers are abundantly stored with good fish and water fowl, besides sea cows and crocodiles; their woods with large trees, wild cattle, antelopes, elephants, rhinoceri, lions, tigers, wolves, and jackals, also many sorts of fowls and birds, with ostriches."

In a MS. preserved in the Public Library at Cape Town, the Port of Natal is thus described:—"The river of Natal falls into the Indian Ocean in 30° S. latitude. Its mouth is wide and deep enough for small craft, but there is a sand bank which at the highest flood has not more than ten or twelve feet of water. Within this bank the water is deep. This river is the principal one on the coast of Natal, and has been frequently visited by merchant vessels." This statement is of importance as showing that a large river which formerly flowed into the Bay of Natal has now formed a mouth for itself some six miles to the northward. The description of the harbour applies to the present time.

In 1721 the Dutch established a factory at Port Natal, but soon abandoned it; and until the arrival of Lieutenant Farewell, of the Royal Marines, and his party in 1823, the intercourse of the white men with the inhabitants of Natal was principally the result of shipwrecks along the rock bound coasts.

The foregoing remarks has sufficed to give the leading particulars of interest connected with Natal, from its discovery by Vasco de Gama on Christmas Day, 1497, to the year 1823, but as after this date it becomes the stage upon which civilized man is to act his part, events thicken around us and call for a more detailed account as the subject becomes more deeply interesting to Englishmen.

It was shortly before this time that Tshaka (the uncle of the late Zulu king, Cetywayo) swept like a devastating scourge over Natal with his terrible legions, making his name a terror to all who heard it, until no nation then in Southern Africa dared to stand before his wrath, but all fled like frightened birds or deer to safe retreats within the dense bush. Directly after Natal had been thus swept, Mr. Fynn and Lieut. Farewell reached its shores.

This portion of the Natal history is distinguished by what may be fairly termed the "Knight Errantry of

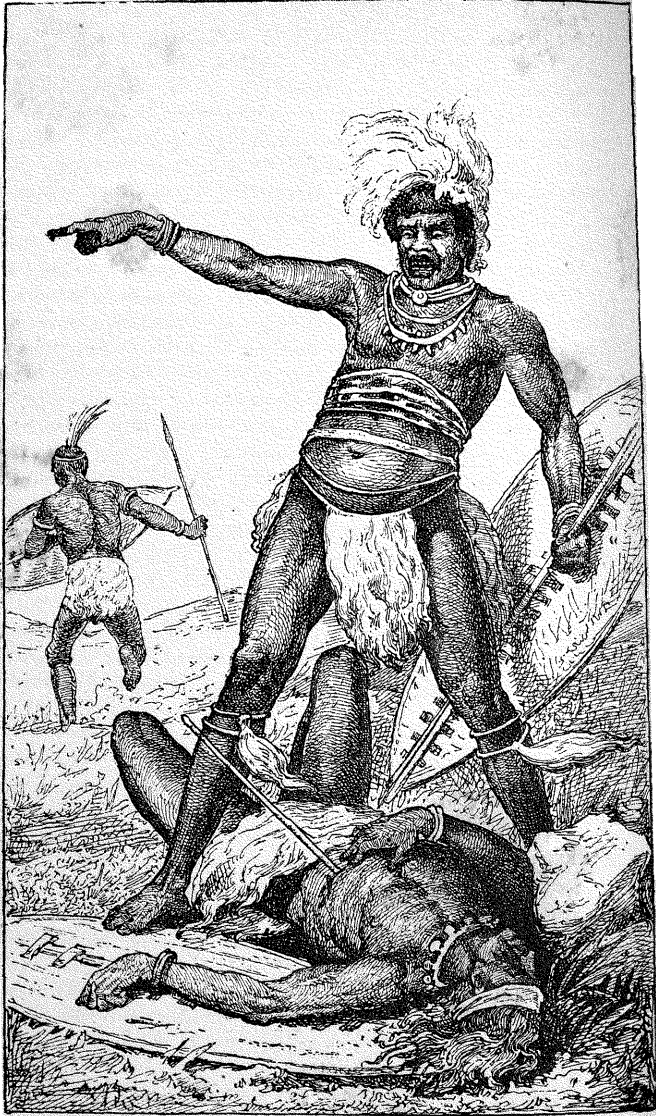
Natal," as the romantic and the chivalrous considerably tinge it. The Kafir knights and squires who figured in the adventures of these times had their thousands of vassals, whom they could summon to fight against their enemies or against each other as occasion might require. They had not, certainly, their fortified castles, surrounded by moats, defended by ramparts, and mounted with guns, but they had what suited their purpose equally well, the dense bush into which they could flee with their people and remain until the enemy had wasted his energy or taken his departure. Accordingly, when the sound of alarm was heard from Tshaka or Dingaan a council of safety was called, at the end of which the sage warriors would, if the majority approved, make a sudden onslaught and then dissolve or disappear into the bush as no warlike force but a Kafir army can.

About this time Lieutenant Farewell applied to Lord Charles Somerset, the Governor of the Cape, to have his proposed colony fully recognised by the English Government as a regular dependency of the British Empire. The leading characters on the stage of Natal now were—Farewell, Fynn, Lieutenant King, and Jacob (a Kafir interpreter). About the same period Captain Gardiner and the Rev. Aldin Grout (of the American Mission), also landed in Natal, with a Rev. Mr. Owen, whom the Zulu chieftain Dingaan permitted to reside with him as a missionary.

Such were the leading characters in this drama. Unfortunately the pioneers fell out among themselves, until disease carried off Lieutenant King, and Lieutenant Farewell fell by the hand of the assassin, and the scenes which immediately followed were of the most exciting nature. Henry Ogle and John Cane had been in the employ of Lieutenant Farewell, and now took his people and his cattle, which they divided between them, and fully entered upon their career of Kafir chieftainship.

In the meantime the death of the terrible tyrant Tshaka somewhat disturbed the current of events.

This chief has been called the modern "Attila." In many things he differed from that "Scourge of God," but in others unhappily they bore too close a resemblance. Another of his designations has been the "Ilyæna Man,"



*Murray & St. Leger.*

*Cape Town.*

**TSHAKA,**  
*Formerly King of the Amazulu.*

as being descriptive of the revolting scowl and dark treachery of that ferocious beast, and he was also styled the "Great Elephant," as one who, with the weight of his ponderous body, could crush his victims beneath his feet. Tshaka early displayed extraordinary powers both of body and mind. His form was tall and well-proportioned; his appearance commanding, and when excited, terrific; his exploits were such as to compel wonder and fear. His mental powers were not at all inferior, as his deeds declare; but here the baser passions at once assumed the reins, and the intellectual powers became the servants of suspicion, jealousy, hatred, revenge, lust, and ambition, producing relentless cruelty and unbounded ferocity. The circumstances in which he was placed afforded full opportunity for the development of all these evil passions combined, producing effects of the most appalling and sensational character.

By treachery and violence he got both his father and his brother cut off, and then took possession of the throne thus vacated, in a short time destroyed his early friend and guardian, and seizing his people and his country as a lawful prize. He then fought tribe after tribe in his own country, cutting many of them off, root and branch, and laying the remainder in abject wretchedness at his feet. He introduced the short stabbing assegai in the place of the long spear or assegai, in order that instead of a hazardous throw his men might give the mortal thrust, the deadly stab. It is thought that in a crush this murderous little weapon can be wielded more quickly than could a bayonet on a Martini. He would not allow his warriors to marry, lest they should be touched with the softer passions of the human breast; he wished them to be rendered more reckless of life, and to be wholly unencumbered. With armies thus prepared, his name became a terror through the land, but few being found who could stand before them. With these he swept the countries as with the besom of destruction, and wasted them until they were without inhabitants. He chased the other tribes as frightened deer to the mountain, or laid them dead in heaps on the plain. Desolation and destruction stalked in his fiery course, his path being tracked by blood and death.

Over the fertile colony of Natal this tempest of



destruction swept, about the year 1820. Tshaka, before having conquered all beyond the Umblatoos, his nation's boundary, broke forth, like an irresistible flood, covering the land with a deluge of blood. According to every account and indeed very numerous relics such as old stone kraals, grinding stones, broken earthenware, &c., &c., shew that the country was swarming with human beings, but the whole were not able to oppose the force of his arms, or arrest the progress of his victories. One or two severe battles were fought; but the shades of gathering night dispersed the combatants, and the light of the following morning found those who had opposed the Zulus far distant, having availed themselves of the protection of darkness to escape, whilst the Zulus looked around for the foe but found him fled.

This mighty executioner of the human race not only spread terror abroad by the success of his arms, but was feared and dreaded at home on account of the number who fell victims to his suspicions, revenge, or caprice. Captains, men, women, children, all fell before the motion of his head, or the flourish of his hand; life was cheap and blood was spilled like water. Terror reigned rampant, and pity and mercy fled withering, and savage human nature stalked in state amid suspicion, horror, murder, and death. It was this chief who on his death bed ordered twelve maidens to be buried alive with him to administer to him in his Zulu Hades. The horrible deed was done. When he saw the vultures soaring, he said his chickens must be fed, and a score or two of men were at once knocked on the head. The exterminating principle obtaining among this people reminds one very much of the bloody battles described in the Pentateuch, where "every vestige" of the enemy was wiped off the face of *Bona Dea Tellus*. During one of the wars between the Zulus and the Amaswazis to the northward, the warriors belonging to a kraal of the latter people, had left their happy home upon a foraging excursion, when a fierce Zulu regiment, swooping down the adjacent hill side like a tornado, burst with terrible fury upon the few men left to defend the place, and slaughtered men, women, children, dogs, cats, even to the very kittens and chickens, and piling them on the wrecks of their habitations reduced the entirety to

ashes, and danced their savage but not unmusical war dance round the horrible and unholy holocaust. When the shield-bearing and plumed warriors returned at noon the next day to their kraal, they stared mutely at the scene of desolation, in which nought was to be seen but a large earthenware pot, generally used for brewing beer from the "Kaffir corn," simmering over the live ashes of a fire. Upon removing the lid they found their unborn babes-boiling in the fluid. \* \* \* \* \*

It is a relief to say that at last this savage monster, but martially and physically speaking, splendid barbarian, Tshaka, fell by the hand of his own brother Dingaan. One day about noon Dingaan came secretly upon Tshaka at the Umvoti River in Natal, whilst the latter was sitting in council. Finding his dread fate at hand the great destroyer implored pity, but even as he never had shown mercy to others, none was now shown to him, and he was, at a sign from Dingaan, rushed upon and stabbed with fifty assegais.

The reign of this inhuman despot was stained by a succession of enormities of so deep a dye that the blood curdles in the recital. Even in the annals of savage nations (says Isaacs) his atrocities stand forth pre-eminent. He was a fiend in human form, to whose vices and crimes history, either ancient or modern, cannot furnish the slightest parallel.

The family of this monster, whose name in the Sechuana language signifies "The Battle Axe," for ever remarkable for its conquests, cruelty, and ambition, emerged from a tribe originally inhabiting a district about Delagoa Bay, of which, as I have said, tradition informs us the first king was named "Zulu." Senzangakona, a son of "Zulu," and father of Tshaka, made his way from the primitive location of his ancestors to the White Unfolosi, and colonising within sixty miles of the coast, kept the neighbouring tribes in terror and subjection. In addition to thirty wives, he was possessed of concubines without number, and had many children; but from peculiar circumstances attending the birth of the infant Tshaka it was esteemed a miraculous event, and the child in consequence was held by the nation to be something superhuman. Advancing towards manhood, he did not disappoint the expectations formed of him. His strength

became herculean, his disposition turbulent, his heart iron, his soul a warring element, and his ambition boundless.

The precocity, shrewdness, and cunning of Tshaka speedily attracted the notice and jealousy of his father. Knowing full well from the fate of his own progenitors that amongst the Zulus the son, whose ripening energies and developing physical powers render him capable of setting an example for his subjects to imitate, experiences little difficulty in dethroning his aged and grey-headed sire, whose declining years render him no longer fit for feats of prowess, he resolved that the young prince should die, and began to plot his destruction. Discovering this, Tshaka fled with his younger brother to a neighboring tribe called the Umtetwas, under Dingiswayo, as we have already seen, where he was hospitably received. He soon distinguished himself, as well amongst the warriors by deeds of daring as by his surpassing skill in punning and singing, both of which accomplishments are held in rare estimation, being, with the exception of dancing, almost the only amusements in which the Africans ever indulge.

On the sudden decease of Senzangakona, one of his youngest sons, assuming the crown of the Zulus, Tshaka at once resolved to dethrone him, in order to usurp his place at the head of the nation; and with this view he formed a project which he speedily put in execution.\* His younger brother repaired to the residence of the young monarch with a story that Dingiswayo had slain Tshaka, in consequence of which he had himself been obliged to fly for life and throw himself at his brother's feet for protection. This important and much wished for information being implicitly believed, Umgatye, the said younger brother, was presently installed in the office of chief domestic, and being thus constantly about the royal person, had every facility afforded him for the accomplishment of his bloody mission. Sending two of his confidential friends to secrete themselves in the long grass by the river side, while the king was taking his usual morning bath, the

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\* It will be noticed that this account slightly differs from another traditional account elsewhere (page 175): but this one—giving the supreme credit to the Zulus—is by far the most likely one to be true, as back to Tshaka's grandfather, Zulu, the Zulus, as has been said, were paramount as far as prowess is concerned.

latter was spared to death on a preconcerted signal, and Tshaka took possession of the throne.

The putting to death of all the principal persons of his brother's government, including every one that was suspected of being inimical to his own accession, was the first act that signalised his bloody reign. Dingiswayo dying shortly afterwards, the young king went to war with the Umtetwas—the nation that had so hospitably sheltered and protected him while in exile; and having destroyed the major part of the tribe, the remnant were fain to become his vassals. In a few years Tshaka had depopulated the whole of the coast from the Maputa River to the Tugela; signal success also attending his incursions among the interior tribes, over whom he exercised the most sanguinary persecution, pursuing them with a refinement of fiendish ferocity too harrowing to be detailed.

Arriving at the zenith of his pride and ambition, and having for a brief space sated himself with the blood of his neighbours, the savage despot began to direct his thoughts towards the internal government of his realm—a measure which was rendered more than ever imperative from the circumstance of his extensive victories having placed him at the head of a gigantic and ever-growing nation. His first care was to discipline his rabble forces, which were already elated with achievements, originating chiefly from the dauntless and irresistible spirit of their leader. Unlike Cetywayo, even in his own person did Tshaka set an example in the field well worthy the imitation of his followers, and whilst his ferocity kept his people in abject awe, dauntless intrepidity rendered him the terror of his opponents. Having once entered into hostilities against a native power, his whole soul and energies were irrevocably bent on its extermination. Mercy was never for a moment an inmate of his bosom, and nothing short of rivers of blood, caused by the most lavish sacrifice of human life, was capable of gratifying his horrible appetite. Partaking of this spirit, his warriors were ever eager for battle, and shouted for war from their love of plunder. On one occasion a ferocious regiment pestered Tshaka to be led to battle, when a messenger brought the news that a lion had killed three of his favourite cattle. "Here," said Tshaka, "you want to fight,

do you? Throw down your shields and assegais, and rush the lion that dares to kill my cattle, naked-handed, and bring him to me, bound, before sunset." To delay was certain death, and he was obeyed to the letter. The magic of his name gained for his warriors even more renown than their actual prowess in arms, which nevertheless was rendered recklessly desperate by the alternative he extended to them, of either returning victorious to participate in the spoils they won, or being condemned to a cruel and immediate death for alleged cowardice.

Of Tshaka's army, amounting altogether to near one hundred thousand men, fifty thousand were marshalled into regiments and held in constant readiness for battle. Each regiment was distinguished by shields of a different colour, the great warriors having white ox-hides. Individuals distinguishing themselves in battle received a badge of nobility, and were honoured with a title, by which they were ever afterwards known. *Apropos* of these people being thought to be ignorant savages, *Mayfair* wittily says:—"A bespectacled and somewhat fussy member of the Cabinet has received a snub from his cynical but august master, in whose presence he was depreciating the Zulus. "Uncivilised?" enquired the Premier, with that calm astonishment that precedes his plunge in paradox. "I do not quite see that. They have routed our armies, outwitted our generals, killed a prince, and converted a bishop. The most civilised nation could do no more."

Having organised his army, the despot next introduced a totally new system of discipline. The slender javelins hitherto employed for throwing were abolished, and their use interdicted on pain of death, a single short stabbing spear of stouter materials being introduced in place of them. The superior efficacy of this novel equipment had previously been established in a mock fight with reeds, which took place in presence of the assembled nation, and death by impalement was the penalty attached to the loss of an assegai in battle. The warriors had now no alternative but to conquer or die, and as an additional spur to their valor the commissariat of an invading army was never more than barely sufficient to last them to the scene of action. In order that the youths of the rising generation might imbibe a taste for military tactics they were ordered

to accompany the tried warriors in the capacity of esquires, and on having attained an age which rendered them capable of wielding an assegai with effect they were immediately supplied with arms and duly incorporated.

With a view to render the troops as efficient as possible, the most unnatural abstinence was enforced, under the pretext that marriage deprives man of his relish for war, and that domestic influences are distracting and enervating, directing his thoughts homeward rather than to the enemy. Commerce was likewise strictly forbidden, under the belief that it would unfit the men for military duties. Every plan in short which ferocity or barbarity could devise was resorted to by Tshaka to inspire his men with a martial spirit; and under the excuse of perfecting the model of his army, the monster's unnatural propensities and insatiable thirst for blood induced him, horrible to relate, to weed his warriors by singling out the maimed, the aged, and the infirm to be assegaid; observing with savage sagacity that "such cripples were only in the way, and without making him any return did but consume his beef, which was required to make young men stout and lusty!" Upon the occasion of this foul slaughter of numerous brave veterans, to whose valor and devotion Tshaka owed a large portion of his richest conquests, the wretch erected a kraal upon which the name of "Keta-abadala," signifying "Pick out the old ones," was humorously bestowed, in commemoration of the base and barbarous deed.

Fully impressed with the conviction that his warriors, thus organized and disciplined, would prove themselves invincible, Tshaka now indulged in projecting movements upon a grander scale than formerly, planning new predatory inroads upon those independent tribes whose wealth in cattle afforded the greatest inducements, and looking forward with a sort of prophetic spirit to a day not far distant when all his ambitious schemes should be achieved, when his expectations should be fully realised, and he should find himself the sole and undisputed "Master of the World." Spring never appeared without its marauding expeditions. Every succeeding season also brought upon the weak and tributary tribes visits of violence, desolation, and plunder, each in its turn sooner or later feeling the monster's scourge for some alleged offence against