

guage, and mode of life, just as the Bechuana clans resemble each other. Neither the Amakosæ, the Amatymbæ, nor the Hambona tribes, are now severally united, each in one community, but are subdivided into many independent sections, governed by their respective chiefs.

It is only within the last ten or twelve years that the Amatymbæ Caffers have extended themselves so far west as the Colonial frontier. In former times the elevated plains, near the sources of the river Kei, were occupied by a tribe of Hottentots or Bushmen; and it is mentioned by Sparrman, that the boors, in his time, used to make incursions into these regions, to kidnap or purchase the natives for servants. Between the Christians, on the one hand, however, and the Caffers on the other, the aboriginal inhabitants have been almost entirely extirpated; and in this quarter, the river Zwart-Kei now forms the boundary between the colonists and the tribe of Amatymbæ. The latter have hitherto been very quiet and orderly neighbours to the Colony, and mutual good-will and harmony prevail between them and the farmers, forming a striking contrast

to the animosity and harassing state of reciprocal aggression which has long prevailed upon the more southern frontier.

Following the coast to the north-eastward, we meet with the Amaponda and Hambona tribes.* These are understood to be Caffer clans, similar to those already described, and require no particular notice. But in this quarter is also found the residence of a small tribe or horde of mixed European and African blood, whose history, obscure and imperfect as it is, can scarcely fail to awaken a more peculiar interest. They are the descendants of Europeans, who were wrecked upon this coast, and who, finding no means of escape, had settled here, and intermarried with the Natives. This point I consider to be fully ascertained; but as much scepticism has been expressed in regard to it, and as the matter is curious, I shall take this opportunity briefly to

* These words are probably only variations of the same name, which some natives also pronounce *Yambana*. The appellation *Mambooki* appears to have been manufactured by the Dutch colonists out of these names, by some process similar to that by which they transmogrified *Amatymba* into *Tumbooki*.

throw together such information on the subject as has fallen in my way.

The wreck of the Grosvenor Indiaman in 1782, and the expedition dispatched by the Dutch Government of the Cape nine years afterwards to ascertain the fate of the survivors, are matters well known from the publication of Van Reenen's Journal, by Captain Riou. It will be remembered that the exploratory party, on their arrival in the Hambona territory, and just before reaching the wreck of the Grosvenor, fell in with a horde of about four hundred souls, descended from the intermarriage of Europeans with the natives, and found among them three old white women still alive. These women informed them that they had been shipwrecked there when so very young, that they had entirely forgot their native language, and could neither tell the name of the ship nor to what nation they belonged; but that they had been brought up by the natives, and married among them, &c. The horde of mulattoes to whom these women belonged, are moreover stated to have been in possession of herds of cattle, and to have had large and fine gardens stocked

with Caffer and Indian corn, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, bananas, beans, and other vegetables: they had obviously derived their lineage from the crew of some vessel wrecked on this coast at a period long previous to the loss of the Grosvenor. Of the crew of the latter, the exploratory party discovered no survivors. Such is the account given by Van Reenen, and this account was in all respects confirmed to me by old Peter Lombard, one of his party, whom I saw at Swellendam in 1822. Lombard also informed me that on their arrival, this tribe of Mulattoes made a great rejoicing, and cried out, "Our fathers are come." *

By recent accounts, it would seem that this clan of mixed blood have been driven from their settlements in Hambona, or at least partially dispersed, during the recent disturbances occasioned by the destructive progress of the Zoolas under King Chaka, of which I shall speak farther by and by. In all the reports respecting the Man-

* Some extracts from Van Reenen's Journal, with other particulars connected with this subject, will be found in the Appendix.

tates which were current among the Bechuana tribes at the time of my visit to Kuruman in 1823, the presence of men of yellow complexion and long hair was uniformly stated; and though no individuals of this description were found among the slain on the plain of Lattakoo, the credibility of the statement is not on that account invalidated, when it is considered how small a proportion these "yellow people" (even supposing their whole tribe had been present) must have formed of the numerous host of invaders. The evidence of the female prisoners rescued by Messrs. Melvill and Moffat, some of whom I have since seen in Cape Town, corroborated the preceding statements on this subject.

In connexion with this it may be observed, that Mr. Brownlee, on a visit which he made in 1824 to Vosani, the principal chief of the Tambookies, who resides to the eastward of Hinza's territory, was informed that some families of white or mixed breed, descended from persons who had been shipwrecked on the coast, were still to be found among a neighbouring tribe, whom, however, Vosani (from whatever cause) would not

permit him to visit. An individual, seen by Captain King among Chaka's followers, having European features, long hair, mustachios, and a large beard, may also have probably sprung from a similar origin.

From the frontier of the Amapondæ (or Hambona Caffers) on the southwest, as far as the river Mapoota and Delagoa Bay on the north, and as far into the interior, at least, as the great ridge of mountains, in whose western sides the Gariep has its principal sources, the whole country is now under the sway of one formidable tribe, governed by a chief named Chaka. This man, originally the sovereign of an obscure but warlike people, called Zoolas, or Vatwahs, has, within the last eight or nine years, conquered or extirpated the whole of the native tribes from Delagoa Bay to Hambona; and has established a barbaric kingdom of large extent, which he governs upon a system of military despotism, strikingly contrasted with the loose patriarchal polity generally prevalent among the other Caffer tribes.*

* The heads of two Zoola warriors, drawn from life, are prefixed to this chapter. The precise origin of this tribe is

The steps by which Chaka has attained the uncontrolled authority which he now exercises

not very clearly ascertained; but they are evidently of Caffer lineage; and the following extract from a letter of the missionary Threlfall, written from Delagoa Bay, in August 1823, seems to indicate that they and the Mantatees are only different hordes of the same race:—

“ A powerful tribe, called Vatwahs, have lately overrun many of the little states in the vicinity of Delagoa Bay. All that I can learn of this nation is, that they are originally from the country adjoining to the sources of the Mapoota River, and the mountains west of English River. They are a very bold and warlike people, of a free and noble carriage, and are characterised by having large holes cut in the flaps of their ears, in which they suspend various articles of moderate weight. They have the finest figures of any of the natives of this country that I have seen. For two or three years past, the devastations of the Vatwahs have been like those of a swarm of locusts throughout all the adjoining countries; and being a very manly and martial people, they have driven out the natives, and possessed themselves of the whole territory, from Mamalong, on King George’s River, about thirty miles from the Portuguese Factory, up to Port Natal. The Vatwahs, like all the tribes of the interior, from 13° S. Lat. to the borders of the Cape Colony, are well acquainted with the use of iron. It is said that the tribes of the interior manufacture all the implements of agriculture used on the coast even by the Portuguese. Such of the Vatwahs as I have seen were naked; but it is said they generally clothe themselves with the skins of animals, and live much on animal food. In war they cover their bodies with large shields of bullock’s hide, and carry in the same hand that bears the shield, six or eight assagais and a spear, to be used as occasion

over his followers, are not as yet very distinctly known; but may be surmised to be similar to those by which savage heroes usually raise themselves to empire—namely, cunning and audacity. Of his destructive wars, as they have affected the other native tribes, I shall speak presently; but it will be expedient to notice, in the first place, the new British settlement in his dominions.

In 1825, Mr. Farewell, a half-pay lieutenant in the navy, proceeded with a party from the Cape, in a small vessel, to Port Natal; and having obtained a grant of the adjoining territory from Chaka, he erected a little fort, with the view of commencing an establishment to trade with the Natives. Notwithstanding the loss of two small vessels on the coast, the prospects of a profitable commerce appear so flattering as to induce the party still to persevere. Mr. Farewell and some other Englishmen recently paid a visit to King Chaka, at his chief residence of Zoola, about 140

demands. They have a manly openness of character, which is very prepossessing; and though certainly great invaders and oppressors to the weaker tribes, it is said that they never attack an enemy without sending previous notice of their intention, and the time when they will appear."

miles from the English settlement ; and from their accounts it appears, that this barbarian has sagacity enough to appreciate the commercial advantages to be derived from a friendly intercourse with Europeans. He cannot, of course, foresee that the admission of a few mercantile adventurers may perhaps ultimately lead to the subjugation of his kingdom and posterity. The despotic power of this savage conqueror is said to be supported by an armed force of about 15,000 men, constantly maintained under his direct command, and prepared to execute, without hesitation, the most hazardous or bloody orders of their chief. Failure or defeat are said to be punished with immediate death ; and an instance is mentioned where one of his captains, and a band of 450 men, were condemned to indiscriminate execution, for having allowed themselves to be defeated by the enemy. Such, it seems, is the severe discipline by which he drills his soldiery. The whole armed force of the Zoola nation is estimated (though I apprehend on very uncertain data) to amount to nearly 100,000 men, including, of course, every male fit to bear arms. The object

of Chaka's wars appears to have been originally the plunder rather than the subjugation of the adjoining tribes. In the present state of these people, territory is indeed of value chiefly for pasturage, and cattle are the only property. Lately, however, uniform success has puffed up the heart of this despot to such a pitch, that he now avows his determination to destroy every tribe that yet remains between him and the colonial boundary. If he survives ten years longer, it appears not improbable that he may actually succeed in executing this threat; and in that event we shall have on our eastern frontier a far more formidable neighbour than has ever yet been known to the Cape settlement. Chaka seems to want nothing but fire-arms to rival a king of Ashantee in audacity as well as cruelty.

The misery already inflicted by the wars of this barbarian upon the Caffer and Bechuana tribes is incalculable, and is far from being confined to the massacre and destruction directly occasioned by his arms. By plundering and driving out the adjoining nations, he has forced them to become plunderers in their turn, and to carry

360 EFFECTS OF HIS DEVASTATIONS.

terror and devastation through the remotest quarters of Southern Africa. In short, the people dispossessed by Chaka became the marauding and cannibal *Mantatees*, whose origin and progress I shall briefly endeavour to trace in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Origin of the Mantatees.—Their Irruption into the Interior, and devastating Progress.—The Ficani, Amazizi, &c.—Their Attack upon the Amatymbæ Caffers, and Approach towards the Colony.

THE reader, by referring to the map, will perceive that the great range of mountains, known in the Colony by the name of Nieuwveld-Bergen, Sneeuw-Bergen, Rhinoster-Bergen, Zuure-Bergen, and Storm-Bergen, is continued through what is called the Mambookie country, and that of the tribes beyond, as far as the vicinity of Delagoa Bay. This prolongation of the great interior range has been set down upon the authority of information derived from a variety of sources, and more particularly from the Wesleyan missionaries, who have penetrated up the branches

of the Gariep farther than any other Europeans. Though continued in the map through the Caffer country with a fainter shade (because it cannot yet be laid down with any pretensions to geographical correctness), it seems probable that this ridge, as it extends to the north-east, maintains an equal, if not a superior, elevation to the principal part of the Sneeuwberg, inasmuch as the chief sources of the Gariep are now ascertained to arise in the Mambookie mountains, besides many considerable rivers flowing into the Indian ocean.

It will be observed that I have placed the native country of the marauding hordes, called Mantatees, among the mountains and elevated plains adjoining to the territory of the Zoolas. Such seems to have been their real origin; and I now offer the following sketch of their history as the result of the information I have been enabled to collect on the subject.*

* The information derived from the female prisoners rescued by Messrs. Melvill and Moffat, has been compared with the reports of fugitives of many different tribes, who have since taken refuge in the Colony, and with the intelligence obtained by Captain Owen, Mr. Farewell, and other

The whole of the Caffer tribes derive their chief subsistence from the flesh and milk of their cattle ; and, during their wars, the limited agriculture which they prosecute is often entirely neglected. If deprived of their cattle, they are consequently driven to absolute desperation, and must either become robbers in their turn, or perish of hunger. Such was the case with the Mantatees. Unable to withstand the overwhelming attack of the Zoola tribe, they were plundered and driven from their country ; they joined forces with other clans who had shared a similar fate ; and thus rendered formidable both by numbers and desperation, they precipitated themselves, like an avalanche, upon the weak and unwarlike tribes of the interior.

Respecting the real name of the Mantatees, there exists some diversity of opinion. My intelligent friend Captain Stockenstrom, of Graaff-Reinet, who has examined many of the fugitives that have lately taken refuge in his district, states that the word *Mantatee* signifies simply "Invader," or "Marauder," in the Bechuana language, and is gentlemen who have lately visited the coasts of Natal and Delagoa Bay.

an appellation given them by the plundered tribes which they themselves universally disclaim. Another interpretation of the word was given me by the Barolong refugee whom I saw at Griqua Town ; and some of the fugitives have, moreover, affirmed that a tribe named *Mantateezi* does really exist, though the mass of the marauding horde was composed of other clans. This may be dismissed as a question of no great importance. The two chief tribes who formed the Mantatee host (for so I shall continue to call the invaders) are termed by the prisoners *Bacloqueeni* and *Mahallogani*, the country of the former approaching towards Hambona and Port Natal, and that of the latter lying about the sources of the river Mapoota.

These having associated themselves, as already stated, with some other clans of fugitives, expelled in like manner by the warlike Zoolas, formed a very numerous host. They were accompanied by their wives and children, and carried along with them, probably, such small part of their cattle as they had saved from the enemy. But a great proportion of this miserable horde of people,

especially the women and the aged, appear to have been generally in a state of famine, from the time they first left their own country until the period when they were encountered by the Griquas, about two years afterwards. From the accounts of the prisoners, it appears but too certain that the rumours afloat among the Bechuanas, of their being cannibals, were not without foundation; though famine alone, and not savage propensity, seems to have driven them to prey upon the flesh of their enemies, or their dead comrades.

Having emerged from the great ridge of mountains, the Mantatees followed the course of the chief branch of the Gariep, overpowering in their route various clans of the Lehoya nation. They then proceeded to the northward, plundering and dispersing every Bechuana clan with whom they came in contact, to the number, it is said, of twenty-eight tribes. The populous town of Kur-rechein, the capital of the Morootzi, was, among many others, sacked and burned by them. At length they were encountered by Makabba, the wary and warlike chief of the Wankeets, who, falling upon the Mantatees unawares, while they

were divided into two bands, succeeded in defeating them with great slaughter, and turned back the tide of devastation from his own territories.

The invaders after this defeat, the first they appear to have sustained since they left their own territory, being thrown into some confusion, and in great want of provisions, instead of continuing the contest with Makabba, suddenly changed their course to the southward, and fell with fury upon a branch of the less warlike Barolongs, whom they plundered and dispersed without opposition, and obtained a plentiful spoil of corn and cattle. Continuing their course to the southward, they came next upon the Tamachas, a weak tribe, whom they easily overwhelmed, and carried off their chief a prisoner, forcing him to act as a guide to lead them to the towns of the Barolongs, Myrees, and Matlhapees.

Long before this time the rumours of their devastations had spread throughout the Bechuana country, mingled with many fabulous tales, as I have formerly mentioned. The most marvellous of these stories did not fail to meet with a ready credence from the great mass of the weak and

timid Bechuanas, especially as the accounts of their vast multitude, their strange arms, their cannibalism, and, above all, their fierce and desperate valour in battle, were found to be fully confirmed by the prisoners who escaped from them. These accounts, and their continued success, had spread the terror of the Mantatees over the whole country ; and, with the exception of Makabba (a man apparently much superior to the Bechuanas in general), they found, wherever they went, the people absolutely paralysed by the mere terror of their name, and, like birds quivering under the eye of the fascinating serpent, incapable alike of resistance or escape.

Such was the state of affairs when I first reached the capital of the Matlhapees with Mr. Moffat. The transactions which occurred during my visit, and the defeat of the Mantatees by the Griquas, have been already fully detailed.

It is sufficiently evident that the faint-hearted Matlhapees were totally incompetent to encounter the marauders ; and without the double advantage of fire-arms and horses, their desperate valour might have been formidable even to the best-

disciplined troops. But the sight of men on horseback, and the terrible effects of the muskets, both of which were entirely new to them, soon quelled their courage, and forced them to retreat, though with less of panic and disorder than might have been expected. The sound of the musketry, and the wounds inflicted by invisible weapons, were, as may be readily imagined, utterly incomprehensible to them. They conceived, as the prisoners reported, their enemies to be armed with "thunder and lightning;" and it is indeed far more remarkable that they sustained the attack so firmly, and resisted it so long, than that they were ultimately beaten. When they first beheld Arend and me near Lattakoo, they conceived us (as the women said) to be some new sort of animals, and with that belief had attempted to surround and catch us. That they absolutely mistook the Griquas for *centaurs* in battle, is not indeed very probable; for though they themselves have no horses, they use, like the other Caffer tribes, the ox as a beast of burthen, and occasionally for riding; but, nevertheless, the appearance of the cavalry must have been much more terrible to

them, than even they themselves were to the Bechuanas.

In the engagement at Lattakoo the Mantatees lost their two kings, or principal chiefs, who were both shot while boldly sallying out to meet the Griquas. This event contributed not a little to accelerate their retreat, and (happily for the Bechuanas) to occasion their subsequent disunion. Soon after their retreat from Lattakoo, the two principal tribes seem to have separated; one division resuming their march towards the north-east, until they were again encountered and repulsed by Makabba. They afterwards formed an amicable junction with the Morootzee tribe, whom they had formerly plundered, and according to the last accounts were *located* in their territories near Kurrechein. The other division, falling back in the direction of their native country near Hambona, dispersed and plundered in their way many tribes who had escaped them in their advance; in consequence of which, thousands of people were reduced to extreme misery for want of food, and began to flock into the Colony all

along the north-eastern frontier, to solicit protection and sustenance.

A party of about 300 men made an irruption into the Tarka Veld-Cornetcy in 1824, and carried off some cattle. They were pursued by a commando of Boors, and on being attacked by fire-arms exhibited the utmost astonishment, and abandoned the plunder without resistance. A few were taken prisoners, who, on being questioned in the Caffer language, said that they belonged to a tribe called *Kouss*, residing many days' journey to the eastward, and that their country having been overrun and plundered by a wandering nation, they were forced by famine to plunder others for their own subsistence. Their emaciated appearance bore witness to the truth of this statement, and after being admonished to beware of again entering the Colony, they were dismissed. These Kouss appear to have been one of the clans plundered by the Mantatees on their return to the southward.

The first collision of these marauding hordes with the southern Caffers appears to have taken place so early as 1822. In the latter end of

that year the Amatymbæ were attacked by a wandering horde whom they called *Ficani*, and whom they then with some difficulty repulsed. The word "Ficani" in the Caffer tongue signifies, it seems, "Invaders," or "Marauders," and is therefore synonymous with the Bechuana appellation "Mantatees," according to the most general interpretation. But neither of these appellations, however well merited, are recognized by the wanderers themselves. In 1824, the Ficani (apparently the Mantatees on their return from the Bechuana country) renewed their incursions upon the Caffer tribes, as appears from the following extract of a letter written from the Chumi, by the missionary Brownlee, and dated in July 1824.

"We have had late accounts of the re-advance of the *Ficani*, who made the attack upon the Tambookies about a year and a half ago. They have recently attacked a tribe called Amaponda, who live on the coast to the eastward of the Tambookies. That tribe they have dispersed and plundered of their cattle, and numbers of the fugitives have taken refuge

among the Tambookies and Hinza's people. We have likewise had visits from fugitives of another tribe, who call themselves *Amazizi*, and who say that their native country lies upon a river of the same name. From the accounts they give of it, it must lie, I imagine, towards the interior from Delagoa Bay, and they appear, in some respects, more nearly related to the Bechuanas than the Caffers; yet they speak of the people who live below them on the Amazizi River, as speaking the Caffer tongue."

This Amazizi river is, in all probability, either the Mapoota, or one of its principal branches flowing through elevated plains similar to those near the sources of the river *Kei*.*

* The following extract of a letter from Captain Owen, of the *Leven*, engaged at the time I received it in surveying the coast near Delagoa Bay, will throw some farther light on the country here referred to. I trust that a work from that distinguished officer himself will, ere long, render the eastern coasts of Africa, and their various inhabitants, as well known as those of the Cape are now.

"The Mapoota River extends from the southern corner of Delagoa Bay (where it empties itself), south-west, about eighty or ninety miles, and takes its rise about lat. 27° S. long. 31° E. in a range of hills in the country of the Vawahs, or Butuas, (*Zoolas*.) English River is the estuary of three

The Rev. Mr. Thomson, another missionary in Cafferland, in a letter dated July 3, 1824, not only corroborates Mr. Brownlee's report of the

rivers, none of them extending far:— the northern one about twenty miles to the N. W.; the central one, or Dundas River, about as much due West; and the southern one about sixty miles S.S.W. The hills in the country of the Vatwabs appear to be from fifteen to twenty leagues beyond English River, lat. 26° S. 32½° E. The King George, or Manice, falls into Delagoa Bay about three or four leagues N. of English River, and its source is in about 20° S., its direction being nearly due north from its mouth.

“The language of Delagoa Bay appears to be nearly the same as that spoken on the east coast as far as Bazaneto Islands. The Caffers and they understand each other with little trouble; but whether the language is the same, I know not. The Vatwabs are a different people, and speak a different dialect; but still they communicate readily with those of Delagoa Bay; the former resemble the southern Caffers.

“The natives of Mapoota trade to the interior; and the country of the Wankeets cannot be more than 250 miles W. of Delagoa Bay; but the country where Dr. Cowan was murdered, is said, on the coast, to have been near the sources of the King George and Sofala rivers.

“The natives of Delagoa Bay are a timid race, and seemingly at peace with every body, but the Vatwabs treat them like a conquered people, and have lately overrun the country. They offer no objections to any one passing through their country.

“There is no European station in Delagoa Bay, but that of the Portuguese at English River, on the northern bank near its mouth.”

Amazizi refugees, but adds the following particulars, which prove, among other things, that they are unquestionably a Caffer tribe :—

“ I had a conversation with one of the nation which attacked Lattakoo last year, and collected the following facts from the interview. It is several years since they were driven out of their own country. This man came early last summer into Cafferland. His nation call themselves *Amazizi*, and their enemies call them *Ba-ficani*. They take their name from a river in their native country, which is very large ; he says the Keiskamma is but a stream compared to it. There are several other rivers, some of which are dry in summer : there are also several lakes. The water is in general good, though there is much that is brackish. The country is generally flat, and there are no very high mountains. The summer is like that of Cafferland as to heat ; and in winter they have frost and snow. He describes it to be much more populous than that of the Caffers and Tambookies. There is very little wood in the country ; their houses are formed of reeds and small wood brought from a great distance ; their fires are

made of cow-dung and the stalks of corn. The houses are neatly constructed; the kraals for cattle are formed of clay and dung, as also their garden fences. They abound in cattle, sheep, goats, and fowls, but have no horses, nor did they know of them until they saw them in Hinza's country. This man was not himself at Lattakoo, and never had heard of white men in his own country. He says his countrymen understood smelting of iron and copper; and their smiths make hoes, assagais, axes, and needles. The men and women dig the ground with the hoes; the women cut down the corn, and the men beat it out; they do not bury it like the Caffers, but stack it above ground, and cover it with grass. The produce which they grow is Indian and Caffer corn, beans, water melons, and pumpkins. A spirituous drink they make of millet, and milk is made to acquire a greater consistency than that of the Caffers,—for he said they *eat* it. With regard to wild animals, they have wolves and jackals, and several species of antelopes; but some of the animals common in the more southern parts of Africa are unknown to them.

“ They have many Chiefs, whose powers and honours are hereditary. There are few who have but one wife; adultery is punished by death. Their dead they bury in a sitting posture, in a grave about six feet deep; stones are placed about the body, and one stone on the head, and then the corpse is covered over with earth, to prevent the wolves from tearing it out.

“ With regard to religion, they can say but little. This man said, he did not know that he possessed any principle within him that would exist for ever; nor does he remember to have heard his countrymen speak about it; he knew not of any place of rewards or punishments; their fathers are dead, but they know not that they shall ever see them again; he says that he had never heard of the Great Maker of all things. Excepting in some words, the Caffers understood him very well; the Caffers say *emanzi* for *water*, he says *ematenzi*; they say *sonka* for *bread*, he says *sinka*; they say *hamba* for *get you gone*, he says *kamba*.

“ These unfortunate people have been long wandering about among the Mambookies and

Hambonas, and many of them have latterly been allowed to settle among the Caffers, under Hinza, who resides about three days' journey from us."

In 1825, the ravages of the Ficani upon the Caffer tribes were renewed; and by penetrating into the Tambookie country, on the north-east, they approached so near the frontier, as to excite considerable apprehensions for the safety of the Colony. The following is an extract of a letter from Mr. Brownlee, relating to this subject, dated at the Chumi, May 21, 1825.

"We have had lately various reports of commotions among the Tambookies, owing to a second invasion of the marauding horde called Ficani, who formerly attacked them. These invaders appeared to have advanced this time in greater force, and the conflict has been more disastrous to the Tambookies, who were surprised by them suddenly by night, and a large number of their kraals entirely deprived of their cattle. The Tambookies made a hasty attempt to retrieve their loss, but were defeated with considerable slaughter, and several of their principal Chiefs and Captains fell in the conflict: In consequence

of this, part of the Tambookie tribes have abandoned their stations, and have fled nearer to the colonial frontier, where it approaches the Tarka. The invaders, it appears, came upon them through a part of the wild Bushman country, lying towards the north-east. The Ficani have for the present planted themselves in the kraals of the Tambookies, whom they have expelled. An officer with a few soldiers has passed this place to-day, towards the upper part of the river Kei, having been dispatched by Major Forbes, the Commandant, to endeavour to procure correct information respecting these invaders."

The officer alluded to by Mr. Brownlee, was Lieutenant Rogers, of the Cape Corps, who visited, on this occasion, some of the Tambookie chiefs, but could not find any safe opportunity of opening a conference with the marauding horde. The information he obtained from the Tambookies respecting them, coincided exactly with that obtained through a different channel by Mr. Pringle, as detailed in the following extract of a letter addressed by him to me in May 1825, from the location of his party on Bavian's River.

“ The various alarming rumours of the approach of your old acquaintance, the roving Mantatees, towards this frontier, have recently induced us to adopt some precautionary measures to prevent our little location from being surprised and overwhelmed by any sudden incursion of these savages; and, in order to obtain correct intelligence, my friends Mr. G. Rennie and Diederik Muller* made, at my suggestion, an excursion into the Tambookie country a few days ago, and visited some of their kraals a little beyond the river Zwart Kei. They had a long conversation with two of the secondary chiefs,

* By recent letters from the Cape, I am informed that these two enterprising men were (with the sanction of the Lieutenant-Governor) about to set out on an excursion to explore the country towards Delagoa Bay, by the way of Hambona, Natal, Zoola, (the residence of King Chaka,) &c. and that Vosani, the principal Tambookie chief, had agreed to accompany them. Mr. Rennie is a settler of Mr. Pringle's party, and a relative, it seems, of the distinguished engineer of that name. Diederik Muller is an untutored African boor—but withal, a fine intrepid fellow, and one of the most adventurous hunters in Africa. I have little doubt that they will succeed in their enterprise (for there are no obstacles in their way which courage and caution may not surmount); and I trust that many beneficial consequences may result from it.

named Quassa and Pewana; who informed them that the invading horde, called Ficani, had been roaming about for a considerable time in their vicinity, accompanied by their women and children; and that about two months ago they had defeated the combined forces of the Tambookies and the Caffer chief Hinza, with great loss, six of their principal captains, and a great number of warriors, having fallen in the engagement. This conflict took place near a mountain called Hanglip by the colonists, which is not above two days' journey from this place. The Tambookies say, that the head quarters of the Ficani are now on the river Somo, one of the branches of the White Kei; but that they frequently send out foraging parties to plunder the kraals of the inhabitants, sometimes openly by day, sometimes under covert of night; and that they not only carry off their corn and cattle, but cruelly massacre all who fall into their hands without distinction of sex or age. They describe them as being armed partly with clubs and assagais like the Caffers, and partly with battle-axes, and with

a hooked weapon fixed to a short handle, similar to the arms used by the Mantatees at Lattakoo. They added, that these invaders make their attack with exceeding boldness and fury, rushing on to close combat through the showers of asagais with which their own warriors encountered them; and that they are so swift of foot, and so formidable from their numbers and ferocity, that the Caffer tribes are unable to stand their ground against them. Quassa and Pewana had lost many of their own followers, and a large portion of their cattle, and had been obliged to abandon their kraals and corn-fields to the eastward. They pointed out many of their followers who had been severely mangled in the late battle, and whose wounds were not yet healed; and they added, that unless they obtained aid from the Colony, they must on the first advance of the enemy fly across the frontier line, and seek protection beneath the guns of the Christians.

“ Being questioned respecting the supposed origin, or native country of these savages, they said they were informed by fugitives, that this

horde had emigrated from a country lying considerably to the north-east; and that they had been driven from their own territory by a stronger nation, among whom were people of the colour of Hottentots, and with large beards and long hair."

From the above account, which was fully corroborated by Lieutenant Rogers's report to the commandant, it appears that this horde of ravagers had been within little more than two days' march of the Colony; nor was there any obstacle, on their first advance, to prevent them from overwhelming the Scotch location, and other frontier settlements. Fortunately, however, they contented themselves, at that time, with the plunder of the Tambookie kraals, and soon after retired again to the eastward.

During the present year, (1826,) there have been various rumours of their return, but from the measures now taken by the Colonial Government to watch their motions, there is no longer any reason for apprehension of their being permitted to pass the frontier line. All applications

from the Tambookies for aid against them, have been for the present refused. The Caffer tribes must therefore fight bravely for their own existence, or perish like those which have already been overwhelmed by the devastators. Were it not for their internal divisions and jealousy of each other, I should be led to anticipate, from the manly and warlike character of the frontier clans, a far more energetic resistance to the invaders, than they encountered from the mass of the faint-hearted Bechuanas.

The extent of the misery and destruction occasioned among the Caffer tribes, by the dispossession and subsequent devastations of the Mantatee hordes, it is impossible accurately to estimate; but at the most moderate calculation it is believed, that not fewer than 100,000 people have perished by war and famine. Within the last two years upwards of 1000 fugitives, mostly in a state of extreme destitution, have taken refuge in the Colony,—a circumstance wholly unprecedented in any former period. These refugees have been, by the direction of the Home Govern-

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ment, indentured as servants for seven years to such of the Colonists in the eastern districts as are not slave owners ; and precautions have been adopted, (efficient ones, I trust,) to prevent any of those poor exiles from being ill-treated, or from hereafter merging into a state of slavery. ,

PART II.

**EXCURSION TO THE COUNTRY OF THE BUSHMEN,
KORANNAS, AND NAMAQUAS, &c.**

VOL. I.

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CHAPTER I.

Journey to the Roggeveld.—Colonists of the Northern Frontier.—Wars with the Bushmen.—Band of Caffer Emigrants.—Serpent-charmers.—Origin of Bushman Animosity.—More humane Conduct of some of the Colonists.

ON the 24th of July, 1824, I again left Cape Town, with the view of exploring the desert country towards the banks of the Gariep or Orange River, and of ascertaining, by personal inspection, whether the lower part of that river was capable of affording any facilities for commercial intercourse with the interior tribes.

This quarter of Southern Africa had not hitherto been visited by any European travellers, except the Rev. Mr. Campbell; and his publication, entirely devoted to Missionary objects, did not afford much information that could throw

light on the geographical features, or commercial resources of the country. I do not state this in order to disparage the work of that meritorious and simple-hearted philanthropist, but to show that, both my objects and my route being different from his, I was now entering upon a field almost new to Europeans, and visited only by vagabond smugglers, and a few missionaries, who had devoted their lives to propagate Christianity among the wandering tribes of those desolate regions.

Having equipped myself in the same simple mode as on my excursion to the Bechuana country, and being provided, through the favour of His Excellency the Governor, with an official order to the inhabitants of the Colony to render me every assistance that I might stand in need of, I proceeded, with horses hired from place to place, without interruption, until I reached Bloem Fonteyn, the residence of Veld-Commandant Nel, in the Roggeveld; where I proposed to make arrangements for proceeding beyond the boundary of the Colony. The line of my route from Cape Town will be found in the map.

To this point I had traversed a district of which the peculiar characteristics have been minutely described by Lichtenstein ; nor did I perceive that any very peculiar changes had taken place in the circumstances or manners of the inhabitants since he visited them, twenty years ago. The boors of the Roggeveld are still, like the other frontier colonists, a frank and hospitable, but uncultivated set of men ; kind to the traveller, but constantly embroiled in civil disputes with each other, and in a barbarous warfare of reciprocal aggression with the miserable Bushmen.

The Veld-Commandant, whose place I had now reached, I found to be a man of great substance as a stock farmer. The attention of the farmers in this part of the Colony is almost exclusively devoted to pasturage, for which indeed the country is chiefly adapted. Were the climate even better fitted for the cultivation of grain, it could never be an object with them to grow more than what is sufficient for their own consumption. Owing to the very great distance from any market, corn can never be an article of sale. But, independently of this circumstance, such is the

aridity of the climate, that I was told no rain of amount sufficient to make the rivers flow, had fallen during the last *five* years. The rains, scanty at all times, are equally precarious as to the period of their falling, being produced only by thunder-clouds in summer ; and the country of the Bushmen, extending between the Colony and the river Gariep, is still more subject to excessive droughts.

I visited, with Nel and another boor, the highest point of the neighbouring mountains, called *Uitkyk* (look-out), from which I obtained a view of the country in all directions with extraordinary clearness,—being able to see distinctly the summit of the Hex River mountains, capped with snow, at a distance of about 180 miles ; while the country of the Bushmen, intersected only by dry beds of torrents, extended below me far to the north. From this summit I fixed the bearings by compass of several remarkable points in the mountains of Bokkeveld, Cedarberg, Hantam, and Nieuwveld, which have been erroneously laid down in former maps.

I spent the day in conversing with my host, and another farmer named Vlok, a frank, talkative fellow, who had accompanied me hither from his own place; and I obtained from these men much interesting information respecting their own mode of life, and the condition of the native tribes beyond them. In the evening we were entertained by a Bushwoman, in the service of Nel, playing on the *Raamakie*,—an instrument about forty inches long by five broad, and having the half of a calabash affixed to the one end, with strings somewhat resembling those of a violin. With this instrument she produced a dull monotonous thrumming, in which my ear was unable to trace any thing like regular melody. The commandant informed me, that this woman had lived in his household from her infancy, and that a better or more trustworthy creature he had never had in his service. He remarked, that Bushmen in general, when taken young, make good and active servants; but that those who have grown up in the wilds to adult age, can seldom or ever be induced to remain in the service of the farmers,

—having a great aversion to manual labour, and preferring sloth, liberty, and hunger; to labour, servitude, and plenty.

The Bushmen on this frontier, whatever may have been the original condition of their progenitors, are now entirely destitute of cattle or property of any description; and now that the larger game have been generally destroyed, or driven out of the country by the guns of the Boors and Griquas, they are reduced to the most wretched shifts to obtain a precarious subsistence, living chiefly on wild roots, locusts, and the larvæ of insects. The wandering hordes of this people are scattered over a territory of very wide extent, but of so barren and arid a character, that by far the greater portion of it is not permanently habitable by any class of human beings. Even as it is, the colonists are perpetually pressing in upon their limits, wherever a fountain, or even a temporary *vley* or pool of water is to be found: but had this territory been of a character less desolate and inhospitable, there can be little question that it would have been long ago entirely occupied by the Christians. They are continually soliciting

from the Government fresh grants beyond the nominal boundary ; and at present are very urgent to obtain possession of a tract lying between the Zak and Hartebeest Rivers. In defence of these aggressions they maintained to me that the Bushmen are a nation of robbers,—who, as they neither cultivate the soil, nor pasture cattle, are incapable of occupying their country advantageously ; that they would live much more comfortably by becoming the herdsmen and household servants of the Christians, than they do at present on their own precarious resources ; and finally, that they are incapable of being civilized by any other means, as the failure of the Missionary establishment among them at the Zak River had evinced. At this institution, I was told, the most strenuous exertions had been employed by the missionary Kicherer, for many years, to engraft upon them habits of industry and foresight, but totally without avail ; for he had been ultimately forced to abandon the enterprise, and the station was now in ruins.* Equally unsuccessful, Nel and Vlok

* I have been since informed, that this is not a correct statement, and that, in fact, Mr. Kicherer did not abandon

informed me, had been all their own efforts to improve the wild Bushmen. On one occasion, they said, they had given to the captain of a horde a number of sheep and goats, to be kept as a joint-stock between the donors and his people; but on visiting the kraal, a short time afterwards, they found there was not one of the flock remaining, and that the Bushmen were as destitute as before.

Whatever may have been the causes of the failure of Missionary attempts to civilize the Bushmen, I fear that the usual conduct of the farmers towards them has been rather of a description to render them more barbarous and desperate, than to conciliate or civilize them. Latterly, indeed, several of the more judicious farmers had tried milder measures with them, and Nel informed me that a sort of treaty at present subsists between him and the captain of the principal horde in his vicinity. This chief waits upon Nel at every third full moon, and reports the proceed-

the Zak River Bushmen on account of his want of success among them, but because he was appointed by the Colonial Government to be district clergyman of Graaff-Reinet.

ings of his clan ; and if their conduct has been praiseworthy,—if they have lived humbly upon ants and bulbous roots, and refrained from stealing cattle, they receive certain allowances of sheep, tobacco, and trinkets, from the Veld-Commandant and the burghers under his control.

According to his own statements, however, a very different system had been long pursued towards this unhappy race. Nel informed me that within the last thirty years he had been upon thirty-two commandoes against the Bushmen, in which great numbers had been shot, and their children carried into the Colony. On one of these expeditions, not less than two hundred Bushmen were massacred ! In justification of this barbarous system, he narrated many shocking stories of atrocities committed by the Bushmen upon the colonists,—which, together with the continual depredations upon their property, had often called down upon them the full weight of vengeance. Such has been, and still, to a great extent, is, the horrible warfare existing between the Christians and the natives of the northern frontier, and by which the process of extermina-

tion is still proceeding against the latter, in the same style as in the days of Barrow.*

It struck me as a strange and melancholy trait of human nature, that this Veld-Commandant, in many other points a meritorious, benevolent, and clear-sighted man, seemed to be perfectly unconscious that any part of his own proceedings, or those of his countrymen, in their wars with the Bushmen, could awaken my abhorrence. The massacre of many hundreds of these miserable creatures, and the carrying away of their children into servitude, seemed to be considered by him

* THE BUSHMAN.

The Bushman sleeps within his black-brow'd den,
 In the lone wilderness : around him lie
 His wife and little ones unfearingly—
 For they are far away from " Christian men."
 No herds, loud lowing, call him down the glen ;
 He fears no foe but famine ; and may try
 To wear away the hot noon slumberingly ;
 Then rise to search for roots—and dance again.—
 But he shall dance no more ! His secret lair,
 Surrounded, echoes to the thundering gun,
 And the wild shriek of anguish and despair !
 He dies—yet, ere life's ebbing sands are run,
 Leaves to his sons a curse, should they be friends
 With the proud Christian race—" for they are fiends !"

T. P.

and his companions as things perfectly lawful, just, and necessary, and as meritorious service done to the public, of which they had no more cause to be ashamed, than a brave soldier of having distinguished himself against the enemies of his country: while, on the other hand, he spoke with detestation of the *callousness* of the Bushmen in the commission of robbery and murder upon the Christians; not seeming to be aware that the treatment these persecuted tribes had for ages received from the Christians, might, in their apprehension, justify every excess of malice and revenge that they were able to perpetrate.

The hereditary sentiments of animosity, and the deep-rooted contemptuous prejudices, that had blinded Nel's judgment and seared his better feelings on this point, did not, however, operate to prevent him judging properly enough in a neutral case: as, for example, where two of the native tribes were opposed to each other. The way in which he mentioned the conduct of a Caffer horde in that vicinity towards the Bushmen, offered a striking illustration of this.

A small party of Caffers had found their way

about fifteen years ago into the Bushman country, and had settled near the Karree mountains east of the Zak River, where there is sufficient water and pasturage. These Caffers, it seems, not content with taking possession of a valuable part of their country, waged an unjust and ferocious war with the Bushman hordes around them, of whom they destroyed great numbers, and carried off their children into bondage. Their depopulating progress was, however, arrested by the Landdrost Stockenstrom, who came suddenly upon them with a commando, shot the chief perpetrators of these enormities, and took out of their hands upwards of thirty children, whose parents they had slaughtered.

Nel and his companions spoke with detestation of the conduct of these intruders, and applauded the punishment inflicted upon them, without seeming to be aware how close a resemblance existed between their own conduct and that of the Caffers.

This horde of Caffers, learning wisdom from adversity, had ever since their chastisement ceased from strife and plunder,—and betaking themselves

POISONED WEAPONS.—SNAKE-CHARMERS. 399

to the peaceable pursuits of a pastoral people, they were, consequently, now in a thriving condition, being in possession of 1100 cattle and 2100 sheep.

Among other remarks on the Bushmen, Nel mentioned, that within the last forty years they had much improved in the manufacture of the poison with which they imbue their arrows. It is now, he affirmed, much more subtle and deadly than it was in former times, and is composed of certain deleterious ingredients, both vegetable and mineral, carefully concocted with the poison of the most venomous snakes.

He also affirmed, that among the Bushmen are found individuals called *slang-meesters* (serpent-masters) who possess the power of charming the fiercest serpents, and of readily curing their bite. These charmers, it seems, can communicate to others their powers and their invulnerability, by putting them through a regular course of poison-eating. The boors have the most implicit confidence in their medicaments, quackish and fanciful as some of them are. One of their most common applications is urine, which the colonial