ing appeal had no effect on the hearts of the relentless savages who now rushed upon them. The shocking scene which presented itself to Messrs. Moffat and Melvill as they returned, after the retreat had commenced, is thus described.

"As fighting," says Mr. Moffat, "is not my province, I avoided discharging a single shot; but when I saw the enemy had fairly taken to flight, I turned back to look after the prisoners. What was my horror and indignation, when I saw the base and bloody Bechuanas, notwithstanding the promise of their chiefs to restrain them, butchering, in cold blood, the helpless women and children, and hewing with their battle-axes the heads from the bodies for the sake of some paltry ornament! By galloping in among them, and threatening these cowardly murderers, I succeeded in driving many of them from their prey. But it was horrible to view the carnage which had already taken place, and which I found still proceeding, as I rode up and down among the miserable groups scattered over the field. In one place, women and children were flying

from their pursuers; in another, mothers and infants were lying together rolled in blood; or living infants were raising their feeble wail from the arms of their slaughtered mothers."

"They were seen," says Mr. Melvill, "in all directions at this murderous work: and it was only by striking them and threatening to shoot them that they could be compelled to desist. The women were seen in little groups surrounded by Bechuanas, who were tearing away beads and brass rings from their necks and arms. A woman was holding out her arms to one of those ruffians, in order that the bracelets might be taken off, but not being able to effect his purpose quick enough, the savage cut off both her arms with his battle-axe, and then dispatched her.

"The bold and unconquerable spirit of the Mantatee warriors formed a striking contrast to the pusillanimity of the Bechuanas. Many who had been wounded by the fire of the Griquas were left, by the retreat of their countrymen, scattered over the field. These had been fallen upon by the Bechuanas and slaughtered without mercy, but we found some of them still defending them-

selves with a desperate courage worthy of a better fate. I saw one man with ten javelins and as many arrows sticking in his body, who kept about forty of his foes at a distance; another, severely wounded, fought desperately with one knee on the ground, keeping at bay a band of assailants, and plucked a spear out of his body to throw at them. They seemed to have no idea of yielding, or asking for quarter—probably, because in their own wars they are not accustomed either to give or receive mercy."

"The wounded and dying," says Mr. Moffat, "did not manifest those signs of sensibility which their situation was calculated to draw forth. The cries of infants who had fallen from the arms of their flying or slaughtered mothers, were distinctly heard; but the others seemed but little affected by their woful situation. A ferocious thirst for vengeance seemed to reign paramount in the breasts of the dying warriors. Several times I narrowly escaped the spears and battle-axes of the wounded, while engaged in rescuing the women and children. Men, struggling with death, would raise themselves from the ground,

and throw their weapons with the utmost fury at any one of us who approached them. Their vengeful spirit seemed to be subdued only when life was extinct. Instead of laying down their arms, and suing for quarter, some actually fought on their knees, their legs being broken!"

"It is not in my power," says Mr. Melvill, "to convey any adequate idea of my feelings as I passed over the field after the battle was over. Dead bodies lying scattered about; women wounded, and left to languish in agony; and little children crying for their mothers; these were objects enough to melt any heart: but, alas! man in a savage state is altogether selfish and unfeeling, and inhuman almost as the beasts of prey. One little orphan boy I picked up and carried before me on my horse, and another infant I put on the back of a woman to bring on with me,—but not being her own, it was only by using threatening language that she was prevailed on to carry it. Although we assured the women of safety and protection, it was with the utmost difficulty they could be compelled to go on with us. At one time, Mr. Moffat and I had collected

about a hundred of them, and were bringing them along to place them out of reach of the Bechuanas; but as soon as we reached the place where their countrymen had been encamped, and where a quantity of victuals was lying scattered about, they all stopped, and began to tear and eat most voraciously, and very few could be forced on any farther. On reaching the spot where the battle first began, we found about a hundred women and children sitting round small fires, cooking victuals in the midst of dead bodies, and no means in our power could force them away. The apathy of these people was striking. The savage is naturally unfeeling, but a long course of misery and famine appeared to have deprived these wretched females of even the remnant of humanity which usually clings to their sex in the most degraded state of existence. That they were actually *cannibals*, though not from choice, but dire necessity, was afterwards fully ascertained."

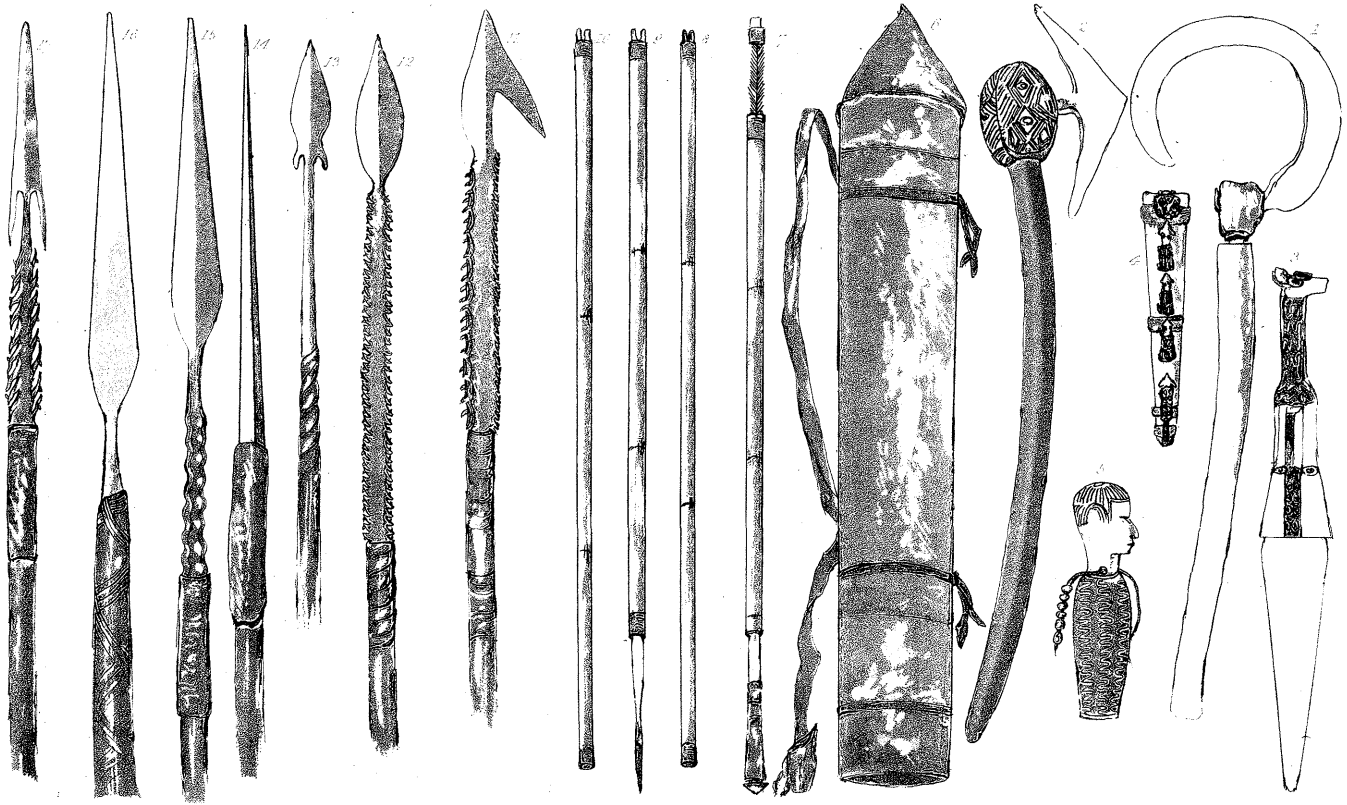
"Many of the Mantatees," says Mr. Moffat, "especially the women and the infirm, appeared to be suffering dreadfully from famine. Most of

the prisoners were much exhausted, and exceedingly ravenous for food; and the dead warriors looked lean and gaunt, though in battle they had displayed amazing agility and swiftness. About 500 bodies of the enemy lay scattered over the field of battle,—so destructive had been the Griqua muskets; while on our side not one man was killed, and only one slightly wounded. One Bechuana lost his life, being slain (a fate richly merited) by one of the wounded whom he was plundering.

"This barbarous horde appeared, when all collected in one body, extremely numerous, amounting at the very lowest computation to about forty thousand souls. The men were tall and muscular, and their bodies being smeared over with a mixture of charcoal and grease, they appeared as black as pitch. Their natural colour is scarcely a shade darker than that of the Bechuanas, whom in features they also nearly resemble. Their language appears to be merely a dialect of the Bechuana tongue, resembling that of the Matclhapees so nearly, that I understood the prisoners almost as readily as the inhabitants of Kuruman.

Their dress consisted in general of prepared or tanned skins, hanging loose over their shoulders. Some of the chiefs had carosses of a superior description, and not a few wore long loose shawls of cotton cloth:* but most of the women were almost destitute of clothing, having, for the greater part, only a small piece of skin suspended from their loins, to cover their nakedness. The men, during the engagement, having thrown off their mantles, were entirely naked, excepting that a small piece of skin was tied about their loins. Their ornaments were plumes of black ostrich feathers on their heads, large copper rings, sometimes six or eight in number, round their necks, with numerous rings of the same metal on their arms and legs, and rings or large plates hanging from their ears. Their weapons were spears or assagais, battle-axes, and clubs; and many of them had a weapon of a very peculiar construction, being an iron blade, of a circular shape, with a cutting sabre edge, fastened on a stick

* This cloth, of which I have procured a specimen, is apparently of Surat manufacture, and must have been procured either through some of the Portuguese settlements on the East coast, or from the Moors of Inhamban.



G. Thompson Esq.r del.t

WARLIKE WEAPONS.

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with a heavy knobbed head, and used both as a missile and in close combat. They had also large shields of bullock's hide, which, like those of the Caffers, covered almost the whole body.*

* The annexed plate, with the following explanation, will afford a general notion of the weapons used by the Bechuanas, Mantatees, Zoolas, and other Caffer tribes.

No. 1. Mantatee weapon, described in the text. The handle is two feet long, and the curved blade is sharpened on the outer edge.

2. Bechuana battle-axe. This is a very effective weapon. The handle is twenty-six inches in length, and formed of the elastic horn of the rhinoceros. The drawing is taken from one sent to the author by Mateebè, with which he had hewed off the heads of three Mantatees on the field of Lattakoo.

3. Bechuana knife, with carved ivory handle.

4. Sheath of ditto.

5. Ivory whistle, used in war, at public meetings, &c.

6. Bechuana or Bushman quiver, formed of bark or leather, thirty inches in length.

7. Bushman's poisoned arrow. The shaft is of reed, and twenty-six inches in length.

8. Shaft of ditto, without the point.

9. Bechuana arrow—similar to the Bushman's, except in the shape of its head.

10. Shaft of ditto.

11, 12, 13. Zoola assagais. The shaft is about six feet in length. Every warrior carries six or seven.

14. Mantatee assagai.

15. Amakosa ditto.

16. Hambona ditto.

17. Bechuana ditto.

"We learned from the prisoners, that the Mantatees had intended to begin their march towards Kuruman the very day we encountered them. They had driven out the inhabitants of Nokuning, and ransacked and burnt that town, and were about to finish with Lattakoo in the same manner, when 'the thunder and lightning' of the Griquas (as they termed the musketry) drove them back."

CHAPTER XVI.

Mr. Melvill's Narrative of Transactions after the Battle, and of his Excursion to rescue the Women and Children of the Invaders.

WHEN I came off the field of battle, (says Mr. Melvill,) I met the Griquas, who had just returned from the pursuit, and had unsaddled their horses, at a spot about a quarter of a mile from the place where the Mantatees were first encountered. Mr. Moffat and I used every means in our

power to induce them to take care of the women that were left behind; for we learned that the Bechuanas, who were assembled at a place about three hundred yards from us, had carried off, as prisoners, a number of women, being chiefly those whom we ourselves, with one or two Griquas, had, with much trouble, and by main force, brought along from a great distance, but who had lingered behind and again fallen into the power of their foes. The Griqua chiefs, therefore, sent a messenger to tell Mateebè that, as the women had been saved by us when his people were murdering them, they must be delivered up. This measure was necessary, because the Bechuanas only wanted them to carry home the plunder they had collected, and afterwards, not having any farther use for them, it was probable they would be killed, or left to die of hunger. As soon as this message was delivered to Mateebè, however, he started up in a rage, and with a large stone knocked down one woman; and one of his attendants immediately stabbed to the heart a male prisoner whom he had taken.—These deeds ex-

pressed but too distinctly the spirit by which they were actuated.

The messenger hastened back to inform me of this brutal conduct; and fearing that the women, whose lives had been saved with so much difficulty, might, after all, be massacred by these savages, who seemed to be capable of any enormity, I hastened to them as quickly as possible, accompanied by the chief, Adam Kok, who was an intimate friend of the Matclhapee Chief, and could speak the language fluently. By the time I reached Mateebè's station, several of the Griquas, who had followed me, came up with their guns, and so frightened the Matclhapees, that they instantly agreed the women should be given up. With some difficulty they were then, to the number of eighty-seven souls, collected and carried along with us.

It was now nearly dark, and the place where we intended to halt for the night was distant about three or four hours' walk. The women having no desire to go with us, (fearing, perhaps, that we, like the Bechuanas, might murder them,)

and many being extremely fatigued by the exertions of the day, it was with no small difficulty that we could force them onward. Some were wounded, and others extremely emaciated and weak; and they tried every means of escaping from us, by running among the thick bushes, and lying down.

To see the state of these people, and to be obliged to force them along, produced feelings that I cannot describe. In order to save their lives it was absolutely necessary to bring them onward to a place where they could be protected, have a fire to warm themselves during the night, and food to eat. A few Griquas were appointed to help Mr. Moffat and myself in this arduous task.* Although on horseback, we could only go

* From Mr. Moffat's account it appears that the Griquas, though in many respects far superior to the Bechuanas, and not guilty of wanton cruelty, nevertheless evinced on this occasion a deplorable want of the better feelings of humanity, of which, in civilized life, the most depraved alone are altogether devoid. "Many of the prisoners," says Mr. Moffat, "were extremely weak, and the Griquas in general manifested great indifference about collecting them. They seemed also in general destitute of sympathy for the wounded, and disinclined to render them assistance. The cattle which had been captured, to the number of a thousand or upwards,

on at a very slow pace. We soon found that some of the little boys were so tired that they could walk no farther. Mr. Moffat took up one and I another, behind us, and afterwards another each, before the saddle on the necks of the horses, and a few of the Griquas followed our example. The one I had before me was severely wounded in the head, but not a groan was heard from him. When we had got within half an hour of the place of rendezvous, the women and children were completely worn out, so that we were under the necessity of leaving them for the night, having first kindled a fire for them. We then rode forward to the place where the Griquas were encamped.

The next morning a party of men were sent to bring them along, and most of them were then distributed among the Griquas to become their servants, which was considered to be the best way of getting them taken care of, and provided with food. With the apprehension, however, that the pro-

was the chief object of their solicitude. The charge of collecting and bringing on the women and children was left entirely to Mr. Melvill and myself, with only two or three persons to assist us."

viding of victuals for these poor creatures might, after all, fall exclusively upon me, I applied for a share of the captured cattle, for myself and the Missionaries, on account of our having furnished the commando with ammunition. By this means I secured a supply of provisions for them, in any emergency, or for any other prisoners who might hereafter be taken. I had allotted to me thirty-three head of cattle, not choosing to receive any more than a regular share, according to the custom of the country, in order to prevent the Griquas from murmuring; at the same time, I expressly stated to the chiefs, that I designed the cattle for the subsistence of the Mantatee prisoners.

Late in the afternoon of the 26th all the Griquas departed, each having received his share of the cattle. I remained a little behind them, and on going to the spring found a woman lying near the water, apparently in a dying state. My waggon had only proceeded a couple of hundred yards farther, when we saw a woman, and a girl about twelve years of age, creeping away to hide themselves among the bushes. The wo-

man's feet were so much swelled that she could scarcely walk. With some trouble we compelled them to go to the waggon. In this manner I soon collected about a dozen women and children, part of whom rode in the waggon. Before I arrived at Kuruman, which was on the third day after the battle, the number had increased to twenty-five,—many of them being such as had left the Griquas by the road.

During my journey to Kuruman, the idea of having left several hundreds of women to be murdered by the Bechuanas, or to perish by the wild beasts, or for want of food, very much distressed my mind. At night I could scarcely sleep for thinking on the subject. I could not feel satisfied that I had sufficiently exerted myself to rescue them from their miserable fate. I therefore resolved to make another effort to save the residue, by returning to the field of battle, if I could get any assistance. It was, indeed, greatly apprehended by us, that the deserted women would all be killed by the Bechuanas, before we could return to protect them; but it was considered to be of importance to ascertain, at all events, whe-

ther the defeated tribes had entirely left the country, or not; for until that was known, the Missionaries could not consider themselves out of danger after the Griquas returned to their homes. With this object in view, and also to ascertain the fate of the forlorn women, who I hoped might still be living, it was agreed that Mr. Hamilton and I should again proceed to Lattakoo, or farther if necessary.

We set out on Tuesday, the 30th of June, in an ox-waggon, accompanied by a Hottentot belonging to the station, who drove the waggon, and by two Bechuana boys. We travelled five hours, and halted for the night at the Maquareen River. The next morning at sunrise we proceeded forward to the next spring. When we came within sight of this place, Mr. Hamilton and I walked on before the waggon, and thought it necessary to look about us to see that all was safe before we unyoked the oxen; for it was uncertain whether the defeated tribes might not have resumed their former route, after our departure. In going round the mimosa bushes, that grow about the spring, we were rather star-

tled by the sight of a fire, and were still more surprised, on advancing nearer, to see a pot of victuals upon it, and the fresh foot-marks of two or three persons, who appeared to have run away on our approach.

We hastily retreated to our waggon, which was just coming up, and without unyoking the oxen, the Hottentot, Mr. Hamilton, and myself, took our guns, and proceeded to examine the suspicious appearances more particularly. When the driver saw the foot-marks, he immediately pronounced them to be those of women, and we endeavoured to trace them out. After a brief search among the bushes, we came upon one who was lying down, covered over with a carosse; I called out,—and one of the women immediately started up and smiled, expressing neither surprise nor fear. Our driver then spoke to her in the Bechuana language, and learnt from her that there were two more; and after explaining who we were, and what our object was, she went and called her companions, who soon made their appearance. They informed us that they had come on from the field of battle,

and that many more women were coming along the road. We furnished them with meat for three or four days, and proceeded.

Our journey now became more interesting, and we hoped to be able to bring away all the females that had been left behind. We travelled on towards the next spring, where we intended to halt for the night. Judging it proper to take every precaution, as we had no horses, to avoid falling in with the savage tribes, we proposed reaching the fountain after dark, that we might see the fires at a distance, in case they were encamped at that place. Mr. Hamilton and I walked on before the waggon with our guns. About dusk in the evening we came in sight of the spring, where we saw fires, and a number of people near them. Not being able to distinguish whether they were men or women, we thought it prudent to retreat to the waggon, and endeavour to ascertain who they were before we ventured among them. When we got to the waggon, by the little light that remained, we perceived a number of people running in a crouching posture from the fires, which

resembled very much the manner in which the Mantatees attacked the Griquas, running out from each wing to surround them. On this occasion, the terrific appearance they made on the day of battle, presented itself vividly to my imagination, and we really apprehended we were about to be surrounded by them; the increasing darkness rendering every object indistinct, and leaving the fancy to paint the scene in the most frightful colours. Mr. Hamilton thought it would be best to retreat as quickly as possible; but I considered that if they were really the Mantatee warriors, it would be vain to attempt to escape by running; so we finally resolved to advance rather than flee, and getting upon the waggon, we drove a little nearer, and ordered our Bechuana to call out, and ask if they were women. Our apprehensions were relieved by an answer in the affirmative, and by the soft sound of their voices, which we perceived to be female. Upon telling them our purpose, they went back to the fires, but could not be prevailed upon to come near us. On approaching the fires, we found fifteen women and children, who seemed quite happy to hear we were

come to save their lives, instead of destroying them, as they at first supposed.* They informed us that there were more women coming along the road; and we now felt at ease, and unyoked the oxen.

Perceiving, however, a fire at some distance, in the direction of Lattakoo, we thought it necessary to ascertain whether we had any thing to fear from that quarter; and therefore leaving Mr. Hamilton to cook some victuals, the Hottentot, our Bechuana interpreter, and myself, walked towards the fire. When within 100 yards, hearing women's voices, we called out to them, and instantly a number of people rushed into the bushes; but not doubting that they were wo-

* The vignette prefixed to this chapter contains portraits of two of the poor creatures rescued by the very meritorious exertions of Messrs. Melvill, Hamilton, and Moffat. The female, by name *Mahum*, has a mild and pleasing countenance, as, indeed, most of the Mantatee females have, indicating nothing of cannibal ferocity. She is now in Cape Town, and has proved herself a very good and faithful servant.

The other figure is that of a boy about nine years of age, named *Tahana*. He was saved by Mr. Moffat, and having lost all his own relatives, has become affectionately domesticated in the family of his benefactor.

men, we advanced, and spoke to them. Seeing we were not come as enemies, they returned to the fire, and we explained the object of our visit. We then returned to our waggon, and after taking our supper, and committing ourselves to the care of Providence, we went to rest.

Early next morning, having directed the women to go on to the place where we had met the first three refugees, and to wait there till we returned, we proceeded towards Lattakoo. We found a number of dead bodies lying among the bushes, and along the path, being apparently the carcases of unfortunate creatures that had come on without provisions, and had thus perished. Besides the women we had seen last night, we met a few others who had left Lattakoo and were coming onward. We had now passed thirty-seven women and children, most of whom were without victuals, and would, perhaps, have also perished of hunger before they reached Kuruman, if we had not met and relieved them.

After we had travelled about an hour, we halted within three miles of the place where the battle was fought a week before, in a situation

where the waggon could not easily be discovered from that quarter. Having ascended a little hill which commanded a view of Lattakoo, we observed the smoke of fires in four different places: smoke was also seen rising from the town, which had been set on fire during the battle, and was about three or four miles distant. Two persons were likewise discovered in a valley, about three quarters of a mile from us, driving a cow. These appearances were rather suspicious, but we still thought there was little reason to fear, and, therefore, went down to the nearest fire, which was in an old cattle enclosure. Here a spectacle presented itself to us, sufficient to touch the hardest heart. One woman was sitting by a fire, boiling and eating her skin carosse: another, who had been wounded by a poisoned arrow, lay expiring, apparently in great agony, and with her body extremely swollen and bloated: a third appeared so weak for want of food, that she could just crawl. They expressed neither joy nor fear at our approach. We endeavoured to comfort them, by explaining that we had come to save their lives, and by supplying them with a little bread; but

they appeared so much bowed down by calamity as scarcely to be sensible of our presence.

From this melancholy scene we went on to another fire, about 300 yards farther, and had there to witness objects equally distressing. A woman and two children were sitting over a fire, too faint, apparently, to be able to speak, nor did they seem the least surprised to see us. A youth, about sixteen years of age, was lying under his carosse. He had been severely wounded in the head, and had apparently fallen upon the fire, for he was lying upon the ashes, and was very much burnt. He was still living, and I doubt not was in great agony, but he could not be induced to get up, nor would he speak a word. Notwithstanding the misery of these people, they never expressed their sorrow by tears or groans.

Not having it in our power to mitigate their sufferings, at least for the present, we proceeded to discover who the persons were whom we had seen driving a cow. On advancing to the spot where we first saw them, we found the cow standing, but the people had hid themselves in the bushes. When we got nearer, one woman

started up, and cried out that she had been "taking care of our cow,"—not doubting, I suppose, that we were coming to look after it, and might, perhaps, kill her. Her fears, however, being removed by our manner, and by what we said to her, she came forward, and soon after, the other woman also came out of her hiding-place, and we directed them to go on to the waggon to get something to eat.

From this we directed our course towards two other fires, about two miles distant, down the valley. The smoke appeared to arise from several fires together, so that we conceived there might be some hundreds of women there. Although we had little doubt of their being females, yet, as we were on foot, and incapable of defending ourselves against even a small party of the warriors, who might still be in the neighbourhood, we proceeded towards the fires, not without suspicion, and some degree of anxiety. When we had advanced but a short distance, the Hottentot suddenly halted, and told us we must go no farther; pointing, at the same time, to the footmarks of a great number of people,

who, he said, were *men*, and must have passed that way the day before. Upon consideration, it appeared quite probable that they were a body of the Mantatees, and that the fires we had seen were made by them,—the footmarks leading in that direction. It was judged advisable, therefore, to make the best of our way to the waggon; and, as we retreated, we looked suspiciously around us, fearing to be discovered by some of the savages who might be straggling about. On our way back, however, reflecting that we could still only carry home an uncertain report, we agreed to return once more, and reconnoitre the fires after dark.

On arriving at the place where we saw the three women in the miserable state above described, we found, that one of those we had seen with the cow, had stopped here instead of going to the waggon; nor could she now be induced to go forward, but preferred starving with her companions. Her other companion, however, had gone to the waggon, and was supplied with food. After taking some refreshment, towards evening we went back to the little hill from

whence we had reconnoitred the neighbourhood in the morning; and one of the party creeping among the grass to the top, looked all around to see if any stragglers could be discovered; but not a human being could be seen, and it was nearly dark before we could discern the large fire which we had seen in the morning. When night closed in we advanced towards the place where we had formerly seen the smoke. Before we got into the plain, it cost us some trouble to descend a steep, rocky declivity. No fire was now to be seen. Having walked more than half an hour, and still seeing no fires, we began to apprehend that we might find ourselves in the midst of them before we were aware; but at length we saw several lights a few hundred yards before us. We proceeded as cautiously as possible, until we got within 100 yards of them; and the Hottentot and Bechuana boy were ordered to creep still closer, to discover whether the voices we heard were those of men or women. In a few minutes the Bechuana returned to say, that he heard men's voices; but the Hottentot thought he only heard women's, and wished me to approach with

him, that I might be satisfied. I therefore went with him, and got within twenty-five yards of the nearest fire. There were, altogether, about fifteen fires in different places. Only a few people were sitting by them, but we saw several lying on the ground. Although the two or three voices we heard were women's, we still thought it probable, from the circumstance of having seen the foot-marks of men coming down in this direction, that there might be men as well as women present; we therefore deemed it imprudent to venture farther, and finally retreated back as we came, considering it our most obvious duty to rescue the forlorn creatures we had already found, rather than hazard our own lives for an uncertain benefit.

The next morning we set off on our return to Kuruman. At evening we reached the place where we had met the first three women, at the fountain, and found no less than fifty-four women and children waiting for us. Next day we again moved forward, and at dark had proceeded half-way to the Maquareen River. On our way we met two Bechuanas, who brought a note from

Mr. Moffat, stating that messengers had been sent to Kuruman with intelligence that the Mantatees, after their defeat, had marched upon Nokuning, captured that place, and carried off all the cattle; and that they had come the following day, and attacked Mahoomapèlo and Levenkels, the two Bechuana chiefs who had fled from Lattakòo, and had likewise carried off their cattle and women.

On the afternoon of the following day we arrived at Kuruman, where we found that the Missionaries' wives had departed for Griqua Town, being afraid, as the Griquas had left the country, that the Mantatees would return to attack the place. Mr. Moffat was waiting our return with much anxiety. He had dispatched a letter to the Griqua Chief, Waterboer, informing him of the depredations that the Mantatees were still committing in the neighbourhood of Lattakoo, and requesting him to return immediately to defend Kuruman. Waterboer received this letter when about half-way between Kuruman and Griqua Town, and sent back an answer, assuring Mr. Moffat that he was quite willing to return, but

having received notice that four tribes of savages were coming down the banks of the Gariep, he and his band were obliged to hasten to Griqua Town to defend their own homes. Being somewhat anxious about my family, I left Kuruman on the evening of the 7th, with the missionaries' waggons, consigning the Mantatee women to the care of Mr. Hamilton, to be brought onward at leisure.

CHAPTER XVII.

General Remarks on the Caffer Tribes.—The Bechuanas.—The Amakosæ and Amatymbæ.—Tribe of European Lineage.—Conquests of Chaka, Chief of the Zoolas.

HAVING in the preceding chapters sufficiently detailed the transactions which took place among the Bechuana tribes whom I visited, upon the approach of the Mantatees, and the subsequent encounter of those marauders with the Griquas, I shall now, before concluding this section of the work, offer a few remarks of a more general nature, in order to elucidate more distinctly the character and present condition of the several

divisions of the great Caffer race. The appellation *Caffer* (or unbeliever) was originally applied to the inhabitants of the south-eastern coasts of Africa, by the Moorish navigators of the Indian Ocean, and borrowed from them by the Portuguese. In later times, when the Dutch colonists of the Cape came in contact with the most southern tribe of Caffers (the *Amakosæ*), the Moorish appellation began to be applied exclusively to them; and in this restricted sense it has been used by some travellers, and is still generally used both by the Dutch and English colonists. It has been well known, however, ever since the publication of Mr. Barrow's work on the Cape, that the southern Caffers, and the numerous tribes lying to the north and east of them, are only subdivisions of one great nation, to which, collectively, later travellers, for want of any other term sufficiently comprehensive, have applied the name of *Caffers;* and I shall here follow their example.

The wide extension of this remarkable race of men is now fully ascertained. From a great variety of concurring evidence, it may be considered

as sufficiently established, that the tribes commonly called Caffers, or Koosas, (Amakosæ,) the Tambookies, (Amatymbæ,) the natives of Hambona, of Natal, of Delagoa Bay, and Mozambique, the Damaras on the west coast, beyond Namaqualand, and the numerous Bechuana tribes who occupy the interior of the Continent to an extent yet unexplored, are not only sprung from one common stock, but bear so striking a resemblance to each other in language, customs, and mode of life, as to be readily recognised as subdivisions of one great family. In language, especially, by which the lineage of barbarous nations is most readily traced, these various tribes are obviously brethren. The Bechuana, or (as some term it) the *Sichuana* dialect, prevails universally among the interior tribes, so far as they have yet been visited, and varies but slightly from that of the Damaras and Delagoans on the two opposite coasts. The Amakosa tongue (which is spoken also by the Amatymbæ, and other adjoining tribes,) differs more considerably, but not to such a degree as has usually been imagined. The body of all these dialects is the same; and

whatever may be the diversities of idiom and construction among them, it has been found that natives of those several tribes, when brought into contact, are able, after a very little practice, to converse fluently with each other. How far these affinities of race and language may extend to the northward, I cannot pretend to determine; but I have seen a vocabulary of the language of Joanna, one of the Comoro Islands, drawn up by the Rev. Wm. Elliott, a missionary lately resident there, which proves that those Islanders, and probably also the aboriginal tribes of Madagascar, speak a dialect very intimately allied to those of Caffraria and Mozambique.

Leaving, however, the questions, as to the wide extension of this language, as well as the original derivation of the numerous tribes by whom it is spoken, to the discussion of more learned inquirers, I proceed now to offer some brief remarks upon the present state—

1st. Of the Bechuana tribes.

2d. Of the southern Caffers, viz. the Amakosæ, the Amatymbæ, &c.

3d. Of the Zoolas, or Vatwahs, and the

wandering hordes called the Mantatees and Ficani.

The peculiar manners and polity of the Bechuanas have recently been very minutely, or, on the whole, accurately described by Burchell. It is not my intention, therefore, to enter into any lengthened detail on these points; but having visited the Matclhapee tribe under circumstances of unusual excitement, their real character was probably, in some respects, more clearly unveiled to my observation, than to that of any of my precursors; and so far as that goes, the details I have already given may serve to correct or elucidate preceding statements. Every one, indeed, who visits a barbarous people, without some previous knowledge of their character and language, is liable to be continually led astray, both by his own misapprehension of what he witnesses, and still more by the imperfection of the channels through which he must necessarily receive information at second-hand. Men of great natural shrewdness, such as Mr. Barrow, will no doubt see more clearly, and apprehend more distinctly than others; but the acutest inquirer will find

himself frequently liable to mistakes, which ought to render him indulgent to those of his predecessors. For my own part, my pretensions as a scientific traveller are far too humble, to allow me to consider myself as the rival of men of such various acquirements as Sparrman, Barrow, Lichtenstein, or Burchell; and if I am enabled to supply any information which they have omitted, or to correct what they have mistaken, I am very sensible that fortunate circumstances, and not superior acuteness, have favoured me with success.

In depicting the character of the Bechuanas, Dr. Lichtenstein, though an able and intelligent man, has, from too hasty observation, or from inaccurate information, fallen into very great errors. He has represented them as a people of open, manly, and generous character, disdaining in their wars or negotiations every sort of chicane or deceit,—"a proof," as he expresses it, "of their natural rectitude and consciousness of strength." Yet the very reverse of all this is the fact. Like most other barbarians, their political wisdom consists of duplicity and petty cunning, and their

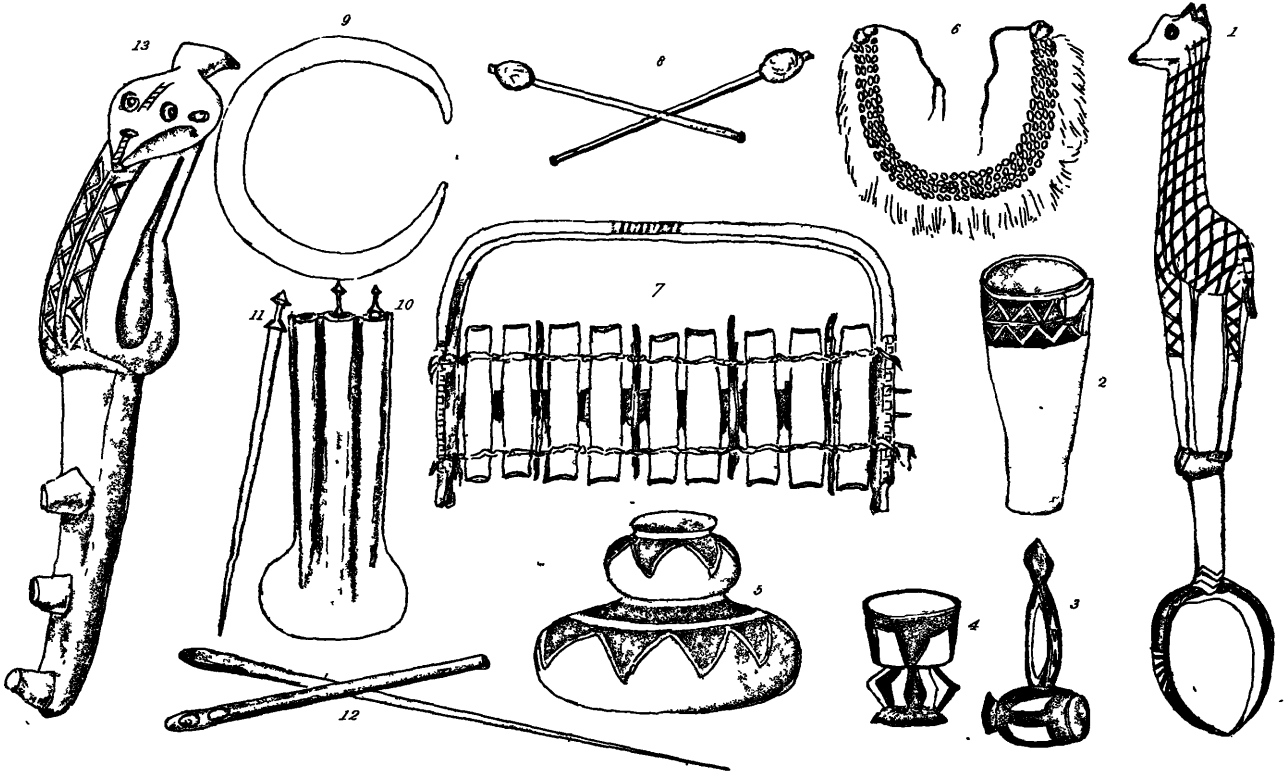
ordinary wars are merely predatory incursions upon their weaker neighbours, for the purpose of carrying off cattle, with as little exposure as possible of their own lives. Their expeditions against the Bushmen are peculiarly vindictive, and conducted with all the insidiousness and murderous ferocity, without the heroic intrepidity of American or New Zealand savages. The anecdote which Lichtenstein himself relates of a Bechuana warrior murdering one of his bondsmen, in order not to appear among his comrades without the usual savage trophy of heroism, (viz. the navel-skin of a slaughtered enemy,) indicates a national character very different from what he has too hastily ascribed to them.

The conduct of Mateebè and his followers towards the wounded Mantatees and the female prisoners, after the combat at Lattakoo, displays still more unequivocally the mean malignity, the utter deprivation of pity, the want of honour or gratitude, and the brutal selfishness of these barbarians. It is not among the Bechuanas, assuredly, that we are to look either for the innocence which poets have ascribed to the pastoral

ages, or for the rougher virtues of the heroic times. Among other circumstances which point out the low state of civilization among all the Caffer nations, the condition of the women is one of the most obvious. Upon them all the hard work and drudgery devolves; they alone build the houses, cultivate the ground, reap and grind the corn, and cook the victuals; while, with the exception of making their leather mantles, the men, when not employed in war or hunting, pass the greater part of their time in sheer idleness, or in empty talk.

In all savage nations, however, the degradation of the females is an ordinary feature. The neglect of the aged is less universal; for the natural sentiments of reverence and gratitude have among many nations, not in other respects more civilized than the Bechuanas, preserved their full influence in society. Among the latter, however, the general neglect of the old and helpless is even more revolting than the slavery of the women. The chiefs alone seem to have any respect paid them in their declining years.

Having noticed these striking defects, I must



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on the other hand observe in candour, that these tribes are not destitute of more pleasing qualities. They are generally good-natured and obliging to strangers and to each other; and however much a traveller may be teased by their continual begging, he is in little danger of being either robbed or ill-used in travelling among them, with however small a retinue. The peregrinations of the missionaries, and of the slave Arend and others among these tribes, without danger or obstruction, sufficiently prove this fact; and I cannot help thinking that Mr. Burchell has somewhat misapprehended their character in this respect. In his particular case they soon perceived that his followers were both timid and disaffected, and the chiefs did not fail to take advantage of his awkward situation, to exact all they possibly could from him by importunate begging, and by overreaching him in barter; but beyond this there is no evidence, nor I think likelihood, that their cupidity would have proceeded.

Their industry in cultivation, and the extreme neatness and good order displayed in their houses and inclosures, are also highly deserving of

praise.* And though these labours fall at present heavily upon the poor females, the minds of the tyrant sex require only to be enlightened and humanized by Christianity to render them equally industrious. The readiness with which they have already adopted several improvements in their agriculture from the example of the missionaries, may be cited as a very favourable symptom. The Matclhapees, for example, have not only adopted the cultivation of the pumpkin, and some other culinary plants, but have begun to water their gardens by irrigation; an operation of almost in-

* UTENSILS AND ORNAMENTS OF THE BECHUANA AND CAFFER TRIBES.

No. 1. Bechuana spoon, with carved handle.

2, 3, 4. Carved wooden vessels.

5. Earthen jar for holding milk, &c.

6. Ornament for the head, composed of shells woven upon a braid of fine grass.

7. Musical instrument from Delagoa Bay. It is formed of pieces of bamboo resting upon calabashes.

8. Two drumsticks for beating the preceding instrument.

9. Ornament for the neck. It is made of native copper, of a light gold colour, and weighs 1¼ lb.

10, 11. Needle case and needles, five inches in length.

12. Two pieces of wood for procuring fire.

13. Zoola door key, carved out of hard wood.

dispensable importance in the interior parts of Southern Africa, but before the arrival of the missionaries, entirely unknown to the natives. Consequently, their culture was limited to a species of Indian millet *(holcus sorghum)*, and to a particular sort of bean and water-melon, all of which, though peculiarly adapted to bear drought, were yet frequently injured, and occasionally destroyed by the long want of rain; and scarcity or famine was the consequence. But no sooner had Messrs. Moffat and Hamilton led out the Kuruman rivulet to irrigate their gardens, than the natives immediately perceived the advantage of this art, and became eager competitors for the use of the water.*

* In the close of 1823, Mr. Moffat, having occasion to visit Cape Town, was accompanied, at the desire of Mateebè, by his son Peclu and the chief Teysho, his aged counsellor. An account of their conduct and remarks on this occasion, given by the editors of the South African Journal, will form a suitable appendage to what has been already said of them and their countrymen in general.

"The elder of these strangers, old Teysho, is one of the principal counsellors of Mateebè, king or chief of the Matclhapees. He is reckoned a man of prudence and ability, and possesses great influence in the counsels of his tribe.

"The younger chief, Peclu, is the eldest son and heir-

It seems, indeed, not a little remarkable that the Bechuana tribes should have remained sta-

apparent of king Mateebè, and seems to be a pleasing and intelligent youth of about eighteen. They are each waited on by a servant of their tribe; and all are dressed in the native mantle or carosse of dressed cow-hide, leopard, or wild-cat skin, according to their respective ranks or wealth.

"The confidence displayed by Mateebè, in thus entrusting both his heir and his "prime minister" to the charge of an humble Missionary, on an unknown journey of 1000 miles, into the territory of a foreign power, is alike creditable to himself and to the prudence and approved worth of Mr. Moffat; and we trust, that what they have seen and learned of us here, will assist in promoting their own welfare, and the civilization of their people.

"Soon after their arrival in Town, Mr. Moffat carried Teysho and Peclu on board some of the largest vessels in Table Bay; and as they had never even seen the "Great Deep" until their arrival at this place, their admiration and astonishment, as may well be imagined, were extreme. When they first embarked in the boat, Teysho remarked, that if he did not perceive from the countenances of his friend Mr. Moffat and the other gentlemen, that they were in no danger, his very heart would melt within him. But, by degrees, both he and Peclu recovered their ease and serenity; and on reaching the vessel, every other feeling seemed absorbed in profound astonishment. 'It was not without some difficulty that Teysho was convinced that the ship was really afloat, and not a 'water-house,' fixed to the bottom of the sea. One of the party, after surveying the cabin, the hold, and every part of the vessel, exclaimed in his native tongue, that it 'was for certain an uncreated thing,—a thing come of itself and never made by human hands!' In this opinion all his countrymen

tionary at that point of civilization which they have reached. They are agriculturists to a cer-

joined,—and it was only after a long explanation, communicated by Mr. Moffat through the sage Teysho, that they at length gave up this ready solution, and allowed the matchless wisdom and superiority of the 'Macooas,' or civilized men, whose genius could construct and render subservient to their wishes, such a stupendous and beautiful fabric.

"A few days afterwards, the Bechuana chiefs paid a visit to ourselves, along with Mr. Moffat, at a little cottage, behind the Lion's Head, overhanging the precipitous and romantic shore of the 'broad Atlantic.' They seemed struck and even alarmed at the thunders of the vasty deep; and a ship that was sailing past, and the additional things that were told of its uses and powers, excited their highest wonder.

"We entered into conversation with Teysho, through the medium of Mr. Moffat, and Hatta, the interpreter. Referring to the vessel that was passing by, Teysho said, that a ship was the most wonderful thing he had seen among the 'Macooas;' and it gave him a very high notion of our wisdom. Our reading and writing, he said, also astonished him. He had observed, that when the missionary received a letter, he was 'almost quite as happy as if he had shaken hands with the friend who wrote it.'—He next turned the conversation to the religious information communicated by the missionaries. We inquired, whether the Bechuanas had heard of a God, or an after-state of existence, before the missionaries came among them. He said, No:—they had indeed heard of the 'Moreemo,' (Deity); but only from their physicians, or 'medicine-men.' The people generally had no idea of the kind: nor had they any previous knowledge of the immortality of the soul.

tain extent; but not sufficiently so to derive from the soil more than a precarious and insufficient addition to their subsistence as herdsmen and hunters. They possess the art of working in iron and copper; but have applied this knowledge to

"We asked him, whether he thought our manner of life, or that of his own country, preferable. He said, each was best for those who were used to it. He saw that we were a wiser and more knowing people than the Bechuanas; but from long habit, he preferred the customs and manner of life of his own country to ours.

"We remarked that it was the *knowledge* of civilized men that made them powerful. He had seen a hundred Griquas defeat 50,000 savage Mantatees, who had previously destroyed so many nations. If the Bechuanas were to learn to plough and sow bread-corn, use waggons, and acquire our arms and knowledge, they would no longer be exposed to destruction from the nations around them. That *our* forefathers had once been a poor and ignorant people like themselves, without stone houses or great ships, and without any other clothing than softened hides, like their own mantles;—but that a wise nation had come over, and taught us *knowledge*, in consequence of which we had since become great, wealthy, and powerful, as he perceived.

"Teysho seemed struck with this fact, and promised to follow diligently, when he returned home, the instructions of 'Moffat,' and learn to plough and sow, and eat bread-corn; and encourage his people to become industrious, wise, and mighty, like the 'Macooas.'"

I regret to add, that Peclu died at Kuruman, some time after their return.

no other purpose than the manufacture of assagais, hatchets, and personal ornaments. Their towns are often so considerable as to contain many thousand people; and yet they are removable at the caprice of the chief, like an Arab camp. Their system of government is monarchical, rank is hereditary, and the prerogative of the principal chief is apparently absolute; yet it is obvious that his authority over the inferior captains and separate clans is exceedingly feeble and circumscribed.

In this dubious state, between civilized and savage life; between the fixed and the nomade; partly husbandmen, partly herdsmen, partly hunters; the Caffer tribes appear to have remained for ages, and for ages might still remain, unless the exertions of the Missionaries are blessed with success. Once converted to Christianity, their civilization, to a considerable extent, must necessarily follow; or rather, civil and political improvement must go hand in hand with moral amelioration.

The intercourse of Europeans with barbarous nations, except where it has led (as unhappily it

has but too seldom done) to disinterested exertions for their improvement, has usually issued in their enthralment, their extirpation, or their moral debasement. The present condition of the Caffers on the south-eastern frontier of the Colony, does not contradict this assertion. They have not improved since we came in contact with them. In some respects they have retrograded. Still, however, they are a manly race; and, though somewhat inferior to the Bechuanas in the mechanical arts, they are vastly their superiors in courage, in enterprise, and above all in humanity. Barrow and Lichtenstein, though they have fallen into some inaccuracies, have not exaggerated the fine qualities of this people. I visited them in the year 1821; and, though disappointed in regard to King Gaika, (whose good qualities seem to have been greatly overrated,) I was on the whole much pleased with the manners and appearance of the people. The despotism of the chiefs over the inferior ranks is much less oppressive, and more easily evaded than among the Bechuanas; and there is no class of them, like what are called the "poor Bechuanas," in a state of absolute bon-

dage. The power and influence of the chiefs depend so much on their popularity, and the transfer of allegiance from one chief to another is so readily effected, that the arbitrary power of the hereditary aristocracy is under tolerably efficient checks.

Their internal wars are generally prosecuted with little animosity. The prisoners taken in battle, and the women and children of the vanquished, are uniformly spared. If in their wars with the colonists they have sometimes evinced a more vindictive spirit, it may be questioned whether their ferocity has not been exasperated by the unworthy and cruel treatment they have often experienced from the Christians.

Crimes are tried among them in a public court, by the chief and his council, and all matters of general interest are discussed in public meetings, similar to the Bechuana Peetshoes. The great curse of the people, equally here as among the Bechuanas, is the belief in sorcery, which frequently becomes an engine of dreadful cruelty and injustice. From the progress, however, which the missionaries have recently made among

them, it is to be hoped that the phantoms of superstition will ere long give place to the influence of a religion which, wherever it is known in purity, at once enlightens the intellect and elevates the morals.*

This tribe, including the clans of Gaika, Hinza, and several independent chiefs of inferior note, occupies a tract of country extending along the coast from the colonial frontier (now formed by the Keiskamma and Chumi) to the river Bashi or St. John. This tract is about 200 miles in length by sixty or seventy in breadth; and the

* THE CAFFER.

Lo! where he crouches by the Kloof's dark side,
Eyeing the farmer's lowing herds afar;
Impatient watching, till the evening star
Lead forth the twilight dim, that he may glide
Like panther to the prey. With freeborn pride
He scorns the herdsman, nor regards the scar
Of recent wound,—but burnishes for war
His assagai and targe of buffalo hide.
He is a robber?—True; it is a strife
Between the black-skinned bandit and the white.
A savage?—Yes; though loth to aim at life,
Evil for evil fierce he doth requite.
A heathen?—Teach him, then, thy better creed,
Christian! if thou deserv'st that name indeed. T P.

population of the whole tribe may probably amount to about 100,000 souls. Their country is consequently far more densely peopled than any district of the Colony, or than even the Bechuana country. Having been recently dispossessed of the territory between the Keiskamma and Fish River, their kraals are now crowded upon one another, in such a manner that there is scarcely sufficient pasture for their cattle; and, unless they borrow from the Colony the advantage of an improved mode of agriculture, famine must occasionally prevail, till their numbers are again reduced to the limits which the country can support on their present system. Until some such change takes place, it will perhaps scarcely be practicable, even by an improved system of defence, altogether to repress depredations upon the Colony.

The native appellation of this tribe is Amakosæ, and their country is called by them Amakosina. These words are formed from *Kosa*, which is used to designate a single individual of their nation, the plural and derivatives being formed in these, as in other instances, by prefixing the particle *Amma* or *Am*. In the same manner a Tambookie

Caffer is termed Tymba or Tembu, while the tribe collectively is called Amatymbæ. A Hottentot is termed Umlào, the Hottentot nation Ammulào, &c. &c. Lichtenstein has described this tribe of Caffers under the name of *Koosas*.*

Of the Tambookie (properly the *Amàtymbæ*) tribe, it is not necessary to say much. In language, manners, and polity, they exactly resemble their neighbours, the Amakosæ. Their territory extends from the river Zwart-Kei, on the frontier of the Colony, to the sea-coast beyond Hinza's country. How far they occupy the country to the north-east, is not precisely ascertained, nor indeed does it seem easy to distinguish them from the adjoining Caffer tribes, who are generally known in the Colony by the corrupt appellation of *Mambookies*. The fact appears to be, that these various tribes, as far, at least, as Point Natal, closely resemble the frontier Caffers in appearance, lan-

* For further particulars respecting the Amakosæ Caffers, I refer the reader to the Appendix, where a variety of details, furnished by the intelligent missionary Mr. Brownlee, will be found,—forming, as I conceive, no unimportant addition to the accounts of this interesting people already before the public.