



THE DIARY OF
Dr. ANDREW SMITH





Frontispiece.

Dr. Andrew Smith.

The Diary of
Dr. Andrew Smith,
director of the
"Expedition for Exploring Central Africa,"
1834—1836

Edited, with an introduction, footnotes, map and indexes, by

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THE VAN RIEBEECK SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS.

1. Reports of De Chavonnes and his Council, and of Van Imhoff, on the Cape. 1918. Out of print.
2. Mentzel, O. F.—Life at the Cape in the mid-eighteenth century ; being the biography of Rudolph Siegfried Alleman, Captain of the Military Forces at the Cape of Good Hope. Translated from the German by Miss M. Greenlees, M.A. 1919. Out of print.
3. De Mist, J. A.—Memorandum containing recommendations for the form and administration of government at the Cape of Good Hope, with an English version by Miss K. M. Jeffreys, B.A., and a preface by S. F. N. Gie, Ph.D. 1920. Out of print.
4. Mentzel, O. F.—A geographical-topographical description of the Cape of Good Hope. Translated from the German by H. J. Mandelbrote, M.A., LL.B. Part I. 1921. Price to members, 7/6.
5. Collectanea, Vol. I.—With a preface by C. Graham Botha. 1924. [*Contains* Descriptions of the Cape by Ovington, 1693, Beeckman, 1715, Dampier, 1691 ; Rogers' Description of Natal, c. 1696 ; Cnoll's Dagregister van een reis naar het Warme Bad, with an English transl. ; Dagverhaal wegens de reis naar 't Warme Water opgesteld door Willem van Putten, c. 1710, with an English transl. ; Letter dated 1708 from John Maxwell to Rev. Dr. Harris ; Instructien gedateerd 30 Maart 1699 door Gouverneur Simon van der Stel ; Instructien gedateerd 19 April 1708 door Commissaris Cornelis Joan Simons.] Price to members, 5/-.
6. Mentzel, O. F.—A geographical-topographical description of the Cape of Good Hope. Translated from the German by H. J. Mandelbrote, M.A., LL.B. Part II. 1924. Price to members, 6/-.
7. The Diary of the Rev. F. Owen, Missionary with Dingaan, together with the accounts of Zulu affairs by the interpreters, Messrs. Hulley and Kirkman. Edited by Sir Geo. E. Cory, M.A., D. Litt. (Camb.). 1926. Out of print.
8. The Wreck of the Grosvenor.—Containing a narrative of the loss of the Grosvenor, East Indiaman, wrecked on the Coast of Caffraria, 1782 ; compiled by Mr. George Carter from the examination of John Hynes, one of the survivors. London, 1791 ; and Journal of a Journey from the Cape of Good Hope in 1790 and 1791, undertaken by J. van Reenen and others in search of the Wreck of the Grosvenor ; a literal translation of the Original by Capt. Edward Riou. London, 1792. With a preface by C. Graham Botha, M.A., 1927. Price to members, 6/6.

9. Die Dagboek van Hendrik Witbooi, Kaptein van die Witbooi-Hottentotte, 1884-1906. Werk na die oorspronklike dokumente in die Regeringsargief, Windhoek. Met 'n voorwoord deur Gustaf Voigts. Uitgee met die medewerking van die Suidwes-Afrika Wetenskaplike Vereniging, Windhoek. 1929. Price to members, 6/6.
- 10, 11. Lichtenstein, Henry.—Travels in Southern Africa in the years 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806; by Henry Lichtenstein. Translated from the original German by Anne Plumtre. London, 1812-15. 2 vols., 1928-30. Price to members, 12/- each.
12. Journals of the expeditions of the Honourable Ensign Olof Bergh (1682 and 1683) and Isaq Schrijver (1689); transcribed and translated into English and edited with a foreword and footnotes by Dr. E. E. Mossop. 1931. Price to members, 7/6.
13. Louis Trigardt's Trek across the Drakensberg, 1837-1838, by Claude Fuller; ed. by Prof. Leo. Fouché. 1932. Price to members, 7/6.
14. The Early Cape Hottentots described in the writings of Olfert Dapper (1668), Willem Ten Rhyne (1686) and Johannes Gulielmus de Grevenbroek (1695). The original texts, with translations into English by I. Schapera, M.A., Ph.D., and B. Farrington, M.A., ed., with an introduction and notes by I. Schapera. 1933. Price to members, 7/6.
15. The Journal of Hendrik Jacob Wikar (1779) with an English translation by A. W. van der Horst; and the Journals of Jacobus Coetzé Jansz: (1760) and Willem van Reenen (1791) with an English translation by Dr. E. E. Mossop; edited with an introduction and footnotes, by Dr. E. E. Mossop. 1935 (for 1934). Price to members, 7/6.
- 16, 17. Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa by Nathaniel Isaacs; ed., with footnotes and a biographical sketch by Louis Herrman, M.A., Ph.D. 2 vols. 1935 and 1936. Price to members, 10/- each.
18. Die joernaal van Dirk Gysbert van Reenen, 1803; uitgegee en van voetnote en 'n landkaart voorsien deur wyle Prof. Dr. W. Blommaert en Prof. Dr. J. A. Wiid; met 'n Engelse vertaling deur Prof. Dr. J. L. M. Franken en Ian M. Murray. 1937. Prys aan lede, 7/6.
19. Die Duminy Dagboeke (met Engelse vertalings); geredigee en van inleiding en voetnotas voorsien deur Prof. Dr. J. L. M. Franken. 1938. Price to members, 10/-.
20. The Diary of Dr. Andrew Smith, director of the "Expedition for Exploring Central Africa" 1834-1836; ed., with an introduction, footnotes, map and indexes, by Percival R. Kirby. Vol. I., 1939. Price to members, 12/-.

PREFACE.

In presenting this work to the members of the Van Riebeeck Society my wish has been to make available for general reading as well as for more detailed study a small part of the prodigious unpublished writings of an indefatigable worker whose astounding versatility made it impossible for him ever to give to the world more than a fraction of the fruits of that scientific work which he undertook, chiefly in his spare time, for the sheer love of knowledge and from his desire to see things for himself and to draw his own conclusions. For Andrew Smith was, as the Memoir of his life will show, from first to last a medical man, and one, too, whose great ability and outstanding personality won for him the highest position that could possibly be attained in that branch of the profession to which he gave his life.

I have no need to draw the attention of lovers and collectors of Africana to his rare and valuable *Illustrations of the Zoology of South Africa*, the materials for which were collected on this very Expedition, the Diary of which is the substance of the present work. Rather would I emphasise the fact that there still remains a large amount of work to be done upon Andrew Smith and his interests, which, as will be seen from the list of unpublished notes still in existence, were astonishingly wide.

For various reasons he had, unfortunately, to abandon the idea of publishing an account of his travels, in spite of the fact that it was eagerly awaited; and to all those who, assuming that this was due to lack of knowledge or of original discoveries, found fault with him for not doing so, I would quote on his behalf the famous reply which he made to his detractors during the Crimean campaign: "that the truth would be known some day, and that he could afford to wait."

P. R. K.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
PREFACE	1
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	3
LIST OF PLATES	7
INTRODUCTION	9
DIARY OF THE EXPEDITION	57
PLATES (See end of Volume)	

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

I wish to express my deep gratitude to the many friends who have helped me in the preparation of this work.

In the first place I am indebted to the Trustees of the South African Museum for their great kindness in allowing me to study the autograph of the Diary and to transcribe it for publication, and to Dr. Leonard Gill and Dr. Keppel Barnard, of the Museum, for their help in tracing the manner of its acquisition.

Again, I can never sufficiently thank Miss Minnie Lister, of Kenilworth, Cape, for first putting me on the track of the manuscript.

I also wish to record my gratitude to Mr. A. C. G. Lloyd, formerly Librarian of the South African Public Library, to Mr. Douglas Varley, the present librarian, and to Mr. I. M. Murray, also of the staff of the same Library; to Mr. Percy Freer, Librarian of the University of the Witwatersrand, and his staff; and to Col. C. Graham Botha, Chief Archivist of the Union of South Africa, and his staff. Also to Dr. Jackson and Mr. Pilling, formerly of the Royal Observatory, Cape, for access to the Maclear letters preserved at the Observatory; to the Hydrographer to the Admiralty, London, the Librarian of the Dominions Office, London, and the Superintendent of the Map Department, British Museum, London, for information or copies of correspondence regarding the Expedition.

Then I owe a special tribute to Mrs. Helen M. McKay for the valuable work which she did for me oversea in obtaining much new material from all manner of sources both in England and in Scotland, including photographs of the portrait of Dr. Smith drawn by Charles Bell while on the Expedition, and that of him in later life; and I would tender my thanks to Mrs. Campbell, sister of the late Mr. A. S. Michie, for her permission to reproduce the former, and to Major-General W.

P. Macarthur, D.S.O., O.B.E., Commandant, Royal Army Medical College, London, for allowing me to use the latter.

I am also indebted to the Research Grant Board of the Union of South Africa for awarding me a grant for maintenance while working in Cape Town, to the Gubbins Trustees, for their permission to have certain of the drawings by Charles Bell photographed, and to the University of the Witwatersrand for having them so photographed.

I would also thank my friend and colleague Professor L. F. Maingard for his valuable criticism and advice, Dr. E. B. Mossop, of Cape Town, for similar friendly assistance, Professor C. M. Doke, of the University of the Witwatersrand, for help with and suggestions regarding the orthography of the various Bantu names, Professor Thom, of the University of Stellenbosch, for copies of letters connected with the Expedition, Dr. W. van den Bos, of the Observatory, Johannesburg, for his illumination of an otherwise obscure astronomical point, Dr. Austin Roberts and Dr. Fitzsimons, of the Transvaal Museum, Pretoria, for advice on ornithological matters, to Mr. W. P. Paff, photographer to the University of the Witwatersrand, for his careful work on the many plates, and to Mr. Fourie, of Onderstepoort, for identification of three diseases of cattle mentioned in the Diary.

For the many hours of arduous and painstaking labour spent in the transcription of the manuscript I can never be sufficiently grateful to Mrs. Cross (Miss Irene Steele) and to Miss Rosa Nepgen.

I likewise wish to add here a tribute to my wife, whose help with the correction of the proofs has been invaluable.

Finally I tender my thanks to the Council of the Van Riebeeck Society for their generosity in allowing this work to see the light of day.

LIST OF PLATES.¹

Frontispiece.—Photograph of a portrait of Dr. Andrew Smith, drawn by Charles Bell during the Expedition. Given to Mrs. H. M. McKay by the late Andrew S. Michie, nephew of Dr. Smith.

Plate 1.—Reproduction of a page of the Diary.

Plate 2.—Colesberg, Nachtmaal, Sept. 1834.

Plate 3.—The Orange River, near Buffel's Vley, 1834.

Plate 4.—Philippolis, capital of Griqualand, 1834.

Plate 5.—Hendrik Hendriks, brother of David and Andries Hendriks, the Bergenaars, son-in-law of Adam Kok (the chief) and the able Secretary [to] the Government of Griqualand, presented with a worn-out pair of Wellingtons and sketched while grateful, 1834.

Plate 6.—Verhuil, now Bethulie; French Missionary Station among the Refugee Bechuana near the Caledon River, 1834.

Plate 7.—Moriah; French Missionary Station in the Bassouto country, 1834. The Maluti Mountain in the distance.

Plate 8.—Old Danster, a Griqua or Coranna chief near Koesberg. Shortly before this sketch was taken he had invited a rival tribe to a feast in celebration of peace and slaughtered his guests to a man. In answer to reproaches for this treachery he replied that his friends intended to play the same game had he given them time, which was very probable, 1834.

Plate 9.—Thaba Bosigu (Mountain of Darkness). Stronghold of Moscheshwe, Chief of the Bassoutos, 1834.

Plate 10A.—The Drakensberg Range, East of Bassoutoland, 1834.

Plate 10B.—Lishuane; a Wesleyan Missionary Station among the Corannas and Grikwas on the West Border of the Bassouto and Mantatee country, 1834.

Plate 11.—Mr. Edwards' congregation at Lishuane, 1834.

Plate 12.—Umpokuane; Wesleyan Mission Station among the Corannas, 1834.

¹ The original titles were written in pencil by Charles Bell, the artist; later titles were written over these in ink, apparently by Dr. Smith himself. I have used the latter here, except for Plates 2 and 3, where Smith added nothing. In photographing the drawings no attempt has been made to touch up either negatives or prints; all blemishes or worn places in the pictures are shown exactly as they exist to-day.

- Plate 13.*—Stronghold of Sikonelli, chief of the Mantatees, 1834.
- Plate 14.*—Sikonelli, chief of the Mantatees, 1834. This remnant of the Mantatees under Sikonella and his mother Machaka, a very drunken old lady once celebrated for prowess in battle and throwing the axe, settled in the corner between the Draakberg and White Mountain when this tribe scattered after their attack on Kuruman or Lattakoo. A great part of the others was broken up at Hanglip in 1828?
- Plate 15.*—Thaba'unchoo (Black Mountain): Wesleyan Mission Station and Residence of Maroko, chief of the Baralong, 1834.
- Plate 16.*—Uitdraai, on the Riet River, 1835.
- Plate 17.*—The Valley of the Riet River, 1835.
- Plate 18.*—Sketch on the Modder River, 1835.
- Plate 19.*—Sketch on the Modder River, 1835.
- Plate 20.*—Fording the Vaal River ('Ky Gariep), 1835.
- Plate 21.*—London Missionary Station of Kuruman, or New Lattakoo, in the Batclapi country, 1835.
- Plate 22.*—Kuruman from the North East, across the Vley of reeds, 1835.
- Plate 23.*—A Bechuana cupping, 1835. Cuts, exhaust and knife.
- Plate 24.*—The Langeberg in the Kalihari desert, 1835.
- Plate 25.*—L'inchuane (little house), hole in rock containing dirty water; the first draught in returning through the desert of Kalahari, 1835.
- Plate 26.*—Sketch on the border of the Kalihari desert, 1835.
- Plate 27.*—Motito: French Mission Station among the Batclapi, 1835.
- Plate 28.*—Mr. Lemue, French Missionary at Motito, holding Evening Service, 1835.
- Plate 29.*—Dress of boys during the ceremony of Circumcision (Boguera) among the Bechuana, 1835.
- Plate 30.*—Dress of Bechuana girls during Circumcision Ceremonies (Boyale), 1835.
- Plate 31.*—Barolong purification of a warrior who has slain a man in battle, 1834.
- Plate 32A.*—Medicine man administering the charm to Barolong warriors when going to battle, 1834.
- Plate 32B.*—Medicine man blowing counter charm towards the enemy.

INTRODUCTION.

I. Origin of this publication.

The publication of this Diary is due to a curious chain of circumstances. While gathering historical material for my book *The Musical Instruments of the Native Races of South Africa*, I came across, quite casually, a number of references to an "Expedition for Exploring Central Africa" which, apparently, set out from Cape Town in the middle of the year 1834, but about which little seemed to have been published. The references in Moffat¹ and Steedman² showed that this Expedition, which was very well equipped, had visited several parts of the country about which little was known at that time, and I was very anxious to find out details of the journey, and of the results obtained from it.

Shortly before his death the late Dr. J. G. Gubbins acquired in London three volumes of original drawings in water colour, wash and pencil by two artists, Charles Bell;³ and Samuel Daniell.⁴ Of those by Bell, numbering one hundred and ninety, about one hundred and seventy were executed during the Expedition, for Bell was one of the two artists who were members of the party, his duty being to delineate the topography of the country, native customs and important and interesting personages.

As soon as these drawings arrived in Johannesburg I lost no time in examining them, in order to see what musical practices, if any, were depicted therein. I was fortunate in discovering no fewer than eleven pictures of performances upon musical instruments, and I reproduced several of these in my book.

¹ Moffat, R., *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa*, London, 1842.

² Steedman, A., *Wanderings and Adventures in the Interior of Southern Africa*, London, 1835.

³ Later Surveyor-General at the Cape.

⁴ Author of *African Scenery and Animals*, London, 1804-1805.

But no descriptive texts were available, nor were any known of. Dr. Gubbins, however, drew my attention to a copy of the rare preliminary report of the Expedition, which was published in Cape Town in 1836, and there I found a long list of articles which had been brought back by the party, and which included the Diary of Dr. Smith.¹ I therefore set to work to attempt to trace the whereabouts of this document, first of all collecting all possible data concerning the Expedition and, in addition, questioning everyone who might possibly have any information on the subject.

The first hint was given to me by Miss Minnie Lister of Kenilworth, Cape, a grand-daughter of Andrew Geddes Bain, who himself accompanied the Expedition for part of the way. Miss Lister thought that she had seen the manuscript of the Diary, and referred me to Dr. Haughton of Pretoria, who, in turn, advised me to enquire at the South African Museum. There, after some search, Dr. Barnard found in the strong room a number of manuscript volumes, in the handwriting of Dr. Andrew Smith, where they had lain since their acquisition by the Museum in 1913. There were fourteen of these volumes, one of which turned out to be the Diary of the Expedition, and two others to be the Journal of the Expedition, as drafted by Smith and intended for publication, but never actually published.

Smith sailed for England in 1837, about a year after the return of the Expedition to Cape Town. There is no doubt that he took with him all his manuscript notes together with the large collection of drawings made on the journey. The manuscripts remained in his possession until his death, after which they passed into the hands of a nephew, Alexander Michie, who wrote what is the fullest and most accurate memoir of Sir Andrew Smith which has yet been published, and which I reprint in this introduction.

On 11th November, 1912, Mr. A. S. Michie, brother of Alexander, wrote to the Trustees of the South African Museum, Cape Town,² and offered them thirteen manuscript Imperial Octavo volumes, in the handwriting of Smith, as he considered

¹ *Report of the Expedition for Exploring Central Africa*, Cape Town, 1836, p. 63.

² Letter in the files of the South African Museum, Cape Town.

that the Library of the Museum was the most appropriate place for them. They were duly accepted and, as I have said, housed in the strong room where they have been ever since. The volumes are as follows, there being fourteen, and not thirteen as stated in Michie's letter.

1. Historical Notices : Hottentots.

A volume of extracts from all manner of sources relating to the history and customs of the Hottentots from 1662 to about 1833.

2. Historical Notices : Kaffirs.

A similar volume, covering the period 1702 (time of Von Plettenberg) to 1834.

3. Kaffir Notes.

Fully half of this volume appears to consist of manuscript notes, roughly arranged, made by Smith when in Kaffirland in 1824 and 1825.

4. Africa I.

5. Africa II.

6. Africa III.

7. Africa IV.

8. Africa V.

Five large volumes, apparently notes for a comprehensive work on the ethnology of the whole of Africa, so far as it was known at the time. Volume I and half of Volume II deal with South Africa; the remainder cover the rest of the continent. The work is partly original and partly collected from other authors.

9. Diary of the Expedition.

The actual field notes of the 1834 Expedition, with a supplementary geological report, the latter being illustrated with diagrams. The Diary is written on paper watermarked 1831 to 1832.

10. Journal of the Expedition, Vol. I.

This is Vol. I of the Journal, partly prepared for publication. Written on paper watermarked 1835 to 1838.

11. *Journal of the Expedition, Vol. II.*

This is Vol. II of the *Journal*, partly prepared for publication, but not completed. Written on paper watermarked 1837 to 1838.

12. *Memoranda.*

Notes on Tswana, Sotho and Matebele tribes, apparently made on the Expedition. Written on paper watermarked 1831. This volume is marked A.

13. *Memoranda.*

Various historical notes, apparently made before the Expedition. Written on paper watermarked 1828. This volume is marked B.

14. *Memoranda.*

Missionary Notices and the like, apparently compiled before the Expedition. Written on paper watermarked 1828. This volume is marked C.

I have said that the best life of Smith is that written by his nephew Alexander Michie in 1876, four years after Smith's death. Since the journal in which it appeared is rarely met with, I have thought it desirable to reprint it here, and to give the life of Smith in the words of one who had for long known him personally, rather than attempt to write a fresh one to which I could have added little beyond the details which I have given elsewhere in this preface.

*II. Memoir of Sir Andrew Smith, M.D., K.C.B., F.R.S., F.Z.S., etc., Director General of the Medical Department of the British Army, by Alexander Michie, Vice-President of the Hawick Archaeological Society.*¹

Sir Andrew Smith, K.C.B., formerly Director General of the Medical Department of the Army, was born on the 3rd December, 1797, at Heronhall, in the parish of Kirkton, Roxburghshire.

¹ In the *Proceedings of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club*, 1876, Vol. viii, No. 1, pp. 33-46. A reprint of the 'Memoir' is in the library of the South African Museum, Cape Town; the present author possesses a complete copy of this number of the *Proceedings*. Two letters and a few footnotes have been omitted from this "Memoir," together with a bibliography of works by Smith. A full bibliography will appear in the second volume of the *Diary*.

He was the son of Thomas Smith, a man, active and faithful in the discharge of all the duties of life. His mother was a woman of great mental power and Christian worth, and the family consisted of two sons, and three daughters, of whom Andrew was the first born.

At an early age, he was sent to a school at Stobs, but made little progress, the teacher, being of a harsh disposition, frequently submitting him to unmerciful flogging, which produced in his mind an aversion to study. Too frequently he was found playing the part of the truant, spending his time in gathering wild flowers, hunting butterflies, or searching for bird nests.

In 1809, the family having removed to Hassendean, he attended the parish school of Minto, and afterwards that of Lilliesleaf, where, under more favourable auspices than at Stobs, he made most satisfactory progress with his education.

The medical profession having been chosen as his future sphere of action, he was placed under the care of Mr. Walter Graham, of Hawick, a surgeon of extensive practice in the town and surrounding district.

In 1813, he proceeded to Edinburgh, where he pursued, with diligence, ardour, and success, his studies in the University. Being desirous of entering the Medical Department of the Army, and having fully qualified himself for the service, in the summer of 1815 he made application, and repaired to London to undergo the preliminary examinations; his hopes of a favourable issue, however, being slight owing to the reduction of the strength of the army, consequent on the return of peace after the decisive victory of Waterloo. He passed the necessary examinations with credit to himself, and satisfaction to all the members of the Board; a treatise on the eye having especially produced a most favourable impression on the mind of Sir James M'Gregor, the Director General. On the 15th August, he was greatly gratified by being gazetted an Hospital Assistant; and there is good reason to believe that he was the youngest officer ever admitted to the Department. For three years he did temporary duty at various home stations, and had medical charge of troops going to, or returning from, Malta, Nova Scotia, and Canada. In 1818, and following year, he was quartered at Edinburgh, and while there, embraced the opportunity of attending all the classes in the University and Surgeon's Hall,

which he had not been able to overtake formerly. At the conclusion, on the 2nd August, 1819, he graduated as M.D. The subject of his inaugural dissertation was "*De Variolis Secundariis.*" During this period he was an occasional contributor to the *Edinburgh Medical Journal*.

In 1820, Dr. Smith was ordered to the Cape of Good Hope, where he remained till 1837. For short periods, he had medical charge there of the 49th and 98th Regiments and Cape Mounted Rifle Corps; and was also frequently employed by successive Governors in confidential missions to the Kaffir and other tribes beyond the frontier. As South Africa has ever presented an attractive field to the naturalist, his leisure hours were spent in the enthusiastic pursuit of his favourite study; and he entered into the work with all the ardour of his nature. In a few years his collection of objects of natural history contained many valued treasures; which, on the formation of the museum in connection with the South African Institution, were presented by him for exhibition there. From the first, Dr. Smith took great interest in the prosperity of that institution, and, by his exertions, contributed greatly to its success.¹ From time to time the result of his observations on the zoology of the country, embodied in papers, were read at the meetings, and published in the *Quarterly Journal*.

In 1824, Dr. Smith was sent by Lord Charles Somerset, the Governor, on a mission into Kaffirland, and while there, in that and the following year, he had much intercourse with Gaika and other chiefs of note. His manly, upright dealings, gained the confidence of the people, and his unceasing efforts, as a medical man, to relieve their sufferings, obtained the love and gratitude of all.

In 1828, owing to the existence of great dissatisfaction on the northern border of the colony, in consequence of the marauding practices of the Bushmen of the Orange river, Dr. Smith was commissioned by Sir R. Bourke (who had succeeded Lord Chas. Somerset) to proceed thither to obtain information regarding their views, and ascertain from them,

¹ I have recently proved, from official documents, that Smith actually founded the South African Museum in June, 1825, and was its first Director.

whether the policy of the Government was correctly understood and appreciated. His report recommended several changes, some of which were adopted with good results. One of the fruits of this journey was the publication, at Capetown, of his "Origin and History of the Bushmen," which was afterwards translated into the French, German, and other languages.

In consequence of the exterminating wars of Chaka, the Zulu potentate, having depopulated the well-watered and fertile district for a considerable distance around Port Natal, a district more favoured by Nature than any other in South Africa, a strong desire was evinced by the inhabitants of the Cape that it should be opened up for colonization. In 1830 it was decided by Sir Lowry Cole, the new Governor, to send Dr. Smith to examine the country, and report the result of his observations. This was a service of no little danger, owing to the ferocious character of Dingaan, the brother and successor of Chaka; and also to the treacherous and barbarous massacre of Lieut. Farewell, and seven of his party, the previous year, when on their way to Port Natal, by a chief who had fled from the yoke of Dingaan. Notwithstanding these and other discouraging influences, Dr. Smith, accompanied by his friend Lieut. Edie, and a Dutch farmer, set out on the mission. They proceeded on their way till they reached the Umzimvubu, where their passage to the river was stoutly opposed by the inhabitants of an Amaponda kraal situated near its banks. Neither the tact nor persuasive powers of Dr. Smith, nor his offer of valuable presents, could conciliate the people; so nothing remained for the party but to force its way. All efforts having failed, it was intimated that, at sunrise on the morrow, they would proceed on their journey. Accordingly, all were early astir, making preparations for departure; the Amaponda gathering round and sullenly looking on. At the appointed time, when all was ready for the advance, Dr. Smith, Lieut. Edie, and the farmer, well mounted and armed, led the way, the wagons followed, while the rear was formed by the servants of the party. The Amaponda, with threats, accompanied them to the river, but the opposite bank was reached in safety. When all were over, Dr. Smith intimated that the presents were still available, and sent them to a small island in the middle of the stream. After much hesitation, one man ventured to meet the messengers. The people on recovering the gifts were wild with delight, loudly pro-

claiming their friendship, and invited the party to return home the same way.

The Umzimvubu was the eastern boundary of the country which had been devastated by Chaka. From this river to the Tugela, a distance of about 240 miles, it had been utterly ravaged; so much so, that not more than fifty persons were seen in the whole territory; except in the immediate vicinity of Port Natal, where a number of natives, the remains of the original inhabitants, having left their hiding places, had gathered for protection around the English traders and hunters, settled there. The party having reached the Tugela, the southern boundary of the Zulu dominion, it became necessary to proceed with the utmost circumspection, as two years had only elapsed since Chaka had been assassinated at the instigation of Dingaan; which deed, had been followed by the slaughter of all, who, in any degree, had been suspected of having disapproved of the policy of the new king. Dr. Smith advanced with caution, and was favourably received by the savage monarch at his principal kraal, situated on the Umslatoi river. While there, many opportunities were afforded of witnessing the galling nature of Dingaan's rule; death being the penalty for many offences, which in less barbarous communities would not have been regarded as crimes. Dr. Smith, one morning, saw the lifeless bodies of thirteen women, who had been killed by order of the king, and whose only fault had been, that they had reminded him of a promise made to them, the fulfilment of which they considered had been too long deferred. To impress his visitors with his power, he reviewed several of his favourite regiments, each about a thousand strong, all well drilled, well armed, and active men. To honour them, he had an exhibition of war and other dances, &c. On the other hand he sought information regarding the white king and his soldiers, the arts and usages of civilized society, and other matters of interest to him. Having fully attained the objects for which the journey was undertaken they set out on their return to the colony. On the way, Dr. Smith was attacked by a sudden and serious illness, but had the good fortune to experience the tender and unwearied care of Mrs. Shepstone, wife of the Rev. Mr. Shepstone, Wesleyan Missionary in Kaffirland. In due time they arrived in safety at the Cape, having been absent about six months. Dr. Smith's report, which was characterized

as "an able, comprehensive, and statesmanlike document," strongly recommended that the depopulated district should be opened for colonization. The Governor highly approved of this being done, while a former Governor, who had previously disapproved of the scheme, united in urging its adoption. But the policy of the Home Government at the time was to curtail rather than to extend the boundaries of our colonial empire. On this account, the recommendation was not carried out till circumstances arose in 1842, which compelled the colonial office to take action, and led ultimately to the formation of the colony of Natal. Having arrived at this decision, the position of Lieut.-Governor was offered in the first instance to Dr. Smith, which honour, however, he deemed it to be his duty to decline.

In 1829, a small party of traders having penetrated into the interior till they reached the Matabeli territory, ruled by Umsiligas, better known by his Sechuana cognomen of Moselekatse, great anxiety was manifested at the Cape for a more accurate knowledge of the tribes, the geographical features, and natural productions of the country. Accordingly, there was formed at Capetown, in 1833, the Association for the Exploration of Central South Africa, and an influential committee was appointed, who, in a few weeks, reported that they had made the offer of the direction to Dr. Smith, being of opinion that "few persons, if any other in the colony, could have been selected so well qualified for the undertaking by scientific acquirements, zeal, courage, activity, and experience as a traveller." It was arranged that his old fellow traveller to Natal, Capt. Edie, should go as second in command. The Expedition was to include a surveyor and draughtsman, a non-commissioned officer, and a small party of soldiers, as guards to the wagons, of which, seven were considered necessary to secure the success of the undertaking.

In addition to the objects contemplated by the Association, Dr. Smith was commissioned by Sir Lowry Cole to confer with the chiefs of the principal tribes, in order to induce them to give up their barbarous practices, to accord a more favourable reception to traders, and protection to Christian missionaries. Before arrangements were completed, considerable difficulty was experienced in obtaining the required number of Hottentot

servants. The memory of the disastrous results of former expeditions, and the real or fancied danger of the present, deterred them for a time ; but after much exertion the full complement was engaged ; and in August, 1834, the company, numbering thirteen Europeans and twenty Hottentots, left Graaff Reinet. Travelling by moderate stages across the parched karroo, they reached, in about a fortnight, Philippolis, the capital of the Griquas. From this place a detour was made to visit the Coranna, Basutu, and Mantatee tribes, and to examine the country toward the sources of the Caledon river. The primary objects for which this journey was undertaken were successfully accomplished ; but the satisfaction was clouded by a serious accident to Capt. Edie, which deprived the expedition of his services ; by the death, by drowning, of Corporal McKenzie, 72nd Regiment ; and by one of the men being carried off by a lion.

The party returned to Philippolis in the end of November, and after a few days rest, set out for Kuruman, crossing, in the beginning of January, 1835, the Vaal river ; which, being in full flood, was effected with great difficulty and no little danger. In the end of the month they arrived at Kuruman, and were heartily welcomed by the Rev. Messrs. Hamilton and Moffat, the latter entering into Dr. Smith's plans with characteristic zeal. It being deemed expedient to open communication with Moselekatse before advancing further, two messengers were despatched to Mosiga, then the residence of that chief, with strict injunctions to proceed with all haste, and return without delay. Meanwhile, Dr. Smith decided, with a small party, to explore the borders of the Kalahari desert. Both men and oxen suffered intensely from hunger and thirst, the only supply of water for several days being obtained from pits of great depth, dug in the dry river beds by the poor Bakalahari. Ample compensation was, however, obtained by the addition of many rare specimens to the already rich collection of objects of Natural History. On the return of the messengers from Mosiga with a favourable reply, and a guide to conduct the party thither, preparations were at once made for the continuation of the journey ; and, it being deemed desirable that Mr. Moffat should accompany the expedition to Moselekatse, that gentleman readily acceded to the proposal, though at considerable self-sacrifice. They set out from Kuruman at the end of April, were joined by Mr. Moffat, at Motito, then the most advanced

missionary station in South Africa, and, though the tribes were in an unsettled state, they reached the Molapo river safely. This being the western boundary of the Matabeli country, they had to wait for permission to go on. This having been obtained, in a few days they arrived at Mosiga, and were received in a friendly manner by the king, who expressed his anxiety to render to the expedition whatever aid might be considered necessary. Mr. Moffat remained with Moselekatse while Dr. Smith went on to the tropics, exploring the Oori, Mariqua, and Limpopo rivers. For a time great obstacles were thrown in the way of the advance of the party, the king having professed great solicitude for the safety of Dr. Smith, while in reality it was believed his sole object was to prevent a knowledge of the extent of the desolation of the country, and of the misery entailed on the conquered tribes. Aided by the remonstrances of Mr. Moffat, however, all impediments were removed, though it was evident the guides seemed more anxious to prevent communication with the inhabitants, than to facilitate the acquisition of information from them. Beyond the Matabeli Territory proper, much valuable information was derived from the Baquain and Bamanguato tribes. From the former, the knowledge of the existence of a large fresh water lake was obtained. On many points, the statements were vague and unsatisfactory, but as to its existence there was no discrepancy whatever. Under more favourable auspices an effort would have been made to have reached it, but in consequence of the dry season, the death of a number of the oxen, the reduced condition of the remainder, and other untoward circumstances, it was clear that it would have been courting a misfortune to have made the attempt; while the successful return to the colony, of the expedition, held out the hope of future efforts being followed by favourable results. As soon as the necessary observations were made on the surrounding country, they set out on their homeward journey, by way of Mosiga, Kuruman, and Griquatown, and in due time reached the colony after an absence of eighteen months.

African exploration is not without stirring adventure, and zoological researches in that country are sometimes attended with great peril, as not a few incidents in this and former journeys could testify. With the exception of the untoward events already mentioned, however, everything had fulfilled the most sanguine hopes of the promoters. Friendly intercourse

had been entered into with about thirty tribes, a good understanding had been established with nearly all the chiefs, much valuable information had been acquired regarding the manners and customs of the people, and the natural resources of the country; while the expedition returned laden with upwards of five thousand specimens of new or rare quadrupeds, birds, and other objects of Natural History, nearly five hundred drawings of the people, scenery of the country, &c., and eighteen hundred implements, weapons of war, ornaments, and other articles of interest.

The successful completion of the enterprise was due in a great degree to the harmony and good will, which prevailed among the principal members of the party; and to the valuable assistance rendered by the Rev. Messrs Kolbe, Archbell, Allison, and Moffat, especially the last, who, having previously visited Moselekatse, had gained his confidence and esteem, and so was in a position to render invaluable service. Dr. Smith was also under great obligation to Waterboor, the chief of Griquatown, who was particularly kind and communicative. To Moshesh, the Basutu chief, he was under a deep debt of gratitude, for his kindness and solicitude for the comfort and safety of the party. The most favourable impression was produced on the mind of Dr. Smith, by the frank and manly bearing of this chief, and by his great intelligence and liberality of sentiment.

On the return of the expedition, a general meeting of the members of the Association was held at Capetown, Sir John Herschel presiding, when Dr. Smith received a most cordial reception, and the warmest thanks were tendered to him and the other members. It was resolved to place a portion of the collection in the museum at Capetown, and that the remainder should be sent home for exhibition in London, and ultimate sale for the benefit of the funds of the Association.

In 1837, Dr. Smith returned to England, was promoted to the rank of surgeon, and stationed at Fort Pitt, Chatham. The succeeding year a representation was made to the Lords of the Treasury by Lord Glenelg, Colonial Secretary, supported by the late Earl of Minto, with a view to obtain a grant to enable the association to publish Dr. Smith's "*Illustrations of the Zoology of South Africa*," at a price within the reach of naturalists of moderate means. The application was favourably re-

sponded to by a grant of £1,800, and Dr. Smith, in the interest of science, completed the work without any personal pecuniary remuneration whatever. This work is the best evidence of the high position to which he attained as a naturalist. It was his purpose also to have published the "Journal of the Expedition;" but a severe and protracted illness laid him aside from active duties for a considerable time; and for several years his health was unequal to the extra work involved in the publication. It, however, has not been wholly lost, as much of the information, and many of the illustrations have appeared in some of the most widely known books of African travellers, and men of science.

Dr. Smith's professional advancement had been slow hitherto, but in 1841, he was made staff-surgeon of the first class, and appointed P.M.O. at Chatham. In 1845, he was promoted to the rank of Deputy Inspector of Hospitals, and transferred to London as professional assistant to the Director General. On the retirement of Sir James McGregor, in 1851, he was selected by the Duke of Wellington to succeed him with the rank of Superintendent-Inspector General, and in 1853 he received the status of Director General.

These successive appointments were received with approbation by the Medical and other journals, and satisfaction by the great body of the medical officers in the army; he being esteemed, by those best qualified to form a correct opinion, as "a man of talent and high professional acquirements, of ready and acute business habits," and "of high principle, in whom the utmost confidence could be placed."

While endeavouring faithfully and efficiently to discharge his official duties, Dr. Smith had sufficient leisure to devote to scientific pursuits. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society and the Zoological Society, and of other associations of similar character. At this period his favourite study was the Class Reptilia, and he spared neither trouble nor expense in making his collection as complete as possible. Having numerous friends in all parts of the world, he received specimens from time to time, from every quarter, so that his collection was acknowledged to be the best in that particular department, of any in Great Britain.

The aggressive policy of Russia in the East having led to a declaration of war by the British Government, it devolved on

Dr. Smith, as head of the Medical Department of the Army, to make provision for the proper care of the troops, which might be called on to take part in the struggle. To this task he brought all his energy, forethought, and administrative ability, and, long before the army was called on to take the field, he seemed to have anticipated every want; but in a short time grievous charges were brought against the department in the Crimea, chiefly by the correspondents of a leading metropolitan journal; and then followed a storm of obloquy, which burst around the head of the Director-General at home. Attacks so violent in tone are fortunately rare in the history of British journalism, and Dr. Smith, again and again, was urged by his friends to defend himself from the charges brought against him, or allow those who were cognizant of the facts to do so. His invariable reply was, "that the truth would be known some day, and that he could afford to wait; meanwhile, he would, to the utmost of his power, seek to do his duty." Into the merits of those charges it would be inexpedient to enter, but in justice to the memory of a most efficient and meritorious officer, it is necessary to say, that the tone of many of the letters and articles seemed to indicate that other and less worthy motives were in operation, than an anxiety for the good of the service, or a solicitude for the welfare of the troops. The defeat of the ministry of the Earl of Aberdeen and the accession to power of Lord Palmerston, led to the appointment of the Sebastopol Committee, before which Dr. Smith gave evidence, and put in papers thoroughly clearing himself from the charges; and proving to all unbiassed minds, that, whoever was to blame for the disasters, assuredly it was not the Director-General. When Lord Palmerston assumed the reins of Government, he promised great changes in the constitution of the Medical Department; changes which Dr. Smith considered would decidedly operate to the injury of the service. Subsequently, the whole subject of the Administration of the Department and its future constitution, was submitted for consideration to a Committee of the House of Commons, and after much inquiry and patient deliberation, a report was presented, which, on the leading points, supported fully the views of Dr. Smith. After these enquiries, the tide of opinion turned decidedly in his favour, and, on every side, justice was done to his merits. His medical brethren embraced the opportunity of bearing testimony to their appreciation of

his services, and he was elected an Honorary Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, London; of Surgeons, Edinburgh; of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons, Glasgow; and of the Medico Chirurgical Society of Aberdeen; while the University of Edinburgh conferred on him the degree of LL.D.; and Trinity College, Dublin, that of M.D. (*Honoris Causâ*); these honours being accompanied with addresses, couched in terms expressive of the greatest admiration of his character and confidence in his administrative capacity.

The strain of the direction of the department during the war had been too severe for the somewhat impaired constitution of the Director-General, but he remained at his post till there had been issued from the press the "Medical History of the British Army," and documents arranged for the information and guidance of his successors in any future war, and then, having served his country for forty-two years, he sought to be relieved of his duties.

Her Majesty the Queen who, both personally and through his friend, Sir James Clarke, had repeatedly expressed her sympathy for him under trying circumstances, now conferred on him the dignity of K.C.B., which honour was a source of gratification to his friends, and to the profession of which he was a member. The *Medical Times*, in a leading article, adverting to this, said that "the conspicuous and comprehensive ability, the industrious and energetic zeal, the self-denying devotion to the welfare of the soldiery, and of the medical staff, which Sir Andrew Smith displayed, from February, 1854, the date of his preliminary enquiries and measures in Bulgaria, until the embarkation of the sick at Scutari, in June, 1856; tried and proved by this incontestable evidence, we most conscientiously pronounce the subject of this notice to have well merited the grateful and opportune reward conferred on him by his sovereign."

Freed from the cares of office, he had ample time to bestow on those studies which had ever been so congenial to his disposition, and, for a few years, he devoted great attention to African exploration, but more especially to all that had reference to the native tribes inhabiting the southern portion of that continent.

All circumstances seemed to give promise of a serene old age, when he would reap the fruits of a well-spent life of activity and usefulness ; but in 1864, he was called to mourn the loss of her, who for more than twenty years, had been the cheerful, warmhearted and faithful partner of his lot ; and the death of Lady Smith, was followed the succeeding year, by that of a loving gentle sister, to whom he was ardently attached, and whose tender sympathy for him, in his great loss, had been as balm to his wounded spirit. Lonely, stricken with grief, and the infirmities of years gathering around him, he lost nearly all interest in those pursuits which formerly had been his delight ; and, toward the close of his life, most of his time was given to the perusal of books of devotion, and the study of the Holy Scriptures.

In the spring of 1872, the state of his health and other circumstances gave great anxiety to his friends. During the summer he appeared to have rallied, and hopes were entertained that all would be well, but on the 6th of August, when out for a drive, he was suddenly seized with illness and taken home ; and, notwithstanding the assiduous care of his ordinary medical attendant, and of his friends, Sir William Jenner and Mr. Quain, he gradually sunk till the morning of the following Sunday, when he peacefully passed away in the 75th year of his age.

Sir Andrew Smith was a man of great force of character, of untiring industry and perseverance, and of unbending integrity. Doubtless his energy and decision would occasionally seem to lead to impetuosity ; and his firmness of purpose, at times, approach to something like obstinacy ; yet these qualities enabled him to overcome difficulties, which to men of less inflexible resolution, would have proved insurmountable. Though he ever maintained strict discipline in the department over which he presided, he was always found to be the firm and constant friend of the man, who faithfully sought to do his duty.

In private life he was genial and kind-hearted, a man who could never look on distress of any kind without doing his utmost to relieve it. He was loved and respected by all who knew him, but most by those who knew him best.

III. The Cape of Good Hope Association for Exploring Central Africa.

As the " Memoir " of Andrew Smith clearly shows, he was one of the moving spirits of his time in scientific research in South

Africa, and there seems to me little doubt that the conception of the 1834 Expedition was principally due to him.

His previous journeys had convinced him of the necessity for exploring adequately the northern parts of South Africa, and I find that this idea had formed itself in his mind so early as the year 1829, doubtless as a result of the reports of traders who had visited those localities.

The earliest of these was that of Bain and Biddulph. Bain had been the first to avail himself of the permission granted by the Government to open up trade in those areas, and he actually travelled north in 1825.¹ But in the following year he, together with Biddulph, having journeyed as far as Chue Lake, or Honing Vley as it was often called (the most northerly point reached by Burchell), proceeded in a north-easterly direction and actually penetrated to Litubaruba, then the chief town of the Kwená, now known as Molepolole.²

Bain kept a journal during this journey, and extracts from it were printed in the *South African Quarterly Journal* for July—September, 1830, having been communicated to that publication by Mr. J. C. Chase, who later was to become the Hon. Secretary to the Cape of Good Hope Association for Exploring Central Africa.³ Without question Bain blazed a new trail on this trek. Smith was well acquainted with Bain, and I do not doubt that he had early information of his experiences.

In 1829 a second trading expedition had gone north, headed by Schoon and McLuckie. These two travellers left Boetsap, and proceeded in a north-easterly direction, following more or less the route taken by the missionary John Campbell in 1820, and not only reached what is now called the Zeerust district of the Transvaal, but also apparently travelled for some distance along the present Magaliesberg range.

Like Bain, these traders kept a journal,⁴ and the substance of it was read to the South African Institution of Cape Town by

¹ Steedman, A., *Wanderings and Adventures in the Interior of Southern Africa*, London, 1835, Vol. ii, pp. 183-184.

² Livingstone, D., *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, London, 1857, pp. 9 and 124.

³ Reprinted in *The African Monthly*, Grahamstown, 1908, Vol. iv, pp. 222-232, 345-354 and 483-489.

⁴ Chase's *précis* will be found reprinted in Steedman, A., *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, pp. 185-187.

Chase,¹ together with the communication of a missionary, who was none other than Robert Moffat, of the London Missionary Society.

Smith's interest in the descriptions of the country and of its animal life which he had obtained from these sources, and from his reading of the works of previous travellers, made him determined to visit the north himself, for we read in *The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette* for Wednesday, June 16, 1830, the following paragraph, reprinted from *The Edinburgh Journal of Science* :

"It is understood that Sir George Murray has given permission for an expedition to start under the care of Dr. A. Smith, and at the expense of Government. Dr. Smith is fully convinced of the possibility of penetrating to, and reaching, that part of the country situated under the Line, of which we are yet ignorant. The application of Dr. Smith to the British Government for its countenance to the undertaking has been warmly supported by the present Governor of the Cape, Sir Lowry Cole."

However, we hear no more of this particular scheme ; instead, we find Smith going on a journey to Natal, to visit the Zulu chief, Dingaan, on behalf of the Cape Government. The decision to send Smith to examine and report on Natal was made by Sir Lowry Cole in 1830.² The actual journey, on which he was accompanied by his friend Lieut. Edie, of the 98th Regiment, and by a farmer, took place during the latter part of 1831 and the early part of 1832,³ and it occupied about six months. But in an unsigned letter written from Mount Ellis, and dated 18th February, 1832, we read "Much valuable information is expected to be derived from my friend Dr. A. Smith, Staff Surgeon . . . He is on a journey from the Colony direct to Port Natal, from thence he intends to proceed to the Interior beyond Latakoo and the Griquas . . ."⁴

¹ *The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette*, Cape Town, 1830, issue of Wednesday, 21st July, p. 22.

² Michie, A., "Memoir of Sir Andrew Smith," in *Proceedings of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club*, 1876, Vol. viii, No. 1, p. 35.

³ Steedman, A., *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 290, quotes from the diary of the missionary Boyce, showing that in December, 1831, Smith and Edie passed through his station, Morley, near the mouth of the Umtata River, on their way to Dingaan.

⁴ Archives, Cape Town. C.O. 1320, despatch No. 1332, in which the letter in question was enclosed.

Smith's return from Natal was announced in the *Literary Gazette*, for Monday, July 2, 1832,¹ and mention was also made of the accounts which he gave of the journey. He did not, however, carry out his plan to travel across country to Lattakoo, or Kuruman as it is called to-day. Nevertheless he lost no time, on his return, to whip up public interest in his pet scheme.

There were in Cape Town at this time two societies, one literary and the other scientific in outlook; these were the Literary Society and the South African Institution. Smith attempted to bring these two groups together for the common object, and succeeded in amalgamating them in July, 1832, the President of the combined Society, which was named The South African Literary and Scientific Institution, being the Hon. Col. John Bell, C.B.²

But in the early part of 1833 a third pair of traders returned from the north. These were Hume and Millen, who had been away for about two years, during which time they had travelled north of Lattakoo, and had apparently succeeded in reaching the Tropic of Capricorn. Their account of the journey had been transmitted to the Governor, Sir Lowry Cole, who sent it on to the Literary and Scientific Institution. It was read at the Ordinary Meeting for 5th June, and created enormous interest. In fact it brought matters to a head, and it was proposed that "an attempt should be made to send a Scientific Expedition to those regions, with the object of elucidating their Geography, the nature of their Productions, and the Advantages they may offer to Commercial Enterprize."³ The proposal was carried unanimously, but since the Institution lacked the funds necessary for financing such an expedition, it was agreed to make the scheme public, and to invite all who might be interested to become shareholders, such shareholders to be entitled to a participation in the collections which might be acquired by the

¹ *The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette*, Cape Town, 1832, issue of Monday, 2nd July, p. 336.

² *Ibid.*, issue of Wednesday, 1st August, 1832, p. 352.

³ *Papers in Reference to a Plan for an Expedition into Central Africa from the Cape of Good Hope*; Advertising sheet of 4 pp. issued with *The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette* for Monday, 1st July, 1833. The 'papers' are as follows: 1, Prospectus; 2, Expedition into Central Africa; 3, Business transacted at Adjourned Meeting; 4, Central Africa; 5, List of Shareholders. At the end is an advertisement for a course of lectures.

Expedition. It was estimated that not less than £600 would be required, and it was proposed that this should be raised by shares of £3 each. It was further proposed that Dr. Smith be made Director of the Expedition, should he be able to obtain leave, and that a qualified Surveyor should be engaged to accompany him if possible; that the Director should collect all objects connected with the purposes already described; that the sole power to sell or dispose of the articles acquired by the Expedition should rest with the shareholders, to be determined by their votes, each share entitling the holder to one vote; that as soon as a sufficient number of shareholders had subscribed, a General Meeting should be held, for the purpose of electing a Committee of Organisation; that with a view to ascertaining the probability of raising the amount necessary, a Prospectus should be prepared and placed in the Public Library, the Commercial Exchange, the South African Museum and the leading newspaper offices; that the fourteen gentlemen present at the meeting should form a Provisional Committee to attempt to carry the plan into effect, the Chairman being Mr. J. H. Neethling, and the Hon. Secretary Mr. J. C. Chase; and that copies of the Prospectus should be sent to various towns on the Eastern Frontier, with a request for support. One hundred copies of the Prospectus were printed for circulation, and in addition it was reprinted in *The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette*¹ and in the newspapers.

The response was excellent, for on the 24th June, at a public meeting convened by advertisement, and held in the Great Museum Room of the Institution, for the purpose of electing a Committee of Management for the proposed Expedition, the Governor being in the chair, it was reported that the Provisional Committee had received the names of 141 subscribers, who had taken 179 shares, yielding a total of £537.

A number of minor resolutions were then taken, which included the fixing of the Management Committee at twenty persons, who were to be elected by ballot; that the British Government should be approached for financial assistance; and that the Secretary should forward an Account of the Proceedings of the meeting to a number of gentlemen resident in Albany, Bathurst, Port Elizabeth, Somerset, Uitenhage, Graaff-

¹ *Vide* previous note.

Reinet, Kat River, Caffraria and Lattakoo.¹ The Meeting was then adjourned to the following day, when, with the Hon. Col. Wade in the chair, the names of the Management Committee were read out and declared elected.

No time was lost by the Committee of the new "Cape of Good Hope Association for Exploring Central Africa," as the organisation was now called. Its first meeting was held on 27th June, when Rev. Dr. Burrow and Mr. Chase were elected secretaries.² It was announced that of the 200 shares originally proposed, 192 had been taken; but as it was considered that £600 would not be sufficient for such an important undertaking, they now intended to try and raise £1,000. A Finance Committee was therefore appointed to approach European Scientific Societies for further funds. Several applications had been received from persons desirous of joining the Expedition, some of whom had scientific qualifications, and these were referred to a sub-committee for consideration, which was instructed to report to Dr. Smith, the Director of the Expedition, and to arrange with him the various details connected with the project.

The Sub-Committee met on Monday, 1st July,³ and reported the result of their labours on Tuesday, 9th July, to the General Committee of the Association.⁴ Its report confirmed the appointment of Dr. Smith as Director of the Expedition, provided that he could obtain leave, and stated that arrangements had been made for Lieut. Edie to accompany him, and take command in case of sickness or any accident befalling Dr. Smith. It set forth the objects of the journey more fully than had been previously done, emphasising the point that the Expedition was intended "to enlarge our Geographical Knowledge of the extensive and unknown regions to the Northward of this Settlement; to obtain Scientific Information, especially as regards the branches of Meteorology, Geology and Magnetism; to collect Botanical Specimens and those of Natural History; and to ascertain what prospects the productions of the country and the disposition of the Native Tribes hold out to Commercial Enterprise."⁵

¹ *Papers in Reference to a Plan, etc.*, Cape Town, 1833, p. 2.

² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁴ *Central Africa. Abstract of Proceedings, etc.*, Cape Town, 1833, p. 4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

It was decided that the Expedition should start immediately after the cessation of the tropical rains and that the starting point should be Graaff-Reinet; that Graaff-Reinet should be left at the commencement of June, and that Lattakoo (Kuruman) or some further missionary establishment should be reached by the middle of July in order that the party might rest until the beginning of September and complete their final arrangements there.¹

The Sub-Committee further put forward the following suggestions relative to the personnel of the Expedition :

" The number of the party, it is proposed, shall not be less than 40, and as few above that number as possible.

" Of these 6 shall be Europeans, to be engaged as working assistants, and if possible they shall be soldiers, application to be made for that purpose to the Government.

" That 30 Hottentots be engaged, and that 6 of these be procured from the Cape Corps, for which application shall also be made to the Government.

" That a Botanist, a Surveyor, a Draftsman, capable of delineating Landscape and portraying objects of Natural History, and a person, able to conduct the trading department of the Expedition, shall be engaged to accompany it.

" That the Caravan shall consist of 7 wagons, to each of which five persons shall be attached out of the before enumerated party, viz. : 1 European and 4 Hottentots ; and that 10 span of Oxen of 12 each, shall be purchased."

Then followed a list of the instruments and stores required by the Expedition, including those for the purpose of Scientific Inquiry, for Subsistence and Health, for Defence and Supply of Animal Food, for Repairs, etc., and for Trade and Presents.²

The Sub-Committee also stated that it had received ten applications for permission to accompany the Expedition, several of which appeared to merit favourable consideration. It also emphasised the point that it was desirable for the members of the Expedition to appear " under the characters of Traders "

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

in order to gain the good will of the native peoples whom they might meet."

The Report of the Sub-Committee having been approved, the Association sent letters to

1. The Secretary of State for the Colonies, explaining the objects of the Association, and asking for help and permission from the British Government ;
2. The Secretary for War, likewise explaining the objects of the Association, and asking for leave of absence for Dr. Smith ;
3. The Secretary of the Admiralty, requesting the loan of certain scientific instruments in the Cape Town Observatory ;
4. The Secretary to the Admiralty, asking for assistance and patronage ;
5. Captain Kater, requesting the loan of certain apparatus for "magnetical experiments" ;
6. The Commander-in-Chief at the Cape of Good Hope, asking for the loan of certain arms, for a Sergeant and four Privates of one of the Cape Regiments, and a Sergeant and four Privates of the Cape Corps, to accompany the Expedition.¹

The Association announced that His Excellency the Acting Governor, Mr. C. F. H. von Ludwig and Mr. H. F. Wollaston had each offered to lend several useful instruments to the Expedition, and that Major Michell, the Surveyor-General, had promised to prepare a map for its use.

Finally it was stated that the total amount raised in the Colony up to date through the issue of shares was £705, and it was anticipated that more money and instruments would be contributed in Britain.²

Two of the subscribers to the Association's fund were Sir John Herschel, Astronomer Royal at the Cape, and Thomas Maclear, also of the Observatory ; both had been elected to the Committee of Management. In a letter, dated 25th February, 1834, written to Captain Beaufort, of the Hydrographic Office, London, by Maclear, we read that in a communication sent by

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

² *Ibid.*, p. 13.

Beaufort to Herschel he stated that an application had been made by Dr. Burrow¹ and other gentlemen to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, asking for the loan of certain instruments, and that their Lordships had written to the Admiral commanding at the Cape (Admiral Warren), also suggesting, that, should the Admiral not be there, Maclear should consult with Herschel as to the propriety of lending suitable instruments to the Expedition. Having received this permission, Maclear made the necessary arrangements to hand over the apparatus, but added in his reply to Beaufort the information that, although nearly £800 had been subscribed towards the cost of the Expedition, about £200 more would be required "to complete the design."²

Meanwhile a general meeting had been held in Cape Town in February, over which Sir Benjamin D'Urban, the new Governor, presided,³ and at which most of the influential persons of the Cape district were present. The importance of the Expedition was again stressed, and fresh subscriptions obtained, and the fund thereby increased to nearly £1,000. Even this sum was now regarded as inadequate, but hopes were entertained that the Geographical Society of London and other scientific bodies in England and India that had been written to would give some assistance. Several weeks elapsed without "satisfactory intelligence," and a further intensive collecting campaign was about to be embarked upon "when a letter was received from Mr. J. McQueen, of Scotland, containing with less important matter a donation of £300 under certain restrictions, the more prominent of which was that his donation should not be available unless £950 had been already subscribed."⁴ This handsome donation banished the financial cares of the Association at once, and they began to prepare for action immediately.

¹ Letter, dated 25th February, 1834, written by Thomas Maclear to Captain Beaufort, in Archives of the Royal Observatory, Cape.

² Letter, dated 4th July, 1834, written by Thomas Maclear to Captain Beaufort, in Archives of the Royal Observatory, Cape. From this letter most of the details which follow were derived.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ According to Smith, A., *Illustrations of the Zoology of South Africa*, London, 1849, Vol. i, Preface, p. iii, McQueen only transmitted the money, the real donor being a Mr. Jamieson of Liverpool. Smith also gives the sum as £200. This is wrong. See *Report of the Expedition, etc.*, Cape Town, 1836, p. 67.

There followed a period of great activity on the part of the executive members of the Association and in particular of J. C. Chase, the Hon. Secretary, and, naturally, of Smith himself. The latter, to keep interest in the Expedition at boiling point, reprinted in the *Gazette* a long letter which he had addressed to Sir James McGregor in England relative to his trip to Zululand and the enormous scientific opportunities which it had afforded him.¹

Among the numerous letters written on behalf of the Association by Chase, several are of considerable interest.

One, written to Sir Benjamin D'Urban, contained a request for the remission of sentence on one Andries Botha, who had been imprisoned in Amsterdam Battery for culpable homicide, in order that he might accompany the Expedition. The request was granted, but later on Botha proved very troublesome to the party, and, just before their return, he died, as will be seen in the *Diary*.²

Another letter, sent to the Hon. J. G. Brink, Acting Secretary to the Government, asked that a case of Philosophical Instruments for the use of the Expedition, just arrived from England, might be landed duty free. This was also granted by Sir Benjamin D'Urban.³ A third letter contained a similar request which was likewise granted.⁴

A fourth letter embodied three requests. First, that a special order should be issued for the removal of 400 lbs. of gunpowder from the magazine to the brig 'Test,' which would carry it to Algoa Bay, whence it would be transmitted beyond the Northern Frontier of the Colony; second, that a special order be issued empowering the Expedition to press horses, in case of need, for a horse wagon to convey Dr. Smith and Captain Edie to Graaff-Reinet; and third, that a special order be issued to the effect that all letters transmitted to the party while beyond the Colony should be sent on to the nearest Drostdy free of charge. All were immediately granted by the Governor.⁵

¹ *The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette*, Cape Town, 1833, issue of 1st August, p. 132.

² Archives, Cape Town. Sundry Committees, 893 (1833-1840), No. 19.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 20.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 21.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 24.

Emboldened by the support which had been so freely given by Sir Benjamin D'Urban, Chase wrote still another letter in which he asked that the Civil Commissioner of Graaff-Reinet should be requested to recommend to the farmers on the Zekoe River the desirability of their giving every facility for the transport of seven loads of wheat, purchased for the use of the Expedition, to Griquatown. The Governor was rather dubious about this request, for he endorsed the letter "I can scarcely *order* this (for it is beyond the Frontier)," though he had no objection to writing to the Civil Commissioner asking him to do what he could in the matter.¹

The accumulation of stores went on apace.² Elephant guns, beads, toys and other goods purchased in England had arrived in Table Bay in May, and boarding pikes and other articles had been supplied by the garrison at Cape Town and by private individuals. Four wagons with ninety-six oxen had been purchased and negotiations were being entered into for the acquisition of a fifth, with twenty-four oxen. Smith provided his own wagon and team.

The scientific instruments purchased by the Association were as follows :

- " A Sextant by Troughton,
- A Hadley's Quadrant,
- A Mountain Barometer by Troughton,
- Two Lens Thermometers by Troughton,
- A Trochometer by Wollaston,
- An Azimuth Compass on Capt. Kater's construction,
- A Level and Stand, and
- A Symphosometer."

The apparatus lent by the Crown, on the advice of Sir J. Herschel, included :

- " A Sextant by Thomas Jones,
- An Artificial Mercurial Horizon,
- A Six-inch Miner's Compass, and
- Two Chronometers in Mahogany cases inclosed in stuffed boxes, one by Barrand and the other by Arnold."

¹ *Ibid.*, No. 26.

² Letter, dated 4th July, 1834, written by Thomas Maclear to Captain Beaufort, in Archives of the Royal Observatory, Cape.

The personnel of the Expedition had also been decided upon. There is some difficulty in finding out precisely what was the full strength of the party, and in some cases even the names are doubtful. Three lists at least exist, one being that sent by Maclear to Captain Beaufort,¹ the second being contained in the *Report of the Expedition*,² and the third being found in the introduction to Smith's *Illustrations of the Zoology of South Africa*.³

As Maclear's letter was written on 4th July, 1834, the day after Smith's overland portion of the Expedition left the Observatory for Graaff-Reinet, Maclear himself having been present at the "send off," I consider that his list has the greatest weight, such omissions as he made being readily accounted for. I give his list in full, with his descriptions of the functions of the various individuals.

Dr. Andrew Smith, Conductor of the Expedition,

Captain Edie, 98th Regt., 2nd do.,

John Burrow, Surveyor and Astronomer,

Geo. Ford, Draughtsman,

Chas. Bell, do., and fit for anything,

C. Hartwell, Assistant in general capacity,

I. Mintern, Servant to Dr. Smith,

Two missionaries sent out by the Missionary Society established at Berlin,

Three European soldiers (1 of the 72nd and 2 of the 98th Regts.), and

Five Hottentots of the Cape Mounted Rifle Corps ;
and he added :

About 22 Hottentots to be engaged at Graaff-Reinet.

The 1836 list adds the names of E. Tennant, J. Low, H. Corkerell and B. Kift, and deplores the loss of Corporal George McKenzie of the 72nd Regiment, who was drowned in a tributary of the Caledon River. The 1849 list adds the name of James Terry. I have little doubt that most of these were soldiers; Kift, however, was the trader of the Expedition, who possibly went

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Report of the Expedition for Exploring Central Africa, etc., Cape Town, 1836, pp. 66-67.*

³ Smith, A., *Illustrations of the Zoology of South Africa*, London, 1849, Vol. i, Preface, p. iv.

ahead with some of the others either overland or by sea to arrange for the transport of the heavy baggage from Port Elizabeth to Graaff-Reinet; the baggage had been shipped from Table Bay on 26th June.¹ C. Hartwell appears as C. Hastwell in the 1836 list, and as C. Haswell in that of 1849. The Christian name of Mintern, Smith's servant, was John. I cannot find out anything about J. Low, but the 1849 list gives a Henry Lowe, who was responsible for several of the zoological drawings, most of which were drawn by Ford.

In the early part of June a second letter was received from Mr. McQueen dated three weeks after his first communication, in which he stated that the ship by which his letter containing the donation was to be conveyed was still in the Channel, weather-bound, and expressing his fears that the Expedition would either have started from Cape Town before its arrival, or have been put off for another year. Under such circumstances he would withdraw the donation for the present.² However, as Maclear puts it, since the conditions of the first letter had been fulfilled, the second did not apply, and in fact the Association did eventually receive the money from McQueen.³

Just before the departure of the Expedition, a letter containing explicit instructions as to what it was expected to accomplish was sent by the Management Committee of the Association "To Dr. Andrew Smith (or the) Director (for the time being) of the Expedition into Central Africa." This document was printed and issued with the *Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette* in July, 1834.⁴

The letter began with a preamble in which the confidence of the Committee in Smith's zeal, talents and experience was expressed, together with its desire that, in case of emergency, he should not consider himself bound by any of its decisions;

¹ Maclear, letter of 4th July, 1834. See also *The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette*, Cape Town, July, 1834, Vol. iv, No. vii, Notes of the Month.

² Maclear, letter of 4th July, 1834.

³ Smith, A., *Illustrations of the Zoology of South Africa*, London, 1849, Vol. i, Preface, p. iii.

⁴ *Instructions for the Expedition into Central Africa from the Cape of Good Hope, etc.*, issued with *The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette*, Cape Town, July, 1834, Vol. iv, No. vii. It was reprinted in Steedman, A., *Wanderings and Adventures in the Interior of Southern Africa*, London, 1837, Vol. ii, pp. 148-162.

and that, should the Expedition prove a success, it should be the first of a series of efforts prosecuted by the same means, and deriving their support from the same sources.

Inquiries had led the Committee to anticipate that the natives in the interior were generally well disposed towards visitors, but, lest they should be tempted by the opportunity to seize anything belonging to the Expedition, that might attract them, the Committee considered it "requisite that such an apparent preparation to repel assaults should be preserved as may render it obviously perilous to the assailants." It was further considered advisable that the members should avoid all collision with the natives, and on no account "force its way through the territory of any tribe disposed to resist it."

The Committee was of opinion that, in regard to the territory which the Expedition should visit, there were two courses open. It might sweep rapidly over a great length of country, with the object of attaining the most distant point which the time allotted to it or the duration of its resources might enable it to reach; or it might leisurely examine in detail, throughout its length and breadth, the condition, capabilities and productions of a district of more manageable dimensions. While the former might be the more interesting mode of proceeding, on account of the greater probability of romantic peril, adventure or discovery, the latter was in all respects more accordant with the views and interests of the subscribers, as expressed in the prospectus. The Committee therefore recommended that no endeavour should be made to penetrate beyond the parallel of 20° South latitude, and that the attempt to reach that parallel be made only if, in the first place, circumstances favoured it greatly, and secondly, if the intervening districts should not afford objects of sufficient interest and importance to occupy the attention of the Expedition. Finally, the Committee anticipated that the regions between the Cape territory and the southern tropic would have sufficient extent and variety for the time and resources of this particular undertaking.

It was suggested that the Expedition should take either Klaarwater (Griquatown) or Litakou (Kuruman) as the base of operations, and should examine the district from which the northern branches of the Gareep and those streams which flowed towards the Indian Ocean issued. The Committee recommended that

the eastern side should be first examined, in case the great desert of Challahenga¹ should extend so far to the eastward as to bar the progress of the Expedition towards the centre of the continent; there would then remain the western areas to be explored.

Great stress was laid upon the necessity for the accurate recording of the route, of astronomical observations, of longitude and latitude and of elevation above sea-level, and the Committee especially recommended that all such observations "should be registered in a book devoted to that purpose, and preserved in the exact terms of the readings off of the instruments and chronometers, and kept rigorously separate in its statement from any calculation thereon grounded." Unfortunately I have not been able to trace this book. The Committee particularly desired that the Expedition should determine correctly the precise positions of important places such as Griquatown, Lattakoo, Kurrechane and Meletta; a study of early maps, such as those of Campbell, will show why the Committee was so anxious that this should be done. Extremely detailed instructions were also given as to the keeping of diaries, of making astronomical observations, of the use of the various scientific instruments, of the care of the chronometers and of the best methods of surveying the country. The party was further asked to observe and record the climate at all important points, as well as to make a minute and extended examination of the geological structure of the country, and to secure specimens of fossils, rocks and ores. Likewise the vegetation was to be noted, and other branches of natural history were not to be neglected.

In particular it was desired that exact information should be obtained respecting the life of the native peoples; their condition, arts, policy, language, external appearance, origin and relation to other tribes, their religious traditions or practices, their traditions, songs and amusements, and their knowledge of nature.

Inquiries should also be made respecting commerce and the prospect of its extension, and every means should be used to ascertain the existing demand for foreign commodities, and the return to be expected from them.

¹ Kalahari.

Finally, the Expedition should make an attempt to solve the riddle of the fate of several previous expeditions, notably those of Cowan and Donovan (1808) and Martin (1831).

These instructions Smith carried out almost to the letter, and this fact alone should be sufficient answer to those critics who found fault with him for not achieving those spectacular results which he had been expressly advised not to attempt.

Before he left Cape Town, Smith received a letter from Sir Benjamin D'Urban's secretary,¹ instructing him to do all in his power to obtain the goodwill of the principal chiefs, inviting him to enter into negotiations with them on behalf of the Government, and giving him a number of presents which he might distribute to deserving chiefs. These presents consisted of twelve ornamented cloaks, twelve medals with chains and twelve large looking glasses. With a few exceptions, details of the distribution of these presents are not given in the Diary. According to Theal,² Smith gave medals to the chiefs Moshesh, Sikonyela, Moroko, Lepui, Peter Davids, Carolus Baatjie and Gert Taaibosch, which they regarded as "assurances that the colonial government recognised them as the rightful rulers of their respective communities." In order to make a distinction between the more and less powerful chiefs, Dr. Smith presented to Moshesh, Sikonyela and Moroko each an ornamented cloak. To Mzilikazi, however, he gave a medal, two mirrors and two cloaks.

IV. The Departure of the Expedition.

As I have said, the heavy stores were shipped to Algoa Bay on 26th June, to be conveyed thence by waggons to Graaff-Reinet, where the entire party was expected to assemble on 15th July.

The main portion of the overland section of the Expedition, including Mr. Ford and Corporal McKenzie of the 72nd Regiment, started from Cape Town on 7th June, leaving Dr.

¹ Found by me loosely inserted in the autograph of the Diary, and now bound up with it.

² Theal, G. M., *History of South Africa* (1834-1854), London, 1893, Vol. iv, p. 103.

Smith, Captain Edie, Mr. Burrows and Mr. Charles Bell to follow later.¹

But before the last section of the party left "a sumptuous banquet was given by Mr. von Ludwig, in honour of Dr. Smith, to a numerous company of the members of the South African Institution and Subscribers to the Central Expedition," among the guests being representatives of "The Supreme Court of the Colony, the Members of Council, the Church, the Army, the Navy, the Medical Profession, the South African College and the Royal Observatory," and "A Highland Piper and the Band of the 98th Regiment enlivened this distinguished Festival."²

On Wednesday morning, 2nd July, Dr. Smith took up his quarters at the Observatory, where, on the following morning, Maclear entertained the party to breakfast with Sir John and Lady Herschel, Baron Ludwig, Captain Graham, Captain Garnet and Mr. Malcolm, son of Sir Charles Malcolm.³ The last three intended to escort the Expedition as far as Lattakoo, Graham and Garnet being visitors from India.⁴

Immediately after breakfast the instruments were secured in the travelling waggons and the party, consisting of Dr. Smith, Captain Edie, Mr. Burrows, Mr. Bell and the three gentlemen just mentioned, set out, attended for some distance across the Cape Flats by Sir John Herschel, Baron von Ludwig, Mr. McLean and Mr. Meadows, R.N., and a number of soldiers who, when the actual parting took place, fired a salute and gave three hearty cheers.⁵

I have been unable to determine the precise dates on which the three portions of the Expedition arrived at Graaff-Reinet, but the German missionaries, who had started from Beaufort West, reached the appointed rendezvous on 27th July.⁶

¹ Maclear, letter of 4th July, 1834.

² *The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette*, Cape Town, July, 1834, Vol. iv, No. vii, Notes of the Month.

³ Maclear, letter of 4th July, 1834.

⁴ *Ibid.*, and *Gazette* entry as above.

⁵ *The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette*, Cape Town, July, 1834, Vol. iv, No. vii, Notes of the Month. See also *The South African Commercial Advertiser* for Saturday, 3th July, 1834, where the salute is said to have been one of 21 muskets.

⁶ *Berlin Missions Bericht*, Berlin, 1835, p. 19.

We have seen that the date of assembly at Graaff-Reinet had been fixed for 15th July. Owing, however, to the extraordinary drought which had lately prevailed, transport between Port Elizabeth and Graaff-Reinet could not be obtained for the goods that had been shipped from Cape Town, even at double the usual rates. Smith accordingly consulted Bain and other residents of Graaff-Reinet, and arrangements were made for waggons to be sent from that town to the port. In the midst of these arrangements news suddenly arrived to the effect that waggons had been secured at Port Elizabeth after many difficulties, and that they might be expected in a week or ten days, but that none of the proprietors could be induced to receive full loads, fearing that the oxen would not be able to reach their destination. This involved the Expedition in great expense, at least twice what had been anticipated.

Having overcome this initial difficulty, Smith next attempted to procure the necessary Hottentots, but found these people most unwilling to be attached to the Expedition. Eventually Bain induced a few to join, and these in their turn persuaded others, until at last the company was complete.¹

On 5th August a supper, held at the house of Rev. Andrew Murray, was attended by twenty-eight persons, consisting of the members of the Expedition and prominent local residents, for interest in the project was running high in Graaff-Reinet.² So much was this the case that several individuals were added to the party, most of whom, however, had no intention of remaining attached to the Expedition for long.

The missionary group now included, in addition to Gebel and Kraut, Schmidt and Richard Miles, the latter belonging to the London Missionary Society.³ Andrew Geddes Bain, the trader-traveller, had also attached himself to the party, and other less well-known names, which occur from time to time in the Diary, show that the numbers of the Expedition had materially increased.

A start was made from Graaff-Reinet on 12th August, but owing to the delay caused by the drunkenness of some of the

¹ *Report of the Expedition, etc.*, Cape Town, 1836, pp. 3-4.

² *Berlin Missions Bericht*, Berlin, 1835, pp. 20-21.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

Hottentots little progress was made on that day. But the turbulent spirits were soon quelled, and the Expedition moved forward surely and steadily.

The mode of life enjoyed by the travellers has been well described by Bain, who was, as I have said, a temporary member of the party. He wrote :¹

" Dr. Smith is the most indefatigable man I ever met with ; nothing comes amiss with him ; he sees everything done himself, and trusts nothing to others. He seemed sometimes to be ubiquitous, and seldom went to bed before one or two o'clock in the morning. He is, I think, in every respect the very man to lead such an Expedition ; Captain Edie would have a good deal to do to drill all the party, and teach them their various military evolutions. Kift is a most useful fellow, and a great favourite of the Doctor. The graphic and Cruickshankian labours of Mr. Bell, with the delicate and minute products of Mr. Ford's pencil, were the subject of daily admiration to us all. The astronomer, by which familiar appellation that promising young gentleman, Mr. Burrow, was known, had no sinecure situation. He will, I think, be a bright fellow.

" The men also, in more subordinate grades, are an orderly, well-behaved set of people, and some of them very clever and well-educated. Indeed, nothing can surpass the good order and harmony that prevails throughout the whole party ; and if they do not succeed in all their undertakings, I do not think it will be the blame of any one composing the Expedition.

" Their manner of living was also exceedingly simple : '*Nae kicksaws, or puddins, or tarts, were seen there !*' but at ten o'clock, when the bell rung for breakfast, we entered the tent, each armed with his knife and fork, where we found the table (I beg pardon, the mat I mean) spread on the floor, on which was placed a hearty meal of beef or mutton, or what game the day produced, cooked in the plainest manner ; which, with bread or rice, and a tin pint of tea, baled out of a camp kettle, formed the homely but substantial repast. Around the

¹ Steedman, A., *Wanderings and Adventures in the Interior of Southern Africa*, London, 1835, Vol. ii, pp. 225-253, reprinted from *The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette*, Cape Town, February, 1835, pp. 19-23. Bain's actual letter was sent to J. C. Chase, and was dated Graaff-Reinet, 18th December, 1834.

inside of the tent we all squatted in the true oriental style, and every one ate with an excellent appetite. At sunset we had a repetition of the same fare, and sometimes (let not the Temperance Society startle) when there was nothing particular doing, we indulged in a cup of punch, and songs and glees frequently concluded the labours of the day.

"Every Sabbath, during the time that the German missionaries resided with us, divine service was held twice a day."

At Colesberg the German missionaries met Pelissier, of the French mission at Verhuil, who told them that the missionaries Moffat, Hamilton, and Rolland had visited Mzilikazi in May, and that nothing had been heard of the result of their visit; but that Rolland and his colleague Lemue were still at Motito, where they had little to do owing to the paucity of natives in that district, and they awaited an opportunity to settle in Moselekatse's territory.¹

But when the Expedition reached Philippolis the German missionaries heard that Moffat, Hamilton and Rolland had returned safely from Mzilikazi, but had failed to obtain his permission to found a mission station near him, owing to the unsettled state of the country. They concluded that Dr. Smith and his party would, if they proceeded to Mzilikazi, be forced to fight, and they considered it "unbecoming to proceed in the face of such obvious dangers, and to take our messages of peace to such an atmosphere so different in feeling." They considered, moreover, that their original object was far from being realised and that all the conditions had been changed though they still wished to visit Lattakoo and take the advice of Moffat as to what they had better do. The ultimate result was that they parted from the Expedition.² Smith's point of view is given in the Diary, and it will be seen that it by no means coincided with that of the missionaries.

Bain also left the Expedition at Philippolis, after remaining there with it for about a fortnight. Smith had decided to explore the sources of the Caledon River, a project which held no interest for Bain, who wished to proceed north at once to hunt giraffe and rhinoceros.³ He accordingly set out, in

¹ *Berlin Missions Bericht*, Berlin, 1835, p. 26.

² *Ibid.*, p. 31.

³ Steedman, A., *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, pp. 229-230.

the direction of Lattakoo, together with Messrs. Malcolm and Cotton, the 'Indian gentlemen' who accompanied the Expedition (Captain Graham and Garnet) and Mr. Grant of the 98th Regiment.¹ The German missionaries, in spite of their protestations that they wished to meet Moffat, did not travel with him. At Campbell (Griquatown) Bain parted with the 'Indian gentlemen,' and alone except for his servants proceeded via Boetsap and Taungs towards Mzilikazi's territory. The remainder of his experiences are fully described in his journal, and give a clear idea of the dangers that beset the South African traveller in those days. He tells how his Griqua servants, without his knowledge, stole some cattle belonging to Mzilikazi; how the Matabele, after seizing all his equipment, pursued him, causing him to fly for his life, without food or water; how he was succoured by the trader Gibson, and finally arrived, exhausted, at the French Missionary Station of Motito, where Prosper Lemue lent him his own waggon to take him back to Kuruman.² From Campbell, Bain wrote "a few hurried lines to Dr. Smith, informing him of the danger of at present penetrating to the northward of the Molopo, except he goes by the coast of Natal, as the Kaliharry Desert will prevent his approach to the westward."³ He further suggested that the Association should approach the Government in order that "a small embassy under a skilful officer" should visit Mzilikazi and demand restitution on his behalf, as well as to ensure the safety of the Expedition; and that the Expedition should acquire more horses, not only in case of a misfortune such as that which he had experienced, but also to enable the party to procure a regular supply of game.⁴ From this point Bain is no longer in touch with the Expedition.

V. On Trek.

Smith's first report was despatched to Maclear from the Caledon River on 23rd September, 1834, and it was transmitted by him to Sir Benjamin D'Urban, who forwarded it to the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

² *Journal des Missions Évangéliques*, Paris, 1835, Dixième année, pp. 270-272, where there is a very graphic account of Bain's arrival at Motito.

³ Steedman, A., *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 252.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 253.

Rt. Hon. P. Spring Rice, M.P., Secretary of State, together with copies of the *Abstract of Proceedings* and the *Instructions for the Expedition* in a letter dated 31st October, 1834.

In this report Smith wrote to Maclear "I cannot permit the present opportunity to pass without proving to you that I am yet alive. I have had since leaving you to encounter many annoyances, but now the pleasures are coming. We start tomorrow from this and expect nothing but the height of excitement for the next three months. Our route will be up the northern branch of the Orange River, then to the sources of the Massouta, and lastly down the Vaal River to the vicinity of Lattakoo . . . I am afraid from all I hear that I will not be able to visit Masalacatsee. He and the Corannas are engaged in war and the latter profess a determination to destroy or be destroyed. I care little which way the day goes, provided it be soon settled—both parties are equally deserving of death."¹

His second report was sent off from Philippolis on 23rd December, 1834. Chase printed it in the *Gazette*. The drowning of Corporal McKenzie had been followed by an accident to Captain Edie who was shot through the hand, and who consequently remained behind at Philippolis, taking charge of the imposing collection of objects that had been gathered together in the short space of a little more than four months. These included 491 birds, 59 quadrupeds, 188 reptiles, 211 geological specimens, 125 native curios and 131 drawings.²

From Philippolis the Expedition worked its way across country to New Lattakoo, or Kuruman, where the party were welcomed by the Moffats, and from where Smith again reported to Cape Town, stating that everything was going on well, and that the Expedition was in communication with, and preparing to visit, Mzilikazi. He spoke highly of the London Missionary Society's station at New Lattakoo, observing that under Moffat's

¹ Archives, Cape Town, C.O. 1447 (Despatch Book, 1833-1838), Miscell. No. 68 (p. 57). The quotation will be found in a letter sent by Thomas Maclear to Captain Beaufort, on 5th Nov., 1834. This letter is in the Archives of the Royal Observatory, Cape. The Report itself is in the Public Record Office, London.

² *The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette*, Cape Town, January, 1835, Vol. v., No. 1, pp. 13-14.

guidance "religion and civilisation go hand in hand with rapid strides."¹

But it is in the pages of Moffat that we can fully realise what the advent of the Expedition meant to Moffat and his wife, for in his Diary Smith does not breathe a word of what happened. As Moffat puts it: "In January, 1835, Dr. Andrew Smith, at the head of an expedition to explore the interior, sent by an association in Cape Town, arrived at the Kuruman. To myself, as well as my wife, this was a dispensation of mercy, ordered by that gracious Providence, without whom a sparrow cannot fall to the ground. Domestic affliction having compelled Mr. Edwards to visit the Colony, in addition to the increase of labour which necessarily devolved on me during his absence, I had been induced to apply to translation and printing more closely than my strength would allow, in the hottest season of the year, during which much rain had fallen. Dr. S. found me suffering from a severe attack of intermittent fever, but by the Divine blessing on his medical skill, I was soon restored. While the Expedition was surveying the borders of the Kalagare desert, prior to their visit to Moselekatse's dominions, Mrs. M. was, after the birth of a son, suddenly taken ill, and brought to the very gates of death. The doctor, when informed of this, immediately hastened to render all the relief in his power. His tender sympathy, and unremitting attention in that trying season, during which all hope of her recovery more than once had fled, can never be erased from our grateful recollection, for in the midst of his active and laborious engagements at the head of the Expedition, he watched for several successive nights with fraternal sympathy, what appeared to be the dying pillow of my beloved partner, nor did he leave before she was out of danger. While we devoutly acknowledge His hand, who healeth all our diseases, we cannot but record how much we owe to this intelligent and enterprising traveller, for the untiring assiduity with which he exercised his professional skill.

The kuatsi disease was also prevailing on the station at the time, and Dr. S. greatly endeared himself to our people in general by his benevolent exertions among them. These circumstances, as well as a disease among his oxen, arising from the luxuriance

¹ *The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette*, Cape Town, June, 1835, Vol. v No. 6, p. 93.

of the grass, detained him longer than he intended at the Kuruman, but by his persevering diligence, it added materially to the objects of the Expedition, by enriching his collection of specimens. A regular correspondence had been kept up between our station and Moselekatse, who had never in one instance wavered in the confidence he placed in me since my former visit. Messengers who had now been sent to him, having returned with a Matabele for the purpose of inviting the Expedition to proceed, the Doctor thought my presence might facilitate his object, and was anxious for me to accompany him. Mrs. M., on the day of our departure, was just able to rise from her bed to bid us farewell, with the prospect of our being absent at least three months. A short time before this, Mr. and Mrs. Edwards had returned from the Colony with their family in improved health."¹

Moffat's own son tells us that to his parents it "was a special subject of thankfulness that at such a time there should have been on the spot a medical man of Dr. Andrew Smith's skill; and that, too, exercised with such tender care and assiduity as might have been looked for in a dear brother rather than in a comparative stranger. It was the beginning of a life-long friendship, for the Moffats could never forget the man who had come to them like an angel out of heaven in their time of trouble."²

But these unexpected events had delayed the Expedition considerably, and Smith wished to get farther into the interior. He therefore prevailed upon Moffat to accompany him as far as Mzilikazi's headquarters. Moffat was only too willing to help the man who had done so much for his wife and himself, and he also had other good reasons for wishing to visit the Matabele territory again, for he needed heavy timber for the roof of his new Church, and he was certain that he could obtain it there. Accordingly he set out with the Expedition, although his wife had barely recovered. Moffat remained with Mzilikazi during the time that Dr. Smith and his party explored the Marico and Limpopo Rivers and the Magaliesberg range, and

¹ Moffat, R., *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa*, London, 1842, pp. 576-578.

² Moffat, J. S., *The Lives of Robert and Mary Moffat*, London, 1885, pp. 184-185.

during the period of his absence he wrote "a copious journal giving a minute account of each day's proceedings"¹ for the benefit of his wife who was eagerly awaiting news at Kuruman. I have so far been unable to trace this journal; it is not in the archives of the London Missionary Society where much of Moffat's correspondence is preserved. Several pages of extracts have, however, been quoted by Moffat's son, and some of these throw further light upon the life of the Expedition.

"I continue to admire Dr. Smith more than ever. He sets an excellent example to his men and is not only willing but anxious for their instruction in the things of God. All the English, if I except Dr. Smith and one or two more, swear, and some do it to no ordinary degree, but they are all cunning enough to take care that I never hear them. I am glad, however, to be informed this evening by Messrs. Hume and Scoon, that they have just written out an agreement that for every oath the swearer pays a fine of half a stick of tobacco. Tennant is to be the treasurer. I am quite rejoiced to hear this, and pray that the plan may succeed; and it is very likely, as all have put their names to it and tobacco is precious.

The sentry walks for two hours, and six are appointed for each night. Dicky had the first watch to-night, from eight to ten, and the second watch has just commenced. Every ten minutes or a quarter of an hour the sentry shouts that all is well. I hope it will be the same song till we return . . ."

"I think I mentioned in my last that the English swearers had unanimously agreed to pay a half-stick of tobacco for every oath. It was on a Sabbath, and when the characters are considered one will forgive such a contract on such a day. Next day's produce was seventeen and a half sticks, equal to thirty-five oaths. The most notorious lost only one and a half sticks. The number of fines decrease so rapidly that the treasurer is out of employ, except keeping what he has got. I comfort them by saying that they will have all the fewer oaths to account for in the day of judgment . . ."

"No messengers have yet arrived from Moselekatse. In the afternoon the doctor seemed a little anxious, and of course

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

² *Ibid.*, p. 188.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

conjectures followed. Towards evening the waggons were removed from the form of a crescent to that of a waggon fortification, with all the oxen on one side enclosed with a fence. When the plan was proposed I gave my plain unvarnished refusal. Hume and Scoon were also much opposed, particularly on account of the oxen, which were comparatively exposed to the lion, as the fence would prove a mere shadow if they were once frightened by him. The excuse the doctor made to Monaheng was that he feared for the men's lives, and he stated at the same time to me that he was bound down to take every precaution for the safety of his people. Of course we submitted, but not cheerfully."¹

At Mosega Dr. Smith again placed his waggons in the form of a square against Moffat's advice and also proposed to make a kraal for his oxen. Moffat argued that they could use a nearby cattle kraal belonging to the Matabele, where he intended to send his own oxen; after a good deal of persuasion Smith agreed to this course. Moffat believed that by trusting the animals to the natives and by "placing almost unbounded confidence in their friendship" they would banish their evil intentions, which, however, he did not believe they had. Moreover, in the letter which Moffat sent from Mosega we acquire a new piece of information; there were twelve waggons in the caravan.* The five new waggons were those of the missionary and the traders.

From various informants Smith had received descriptions of a great inland sea, on which the natives sailed in boats, and he was very anxious to visit it. But from the fact that no two of his informants agreed as to the distance he inferred that it must be still very far off. This, together with the fact that his oxen were very much reduced in condition, from the want of sufficient food, caused him to abandon the project, and left the discovery of Lake Ngami to the later Livingstone.

However, he had undertaken to reach the Tropic of Capricorn, and he carried out his instructions, reaching a point where from the top of a lofty tree he could see in the distance the Bakaa Mountains in the Bamangwato country near Serowe.

Returning from the Tropic he once more visited Mzilikazi, and on leaving him was accompanied by his principal counsellor,

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

^{*} *Ibid.*, pp. 190-191.

Umnombate, and several attendants, who had been deputed by the Matabele chief to go with Smith to Cape Town to meet the Governor, and to establish friendly relations between them. The return journey to the Cape was accomplished without serious delays, and but little occurred worthy of notice except that Smith visited Waterboer at Griquatown, and obtained a good deal of information and assistance from him.

VI. Return of the Expedition.

A general meeting of the members of the Association was held on 19th March, 1836 "immediately after the return of the Expedition" to Cape Town,¹ when Smith read a Report on what had been accomplished from the period of its departure from Graaff-Reinet to its return to Cape Town. Following upon this a dozen resolutions were moved and carried unanimously, chief among which were that the substance of the Report should be made public; that the Association should not be dissolved, but "should continue to exist as a permanent Institution for the further prosecution of its original object"; that the rarer parts of the Collections should not be sold until they had been adequately examined; that a new Committee of Management should supersede the old one and should, at the appropriate time, dispose of the Collections; and that "the only adequate thanks which can be rendered to Dr. Smith, are that he be requested to undertake the next Expedition."²

The remainder of the story is best told in the words of Sir Benjamin D'Urban contained in a despatch sent by him to Lord Glenelg on 23rd April, 1836.

"My Lord,

By a reference to my Despatch to the Secretary of State, No. 68, of the 31st October, 1834, your Lordship will be reminded of an Expedition which had then set out under the direction of Dr. Smith for purposes of Scientific discovery in the portion of Central Africa, beyond the Orange River.

"This Expedition returned in safety in the end of January last, and its proceedings and researches are to be published.

¹ *Report of the Expedition, etc.*, Cape Town, 1836, p. 65.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 65-67.

"Availing myself of it, in pursuance of the Policy adverted to in my separate and private Despatch of the 28th October, 1834, of cultivating a good understanding and establishing a consequent influence among the surrounding Native tribes—I had requested Dr. Smith's assistance, and entrusted to his discretion messages to such Chiefs of Tribes, as he might judge it expedient to deliver them to, with presents to be also distributed to them—these being necessary to all African communications.

"Dr. Smith fulfilled this trust with great judgment and ability as briefly set forth in his note here enclosed . . .

"Dr. Smith had been requested by Umsiligas to take under his protection and bring with him to me, his principal Counsellor, which he accordingly did, with his Attendants, . . and having caused him to be well taken care of and entertained to his satisfaction for a month, and entered into a Treaty or Agreement with him, in the name of his Chief, I sent him home with a safe conduct to his country, with appropriate presents for both.

"From this Treaty and the other communications made by Dr. Smith, I anticipate very beneficial results to the peace and good order of the country without our Northern Border and consequently of that Border itself."¹

A preliminary report of the Expedition was published for the subscribers to the Association in 1836. In this document Smith gave a succinct account of the progress of the Expedition throughout its travels, occupying thirty-three pages, which concludes with a summary of the principal results achieved.

"1st. It has put us in possession of much information respecting many tribes even hitherto unknown to us by name, and has enabled us also to extend very considerably our knowledge of those which had previously been visited; by having brought us in immediate connection either with them, or with persons who could furnish information regarding them. With members of the following tribes—*Bashootoo, Baklokwa, Liboya, Batlapi, Baralong, Bakalabari, Baharootzi, Abaka Zooloo, or Matabili, Amapimpi, Amanguan, Amahlobi, Baquaina, Baka, Bamangwato, Ky Koubiqua, Ky Kora, Araminico, Baroa, Babookaing,*

¹ Archives, Cape Town, C.O., 1447 (Despatch Book, 1833-1838), Native Tribes, No. 13, (p. 178).

Griquas, Bakatla, Babapootsa, Bangeloofoo, Bapoo, Bapookeo, Bamaliti, and Bawanket, we have actually communicated, and in regard to the *Matompa, Makaka, Bahamachoosa, Bapootooma, Bapiri, Babapoolan, Matsikin, Bapootchuan, Bapaboli, Batan, Bamabakla, Bamooricail, Balaka, Batclama, Bakalaka, Masarea*, and others, we have obtained indirect information.

2ndly. It has enabled us to ascertain the Geographical position of many places previously doubtful ; to lay down the sources and courses of various rivers which run to the eastward, and otherwise obtain what will considerably add to the utility of our Maps of South Africa.

3rdly. It has enabled us to extend considerably our knowledge of natural history, not only by the discovery of many new and interesting forms in the animal kingdom, but also by additional information in regard to several previously known ; and has put us in possession of a splendid collection, which, if disposed of, will in all probability realize a sum more than equal to the expenses which have been incurred.

4thly. It has enabled us to ascertain that the Hottentot race is much more extended than has been hitherto believed, and that parties or communities belonging to it inhabit the interior as far, at least, as the inland lake, which we were told is not less than three weeks' journey north of the Tropic of Capricorn.

5thly. It has made us aware of the existence of an infinity of misery in the interior, with which we were previously unacquainted, a circumstance which in all probability, will lead eventually to the benefit of thousands, who, without some such opportunity of making known their sufferings, might have lived and died even without commiseration.

6thly. It has enabled us to establish a good understanding with Umsiligas, and ensure his services and support in the further attempts which may be made to extend our knowledge of South Africa, which, without his concurrence, could never be well effected from the Cape of Good Hope ; and

Lastly. It has furnished a proof that the plan upon which the Association proceeded was calculated to accomplish the objects it had in view, and has given reason to believe that a party, similarly equipped, when assisted with the knowledge we now possess, may, with proper regard to the seasons, penetrate far

beyond the latitude of 23.28 (our southern limit), and with a termination equally fortunate as that of the late undertaking."¹

This account is followed by a long appendix dealing with the zoological, botanical and mineralogical work done by the Expedition, the possibilities of trade in the interior, and an imposing "List of Articles delivered over to the Association on the return of the Expedition Party." This last deserves to be reprinted in full, and I hope to do so, together with a complete catalogue of all the topographical and ethnological drawings that I have been able to trace, in the second volume of this Diary, since it seems to me quite possible that some of them may still be identifiable, even at this late date.

The vast collection of natural history and ethnological specimens was sent to England and exhibited in the Egyptian Hall, London, where it attracted much attention, and, when sold, realised a large sum. As we have seen, Smith himself was recalled to England in 1837, and he took with him his Diaries, fully intending to publish an illustrated account of his Travels.

The following advertisements appeared in the *South African Commercial Advertiser* on Wednesday, 16th May, 1838, and also on Saturday, 19th May.

NEW WORKS ON AFRICA.

Preparing for Publication, in 2 Volumes, Demy 8vo. The Journal of an Expedition into the Interior of Southern Africa fitted out, in 1834, by "The Cape of Good Hope Association for Exploring Central Africa." Comprising an Authentic Narrative of the Travels and Discoveries of the Expedition; and Accounts of the Manners and Customs of the Native Tribes; and of the Natural Productions, Aspect, and Physical Capabilities of the Country. Illustrated by a Map and numerous Plates of African Scenery, and of the Dresses, Weapons, Dances, Religious Ceremonies, &c., of the Natives. By Andrew Smith, M.D., Surgeon of the Forces, and Director of the Expedition.

By the same Author.

To be published under the authority of the Government; Illustrations of the Zoology of South Africa . . . and it is expected that the first part will be ready for publication in March next.

¹ *Report of the Expedition, etc.*, Cape Town, 1836, pp. 34-35.

Smith, Elder, and Co., 65 Cornhill: Orders for the above works will be received at the Public Library."

The *Illustrations of the Zoology of South Africa* were duly published, but the *Journal* never appeared. That Smith actually intended to publish it eventually is shown not only by the existence of the draft but by a remark made by Robert Moffat in 1842;¹ but his many interests, together with the responsibilities of the high position in which he found himself later, and also his subsequent ill-health, made it impossible for him to do so, and also prevented the completion of a much larger work which he had in hand, an attempt at a complete ethnological survey of the whole of Africa.

VII. *The Diary.*

The Diary of the Expedition was written by Smith on foolscap paper in four sections, the first consisting of 192 pages, the second of 48 pages, the third of 44 pages and the fourth of 77 pages. Total, 361 pages.

There are appended to the Diary 7 pages of odd notes on various Tswana and Korana customs, and one otherwise blank page, which is headed "Lake," evidently intended for a further description of Lake Ngami, of which several occur throughout the text. This opens with the words "A fine country with great number of cattle," the remainder being a blank.

Bound up with the Diary is a second one, also in Smith's hand, concerned with the geology and the detailed topography of the journey. It consists of 114 foolscap pages, and is illustrated by three dozen drawings in the text. It has been useful in constructing the map, but has not been included in this publication.

The Diary contains information of all kinds, and yet it is far from complete; Smith evidently kept other notes as well. One notebook which has survived contains classified information regarding many of the tribes which he met; this I hope to deal with later on, especially as there exist over one hundred drawings showing native life in many and various aspects, all but a few having hitherto remained unpublished.

¹ Moffat, R., *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa*, London, 1842, p. 386, footnote.

Further, there is also a single quarto sheet of paper which on one side contains the meridian altitudes for six places visited, though apparently not by the whole Expedition, from 3rd August (Thursday), 1835 to 1st September (Friday), 1835. Apparently Smith kept these observations and, possibly, those of latitude and longitude, separate from the Diary proper; up to the present, however, I have not discovered them.¹

In transcribing the Diary I was faced with a number of problems.

The first of these concerned the dating of the entries. As a rule Smith entered the days thus: 12 August (Tuesday), but occasionally he omitted the day of the week. I have therefore filled in his omissions, and have also corrected occasional errors, the latter being explained in the footnotes.

The second problem concerned the paragraphing. Smith's entries are continuous; he did not attempt to paragraph them. I have therefore, as a rule, broken them up into paragraphs where he changes the subject, since he frequently interpolates a description of a bird or other animal while describing the customs of a tribe. In addition, I have broken up into paragraphs some of the long descriptions of native history or customs which are contained in some of the entries, notably those made at Kuruman.

The third problem was that of the numerous ornithological entries; I have contented myself with checking up the spelling of the various generic and specific names. But these entries are important since they indicate the exact localities in which Smith observed many of the birds described in his famous *Illustrations of the Zoology of South Africa*.

The fourth problem was that of punctuation. Generally speaking the punctuation throughout the Diary is very sketchy, especially where Smith is taking down notes from natives. I have accordingly "restored" the punctuation as well as I could.

The fifth problem had to do with Smith's spelling. Very often he would omit a letter from a word, as 'the' for 'they,' or 'decent' for 'descent.' Such minor errors I have corrected

¹ Since going to press I have found that these notes refer to A. G. Bain's trek of 1826. Smith apparently obtained the information from him.

without comment. Again, in writing down unfamiliar proper names, such as those of places, tribes, chiefs or other people, he used a phonetic method of his own, which in many cases he was compelled to do. Occasionally he gives a whole series of spellings to one name, changing it as his ear becomes accustomed to the sounds of the strange language. These changes are of great importance, since they show that Smith noted down *what he heard* to the best of his ability. I have therefore retained his characteristic spelling of all foreign and proper names, and also those of animals and plants. One typical example is the name of Moshesh, which appears successively as Massus, Maschush and Moschush. In interpreting some of the more obscure names I have found it necessary, remembering that Smith was a Scotsman, to pronounce aloud his version of the names in Scottish fashion, thereby making them clear at once. Thus the curious name 'Fitsachey,' when pronounced as it would be north of the Tweed, turns out to be the quite familiar 'Visagie.' I have likewise made no attempt to alter Smith's frequent 'Scotticisms.'

A sixth problem was more serious. Occasionally a word is quite undecipherable, either because the writing was really bad (sometimes Smith's quill pen was blunt) or because it had become concealed or obliterated by the binding of the Diary. In such cases I have either suggested a reading, or have openly confessed my inability to interpret them. In a few instances Smith himself has left blanks; these I have reproduced by a row of dots.

The Map and Index I hope to append to the Second Volume.

DIARY OF THE EXPEDITION.

12 AUGUST (TUESDAY), 1834.

Early in the morning commenced loading the wagons but in consequence of the irregularity of the Hottentots we were not able to get off from Graaff Reynet till about 5 o'clock p.m. I directed the wagons to be halted for the night at Pinneer's River¹ where I was to join them in the evening, but from the state of intoxication which most of the drivers were in it was not possible to get them to halt till they reached the Oude Berg, a distance of three hours from Graaff Reynet. There I reached them about nine o'clock and found some very intractable. The road was principally over a flat of a clayey soil, towards the Oude Berg being several low trap hills between which the road passed.

13 AUGUST (WEDNESDAY).

At six o'clock started and rode back to Graaff Reynet to settle some accounts and purchase some articles that could not be conveniently procured yesterday. The latter I despatched in a cart and we started from under the Oude Berg about two o'clock p.m. Our course was between hills of trap, in some places along their sides, and always ascending. In the course of an hour we reached the Enniskillen Pass,

¹ Pienaar's River.

so called in honor of Sir L. Cole. The road extends along the side of a hill at a considerable distance from its base, and must have been a work of very great labour as the solid rock nearly the whole distance must on the upper side of the road have been cut to eight or ten feet in order to obtain the level. This was undertaken by a few of the most respectable individuals of Graaff Reynet and all the expenses were met by them. Mr. Bain was the chief manager, and he acknowledges the assistance of Mr. Murray, Mr. Stretch and Dr. Perry.¹ Obstacles of various descriptions were thrown in the way by individuals, and by some from whom they could scarcely have been expected; nevertheless he persevered with the aid and support of the gentlemen above named, and eventually completed the work, which is not only an honor to him and his coadjutors but even to the district, though the latter, with the exceptions mentioned, bore no share in the labour or expense. Whilst ascending this road we were joined by Mr. Murray, Mr. Stretch, Mr. Osh² and Mr. Brown in two horse wagons, who had kindly made up a party to escort us to the top of the Compass Berg. When we reached the top of the hill the road took a direction to the eastward of north, and for the remaining part of the afternoon and evening extended over nearly a flat between hills which enclosed us in every direction. No appearance of grass in any direction; the only covering to the soil was small stunted bushes.

¹ Andrew Geddes Bain, who accompanied the Expedition from Graaff-Reinet to Philippolis. Mr. Andrew Murray was clergyman of Graaff-Reinet. Captain Charles Lennox Stretch was an officer in the Cape regiment. Dr. Perry was a surgeon of Graaff-Reinet.

² Oshae,

14 AUGUST (THURSDAY).

About 7 o'clock a.m. our Graaff Reynet freinds, who lodged for the night at Grobler's, joined us and carried us in their wagons to the base of the Compass Berg. They had despatched an ox wagon with eatables and bedding some days before, so that we were rendered extremely comfortable for the night which we remained under the mountain.

15 AUGUST (FRIDAY).

About 7 o'clock a.m., after a cup of coffee, etc., we commenced the ascent of the Compass Berg, and Mr. Murray, in order to ensure security as to the road, had secured two farmers resident near the spot to accompany us. We reached the top in the course of an hour and a half. The ascent we found difficult and fatiguing. In several places it was necessary to pull each other up, and nearly the whole distance we required to use both hands and feet in passing along the rugged surface, which consisted of large masses of stone irregularly disposed one upon another. From the summit we had an extensive view of the Snewberg, and also of the low country on both sides of it. When the weather is fine and the atmosphere clear, the country to the north of the Orange River is quite visible from this peak and also the Winterhoek range near Uitenhage, neither of which could be seen on this day as a considerable haze existed in the distance. The descent was even more difficult than the ascent. With the exception of knots of grass fairly thinly distributed in the valleys and slopes of the hills near their bases, nothing like vegetation was to be seen

save and except the stunted bushes, which were black and burnt up. The aspect of the country in this belt is extremely barren and the ferruginous tint of the trap hills gives a most miserable appearance to the scene. After rains during the summer the grass is very abundant, and then there is everywhere fine grazing for cattle and sheep. Rode in the afternoon to the wagons.

16 AUGUST (SATURDAY).

Started at 12 o'clock from Piet van der Mervel's,¹ and reached in the evening another farmer's residence of the same name. The road winded through the narrow flats between the trap hills and presented an equally barren aspect as towards the Compass Berg. Between these hills, towards the place where we halted, the centres of the valleys were covered with elephant grass, dried and withered, together with long rushes. Water very good, and here and there is tolerable quantity. The farmer where we halted owned 12,000 morgens of land around his house.

17 AUGUST (SUNDAY).

Mr. Krotz,² the missionary, performed service in the Dutch language in the forenoon and in English in the afternoon. He adverted in the latter service to the death of Mr. Stoll³ and gave us a sermon on the shortness of life and the uncertainty thereof. Piet van der Mervel visited us, and towards evening Mr.

¹ Van der Merwe.

² One of the German missionaries who accompanied the Expedition as far as Philippolis. His name was Kraut.

³ Joachim William Stoll, Receiver General of the Cape, and a shareholder in the Expedition.

Moodie, Mr. Krotz, Captain Edie and myself set out with the intention of visiting his residence, which was about three miles from where our wagons were halted. In the attempt we were unsuccessful, and instead of reaching his house fell in with a kraal of Buchuannas¹ or Batchlapies,² as they called themselves. They were in his service, and employed in taking charge of his cattle. They informed us that they had been attacked by the Bastards, their cattle carried away, and many of their nation killed by guns. Begged snuff and tobacco.

18 AUGUST (MONDAY).

Mr. van der Mervel spoke in favourable terms of the Buchuannas and said that many of them were good herdsmen; that others were indolent and disinclined to work. Thinks the colonists are benefited by the residence of those people in the Colony. He appeared to consider the abolition of slavery as likely to benefit the Colony and was well aware of the advantages of attending to the wool and sheep. He has commenced rearing them, and intends to purchase sheep with the money he receives for his slaves. The valley contains very little grass, and towards the more central portions long rushes. Everywhere the country presents a most barren appearance.

19 AUGUST (TUESDAY).

Travelled nine hours with the wagons and reached Cornelis Visser at Gordons Fonteyn³ at 8 p.m. Mr.

¹ Tswana.

² Tlhaping.

³ See map.

Bain and myself arrived there about 5, and were met at a little distance from the house by Mr. Visser and eight or nine farmers, who conducted us to the house where we were very hospitably received. Mr. Visser has the most comfortable house I have seen since leaving Graaff Reynet. The country over which we travelled was almost destitute of vegetation; only thinly covered by dwarf black bushes of from six inches to a foot in height. Towards the centre of the flats patches of coarse grass and rushes occurred here and there, the gnu abundant on the flats in herds of considerable size. They were seen gambolling about in the most playful manner just like young calves or horses. When pursued they generally run in a string one after the other, and as they scampered over the plains their numbers were rendered indistinct from the clouds of dust which enveloped them, the soil being in general light sand. The Rev. Mr. Murray accompanied by Mr. Stretch arrived late in the evening of the 20th. Halted at Visser's on the 20th.

21 AUGUST (THURSDAY).

About 9 o'clock a.m. I left Gordons Fonteyn in Mr. Murray's wagon for Colesberg. The latter we reached about half-past six in the evening, and took up our lodging in the parsonage house. Mr. M. visits Colesberg every four months to preach to the farmers, etc., belonging to that parish, and to administer the sacrament, baptize, etc. During the day we passed several farm houses and at two of them we halted for a short time. The owners appeared much pleased to see their clergyman, and they entertained our party with tea. The face of the country exhibited

a most barren appearance, nothing green to be seen ; any grass that existed was dry and withered. The short bushes were all in the same condition, so that it is quite impossible for cattle or sheep to procure even a sufficiency to support existence. Springboks are extremely common at certain seasons, and the farmers make large karosses with their skin, which they sell in Graaff Reynet for floor covers. One containing 42 skins was bought by one of our party for 25 Rds. Lions are very common in the country towards Visser's, and they are said generally to resort to the hills during the day and to the plains during the night. Many of the farmers lose horses through them. All the farmers unite in declaring that it is quite impossible for them to feed their flocks upon their own farms when such droughts occur as have happened this year. That I can readily believe. Venter, a little distance from Colesberg, has a pretty considerable supply of water which enables him to sow corn to a small extent, and to cultivate a tolerably large garden in which he grows vegetables of various descriptions. This man was fined at the instance of the Protector of Slaves for having maltreated a slave. When the fine was ordered by the Magistrate he immediately threw down the money on the table in addition to some more, and on being told there was too much he observed, "You may keep it also." In general, however, a good feeling seems to exist in regard to slaves, and several of the farmers who possess such property have expressed their wish that all relating to slavery should be at an end. They intend purchasing wool sheep with the compensation money, the prejudice against them having quite disappeared in the Graaff Reynet district. They remark that the country they

inhabit is not calculated to support the large troops of African sheep which they possess, but they think it would sustain sufficient wool sheep to enable them to live comfortably. One farmer told me that he had observed that the severe colds which they experience in the Snewberg¹ often kill the African sheep but produce no injurious effect upon the others. Many of the most intelligent farmers expressed a wish that the Protector of Slaves, Mr. Moodie,² who accompanied us, should explain to the most intelligent slaves the nature of the law as regarded the abolition act, and recommend them to live quietly till their period of slavery was past, promising at the same time that their wish was to be kind and liberal in return. At Colesberg Mr. Murray is usually received by one of the deacons, who lives in the house during his stay and supplies table, etc. On this occasion the Veld Cornet Joubert was the person for that duty. Wagons are sent by the more opulent to convey Mr. M. from and to Graaff Reynet.

22 AUGUST (FRIDAY).

During the entire day wagons poured into the village from every direction. They drew up in different situations ; generally those of a Veld Cornetcy or a particular part of the country assembled together. As soon as the oxen were let loose, each wagon disgorged a small tent which was pitched close to the vehicle, and in that the family resided during its stay. The Hantam people occupied one position, the Zee-kow River another, etc. Several called upon Mr. M.,

¹ Sneeuwberg.

² Lieut. Donald Moodie. Theal, G. M., *History of South Africa* (1834-1854), London, 1888, Vol. iv, p. 60.

particularly those who had business with him. Many persons belonging to the district of Graaff Reynet requested to have children baptised, which Mr. M. was disinclined to do in consequence of its establishing a precedent for irregularities. He, however, out of sympathy complied with their requests.

23 AUGUST (SATURDAY).

During the whole day wagons kept pouring into the village, and towards evening 185 were reckoned in different parts of the village. In the course of the day many sick persons came to the parsonage to request medical advice, several with sores, all of which they thought were of a cancerous nature. They enquired with great anxiety about that, and when I told them their fears were unfounded they appeared as if they did not credit what I said, and some, even while I was present, asked the opinion of Mr. M. In the afternoon of Saturday Mr. M. was engaged in questioning the young who were supplicants for admission into the church. About 36 were present and I was surprised by the shrewd answers many of them gave to intricate questions he put to them; 24 he received and the rest were rejected till next examination. Mr. M. informed me that few of them fear being rejected. He was engaged with them from three o'clock p.m. till about nine.

24 AUGUST (SUNDAY).

About half-past nine the congregation began to repair to the church, and at ten the service began. Every individual either carried a chair or a stool, or else sent one or other of them before them. The

building consists of three wings, and the men sit on one side of each wing and the women on the other, leaving a narrow passage along the centre. Several sat around the base of the pulpit, and [these] consisted principally of the families of the deacons, elders, etc. The entire [congregation] presented a most motley and grotesque appearance. Some few of the women were fashionably dressed, but most of them had on their head either small black bonnets or what are called "cappies." Some had gaudy coloured gowns and one or two were dressed in silks. Most of them had white stockings, but a few had only shoes. During service all appeared very attentive and devout. Few ever directed their eyes from the minister. In the afternoon service was again performed, and after that the children were baptised. About 40 presented themselves, and during the address previous to the ceremony being performed, the women and fathers were ranged in several rows in front of the pulpit. When the time arrived for promising obedience to the injunctions of the church, the males bowed obedience and the females curtsied. As soon as Mr. M. descended from the pulpit to commence operations, the rush was so great upon him, each being more anxious than another to be first in order to get away, that he was forced to retreat within the pillars which supported the pulpit. He poured the water after reading the name which was handed to him on a scrap of paper by the mother. Scarcely any child received fewer than two christian names and most of them three.

25 AUGUST (MONDAY).

During this day the party was busily employed in preparing to leave Colesberg and in housing the wheat

which I was forced to leave behind in consequence of the difficulty of procuring wagons to convey it to Philopolis. Several of the farmers' wagons left immediately after service on Sunday, and by midday on Monday almost all had disappeared. The great proportion were horse wagons, and the owners were extremely anxious to get away as there was actually nothing for their cattle, etc., to feed upon. The Graaff Reynet traders, who had resorted to the village to trade with the farmers, all left about the same time, and I was told by them that they considered that there had been sold about 8,000 Rds. worth of merchandise. 300 wagons have been seen on such occasions at Colesberg. Mr. M. considers that the number was not so large this time in consequence of the extreme drought which had occurred, and from so many of the inhabitants of the district being so far beyond the Orange River with their cattle.

Colesberg is situated in a narrow valley between two ranges of low hills and just below the spring which supplies the water. The spring is weak and scarcely affords means for irrigating even a very few gardens. The site of the village and a great extent of country around it was granted to the church by Sir L. Cole, together with a power to sell small spots for the support of the church. The latter as well as the parsonage house was built by the voluntary contributions of the inhabitants. I calculated that 800 persons were present in the church on Sunday. They are very anxious to have a resident clergyman, and a memorial was signing at the time we were there. Many held back from signing it under an impression that by doing so they would be forced to pay for the Minister that might be appointed. The village at

present contains about fourteen houses, some of them substantial buildings. Mr. Heugh has a shop there which is moderately supplied with the articles most in demand amongst the farmers. The clerk of the church usually reads a portion of scripture and directs the singing of a psalm before the clergyman enters upon his duties. The man who is clerk here reads a sermon to such as may attend church on Sundays between the periods of Mr. M. visiting. He also acts as school-master.

26 AUGUST (TUESDAY).

About 10 o'clock we left Colesberg and directed our course towards the Black River,¹ which we reached towards dusk. The country everywhere exhibited a most barren appearance; only in the low grounds, towards the centres of the flats, a little withered grass was to be seen and some long coarse rushes on the low hills which lay at a little distance from the road. On both sides a few green bushes were observed, and the remains of small ones were seen scattered over the flats, but nowhere in such abundance as to cover the surface. The soil was a fine clay which on the surface was hardened by the sun and wind, but when broken up by any means exhibited a fine dust which was carried about in clouds by the lightest winds. About half way between Colesberg and the river we passed a farm house where there was a moderate supply of water. On reaching the river, we halted for the night on its banks.

¹ The Upper Orange River.

27 AUGUST (WEDNESDAY).

The oxen were permitted to graze during the night, and it was not till towards noon that they were got together. The wind blew very strong, and clouds of dust were flying in every direction, which were here very annoying in consequence of the great abundance of loose soil which borders the river on both sides. Along the edges of the river grow a few dwarf bushes and a number of willow trees, the green of which was very agreeable after [our] having been for so many days without witnessing that tint except in gardens or small cornfields. The stream was here about 100 yards in breadth, the water beautifully clear and [in] some places about 18 inches deep.

The ascent from the northern side was rather steep and several of the spans required assistance to carry the wagons up to the plain above. As it was nearly 2 when we started, it was considered likely that we would require to halt before reaching Philopolis, and [we] therefore filled all the barrels with water. It turned out to be necessary, and we halted after crossing the first flat, which extends from the river about three hours distant from it where there was rain water for the oxen to drink.

28 AUGUST (THURSDAY).

I started on horseback early this morning as soon as the oxen were yoked, and reached Philopolis about ten. The wagons arrived about twelve. Called on Mr. Kolbe¹ who received us kindly, and after furnish-

¹ Clergyman at Philippolis.

ing us with breakfast he conducted us to the place where Mr. Kift with the 3 wagons had taken up a position. The road extended along the flats as hitherto, and moderately low hills extended on each side of us, which, from their position, required us to travel a much greater distance than would otherwise be necessary. When we arrived at the wagons we found the Union Jack flying, and all the party were glad to see us. The three wagons being situated in rather a bleak position, we drew up those which arrived today under a hill, and had the others moved to the same place in the course of the afternoon.

29 AUGUST (FRIDAY).

During the whole of the day the wind blew with great violence and clouds of dust were flying in every direction. The tents which had been pitched the day before were all blown down, and, though they were re-pitched, some experienced a second time a like fate. Though at our encampment the wind and dust were particularly annoying, both were much more so at Philopolis. Mr. Kolbe informed me that such winds were not infrequent in this time of year, and he said that if they continued to blow for a length of time, they generally had a very rainy season. He thought it would either terminate in rain or snow. About a fortnight before our arrival they had a fall of snow to nearly an inch in depth. Towards sunset the wind usually abates, and rises again in the morning an hour or two after sunrise. Most of the rains here are accompanied by a N.E. wind. This day the wind blew the first few hours from the N.E., but the most violent wind was from the N.W.

Had a long conversation with Cornelius Kok, and afterwards with Hendrick Hendricks and Adam or Dam Kok¹ about the state of this district and of the neighbouring tribes.

30 AUGUST (SATURDAY).

Mr. Ford exerted himself to finish drawings of toads and lizards.

I found the cold in my wagon to have been during the night 34. The waters near the wagon had a thin coat of ice; wind moderate in the early part of the day, and towards evening perfect calm.

Had the blacksmith up from Philopolis to examine the wheels of the wagons. Several were discovered to require the bands to be shortened. The greater number of the party went out in search of birds, etc., but few succeeded in obtaining any.

A grey winged partridge was killed amongst others. Several reported that amongst the hills there was a considerable quantity of dry grass and particularly upon the tops of some of them.

31 AUGUST (SUNDAY).

Service was performed this day by Mr. Gabel,² and in the evening myself and several of our party went to church at the village. There were a number of persons in attendance, many of them well dressed and orderly, and attentive throughout the service.

¹ Griquas. Cornelis and Adam were brothers; Theal, G. M., *History of South Africa* (1834-1854), London, 1888, Vol. iv. p. 380 *et seq.* Hendrik Hendriks was at this time secretary to the Griqua Government.

² The second of the two German missionaries who accompanied the Expedition as far as Philippolis. His name was Gebel.

Several Corannas from a distance were also present, most of them dressed in karosses, the women with petticoats, the men with trousers and fur caps, the fur inside, and the cap just large enough to receive the head.

Hendrick Hendricks was present, and during the service he displayed a demeanour indicative of great self-conceit and conceived importance. Upon conversing with Mr. K. as to the character of this person, he assured me that the opinion I had formed was perfectly correct; that he was vain and conceited, and considered himself a person of no trifling consequence. He states him to be a most plausible person, and of so accommodating a temper that when the Captain gets displeased with him, and rejects his councils, he gradually ingratiates himself again, and is never for any long time out of favour. He is much respected by the Corannas and Griquas, but treated with indifference by the Bastards.

1 SEPTEMBER (MONDAY).

Visited the village early this morning for the purpose of endeavouring to hire oxen to proceed with the wagons to Colesberg to convey thither two loads of wheat. I found on reaching Mr. Kolbe that this was the day on which the legislative council held its sitting. It is composed of the chief and five councillors. I proposed to Mr. K. to request that I might be present. Upon the demand being made to the Captain, he evinced considerable reluctance as far as could be inferred from silence and look. I however persevered, and offered to assist with my advice, provided they would consider and discuss matters connected with

themselves and the Colony. At last they agreed, and we entered upon the consideration of what would be the best understanding that should exist between them and the Colonial Government. From the first they all evinced a great suspicion of me, and from seeing that so evident I could not refrain from requesting Mr. Kolbe to inform them that I observed it. The Captain replied that I was a stranger to them, and that they did not know me; he neither said they were suspicious nor they were not. It appeared to me that he comprehended the tendency of the suggestions I offered more thoroughly than any of the others, but he was less ready with remarks than the others. Hendrick Hendricks was the most pertinent in making sensible remarks, and the most clear in stating objections. The others occasionally offered very fair arguments against measures I suggested, and I was struck with the great caution they evinced in considering questions. They appeared as a body to be well calculated to manage a small community such as theirs is, and a very fair proportion of intellect and sagacity was displayed in their various observations. They acknowledged that their security and existence as an independent people depended entirely on their connection with the Government, and that it was necessary that they should take care to cultivate its favour in order to have its support and countenance. Not one seemed to believe that they could exist as a community without the succour of the Colonial [Govt.,] and all appeared ready and willing to perform any duty which might be required of them, and which was within their power, in order to be regarded as friends of the Government. They complained bitterly of the farmers from the Colony being permitted to

establish themselves upon their grounds, and dwelt strongly upon statements which had been made to them by the farmers touching their want of just claim upon the country, it having been the country of the Bushmen, on which account they wished it to be understood that they, the farmers, were as much entitled to use it as the Griquas. They complained that the farmers appeared to consider them as in no way deserving of such a possession, and that they were in the habit of asserting that they were the children of the Government, and that therefore the Government was bound to consider their claim to the Bushman country in preference to that of the Griquas.

Towards the evening of this day Mr. Gabel and Mr. Krotz waited on me, and after some preliminary conversation stated their intention of leaving the expedition. I made very few remarks at the moment, but declared my wish that Mr. Kolbe should be present when we discussed the subject, which they consented to. Had it simply been that they as individuals wished to leave, I should not have considered it necessary to offer any observations; but as it was to deprive us of two men whom I had hired at Graaff Reynet at their suggestion, with the understanding that they were to accompany the party for twelve months, I thought it necessary to discuss the propriety of the step they proposed taking in order to prevent the latter taking place. They acknowledged to me that they intended to discharge the men, and that they had put the question to me "did I intend sending wagons back to Colesberg in order that there might be the means of conveyance open for them so far?" I told them after being able to discover no just reason for their changing from their original intentions, that

I could not agree to the two men leaving the party, and settled with them that I should myself speak to the individuals tomorrow morning. They were informed by me at Graaff Reynet that there was no chance of our touching at Latakoo,¹ yet they made no objections on that score. They certainly seemed to wish to see Mr. Moffat, which I told them I thought they would have an opportunity of doing. From the entire of the conversation I was impressed with a belief that they had been led to change in consequence of fearing Masalacatzie.

2 SEPTEMBER (TUESDAY).

Occupied in preparing the wagons which are destined to proceed to Colesberg for the corn. In the afternoon visited the village and had a long conversation with the old chief. He professed himself to believe me their friend, and stated that he had last night heard of what I had suggested for the chief of the Bondle Zwarts.² Was much more communicative than formerly. The Hottentots engaged for the missionaries' wagon came to me, and spoke of what the missionaries intended to do. I told them I could not annul the agreement between them and myself. They appeared perfectly satisfied to proceed with the expedition.

3 SEPTEMBER (WEDNESDAY).

The wagons, two in number, with hired oxen, and Mr. Kift with five of the party, left about 11 o'clock

¹ Kuruman, a station of the London Missionary Society.

² A Hottentot tribe living at Warmbad, S. Namaqualand.

for Colesberg. Most of the party were occupied during most of the day digging out Scuun.¹

Took Alpha Lyrae which passed the board 7.41.49.² The party from Buffels Vley returned this evening.

4 SEPTEMBER (THURSDAY).

Various instances of weakness on the part of the Griqua Government were mentioned to me. Corannas stole from the Buchuannas cattle. The Bastards, not Griquas, but still living under the jurisdiction of Kok, were roused by this oppression and proposed interfering. They retook the cattle by a commando under De Bruin consisting of about 25 men, all Bastards, and gave them back to the Caffers. The Corannas followed, and as soon as they were delivered over and the commando gone they took them again. De Bruin suspected that such might be the result, [and] placed his commando behind a hill from whence they could watch the station. It happened just as he suspected; he attacked them a second time and some fighting took place. One Coranna was killed, the cattle retaken, and also the horses of the Corannas. The former were delivered to the Caffers a second time and the horses were held by Kok. Some time afterwards the Corannas sent a message to Kok that provided the horses were not returned to them they would declare war. This threat had the desired effect; the horses

¹ Robert Schoon, originally Scoone, was a native of Hawick, Scotland. In 1829 he and a certain William McLuckie went on a trading expedition to the north, and actually travelled at least as far as Mzilikazi's stronghold near Zeerust in the Transvaal.

² This remark refers to a transit of Vega (α Lyrae). Dr. W. van den Bos of the Observatory, Johannesburg, worked out Smith's calculation at my request. His result was 7.41.47.7, thus revealing Smith's accuracy in the field.

were delivered up, and since that De Bruin is fearful of the Corannas, they considering him as the person who had injured them not with the wish of the chief.

5 SEPTEMBER (FRIDAY).

The oldest son of Kok is a hasty imperious character, and even when they are trying cases does not hesitate to rise up and beat a witness. He is not respected by the people, and they object to him as the successor to the captainship. They consider his not being able to write a great objection. A party of Pinnear's state that in particular, and anticipate unpleasant occurrences from having such a person because they have already experienced them under the present chief. Letters have been written to them by Hendrick Hendricks, the secretary to Kok, and when they enquired about the subjects of them they found that the captain was ignorant of such ever having been penned. The body of the people are desirous that Adam, the second son, shall succeed, and the feeling is so well understood that it is universally considered that he is to be the person. He has not yet agreed to assume it, and upon my questioning him on the subject he observed that it was no easy matter to accept, and that it required the most serious consideration. He is described by Mr. Kolbe as a firm, determined person, and Mr. K. says during the short time he governed for his father when he was absent at the Kat River effected more good than had been done for years before. He administered justice most rigidly, and even went in opposition to his own relations. He is a sensible looking man of about 24 years of age, rather taciturn and diffident. He does not mingle much with the people.

Hendrick Hendricks denied his right to dispossess Adam,¹ but now that he sees the voice of the people is for him he has turned also. It is supposed that H. objected from knowing that Adam was no particular friend of his, and that he would not have the influence he has hitherto enjoyed, as Adam is able to write his own letters. Pinnear remarked that if the captain is able to write they will be certain that letters sent by him are the letters of the chief. Some time ago when it was generally believed that Waterboer would be created chief over the entire frontier, old Kok and his adherents were upon the very verge of leaving the district, and it was with some difficulty that they were persuaded to wait the result of the deliberations of Government.

6 SEPTEMBER (SATURDAY).

Engaged during the day preparing to start on a tour to the eastward.

7 SEPTEMBER (SUNDAY).

Attended divine service in the chapel at Phillipolis, at 2 o'clock and at $\frac{1}{2}$ past six. Mr. Kolbe preached in the evening, and illustrated in plain but forcible terms the love Christ bore to mankind, and as proof of that his submitting himself without murmur to be offered as a sacrifice for their sins. Each time the church was pretty well attended and most of the people were respectably dressed, some few very well.

8 SEPTEMBER (MONDAY).

Sent down a wagon load of stores which were to remain at Phillipolis.

¹ Smith meant the eldest son.

9 SEPTEMBER (TUESDAY).

Messrs. Scohon,¹ Malcolm, Granat and Bain left us with their wagons, the three former for Latakoo, the latter for the Hart River. Two more loads of stores sent down to Mr. Kolbe, and 35 oxen which were to be left behind.

10 SEPTEMBER (WEDNESDAY).

Upon my becoming bail for a Bastard from the Colony who was under confinement with the intention of being tried for an assault, the chief liberated him and permitted him to accompany us.

The wagons moved about one o'clock, and we reached Modder Fonteyn, the place of Gert Kok,² about dark. At his residence we found no inhabitants, but a little to the eastward a number of Caffers, men and women, in charge of the cattle. One of them was extremely anxious for a gun, and offered Mr. Kift two young oxen for one, which of course was not complied with.

11 SEPTEMBER (THURSDAY).

During this day's travelling little difference was discoverable in the character of the country. The old grass stood rather more abundant, and the young blades of a dark green colour began to be seen thinly intermixed with the dry ones. The country consisted still of flats and trap hills, the former rather enlarging

¹ Schoon.

² Or "Abram" Kok; the one word is superimposed on the other.

as we advanced to the eastward. Very few shrubs and only on the hills a few thinly scattered dwarf trees. Firewood scarce.

Abram Kok, one of the chief's sons, lives near where we halted. He has a mat house and no furniture. His wife [was] dressed in leather and his face [was] painted red to protect it against the sun and wind. [He] has a little land under cultivation. Several other spots of cultivated land observable from the road. The place where we halted is called Bank Fonteyn,¹ and belongs to Adam Kok. Here is a small river which runs during the rainy season ; also a little land under cultivation which requires to be irrigated, and for that purpose a dam has been formed above the land. A person living here in the capacity of a servant asked 8 Rds. for a small year old calf and would take nothing less. They evince but little desire to part with their property, and they appear to fancy that we must take what they offer and at any price they choose to fix. In this respect they approximate to the Colonial farmers. Everywhere complaints about the Boers, and about losses they sustain by having the grass eaten off by their cattle. The complaint appears just, as everywhere immense flocks and herds are to be seen feeding over the entire country in this direction, and even the farmers are actually residing close to the houses of the Bastards, and threatening them, if they do [not] rest quietly, that the circumstance will be reported to Government. The places will then be taken and measured out to the colonists. The Bastards in consequence of these observations appear very miserable, and will neither sow nor build, if their own statements are to be credited, lest they should by a step of Govern-

¹ See map.

ment lose both labour and property. Their minds ought to be set at rest on this subject.

12 SEPTEMBER (FRIDAY).

About 2 o'clock left Bank Fonteyn, and about $\frac{1}{2}$ past six reached Bosch Spruit,¹ the property of a Bastard from the Roggeveldt. He purchased this property from Hendrick Hendricks for 100 Rds. It is well supplied with water, having close to the house in the channel of the stream four or five very large deep holes. The water, however, is so low at present that it cannot with the means he possesses be led out. By means of a pump a sufficiency would be obtained to irrigate a very considerable portion of land. He complains of being very poor, having only about 200 goats. Several persons reside in the place with him, who have come there in consequence of the drought in other directions. On the flats, but especially on the hills, an abundance of dry grass. Close to him are several farmers residing with their flocks, and actually the cattle of those individuals may be seen feeding almost upon the very precincts of the house. Wherever the eye can be turned nothing but flocks of sheep and herds of cattle are to be seen together, with here and there a wagon or two, the temporary abodes of the migrating farmers.

All the Bastards acknowledge one serious inconvenience which is experienced on this side of the Colonial boundary, namely the non-existence of firm and just laws. They speak of the great proportion of the inhabitants being in one family and of the chief not being inclined to go against his own relatives.

¹ Boschle's Spruit.

When a person has a farm granted to him in this country, it is considered ever after as his own property, and only resumable in the event of any serious crime. He receives a title deed and is after that empowered to sell his property should he be so disposed. On the sale he is bound to transfer the title at the same time. Hendrick Hendricks told me that since we left a farmer had arrived at Phillipolis and offered him 2,000 Rds. for a place belonging to him. He rejected the offer, and according to his statement desired the farmer to go back to the Colony. Though here we found a great number of sheep and young cattle yet we could get none to purchase. When they were asked to sell cattle they always replied that they were too lean to kill. The grass on the flats is sour.

13 SEPTEMBER (SATURDAY).

Most of the Hottentots were this day employed in searching for the oxen which during the night had strayed and got mixed with the cattle belonging to farmers, Caffers, etc. Before dark the greater portion of them were got together, but several were still absent. The wind blew very strong from the north, and carried with it clouds of fine sand and dust. Temperature high. At sunset wind abated. Evening very fine.

14 SEPTEMBER (SUNDAY).

Prayers were read by Mr. Bell, and several persons went out on horseback upon horses supplied by the Bastards, and before evening they succeeded in obtaining all but three. One of the missing was a very

fat ox. Three were taken out of a herd of Caffer cattle which was driven by two Caffers who concealed themselves in the grass the moment they were discovered. A Caffer in the employ of a farmer stated that if Caffers have got hold of the two missing [cattle] they will never be found again. Wherever Caffers reside for the time they have always friends at a distance who receive their plunder. They never keep what they steal with them, but despatch them to a distance to some of their friends in league with them. By this arrangement they generally succeed in securing their plunder. The Bastards assert that Caffers never regard each other as men until they can prove by the dexterity with which they steal, etc., that they are entitled to be viewed as such. To cheat and rob with dexterity is viewed by them as a very high accomplishment, and particularly formed for recommending them to the good opinion of the community to which they belong. A Bastard told me that he once saw a Caffer anxious to steal a knife that was lying on the ground but no opportunity existed for carrying it off without detection. He seated himself upon it and so managed to enclose it by his buttocks that he actually carried it away. They are proverbial amongst the inhabitants of this part of the country for their evil propensities and their cunning. When they are in charge of cattle belonging to another there are seldom any of them lost, but under other circumstances it is difficult to trust them.

I am much disposed to believe that the two oxen missing have been stolen, and that the Caffer we had in our employment from Graaff Reynet is the thief. He accompanied us to within about 2 miles of Bosie's Spruit and there absconded. It is scarcely probable

that the oxen would have been divided amongst the herds in the way we found them to have been without some steps had been taken to separate them. This was a plan probably adopted to render it probable to us that they, the two, might still be with some other cattle.

15 SEPTEMBER (MONDAY).

All the oxen with the exception of three having been found the wagons started at 12 for the Caledon Institution, while three men went in search of the oxen. About three o'clock we heard that they had been found close to the Orange River. The road extended across five flats covered with a little dry grass. Almost no bush, hills low and joined in many places by low ridges, all trap.

Mr. Pellisier¹ received us in a very friendly manner on our arrival at his station. He mentioned that while only Bushmen were residing there, he had a Caffer to take care of his cattle and sheep. One day the Caffers who used to tend both went off to turn the former. He observed some of the Bushmen belonging to the station near the sheep, and shortly afterward saw them turn one away from the flock and drive it to their own which they had brought near to the spot. He pretended not to observe it but watched closely their proceedings. They drove all together behind a hill, and there killed the sheep which they had seized belonging to Mr. P. The Caffer made Mr. P. acquainted with the occurrence, and said he would watch them at night as he knew they would bring the flesh home. Accordingly he did so, and soon after

¹ Rev. Jean Pierre Pellissier of the Paris Evangelical Society.

dark he came running to Mr. P. with the liver of the sheep which he had taken out of the Bushman house when they were absent cooking it.

16 SEPTEMBER (TUESDAY).

17 SEPTEMBER (WEDNESDAY).

18 SEPTEMBER (THURSDAY).

19 SEPTEMBER (FRIDAY).

20 SEPTEMBER (SATURDAY).

21 SEPTEMBER (SUNDAY).¹

22 SEPTEMBER (MONDAY).

During the last week employed in investigating the history of the tribes residing at Verhuill Missionary Institution,² and in getting drawings of their appearances, customs, dresses, etc. During the night of the 21 the self-registering thermometer indicated 25. On the night of 22 it stood at 27.

23 SEPTEMBER (TUESDAY).³

Started at $\frac{1}{2}$ past two on the road to Massus.⁴
At $\frac{1}{2}$ past five halted at the River.⁵ Country

¹ No entries for these six dates.

² The Mission Station founded in 1834 by Rev. J. P. Pellissier. The name was later changed to Bethulie.

³ On this day Smith also wrote a report to Chase, Secretary to the Association for Exploring Central Africa. This report is now in the Public Record Office, London.

⁴ Moshesh.

⁵ No name given; it was the Slik Spruit, near Bethulie.

everywhere had a most barren appearance, nothing green to be seen with the exception of a few shrubs or very dwarf trees upon the tops and sides of some of the hills. The grass on the flats withered and short, having been eaten off by the numerous herds of cattle which have lately been grazing throughout the whole of the country. After halting we fixed the nets and formed a kraal in which the cattle were placed. At first they were rather troublesome, but after being a short time confined they remained quite quiet and rested without being watched during the whole night.

24 SEPTEMBER (WEDNESDAY).

When preparing to leave we found the axle tree of the cart broken, which required to be repaired before we could proceed. Close to our encampment we found Carel Kruger, who is a good [smith, who] took it away and repaired it by 4 o'clock p.m. Most of the men were during the day employed shooting along the Caledon River whose banks were margined by willow trees. In the river a considerable quantity of water.

25 SEPTEMBER (THURSDAY).

Started at 11 a.m.,¹ and passed the residence of Carel Kruger, where he has led out the water of the Slik River and thereby irrigated a considerable portion of corn land. He engaged to accompany us on our tour to the eastward, and with that intention sent his clothes and bedding to the wagon.

Soon after passing his house the wagons were stopt in consequence of Botha riding up on horseback

¹ The manuscript has p.m.

and reporting that Corporal McKenzie was drowned in the river a little way to the north. Immediately repaired thither on horseback, and found to my sorrow that the poor fellow had shot a duck, and, in his anxiety to get it, stripped off his clothes, and swam to it. According to the statement of Hasswell, who was with him at the time, he took the bird in his hand, but almost immediately let it go again and disappeared under the water, from which moment he never saw him again. He ran off for help but all was unavailing ; no body ever appeared again. The river was narrow but very deep, on each side edged with long, strong and close-set reeds and the eastern half of the river was below water filled with an interweaved mass of grass, which no doubt entangled his legs and arms. Mr. Bell, Andries and Ishmael went across to the spot upon a raft, but could see after the greatest exertion no appearance of the body. The subaqueous vegetation was so dense that they could not see more than four feet under the surface. I may say this river has been the means of depriving us of one of our very best men, a man remarkable for his quietness and for the attention he bestowed upon any duty that was entrusted to him. His loss will be a serious one and it appears to be felt by most of the party, a general gloom seeming to pervade all on the melancholy occasion. It is much to be feared he was ill fitted for so sudden an end. He professed to be a disbeliever of our Saviour, and, poor fellow, he had at last little time to think and get rid of such horrible notions.

About noon clouds began to rise in the north, and lightening became very distinct and vivid by three p.m. About 4, when we were searching for the body, heavy thunder pealed and a slight shower fell. At

the moment the report reached our wagons of the misfortune I ordered them to be halted, and, when the oxen were loosened, that all should repair to the spot. After an unsuccessful search for the body we returned to the wagons, got the oxen in, and proceeded as far as a farmer's residence; about a half hour from the spot we halted.

26 SEPTEMBER (FRIDAY).

After halting the clouds began vigorously to deliver up their treasures, and during most of the night the rain fell in abundance. It continued during most of the day, and everywhere little pools of water existed on the flats. The soil on the surface became softened by the rain and formed a sort of mortar, which rendered walking difficult and fatiguing. About 4 p.m. the rain abated, and with the exception of a few passing showers the rest of the day was fine. During the time the rain was falling it felt warm, but after it held up it felt very chilly.

The course of the Slik River is nearly E.N.E., and consists of a series of very deep pools with only a very small stream connecting them. At present the water is tolerably fresh, but when the summer is advanced it is almost salt and seldom runs. When for a season or two there have not been rains sufficient to cause the river to run, the pools, except in two or three places, get almost dried up. In two or three places toward the mouth of the river there are springs which always afford fresh water. The banks in some places are steep, in others nearly on a level with the flats, and will in such spots admit of the water being led out for purposes of irrigation. The country is particularly

remarkable for the almost total absence of trees. The willows only grow along the edges of the larger streams, and those are so low that even their tops are not to be seen when looking along the flats. Such is the case with the Caledon. Along the Slik River there are no trees of any description. The edges of the water are margined by long and strong reeds, particularly the deep pools, and the soil between the deep pools consists of a deep black vegetable mould. The absence of trees is attributed to the brackishness of the soil. The flats have scarcely a bush upon them, and the grass grows in tufts closely set together. There are two sorts of grass occurring, both sour and sweet grass. The latter is the most abundant; the former appears longer in consequence of having been left untouched by the cattle. The grass on the hills is also said to be sour. The soil on the flats is clayey and tenacious; on the tops of most of the hills loose and sandy. Amongst the rocks on the sides and tops of the hills a few stunted trees and bushes. Where the course of the river is low, the banks on each side are covered with rushes and long coarse grass; these, when they have been burnt off and shoot up again, are greedily eaten by the cattle. Ant hills are here as well as throughout the entire country to the north of the Orange River; very abundant but not of any very great size.

27 SEPTEMBER (SATURDAY).

Rained heavily during the night and even a little in the morning; also once in the afternoon. The wind, which during the heavy rain blew from the south-east, changed in the course of the day to south, and

at times it blew from the south-west. Clouds still abundant and very dark.

The farmer living here has a small field of wheat which looks well. Says corn does not grow very well in consequence of the quantity of pot clay, but adds if he had straw or something of that sort to plough into the ground, it would produce excellent corn. Last year the rust did not make its appearance but his crop was eaten off by locusts whilst he was absent in the Colony, whither he repaired in consequence of the wars between the Corannas and Bastards. Does not think either party would have disturbed him yet he was alarmed. The grass on the flats is partly sour and partly sweet; the sour is known by its woolly appearance. On the flats upon the tops of hills the sour grass is more abundant than on the flats. Cattle keep fat here even though the drought has been great. The spring at this place is strong and the water perfectly fresh; it never gets very weak, let the season be ever so dry. Says the place he is now inhabiting is rather unhealthy for lambs and sometimes also for full grown sheep.

Dispatched two men to see if the body of Corporal McKenzie had risen, but on their return they stated that they could discover no appearance of it. Evening cloudy, with a strong wind from the S.W. or west. Thermometer in the wagon at nine, 50.

28 SEPTEMBER (SUNDAY).

Mr. Bell read prayers to the party at 11 a.m. Mr. Burrow and Mr. Kift went down to the Slik River to see if the body had risen, but discovered nothing. Cloudy during the day; very hot about noon. Several

farmers visited the one residing here and went to examine his corn field. The conduct of the party this day forced upon one's recollection that it was a day of quiet and rest.

29 SEPTEMBER (MONDAY).

Sour grass does not get destroyed in the roots so much as the sweet grass ; the sweet grass is by the treading of feet killed, and is succeeded by small bushes. Most of the Sneeberg grass is sour and it is not so much destroyed as the sweet grass which prevails between Gordon Fonteyn and the river. In the warm Bokkeveld where the grass is sweet there are more bushes than grass. In the cold where the grass is sour more grass than bushes. In places where reeds grow, the moment the ground in which they stand is much trampled upon by cattle they begin to weaken and gradually die, or at least only send out small shoots. On the other hand, cut them off with knives or sickles and they grow still as strong as formerly. Both grass and reeds must have a loose soil.

In country where bushes abound, nothing destroys them so soon as keeping the roots constantly damp. Thus farmers who have a command of water distribute it through a bushy district and so get rid of the bushes, and have afterwards a fine crop of grass. Kruger complains that the farmers pursue no system on their farms. If they were to feed their sheep upon the higher and dryer parts and let the cattle resort to the moister parts of the farm, the grass would never be destroyed in the way it is.

A farmer is eaten up with laziness ; he does nothing during the 24 hours but bustle a little about daylight,

and in the evening when the cattle and sheep come to the kraal. All that a farmer's daughter can do or ever does is to make cappies, or ask the slaves or servants how this and that is. They do much less in the distant districts than about Cape Town. A farmer always has a headache about noon, which is an excuse for taking a nap. They are always particularly anxious for food in the evening. The moment it is dark the general question is "How is it with the food"; if the answer is "it is ready," he replies "Bring maar, let ons eat,"¹ and after that is finished off all go to sleep. About 16 a youth thinks of getting married and then he begins to talk of what sheep he has and how he can get a place. Having accomplished these and got his wife, he then thinks only in what way he can enjoy laziness and drink tea water.

We travelled to-day about five hours and a half, viz., from Sea Cow Hut² to Scoorsteinberg;³ everywhere abundant remains of the grass of last year. Between these places we passed a small spring where a farmer of the name of⁴ was living. He informed me that he had resided there for the last three years and that he had sown corn last year but it was all destroyed by the locusts. This year he has also sown and it looks remarkably well. He is forced to irrigate. The spring gets weaker than at present about the months of December and January; never saltish. At all times enough of water for the necessities of a moderate establishment.

Very few small bushes on the flats, several largish ones on the hills, and here and there some solitary

¹ "Bring maar, laat ons eet."

² Gat, or hole.

³ Schoorsteinberg. See map.

⁴ No name given.

dwarf trees upon the high grounds. The spring at Scoorsteinberg dry; got rain water in holes near to it. It is the intention of some farmers to lead out the Caledon for purposes of irrigation. Says the farmers are actually too lazy to clean the locks of their guns when they are dirty, and do not give good fire. They fancy something must be wrong with the pans and immediately request a gunmaker or such-like person to repair it.

30 SEPTEMBER (TUESDAY).

Kruger mentioned that in 1810 a commission was appointed by Lord Caledon to endeavour to introduce Spanish sheep throughout the Colony. The Landdrost of Tulbagh, Van der Graff, gave an order through the field cornets that all the Cape rams should be castrated and others substituted in their place. Most of the inhabitants complied with the order. Kruger resisted, and told the field cornet that as soon as he was prepared he would do so. This answer having been carried back to the Landdrost, some days afterwards the same veldt cornet and 4 men arrived at Kruger's, and when asked what was the matter, Pinnear told him he would see, as the Landdrost was close at hand. By this time the messenger of the Landdrost had arrived and he desired Kruger to get his sheep home and put them in the kraal. The Landdrost on his arrival asked Kruger if he had cut his rams. Upon being answered in the negative, he then desired to know if he intended to do so, and upon being informed "No," he said, "Then I will cause it to be done," and immediately desired the persons present to repair to the kraal and perform the operation. It was in-

stantly done and away they went. Kruger proceeded to Cape Town and waited upon the Governor, and to him stated the case. His Lordship appeared much annoyed, and caused the veldt cornet and the four men to appear in Cape Town together with Kruger. He having ascertained that Kruger's complaint was fairly made, ordered the persons who had misapplied their powers to pay the value of the rams, which were estimated by the owner at 12 Rds. each. Fischer was brother-in-law of Van der Graff, and succeeded him as Landdrost. He was hostile to Kruger, and upon its being determined that the Landdrost should have a farm in the warm Bokkeveld whither he could send his cattle and sheep from the cold Bokkeveld during the winter, Fischer fixed upon a place which was Kruger's, and which he had purchased for 2,000 Rds., as the one to be resumed.

He conveyed his desire to Kruger, and the latter told him he was a poor man and hoped the money would be repaid him. The Landdrost said "Not a stiver." He then sent his cattle to the place and ordered Kruger to leave it. The latter rode off to Lord Charles and represented his case. Lord Charles gave him a letter to Fischer desiring him to continue Kruger in the occupancy of the place. The Landdrost told him he might go; he had written to his Lordship what would satisfy him on the point. Kruger returned to Cape Town, and it appeared to him that his Lordship was ill disposed towards him both from his manner and observations. Kruger succeeded however in satisfying him that he was not in error, upon which an order was sent to the Landdrost on the subject. Lord C. desired Kruger to take the order, but he begged permission to decline it saying that Fischer was

so angry on the former occasion, and abused him so dreadfully, that he was afraid to carry another letter. He was then directed to repair to his farm and the letter would be forwarded by post. Soon afterwards the cattle, etc., were taken away, and he remained to occupy the farm without further interruption.

During this day we crossed several flats thickly covered by grass partly dried up and partly green, the latter young grass. Several farmers are residing with their flocks in this neighbourhood, and amongst others Hans Opperman. This was the person who informed upon Conrad Buys, though in the first instance he was one of the persons (two besides Buys) who had agreed to leave the Colony together. This man in consequence is not trusted by the rest of the farmers, and is consequently living alone with his family. We crossed several beds of streams, few of them containing any water except a little which had collected since the late rains ; nowhere running.

Where we halted last night there was only a little rain water. The weather very fine during the day, with light winds from the N.W. and S.E. Last night a very heavy dew.

1 OCTOBER (WEDNESDAY).

Travelled $7\frac{1}{2}$ hours. The hills rather higher and the flats smaller. Grass similar to what has been already observed but much greener, particularly in places where the old grass has been burnt. The loose oxen have not been seen since starting. On reaching Leeu¹ River found 6 farmers, the oldest resident Rensburg.

¹ Leeuw Rivier. See map.

Sarle Boy,¹ a Coranna Chief, passed about 18 days ago with about 30 men all armed with guns and mounted. He stated that they were on their way to visit at Lynx kraal. None have yet returned and it is surmised that they were intending to join White-foot² in a plundering expedition against Masalakatzie. One of the farmers got a little gunpowder from Saurle,³ and he asked in return some lead. The farmer said he told him he had none for himself and consequently still less for him. He gave him a sheep for his people at his request. Before we reached the halting place we had to cross the Leeu River, the bed of which was composed of sandstone. Here the fore axle of the cart broke in two. We dined at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 12 midnight.

2 OCTOBER (THURSDAY).

In order to have the broken axle replaced by a new one it was necessary to halt for the day. The farmers state that the soil in this direction is well adapted for the growing of corn and the grass is healthy for cattle and sheep. Irrigation is necessary for the former. Some of them say that a great number of springs exist but many are weak, which they think might be improved by giving a more free exit to the water. As they are at present a great many of them are too weak to enable a farmer with a moderate quantity of cattle and sheep to exist during the whole year.

¹ Sarel Booi, a Korana marauder.

² Piet Witvoet, another notorious Korana marauder. See Stow, *Native Races of South Africa*, London, 1880, p. 311.

³ Sarel.

Three kraals of Bushmen exist in this neighbourhood, one with 6 men, one with five, and one with four. They take up their abode a little way from the water in order that they may not deter the game from approaching it to drink, which is the time they endeavour to kill them.

The interior Caffers make a sheep or goat kraal, and after it has been used for some time they dig a deep hole in the middle and diminish the enclosure so as nearly to reach the margin of the hole. On the narrow ledge they place attached to the fence a goat, and when the wolf arrives he runs round and round the fence which is made high except at the place where the goat stands. Upon observing the animal he makes a spring over, and at the moment, the goat springs back; he then falls into the hole and from that cannot extricate himself. They have another method of getting wolves. They dig a deep ditch round a tree and kindle a fire in it upon which they throw dung until it becomes nearly filled with hot ashes; they then suspend some flesh to the tree, and upon his springing at it he falls down on the hot ashes and burns the soles of his feet, nevertheless he perseveres to get the meat, and each attempt is followed by a fresh burn till at last they get so raw that he cannot get to any distance and next day is quite unable to walk. They then search for him and easily kill him.

When the Caffers go out hunting they carry with them poles surrounded with black ostrich feathers, and these they place at certain distances around the game, gradually diminishing the zone of the circle by removing them toward a centre. When

pretty close they leave a place more open than the rest of the circle, and that always in the course of the wind, knowing that the game will endeavour to escape by running against the wind. In this direction the hunters take up their position and kill the animals as they pass. They pursue a similar method in hunting lions. When once they have wounded him he flies at the nearest beacon and finding it not to be a man runs to the next and so on, whilst the hunters are employed in endeavouring to kill him.

The Bushmen in hunting erect piles of stones to represent men in a circle round game, and then place themselves to windward, where they leave a greater space open than elsewhere and shoot them as they run through.

3 OCTOBER (FRIDAY).

About 4 p.m. left Seven Fonteyn, Leeu River, with the view of passing the drifts of the Caledon a little way to the south, but from all the people being unacquainted with the road we proceeded too far up the river and consequently had to retrace our course for a considerable distance, thereby reaching the proper position for passing the river when it was nearly dark. The immediate descent to the river is rather steep and very sandy. The ascent on the north side has two steep banks at both of which the oxen gave up, and it was therefore necessary to have the wagons pulled up by two spans. Halted for the night on the flats above the banks. The Caledon contains an abundant supply of fine water, and the edges of

the bed of the river are lined with willow trees and reeds.

Guinea fowl abundant; few other birds.

4 OCTOBER (SATURDAY).

Started at 5 a.m. and took a wrong road which rendered it necessary to make a considerable circuit to arrive at the proper one.

Rensburg came to us to say that his people whom he had sent for salt to the pan were turned away by Corannas and Bushmen, who stated that they had orders from the Commission to do so. They said they had been told that they ought to gather the salt and sell it amongst the people. This was a false statement. I recollect when speaking about the salt saying at Phillipolis "Why did the people not collect salt and sell it; that if they had any I should have purchased some from them." No other conversation on the subject.

We halted to breakfast about $\frac{1}{2}$ past nine on the Elands Berg Spruit which empties itself into the Caledon immediately above the drift. The water was contained in pools; the edges of the river thickly lined with reeds. The appearance of the country this day is very different to what it has hitherto been, the entire face of the flats and even of many of the hills a fine green firm new grass which has sprung up since the old grass has been burnt. The burning of the grass [was done] by the Caffers and Corannas. Wood rather scarce again. We were prevented starting in the afternoon in consequence of some light rain and the appearance of the

approach of a heavy storm, which however ended in thunder and lightening. The wind was from the north and blew strong in the forenoon; it abated as the thunder began, and rose again towards evening, first from the west and then from the south. Rains generally occur with northerly winds, sometimes with south-east. Before the few drops of rain fell, thermometer in my wagon was 90; soon after, 80.

5 OCTOBER (SUNDAY).

At 11 o'clock prayers were read by Mr. Bell to the members of the party.

A curious circumstance illustrative of the early system was mentioned in the course of this day. A farmer possessed a farm with a small portion of Govt. ground attached to it. Another man wished to have it and he applied for it through Van der Graff. It having been sold along with the place, the Landdrost recommended that the place should be requested under another name, which being done it was granted to the applicant. The lawful owner, with the assistance of Col. Graham, brought the subject under the consideration of Lord Caledon, then the Governor, who immediately ordered it to be restored.

When Caffers get wounded by the teeth of a lion or other animal another Caffer makes the various wounds into one, draws it close with a piece of grass, and leaves it to unite.

6 OCTOBER (MONDAY).

Started at $\frac{1}{4}$ past six and rode three hours to a small stream, where we outspanned after passing a

small post called Rensburg's Poort. The wind was blowing from the north and there fell occasionally light rains.

We started again at 4 p.m. and advanced as far as the principal branch of the little stream which falls into the Caledon close to the N. of where we halted. In this branch found abundance of fine water though there was no running stream, only a series of holes some of considerable length and very deep. Here are very extensive flats and it is one of the finest situations I have yet seen for farms. Reeds along the margins of the water; a few willow trees also here and there. Rained heavily during the whole night and the wind continued to blow from the north. But little game, attributed to the grass having been all burnt. The young grass more advanced here than where we crossed the Caledon, the flats and hills everywhere exhibiting fine dark green surfaces. Gnus and quaggas occasionally seen on the former.

7 OCTOBER (TUESDAY).

Wind still from the north, though varying a little to the east. Sky obscured by dense clouds but no rain. Very cold. The rain which fell during the night has all sunk into the soil. [During] the last rain much stood in pools between the grass, arising from the soil having been so hardened by the late droughts that it was almost impervious to the moisture but now is open and spongy. At 10 minutes after one started and travelled $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours. Abundance of young grass. Close to where we halted we found a quagga which Kruger had shot. After outspanning, the party went off with a view of surrounding a

herd of gnus. Many shots were fired and four of the number were severely wounded. Close to the spot where one was wounded, Kruger heard a lion howl. Three other lions were heard by others of the party in different directions. Wind towards evening N.E.; sky still clouded.

8 OCTOBER (WEDNESDAY).

Sky still clouded; weather cool. Started from the outspan place at 10 minutes past one, and after travelling about ten hours discovered a large male lion feeding upon a gnu close to the road. Several people advanced towards him, and Hastwell, who was walking in the direction of the lion, proceeded on, nevertheless every attempt was made to stop him. He fancied we were desiring him to take care and not go far thinking gnus were in front. When about 20 yards from the lion which he did not see, having probably been looking over him, the animal started up, and ran towards him. He turned and ran off but soon again turned round, and as he turned round the lion also turned and retreated. He took a direction up a trifling ridge and then went over it. A party of about 15 men followed him and after pursuing him from one or two other places and wounding him at each, he turned on the party and caught Syme, pulled him down, bit him severely in both thighs and lay upon him, in which situation Mr. Burrow shot him through the head. This lion seemed more inclined to run away than venture an attack. Soon after he was killed two others were seen close by. After we halted just about dusk two males roared close to our encampment and for some

time afterwards the dogs barked very much and run off from the wagon, [but having] reached a certain distance they turned suddenly back as if much afraid. Syme immediately afterwards complained of great stiffness in both legs but yet little pain. Towards evening after his wounds were dressed, and he placed in bed, he complained of a throbbing sensation in various parts of the limbs. Had the lower jaw not been broken there exists no doubt but that he would have killed the man.

9 OCTOBER (THURSDAY).

Rain fell very heavy during the night. Lions were heard roaring from time to time, and in the morning a male was seen winding his course up an ascent close to our encampment. About midday it cleared up and we started, but were forced to advance but a little distance from a recurrence of the rain. A quagga was shot and also a gnu during our progress; the gnu contained a young one. The traces of lions were seen in various directions. Several herds of blesboks were also seen mixed with herds of quaggas, also here and there a few springboks.

A Caffer belonging to Massus¹ joined us at our encampment in the morning and engaged himself to accompany us as far as the school. The kraal where he resided was a little to the south-east of our station. When the quagga was killed the Caffer cut off some of the flesh and placed it in water to preserve it from animals.

¹ Moshesh.

10 OCTOBER (FRIDAY).

Travelled 5 hours. Several Caffers belonging to Massus visited us in the morning and gave some imperfect accounts of the country. They requested to accompany us for some way under hopes of some more quaggas being shot. Syme goes on doing well ; little pain in the limbs, only stiffness.

Grass still young and very green. The appearance of the country altered very much during the latter part of the day's journey. Instead of the numerous ridges and small hills, which had been rendered so familiar to us during our progress from Graaff Reynet hither, we had now a country like many parts of the Colony, formed of coarse granular sandstone and a vegetation similar to that which occurs in those places. A species of *Albucca* with woolly stalks and leaves was seen for the first time this day. The flower yellow.

11 OCTOBER (SATURDAY).

Travelled 3 hours but made little actual advance towards our destination in consequence of having had to make such circuits to be able to advance. Country abundantly covered with young grass ; very little wood. Little game seen to-day ; the traces of several lions along our track. Passed, though at a distance, several Caffer gardens.

12 OCTOBER (SUNDAY).

After prayers having been read by Mr. Bell, we started for the Mission Institution of Mr. Cassilis

and Arbouset,¹ which we had just ascertained to be about 4 hours distant. This was the first time we had travelled on Sunday, and to it we were forced from the want of wood. We reached the station about 4 p.m. and were received in the most friendly way by Mr. Cassilis who exerted himself in every possible way to serve us.

13 OCTOBER (MONDAY).

Early this morning the son of Moschush,² who is chief at the missionary station, dispatched a messenger to his father to acquaint him with our arrival and with our anxiety to see him. The man went on horseback and informed the young chief that we wished he would permit more of his people to remain by the wagons after dusk, which he readily consented to. I was struck with the circumstance of scarcely any one begging beyond a pinch of snuff, being so contrary to what I had hitherto seen amongst the frontier Caffers. They brought milk for sale and appeared to wish for it either tobacco or buttons. Beads are not much in demand. They ask high payments for Caffer corn.

14 OCTOBER (TUESDAY).

Late in the day Moschush arrived accompanied by about 4 men on horseback with guns. They approached the station at a rapid pace and when they reached within about 100 yards of the encampment the men alighted from their horses and fired a

¹ Morija, the station of Messrs. Eugene Casalis and Thomas Arbouset, of the Paris Evangelical Society, founded in 1833.

² Mosbesh.

salute which we returned twofold. The chief approached slowly, dressed in European clothing, and showed much pleasure in meeting us. At first he was a little reserved but gradually became more open and communicative as I made him acquainted with our ideas and the ideas of the Govt. He expressed himself delighted with our visit and said "To-night my heart is full." He dined with us, and his demeanour at table was most respectable; he kept constantly handing portions of food to a few of his retainers who were seated round the door of the tent. He complimented us upon our taste in cooking, and said the English food was very good. He appeared rather awkward in European clothing and carried his arms very stiff. During the evening he amused us with a history of the misfortunes of himself and people.

15 OCTOBER (WEDNESDAY).

Early in the morning Moschush sent us a present of a young ox which was immediately slaughtered and the bowels, etc., together with a hind leg, were sent up to Moschush's house. He soon arrived with us to breakfast, appeared extremely delighted to be so entertained, and told us many anecdotes of old times. After the meal was finished I went with him to Mr. Cassilis' house, and had much conversation with him regarding the state and condition of his people. He afterwards told Mr. Cassilis that he never had been so happy before. All the reserve was now laid aside, and he opened his heart most fully and said he would accompany us throughout his country, and also to the Mantatees and even beyond them.

16 OCTOBER (THURSDAY).

Moschush with many of his people and some of our party went out to hunt elands but killed none. About 4 o'clock p.m. Danster¹ with his brother and about 8 or ten Caffers arrived from Kousberg,² also two of the wives of³, a brother of Moschush who resides near to the Orange River, and who has been lately severely wounded by a commando of farmers who pursued him and his people that had stolen some cattle and horses from the Colony. This is rather an evil disposed person, and Moschush, who had once before killed all his men and made him a prisoner on his mountain for about three years, declares that the moment he is recovered he will force him to repair to the Missionary Institution so that he can have him under his eye. He will never permit him to live more at a distance from him. The farmers killed many of the men who were with him, and Moschush when he heard it said it was right. He requested Mr. Cassilis to write to the farmer whose cattle had been stolen, to inform him of his sorrow for the circumstance, and that he would take care to prevent such occurrences in future. Danster is an old man, and judging from his appearance one would say a good man. As far as I can learn there is nothing to be particularly urged against him with the exception of the murder of Kenecht Windvogel⁴ and his people when he was entertaining them at his kraal by special invitation. This in the eyes of civilised men was certainly a most heinous crime, but when

¹ David Danster, a Korana captain.

² Koesberg.

³ No name given.

⁴ Knecht Windvogel, a Bushman chief, who gave his name to the Windvogelberg in the Queenstown district.

it is considered that such methods of overcoming enemies are common amongst barbarous tribes and that the more expert they are in practising treachery the more are they respected, it appears less odious. It is true they had concluded a peace previous to the perpetration of the deed, but it was well known that Windvogel was intent upon entrapping him even though related by a friendly alliance. They said Windvogel was a very notorious character and one of the greatest instigators to evil that existed in the district. He had carried off cattle twice or thrice from Danster and killed many of his people. This said Danster was in the Roggeveld with some Caffers in 1797 at which time he was seen by Kruger and he then lived in the district of Commandant Nel and bore a very good character. On one occasion a farmer complained of his people having stolen some sheep from him. The Landdrost Van der Graff summoned him to Tulbagh and when he arrived there he had him arrested and sent to Cape Town, from whence he was dispatched by sea to Algoa Bay and from thence to Cafferland. He however soon escaped from the latter and returned back to the northern parts of the Colony. About 1824 [he] moved away to the country of the Griquas and latterly to Moschush's country. It is stated that he has about 200 or 300 Caffers under him and lives as an independent chief upon the territory of Moschush. The latter does not appear quite satisfied with the arrangement, but does not speak out fully his mind.

17 OCTOBER (FRIDAY).

Yesterday and the previous day were very hot and sultry, particularly toward the afternoon. Yesterday

at three p.m. the thermometer in my wagon stood at 92. Thunderclouds were in the north and lightening was vivid. A little thunder towards dusk with some rain. The wind was southerly but turned round about 10 o'clock to north. Sky thickly obscured by dark clouds, and now and then a little rain. Wind rather strong. In the course of the night the clouds cleared off, and fine weather in the morning. Heat between 11 and 3 p.m. very oppressive.

Danster left for Moschush's place; the latter remained with us. In the evening one of Moschush's men came and reported that a hunting party of Bastards from Mr. Archbald's station¹ had been to the Vaal River to shoot elands and sea cows, and that they had been surrounded by Masalactzie's commando and all destroyed except one man who escaped. It is not probable that they were on a hunting expedition; more likely they were on a plundering party, and only declared it as a hunting party in order to prevent it being known to their prejudice by the Govt. which they know discountenances such excursions. These people when they go to plunder generally prefer the time when the weather is warm, as with horses they can in one day drive cattle farther than men on foot can follow. For hunting they prefer the time when they can preserve the meat, which is not in the heat of summer.

The axle tree of the cart again broken. Kruger made to-day a pair of bellows with two bags in order to repair it. They burn charcoal in a hole and while burning throw water upon it; it is then fit for a forge fire.

¹ The station of Rev. James Archbell, of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, at Thaba'nchu.

18 OCTOBER (SATURDAY).

Moschush left this afternoon for his mountain in order to get ready to receive us. He stated his anxiety to send messages with us to Masalactzie to make peace with him. He stated that he thought Masalactzie could easily destroy us were he so inclined. He said we must never permit more than two or three of his people to come at once to our wagons ; that if we permitted many they might in an instant destroy us all, and said that we must not sleep in the night as that was the time he was most likely to attack us if he intended us harm.

Mr. Cassilis mentioned several reasons why he did not think Moschush had killed Seidensticher.¹ He said that he has repeatedly spoken with Moschush on the subject, and the latter was particularly desirous that no such stigma should attach to him. Moschush stated that he sent S. in charge of several of his people as far as the Mantatees, and that from them he intended to go to Dingan. It is natural that he will endeavour in every way to clear himself even had he committed the act, and therefore his statements are not of so much importance as other circumstances. Mr. S. had several pistols which Moschush admired very much, but Mr. C. has never seen one in Moschush's possession. Now one of the first requests Moschush made from us was pistols and his greatest desire seemed to be to possess one or two. Had he caused S. to be murdered he certainly would have got

¹ Seidensticher, or Seidestecker, was a traveller who was killed by the Baraputsa while searching for mines. See Methuen, H. H., *Life in the Wilderness*, London, 1848 (2nd Ed.), p. 205, footnote.

possession of those articles. The Bushman boy who was with S. is now living with Moschush, which he accounts for in this way. The boy was tired, being very young, and he left him behind. Others state that S. sent the boy to hunt elands and that he lost his master and returned to Moschush with the horse he was riding which is also with Moschush. Mr. Martin¹ arrived at Moschush's at the time Seidensticher was there. His horse had a few days before been killed by lions when he was sleeping in the fields, he himself having had a very narrow escape. He wished Seidensticher to lend him a horse to go to Dingan, but the latter was not inclined. He remained 8 days with Moschush and then went on to go to the Zoolas. Some time ago Mr. Cassilis heard that Seydensticher was yet alive and he told it to Moschush. He appeared overjoyed to hear it as he said he knew the white people suspected him of having murdered him. Many of his people were also delighted with the information. The umbrella which Moschush has was presented to him, as he states, by Martin, and the cap of Seidensticher was also given to him. Seidensticher had an ornamented jacket. That has never been seen in the possession of Moschush. These two persons were with him only a few months before he showed such great anxiety to have missionaries with him.

Mr. Cassilis had service in the Dutch language in the evening. Three of our people were permitted

¹ A traveller, supposed to have been drowned in the Gariep. The Expedition had been specially instructed to find out what had actually happened to him, and reported that he had reached "the country of the Eastern Zoolahs," where he had been put to death. See *Annual Report of the South African Literary and Scientific Institution*, Cape Town, 1833, p. 5. See also Steedman, A., *Wanderings and Adventures in the Interior of Southern Africa*, London, 1833, Vol. ii, p. 161.

to go, but the rest were directed to remain in the camp, as it was dark.

The carpenter has been employed to-day in preparing some spare disselbooms and axletrees.

19 OCTOBER (SUNDAY).

The Revd. Mr. Cassilis performed service at the wagons in the Dutch language.

20 OCTOBER (MONDAY).

It having been discovered that the axletree of the cart was again broken, Kruger was busily employed during the forenoon in repairing it.

About one we left Morija on the road to Moschush ; grass everywhere abundant. Towards sunset halted close to a small rivulet which was running and went to view a spot where a well contested battle was fought between Maluana's people and some of the Basutas. Numerous skulls and bones of different parts were observed abundantly strewed over the field. The Basuta were upon a high hill, and Maluana's people who could not ascend to them from the number of stones they rolled down endeavoured to starve them and to a certain extent they succeeded. There is a constant supply of water in this stream and the Caffers from the station feed their cattle in this direction during the winter. One man or two go out with a party of cattle and after a time he is relieved by others, all living during the time amongst the rocks.

21 OCTOBER (TUESDAY).

Started at daylight and travelled $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours ; road very circuitous in consequence of the number of

ravines and kloofs which everywhere cut the flats. We halted and breakfasted close to a small stream which supplied us with good water. Here three Bastards from Mr. Archbald reached us with a letter from Mr. A. containing offers of assistance and an expression of desire to know when we intended visiting his station. I answered his kind letter, but did not dispatch it, the men being inclined to stop with us the night at Moschush's. In the afternoon started again and reached the base of Moschush's mountain.

22 OCTOBER (WEDNESDAY).

Moroi, a chief of the Borolong, who resides at Tabanchu, visited our encampment early this morning in company with Moschush, and informed us that he intended to accompany us to the station. In the course of the morning a great number of Basutus flocked about our wagons and all begged violently for tobacco.

In the forenoon I ascended the mountain accompanied by the Revd. Mr. Cassilis. There are a number of footpaths by which the top may be reached, but the one we followed was that by which the cattle go up. Even it was very difficult to travel and rather circuitous; a very few men with large stones could effectively prevent an enemy from ascending. Long previous to their occupying this hill they had been anxious to find such a place for their abode, and when they were so harassed by the Mantatees the body of the people moved to the south to their present situation. During their residence on this mountain they have been several times attacked by the Corannas and once by Masalacatzie. On the occasion of one of the attacks of the Corannas, after they had suc-

ceeded in carrying off a considerable quantity of cattle they returned and proposed an end to war. Moschush, desirous of it, sent them a present of a quantity of cattle which were driven by four men. The Corannas attacked the men, killed two, and the other two by flight effected their escape. The cattle they kept. Many of the Basutu exhibit marks of wounds which were inflicted by musket balls during these attacks. It is difficult to form anything like an estimate of the population on the hill, but it may be reckoned to approach nearly to 2,000 souls. With the exception of the portion which resides in his own village the rest are thinly distributed either about the edges of the summit or upon the sides of the hill where they act as guards to the more important position. From the number of wives the chief possesses a considerable number of the buildings at headquarters belong to him. His houses are not regularly placed in one part of the village but are scattered in different directions. In one place he has several together connected with each other by reed fences, in which small openings of a somewhat conical form exist for permitting of the inhabitant passing from one to the other. His own house, that is the house in which he keeps his principal property, is placed most distant from the entrance and is approached by various alleys. In it he also keeps his young wives, and near it the old steward who has charge of them and of his property sleeps. The people's occupations during the day are very trifling ; softening skins or making karosses form a considerable portion of the labour of the men, and the women are either cooking, grinding corn or loitering about in the outhouses.

Mr. Cassilis sent Adam Krotz to Kenecht¹ to endeavour to dissuade him from his evil practices. Adam told him he had long lived at the Kuruman and acquired much knowledge regarding God and other matters, and it was a pity that he should now lose sight of all and live such a sinful life ; that he ought to give up wandering and repair to the missionary station at Morija and live and finish his days in peace. He got in a passion and told Adam he ought not to speak to him in that way ; that once he had believed what the missionary told him, but now he believed nothing of it. He said he would now permit God to have done with him or abandon him. Adam then endeavoured to work upon his feelings ; he called his attention to his wife who was blind and said he ought to consider her and his children. Kenecht then told him it was enough and went off. Adam reminded him that he would have a heavy account to render to the Almighty at the day of judgment for giving his children such an education. He said he would continue to shoot Caffers and get cattle as long as he could. Adam Krotz had all his cattle carried off by the Corannas. He with 5 other men followed them and went to their kraal where Adam insisted upon the injustice of the act. They gave the cattle up, but soon after he and his party started the Corannas took their position in front of them and attempted to retake them. Some firing took place. Adam shot one of them and the rest fled, which enabled him to convey home the cattle. Soon afterwards he went on a visit to the Colony. The Corannas during his absence plundered him of everything he possessed.

¹ See footnote 4 on page 107.

23 OCTOBER (THURSDAY).

This day I delivered the present from His Excellency to Moshesh. He had called a considerable number of his people together to witness its being given to him, and after explaining to him the object of the present and the friendly connection which it was intended to establish, he appeared much affected. His feelings were very acute and his heart very full, so much so that he was unable to raise his eyes when I placed the chain with the medal round his neck. After the ceremony Moshesh rose and addressed his people with great feeling and occasionally with great vehemence. He told them that they must never more say that the missionaries had brought nothing to their land; they had brought this (taking hold of the medal); they had made the situation of the people known to the white men, and in that way had called forth the friendship and sympathies of the latter. He told them they must now change their ways of thinking and acting, and must lay aside all their old notions and prejudices and do as the white men recommended them. He said they could now see what people we were; we were present to speak for ourselves, and if now they did not believe him he would get down and they would hear us. His father, a very old man, then got upon his legs and in a moderately strong tone of voice adverted to the annoyance they had experienced through the Corannas, and related the circumstance of their having killed some of the people who had been sent with a present of cattle to them as an indication of peace. He after that remarked that he perfectly agreed with all that Moshesh had said. He appeared much pleased

with the compliment that had been paid his son, and smiled when it was stated that Moshesh was born of Mochasanie.¹ The mountain upon which Moshesh resides is called Thaba Bosego,² pronounced Boseo, or night mountain.

The Bushman Kruger considers as the quickest person he knows to learn the Dutch language; says the bastard of a white man by a Caffer woman is extremely ugly, also by a Coranna woman.

24 OCTOBER (FRIDAY).

Received a letter from Mr. Archbald and returned an answer the same day informing him of the probable time when we would reach the residence of Carolus,³ a chief of the Bastards belonging to the station of Mr. Edwards.⁴ Heat very oppressive during the middle of the day, and a strong southerly wind which entirely subsided towards eight p.m.

Bought two young oxen from Moshesh for 8 Rds. per head. Showed him some articles of clothing which he appeared very anxious to possess. His father Mochasanie lives on the same mountain, and has a small village under his superintendence. He never troubles himself with the affairs of the nation; all he thinks about is superintending the making of karosses.

To-day Moshesh showed us the way in which Masalacatzie's men surrounded a kraal or party they

¹ Mokhachane.

² Thaba Bosiu, or "Mountain of Darkness."

³ Carolus Baatje, a halfbreed captain who lived with his party at Platberg. Theal, G. M., *History of South Africa* (1834-1854), London, 1888, Vol. iii, p. 327.

⁴ Lishuane, the station of Rev. John Edwards, of the Wesleyan Missionary Society. See map.

wish to destroy, and gave us much good advice regarding the manner in which we ought to conduct ourselves when amongst his people. He stated that we must always be extremely suspicious and ought never to fancy them our decided friends; that they were very cunning and would wait till we were off our guard, and as soon as they discovered that they would fall upon us; that often they concealed hassegays under their karosses in order to appear unarmed till a suitable opportunity offered. He said his heart shivered for us; that if we went to the Vaal River and approached him in that direction it was impossible to say what might be the consequences. Such was the direction in which the plundering parties were accustomed to approach him, and therefore he had now always parties wandering about in that direction, and they might fall upon us and destroy the whole party. He strongly urged the necessity of turning back at the Mantatees and communicating with Masalacatzie by the way of Kuruman. He said now that lately a party had fallen upon some wagons belonging to the Bastards. They would think if they saw our wagons that we were a portion of the same and would doubtless attack us also. He over and over again urged the necessity of caution.

25 OCTOBER (SATURDAY).

About 8 a.m. left Moshesh's residence to proceed to the station of the Revd. Mr. Edwards. By agreement we were to receive a supply of Caffer corn at a kraal on the road but on our arrival near it we found that there was no possibility of approaching it with the wagons. We were therefore forced to

halt and July was despatched to inform the principal of the kraal that it would be necessary for him to send the corn to the wagons, which he promised to do early next morning.

The country thickly covered with grass and the surface of that part which we travelled along much broken by valleys, etc. When the grass is green as at present it is difficult to see to any distance during the night. When the grass is withered or dry objects can be seen at a much greater distance.

26 OCTOBER (SUNDAY).

Five small sacks of corn were this morning brought to the wagons by Caffers which we were informed was all that remained at the kraal after Moroi had been served with about five muids. I am disposed to think that Moshesh must have been aware of there being a lack of the article at the kraal and that he had no wish to supply us so abundantly as he promised. When at the school he stated his intention of proceeding with us as far as the Mantatees and also of sending messengers with us to Masalacatzie. When we started I reminded him of his statements, and he said he could not go at present. It appeared to me that he made those statements at first in order to ingratiate himself and get as much as possible from us.

Mr. Bell read prayers about 12 o'clock, and a man arrived about the same time from Mr. Archbald to inform us that Mr. Jenkins¹ would perform divine service at the residence of Carolus under a hope that we would have arrived there.

¹ Thomas Jenkins of the Wesleyan Missionary Society.

27 OCTOBER (MONDAY).

Started from the outspan place at ten a.m. and proceeded to the drift of the Caledon River which we passed with tolerable ease. Road moderately good.

Last night some extraordinary noises were heard both by myself and the sentries about one a.m. which rendered it desirable to waken the whole party with a view to ascertain from what they arose. Parties were sent out in various directions but from the darkness it was impossible to discover anything. The whole of the men were kept under arms till the moon arose, when the light was sufficient to warrant the care of the camp being entrusted again to the watch. At daylight no appearance of anything extraordinary could be discovered. In the course of the afternoon many Caffers were seen moving from the north to the south of the river in various directions, and their gardens were seen in abundance towards the bases of the hills on both sides of us. Hired a wagon from the Bastards residing near the drift to go to Moshesh in order to get corn which we could not procure at the kraal he fixed for us to receive it. July the interpreter returned with the wagon and took with him seven muid sacks.

This day Martinus De Toit was tried for neglect of duty in various ways and was sentenced to extra guards. In early days on the northern boundary of the Colony the Bushmen were very troublesome and daring; the cattle were scarcely in the kraals before they began to steal. They used to take up their position in front of the huts whilst others drove off the cattle and they endeavoured in various ways to deceive by giving utterance to the most extra-

ordinary cries so that it might be thought that some animal or bird was causing the dogs to bark. When the people ventured out to ascertain what might be causing the uproar, they used to shoot them with their poisoned arrows. The farmers and their servants were at last forced to dig deep holes around their kraals and conceal themselves therein and from thence shoot them. As soon as this system was practised and known the Bushmen became more cautious; at first five, six and seven used to be killed in the course of a night.

28 OCTOBER (TUESDAY).

Started at daylight and travelled nearly due north by compass three hours and a half and then halted being in doubts about the road. No water. About two hours after started again and proceeded nearly N.E. by N. for two hours to a small stream called¹ which rises in the hills which had run parallel with our road during the day to the west of us; its course nearly E.S.E. till it empties itself into the Caledon. No running stream at present, only many small but deep pools encircled with reeds. Many lions were heard roaring last night close to this place, and about dusk the barking of jackals was heard in the course of the brook. Last night was very cold; a little before sunrise the thermometer in my wagon indicated 34°. During the day a cold wind blew from the west of N.W.

Heard that a Boer named [name deleted]² had left the Colony for several years and taken up his

¹ No name given. It was possibly Moperi Spruit.

² Coenraad der Buis, Theal, G. M., *History of South Africa* (1834-1854), London, 1888, Vol. iv, pp. 97-98.

residence on this side of the boundary, and was living with a bastard Mosambique woman and with a bastard Bushman woman. He is said to have had 31 children by black women and several by his Dutch wife. Those of the latter are very respectable individuals and reside within the Colony. It is said that he has often attempted to induce them to join him but they have invariably refused. When spoken to regarding the line of life he is leading he gives no answer.

After we outspanned a Bushboy came to the wagons searching for oxen belonging to a Bastard which he said had strayed. Close to there is a strong party of Bastards who some time ago bought the country where they reside from Moshesh. There is reason to believe that generally speaking they are well-conducted persons and are rather opulent than otherwise. Abundance of grass, much of it in seed; oxen beginning to improve in condition and horses getting fat. This morning we discovered that the *kabies*¹ purchased from the females at Moshesh's station were abounding with vermin, which shows the state of filth in which they live. Several Bushmen are living in this neighbourhood under Moshesh. Elands abound but are with difficulty killed for their taking so immediately to the mountains.

29 OCTOBER (WEDNESDAY).

After ascending a hill near which we had encamped, [and] measured its height by the barometer and sextant, we started for the mission station of Mr. Edwards and reached it about 3 p.m. We were received a little

¹ *Makabi*, skin petticoat of Tswana women.

distance from the station¹ in the most friendly way by the Revds. Archbald and Edwards, and after encamping proceeded with the two gentlemen named to the residence of the latter, a newly built house neatly fitted up inside and exhibiting that comfort and regularity which forms so marked a character of the habitations of all the missionaries of that Society. Spent the remainder of the day and part of the evening with them.

30 OCTOBER (THURSDAY).

Our party dined with Mr. Edwards. In the early part of the day I had a conversation with Peter,² the chief of the station, relative to the attack which was made upon him and the rest of the party who were hunting upon the Vaal River by the commando of Masalacatzie. He said his people were in two divisions, cutting up the flesh of the seacows which they had killed, and that about daylight the Caffers came upon them. They attacked one party first and then proceeded to the other. All the Bastards fled; a few shots were fired and some were shot which appeared to intimidate the rest. If the whole party had been together and had firmly defended itself he is of opinion that the Caffers would have fled. Thinks there were about 2,000 Caffers. When they commenced the attack they exclaimed something about Masalacatzie. Seven wagons fell into the hands of the Caffers together with the oxen, some guns and horses.

¹ Lishuane, the station of the Wesleyan Missionary Society.

² Peter Davids, who succeeded Barend Barends as captain of a clan of Griquas, and who was persuaded by the Wesleyan missionaries to settle at Lishuane in December, 1833. Theal, G. M., *History of South Africa* (1834-1854), London, 1888, Vol. iii, p. 327.

He said his intention was to start a commando against Masalacatzie in order to endeavour to get the children which had been taken, and also if possible the property. Two of the wagons belonged to Peter. A day after they reached the river two men belonging to the party rode out to the north of the river to ascertain if elephants were to be found, and in the course of the journey they came upon the track of about what they supposed 600 or 700 cattle and of women and children. All appeared to have been moving very quickly. The attack was made at daylight the following morning.

31 OCTOBER (FRIDAY).

Very warm during the day, the thermometer in the shade 91. Clouds began to rise in the north towards the afternoon, and about dusk rain began to fall which continued during the early part of the night accompanied by thunder and lightening.

1 NOVEMBER (SATURDAY).

Clouds still very abundant with occasional showers ; prevented thereby from visiting Thabanchou according to my intention.

2 NOVEMBER (SUNDAY).

Divine service at 10 a.m. Revd. Mr. Archbald preached. Most of our party attended. Congregation considerable, composed of Bastards, Corannas and Basutu assembled within an enclosure formed of reeds and open above except towards the one end

where the pulpit is erected. There a few mats are extended across forming an imperfect covering. In the afternoon Mr. Alison¹ preached and the sermon was repeated by means of an interpreter, sentence by sentence, for the benefit of the Caffers present. A prayer was then delivered by the same in the Cisuta² language. In the evening English service for the missionaries' families and the portion of our party who did not understand Dutch.

3 NOVEMBER (MONDAY).

The repairs required by the wagons not being completed, we were unable to start as was intended for the Mantatees. A messenger arrived from the Caledon and stated that a trader named Whittle³ was there and had letters for me but he would not deliver them to any person save myself.

During last night the minimum of thermometer was 38. Air very dry, and one would have been inclined to set the cold as greater.

4 NOVEMBER (TUESDAY).

Thermometer fell to 35 during the night of the 3rd. Cold so great even after sunrise that the oxen though turned out of the kraal would not eat; about half an hour after sunrise [thermometer] stood at 40.

At three left⁴ and travelled 2½ hours, and halted near the extremity of a hill at the base of which

¹ Rev. James Allison, of the Wesleyan Missionary Society.

² Sesotho.

³ A trader who in 1832 explored the country along the upper Limpopo. Theal, G. M., *History of South Africa* (1834-1854), London, 1888, Vol. iv, p. 96. His name was Whittle.

⁴ No name given. It was Lishuane.

there is a small spring, the water bubbling up in numerous large globules. Temperature of air at 6 p.m. $72\frac{1}{2}$, and of the water of the spring 58. On the north of the road an irregular ridge of flat sandstone hills continued from the school; on the left some detached hills. Low grounds over which we travelled broken and intersected by trifling valleys along which wind the courses of temporary streams.

Mr. Broadban¹ was stationed amongst some Burchuannas, and when he was absent in the colony he left his house in charge of the chief Sibonella.² During this time his house was broken open and most of the articles distributed over the kraal. This was heard at Griqua Town and Mr. Melville³ and the missionary Mr. Edwards wished Waterboer with his people to accompany them thither to settle the matter. Waterboer was averse to it; he said Sibonella was not under him and if he were inclined to punish him he was unable. With persuasion he was at last induced to go, nevertheless his people were all prepared to go on a hunt. When they arrived at the place and made inquiries it was not possible to incriminate Sibonella. Waterboer then asked Mr. Melville and Mr. Edwards "Who were now to pay the people?" Both agreed that Sibonella should pay, and when that was told the latter he agreed to it. Waterboer demanded 400 head of cattle, which were given.

¹ Rev. Samuel Broadbent, of the Wesleyan Missionary Society.

² Sifonelo, chief of the Baselka, a Rolong tribe. At the time of this episode he was established at Makuasi, or Maquassi, near Wolmaranstad in the Transvaal. The whole story will be found in Broadbent's *A Narrative of the first Introduction of Christianity amongst the Baralong Tribe of Bechuanas, South Africa*, London, 1865, p. 128, *et seq.*

³ Government Resident at Griquatown.

5 NOVEMBER (WEDNESDAY).

Started at daybreak and travelled about three hours till we reached the residence of Mr. Jenkins, a Coranna station.¹ Here we heard that a messenger had arrived last night from the chief of the Mantatees to inform Mr. Jenkins and the people of his station that several parties of men were crossing from the Vaal River towards the mountains, and that it was supposed they were Masalacatzie's people. The chief suggested that they should send out spies from the station to discover who they were. Information was immediately dispatched to,² and the messengers passed us on the road but gave us no information regarding the report. It is surprising how close they keep such news; they regard it as chief's words, and never will give more information than they are ordered to do. When we were investigating the probabilities of the reports a man arrived with what he said was news regarding Chaka. He was not immediately heard in consequence of the interpreter being absent at the moment. On the arrival of the latter the man was questioned, but he then said he knew nothing, which appeared to arise from a man of the Mantatees being present. He had before stated that the people who had taken Peter David's wagons belonged to Dingan, and that they had been on a plundering excursion to Masalacatzie and had carried off a great number of cattle and some women. Mr. Jenkins thinks that the Mantatees are much stronger than the Basutu and that the Basutu chief is afraid of them. It is generally understood that

¹ Umpukani. See map.

² No name given.

Masalacatzie said the people who were on the commando of Barend Barends were not children. He attributed his success to having taken them by surprise during the night.

A man of the Ky Kora¹ states that that tribe in very early days, about 40 or fifty years ago, lived low on the Orange River, and that they gradually ascended step by step till they took up their residence on the Hart River. Other tribes followed them. The country, when they reached that, was inhabited by Caffers as is known by the appearance of the habitations and the names of the places.

6 NOVEMBER (THURSDAY).

Mr. Allison thinks it is best to deny any request made by a chief in the most positive terms and at once if it be not the intention of the individual to whom it is made to grant it. If excuses or reasons are urged for not complying with the demand, it is immediately implied that a fear exists to disoblige. No farther information was received last night nor this morning regarding the tribe said to be advancing, nor does there appear any anxiety on the part of the Corannas concerning them. It is easy to see how tribes are overcome; there is no system for general defence. The chief has comparatively no power; all are inclined to think and each desirous of adopting his own views. The principal object on all such occasions is to secure the means of flight, and how to fly is what most engages their consideration when any kind of danger threatens them. Any person with a numerous family connection can set the chief at

¹ The Kei ! Korana, or Great Korana.

defiance. The chiefs on that account are disinclined to annoy their subjects or treat them with severity, because when they happen to do so it is immediately given out that persons so treated are going on a visit and that is only to say they are going off from the tribe. When Moshesh was asked if certain people belonged to him he replied "Cannot you see they send me food?", implying that no person would send him food who did not fear him and stand subject to him. It is generally believed that most of the Basutu who are living with farmers in the Colony, will, when they have occasion to leave in consequence of their cattle getting too numerous, form separate parties and live apart from their chiefs, at least so long as the system exists of the chief being the only holder of property. Many of the Basutu are thus living at Verhuell¹ and will probably continue there, as they can there hold their own property. Tribes will thus form with different views and may possibly in time subdue all the others who practise less liberal policy.

7 NOVEMBER (FRIDAY).

Delivered to Ciconiale² the present sent for him by the Governor with which he appeared much delighted. He attempted to speak to his people who were assembled to the number of some hundreds, but did not give utterance to more than a few words

¹ The original name of the French mission station later changed to Bethulie.

² Sekonyela, chief of the Tlokwa tribe. He was the son of Mantatisi, leader of the horde called Mantatis. At this time Sekonyela was living not far from Pekaia. See map. Theal, G. M., *History of South Africa* (1894-1896), London, 1898, Vol. iii, pp. 310-311.

which amounted to informing them that it was all true what I had said and that they must hear. In the evening fired three rockets which astonished and frightened them very much. Ciconiale when asked what he thought of them said "What shall I say? I have nothing in me."

8 NOVEMBER (SATURDAY).

Started from Ciconiale's about 10 a.m. and travelled without halting to the Caledon River about 12 miles to the eastward. Our course lay amongst the hills on the tops of most of which were observed more or fewer Caffer houses, and as we advanced amongst them, men, women and children kept pouring down their sides to see us. Heavy rain to the south with thunder and lightening. After dark, sky obscured with clouds so that the moon furnished but little light, which induced me, contrary to my usual practice, to place the full number of men on watch at 10 p.m. When the moon went under nearly half the party were called up to be in readiness should any attack be made upon us. A farther precaution was taken on the approach of daylight in consequence of the statements of Ciconiale already adverted to, and the entire of the members of the expedition were awakened and kept on the alert till full daylight. During the entire of the middle and latter part of the night it rained very heavily.

9 NOVEMBER (SUNDAY).

During nearly the whole of the day heavy rain. Towards evening it appeared as if a change was

about to take place, but our hopes were blasted by the recurrence of thunder and lightening followed by a thickening of the clouds and very heavy rain. A fire was observed under a small hill to the north-east of our encampment to which three men together with the interpreter were dispatched in order to ascertain what persons were there. The latter crept near to it to discover what number of persons there were, and as soon as he ascertained that he crept in the same way back again to the party who were in waiting for him after which they advanced to the men who were sitting round it, three in number. They were persons on a journey who had been stopt by the rain according to their own account. This proceeding was adopted with several views; to ascertain in the first place who or what they actually were, to overhear their conversation lest they should have any improper intentions and, thirdly, to make it be supposed that during the night parties were moving about us to observe if anything hostile should be in progress.

Cobus Congo¹ the old. During the commando of Col. Graham it was discovered that he and some of his principal men had secreted themselves in a thickly wooded ravine near to the mouth of the Sunday's River. A party consisting of about 150 men were dispatched during the night to surround them. Before daybreak they reached their retreat and about the dawn of day they made a fire and assembled round it. When in this situation they fired upon them and killed Congo, his young son and 6

¹ Khungwa, a Xhosa chief. Theal, G. M., *History of South Africa* (1834-1854), London, 1888, Vol. iii, p. 158.

of his principal men. The first had eleven wounds from balls. Rained till $\frac{1}{2}$ past 12 p.m.

10 NOVEMBER (MONDAY).

Captain Edie's gun was discharged by accident and the ball went through the hand and broke the meta-carpal bones of the fore and ring fingers.

In the course of the night the oxen startled and burst all out of the kraal ; many continued to bellow for some time after and the horses snorted greatly. The cause of their fears having been supposed to be a lion, a blue light was kindled and the vicinity of the encampment was examined but nothing was discovered.

The Caledon, which yesterday was filling slowly, rose rapidly during the early part of the day, but continued nearly stationary during the afternoon.

Towards evening ascended a high hill not far distant from our encampment and from thence had a view of the surrounding country to a considerable distance. In one direction saw the sources of the Caledon River which lie in the light mountain range to the south and at a distance of about 20 miles E. by south.

During years of scarcity there is a species of grass growing near the bases of the hills which the Caffers collect, thresh, clean, grind and eat. They eat also of four species of plants belonging to the *Asclepedia*, which grow in this vicinity.

Instance of Caffer suspicion and cunning. Ciconiale gave us two men as guides to conduct us to the sources of the Caledon. I questioned them concerning

the road to Chaka and Masalacatzie as also regarding the river far to the eastward. They, it appeared, fancied from these inquiries that my intention was to proceed thither. After leaving my wagon they had a long consultation and kept their notion to themselves. When breakfast time arrived they pretended they did not receive a sufficiency of meat and demanded more. I told them they got the same as the others and that nothing additional would be given to them. They replied they would then go home, that they had corn there as well as here. I told them they might please themselves, but that if they did I would make Ciconiale acquainted with the proceeding. Both set off and went on the road homewards nearly half a mile when they sat down. About $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour afterwards one returned to the wagons and said they thought from the questions that we intended going to Chaka and therefore had determined upon leaving us. I told them they might do as they thought proper; that I had no intention of visiting Chaka. He went back to the other and told the tale, and after sitting about an hour both stood up and returned in perfect good humour.

11 NOVEMBER (TUESDAY).

In consequence of finding it impossible to proceed farther to the eastward unless by returning through the Caledon, which according to the statement of the Caffers we would not be able to accomplish for many days, I determined upon beginning our journey backwards towards Phillipolis, and at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11 started with a view of proceeding towards

the mountain range in order to reach it to the eastward of Moshesh. Our progress was very slow and many difficulties were experienced in consequence of the number and depth of the ruts formed by the mountain torrents. Every flat had at least one of those, and several two or even three. Several of the flats we crossed over were covered with fine rich long grass which resembled meadow ground in Europe and might easily have been mown. The species of grass are very numerous. Passed a small kraal belonging to Ciconiale's uncle, and towards the afternoon we were stopt by a river which has its source in the mountain range and forced to halt in order to prepare a road by which to pass it.

12 NOVEMBER (WEDNESDAY).

The two Caffer guides supplied us by Ciconiale left this morning appearing extremely anxious to get home for the purpose, they stated, of clearing their corn land. With considerable labour the banks of the Kootzes River¹ were cut away to admit the wagons to pass. To the ford where we crossed the river we gave the name of "Expedition" ford or drift. Travelled about four hours but made little actual [progress]² in consequence of the circuitous route we were necessitated to pursue in order to pass the watercourses and sandstone terraces which form together with the hills the greater portion of the country. Almost all the ledges have precipitous sides which render the ascent and descent of them difficult and in most places impracticable. Forced

¹ Hlotse River. See map.

² The original word is undecipherable.

to halt earlier than was intended in order to form a road by which to pass a small river. Heat during the day very considerable; after midday a cool breeze from the N.W. Evenings and nights still very cold.

13 NOVEMBER (THURSDAY).

Saw several elands and hartebeest; caught a young one of the latter. The elands generally inhabit the low grounds, but immediately fly to the low hills when disturbed and run with great facility amongst the rocks. Early in the morning dense clouds began to obscure the sky, and about 2 p.m. lightening was discovered towards the westward. Soon after sunset thunder was heard, and about dusk it began to rain heavily. Thermometer 38. Many deserted Caffer kraals observed during this day's journey, and at most of them great numbers of human bones. The same have been observed for the last two or three days about the gates of kraals, many bones actually within the cattle kraal walls. No inhabitant seen either yesterday or to-day. Road rather circuitous on account of the low hills which it was necessary in most instances to wind round, and also from the ruts occasioned by the summer rains.

Few lizards occur in this part of the country. Abundance of toads and frogs. The *Otis coleii* not uncommon. Before halting saw three baboons (*Cynocephalus ursinus*). Orebies¹ occasionally met with. Kruger says the hartebeest cannot be reared in captivity: it either gets blind when about 8 months old or deranged. The steenbok he also says cannot be kept in confinement.

¹ Oribi.

14 NOVEMBER (FRIDAY).

Road in some places very bad and required here and there considerable labour to render it passable for the wagons. During the early part of the day light clouds. Towards the afternoon they became more dense and about 4 o'clock began a heavy rain which towards evening alternated with hail showers. Several small herds of elands were seen. Grass very luxuriant, particularly on the banks of the Putehazan¹ River, upon which we encamped for the night. Near one of the herds of elands in which were one or two calves a small troupe of wild dogs were loitering about and immediately they discovered us they fled.

The eland always runs against the wind and from that peculiarity he is easily shot. Hunters take advantage of that circumstance and dispose the best shots at a considerable distance to windward of where the herd may be feeding. That being accomplished two light weights are placed upon horseback and made to approach them to leeward and gallop after them full speed. By the time they reach the shooter they are almost exhausted and then when they come in contact with fresh horses they seldom escape far. With anything like a fair start a hunter with a tolerable horse will get alongside of a male eland before he has run more than 1,000 yards. When approached closely he tosses his head about, and even will run at the hunter. A female after being exhausted may readily be turned and driven in any direction the hunters may desire. From that circumstance they often drive them to

¹ Phutiatsiana River. See map.

the very spot where the wagons are situated before they kill them.

The *Vultur fulvus* occurs here, many being seen to-day; also the *Aquila vulturina*, jackalsvogel and abundance of the *Milvus parasiticus*. On the flats saw many of the *Hirundo ambrosiaca* and *Hirundo capensis*. Along the river *Hirundo* with dull white belly. Obtained here the first specimen of toad with red thighs behind. *Corvus scapulatus* common, also *albicollis* [and] *Otis coleii*.

Saw several reetboks and the common rheebok, also hartebeasts on the flats. Winds very variable and rain fell when those blew from different directions. Elands leap a very great distance and will also spring from high precipices. They swim well, readily take the water, and pass through it with great rapidity.

15 NOVEMBER (SATURDAY).

Journeyed with difficulty to the base of the mountain chain. Numerous little streams descending from the mountain valleys and running very deep, and bounded on both sides by sandstone precipices. In the valleys through which they meandered luxuriant grass. The river where we halted was from the rains of yesterday flooded and rather difficult to pass. The last night was fine and also to-day. Clouds appeared towards the horizon about 3 hours before sunset. Very cold towards evening.

Saw several Caffer cranes; few birds except larks and crows. Here and there *Saxicola foremivora* and the *Saxicola* with white head and shoulders. Some small birds amongst the grass. Shot none. Swallows also common (*Hirundo*).¹

¹ Specific name not given.

16 NOVEMBER (SUNDAY).

Several Caffers visited us early in the morning and brought milk with them for sale. I told them I could not purchase it to-day being Sunday, but if they felt inclined to leave it and return tomorrow I would pay them. One said he wanted four buttons. I told him to leave it and I would settle the bargain tomorrow. He did so. This is the first instance I have witnessed of a Caffer leaving his property without either payment or an agreement. I asked him if he knew what day it was, and that a man ought not to buy, or sell or labour on this day. He was one of Moshesh's people and therefore must know, they having a missionary with them.

Intending to leave the wagons about the middle of the night in order to ascend the mountain range, I placed the mountain barometer in the tent in order to observe its working and ascertain if all was right. A violent and sudden gust of wind blew it over and broke the tube before it was possible to get hold of it.

Mr. Bell read prayers to the assembled party about 11 a.m. Fine weather during the day. Thermometer, 15 night,¹ 42.

17 NOVEMBER (MONDAY).

Upon attempting to fix another tube in the mountain barometer I found the wood so warped that the cistern glass could not be made to press so close upon the wooden circle near the lower extremity of the tube as to enclose the mercury. Various plans were

¹ I.e. on the night of the 15th.

practised to bring the wood to its proper form but without effect. Determined to ascend the mountains without it and wait our arrival at Phillipolis in order to make another attempt, there being here even no good mercury.

Towards the afternoon heavy clouds appeared to the north; violent wind succeeded their appearance and a little rain. After the latter sky got clear again, but towards 9 p.m. dark clouds again began to rise in the west and thunder was heard in that direction and lightening seen there as well as to the east. The clouds gradually obscured the sky. Our intention is to start if the weather permits tomorrow morning at daylight for the mountains. Thermometer, 16 night, 48.

18 NOVEMBER (TUESDAY).

At daylight 8 of our party started to ascend the mountain range and by $\frac{1}{2}$ past twelve reached one of the highest points where water boiled at 190 of Fah. The ascent was accomplished with great difficulty and amazing caution. Got back to the wagons about eleven o'clock p.m.

19 NOVEMBER (WEDNESDAY).

Remained, in consequence of its being desirable to have representations of several lizards, frogs and snakes procured on the mountains previous to death. Heavy thunder in the afternoon with some rain.

Jan Bloom, the father of the celebrated Bastard, who has lately been so troublesome to Umsalagas, was a native of Cape Town, a white man. He was the

first who carried on plundering expeditions towards the Hart River and who succeeded in destroying and plundering almost all the Caffers in that direction. He was assisted by Corannas and from that time the latter have established themselves in that direction. Previously to that time no Corannas lived there.

20 NOVEMBER (THURSDAY).

Very cloudy during early part of day. Started about 10 a.m. and travelled about north-west, sometimes inclining to west, over ledges of sandstone and through valleys between ledges. Crossed several streamlets [which] consisted principally of a series of holes each filled with water and lined more or less with reeds. About 12 a small herd of hartebeasts appeared to the left at which several shots were fired without effect. Shortly after this a small herd of elands were discovered in the same direction which induced us to halt about $\frac{1}{2}$ past one with the intention of hunting them. As soon as the wagons were placed, seven mounted men started for the herd and got to leeward of it without being discovered. They then commenced the pursuit which ended in the death of two, a male and a female. Several others were wounded, but not so severely as to cause them to die. Some of the party in the course of their route fell in with [a] wagon belonging to some Bastards who had also killed a male and a female. The male they shot in the River Putehazan. During the early part of the day several light showers; afternoon clear, cloudy again during the night. We halted under a small hill which we named Elandskop from the circumstance of having killed two elands near to it. Mr. Kruger

who shot the male drove him for a considerable distance in the direction of the wagons before he attempted to shoot him. Grass very luxuriant.

21 NOVEMBER (FRIDAY).

The people employed during the early part of the morning in cutting the flesh of the elands into thin slices which were placed upon the rocks to dry. This is the method employed in the Colony to preserve the flesh obtained on hunting expeditions. They rarely use salt, or if they do it is only a very thin sprinkling.

At 1 p.m. started and in about two hours reached the Putehazan, whose channel we found very deep and banks precipitous. Were employed till dusk in getting the wagons across. During the day rather cloudy, and rain was seen to fall at different times, both to the north and south of our position. Evening and night fine.

Habannas¹ Caffers during the commando of 1811 lay on the south side of the Zuurberg about Slaght Boom.² When Col. Graham sent a message to that chief that he must remove from the country, he returned for answer that they must go and get all the axes from the Cape and cut down the bush and then he would go. The bearer of this message to Habanna was accompanied by 100 men. Stockenstrom³ was very much disfigured by the Caffers when they murdered him, the flesh cut open in various places.

¹ Habana, a Xhosa petty chief. Theal, G. M., *History of South Africa* (1834-1854), London, 1888, Vol. iii, p. 159.

² Slagboom, about fifty-five miles due north of Port Elizabeth.

³ Andries Stockenstrom, Landdrost of Graaff-Reinet. Theal, G. M., *History of South Africa* (1834-1854), London, 1888, Vol. iii, p. 158.

22 NOVEMBER (SATURDAY).

During the early part of the day the majority of the party were actively engaged in preserving the flesh of the elands and in preparing the skins for specimens. About 2 o'clock left the Putehazan and proceeded towards the Caledon River which we reached about dusk nearly south of the Bastard station. During the middle of the day heat very oppressive. Before dusk as well as after it much lightening and thunder with occasional heavy showers; some clouds seen. During this day three of the party reported themselves sick; their ailings I attributed in great measure to their having indulged too freely in the use of the marrow of the elands. Insects now beginning to appear in numbers. Botha shot a fine species of *Zonurus*¹ amongst the rocks.

23 NOVEMBER (SUNDAY).

Mr. Bell read prayers at 12; day exceedingly warm. Three Caffers belonging to the Basutu visited us; have no cattle, live entirely on corn and roots. Three of the party were taken sick yesterday; complained of pain in stomach and fullness of belly. I felt the same symptoms and two or three others similarly affected to-day. Suppose it to arise from eating rather freely of the eland flesh. Night fine, clear and warm; rather chilly towards sunrise.

24 NOVEMBER (MONDAY).

At daylight rode with Kruger to search for a ford where we could pass the Caledon. Discovered one

¹ A variety of lizard.

about 2 miles above our station, and found that a wagon had passed at this place. The heat was so great during the early part of the day that we could not proceed till afternoon. Thermometer in my wagon stood at 95 at 11 a.m.

Got a new species of *Muscicapa*, very nearly allied to *Muscicapa grisea*, shot on a bush growing upon the banks of the Caledon.

Masalacatzie arranges the movements of his commandoes so that they shall make their attacks just as the new moon appears. He made an attack upon Ciconiale at daylight, but finding all prepared and that he could make no impression, the commando proceeded towards Moshesh and arrived at his hill about 11 a.m. Ciconiale having dispatched messengers to inform the Basutu of the commando, all was there also in readiness, so that the result was there equally unfavourable. The commando remained surrounding a portion of the hill for three days, and then retired almost exhausted from hunger. They usually are sent out when the corn is nearly ripe so that they may be certain of some provision on the road.

A Caffer, upon witnessing the effects of a sun glass, immediately asked the price of it with a view to buying it. The iron scoop which all the Caffers wear serves the double purpose of scraping off the perspiration and cleansing [the] nostrils from the immense loads of snuff with which they stuff them.

Kruger and self rode in front of the wagons, and when we reached the Kole River¹ I started to visit Edwards, and left K. to see all arranged with the

¹ Phol's Drift (?).

wagons. Various reports had reached members of the Institution regarding the fate of their wagons, but nothing certain appears to be known regarding them. The intention is still to assemble a party to revenge the act.

Masalacatzie generally, when a commando attacks him, leaves a portion of cattle in a situation easily to be taken, and then permits them to be carried off to a little distance before he makes his attack to retake them. He calculates that in this way the plunderers will be at ease and that he will be able to take them by surprise and readily overcome them. The plan has generally succeeded. In most cases, when nothing happens the first night after they get possession of the cattle, they calculate that nothing is likely to happen and few or no precautions are observed. Such extraordinary want of foresight is strikingly characteristic of the Hottentots, Bastards, Corannas, etc., and from the steps which Masalacatzie pursues there is reason to believe that he is master of their characters. The persons who know these people well fear greatly the consequences of an united commando. They think that with few exceptions the sole object will be plunder and that anything like punishing the aggressor will be little if at all considered; every party will be anxious to secure cattle and when they procure them they will fly with them and leave those who will to fight the battle. No union prevails; no feeling for the general good exists. Individual interests are alone the consideration, and all other points are made perfectly subservient to that one.

On Wednesday last Ciconiale visited Mr. Jenkins' station and told him that he was very much pleased

by our visit ; that we had told him he must now live in peace and that his people must conduct themselves well, and that then the great people would look upon them. It appears from what I have heard that the people of that chief were very much alarmed at our approach and that actually many of them had left the hill for more distant parts. Their idea was that we only wished to get them into a suitable position and then shoot all of them. They seemed to infer that from seeing our people always with their firearms about them. In this way the scarcity of people which I remarked on the hill when I visited it is to be accounted for. All the women, it is said, shut themselves up in their huts and few men were seen. How different it was upon Moshesh's hill ; the entire population appeared and crowds followed us in every direction.

25 NOVEMBER (TUESDAY).

Left Lishuanie about 12 noon and was accompanied as far as the wagons by Mr. Edwards and Mr. Jenkins. On arrival I found Moshesh there who had arrived [on] the evening of the 24 in order to arrange about the corn which he had formerly promised us and which we had not received. He wished us to send a wagon for it, but this I declined being anxious to avoid loss of time.

Grass in abundance but less water than when we passed the river on our way to the eastward. Towards evening arrived at a small stream, the water in holes ; and under a hill near to it found a pretty large Caffer kraal belonging to the Basutu, the people without cattle but with a small flock of goats. Many of them

were absent to collect the seed of a species of grass which grows in abundance towards the mountain range and which, their corn being finished, is almost the only food they have to subsist upon. Though in this deplorable state they showed no appearance of want, nor did they seem at all discontented or low. They brought us goats' milk and in exchange were especially anxious for tobacco.

26 NOVEMBER (WEDNESDAY).

During the early part of the day occupied in obtaining information relative to the Basutu manners and customs,¹ and also concerning the wars that had occurred in this part of the country.

At 2 p.m. started, and travelled about four hours towards Thaba Unchu.² As the trap formed the greater portion of the surface the grass appeared much shorter than when the sandstone was more abundant. Towards dusk reached the source of a small stream, the waters of which flow to the northward. Here, upon the top of a low stony range, we found another Basutu kraal, the last in this direction. The people had neither cattle nor goats, living entirely upon the productions of the ground. Gardens along the edge of the streams. Indian corn, melons and Caffer corn growing.

27 NOVEMBER (THURSDAY).

About $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11 a.m. started for Thaba Chua, which the wagons reached about 7 p.m. Wildebeast in large

¹ Recorded in a separate notebook.

² Thaba'nchu, a station of the Wesleyan Missionary Society.

herds scattered over the wide flat across which we travelled, also some springboks and blesboks. Several young wildebeast, but trifling in proportion to the number of females. Kruger says most of the young are seen at two different periods, Augt. and Sept., and December and Jany.

Before reaching the missionary station Terry met with an accident from his gun which nearly destroyed the second finger of the left hand. The gun was loaded with small shot, all of which passed through the palm of the hand between the metacarpal bones of the fore and second finger. On arrival at the station we were saluted by several rounds of musketry. We were most hospitably received by Mr. and Mrs. Archbald and passed the evening with them.

28 NOVEMBER (FRIDAY).

Engaged during most of the day in acquiring information regarding the early history of the Baralong,¹ and also in ascertaining from the principal men of the place who the people regarded as the principal chief. They decided that Morocco² was at present their king but that he reigned on behalf of Silili who was a minor and who was by the law entitled to be the chief whenever Morocco considered him fit to manage the affairs of the community.

29 NOVEMBER (SATURDAY).

Morocco called all the male inhabitants of the station together to witness the present of the Governor

¹ Recorded in a separate notebook.

² Moroko, son of Sifonela, and chief of the Baseleka, a Rolong tribe. His stronghold was the Thaba'nchu mountain.

bestowed upon him. After I had stated to [the] meeting the nature of the present and the views of the Governor in granting it, and made them aware of what course they must pursue in order to ensure a continuance of the friendship of the Colonial Government, I strongly urged upon them the necessity of observing a due regard to the laws of God in order to enjoy the support and countenance of the white people. I endeavoured to convince them of the necessity of a firm alliance with the other Caffer tribes in the neighbourhood in order to act in concert in defending themselves against their enemies. When I had finished, Morocco addressed the people and told them that they must now listen. They had not heard to-day from him how they ought to behave, but from the white people. Their own hearts must tell them that all was truth what I had stated. They were the children of the white people and the latter were the only people who did not make commandoes or try to injure them ; on the contrary, they were the people who were always striving to do good for them. After he had done, many others followed. The principal of them showered forth volumes of complaints against the Corannas. They stated that the latter never would remain at peace ; that they were people that would not live without animal food, and that therefore whenever their cattle were few they would think of nothing but plunder. One man commented upon the system that was pursued by the Colonial Government of constantly sending messages to the Corannas of a threatening character without ever going beyond that. He observed it made them actually worse than they would otherwise be ; it made them think that the Great Captain was afraid to go beyond words. He

stated that Piet Whitefoot had actually declared that to be the case, and had said that the white men were like crows and aasvogels; that though many were together the approach of one man caused them all to fly.

Jan Bloom fled from Cape Town about 1786 and retreated to Namaqualand; he there got associated with the Corannas towards the Orange River and emigrated with them to the country about Klaarwater. From thence he carried out plundering parties against the Caffers to the north and east of him, and completely impoverished all the neighbouring tribes. On one occasion a man named Andries Van Zyl joined him and out of their booty the latter carried a very large herd of cattle into the Colony. That circumstance reached the Governor and the consequence was Van Zyl was banished from the Colony for a period of seven years, and his son who was also implicated in the matter was confined three years on Robben island. The said Bloom had eight or ten Coranna wives and several of his children are still living, amongst which may be instanced the notorious Jan Bloom, also Andries Bloom, William Bloom, etc.

30 NOVEMBER (SUNDAY).

At ten o'clock the Baralongs assembled in the church and divine service commenced about $\frac{1}{4}$ after ten. About 600 composed the congregation. Mr. Archbald spoke in Dutch, and it was interpreted by a Caffer. Many of the persons present appeared to listen with much attention. At 2 p.m. service was begun in the Dutch language, and about 200 Bastards and Corannas were in church. In the evening,

service was performed again in several parts of the town by natives. Mr. Sefton had a congregation of Corannas and Mr. Archbald held service in his own dwelling house for the benefit of the English of our party.

1 DECEMBER (MONDAY).

I was employed during most of the day in obtaining information regarding the Caffers and Corannas. Some of the people employed in repairing the tang of one of the wagons. In the evening the chief Morocco presented a slaughter cow.

Daurheip,¹ a Coranna Bushman, arrived at the station with several of his people. In the evening had a conversation with Haip, a Coranna, who resides on the station, and is acting as chief in Lynx Kraal. The proper chief is a very indolent, inactive man, and encourages the other to take the charge of the people. He appears extremely desirous that peace should exist, and says all his people are of the like mind. He says his party is stronger than any other in the country, and that the name of the tribe which formerly resided on the Orange River below Griquatown is Aramanice.² This horde has resided near to Mr. Archbald for the last six years and he informs me that he has never during that time known them to commit any acts of aggression upon the neighbouring tribes. Haip, he says, however, on one occasion resided with Mulutsani,³ and he in company

¹ Possibly *Gein! barip*, chief of the Links Korana. See Maingard, L. F., in *Bantu Studies*, Johannesburg, 1932, Vol. vi, No. 2, p. 155 and pp. 158-9.

² *||arenn||ais*, the Links, or Left-hand, tribe of Korana.

³ Molitsane, chief of a clan of Bataung. Theal, G. M., *History of South Africa* (1834-1854), London, 1888, Vol. iii, p. 304.

with the latter took some cattle from Buchuanas on the Vaal River. Old Barend was annoyed with him and called Jan Captain¹ to aid in punishing him. Many cattle were taken from him, all of which Captain got. After this, when he was visiting Captain, the people used to say he was no man. He saw them milking his cows. At last, enraged, they attacked Captain and carried off a number of cattle. He does not know the Corannas belonging to Whitefoot; that is to say, to what tribe they belong. He says little against Whitefoot but says his people are bad. The only tribes that he knows to be troublesome are those of Whitefoot and Bloom. The former he does not suppose to have more than 200 people, men, women and children. Says it is very injurious to the peace of this country that the Colonial Govt. should send so many threatening messages and never follow any of them up by punishment, every successive message only gives greater boldness. Cannot believe that the evil disposed parties have any idea that they can stand against the Colonial power, but thinks they believe that the Governor will never take trouble to send a commando to punish them so long as they do not directly interfere with Colonial subjects. Says the total destruction of these evil disposed hordes might be easily accomplished should it be found necessary. Since Captain Armstrong² visited Whitefoot a part of his people have been on a marauding expedition against Mateebe³ and have taken some of his cattle. Several of the Corannas here are averse

¹ Jan Taaibosch, or Hanto, chief of the Taaibosch or Kei! Korana. See Maingard, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-158.

² In charge of the military post at Fort Adelaide.

³ Mothibi, chief of a section of the Tlaping. At this time he was settled at the junction of the Hart and Vaal Rivers.

to journeying [with] Peter David in a commando. They say Masalacatzie is not a Caffer that will play with them; he always takes them by surprise, and from their remarks they do not appear to have any idea of guarding against such surprises. Jan Captain's Corannas are called the Ky Kora and also in early days lived down the Orange River. Haip, who is about 26 years of age, was born on the Vaal River about 3 days above Plateberg near Moss.¹ The second day after our arrival at Thabanchu, Haip presented us with a goat. Piet Hoyman, one of the Berghaneers,² and son of one of their chiefs, resides at the station. Character pretty good, yet is not very much trusted. All the Bastards in this direction say if they had farms within the Colonial boundary they would prefer living there to their present situation because they [would] have laws to protect them. Piet de Vries, a Bastard, was by his father's order (who lived on a place belonging to Stofell Smit near Beaufort), sent to assist Smit in cutting corn, etc. The order arrived from Captain Stockenstroom that Smit should form one of a party to accompany him to the Orange River. Instead of going himself, he ordered this Bastard, who refused. A complaint was made to the Veld Cornet who, after asking him his reasons for refusing, observed "You Bokkeveld Bastards are too presuming with the white men", and as a proof of that being his opinion, he ordered him to be tied to the

¹ Platberg is near Windsorton Road. Haip's birthplace, Moss, was Moos, Rev. John Edwards' mission station near Bloemhof. See Maingard, *op. cit.*, p. 123. Professor Maingard has further suggested to me that, since *moos* in Korana means a spring, the actual spot was possibly the farm Sterkfontein, a few miles west of Bloemhof, where the whole tribe were settled at one time. See *op. cit.*, p. 135.

² Bergenaars, or Mountaineers; a tribe of Griqua marauders, who were finally quelled by Andries Waterboer of Griquatown. See also Plate 5.

wagon wheel and severely flogged. The Bastard, after receiving his punishment, returned to Smit's house, took away his gun, and fled home. His father repaired to the Veld Cornet to ascertain the reason why his son had been so punished. He does not know what occurred, but shortly after a commando of farmers approached their residence, upon which his father sprung on his horse and fled off towards the Great River, leaving behind him his cattle, wagon, etc. Those, he says, were all sold at Beaufort, and he has never recovered any of the proceeds. Had it not been that they were so hunted they would never have left the Colony. They prefer it from its having been their birthplace. He had also a good deal of corn growing which was taken possession of by Smit, being upon his land. The Veld Cornet was David Fourie.

2 DECEMBER (TUESDAY).

The Caffers who work iron have commonly a sort of hammer made of the same metal, but of a very rough rude form. The anvil consists of a large stone, and they use charcoal to burn. Their bellows consist of a sack, narrow at one extremity, in which is fixed a horn, commonly of the eland. The other is open, and kept stretched transversely on each side by a slender piece of wood. By this opening the air is admitted, and by the thumb being fixed in a loop on one side and the fingers on the other, the sides are alternately opened and closed, and at the same time [as] the latter is effected the bag is pressed forward towards the horn. When a strong fire is required, two of these are employed and one man works

them both. The points of the horns are fixed in a piece of masonry immediately behind the fire, or they are secured in a certain position by means of pieces of wood driven into the ground and made to cross above the tube. By means of these they are able to produce a heat sufficient to work any article they require.

A man arrived here yesterday who states that Piet Whitefoot has lately been on a commando against some Buchuannas on the Hart River, and not having got from them sufficient cattle a party betook themselves afterwards to Matebee with the view of attacking some of his posts. On their way they called upon Jan Bloom and entreated him to join them. He refused and advised them also to desist from the attempt, observing "Do not you know that a commission is now in the land making the different tribes unite in friendship, and it might fare ill with them should they be discovered engaged in such proceedings." He said he did not regard the commission; nothing would happen to him. They might keep their guns on their shoulders and his people would keep theirs and see what could happen. Bloom remarked "I think your eyes will soon be opened now things are not as formerly." The same man says that missionaries have established themselves near to Whitefoot and he is getting all his people together with the determination of abstaining from all evil acts in future. He is now terribly afraid, and the man says he declares that now from this time no man shall know that Whitefoot lives.

The people of the station being very anxious to see some rockets fired, three were prepared and sent

up. This created a great consternation among the people, and many of them fled with vehemence from the places they had taken up in the neighbourhood. Darhuip, the Coranna Bushman and famous plunderer, was among the number. He said "Now I can see why you speak so lightly of going against Masalacatzie. What can he do against such things? He will never think of fighting, but only of running away." He said, after all was over, "I never wish to see any more of that fire, or if I do I hope to be on a hill at a great distance from it." Another man, a Griqua, tried hard to induce Mr. Archbald and myself to return to the houses and kept repeating "All shall not go well." He was afraid to leave by himself lest the rocket should overtake them. He said we must fire no more; we were only working to kill them all. Most of them exclaimed why did we not furnish them with such things to protect their cattle, and added the more they saw of white people the more were they convinced of the wonderful powers they could command. At this station I accidentally discovered two persons most earnestly engaged in prayer early in the morning. One was a woman the other a Caffer man. Each was in a different situation and both at a considerable distance from the town. The latter was giving utterance to his feelings aloud, and appeared extremely earnest in his supplications.

The country around the station is principally flat, but the town itself is situated with a low ridge stretching nearly N. and south. The houses are irregularly disposed, though more or less encircling the cattle kraals, which are built of stone, the walls about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height and at least two feet thick. The

foundation consists of very large stones, the superstructure of smaller ones. The houses vary much in size, which I am told arises from their not all having yet had sufficient time to construct their permanent dwellings. The walls are first formed of reeds, then plastered with a mixture of clay and cow dung so as to be perfectly watertight. After this the upper part is thatched, and from the lower part of the thatch pillars are placed perpendicular in advance of [the] wall so as to form a sort of verandah under which they sleep during the summer. The walls of some of them are of a conical form and they are exactly like the kiln in which they burn charcoal in the Colony. Mr. Archbald estimates the population belonging to his station at between five and six thousand. They have a tolerable quantity of cattle.



3 DECEMBER (WEDNESDAY).

Started about 8 o'clock to accompany the Caffers on a hunt. They assemble together at some determined spot, and then receive the directions of the principal as to how the operations of the day are to be conducted. Previous to that, he stated, the spokesman for the day appointed by the chief makes known anything connected with the affairs of the nation which the chief may desire. On this occasion he stated that two cows and an ox were missing, and required in the name of the chief that any person who might know aught thereof should declare it, or if they should hereafter hear anything about them they must make it known. This is customary previous to settling the affairs of the hunt from almost all the

people being assembled on such occasions. When the proper directions were given, the party divided into two portions and proceeded [in] opposite ways. The greatest number went to form the ring on the windward side. When the front men of the two parties met then they began to diminish the ring by advancing slowly from all points towards the centre. When first formed the circle might be about 3 miles in diameter, but so long as it continued of this size the game appeared to pay but little regard to their situation. As soon as it was sufficiently narrowed that in the middle the animals could see themselves to be entirely surrounded, they appeared to get very uneasy and made repeated rushes in various directions. The first rushes were generally unavailing, but when they saw themselves gradually closed upon the others were more determined and rarely did they turn even though great efforts were made to stop them. In passing, the Caffers closed upon them and used their hassegays with great alertness. Several herds of springboks were all enclosed and scarcely one of them broke out without several being killed. The karrie was used against these animals. Many young gnus were also killed or caught by the dogs. There was contained within the circle this day an immense number of gnus, a number of quaggas, one hartebeast [and] a great many springboks. The slaughter was pretty considerable and many pack oxen were loaded with the spoils. Several Caffers were armed with guns and some were fair marksmen.

Had the Corannas together in the afternoon to hear their views in regard to peace. Derwhui¹

¹ The chief of the Links Korana.

was present and I availed myself of this opportunity of letting him know how his character had been represented in the Colonial newspapers. He acknowledged that hitherto he had been deserving of all that had been said against him, but added that he now was convinced of his errors and determined to conduct himself well in future and to remain attached to the Lynx kraal under Abraham.

4 DECEMBER (THURSDAY).

Left Thabanchu at $\frac{1}{2}$ before ten and travelled to one of the northern branches of the Mudder¹ River, a distance of about 13 miles. Country very dry, grass very short, and then abundance of locusts in every direction mostly in their perfect state. Several small kraals of Caffers on the side of the road towards the station all with a fair number of cattle and some with pretty considerable flocks of sheep.

5 DECEMBER (FRIDAY).

When Haip with some of his Corannas was lying on the Vaal River with Malutsana, a small party of Masalacatzie's Caffers carried off a few cattle from the latter. He followed them, but seeing they were too strong returned without attacking them. Some time afterwards the Caffers secured a portion of Haip's cattle. He sent to Jan Bloom, who with the Corannas formed a commando against Masalacatzie. They succeeded in carrying off a great number of cattle, all of which they lost again on the third or fourth night through an attack of the Caffers. After

¹ Modder.

this they resolved upon the large commando commonly known as¹ that of old Barends. They took several women along with the cattle and one of them told Haip that the third night they were certain of being attacked. She advised them to sleep at some distance from the cattle. He asked her how she could speak so against her own people, and added he thought she was lying. She replied, why should she lie, now that she had been taken; she must make up her mind to remain with them, because were she to return she would be killed. Haip made the party acquainted with the information he had received from the woman and advised the plan she proposed, but all spurned it and said "Let them come. We are strong enough for them. Let us kill and eat." Accordingly they did so and eat during the greater part of the night. A little before the moon went under they laid themselves down to sleep, and just as she went under and day began to break the Caffers came in. The majority were asleep and in the uproar a few shots were fired. Most attempted [to] escape. Haip with a Bushman got out from the camp and after the day was broken he discovered that there was a circle of Caffers beyond him, men standing about 6 or 10 yards apart ready to attack whoever might be found flying. A party of Caffers attempted to rush out at the same place he did, and Masalacatzie's people flew at them with great vigour. This occurrence enabled him to pass unobserved into a small thicket through which he made his escape. Thinks that there were at least 1,000 belonging to Masalacatzie. A party of young men were by who hovered about but did not engage in the combat.

¹ MS. has "by".

Towards the sources of the Slik Spruit and Leeu River there reside a great many Bushmen. [They] seldom steal more than one or two cattle at a time. [They] lately attacked two farmers and a Coranna who were proceeding with a horse wagon loaden with tobacco. Wounded all three. They fled, leaving the wagon and another which they also had. When the Bushmen see they must be killed they are very desperate and regularly rush on towards their enemy, shooting their arrows with great rapidity.

Halted during the night on the banks of the Mudder River about dusk. Immense flights of wild duck passed down the river, several hundred in some flights. A large otter was seen in the water near where we halted.

6 DECEMBER (SATURDAY).

Remained for the day in consequence of having obtained several new birds, a *Passer* and several others. Also the long-tailed Butcher bird whose eyes were a dark brown. The lizard caught on the top of the mountain range drinks water freely and laps it with its tongue. Thermometer in the wagon during most of the day 85; about 2 p.m. in the sun 115.

This morning about 16 Corannas from a neighbouring kraal visited us and brought with them milk for sale, all very anxious for tobacco. Some were dressed in leathern trousers and jackets; one or two had cloth jackets; most of them had hats and a number had carosses; some had simply a small piece of skin hanging in front not sufficient to conceal

the organs of generation. Amongst them was an old man who emigrated with the first party. Before that he says they lived on the banks of the Orange River a little above Pella, finding the game get scarce and hearing that abundance was higher on the river led them to leave. They first settled below the junction of the Vaal and Zwart Rivers. There were no Griquas then in the land nor missionaries. This must have been about 47 years ago. Nothing but Caffers along the Vaal River above where the Hart falls into it. Below and between the two rivers named, Bushmen. About 42 years ago Jan Bloom arrived amongst them [at] the Lynx kraal and got all the active people together and commenced plundering the Caffers. Took a great number of cattle and as the Caffers retired they, the Corannas, gradually advanced to the east till they reached the Hart River which they ascended and occupied. Small kraals of Bushmen are dispersed over the whole of this country and the Corannas from time to time lose a cow or a sheep; but the country is so trodden that they have never yet been able to discover the offenders.

This day procured a specimen of *Merops* close to *Merops apiaster*. Throat yellow, margined behind by a black band; breast dark, grass green belly and vent a much lighter tint of the same colour; bill black; eyes red; legs and toes dull red; ears black, and an interrupted black stripe under eyes, and also one of same colour between bill and eyes; above eyebrows green, and a tint of green also appears below the eye edging; the yellow of throat front greenish; white crown; neck and interscapulars light maronne; back and rump dull grass green; shoulders dull grass green, some w[ith] secondary wing coverts

rufous; outer vanes of primary quill feathers and half of inner vanes towards shaft dark green, rest of inner vanes whitish, tips black; secondaries rufous with black tips, inner edges of inner vanes inclined to dusky white; tail green, the shafts reddish brown, two centre feathers about an inch longer than others and somewhat pointed; inner secondaries green; scapulars pale brownish white with rufous tints pale. Shot on Mudder River; several seen flying. *Lamproternis*: green with rather a long tail; eyes dark brown; legs, toes and bill black.

A Namaqua Hottentot called¹ stole some cattle from Waterboer, the latter pursued with a commando of 212 men, and upon his perceiving that he could not escape he made a hole in the ground and he and the three men that were with him got into it and he let Waterboer know that they might do what they wished but he would defend himself to the last. When the commando commenced working with him day had just appeared and before they succeeded in killing him it was about 5 in the afternoon. The three which were in the hole with him fled, and he continued alone with his own and their guns. He wounded several and they, seeing no chance of getting him out, got all the cattle together and drove them in three parties upon the hole. When they were closing he sprung out of the hole to fire at the men that were behind one of the herds, and on this occasion some behind one of the other herds fired and killed him. When he was killed he had only two balls and about two charges of powder. Waterboer called out to him on one occasion to give himself up. He replied

¹ No name given.

"I am not here to surrender ; I am here to fight." Kruger says the Namaquas are brave Hottentots. He says when annoyed it is impossible to do anything with them ; they will listen to nothing, but when quiet and in good humour they appear rather cowardly and are extremely tractable even to children. When Kruger visited the Hart River he found the Lynx Kraal quietly established in that district with large gardens and abundance of corn in the ground. He enquired of Haip why it was that¹ they had retrograded, so he answered, Jan Captain and his people were jealous of them and said that their prosperity would obtain for them a good name in the Colony, and therefore it was necessary to check it. He and Barend resided together and formed a commando against them and deprived them of most of their cattle.

7 DECEMBER (SUNDAY).

Thermometer at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11 a.m. 96 in my wagon. Outside a strong wind from the north not so hot ; flies begin to be very troublesome.

A Basutu said the hammerkop gives rain. When that bird flies much round and cries much, the people dig small holes in the ground and place a little milk in each. Then when the bird settles on the ground and treads in it, it is so enraged that it picks out fire and the thunder then comes which is followed by the rain. Amongst the Kareeberg Bushmen there exists a belief that the chæmelion can tell them when it will rain. Whenever one is discovered the conjurer or rain-maker must immediately be made acquainted

¹ MS. has "why that was they had."

with the circumstance, and he then repairs to the spot and gives it some pieces of meat and watches the workings of its eye, and ascertains from those when it will rain. An old man once said "There goes a Hottentot god." A person present remarked "How can you so talk; did not the god that made us make the Hottentot." He replied laughing "Cannot you see it has just such a large bottom and narrow backbone as the Hottentots." The Corannas call God Teguaap.¹ They feel that some power must have managed the world, and which is invisible to them; but this is all they know on the subject.

During most of the day, but particularly about 3 p.m., it was extremely hot with a strong north wind. Thermometer in a wagon and open cart standing at 99; in the open air at 110. Some thunder in the distance towards evening and a few light coloured clouds rose towards the north. In the north-west a heavy bank towards sunset with the appearance of rain falling at a distance in that direction. At 10 p.m. thermometer in the wagon 81. Wind a little to the west of north and sometimes in strong gusts. Sky without a cloud. In consequence of the excessive heat we were forced to delay the performance of divine service till after sunset.

8 DECEMBER (MONDAY).

When the Corannas speak of the Caffers they call them Briqua² hence the name by Campbell which he

¹ *Tbu // goap*. This is as close a transcription of what Smith heard as is consistent with our knowledge of existing forms of the word.

² See Maingard, L. F., in *Bantu Studies*, Johannesburg, 1932, Vol. vi, No. 2, p. 136, text iii, lines 3-4.

has misunderstood. Speaking of the frontier Caffers they say¹ Briqua or naked Caffers. The Bushmen of the Kareeberg speak a very different language to those between the Vaal and Zwarte River, and those on the Hart River are very different from both. Kruger, who understands the former language, can only understand an occasional word of the second class and not one of the third. The Corannas again differ in language. All others except regular Bushmen look upon the latter with contempt.

People employed during the day searching for the horses of our herd which were yesterday lost.

Got some interesting birds, amongst others *Falco chiquera* male and female. The common sparrow found here, also abundance of the *Turdus olivaceus*. Many of the birds common in the Colony are also found here, the *Elanus melanopterus*, *Accipiter musicus*, *Corvus scapalatus* and *kuikenduif*² common.

It may generally be estimated how long a river has continued without having been flooded by the quantity of weeds that have reached the surface of the water. A river after having been flooded appears for a year or two without weeds appearing, all those that existed previous to the flood having been washed away.

The locusts before getting wings follow generally an easterly course. They may deviate a little for a time but they always proceed in general in that direction. Water or fire is the best to keep them off land. If in the morning when they are near land persons go gently between them and the land and kindle small

¹ Blank in MS. This cannot be obtained from present-day Korana who do not know the "frontier Kaffirs."

² Kuikendief, or chicken thief; a species of hawk.

fires and continue to walk about but not disturb them, they will on beginning to move generally endeavour to take a direction by which they will avoid coming in contact with the fire and smোক. If, however, they are disturbed by persons going amongst them, they spring in all directions and to a certainty many get towards the corn, and when once to it they never leave it as long as any remains. If water is to be employed to keep them away, it ought to be led round the land nearly level with the surface. If running in a deep ditch they will on their arrival attempt to spring across, and the moment one makes the attempt all follow. They then climb up the opposite side and reach the field. It is stated that if they arrive at a garden and cannot get in at the door, they will climb up the wall and descend on the other side.

Kruger requested of Fisher the Landdrost of Tulbagh to be permitted to remain at home during the last Caffer commando. For answer he received an order to provide for that service two people in his employ with each a gun, an horse, saddle and bridle, two draught oxen, 8 sheep, four muids corn, an axe, saw, adze and bore, and to pay 35 Rds. in money. Many others who made similar requests had comparatively nothing to pay; those who furnished sheep were not required to give corn and vice versa. [He] accounts for the heaviness of his payment from his having been on bad terms with the Landdrost.

During most of the day rather cloudy and cooler than yesterday though thermometer stood only a little below 90. Derhuip, upon being requested by me through Haip to cause search to be made for his

horses, immediately got his horse and went himself in search of them accompanied by another man of his party. Discovered their footsteps along the road to Thaba Unchu.

Two oxen reported lame. Some days ago Mr. Bell's horse appeared sick, and to-day one of Kruger's was affected in the same way. K. considered the disease as constipation occasioned by eating locusts. Had his horse exercised sharply which caused him to evacuate both faeces and a great quantity of wind. Says when grass is scarce horses devour immense quantities of locusts and that they have the effect mentioned.

9 DECEMBER (TUESDAY).

Passer with white stripe over eyes shot on Mudder River. Clear reddish brown. Started at $\frac{1}{2}$ past twelve and reached the bed of a river situated in an extensive flat with here and there deep pools of good water; pools more or less edged with reeds; few bushes.

The man which Derhuip promised and gave up to us as guide promised to join us immediately he got his horses, but has not yet made his appearance.

Kruger's horse yet very sick; can pass nothing; gave him some jalap and castor oil also soap and water; rolls continually and will not stand up; appears sometimes as if he was weak in the hinder-quarters.

Saw several of the *Certhilauda garrula* also *Falco musicus*. The *Passer* got on the Vaal Mudder River whistles very well. Saw twelve Caffer vinks (males) in one party and flying very high. *Otis arabs* com-

mon on the flats ; got two eggs of one. An ostrich nest also which contained five eggs. Towards evening cool wind from the south or south-east. Locusts still appear but in less numbers. Grass rather better than at last outspan, but still only that of last year. Red vink and Caffer fink common along the streams ; where reeds occur two *Grus paradisea*. Everywhere heaps of the skins of young locusts, many not yet arrived at maturity and in company with the perfect ones. Those that are perfect fly but short distances, therefore evidently a different species to that seen in such swarms in Cafferland and which fly for an entire day without resting. Jackals heard about dusk and also wildebeast near to us as if attracted by the wagons and fires and astonished by them ; very large herds of them everywhere on the flats passed over to-day. Many young ones at 11 p.m.

Thermometer in wagon 62, which was just two degrees higher than the greatest cold of the 9 inst. In this country many times clouds collect and hang over it as if threatening terrible torrents of rain but generally pass away with discharging a few drops to prove the nature of their composition. Fish in the pools of this river of two kinds, the flat head and bearded yellow fish ; also crabs of a species to me unknown.

10 DECEMBER (WEDNESDAY).

This morning three Bushmen and their wives visited our encampment ; some of them were without exception the most ugly human beings I ever recollect to have seen. The women were nearly in a state of nature with a gnu skin hung over the shoulders

and a few strings of leather in front of the genital organs which scarcely served any purpose; no covering round the loins; on the wrists and legs below the knees a few leathern rings; and outside of their karosses each had a small leathern bag, ornamented on one side with a covering of fine leathern thongs; round their necks a variety of articles such as pieces of wood, leather, old beads and tortoise shells. The men were also attired with gnu skin karosses, but their fig leaf answered better the purpose for which it was intended, namely, to conceal certain portions of the body, it was formed nearly according to the Barolong fashion. Each was armed with one or two hassegays, a bow and quiver full of poisoned arrows, and a kaross of jackal's tail, besides some small bags suspended in different situations, to hold their articles for making arrows, etc., and also to deposit such untjies¹ as they might collect. One of the women had a small bag full of these roots and was anxious to exchange them amongst our people for tobacco. Several had a thick plaister of red clay and fat deposited on the hairs of the forehead in a transverse band, and several pieces of leather attached to the hair and hanging down on the temples. The men had sandles on the feet, the women bare footed. One woman was in the last stage of pregnancy and exhibited a most extraordinary appearance; legs unnaturally small, thighs, particularly on the outsides, extremely short. This is a common peculiarity amongst the Bushmen women.

Through c.² the latitude was not obtained last night.

¹ Small bulbs, gathered and eaten by Bushmen.

² Chronometer.

Little hospitality is shown by the Corannas; nothing even in the way of eating is to be obtained from them without payment at least when they bring them to [the] wagon. Sometimes a principal man will offer a present of a little thick milk and the chief is now and then known to present to travellers a cow or a sheep. The Caffers, particularly women, express surprise and astonishment by clapping the hand upon the mouth. When the women evince delight or great satisfaction they often beat the palm of the hand gently and quickly upon the right side of the chest over the heart.

Over the surface of the plains in this part of the country, particularly when the weather is very warm, there is a sort of mirage which in some places appears stationary, in other places in motion, and confuses the view; at times it looks like a sheet of water and in almost all situations causes distant objects to exhibit the appearance of being in rapid motion. When rising between the traveller and distant hills, it often from being in partial stripes makes the hills appear as if divided into numerous points. It has also the quality of causing objects to appear much larger than they in reality are; a tree will occasionally look like a small hill. It produces great refraction and thereby low hills often appear of very considerable height, and those at a great distance much nearer.

The nest of *Passer* found on Mudder River is formed of grass and is somewhat like a retort with the tube broken off close to the head. The inside is smooth and lined generally with guinea-fowl feathers. The outside irregular with most of the extremities of the

grass projecting like the spines of the porcupine, which structure is evidently intended by the bird. They construct a number upon the same tree, generally on one that is dead, and place them commonly in contact with each other as represented in drawing.¹ None are however quite detached. The skin of the gemsebok makes the best rims;² the buffalo gives [the] strongest ones but not so soft; the male wildebeast gives also good rims; the cameleopard skin is not tough enough, [as it] breaks upon the oxen pulling the least hard. Kruger shot three blesboks; got one. Two *Grus paradisea* seen. Heavy clouds all round and lightening towards the west. About 5 p.m. began to rain, and continued heavy till about 8 when it moderated. Unable to cook dinner on the flats over which we travelled. Immense herds of wildebeast and some quaggas, also abundance of springboks and blesboks. Towards the outspan place the grass began to appear a little green, and the old grass of last year more abundant. Still locusts.

11 DECEMBER (THURSDAY).

The rain ceased about $\frac{1}{2}$ past nine last night, but [it] continued cloudy during the night. Lions were heard roaring and hyenas howling round our encampment. This morning very chilly with a strong wind blowing from the east.

The lachrymary organs of the blesbok consist of a rounded and flattened³ about the circumference of a walnut below and to the facial side of the inner canthus of each eye, with an opening towards

¹ I cannot trace this drawing.

² Rims.

³ This word cannot be deciphered; it may be "substance."

its centre through which is exuded two fluids, one clear and watery, the other thick white and muciform, the latter principally when pressed hard. Nose very broad [and] bovine, a stripe forming the muzzle deep black and bare; mammae two, conical when ready to furnish milk; slight hunch between shoulders. A new species of *Nilus*, black or dull, seen with two rows of reddish yellow spots along middle of back; appeared in great abundance after the rains on the morning of the 12 creeping up small shrubs; feet clear red.

Last two days distance 9627,¹ from principal branch of Vaal Mudder River left at noon of 10th. The number of wildebeast feeding on the flats is almost incredible; in every direction large herds are seen, and when they discover any person approaching, they spring, kick and capper about like mad animals. They are often seen playing together at a distance and when two males, strangers to each other, come in communication, a butting match is generally the sequel. There are always a perfect proportion of females in a herd, seldom many males; of individuals shot the most are females. Springbucks also numerous; sometimes singly, often in parties of five or six and sometimes of two or three hundred. They profess great curiosity, and can scarcely run many yards, if at a tolerable distance, without stopping to turn and look at such objects as disturb them. The gnu has equally great curiosity and his course appears sometimes to be shaped without any judgment, running directly towards an enemy, and when within a moderate distance bouncing off in some other direction, generally against the wind, and often

¹ So in MS.

pursuing that course within gunshot of a number of people, and whilst fired at by all, indeed whenever surprised and driven into rapid flight, does not appear to discern anything on either side, the whole attention being directed to what may be immediately in front. In shooting them the sportsman will do well if several are together to permit the first two or three to pass, and direct his attention to those following on as they invariably run more steadily and do not indulge in the capperings of the leaders. Their whole attention apparently is directed to keep pace with those that are ahead. When a quagga receives a wound it may readily be known by the horse always neighing. This Kruger says invariably happens, both the one and the other seen if not hard pressed in a straight line one after the other. If, however, put to their full speed by a rapid pursuit, they get more together, each doing his utmost to escape.

Evening and night fine.

12 DECEMBER (FRIDAY).

Started at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 a.m., and after travelling across a flat country thinly studded with small hills we reach the Black Mudder River, where we halted to dine. In the even started again and reached near to the Riet River which is distant from the other about 2 hours with a wagon. The Mudder River contains a considerable supply of water and the side of the channel in many places was edged with reeds. The channel in many places consisted of a sort of argillaceous sandstone of a blue colour or sometimes greenish, and contained large embedded masses of older

rocks generally in rolled forms. Between the Riet and Mudder Rivers to the east of where we crossed some loose horses were seen supposed to belong to Piet Whitefoot. About 4 p.m. [it] began to rain and continued during most of the night. Halted for the night on a small stream a little to the north of the Riet River and which discharges itself into it.

13 DECEMBER (SATURDAY).

Started about $\frac{1}{2}$ past ten o'clock and halted for dinner at the Riet River; channel deep and edged wherever there is any considerable quantity of water with reeds. Wildebeast now less abundant. Clouds abundant and dense.

Got a new species of *Ardea*: Above dark slate colour; chin and throat whiter or pale straw colour; along middle of throat a very dark slate coloured band, as if cut in two along middle by a narrow imperfect reddish white streak; on each side of this another longitudinal stripe, less dark; on the chin the central bar is lighter than elsewhere; space between eyes and bill greenish yellow; upper mandible horn colour; lower except towards cutting edge yellow, towards cutting edge horn coloured; eyes fine brown; red legs and toes pale dull greenish yellow, lightest behind; claws light horn coloured.

14 DECEMBER (SUNDAY).

Prayers at 12 noon. Towards evening rained very heavily and many of the little streams were flowing before dark. Time not got from c.¹ on the part of Burrow. Sun very clear.

¹ Chronometer.

15 DECEMBER (MONDAY).¹

Close to the place where [we] outspanned are two springs each margined by a number of reeds, and to those are suspended nests of both *Ploceus personatus* and *Loxia oryx*. The latter appears annually to lay three eggs of a dull greenish colour irregularly spotted with brownish green most abundantly towards the large end. The *Ploceus personatus* lays also three eggs of a light brownish red colour marbled with spots of the same colour only of a darker tint. There are generally much more females than males. The male builds the nest and when it does not please the female she pulls it to pieces and he is forced to build another. I have often seen the males employed in building nests. They push the point of the grass into one side and pull it out at an opposite side so that the nest appears weaved together and the grass of which it is constructed much interlaced. The ears of the grass with which they build their nest is commonly chaffy, and these they place inside so as to have a soft surface to lay the eggs upon. The opening of the red fink is nearly circular, of the *personatus* rather a half moon. The colour of the eggs of the red fink varies, the ground being in some dull green, in others red brown (pale). The surface of the ground cracks very much after heavy rains in consequence of the rapidity of the evaporation causing the top of the soil to harden suddenly and shrink in every direction.

16 DECEMBER (TUESDAY).

To the west of where we started from yesterday there were 8 farmers' wagons distributed along the

¹ A pencilled note inserted here reads: Lat. 29.39; Long. 27.6.

small river which descends from the hills to the southward and their flocks and herds were seen feeding in every direction around the wagons. One was named De Toit from Winterveldt ; another, Jacobs, stated that the country within the Colony was so bad that they could not get subsistence for their flocks. The situation they inhabit abounds with fine grass, but everywhere round it, even only a mile or two distant, there is scarcely the appearance of vegetation. Such appearances are seen in many parts of this country, and [it] appears as if the rains had been very partial.

Several very large flights of locusts were observed yesterday, and some still larger to-day, those of to-day flying generally with the wind and so dense that the sky cannot be discerned through the flight. The noise is considerable and like a heavy shower of rain upon half-dried leaves. When not accustomed to flying they generally have the head towards the wind and the wings from it so that they are driven about at random.

Yesterday passed several moderately strong springs, one where a farmer named Badenhorst has taken up his residence contrary to the wishes of Old Dam,¹ and another where about 40 families are living and where there is a considerable quantity of land covered with fine waving corn where they have a Bastard residing in the capacity of schoolmaster who is called Jan Hoyman. This person was formerly in the employ of the London Missionary Society. The Bastards seen in this direction have a tolerable supply of cattle and most are in good condition. Most of the Corannas, both men and women, wear jackal's skin caps upon

the head, and karosses of the same kind appear to be the favourite dress of both males and females.

17 DECEMBER (WEDNESDAY).

At daylight mounted my horse and rode on to Philippolis which [I] reached about 7 a.m. Found a package of letters and newspapers. About nine the wagons arrived and drew up where we had halted before. There is immediately around Philippolis a tolerable supply of grass, but the water of the spring is much weaker than when we were last here. During the months of December and January, Mr. Kolbe informs me the supply of water is most scanty. Found all our stores in good order and towards the afternoon commenced removing some of them to the wagons for the purpose of reloading. Very windy during the after part of the day.

18 DECEMBER (THURSDAY).

Employed during most of the day in preparing the articles to be sent from this to Cape Town. A man asked 120 Rds. to convey the articles from this to Graaff Reynet, a distance of 7 schoffs.¹ Bought five cows from a man named Vossey² 18 Rds. each. Mr. Kolbe gave me up this morning the 35 oxen which were left at Philippolis about three months ago all with the exception of one or two (old ones) in good condition.

Old Dam has given out an order that all the houses in the village shall be repaired ; such a law has long

¹ A day's 'shift' by ox-waggon.

² Fossic. See Methuen, H. H., *Life in the Wilderness*, London, 1848, p. 205.

been in existence but never acted upon. In the month of December of every year all were directed to [be] repaired else the owners to be fined. Mr. Kolbe once was upbraiding the chief for not punishing for certain offences, and was telling him it would never do if things were to go on so. At last the old man got a little vexed and replied "If I begin to punish, I must first punish myself ten times as severely as any of the other people, for I have equally broken the regulations." Many of the Griquas have had very tolerable crops of wheat this year.

19 DECEMBER (FRIDAY).

Engaged during a part of the day in packing up various articles destined for Cape Town, and during the rest in investigating the early history of the Griquas. They scarcely can tell to what tribe they belonged; they observe that they believe they were from that division. A long time before they settled in this country they had been wandering about the country along the Orange River and about Kamisberg, so that they may be considered as a horde of persons who in earlier times were moving as wanderers from place to place to obtain the necessary support for their cattle.

20 DECEMBER (SATURDAY).

Barend Philip, Field Cornet of Dam Kok, was wishing to visit Phillipolis, and embraced an opportunity offered him of a seat in Stoffel Jacobs' horse wagon. When on the road they halted near a spring and Stoffel repaired towards the water and when

within a very little distance of it had a number of arrows shot at him. He was wounded by one of the arrows and Barend by another; both fled. The Bushmen, about 15 or 16 in number, then repaired to the wagon and pillaged it; also shot seven of the horses and wounded the eighth.

The Bushmen say that the Boors and Corannas by means of the horses which they possess are enabled to pursue and take their children and therefore they are determined not to leave a horse alive. They are also determined to kill all dogs as they give warning of their approach to the farmer's residence during the night. At a kraal where we halted we were told that a party of Bushmen had passed after some farmers who had stolen their children; one of the Boors was Barend Levenberg.¹ Bushmen appear to think that there is no justice for them in this world and a most intelligent Griqua told me that till now they had almost the same belief. They never could fancy that even those who described themselves as friendly were so in reality. The Bushmen and even the Hottentots keep telling their children of the injuries they have experienced at the hands of the farmers, and that they must never cease following such and such an one till they spill his blood on the ground; they are now so in despair that most have resolved to cease complaining. A party of Bushmen passed Phillipolis some time ago on their route to Graaff Reynet to complain that the farmers whom they had served would not pay them their wages. The farmers wished to advance towards the Vaal River and the Bushmen were desirous of remaining

¹ Liebenberg.

where they were. They asked their payment ; the farmers withheld it.

21 DECEMBER (SUNDAY).

Mr. Kolbe preached in English at 3 p.m. for the convenience of our party ; the usual congregation of Griquas were also present. The children belonging to the infant school sang two verses of the Infant's Hymn and the performance was very creditable to them.

22 DECEMBER (MONDAY).

Attended the Magistrate's court in the morning ; Cornelius¹ was the Magistrate. Only one case came before him, during the investigation of which it appeared that the individual who had been summoned for the third time was not present. The Veld Cornet had been written to that he must bring him by force ; he, when questioned on the subject, stated that he did not understand the letter to empower him to do that. The Magistrate fined him 6 Rds, a large sum in the estimation of the people here, and gave him instruction to bring him before the court by force. The next case was as follows. A man had lost his horse. He heard of Tontjie Stoffel being going on a visit and requested him, should he meet the horse anywhere, to take charge of it. He found it and with it rode to some Corannas who for a debt seized it. Prosecutor demanded payment for the horse. Defendant stated that they took the

¹ Blank in MS.

horse by violence ; other says it was given by them in pawn. Delayed, no witness being present. After this court had concluded its operations the legislative council, consisting of the chief and a certain portion of the people, proceeded to a sitting. Several matters were discussed by them. 1st. a Field Cornet reported that a large kraal of Corannas had objected to submit to his authority. The rebellious Coranna was present and denied the charge advanced by the Field Cornet, namely, having shown a determination to oppose the Field Cornet in his duty. Admitted that he had said he would not subject himself to him, and that determination he still cherished. He said the Field Cornet had always belonged to the same kraal with him and that in the kraal he had not stood higher than he did therefore he could not now submit to him. Ordered either quietly to submit to the constituted authority or to leave the district over which he presided.

The same Field Cornet accused the rebel William¹ of having heard from a Coranna that he had cut the sinews of a Bushman in consequence of which he died. Took no notice thereof. He denied the charge and said long after the Coranna had gone from his kraal he heard the report through the children. When William positively refused to stand under Field Cornet Barend, they desired him to retire and then the Council proceeded to discuss the case. Several were inclined to let it pass unnoticed, evidently fearing his influence and power. At last they resolved upon ordering him to leave the district and then let what will come. They seemed to expect

¹ Willem, a rebellious Korana (*v. infra*, pp. 191-193).

he would not comply with the order. Some fancied he would join the party of evil disposed Corannas lying on the Mudder River, and commence a war with the Griquas. Upon being called in to hear the decision of the Council he made no reply, but called some of his people to be present, and he inquired of them if they heard what they were ordered to do. Soon after the decision was made known to William, he left the Council room and about an hour afterwards returned and took leave of the chief and several of the persons present, but passed the Field Cornet without noticing him.

Many of the irregularities which occur in this country are passed without punishment, not because they are considered as not meriting punishment but because the Govt. of the country are afraid of the offenders. Till some more efficient system of Govt. be introduced good order will never be established. He, William, was also accused of having co-operated in selling the Caffer boy to Badenhorst. Was also accused of having given permission to some farmers to reside in the part of the country he inhabits. Admitted this, and stated that they asked this permission in consequence of their farms within the Colony not having grass sufficient to support their cattle. Said he did not know that the chief objected to the Boers living in his country. It was stated by some of the members that William was on particularly good terms with the farmers, and that there was reason to believe that they had urged him to oppose the orders of the chief. He now presides over the kraal which not very long ago was at war with the Griquas, and which was then under a chief named Kruger. They said Kruger was by some of the

Colonial Field Cornets brought to agree to peace and was at that time created by these one of Kok's Field Cornets. When they repaired to Philippolis to conclude the peace, they galloped into the town about 200 in number each with a gun, for which conduct they were reprimanded by one of the Colonial Field Cornets. The war existed for about nine months and during that time only one man was killed who was herding some cattle. They were constantly firing at each other but at such a distance that the balls could scarcely reach the persons they were fired at. This is the way they carry on war.

The subject of the settlement of the German missionaries Gabel and Krautz¹ was next considered. The chief and his council seemed to consider that they were too distant from Philippolis or else too near it; they seemed to fear that their residence amongst them would be followed by division in the country; that an independent party would rise up with them and endeavour to establish an independent chief. From the state of the country and the characters of the people I am not disinclined to adopt the same opinion.

23 DECEMBER (TUESDAY).²

24 DECEMBER (WEDNESDAY).

When about to start it was discovered that one of the wagons required repair.

¹ Gebel and Kraut.

² No entry for this date. Smith spent part of this day in writing a report to Chase in Cape Town. This report was reprinted in the *Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette*, Cape Town, 1835, Vol. v, No. 1, pp. 13-14.

25 DECEMBER (THURSDAY).

The Chief and Hendrick Hendricks¹ came to consult me upon the following case. A man named Skempers,² a saddle maker at Graaff Reynet, arrived at Philippolis about the month of Sept., and informed the chief that a person named Liebergeldt³ resident in his country was indebted to him between 8 and 900 Rix dollars, and that he had been waiting agreeable to arrangements made between him and Liebergeldt for a month past to secure payment. He demanded permission of Kolbe to travel in his country in order to find Liebergeldt. This was granted to him, but no violence was to be resorted to. Scempers for some time could not find him, but at last discovered him on the Riet River where he gave an order upon a man named Bloom who was in charge of his property to deliver over to the creditor a certain number of young oxen and some cows at certain fixed prices. Upon Scemper's arriving at the farm accompanied by Martinus Herbst, he was not satisfied with the cattle but determined upon seizing every article of property he found there, and amongst other articles carried off a wagon which Liebergeldt had on loan from Adam Kok. On arrival at Philippolis he informed the Wyk master⁴ Vice⁵ of the transaction, who offered no obstacle to his proceeding except that he told him that the wagon did not belong to Liebergeldt but to Adam Kok. He promised to return it from the

¹ The secretary to the government of Griqualand, and son-in-law of Adam Kok, the chief.

² Scheepers.

³ So in MS.

⁴ Ward-master.

⁵ Probably Wiese.

Orange River. That however he did not do but took it on to Graaff Reynet and there has detained it ever since, saying when Liebergeldt pays him what is still owing of the debt he can have his wagon. I recommended them to proceed against Liebergeldt for the wagon or value thereof, or else to apply to Mr. Reyneveld to deliver up Scempers to the Griqua Govt. to be tried as a thief. They seemed to expect that the latter would not be complied with and therefore appeared inclined to try the former method.

26 DECEMBER (FRIDAY).

The repairs of the wagon being completed, we left Philippolis about 2 p.m. and travelled as far as Bushmanfonteyn, passing on our way Driefonteyn, a place belonging to Mr. Kolbe, where there is a good garden, a small earthen house and a fine stream of water. Bushmanfonteyn is the property of the London Missionary Society and at present has no inhabitants, which I am informed arises from the fear of the natives who since Adam Krotz' father was murdered there say that spirits are seen wandering about the place.

The murder was perpetrated by the Basutu. Some years ago the Berghaners had stolen some cattle belonging to them and had driven them close to this place. The horde who were in pursuit found the footmarks of the cattle close to this fountain, and after that they could find no more of them they supposed that they had been carried there, and without further inquiry fell upon the people who were principally in the house, burnt it and killed all the persons who were in it. A daughter of the old man

with two or three others was in the field and they fled on seeing the place attacked, but soon the daughter changed her mind and said she would sooner die with her father, brothers and sisters than escape and be left in the world alone. They then turned back and ran to the house which was at the time in flames, and just as she was entering the door she was stabbed by one of the Caffers. The bodies of those who perished were all buried under the ruins of the house, amounting to fifteen in number. When the commando of Col. Graham was near to the mouth of the Bushman River, it was discovered that Congo¹ and his councillors were secreted in a thickly wooded kloof near to them. Spies were sent out and the situation of the party was accurately ascertained. In the night 200 men were dispatched to surround the place, and about daylight the principal people resorted to Congo's hut to talk over their affairs. They were all seated round a small fire which had been kindled for the chief when the commando fired upon them and killed all excepting one woman. Congo himself had ten or eleven wounds in his body. This was related to me by a person who was one of the party.

The country between Phillipolis and Bushmanfonteyn is very dry with a moderate quantity of short grass but still has a very barren appearance, the red soil pressing everywhere through the short thinly scattered grass, and the hills if anything look more barren than the flats, and here and there with a few tufts of grass standing between the stones which strew their surfaces.

¹ Khungwa, a Xhosa chief.

27 DECEMBER (SATURDAY).

Started a little after daylight and proceeded to Spoet Fonteyn where there is a strong spring and the remains of several large stone kraals. Very little grass except in the valley through which the water flows. At the best of times the appearance of this country is miserable, but in the winter I am told it has a most wretched aspect; no trees to give variety and the little grass that exists is so burnt up and discoloured by the heat that it can scarcely be distinguished from the soil, so that nought¹ but an uniform ferruginous surface exists wherever the eye can reach. The soil is scanty in most situations and the trap rocks or rounded stones are generally seen upon the surface, the soil between them. On the tops of the hills some small stunted bushes and on the flats also a few of the same only still smaller. During the summer some tremendous gusts of wind drive during the day which carries the dust along with them in great quantities; these gusts are of the character of whirlwinds and carry the dust directly upwards. On such occasions the cylinders of dust are of a conical shape and rise to more than a hundred feet in height; [they] are often seen in various directions. Come on very suddenly and cease equally suddenly.

28 DECEMBER (SUNDAY).

During the whole day excessively hot; thermometer in the shade varying from 98 to 101. Service deferred till evening in consequence of the extreme heat. This place called Varkfonteyn and is the place of a

¹ MS. has "not."

Griqua family with abundance of cattle and a large flock of sheep. They have an immense supply of milk and furnished us with that in great abundance. Spring which furnishes water moderately strong and differs but little throughout the year. Country still very barren with but little grass excepting in particular spots.

29 DECEMBER (MONDAY).

Started at daylight and rode to the Skanse,¹ a place belonging to Dam Kok. Spring strong. Several of the oxen appear never to have been in the yoke and are with great labour inspanned. One ox has been lame ever since leaving Graaff Reynet, and it has been ascertained that that arises from the big bone having once been broken.

I find much difficulty in getting Mr. Kift to perform any duty. Had twice occasion to speak to him about purchasing cattle, and after he was induced to attempt it he never reported the result which I found afterwards to be unsuccessful.

About one p.m. thermometer 94 in the shade; wind rather strong from the south-east. Much difficulty in getting a young ox into the yoke; forced to throw him down, tie all his feet and yoke him in that position. After he was in the yoke he pulled well. Clouds began to rise towards 4 p.m., and a general haze pervaded the atmosphere. Towards evening wind strong from south-east, and chilly; every appearance of the approach of rain. Soon after sunset clouds dispersed, and by midnight quite clear.

¹ Schansen. See map.

30 DECEMBER (TUESDAY).

Started at daylight and reached False Fountain¹ about $\frac{1}{2}$ past nine a.m. Till about noon rather chilly; sun very powerful at ten; about midday thermometer in shade 84. Light winds with occasionally strong partial gusts. Heat very oppressive. Flies extremely troublesome, particularly in wagons. Too hot to grind; forced to use entire corn. Hottentots prefer it boiled to rice. Dogs and men seek where they can escape from the rays of the sun. It is with difficulty that the former can be kept from under the wagons.

Boers took up their residence here last year and opened the spring. [It] discharges at present a considerable quantity of water rather brackish and with a slight sulphurous smell and taste. Few birds seen since leaving Phillipolis; *Corvus scapularis*, Korans; blue and Bushman *Otis coleii*. Lizards rare on the flats; a few amongst rocks, however. Insects rare. There were 4 wagons belonging to Boers near this place left about 2 weeks ago; 4 men also at the spring about 4 months ago.

A man belonging to Andries Waterboer visited us at False Fountain near which he has been resident during the last four months; [he] has lost neither cattle nor sheep by the Bushmen. Two wild Bushmen visited him soon after he arrived here and begged tobacco. When he was wandering about in the fields a little to the east of his residence some time ago, three Bushmen came up to him and raised their hassegays against him with the intention of killing him. He asked them what he had done that they

¹ Valschfontein. See map.

should injure him. They replied "When you get us you beat us nearly to death; therefore when we get you we will kill you." He explained to them that he knew nothing of them; that he came from the Riet River. They let him go. They mistook him for one of Dam Kok's people who had beaten them. Andries Hendrick had lost some cattle by Bushmen and Abel Kok and another man caught these (who wished to kill the man just mentioned) and beat them very severely though they were not the thieves.

There is another strong spring near this called Ontkomins¹ which belonged to Gert Kok who was killed in Barends' commando. His son now lives at it. The young locusts have passed over this district of country hence the grass is so destroyed; before they arrived it stood very fine. To the west the grass is yet good. Ther. aver. day, 34.

31 DECEMBER (WEDNESDAY).

Employed during the early part of the day grinding corn. About $\frac{1}{2}$ past one started, and about $\frac{1}{2}$ past six reached Blauwe Bank on the Riet River. The river [is] called by the Griquas, etc., Black Mudder River, by the Boers Riet River.

Previous to our starting, the Corannas from Bootscap,² as they stated, arrived at our wagons most of them with led horses, and stated that they were taking the latter to some of the subjects of Dam Kok in order that they should recover from the fatigues of the last hunting season and gain a little flesh. They appeared very much jaded. They stated that

¹ Ontkoming, or escape.

² Boetsap. See Pettmann, C., *South African Place Names*, Queenstown, 1931, p. 49.

they were of Jan Captain's people who had remained behind when the majority of the party emigrated with Mr. Jenkins to Umpokani; that they only delayed in joining him on hearing how matters went, having heard that the Caffers in that direction were very savage and much disposed to murder strangers. A portion of the horses they intended leaving with Willem, the Coranna mentioned as rather rebellious when we were at Philippolis. They had five good guns and one of the men was an excellent shot. Upon asking them if such men as him went against Masalacatzie how it happened that they could not conquer him, he replied that it appeared as if that chief's people did not think they would die or at least did not fear death, for though many might be killed they still kept coming on.

Martinus De Toit, Cape Regt., in spite of all the punishments and warnings I could employ, this day wandered away from the wagons and arrived at the outspan place when it was just dark more than an hour after we reached the spot. Upon being questioned as to his reason for persevering in a line of conduct which I had already had occasion to warn him against, [he] said he was only "a short way behind" [and] offered no explanation. This is a most incorrigible man, by far the worst person of the party.

After proceeding on our journey about 6 miles, met a party of Griquas from the Vaal River bound to Phillipolis consisting of about ten or twelve persons. Two parties of Bushwomen ran across from the north of the river to the wagons and begged most vehemently for tobacco. One party consisted of six and the other of four. Two of the first had children on

their backs, but when told they might get a little tobacco if they could reach the wagons which were on some considerable way in front, it is astonishing how quickly they ran and got up to them though going at a smart pace. Three of the second party were far advanced in pregnancy yet ran also with amazing activity, and that for a very considerable distance. Close to where the last party said they resided our guide Loedwyk¹ on his way to Phillipolis about ten days ago was chased by a Bushman and only got out of his way by artifice. Lodwyk is also a Bushman, but civilised and a subject of Cornelius Kok's at Campbell. The Hottentots, Bastards and Griquas are afraid to travel singly and unarmed in these parts. They state that the Bushmen are very evilly disposed and will often waylay one or two persons proceeding along the road. They will not attack where there is a wagon because they cannot be certain of what is in it, nor of the weapons with which the people may be supplied.

About $\frac{1}{2}$ past nine o'clock the chief Dam Kok with Hendrick Hendricks arrived at our encampment having left Phillipolis yesterday at 4 p.m. in a horse wagon. On the last day which I attended the court of the chief at Phillipolis, a case was held of the sale of a Caffer boy to a Boer. The person who possessed this lad had another which the farmer was also anxious to get, the last however was not stated as having yet been sold. The first was actually at the kraal of William the Coranna mentioned. William sent for the owner, Jan, to arrange matters between him and the Boer named Bad - - h - - st. The latter paid for the Caffer ten sheep and a roll of tobacco, and the

¹ Lodewyk.

boy was delivered over to him and at the time was in his possession. Witness William, known to Old Philip the father of the Field Cornet; Philip Barend also to the Field Cornet. William gave a place to Isaac Faber.

1 JANUARY (THURSDAY), 1835.

Started about sunrise and travelled nearly three hours along the Riet River; halted on its banks to breakfast. At halting place 11 Bushwomen came to us, no men; and they lived on the northern banks of the river. Begged hard for tobacco; said as I had so large a beard I must have plenty of tobacco. The only coverings they wore were a short kaross which hung a little below the nates and a small apron of strips of leather in front of the lower part of the stomach; some of the latter were so small as not to conceal entirely the parts intended to be covered. Round the neck they had ropes of leather entwisted nearly as thick as the arm. To the kaross in front are attached portions of skin, turtles, etc., in great abundance. Many of them have leather thongs encircling the loins, some in one, others in three or four circles, and each has also a small covering of sheepskin which hangs over the posteriors and is fastened in front by a small thong. This reaches on each side as far forward as a line drawn down the outside of [the] thigh from [the] anterior superior spinous process. This in some of those more marked by gay dispositions is edged with beads or small pieces of iron encircling a thong; the like covered thongs they also wear round the lower part of belly. Some have strings of plaited grass round the neck.

All have round the body hanging a number of bags of leather of different sizes for untjies, etc.; [they] also have a large sack on the back in which they carry various articles. The men, Kok thinks, do not come from fear; the women always coming free with the Boors, they venture.

During the agency of Mr. Melville, Stockenstrom told Dam he must defend the unarmed Bushmen and Caffers and he readily consented to do so. Some time after a kraal of Bushmen on the Hart River having cattle to perhaps the amount of 600 was attacked by Chaihip, a Bastard Coranna Bushman and his people, and the Bushman chief was killed and all his cattle taken. Dam went to him to desire him to give up the cattle for the use of the widow and poor children; he refused and began to fire upon Dam. The latter went then to Graaff Reynet in order to endeavour to get powder. He got 3 lbs. from Mr. Stockenstrom. A second time he went [but] on his arrival there found he was gone and Ruyneld¹ [was] in his place. The latter told him he could not give him powder; it was against the fort order. The farmers going into the country on all sides of Kok and coming in contact with the Chaihip's people supplied them with powder which enabled them to carry away many of his cattle and horses. The same Chaihip lives on the Mudder River above Jan Bloom. The same Hottentots stole horses about 10 months ago. Hendrick Hendricks followed them and retook the horses; he then moved higher up the river. The horses were from Leuens van Ever.² Since that [he] took horses from

¹ Willem Cornelis van Ryneveld, Civil Commissioner of Graaff-Reinet.

² Possibly Lourens (?) van den Heever.

farmers. Hendrick Foss¹ went and took them away. Chaihip is an honest Coranna; if he is anxious for evil he professes it and if for peace he professes it.

Titus was also another of the principals in destroying the Bushman kraal. Some time ago he was murdered by his own friends; they were angry with him because he had given up working mischief and taken up his residence with Dam. They went to seek honey, made a great quantity of beer, and sent and invited him to drink. He repaired thither without suspicion, and when he had drunk largely they struck him with a long knife in the belly so that the bowels ran out. On the Mudder are three Hottentots who are always active in exciting evil: Piet Zeecow, the one that murdered Titus; Zeecow, Coranna name Tsecan; 3d., Comanqua. They are all in one kraal, that which lately took the cattle from Hart River and Tyso.² The two last were also engaged in the Klip Plaat robbery. It is not Derhuip, it is Dahui[p]³; the latter was with the Bushman and lost his cattle at the same time with the Bushman chief. Perhaps 80 men together with weapons. As plundering goes on it gradually increases. Boers furnish people with arms and William is a man that agrees well with the farmers and dislikes the country Govt. and the missionary; he has two wives and he keeps aloof from the latter for fear that he shall lose one of his wives or that he shall be interfered with in that respect. The Govt. in this land must be so cautious in consequence of their weakness that with the necessary caution

¹ Vos (?).

² Taisho, principal councillor of Mothibi, chief of the Thlaping.

³ Smith found great difficulty in spelling this Korana name to his satisfaction.

they can almost do nothing. The Boers keep such friends with them and induce them to opposition in order to make the quiet people leave the country so that it may be vacant and the Govt. take it and give it out. Their object is to excite disunion and quarrelling with the Griquas in order to have cause to report them to Govt. as bad people and cause it to put them down. They determined to be quiet and let evil doers alone and not to meddle with them because to do so was just like setting a fire brand to their own house, they having no means of protecting themselves.

The Bushwomen that visited the wagons had each a cap on the head made of the skin of some animal, the fur or hair inside and regularly turned up in front when not edged with beads or iron on thongs. Some of them wore steenbok skins, others the red cat, one or two had beads round the neck and the karosses margined in various places with rows thereof. All they begged was tobacco, none asked for anything else. Each had sandles fixed on the feet; a loop admitted the toe next the great one, a loop was also attached to the hinder part of the sole and a piece of rim¹ was carried through that and then twisted with another piece which passed through the toe-loop and tied in front of the foot. Their cap karosses were formed of sheep skin. One woman pulled the cap off her head and placed it in one of the bags, being too hot, and continued with the head exposed to the powerful sun. That woman had all the hair cut short except a little in the shape of a horse-shoe upon the fore part of the head reaching till near the crown. Not one well made. Used red

¹ Riem.

clay to adorn the face. Very anxious for [fat] to grease the body. One got a little, smeared it upon the palms of the hands, and with the greatest indifference rubbed it over her thighs and upon the insides thereof close to the pubis in presence of all the party by the fire. They have a degree of delicacy as when they seat themselves they always take care to turn in the apron below them; sit usually with the backs of the legs drawn back to the hinder parts of the thighs, knees consequently very high.

Reached about $\frac{1}{2}$ past six p.m. the kraal of Gert Buykes¹ on the banks of the Riet River. Several small kraals, some of Caffers under the protection of Cornelius Kok, this being a portion of the country given up to him to govern. Found at this kraal 7 wagons belonging to the people of Kok which had been to the pan for salt. A portion of the Coranna Bushmen and one real Coranna that had taken Matebe's councillors' cattle and those from the Hout River is now residing with the Lynx kraal, and Gert Stoffel who gave me this information said that he heard it was their intention to live there. They use guns. They have the manner of living of the Cora² and not of the Bushmen. There is one who is chief of the party, Goroquon.³ There shall be⁴ about 20 men; they are between Lynx kraal and Dahoi where we passed. They were lower upon the Modder River [but] have since moved up. The Lynx kraal asked these people "Why do you come here. You have wrought worry and therefore you are foul. You, by coming amongst men who have done no worry,

¹ Buykes.

² Kora, or Korana.

³ This chief cannot be traced.

⁴ Thus in MS.

make them also in fault." Those formerly belonged to the Lynx kraal and the Captain intends to permit them to remain again if they give up¹ the stolen cattle. He told Gert that he was prepared to give up the cattle. Thinks there was a considerable quantity of cattle. They fled up in consequence of being afraid that the Caffers should follow them. Many of the Hottentots who are regularly brought up at missionary institutions are in reality much worse characters (though they for a time pass for good ones) than the more ignorant. Their opportunities have enabled them to exercise more caution and deceit in disguising their evil propensities and practices, and their badness is not discovered in consequence until they have been some considerable time under observation. When only seen for a short time they pass as superior disposed persons and in this way their characters are often raised to the prejudice of them who have less knowledge of the arts of disguising. I have in many instances discovered this and we have now a very marked one in a man of our party named Andries from Gnadenthal.² His manner is good and his tongue is voluble; he appears at first a well disposed man but when the caution which is necessary to disguise flags his bad propensities begin to be discovered by degrees. One day I happened to observe him reading the Bible and said "I am glad to see you so well employed." From that time he was constantly so employed when he had spare time. This went on till I began to discover some of his improper acts and had occasion to admonish

¹ MS. has "off."

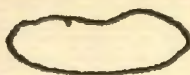
² Gnadenthal, the Moravian Mission Station in the Western Province, founded in 1792.

him thereover. He then immediately desisted from reading the Bible and so attempting to blindfold me.

The after kaross in most instances has the hair removed from its middle parts upon which they usually sit, and left existing on the sides which envelope the outsides of the thighs. I mean in the Buchuanna women, so :



The Buchuannas have a different way of fixing their sandals to the Bushmen ; they have no loop round the second toe, the thong is brought through between the great and next toe so :



2 JANUARY (FRIDAY).

Gert Hoyman was the person who went to Waterboer ; it arose from his having punished his brother according to his idea unjustly. The said brother went with his father, old Piet Hoyman, to the school under Jan Hoyman, a nephew of Piet, and some time afterwards returned with his wagon to Griqua Town. There he went and took up his abode with Jacob Cloete, and as soon as Waterboer knew that he called together a portion of his people and seized Jantjie Hoyman, threw him down and beat him very severely with a stick. They were dancing at the time. The Berganheers were at that time lying at the Skans¹ and from thence the party went to Waterboer. They returned after having settled the matter

¹ Schanssen. See map.

through the interference of Cupido Kok ; they returned to the Skansi. It was the intention of Gert Hoyman to throw Waterboer also down and beat him as he had beaten his brother. Cupido's advice, however, was taken and that went to prevent it. They unite in stating that when Waterboer first was constituted a chief he was without experience, headstrong and fiery to the extreme ; that wherever he thought blame lay he punished without inquiry just upon mere belief. That excited so much discontent. Adam Kok, Abram Kok and Hendrick Hendricks now admit that experience has altered him greatly, and that he is now what they say a "real man." Hendrick admits that the steps he took were many of them unwarrantable, that he was young and without experience and entered upon a particular line in which he persevered without deviation, right or wrong. Many did like him, not so much that they were conscious of the justice of the case as that their feelings having led them in a moment of irritation to undertake it ; they were blind from the commencement to reason, and only followed the dictates of passion. Thinks that all old affairs ought to be buried and that amends ought to be made for past evils by an exemplary conduct in future. Each successive generation as they advance in civilisation will more and more perceive the propriety of such a course.

Hendrick is a man endowed with much natural talent and to that is added a very tolerable proportion of acquired knowledge. He is the most intelligent Hottentot I have ever met ; an original thinker, and if well managed might be made a most useful member of society. Some days ago he astonished me

with some remarks concerning the proceedings of the Govt. functionaries. He said the Commissioners steal daily the character of the English Government ; they bar the good intentions of the Govt. up at the Colonial boundary ; they construct there an insurmountable barrier which effectually encloses them and prevents them from having the influence and benefit which they are well calculated to produce. He then went on to instance how that really was the consequence. Such an oration would have done no discredit to the British House of Commons, and I am sure had it been delivered there it would have produced a sensation far beyond what even the most eloquent pen could have excited, if wielded by any but a person who had actually laboured under the smart arising from ill directed policy.

Travelled nearly along to the south bank of the Riet River, a distance of about 3 miles. Met wagons from Campbell, and from the people with them heard that the Vaal River was full. Abram Kok was with them, and as I wished to get some information from him we halted for the night. Another of Mr. Bain's men was with this party and stated to me his great anxiety to go with us. I declined lest he might on arrival in Masalacatzie's country be recognized by some Caffer or other as one of the persons who had been of the party upon which they had fallen.¹ The

¹ Bain had left the Expedition at Philippolis and had travelled direct to Kuruman and thence towards Mzilikazi's kraal. But, unfortunately, some of his Hottentots had stolen cattle belonging to the Matabele chief, and in consequence the Matabele seized Bain's waggon and goods, while he himself had to fly for his life. He wrote to Dr. Smith from Campbell, warning him of the danger. The whole story appears in a reprint of a long communication which Bain sent to Chase in Cape Town, in Andrew Steedman's *Wanderings and Adventures in the Interior of Southern Africa*, London, 1835, Vol. ii, p. 225, *et seq.*

same reason induced me to make the same refusal to the two we saw yesterday.

3 JANUARY (SATURDAY).

About $\frac{1}{2}$ past one started and travelled parallel with the river to False Fonteyn¹ where we found a party of Bastards living who belonged to Waterboer. But little grass.

Africaner, the famous Namaqualand freebooter, was a bastard Bushman in the service of Piet Pinnear.² The latter, together with Arnoldus Pinnear, was in the habit of cohabiting with the wives of his sons, and of the other Hottentots in their service. On this account they always kept them from home; no sooner did they return from performing one duty than they were dispatched on some other. After a time they got so enraged with that conduct that they declared their intention to shoot both. The old man counselled them against such a proceeding but they persisted and even threatened to kill him. He found them fixed in their purpose, and seeing that the opportunity was about to offer by the two being preparing to start on a visit [to] where the attempt was to be made, fled from the place, first warning them to be careful how they proceeded, considering that Piet was a very remarkable good shot. They waylaid them and succeeded in shooting Piet; the other escaped. All then fled and in the flight fell in with the old man who joined them. They took a

¹ Valschfontein. See map.

² This well-known story may be compared with the early version in Rev. John Campbell's *Travels in South Africa* (First Journey), London, 1813, pp. 534-535. See also Franken, J. L. M., *Duminy-Dagboeke*, Kaapstad, 1938, pp. 213-234.

direction towards the Orange River and then began to murder and plunder whenever they could. This was the same Piet Pinneer who with Jan Bloom took the cattle from the Caffers at Langeberg. Africaner on that occasion was with him. Another party of plunderers once visited this district composed of farmers, etc. Adrian Van Zyl was chief; with him were Jan Vice,¹ Pretoris Van Zyl, Andries Van Zyl, 2 sons, Paul Englebright² and Gert Englebright, two bastard sons of a William Englebright of Kamiesberg by a Hottentot woman. They, the Dutch, represented that they were going on a trading journey and got the two last to go with them under that belief. When they reached the Vaal River just about where it and the Modder River unite, they came to the kraal of Tybosch³ who at the time was engaged in a war with Philip, another Coranna. The former got them to join him to attack Philip. Gert Englebright pretended sickness and the other prayed to be allowed to remain in charge of him. Paul covered him up with karosses and got him very warm and into a state of perspiration before he gave information of his sickness so as to make to be believed that he was really unwell. They both therefore remained behind. The commando went out and took 1200 head of cattle from Philip; the Colonial party carried them all off. On their way home, Jan Bloom stole a portion from them. Jan Vice followed, caught him and beat him severely and took back the cattle. Adrian Van Zyl and Jan Vice were banished from the Colony. Pretoris in consequence of being married was con-

¹ Wiese.

² Engelbrecht.

³ Taai Bosch.

sidered from under the control of his father and was therefore sent to Robben Island. Andries not [being] married was regarded as being subject to obey the order of his father [and] was dismissed. The latter, owing [to] the absence of the elder brother, seduced his wife and on his return from the Island he carried her off altogether and now lives with her in the Hantam. Piet Bloom augurs to be a better disposed person according to all accounts than Jan. Adrian Van Zyl at the time he stole the cattle was a Field Cornet. Piet Pinnear at the time he was killed was a Field Cornet. All the other Field Cornets were afraid of him, and from that having been the case Yager Africaner and the others considered it was useless to complain of him concerning their wives and therefore determined upon the step they took.

4 JANUARY (SUNDAY).

Very hot and sultry during the day. Prayers were read in the evening when the people of the kraal attended and also the party with the Captain Adam Kok.

5 JANUARY (MONDAY).

Started about sunrise from False Fonteyn and reached the Kamelboomen in about two hours where we halted for breakfast. Country still very dry, but still some grass. Visited by some Buchuannas who reside here and who brought two boks, a hare and a muishond for sale. A good deal of thunder in the forenoon.

White *Circus* shot upon a tree. The brunet (*Brachypus*) with red vent shot here and its nest with three young found upon a kamel tree. This bird whistles well. A *Geko* without tail found under the bark of a decaying kamelboom. A *Geko* which cries very much towards and in the early part of the evening is very abundant about False Fonteyn but I was not able to get one. It resembles in its noise the species found near Sylver Fonteyn; it keeps in the ground during the day and only ventures out in search of its food at night. The noise is heard in every direction, but when the spots where they are heard are approached it instantly is discontinued. Hottentots say they keep under the rocks. I was told the No...¹ was the reptile, doubtful.

6 JANUARY (TUESDAY).

Started from the Modder River about 3 p.m. and reached the Vaal River about ten p.m. The road nearly the whole way with a deep coating of sand which rendered it very laborious for the oxen. Several Caffer kraals consisting of Buchuans living along the south side of the river all have a terrible dread of Masalacatzie; his name alone seems sufficient to terrify them. They all advise our not going there, declaring that he will certainly murder us all. On our arrival at the river we found it slightly flooded. The heat was very extreme; during the greater part of the day the thermometer was standing at 98. But little wind which rendered it still more oppressive. Every animated being seemed to suffer from the heat. Our dogs appeared scarcely able to

¹ No number given.

get along the road ; they rushed from one bush to another with their tongues hanging out of their mouths and their sides panting as if in the last stage of existence. The heat of the sand seemed to be also severely felt by their feet ; they searched with the greatest avidity to find a cool place upon which they could stand during the heat of the day. Not a bird was seen to move, and if by accident they were disturbed in the shade whither they had resorted they flew directly to another dense thicket to shelter themselves from the searching rays which they were unable to withstand when without the bush. Little or no grass near to the river.

7-JANUARY (WEDNESDAY).

This morning many specimens of *Pluvianus armatus* B. were seen running along the low ledges near the margin of the stream ; their eyes are deep red and the edges of the eyelids are also red, legs black. One example of *Accipiter gabar* was also shot this morning.

When Cornelius Kok was returning from Phillipolis he met in his road Piet Bartman who had about 6 of his fee¹ in charge. Having whilst at Phillipolis heard that he had headed a commando against some Caffers and stolen cattle from them, he enquired about the cattle. He, Piet, said all the cattle excepting one cow which had calved in the interim, and which they were holding for milk, had been killed and eaten. Cornelius then told them they must give that up, to which they agreed, and said they would bring it to

Smith uses the word fee in its original sense, meaning cattle.

Campbell. He never, however, brought it. Cornelius then sent his son with four men to demand it and also to bring off his sheep. Piet Bartman, he would rather pawn his life than give it up. Jan Bushman, who was one of the party, said he would spill his blood sooner than give it up, and the son of Claas Bartman said "See, there is my head; unless Captain Kok comes and cuts it off he shall not have the cow; if he does that he may have cow, head and all." They gave up Cornelius' cattle, and the party returned. C. called together about thirty men and sent them to see what they could accomplish, but by the time they had arrived the Bushmen, expecting an attack, retired to the side of a valley at some distance from their old residence and so fortified it that no impression could be made upon them. A few shots were fired on each side and one of C's men was wounded with a musket ball through the hand. Thus ended this attempt. It was just the time when the cattle were very poor and the horses scarcely workable, so he determined upon delaying for a time. In the mean time he went to Dam to see if he could not get a little powder. When he saw the horses had improved a little by the new grass he repaired again to their place and came upon them suddenly so that they had not time to resist. They then gave up their guns and got permission from Cor[nelius] to continue there. Some months after he got an order to move them. He found Piet Bartman between Zwarte Rivier¹ and Modder River. Three men. When he came up to him he was much alarmed and attempted no resistance. He offered no entreaties to be let go; he appeared quite paralised. Several of the young

¹ The Upper Orange River.

people accused Piet Bartman and Kahutchie, whilst in possession of C. Kok, as having led them to this state. One boy was present who had been on the commando to the Colony, and upon Kok asking him why he went on a commando, he being up, he replied "Kahutchie was always upbraiding he and telling him he never so useless a Bushman boy." Annoyed at such constant ridicule he thereupon went on the commando. During the time between the first and second commando of Cornelius they committed the murders in the Colony, and when he fell upon them the second time they were weakened by the loss they had sustained by the commando of Michael Niewkirk.¹ Several articles belonging to the persons murdered were found in their possession and were sent in with 4 witnesses to Graaff Reynet. Hendrick Hendricks heard that Jan Bushman, the worst of the party, was in the service of Barend Levenberg² of Uitvlugt, then residing on this side of the Black River a day from Phillipolis to the north. He stated that he knew that Bushman was one of the murderers, and that it was his intention to have given him over one day to old Kok. When Hendrick brought him from Abel Kok's place to Levenberg, he asked him where he had got the Hottentot. Hendrick told him that he had taken him into confinement in consequence of his being one of the murderers. He acknowledged he knew it, and that he had been in his employ about two months ;

¹ Michael van Niewkerk, Field Cornet, of Duivensar's Fontein. See Backhouse, *A Narrative of a Visit to the Mauritius and South Africa*, London, 1844, p. 476.

² Liebenberg. See Theal, G. M., *History of South Africa* (1834-1854), London, 1888. Liebenberg's Pan is between Fauresmith and Luckhoff; it is north of Philippolis.

that he had had orders from Mr. Reyneveld to send him to Graaff Reynet if he could find him; that he had told Field Cornet M. Niewkirk that he had him; and he again observed his intention was one day to have given him over to Old Kok.

8 JANUARY (THURSDAY).

The greatest cold of last night was 63. Very hot this morning.

Eyes of *Nilaus typicus* bright red, brown, the colours clearest round pupil; was shot upon a tree on the Vaal River. *Lacerta*, No. 62, Male: colour of back and sides red brown with an indistinct series of dull white or yellowish white spots along each side of back more or less distinctly encircled by a black brown irregular ring; outside of each of these rows a pretty clear white line which commences close to hindhead and is discontinued before it reaches the tail; below this stripe on side a more or less perfect row of white dots surrounded by a dark colour as on back; beneath this another narrow white line commencing just behind tympanum and ending at anterior part of hinder leg; below this a waved stripe of the same colour as back, somewhat scalloped tail, red brown freckled with small black specks, head above the same ground colour finely and freely freckled with black points, sides the same; upper lip greenish yellow, here and there freckled with black; chin and belly dull white lead colour with a slight pearly gloss under; tail white with a faint reddish tint; fore legs light brownish yellow, much freckled with minute white dots; hinder legs pale reddish brown or brownish yellow, closely freckled

with black, and besides spotted with dull white; insides of all legs like belly; lower eyelid only movable, and the portion thereof which lies opposite the pupil when it is closed is transparent, pupil large, iris yellowish white, eyelids yellowish white; tongue not in a sheath, flesh colour, deeply forked at front where it is cartilaginous. Male,¹ a variety: colour of back and sides dull reddish brown, from hindhead along centre of back a narrow stripe for nearly a half inch then lost, on each side of that is another blackish line which gets interrupted as it proceeds backwards; this line is in contact with a dull white line which reaches nearly the base of tail, beneath this line the prevailing colour is black brown, with an imperfect line of small yellowish white spots, beneath that again another yellow white line, lost before it reaches the tail, again another brownish band like one above white line with similar spots, beneath that a clear white fine line beginning at tympanum and ending before thigh, immediately beneath that some fine brick red or vermillion markings; tail above dull pale brown red with but little freckling of black; chin and belly as in male;² tympanum half-moon convexity behind; the tail in this species very long and tapering. Amongst stones near Modder River and Vaal River, also on flats. Motion very rapid. This lizard appears subject to great variety as regards its markings. One specimen 14 femoral pores one side, 15 the other, another 14 each side; abdominal plates row[s] 9. *Lacerta*, No. 63: Colour of top of head brown with a slight

¹ 'Male' was originally written 'female,' but Smith crossed out the first two letters.

² Smith has left this apparent contradiction.

admixture of red ; top of back and sides red with a slight admixture of brown or brown red ; tail rather a lighter tint, with the addition in the mixture of a little yellow ; sides of head behind eye and of body with yellowish vertical stripes cutting the brown red on the sides, each of those vertical stripes margined on sides and top with black beneath lower ends of the side stripes ; a white line from fore to hinder legs with an irregular blackish spot under it, below lower extremity of each yellow vertical stripe. The vertical stripes are discontinued about $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch before tail, and in their place are some irregular black spots along sides of tail for better than an inch from root ; a line of black stripes also some black dots between stripes of tail, fore legs pale brown red freckled with some yellowish freckles ; toes uniform light yellow red ; hinder legs the same ground colour with the yellow white freckles, and besides a variety of fine waved short black lines ; hinder feet as fore feet ; 11 femoral pores each side ; 6 rows of abdominal plates, two centre rows narrowest ; on each side of outermost row a row of smaller plates approaching to scales, but rather larger than scales, somewhat quadrangular ; beneath white lead colour with a gloss ; tail long and tapering, immediately over the upper extremities of vertical lines of sides a longitudinal row of yellow spots beginning at hindhead and terminating near the middle of body, some of them partially edged with black. Amongst bushes near Vaal River. Highest 102 ther.

9 JANUARY (FRIDAY).

Last night thermometer at lowest 61. In wagon to-day 118, in sun about three p.m. 140, during most

of the day in shade 102. Yesterday little change in the state of the river; during last night began to rise and by the morning several inches fuller than yesterday; rose about two feet during the day very gradual.

Batclapins¹ when a father dies the eldest will if he fancies any of the wives of his father take her, and the children he has by them are considered his brother's children; he has value enough from her labour. They have a law that the breast of an eland must be given up to the captain.

Hendrick Hendricks' plan for overcoming the Coranna kraal that has stolen Matabee's² cattle. Found a party of Bushmen to carry away the cattle and the commando to be close at hand. The Bushmen to drive them towards it, and when the Corannas follow the commando to fall upon them. When a few of a party of Corannas are once taken the rest appear quite disheartened. Another plan to assemble the Caffers together and set them in on the kraal about daylight; dislikes this plan because the Caffers would kill without distinction men, women and children. Had a plan to get the Corannas into a snarl³ by sending a quantity of spirits and letting them drink till perfectly intoxicated, then to fall upon them with a commando. Says the Corannas are very deep and cunning in any matters in which they are themselves engaged, but they have little thought or foresight in discovering or perceiving the machinations of others. Best to get them on the open flat, hence glad to induce them first to fly from their fixed

¹ Thlaping.

² Mothibi, the Thlaping chief.

³ A snare or trap.

residence. When at their fixed residence should they have reason to suspect any attacks they make holes in the ground into which they creep, or fortifications in the hills, and fire from the one or other of these. Says it [is] good that the Caffers remain ignorant of the use of firearms, because if they were to understand them well they would soon master all the civilised people, they are so numerous.

10 JANUARY (SATURDAY).

The Griquas consider it very fortunate to have wives that give birth to twins. Those who have large families consider themselves lucky. A man one day grinding corn at Phillipolis remarked that the English were the most lazy people in the world; that they made the wood, the wind and the fire work for them and they sat still and did nothing. He said "If I were an Englishman, I should not this day have to stand and work as I now do." Here I met a sort of chief named¹ of the Batclapin, a most arrant beggar. I endeavoured to put him to shame, but I was quite unsuccessful; he from day to day persevered in the same strain. Hendrick says that the idea of these people is that the white people are so powerful and rich that they can with propriety ask anything they want from them. They do not beg in the same way from the Griquas, though they trouble them a good deal for tobacco.

When everything was in a state of disorder Dr. Philip arrived at Griqua Town and had a meeting of the Griqua chiefs consisting of Adam Kok, Cornelius

¹ No name given.

Kok, Waterboer and Barend about 1825, and an agreement was entered upon that yearly they should assemble and regulate the general affairs of the nation, hear cases of murder, etc. It was also agreed that if a man belonging to either chief should wish to leave one chief to another that a written pass should be granted and without such a pass it should not be received. Soon after that a man named Lindert Balie¹ moved off from the district of Kok on pretension of being going on a journey and he immediately repaired to Griqua Town. Waterboer received him without pass. After this a murder occurred and Dam was never called. The Berghaners stood up again and went off down the Modder River and took all the cattle of the Corannas. Waterboer was informed of their intentions and his union with Kok was requested. He paid no attention to the request, but was once seen amongst them exchanging articles. He then gave several passes to go to the Colony. He caught six and hung them. The chiefs of the party he allowed to escape. Hoyman was a cousin of his.

The *Merops* flies like a swallow, but soars more and does not keep up so constant an action with the wings as the swallow. It often skims along the waters of a river towards evening, and is generally found resorting to country where trees or shrubs abound and particularly to the vicinity of rivers. Through the air it has an undulating course like the swallow, but not so frequent in its turns and does not remain so much in the same situation ; it flies onwards from one part of the country to another.

¹ Lenaart Balie, a Bushman teacher from Griquatown. See Backhouse, J., *A Narrative of a Visit to the Mauritius and South Africa* London, 1844, p. 473.

The Hottentots are particularly addicted to introducing extraneous matter with their narrations. Thus one, speaking of a district of country concerning which I was enquiring, stated that there were fountains at such and such a place; "three [?], said he, where I was bitten by a lion." On another occasion, speaking of a place where he had been, he said it was about midday when they reached it, which remark was quite foreign to the subject of our conversation. It is absolutely necessary to prevent people taking up their abode in places where they cannot cultivate the land and have a tolerable supply of grass, as without those the property must gradually diminish and at last recourse to replenish will be had to thieving. There is an inclination to possess clothes, and till they acquire country where they can breed sufficient to produce cattle to exchange to purchase them, they will get diminished and again must be replenished. Thinks that the missionaries are more disposed to patronise the Buchuannas as the Griquas. It must be expected that when people attain a certain knowledge they begin to exercise their own thinking faculties and they may often be wrong, but such is nevertheless to be expected in the progress of civilisation. All that is said in relation to their not culturing or building is answered by "We do not know that we are to continue owners of the country." A disposition was at one time evinced by the Pinnears to assert something like independence, but now they are quiet enough. They were active in stealing cattle from the Batclapins which took refuge amongst the Griquas, and on one occasion they carried off the missionaries' cattle with them; most of the latter were returned excepting those they had bartered

previous to it having been known that they were the property of Mr. Kolbe. The thieves were never punished, which arose in a great measure from the Govt. fearing the party. By the same party Whittle¹ was robbed. They seized him, bound him to his wagon and took out of it all they wished. Excuse: that he was going to Masalacatzie with arms and ammunition. Also he had a gun with him which Mahura² had taken from a party of the Berghaners which he had destroyed when on a plundering expedition, and they conceived that he had had it to Graham's Town to be repaired. Piet Labar once brought a complaint against a man for having bewitched and poisoned his son; the court would not find him guilty. He then proceeded to take the law into his own hands and got a party together in order to seize the man and put him to death.

11 JANUARY (SUNDAY).

Dam Kok together with his party left us this afternoon for Phillipolis. Sent a packet of letters by him for Cape Town. Wrote to Peter David to request that the commando should not go against Masalakatzie at least whilst we were in that direction. Delayed service till the evening in consequence of the heat of the weather; several Caffers joined us on that occasion. Thermometer fell last night to 65.

12 JANUARY (MONDAY).

During the 24 hours the river has fallen $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Saw some specimens of *Anser Gambiensis*; stands very

¹ Whittle, the trader who visited the Limpopo in 1832.

² Mahura, a Tlhaping chief, and brother of Mothibi. He originally lived at Kuruman.

high on the legs ; is very wild ; sits on the water, also walks in the water. It seems to prefer the short green grassy plots on the sides of the river and on the islands in the river. The *Rhinapomastus Smithii* eats larva of *Papilionidae* and spiders ; found upon the trees along the banks of the river (Vaal). No. 68¹ shot upon some stones near the Vaal River ; several together flies from one stone to another. No. 69 shot also on Vaal River. The common sparrow occurs but not in any numbers. The *Saxicola familiaris* also found amongst bushes and on stony places. The number of wild geese is very great and at present some have young ones. When the old ones are with the young they will not fly off and leave them though fired at. The common steenbok common here. *Corvus scapulatus* also abundant ;² and³ also seen. Upon the river the *Ardea cinerea* common. The *Cap. pectoralis* shot near to the river. *Turdus olivaceus* also seen, *Lamprotornis nitens* likewise. *Hirundo rufifrons* very common skimming along the water. Found for the first time this morning a fine species of *Buprestis* with yellow white on back and belly upon the common *Mimosa* which is just coming into flower. Thermometer at three o'clock in the sun 142, in the shade 102 ; last night fell to 55 in my wagon ; during most of the day 102 and at one time as high as 110 ; nights delightful.

13 JANUARY (TUESDAY).

Lepus 70 : Colour of back and sides rusty yellow panelled with black on the sides and back and on

¹ These numbers apparently refer to specimens.

² This word is difficult to decipher ; it may be " Grebe."

³ This word is undecipherable.

back of head ; a white circle round eyes and a yellow rusty line obliquely up sides of neck ; tail black above white beneath ; limbs very slender ; rusty yellow sides of feet, nearly ferruginous ; insides of limbs near body, breast and anterior part of belly white with a pale buff, but hinder part of belly clear white ; ears very long, front pale rusty, pencilled with black ; tips of ears outside black ; whiskers partly white partly black ; lip bumps very strongly marked ; hinder legs not quite so long in proportion as in the other hares of South Africa ; stature small ; length about 16 inches. Inhabits arid country along banks of Vaal River.

Thermometer during most of the day 106 in the shade, 136 in the sun. During last night 70 lowest. Last night about 10 p.m. wind began to blow strong from the N.N.E. Afternoon of this day thunder at a great distance to the N.E. ; lightening to the east towards dusk. Wind came on to blow strong about 10 this evening and the sky overclouded. River has not fallen during the last 24 hours more than an inch and a half.

14 JANUARY (WEDNESDAY).

Thermometer last night 73 ; at noon in shade 112. Clouds arising to the N.E. from whence the wind blows very hot.

Matebee's Caffers prefer clothing to any other articles of barter, evince anxiety for hats, waistcoats, etc., and seem to have no desire for beads. Few observed wearing them ; only the more aged people who still adhere to the old dress. There is nothing of

awkwardness in the appearance of these Caffers when clothed, in that respect differing from most Caffers I have seen. The Batclapin are considered better caross makers than any of the other tribes, and with them those are common articles of traffic.

A specimen of *Dilophus gallinaceus* shot this morning. *Merops apiaster* very common along the banks of the river. The hare No. 70 is very light coloured before the tail. Towards evening a great uproar occurred amongst the small birds on a tree near the river upon which the Hottentots immediately declared a snake was there. They repaired thither and soon discovered a *Cobra capello* winding up a branch which was immediately shot. Its ground colour was brown variegated on the back and sides with pale buff and black stripes, the belly between red and orange; fangs small, body long and slender.

River falling very slowly. Thunder towards the south-west with the appearance of heavy rain in that direction towards evening, also lightening in the north and some heavy clouds. Thermometer during most of the day 106 in the shade. Wind principally from the N. and N.N.E., sometimes very strong; several times gusts from the south-west towards evening but those of short duration. The thunder heard was very distant.

Got this day a new species of *Lanius* with the belly speckled with greenish black dots upon a white ground with coppery reflections. Caffers brought several cat skin karosses for sale. All wished for clothes, principally hats; buttons in much repute for their trousers; few jackets amongst them. Generally dressed in leather trousers without any covering

for the upper parts of the body. Use braces to keep the trousers up made of leather.

15 JANUARY (THURSDAY).

River has fallen but little during the last 24 hours. Thermometer in shade 109; lowest during last night 71. Clouds very dense to the N.E. and the Caffers say rain is falling towards the sources of the river in great abundance. Say if the river comes now down it will be very full and a long time [before] it be passable.

16 JANUARY (FRIDAY).

During last 24 hours river fell $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Heavy clouds to the N.E. Determined upon endeavouring to pass the river. Got one wagon loaded with swimmers and entered higher up than the regular ford in order to have to descend a good deal before arriving at the spot where the exit was to be made. Wagon got over pretty well, upper edge of hinder wheels just visible above the water. Oxen could scarcely swim the stream. Sent in one loaded; got through well. Another, my own, also got through though with difficulty. Another followed well. The next upset on entering the river; everything wet. Amongst other articles it contained a quantity of powder thoroughly wet. Sugar almost quite dissolved. Sent an empty wagon over to get the goods which were in the one which upset, the tang being broken. Just before dark we finished. Made a float in the forenoon but [it] would not work on account of the strength of the river. One of the wagons stuck fast in the mud close to the water's edge and could not be got out.

17 JANUARY (SATURDAY).

At daylight got the wagon out and commenced unpacking articles and drying them. With the exception of the powder and sugar nothing damaged. When I left the three wagons on the south side I gave most positive orders that in no one wagon was more than one case of powder to be sent over for fear of accident but the order was not attended to by Mr.¹ who was in charge. I went over as the most dangerous part was at the opposite side. The stream runs there so strong and the oxen, tired, were less able to stand against it.

Jaculus, No. 74: colour pale laylock² with a blackish line along centre of back, in the middle of it a fine faint yellow stripe; on each side of body a broad black green or hard purple line margined above and below with black, and over the top margin a faint somewhat interrupted red line; below each lateral stripe two lines of red dots, the uppermost most distinct; belly white along the centre with a slight yellow tint; the red spots end where the tail begins; eye bright red; top of head rather darker than back, and with a greenish tint; pupil circular; form quadrangular; head ovate and broader than neck; tail tapering, fine pointed.

18 JANUARY (SUNDAY).

Two messengers from Matebie arrived this morning with orders to entreat of us to visit him. He sent word that he was sorry about what had passed in

¹ No name given.

² Obsolete and dialect form of 'lilac.'

relation to a guide. He let me know that they were not his words, and as a proof of his anxiety to see us he had sent persons to show the road. Several persons arrived with karosses for sale, and all seemed ashamed when they were told that Sunday was not a day for traffic. All know the day and one said when questioned as to the propriety of selling articles on that day that it was correct but soon after that it was not correct. I rebuked him on the subject; he then said he heard but could say nothing. Service towards evening.

19 JANUARY (MONDAY).

Started at daylight and travelled along the edge of the river for about five miles, then halted, passed a large kraal belonging to Leminu at a little distance from the river. Road very bad and covered with rolled stones. Morning cool. In the afternoon travelled about three hours over a similar road close to the river; saw some straggling Caffer kraals on the east side of the river belonging to Tysho¹ the principal councillor of Matebie.

20 JANUARY (TUESDAY).

There being a little grass along the banks of the river we halted two hours after daylight to allow the oxen some food, then rode on to the kraal of Matebie [and] found it placed upon the top of a stony hillock and said to consist of about 200 huts. He visited us soon after our arrival and complained much of not being assisted by the Great King; said he

¹ Taisho, of the Tlhaping tribe.

and his people had nothing to eat and that the bare state of the country required him to send his cattle to a distance where he has been in the habit of having them constantly stolen from him by the Corannas. Is very incredulous and expects no aid from the white people. Says that in consequence of the commando system he has been forced to leave his country and now to live like a Bushman, being seen by nobody. Formerly all the English used to come to him when he lived at the Kruman,¹ now all go past him; he sees none of his friends. The English are the only friends he has and his heart, he declares, is very glad to-day at seeing us, it being a long time since he saw any English. Appears very averse to our going to Masalakatzie; says that in former days M. was good but lately he has been so annoyed by commandoes that he is ready to attack any strangers that approach him. Some of the Barootzie² that he took as prisoners have lately fled from him, and say that he put others of them to death saying that they were the people that brought the commandoes.

21 JANUARY (WEDNESDAY).

Early this morning reached the spot where the Hart River empties itself into the Vaal River; the former stream is small without wood near the mouth and the water in some places very deep and almost stagnant covered over with a thick coating of weeds. Last evening much lightening to the north with distant thunder; towards three in the morning a few large drops of rain. During our morning journey

¹ Kuruman.

² Huruthse.

found that rain had fallen heavily about two miles to the N.E. of where we rested. Wind blowing strongly this morning from about N.N.E.

Zosterops madagascariensis builds its nest on small bushes and suspends it between the branches. It resembles a retort with the tube broken off close to the head, the opening being where the neck of the retort commences; it is composed of grass interwoven very thinly so as the light can be seen directly through it, and amongst it is also introduced particularly towards the bottom and back small tufts of cotton. Eggs light blue green with some purplish black spots and an irregular circle of the same colour near the large end. Found on the bushes of the Vaal River 20 Jany., 1835.

22 JANUARY (THURSDAY).

On the west of the Hart a little way from its mouth the country becomes flat at a little distance from the river, and there occur small plots of fine sweet grass. Halted till 6 a.m. to permit them to feed. During the afternoon of yesterday much lightening and faint thunder; all round us the rain appeared falling heavily in every direction but only a few passing drops were spared upon us. During the night very cloudy and threatening rain. To-day the sky continues overclouded and the weather moderately cool.

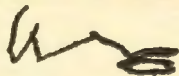
Chaemilio, No. 75: anterior part of top of head hollow, posterior parts even or slightly convex and pointed behind with a small flap extending from point about half way down the neck, semilunar convexity backwards; eyeballs with faint brown stripes from

base to edge of lids ; back slightly serrated towards head ; chin, throat and belly with a white faintly jagged line ; side of jaws towards angles of mouth pure white or dully purple red ; on each side a row of three longitudinal spots white or dull rosy red ; beneath each of these a long line of the same colour as spots ; nails amber colour ; pupil red ; near hindhead in centre a faint elevated noll ; sometimes the spots and stripes are white on one side and rosy on the other, also the same with regard to the edges of lip ; the skin of the sides between the skin is generally of a faint orange tinge.

The Buchuanna wear the hair outwards on their head covering. They also now at least use the skin of the jackal's tail fixed upon a stick to wipe the sweat from their faces. The hair is cut after a variety of fashions, sometimes left long in a circle on the top with pendent portions from that ; sometimes short on the top and long around the forehead and above the ears. They ornament their kaross outside in various ways with cuts by an axe, also frequently have little ornamented portions of leather attached to the front edges of the kaross near the neck. [They] mix fat with the blink klip¹ and rub it over the body in moderate quantities, but in great quantities upon the head. Several amongst the Batclapins wear forage caps after the European fashion, but either without peaks or with very small ones ; some wear caps made of cotton like the farmers. Many have long drop earrings either of iron or brass. Few beads, comparatively speaking, are worn, and none appear to be desired. The women have often a great number of strings round the loins and hanging down in front

¹ A grey iron ore sparkling with mica.

upon their petticoat. Very often they have a portion of the tail of an ox or wildebeast attached to the kaross just at the back of the neck. Colours very different in different individuals, in some varying to black, in others a dull tawny yellow. Nose towards front very broad, *ossa nasi* in most low and little above level of face, hence difficult to fix spectacles upon them. Often small pieces of brass attached to the hair about the temples. The women in former times used to wear long *macabies*,¹ not from the Corannas as said by some. Many wear the colonial velvet schoons, others merely a sole of leather (some nothing)



fixed by a thong passing from the front between the great and next toe and attached to a cross thong which passes over the instep and when fastened to sides at hollow of foot goes over to the opposite side above the upper part of the heel. All the Caffers betray great similarity in their songs and manner of singing; even the Matabeli approach the Buchuana in that respect. Many have the bark of the *Mimosa* plaited into small ropes and placed around the neck and under the knees; the women have much of this round the ankles, loins and inside the knees, also round the wrists. They have thin brass and iron rings also round the wrists. Many of them use umbrellas made of ostrich feathers fixed above in the centre by a piece of round or square leather.

Along the Vaal River during the month of Jany, several very large flights of kuikenduifs were seen,

¹ *Makabi*, skin petticoat of Tswana women.

in some perhaps 68 or 70, principally towards morning and evening.

The Bushmen in this part of the country wear as private covering either a portion of cat skin or jackal and though it is large enough to conceal the parts which it is intended to cover yet from being loose it blows about with the wind in such a way that it might often as well be absent. Some make the covering into a sort of sac which then answers better for its purpose. They are devoted to snuff and would make almost any sacrifice to obtain it. They make it with tobacco and wood ashes which they moisten in grinding with water ; two stones employed in grinding it, one flat the other round, both very smooth. They cultivate tobacco with great care. They use springbok skins in their karosses.

Travelled about 3 hours in the afternoon, and where we halted found some good grass for the oxen. Night very cloudy.

23 JANUARY (FRIDAY).

Started about 6 a.m. and travelled to a spring where a portion of Matebee's Caffers were living situated a little nearer the river than Bootscap.¹ It was from this station that the Corannas took lately the cattle. The kraal is situated in the middle of a thick bush and close upon the edge of the ridge over which one travels to Bootscap. There is a strong spring at this place which issues near the top of the ridge from below a ledge of limestone, and around it a variety of fine green dwarf bushes and small thorn trees.

¹ Boetsap.

When I requested them to give a man to show grass they refused, and it was only after much altercation and a threat that I would inform Mateebie that they gave one. It was cold this morning and occasionally light rains; all the Caffers were wrapt up in their karosses as if it had been the middle of winter.

In the pool at the spot where the water issues from the ground were a number of small fish, *vide* specimens. Fish No. 76: Colour a light olive green freckled with greenish yellow, a darker stripe in course of lateral line; the pupil has a reddish silvery ring round it and the rest of the iris has a reddish green tint varying however in different specimens; from eye to eye arching forwards a livid stripe and one before that near to upper lip; caudal fin tipped with yellowish red, the rest light green with several light blue transverse bars; dorsal fin darker, olive green with light blue vertical bars; towards these on the second portion of fin some of the same coloured spots; on the back, close to the anterior portion of dorsal fin, a black spot; on fin where the second portion has just begun some darker varigations; on anterior portion of dorsal fin on hinder and upper part of operculum a blackish spot; all the points of rays of both dorsal fins dark amber colour, which is also the colour of tip of tail; length of the longest caught about 5 inches; many silvery tints upon the side, particularly about the belly; pectoral fin nearly transparent, only a very faint greenish tint.

Soon after we halted it began to rain pretty freely. All the Caffers took off home as if they might be melted.

When flooded the rivulet which carries off the waters of the spring in which the fish were contained

discharges its waters into the Hart so that probably the same fish occur in the Hart ; they had ascended to the very highest point they could reach being in the very pool in which the water rises. The colours vary in different specimens yet the mottling is constant.

The Caffers are very desirous of having towards the centre of their kraal a spreading mimosa tree, under the shade of which they can recline during hot weather. One burst of surprise was evinced here when they heard that we were going to visit Masalakatzie. At present the chief of the kraal is absent towards the Corannas about the stolen cattle. They are according to their own account without cows. They say all have been taken and yet at the same moment when saying so they are offering milk for sale. Many of them wear strings of ostrich eggshells, etc., round their loins in many turns. Some of the women have small folds of skin hanging from upper edge of after covering, and such fully ornamented with beads, etc. ; this is not, however, very common. It is very difficult inducing them to sell such articles. They even appear to view parting with them with some superstition, though their excuse always is [that] they have no more. During the season the grain is in ear almost all the women are constantly employed during the day keeping off the birds of the *Fringillidae* order ; they keep constantly screaming, beating with twigs and raising smoke in the garden. They have usually one or two elevated spots in different parts of the garden built of stone, and on these they station themselves so that they may be raised above the stalks of the corn ; they also make various figures to frighten them away.

During the rain wind by compass E.S.E. Thermometer at noon whilst raining, 70. About 2 p.m. it ceased to rain though still very cloudy, and the wind blowing from the same quarter.

The fish, drawing 76, had in some specimens partial transverse bands of a darker green colour tapering towards belly, broad at commencement near dorsal fin; caudal 12, ventral $\frac{1}{2}$, anal..., pectoral 11, dorsal...; B.5; teeth several rows, those of first both above and below largest; no palatal teeth; when closely examined scales abounding with minute greenish points; lateral line interrupted near back.

Travelled in the afternoon to Little Botschap¹ where we halted, the rain beginning to fall heavy. Wind light from the E.S.E.

24 JANUARY (SATURDAY).

Rained during the whole of last night and every appearance of continuing light and constant; no clear sky visible. After rains during the summer season the whole country in the sandy districts looks green in eight days; in the higher and stony districts [it] requires about 14 days. The moment the rains cease to fall occasionally the moment the grass disappears or is burnt up.

Little Bootschap is unhealthy for cattle; they die from the lameziekte.² During the last two years no horses have died from the horse sickness. The months are Jany., Feby., March and April; in severe years

¹ Little Boetsap.

² Lamsiekte is a disease which to some extent is the counterpart of botulism in man. See Henning, M. W., *Animal Diseases in South Africa*, London, 1932. All diseases figuring in this Diary are treated of there.

it begins in Jany. In Masalakatzie's country it begins in the month of October. Reckon Jany. the last summer month, but say that Feby. is often also warm.

The grass-hoppers or locusts are often very destructive to the grass in this country ; it has just been all eaten off by flights of them.

Says even when Barend was here there was neither regulation nor laws ; you might complain but nothing ever resulted therefrom. It is a country where you may kill a man and there it stands. Never has heard that the Corannas (a portion of Jan Captain's) who live high on the Hart steal from the Caffers. About 12 months ago about 25 of Masalakatzie's Caffers arrived in the vicinity of the Coranna station supposed to spy. The Caffers gave information to the Corannas. They mounted their horses and shot all but one ; he got out with a wound from a Bushman arrow. Since that they have heard nothing of them nor their people. He is afraid to send a commando in this direction, the country being too open. The party living at Little Botschap intend returning to Phillipolis ; they state that here they are perfectly unprotected and that they have not a shot of powder in their possession. They brought us a good supply of milk and immediately asked for tobacco, saying they were and had been without it for a very long time. Spoke sensibly about the serious misery of want of laws and remarked upon the superiority of the Colony in that respect. Loud thunder is seldom heard in this country. Some instances of the lightening destroying life. One of the men here had a child killed by it some time ago at Great Botschap, and a cow and a calf were killed at the Caffer kraal which

we left yesterday afternoon. The Buchuannas are a quiet timid people and little inclined to war and strife. Says there are a great number of Bushmen living in the country about this place but that none excepting the civilised come near them.

In this part of the country the traders are in the habit of selling an old soldier's musket for 6, 7 and 8 oxen; a small pot (iron), costing in the Colony about $2\frac{1}{2}$ dollars, ten Rix dollars; an ox they require for 3 or four pounds of gunpowder. The Corannas give ten or 12 oxen for a gun, therefore the traders resort more to them and the Caffers as to the Bastards who understand to a certain extent the value of articles.

There were only three Coranna Bushmen¹ who took the cattle from the Caffers on the Hart; they had taken before that horses from the Boors and with those horses they stole the cattle. Piet David and Piet Barend are two of the most active in plundering. Whenever a civilised man wishes to become a plunderer, he separates himself from his own cast and unites himself to the Corannas and takes a wife from amongst them; he then stirs them up to all sorts of mischief. Piet David with a party of Corannas took the cattle from the Caffers higher up the river at the same time that the three took more from the Caffer kraal near this.

25 JANUARY (SUNDAY).

Some passing showers. During the day cloudy; a good deal of rain about dusk.

¹ Note the expression 'Coranna Bushmen'; Smith means Korana.

The Bastards and Caffers living at Little Botschap joined our afternoon service. Three Caffers arrived with three goats for sale; refused to purchase them till Monday.

26 JANUARY (MONDAY).

Started from Little Botschap about 5 a.m.; threatening rain.

The people shot 6 specimens of *Pluvianus armatus* at the waters of Great Botschap. One between young and old: legs appear thicker than in the old ones; eyes fine brown; bill and legs deep green [?] black; when they rise they make a sharp noise with the wing like that from a slight blow with a stone; fly like the *Pluvianus*. At these waters I observed several *Motacilla capensis* for the first time since leaving Vaal River. Got a very large species of *Nilus* this morning. Where we halted at the Kuy¹ there occurred abundance of the same fish as were caught at the Caffer station. Drawing No. 76. They were considerably larger and of a darker colour, the spots and variegations on fins not quite so distinct nor so brilliant. In some the vertical bands were very distinct and some had two longitudinal dark bands along each side; in one there was a deep black spot near upper extremity of operculum with three golden spots enclosing it. The colour partook much more on the sides and belly of a golden yellow, the lips in and out of the water look livid white. Caution in taking the hook and a second cannot at least for a time be caught at exactly the same place where one

¹ Kuil, a hole.

may have been pulled out. In the same pool occur *Bagres*¹ like those in the Orange River; also abundance of crabs as specimens. The Caffers roast and eat the latter. Got yesterday another chaameleon, 75, larger. When brought to the wagon it was of a fine grass green colour with dark green imperfect vertical bands on the sides and everywhere spotted with faint black about the size of partridge shot or rather larger. The white marks were very distinct, three in the upper line, and the continuous white stripe below them. The chin, throat, belly and a little of the under part of tail had the white line, also the edges of the lips. It was a female, and I placed it on a branch attached to the back of the wagon and put the other which I had had for some days alongside of it. They had scarcely been placed there when they began to be intimate and soon cohabited, the female turned her tail round the male and she placed herself with her body depending, probably to give the other the advantage of weight. They were not long in contact but that probably arose from my having disturbed them. The penis of the male continued protruding for a considerable time after the separation took place.

When about to inspan at $\frac{1}{2}$ past two p.m. four of the young oxen ran off into the bush and could not be turned again for several hours which forced us to remain at the Kuyl during the night. Traces of lions visible in several directions. The number of Bushmen in this direction is very considerable. Some time ago they fell upon some Caffer women belonging to the Batclapins who were plucking berries amongst

¹ Barbels.

the bushes and put them all to death. The Caffers followed some distance upon their traces, but at last lost them amongst the stones and rocks. When they steal in one direction they immediately emigrate to another. Cloudy during the night.

27 JANUARY (TUESDAY).

Towards morning very thick clouds and light misty rain; at 9 p.m., therm. 72. Started at 12 o'clock and travelled till $\frac{1}{2}$ past five. Rain fell nearly the whole of the time. Wind N.W.; clouds very heavy in that direction. Towards evening cleared up, and before sunset some fine sunshine. Saw a number of quaggas and some hartebeasts. Where we halted for the night a number of broken shells of ostrich eggs observed in the bush, indicating that as the resort of Bushmen.

28 JANUARY (WEDNESDAY).

Started at 5 a.m. and travelled about $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours to the small spring north-west of Groote Fonteyn.¹

Shot here several of the *Hirundo torquata*. Traces of Bushmen about the spring and marks of their resorting to it for water. *Pluvianus armatus* common near the waters of this spring also the *Anthus capensis* in the meadow grounds near it. In the afternoon travelled two hours and a half. On the road found the following lizard.

Lacerta, No. 77: colour of back and upper portion of sides dark purple with a coppery lustre, most

¹ See map. The position is only approximate.

distinct towards tail ; towards head rather a greenish tint ; the back is spotted with three lines of yellow dots, the centre towards back of head nearly a continuous stripe ; top of head dark black green ; the sides particularly towards the head with fine yellow vertical stripes cutting the purple ; belly yellow ; tail light red between hinder legs above with indistinct yellow dots, a row on each side most distinct and proceeds farther along tail than centre spots ; fore legs light green, dotted with circular yellow dots, feet uniform red ; hinder legs light red with many indistinct pale yellow circular dots, feet uniform light red. This is a very slender species with the tail finely tapering and the skin of the sides loose and, lying upwards in a fold, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long ; is young ; femoral pores. Two specimens of the *Falco rupercoloides* have lately been shot, the dark colour of the back more abundant, the feathers wiry and silky and the eyes dark brown, the yellow of the legs rather more dull.

29 JANUARY (THURSDAY).

Started at 5 o'clock and travelled to Massepa¹ where there is a fine spring. Last night very cold ; early this morning warm.

Got a specimen of *Melaconotus atrococcineus* Burch. Eyes purplish grey ; black of back with a steel gloss ; back of tail with a greenish tint ; very savage, bites severely. Throws itself on its back like the hawks and appears to prepare to strike with its feet. Jackals and hyænas very abundant around our encampment

¹ See map. The position is only approximate.

during the night. Amongst the reeds which grow about the waters of Massepa are abundance of the red oryx and everywhere the *Columba capensis* in abundance. Here more of the *Corvus scapularis* than I have seen for a long time. Temperature of the spring water where it bubbles up 62 ; of the air 74 at 10 a.m.

30 JANUARY (FRIDAY).

Started at 6 p.m., and after travelling about 4 hours reached Kuruman, the appearance of which greatly delighted all of us. The thermometer during last night fell to 52, and before daylight it was so chilly that I should certainly have fancied, judging from my feelings, that the temperature was much lower.

It appears that Mr. Archbald was very bold with Masalakatzie and spoke in a way that it would have been dangerous to interpret to him. Mr. Moffat had one day a large basket with blood and fat sent to him ;¹ he returned it and stated that according to his ideas it was not food he could eat. Mas. returned for answer that his doing so had that day made him happy ; that now he saw he felt himself at home and had every confidence in him. Mr. M. says that most of Masalakatzie's warriors are the old Baquana.² Masalakatzie's people have this system in following cattle when they are stolen from them. They send off in all directions and assemble the people. The first assembled whilst the others are assembling are

¹ Most of the information following was given to Smith by Robert Moffat ; much of it appears in his *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa*, London, 1842.

² Kwena,

employed in discovering the spoor. The people then form into three parties; one goes upon the traces of the cattle, another goes upon the traces of the persons as they approached to steal, and a third party proceeds on the opposite side to that so as to leave the cattle in the centre. When they make any discovery the party so making it kindles three fires, should they deem it necessary, at a little distance apart, to call in the other two; if they consider themselves strong enough without such assistance they do not kindle the fires. When Mr. Moffat had not been very long established at the Kuruman there was a great scarcity of rain, and that the people attributed to him, particularly to his beard. They actually ordered him and the others with him to leave the station but he resisted, telling them if they would drive them away with their hassegays then they would go, otherwise not. They would not attempt that but appeared to continue dissatisfied with them till about the time the Mantatees came, when their exertions gained for them the goodwill of the people. When the Corannas after this began to be troublesome with commandos they again began to get disaffected to the missionaries and wished them away. They now appear pretty well convinced of their utility. Most of the members of the church, at least some of the best of them, were formerly persons of the very worst characters, and who for a long time resisted all endeavour to convert them.

A specimen of No. ...¹ had the white spots almost disposed in bands of single dots across the body and several of the blackish spots congregated in patches

¹ No number in MS.

upon the body and tail. Though the tail in No. ...¹ is represented smooth yet in specimens where it has never been broken off it is smaller and surrounded by rings of raised pointed scales at moderate distances from each other.

31 JANUARY (SATURDAY).

Engaged in inquiries relative to the interior.²

31 JANUARY (SUNDAY).³

Attended divine service. Mr. Moffat preached in Sichuanna and in the afternoon Mr. Hamilton preached in Dutch, which was translated by a native. Congregation pretty large.

1 FEBRUARY (MONDAY).

After conversing closely with Mr. Moffat relative to the station of the interior, both he and I came to the conclusion that it would be most judicious to send to Masalakatzie previous to proceeding with our party in the direction of his country, for various accounts :

¹ No number in MS.

² Recorded in a separate notebook.

³ From this point Smith has mixed up his dates and, realising this, has made certain alterations which make them still more confused. The entry for 31 January (Sunday) should be dated 1 February (Sunday), whereas Smith has entered 1 February (Monday). On page 105 of the MS. he headed one entry 2 February (Tuesday), but deleted this date, possibly later. On page 106 of the MS. he altered the date 3 February (Wednesday) to 2 February (Tuesday), and the dates of all subsequent entries up to that for 14 February (Saturday) have been similarly altered to one day ahead. I have accordingly corrected all of them.

1. Because he has issued an order that all strangers are to be interrupted ;

2. Because he, expecting a commando in consequence of the attack upon Peter David, has retreated from his usual residence more to the north ;

3. Because with or without his approval his people have seized Bain's wagons, and must consequently consider that as likely to annoy the white people, hence they will be suspicious of the consequences ;

4. Because there is no doubt but that it is known to him that we were in the country where Peter David resides after he had lost his wagons ;

5. Because the probability is that Peter David's commando will reach him during our visit or about that time ;

6. Because the messengers who were lately at Kuruman stated to Mr. Moffat, when they heard that the missionaries had left us, that we must be bad people or they would not have separated from us ; indeed that we must be "on a commando."

In the Kalahari desert there lives a tribe of poor Buchuanas who have neither cattle nor corn ; they exist entirely on the n[atural]¹ productions of the soil and on the game which by stratagem they are enabled to acquire. Elands, hartebeasts and camels² abound and they say those all live without water ; there are also gnus which live likewise without water. The country after penetrating it for some little distance consists of a deep sand, a perfect flat. A man walking through it will sometimes sink to the knees, generally

¹ Between the words 'the' and 'productions,' Smith has inserted the letter 'n.'

² Giraffes.

to midleg. The rain water as it falls immediately disappears. The inhabitants possess nothing but dogs with which they kill jackals, etc., and form karosses. They are a very timid race and generally avoid strangers. The surface of the country is [thickly] covered with underwood and kamelbooms, so as to prevent one person seeing another though close together.¹

The disease called bloodzichte² is sometimes very common about Latakoo during the months of Feby., March and April; it often arises from eating goats, etc., who have died of it. It attacks cattle also. Sometimes it does not appear externally but attacks the liver. First appears like the swellings occasioned by muskitoe³ bites, then gets puffy and a black spot appears in the centre of the swelling which ulcerates and leaves a deep ill-conditioned sore attended with much constitutional derangement and swelling of the surrounding parts. Pregnant women who are attacked with this disease generally die of it; seldom get through. *Masari*,⁴ a woman, is derived from the Caffer verb "to bear." Soon after Mr. Hamilton fixed at Takoon,⁵ Matebe went on a commando against some of the interior tribes and was defeated; he then was persuaded with all his people to remove to Kuruman. Formerly they had lived there, and near to it they had suffered severely from small pox. They are not easily persuaded to reside at or near

¹ After this entry is the date 2 February (Tuesday), which Smith has deleted later.

² Bloedsiekte, or anthrax. It is also known in Afrikaans as miltsiekte and gifsiekte.

³ Mosquito.

⁴ *Mosadi*, a woman.

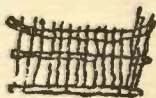
⁵ Old Lattakoo, as opposed to New Lattakoo, or Kuruman. See map.

any place where misfortunes of a serious nature have happened to them.

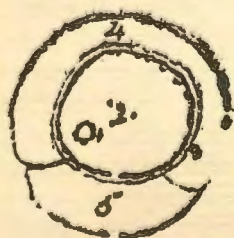
2 FEBRUARY (TUESDAY).

Saw a case of bloodzichte. The sore was situated on the left temple and the centre was separated from the surrounding parts by a deep ulcerated circle; the former was prominent, moveable and about to fall out. Thunder storms are frequent here during the months of Jany., Feby. and March, the thunder sometimes very loud and the lightening very vivid. On one occasion 14 women were killed by one flash. Scarcely a year passes without accidents; people or cattle killed, trees destroyed or houses demolished. The heaviest and most lasting rains happen with north-east or northerly winds. The storm yesterday came up from the west and during its continuance the wind changed several times, principally towards the north and north-east.

Most of the Batclapin houses are built with reeds which are plastered over with a mixture of clay and cowdung. The reeds are placed in a circle and that circle is kept together by three bands of the same material to which they are fixed by rope made of the bark of the *Mimosa*. One band is placed near the top of the vertical reeds, another about the middle and the third close to the ground so
The same takes place on the outside.
Two rows of poles are then placed without this reed circle and sunk in the ground to some considerable depth, one row close to the circle, another about 2 feet without it. Three posts are placed perpendicular in the centre



of the reed circle to attach the poles which are to support the roof, and the other ends are placed in the extremities of the poles which are placed in circles. The roof does not lie close upon the top of the walls, so that there is always a circulation of air in the houses. From the two circles of posts they are able to form a sort of verandah, the inner circle being the boundary of the house and the outer the breadth of the verandah. The walls are neatly smoothed, both inside and out, the floor fairly plaistered with clay and cow dung and kept generally clean. A sort of semicircle of reeds also is formed again without the house and opposite the door. In some, another is formed behind this and forms a sort of second inclosure behind into which they enter from the first by a narrow door. The door of the house is generally very narrow but about 4 feet high. The doors of the outer inclosures are also very narrow, and they have usually hurdles of reeds or brushwood to shut the openings. The houses are thickly and neatly thatched with long grass. Those that grow corn treasure the straw up for thatching. Some make the framework of brushwood instead of reeds but the last are preferred when they can be obtained. The following is a sort of plan of the house.



No. 1 Hearth, 2 Ridge supports,
3 Verandah, 4 Inclosure behind,
5 Front inclosure.

3 FEBRUARY (WEDNESDAY).

I questioned Mahura relative to the dangers of approaching Masalakatzie's country. He stated that he did not think that M. disapproved of his people having taken Bain's wagons because he upbraided them for not having killed the people and brought them the guns, things that were useful to him, instead of the stuffed animals, etc., which he could do nothing with. They justified themselves by saying "If we could have attacked them in the night we could have brought the guns, but we were forced to attack them in the day whereby they having had horses were enabled to escape."

4 FEBRUARY (THURSDAY).

Put a series of questions to Mr. Moffat and received his answers which will hereafter be entered.¹ He says he thinks it was the young soldiers of Masalakatzie that fell upon Bain's wagons and that Masalakatzie would reprove them for having done so.

5 FEBRUARY (FRIDAY).

The men that engaged to carry a message to Masalakatzie stated to-day that they could not go; agreeable to the agreement they had entered into, but that each must have a musket instead of a cow. I at once told them that that was impossible, but I insisted upon their performing their promise and had them brought before Mahura who was present

¹ Moffat gave Smith much information, but these particular questions do not seem to be referred to in this Diary.

at the station. He, according to the interpretation furnished me, made very judicious remarks and told them that having engaged for a certain payment to perform a certain duty they must stand by their promise. They objected, saying if they got guns they would go. Mr. Moffat afterwards spoke to them and they became quite willing. Several old men and petty chiefs were present when the case was submitted to Mahura. All warmly reprobated their conduct; even the father of one of the men raised his voice against them. They were latterly themselves ashamed of their conduct. A third man was added to the number in order to assist them in packing the pack ox.

6 FEBRUARY (SATURDAY).

Attended service. Morning service by Mr. Moffat in the Sichuanna; afternoon service by Mr. Hamilton in Dutch interpreted by a Buchuana. Congregation each time about 150; most of the hearers very attentive and decently dressed. Many of them read and follow the preacher when he refers to parts of scripture or psalms. Received an express from Mr. Moodie¹ concerning the inroads of the Caffers.

7 FEBRUARY (SUNDAY).

Mr. Moffat conversing with the third man engaged to go to Masalakatzie discovered that he belonged to the tribe who lived on the lake which lies to the north of Masalakatzie's country.² He gave a very circumstantial account of it, so distinct and natural as to

¹ Lieut. Donald Moodie. Theal, G. M., *History of South Africa* (1834-1854) London, 1888, Vol. iv, p. 60.

² Lake Ngami.

leave no doubt of its existence. Says the water always runs in a stream one way and that with their boats, which consist of the trunks of trees hollowed out, they have to exert themselves considerably to stem it. They propel them through the water with two paddles somewhat like spades ; one man sits in front and one behind on opposite sides. The waves he describes with precision, and says when the wind blows strong they cannot run on the water. There are islands in the lake, and on those some people live. Sometimes they are a long time on the water and then they put a little earth in the bottom of the boat and cook there. He has never seen but one side of the lake. It is fresh. Says they heard when he was a boy of a party of white men passing near to them. They were described as very excellent people and all of his tribe were very anxious that they should come to them but they were not gratified ; they passed more inland. He says they had walking houses,¹ and those were open at both ends so that they could look out either in front or behind. From thence people can travel to the Damaras² with but little difficulty. He describes those people as very ferocious and savage in their wars. They rush upon their enemies and stab them with hassegays which are very broad and have short iron handles. They are kept very clean and shine like a bright gun barrel. He described their cattle as being very small. Towards the lake he says the country is low and flat, the surface in many places with a thin coating of something white like a crust of salt. He describes several large rivers in that direction, some running east and others west.

¹ Covered waggons.

² Herero.

8 FEBRUARY (MONDAY).

The men having received the message for Masalakatzie started this forenoon in good spirits and promised to return as soon as possible. Dispatched a man early this morning with the Govt. letters to C. Kok and Waterboer, also a letter for Mr. Moodie and one to Revd. Mr. Archbald entreating of him to persuade Peter David if possible not to interfere with Masalakatzie, at least till we had returned from him, should it be decided to visit him. A man arrived from Mr. Moffat's cattle post this evening late and stated that one of our oxen had died that day and that two others were sick. A few of them were also brought to the station amongst which was one of the two which he considered sick. It died during the night.

9 FEBRUARY (TUESDAY).

Had the ox which died in the night opened and I found the spleen much enlarged, gorged with blood and quite disorganised, when touched falling about like soft pap. The lungs were also slightly inflamed, liver healthy, but the gall-bladder very much distended with bile. The people here call this the blood-zichte.¹ Say that it sometimes attacks the internal parts and destroys the animal; at other times it breaks out in sores upon the body. Persons who eat of the flesh of animals who die of this disease are also liable to be attacked by it, nevertheless they all believe that there is the utmost anxiety evinced to get the flesh. Mrs. Moffat mentioned to me an

¹ At the top of the page Smith has written *quatsie*, which is black quarter, or quarter evil, and not anthrax.

instance in which two women begged of her to be permitted to take the flesh of a goat which all considered as having died of that sickness. She advised them against it but they persisted ; both were attacked by the disease and both died of it. The natives attribute it to the abundance of spring grass which springs up after the thunder rains. Mr. Schoon had an attack of the bloodzichte. He felt languid and in low spirits for about two weeks, was tired by the slightest exercise and had no appetite. A tumour of a circumscribed character formed on the breast and was flat like a penny piece and could be moved under the skin ; this continued for some time in that state and then began to get black. Soon [it] was, as he describes it, like a burnt cork ; the black portion fell out and a profuse discharge followed which was increased by poultices. Was a long time in healing. He states that he derived great benefit from a dose of calomel which was administered to him at the Kuru-man. Both Mr. and Mrs. Moffat have had the disease, the former over the eye, the latter on the wrist. The local disease was first in both of them. Tremendous swelling attended the complaint in Mr. Moffat's case, and extended all down the neck ; the eyelids were so swollen that he could scarcely see daylight. Mr. Ward has also had the disease. It is very common in Masalakatzie's country ; it is thought that it is more severe amongst persons who indulge much in animal food. Many of Masalakatzie's men are marked by it. Sometimes it eats away the eyelids, sometimes the lips. It is regarded as very dangerous when it occurs on the side under the armpits. In Namaqualand they often make incisions in the tumour and suck the blood out with a view of making it affect some other part.

That is done when it first occurs in some dangerous situation. They do not practice that plan with a view of preventing its breaking out; they consider it is the best termination it can take when it appears outwardly. It goes on till about the end of May. Cattle that are almost constantly working are less liable to it than those which have had long rest and which are in good condition. Mr. Hamilton¹ though a very long time in the country has never had an attack. About midday all the oxen arrived from the post and eleven of them appeared sickly and two more had died. I had them all bled, which was effected by making a transverse incision on the under side of the tail near its root; most of them bled freely and that appeared to give relief to those that were suffering. One appeared worse than the others and he was bled a second time about dusk.

10 FEBRUARY (WEDNESDAY).

This morning the eleven oxen appeared much better, and during the day they fed well which they had not done for several days. Two still looked a little dull in the evening, but as both yesterday bled freely I did not think it judicious to repeat the bleeding. Several of the Caffers are now suffering from colds and bilious attacks; they apply to Mr. Moffat for medicine. Mr. M. is also suffering from a bilious attack; much vomiting. Day very sultry, evening cloudy with lightning in the north. Had a severe thunderstorm on Sunday;² rain fell most heavily to the west of us.

¹ Rev. Robert Hamilton, of the London Missionary Society.

² Smith is obviously writing up what he had omitted to do on the day itself; that day's entry appears under the date 6 February (Saturday).

A Barootzie¹ arrived here two days ago and states that they have had no rain about the sources of the Hart River nor at Towens;² all is dry and parched in that direction.

Intended starting this afternoon for Langeberg but was delayed from not being able to procure an interpreter. The man who accompanied us from Matebee's stated his wish to leave us; assigned various reasons but I was satisfied none of that were the real one. I was convinced he fancied we were going to Masalakatzie. Upon trying him towards evening he satisfied me that I had been right in my conclusion, for he actually confessed that he feared it. When fully apprised of our intentions he agreed to accompany us.

Barometer 9 p.m. 25.666. Thermometer 74.
Yesterday barometer 5 p.m. 25.540.

Schoon informs me that when first he began to trade in this country about 1828, nothing was desired by the natives but beads, etc., but now they are scarcely asked for; indeed nothing is to be purchased by them³ but milk or firewood. They are particularly anxious for ready made clothes. He has sold more than 100 shirts since he last arrived here which was in December, and during that time he and Hume together have got in money from the natives over 400 Rds. They even purchase with avidity waistcoats. He is at present selling clothes for tobacco which he intends to carry to Namaqualand. They understand reckoning money quite well, and if told the price of an article and they wish to purchase it they reckon out the money with

¹ Huruthse.

² The name is difficult to decipher. If my reading, 'Towens,' is correct, the place was Taungs. The name 'Town' occurs later on in the Diary. Taungs is spelt 'Touna' in the *Report of the Bloemhof Commission*, p. 290.

³ *I.e.*, by beads.

the greatest precision. Schoon and Mr. Moffat both consider that most of the difficulties laid to the passing of the Kalahari desert are fictitious and are only pictured to prevent the trade in that direction being opened to Europeans. I can believe that as I find that the natives are not without their policy in that respect. Mateebie formerly did not permit any of his subjects to grow tobacco, but insisted upon their purchasing it from the Griquas in order to keep up a friendly communication with the persons of that community.

Very heavy dews during the two last nights ; did not disappear till the sun had been a considerable time above the horizon. Placed this day most of our stores, etc., in Mr. Moffat's warehouse, in order to remain there till our return from Langeberg, etc.

11 FEBRUARY (THURSDAY).

Several more of the oxen were reported sick this morning and in the course of the day two died. We got ready to start about 9 a.m. for the Langeberg, but the appearance of the oxen deterred me from proceeding, one of the oxen which died in the morning having been perfectly well yesterday and one of those which were in the wagons moving the goods to the store. In that the spleen was greatly enlarged and pulpy like the one examined yesterday about midday. Between the spleen and the kidney one of the large veins had burst, and a considerable quantity of blood was effused in the cavity of the abdomen. The gall bladder was very full. The other which died was minutely examined. The left leg above the knee joint was much swollen some time before its death and a

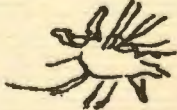
large tumour existed on the inner and hinder part of the thigh which when pressed gave a soft pulpy sensation to the fingers and the pressure seemed to cause severe pain to the animal. I had blood taken from the neck to the extent of two quarts. After that the ox appeared relieved for a time and exhibited marks of great debility ; was unable to rise for nearly an hour. The inability, however, appeared more to arise from the lameness of the leg than from actual weakness. After it succeeded in getting upon its feet it trembled a good deal, and when it attempted to walk it had a tottering pace and dragged the swollen limb ; never set it firmly to the ground and it even appeared as if slightly paralytic. The breathing became very hurried and laborious, the muscles of the belly were violently contracted and the belly appeared as if shrunk up towards the backbone. A sort of frothy mucus was discharged from the mouth and nose, and the upper lip hung over the lower. The eyes appeared very dull and the muscles of the forehead were corrugated, producing numerous wrinkles in the skin. The eyelids generally half shut and the ears hanging. Flies which settled upon the body or head seemed to occasion the animal no uneasiness. Soon after getting up it lay down again but in a natural position, apparently however suffering violent pain ; twisted the fore part of the body from side to side whilst the hinder parts remained nearly stationary. Often bent the head back towards the shoulders, and the muscles engaged in respiration acted with great violence. Occasional groans from time to time. It appeared anxious to get up but never succeeded. In this state it continued for several hours and then died. Often during that interval the muscles of the neck and shoulders swelled

considerably and appeared almost as if affected with spasms. On examination after death it was found not to have suffered from inflammation of the spleen; that organ was perfectly natural. The inside of the thigh where the swelling existed was more vascular than natural, and the cellular membrane was distended with a serous fluid which escaped freely wherever incisions were made. There was also a considerable portion of the same fluid lying on both sides of the exterior muscles of the leg in the groin. A large circumscribed swelling existed consisting of two enlarged and diseased glands highly vascular and rather pulpy. Similar enlarged glands were found within the belly on the same side along the spine as far as the kidney. The liver and kidneys healthy, the gall bladder much distended with bile, the urinary bladder full with high coloured urine and the bowels also loaded with excrement. The stomach well filled with dry food lying very compact; seemed not to have drunk much water. Lung of a pale rosy colour and when cut exhibited no marks of disease nor increased vascularity. Nothing peculiar about the heart. The disease during its latter stages resembled what is occasioned by the bite of a poisonous snake; the only difference I could observe was less diffusion of blood in the swelled parts. The Caffers and all those accustomed to see the *quatsie* considered this as the disease. Several of the other oxen are also affected with swellings, some in the legs, others on the side of the belly towards the groins, and one or two immediately before the sheath of the penis. They eat but little and in the field are much inclined to lie down. Every portion of the flesh of those dead oxen was carried away by the Caffers although at the time several

persons were already labouring under the disease around them. Mr. Moffat thinks that the disease is more severe and more dangerous when it occurs on the back than on the forepart of the body.

12 FEBRUARY (FRIDAY).

Another ox died in the night. One extremity of the spleen was enlarged and throughout soft, pulpy and of a dark red colour. In the lungs was situated a large cyst coated inside with tough coagulable lymph and distended by a clear colourless fluid resembling water. Saw this morning a woman affected with *quatsie*. The disease existed in the right angle of the mouth, cheek and side of the chin. Ulceration has taken place and the sore is situated just in the angle of the mouth and has a radiated appearance, so



It has a hard dry surface and looks more like chips¹ than ulceration. The cheek is much swollen and also the temple with a great degree of hardness for some considerable distance around the sore, the edge of the hardness defined and gradually thinning off. The glands below the chin are much swollen and very hard, but not particularly painful except on hard pressure. A child has the disease on the right side of the neck a little distance behind the mastoid process. The sore is about the size of a halfpenny but of an oval form, and the surface appears very hard and dry. The only ulceration yet existing is in the form of a deep chip round the circumference of the diseased portion. No discharge, but little swelling of the surrounding parts; does not appear to suffer

¹ Old form of 'chaps.'

much pain. The woman ate of the flesh of an ox which died suddenly, and the next morning the disease began to make its appearance.

No. 80, *Mus*, was found under some loose stones near gardens at the Kuruman. No. 90, *Mus*, was found on the small flats surrounded by bushes where we first halted at the Kuruman. The teeth of the lower jaw and the tail differ much in the two specimens; the last exhibits scarcely any appearance of rings on the tail; the lower teeth are compressed and more slender.

Mr. Moffat stated that Africander was required by the Government of the Colony to drive Gideon Fitsacey¹ from great Namaqualand in consequence of his being in unison with the Bondel Zwartes making commandoes against the Damaras. He was then living at Modder Fonteyn. The chief of the Bondel Zwartes heard of the intention and gave warning to Fitsachey who had got all his cattle together and was prepared for defence. Africander repaired with his people towards Modder Fonteyn, and when near it he with a few principal men left their guns behind and rode upon pack oxen almost up to the fort intending to speak with Fitschey. Instead of permitting Africander to approach, a volley of musketry was the salute. He fell from his pack ox in consequence of receiving a lot of lupers² in the shoulder. Upon this they retreated, and next day assembled all their people with a view of attacking the fort. They repaired

¹ Visagie. Smith spells the name in three different ways in this entry in the Diary. The second, Fitsachey, when pronounced in Scottish fashion, gives the clue. See also Mossop, E. E., *The Journal of Hendrik Jacob Wiikar*, Cape Town, 1935, pp. 306-307 and 316-9.

² Loopers, or small-shot.

thither and on their arrival found all [gone] off to Bondel Zwart. So ended this matter.

Explanation regarding burning the missionary houses at the Warm Bath. A jealousy existed between Africander and Bondel Zwart. The latter objected to Africander's people coming too near his country, which they said they had done in order to be near to where the missionaries were. Mr. Albright¹ entreated Africander to go back; in order to prevent wars he did so. After this Bondel Zwart's people propagated all sorts of reports relative to the intentions of Africander and persuaded the missionaries that they were in danger, induced them to dig holes in the ground to bury their property and also to retire to if an attack should be made in order to avoid the balls. Some time after this some of Bondel Zwart's people drove off the missionaries' cattle in the direction of Africander and persuaded them that they must be in his hands. Persons were sent after them and found them not near to Africander. Just about this time Africander's cattle were driven off by some of Bondel Zwart's people, and one of them who had gone in search of the missionaries' cattle on one of their horses entered into it. Bondel Zwarts had no horses. The moment the missionaries got possession of their cattle they fled across the river to Pella² and from thence to Bisoendermaide.³ The cattle of Africander were made to cross the river a little way above where the missionaries did, and a man from the Bondel Zwarts repaired to Africander, and told that the

¹ Rev. Christian Albrecht, of the London Missionary Society.

² A station of the London Missionary Society near the Orange River in Namaqualand.

³ Bisoendermeid. Another station of the London Missionary Society in Namaqualand.

missionaries had taken his cattle. He dispatched people on the spoor and upon finding it near to the wagons of the missionaries and especially having been driven by a person on horseback believed the report. He then repaired to the Bath¹ where he found nobody, set fire to the missionary houses and dug up a box which had been buried before the door and was filled with iron. Soon after a person came from the Colony and asked him what his cattle were doing on the other side of the river. Upon hearing they were there he sent off people in search of them, found them, and observed some of Bondel Zwart's people near to them. Inquiry being made at the missionaries who had fled, they found that they knew nothing about the circumstance.

Stated by the same person that Africander had by the colonists been most cruelly used, that the children of some of his family had been trodden to death and that their wives had been seduced by their masters. Pinnear had sent for them one forenoon and they refused to attend him. He had, seeing things were likely to go ill, eventually desired a portion of them to leave the place but they refused to separate. In the evening two persons came down from the house to their huts and stated that two men had gone off to bring the Field Cornet and 50 men. Soon after this was told them a messenger arrived and required certain of them to go up to the house, amongst others Jager Africander. Titus was not required, but he went and carried his gun behind his back loaded with buck shot. When they arrived in front of the stoop Piet was upon it. He demanded why they did not come

¹ Warmbad ; a third station of the London Missionary Society in Namaqualand.

when he sent for them in the forenoon ; they replied they had no inclination to attend as baas was too angry then. He held up his finger and threatened them. They asked what had they done ; had they done anything but serve him. With this he sprang at Jager and gave him a blow on the side of the head behind the ear which brought him to the ground. Titus, seeing this, levelled his gun at Pinnear and fired ; he fell back into the forehouse¹ dead. They then endeavoured by water, etc., to recover Jager, and when they accomplished that they went into the house and told his wife, who was in great agitation, not to be alarmed ; they had no intention of injuring her, that she was a fellow sufferer with themselves and that they had often seen her tears and heard her words without their availing anything. All they wished from her was the powder and lead, which she granted immediately. They told her to remain quietly till the Field Cornet and the people should arrive. She, however, fled through a back window with two children. Some Bushmen, relatives of some persons who had been murdered by the Pinnears, heard of her flight, intercepted her, killed one child and injured another severely, but that recovered. They offered no violence to the woman. All the party belonging to Africander then fled off to the Orange River.

Goat's flesh is considered more liable to give persons who eat it the *quatsie* than any other. A horse belonging to Mr. Moffat exhibits symptoms of the horse sickness.

After Africander's escape from the Colony they resided on the Orange River. Shortly after a party of Boors

¹ Voorhuis.

met Nicholas Barend, brother of old Barend Barend, and offered him 20 guns, fifty pounds of powder and 2 cwt. lead if he would fall upon [and] kill Africander. He entered into their views and went off to the place where Africander lived and carried off all his cattle whilst grazing in the field attended by a few boys. Titus followed and all the people ; the former overran the latter and got up to Barend with the cattle. He rushed into the troop and endeavoured to drive them back but without success. During that time the whole of Barend's people were firing at him, but not a single shot told. In time the people came up, but they were so exhausted by thirst that they were unable for any exertion. A good deal of firing took place and the women of Africander arrived with some milk and water which they drunk, but that only increased their thirst, so that the day being extremely hot they were forst¹ to desist and return without anything to their kraal. On one occasion when both Titus and Nicholas were amongst the oxen, each anxious to shoot the other, the oxen at one time by some of their movements separated a little and left the two fighters exposed to each other. Both hastened to avail themselves of the opportunity ; the musket of each was soon to the shoulder and as soon discharged. Just before the battle took place a cow attempted to cross from one side to the other and in her move received both balls which probably saved the lives of both the combatants. The balls were found close together in the cow. Africander's people, intent upon revenge, killed two calves which were all that remained, dried the flesh and set off up the river intending to attack Barend. They got hold of a man belonging to Barend

¹ Forced.

and ascertained from him the site of Nicholas' kraal. They passed it during the night and concealed themselves during the day in the bushes. At night they surrounded the kraal. A portion repaired to the high grounds. Another portion, consisting of Bushmen armed with bows and stones, proceeded towards the huts, and they were followed by others armed with guns. Those carrying stones threw them into the huts which caused an alarm; these were followed by a shower of arrows and volleys of musketry from different directions. Barend's people thought themselves entirely surrounded, and thought of nothing but flight. They took their course down the river and Africaner's people followed them with all the cattle. About day-break they got to the place where they had halted, and Titus came suddenly upon Nicholas standing against the base of a perpendicular bank on the margin of the river. He called out to him "Nicholas, if I raise my gun at you I can shoot you." The latter replied "You must not kill me, if you please." A man of Barend's who was standing on the top of the precipice fired at Titus; the compliment was returned by Titus and the man fell close to Nicholas. After this Africaner turned out about a thousand sheep which belonged to old Kok and several cattle belonging to other persons, and sent them back by the man whom they had taken when going to the kraal, saying they were not fighting with Kok nor with so and so but with Nicholas. A time afterwards Africaner sent to Nicholas to know if they were to be enemies or friends. A message was returned they were to be friends. Africaner then said he could not be friends until he knew who had induced him to attack them whilst they were friends. Nicholas told him, Soon

after he went on a commando and shot one of the principal Boors who had been active in the business in front of his own house.

13 FEBRUARY (SUNDAY).¹

14 FEBRUARY (SATURDAY).

Another ox died last night, the liver much enlarged and very full of blood, the gall bladder greatly distended and several of the inguinal glands enlarged and very vascular. One of the people in driving the sick oxen away from those that are well threw a stone and struck the eye of one which caused it to burst immediately.

A great Baharootzie rain-maker came [to] the Kuruman and was hailed on his arrival with the greatest acclamations of joy.² Just as he entered the town a few drops of rain fell and it thundered; the people omened well from that and thought all was to be well with them. After that for several months not a drop of rain fell and they got greatly enraged [and] even were inclined to destroy him. He said a person had been buried who was not sufficiently washed. He took the corpse out of the grave in a state of great putridity and washed it afresh; he told them certain sorts of goats must be brought him which had not been brought and certain oxen, failing [which] he required

¹ There is no entry for 13 February; there was one before the alteration of dates.

² This information was given to Smith by Robert Moffat. It will be found in Moffat, R., *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa*, London, 1842, Ch. xix, *passim*. The baboon story will also be found in Campbell, J., *Travels in South Africa* (Second Journey), London, 1822, Vol. ii, p. 199. Campbell doubtless obtained his information from Moffat or Hamilton, whom he met in Kuruman.

a live baboon from the mountains without a scar and which had not lost a hair. They brought one. He told them "See, you have rubbed off some of the hair; that will not answer." He also required a lion's heart to make some of his preparations. At last the people got so infuriated against him that they would have killed him had the missionaries not interfered with Motebe and got him to convey him safely away from the place. He used during thunderstorms to place himself on some high knolls¹ near the town and wave with his hand to the clouds to come and deposit their treasures. He said as long as the missionaries prayed he could do nothing; they had communicated with God who was above the clouds and he had power over them. He went afterwards to the Bawankets² and the year he got there there was abundance of rain. When their stores were well filled with corn Macaba³ ordered him to be taken one day and put to death, and his young wife, a fine looking young woman, given to one of his sons. Few rain-makers die a natural death; most of them are killed. Masalakatzie said the rain makers pleased his people.

No. 91, drawing: *Vespertilio*: colour of back and belly purplish brown; wings with more often purple and of a lighter tint; interfemoral membrane thinly covered with some silky short whitish hair.

15 FEBRUARY (SUNDAY).

One of the principal Baharootzie chiefs arrived yesterday. Oxen appear recovering slowly.

¹ Knolls.

² Ngwaketsi.

³ Makaba, chief of the Ngwaketai. See Campbell, J. *Travels in South Africa* (Second Journey), London, 1822, Vol. i, pp. 314-317.

16 FEBRUARY (MONDAY).

Schoon and McLuckie¹ were the first white people who went to trade with Masalakatzie, whilst they were hunting in his country.² John Bloom's first commando attacked him; he took many of the guns when they touched at his kraal. On their return they saw the guns lying in one of the houses in which they kept their shields and no care was taken of them. Masalakatzie appeared to have then no idea of the effects of firearms. He requested them to shoot at a large stone which was at some distance. One of the Hottentots did so [and] struck it with a ball partly lead [and] partly pewter; a mark of bluish colour remained³ on the stone. Masalakatzie remarked that he could make the same mark by breathing upon it. They then requested him to turn out an ox that they intended to kill and let them try the effect upon it. Schoon shot it behind the ear; it fell and a little trembling of the fore legs only followed. Masalakatzie kept going backwards till he reached the kraal, over which he fell; he then sprang up and retired to his house without speaking a word and did not make his appearance during that day. Never spoke again about guns. He was very curt to them; was very anxious for a cannon, having heard of those at Natal. The traders do great injury by promising to get articles not to be procured for him in order to induce him to trade with

¹ Schoon and McLuckie made this expedition in 1829. A *précis* of their journey will be found in Steedman, A., *Wanderings and Adventures in the Interior of Southern Africa*, London, 1835, Vol. ii, pp. 44-46 and 185-187.

² The north-west Transvaal. Full particulars of this area may be read in Harris, W. C., *The Wild Sports of Southern Africa*, London, 1839. Harris followed Smith's route shortly after the latter's return to Cape Town in 1836, and profited by his advice.

³ This word is undecipherable; I suggest 'remained.'

them. One promised to get a white wife for him and he was to receive 100 oxen. This man actually persuaded an Englishman to go to visit Masalakatzie and take his wife with him. The man got a hint of it and turned back in the Moharootzie country leaving the villain who had led him so far alone. When Mr. Moffat visited Masalakatzie in 1829¹ he passed several of Masalakatzie's outposts and saw none with more than 150 people, men, women and children, [and] seldom more than 100. He neither saw nor heard of any kraals of warriors [and] seldom saw more than five or six of the *machaba*,² or trusty soldiers, at a post. Thinks there were about 7 or 800 men about Masalakatzie when he had an interview with him; on his approach [he] saw them pouring towards his kraal from all directions. Masalakatzie returned part of the way with him; as they approached the posts the subjects of Mas. poured out and approached the wagons, leaping, dancing and screaming most hideously, apparently quite delighted by the visit of their chief. They are much pleased to see him approach because there is always great killing of cattle when he visits an outpost. When he wishes to destroy a man he causes him to be drowned. Whilst Mr. Moffat was there one man was convicted. Mas. said on account of Mr. Moffat he would not kill him, but he desired him to leave his presence and never more show himself but to retire amongst the poor. The man said he could not live under such disgrace, that he could never disgrace his ring; touching it with his hand he pled earnestly rather to be killed. His request was granted.

¹ See Moffat, R., *Missionary Labours and Srenes in Soutbern Africa*, London, 1842, Ch. xxx. Moffat followed up Schoon and McLuckie on their return.

² *Amajaba*, or strapping fellows.

His hands were tied behind his back and he was conveyed to a precipice and pushed over it into a deep pool; a man accompanied him with a stick, probably to break his head should he not be drowning. The pool was full of crocodiles.

17 FEBRUARY (TUESDAY).

Visited the range of hills to the west of Kuruman and ascended the highest peak.

In the afternoon a cow belonging to one of the natives died of *quatsie*. The right side was much swollen and the outside of the thigh and hip had the cellular membrane greatly distended with a yellowish or amber coloured serum. The disease presents a great variety of appearances in different subjects. The drawing A¹ represents the disease which attacked the lip and angle of the mouth of a female who had eaten of the flesh of an ox which had died of the disease; it became painful the following morning and has been 7 days in a state of ulceration. This day the discharge has begun to increase and the swelling is subsiding; glands under chin still much swollen. I was requested to see another case this evening; subject, a woman who had eaten of the diseased flesh. The complaint has made its appearance on the left side of the lower jaw rather below the line of the angle of the mouth; surface of skin irregular and rather inclined to ulcerate; in spots great swelling of the entire face and head, most however of the left side; the eyelids of both eyes highly oedematous and she is unable to separate them sufficiently to enable her to see. The whole skin of the face has a glistening shining

¹ I cannot trace this drawing.

appearance and appears extremely stretched. [She] complains of no constitutional symptoms nor of much pain [but] appears low and stupid. Gave her a dose of jalap. Ishmael in the act of endeavouring to hold an ox which was running off with the rim¹ upon his head fractured the inner ankle of the left leg.

Last night the hyaenas were very troublesome close to our wagons, and were also endeavouring to get into the kraals of the natives which contained sheep and cattle. Several shots fired during the night to frighten them away. The Caffer dogs very timid and do not attack the hyaena. Mr. Moffat lent us a span of oxen to take a wagon to the hills.

18 FEBRUARY (WEDNESDAY).

When Schoon first visited Masalakatzie he fell in with the Zoola commando on its return from Militancee,² placed several of the men who had sore feet in their wagons and carried them to the chief's kraal. Thinks the commando consisted of between 4 and five thousand men; a great part of them belonged to Ratsipip.³ When those of the latter had returned home there remained about 1,000 Zoolas. They passed when in company with the commando about eight or nine cattle posts. At that time there were very few men present, perhaps a chief and seven or eight men; at other times perhaps forty or fifty men at a post. The kraal where they found Masalakatzie was composed of about fifty or sixty houses; the house he lived in

¹ Riem.

² Molitsani, chief of a clan of the Bataung. Theal, G. M., *History of South Africa* (1834-1834), London, 1888, Vol. iii, p. 304.

³ Rathaipi, chief of the Rathsidi, a branch of the Rolong.

was larger than the others. He danced in front of his people and at such times was heavily laden with beads, perhaps 20 lbs. When Schoon and MacLuckie arrived he had nothing but Portuguese beads of a large coarse description ; he kept all theirs and laid aside those got from Delagoa Bay. He paid well for them. At dinner time large quantities of meat was cooked and carried to an open space upon ox hides ; then a person of some importance was sent to the spit by Masalakatzie who called out seven or eight men and told them to eat. When these had enough the entire of the people were called like a parcel of dogs, who soon devoured what remained. The few men thus called out were those who had distinguished themselves for bravery on the commando from which they had just returned. This took place daily. Sits much alone, sometimes with a few of his chiefs near him. Schoon was with him about a month or six weeks ; never during that time heard of any person having been put to death. One man for attempting a rape was whilst they were there sentenced to have his ears and genital organs cut off [and] was doing well.

Heavy thunder clouds and thunder in the afternoon and rain towards evening. Night very close, sultry and damp.

The Caffer women have generally easy and quick labour, they sit as represented in sketch¹ and the midwife does nothing till nearly the birth of the child, at which time she supports the perineum. The child falls upon the ground when it is born and they will on no account cut the umbilical cord till the placenta is separated. Mr. M. has known that to continue attached for four days and the string to con-

¹ I cannot trace this drawing.

tinue uncut, nevertheless shrivelled up and died away almost to nothing. The midwife during the time of labour scolds almost constantly the woman and complains that she will not give birth to the child, that she keeps it back, etc.

In the Kuruman school many read the scriptures fluently and three were observed who wrote good hands, one in particular a young woman, daughter of a Buchuana man; the son of the same man was also one of the three. Mr. Hamilton arrived at Griqua Town in Feby., 1817, and shortly after with some other missionaries proceeded to Moteebe's kraal at Takoon.¹ When he arrived there all were against their settling amongst them, and urged as excuse that the men were employed with their karosses, the women with the gardens and the young people with the herds, so that there was no one that had time to attend to their instructions. He at last told them they might go and reside at the Kuruman, instruct the Bushmen and trade with them, and when they got rich enough they might if they wished go home. Various circumstances occurred which prevented them establishing themselves immediately at Kuruman, and next year they visited Takoon together with Mr. Read,² who on his arrival there did not speak of permission but asked Moteebe at once where he was to build his house. The former told him the place and since then missionaries have always been with these people. On Mr. Hamilton's first visit they appeared very averse to having missionaries and that was greatly increased by Conrad Buys, who was in the neighbourhood and was just on his

¹ Old Lattakoo, as opposed to New Lattakoo, or Kuruman. See map.

² Of the London Missionary Society.

way to visit Moteebe when he heard of the white people being at his kraal, which induced him to change his mind. He told them they ought to have nothing to do with these people; that they only came amongst them to civilise them a little and then they would carry them off beyond the seas. The entire of the people seemed delighted when they saw the wagons moving off and kept exclaiming "Nice white people, nice." For a considerable time after they established themselves, no persons scarcely attended services except at first, sometimes not more than three ventured to church on Sunday. Even now few of the old and principal people are of the congregation; most of them live at a distance from the station. The principal people who have become the best Christians are of other tribes or the poorest of the tribe.

Saw this afternoon another case of *quatsie*, also upon the side of the lower jaw. Much swelling of the side of the head; had severe pain in the head before the swelling but now none. No pain in the part affected, nor fever, only a languor and stupid feel. The woman mentioned yesterday had severe shiverings during a whole night before the local disease made its appearance and also a good deal of headache, *vide* drawing B.¹ Slight elevation of the skin about the size of a walnut with . . . ² edges and of a pale flesh colour thinly studded with small vesicles of an irregular shape, and filled with a sort of amber coloured fluid; also some similar vesicles below the part just referred to with a similar coloured fluid, in the centre of the elevated part an irregular small ulceration of a blackish tint.

¹ I cannot trace this drawing.

² Word undecipherable.

19 FEBRUARY (THURSDAY).

3 new cases of *quatsie*. [In] one, vesicles distributed thinly over the upper extremities and a few on body little elevated above the skin, but appear to sink rather deep into the soft parts. In form somewhat like the crystalline lens. Contain a pale straw coloured fluid. When it escapes the upper covering sinks into the cavity left in consequence of the escape of the fluid. The other two, children. [In] one, on side of neck just under angle of lower jaw; [in] the other, in front of throat to right of *pomum adami*. In the first a small irregular substance is hanging attached by a fine thread to the centre of sore; this they say escaped from centre of sore. All round this a superficial ulceration of a healthy appearance. Considerable swelling of glands of neck; had the same disease on the right temple a year ago; has eaten none of the dead cattle. The other is at present a small oblong ulcer with a central nucleus protruding between the edges of the sore. The protruding part the natives say will fall out.

Whenever Masalakatzie's commando succeeds in taking cattle to any number he makes a new post and places them there with a strong party to guard them. A Buchuana told me the other day that the Corannas were the most useless people in the world; that they could only make bambusus,¹ sleep and steal cattle. The Coranna women are very much addicted to gaiety in their doings, and it is considered a misfortune when a native of the country about Kuruman gets married to one of them.

¹ The wooden milk vessels of the Korana.

20 FEBRUARY (FRIDAY).

The Buchuanas have nets for packing their stores upon oxen; they make them of the bark of the thorn tree. The natives more to the interior, such as the Bamangwato,¹ make them of the sinews of animals such as the camel,² rhinoceros, ox, etc. They make sambucs³ of the camel skin. Value their nets highly, hence difficult to procure.

Mr. Hamilton,⁴ who witnessed the burial of a Bat-clapin chief, says they dug the grave under the wall of the kraal, put the body in and removed all the coarse portions of the clay, then filled the fine into wooden bowls and strewed it round the body, trod it down round the body with the feet, rubbed first the inside of the grave with slices of a bulb. After they had covered it up [they] threw several basins of water over the grave, and then the persons who had been actively engaged in the burial ceremony washed their hands to cleanse themselves. The Baralongs do not follow that ceremony.

At a certain age the Buchuana girls are collected together to be instructed into the secrets of woman. The old women on this occasion make them acquainted with all that they will be required to meet as married women. On that occasion they are severely flogged in order to inure them to suffering and to give them an idea of what pain they will have to undergo in giving birth to children, etc. The young women who last underwent the chastisement are employed to inflict it. That ceremony goes on for a month during which

¹ Ngwato.

² Giraffe.

³ Sjamboks.

⁴ Compare Moffat, *op. cit.*, Ch. xxx.

time they are not seen by the males of the kraal. They are kept apart in a separate house and during much of the night go on amusing themselves singing, etc. About daybreak they leave the kraal for the field and return about dusk ; should it happen that they return rather early they are surrounded by the old women [so] that they cannot be seen. The second month they are permitted to wander about in the kraal, but are prohibited from conversing with men. The same prohibition takes place with the boys who have been circumcised ; they are not permitted to enter into conversation with the women for a month after they return to the kraal. This applies to the Batclapins. They cut nothing in the case of the females.

When a chief dies he is buried under the wall of the cattle kraal. The earth which is dug out of the grave is perfectly cleaned of all roots, stones, etc., and put round the corpse, water in great abundance [is poured] over the grave, and all the cattle of persons of any importance are brought to the kraal, and after the wall is repaired which is done by carrying it a little outwards so as to inclose the grave, they are driven into it in order to trample the surface hard and flat. The wife is by the law required to lie on her belly or in some other position for two or three weeks and to wear her caross or cap with the hairy side out. After that the brother sends some of her relations to wash and cleanse her ; he then takes her as his wife. Sometimes [he] only keeps her till she can get another husband ; at other times [he] keeps her altogether.

They never attempt to assist a woman during labour ; if all goes well it is fortunate, if not she dies. The rest of the women sit round and talk about

common affairs. Deaths not common. Labours usually quick ; four or five hours, sometimes several days.

Mahura observed to some of his men that circumcision did not seem to be of any avail, but he observed that those who were not circumcised were the persons whom he could most trust ; those that were often, indeed always, were the first to run. It appeared to him as if it made men more timid.

The natives who were unclothed suffered less from the small pox three years ago than those who were clothed. Many at the Kuruman are much marked by them ; several have had their eyes injured. At Campbell many of the best people died of them. Mr. Lemue¹ suffered severely from them, also an English man servant to Mr. Moffat.

Jonker,² who has been nearly 20 years a resident amongst the Caffers, informs me that he has never been able to get any man to speak clearly to him about the circumcision though he has many friends amongst them.

Before life has departed they begin to force the body into the position into which it is to be placed in the grave. They are very particular about placing the face to the north and they state that they place it so because their forefathers came from country in that direction.

21 FEBRUARY (SATURDAY).

[They] draw blood by cupping ; raise a fold of the skin and make a number of transverse cuts with a

¹ Prosper Lemue, of the Paris Evangelical Society. He was stationed at Motito, to the north-east of Kuruman. See map.

² Jonker Afrikaner, son of the notorious Jager, afterwards Christian Afrikaner.

small instrument formed for the purpose before applying the horn, wash it¹ within and without with pure water, suck by the extremity of the horn during the whole time and with the other hand keep drawing the finger and thumb up the sides of the horn on opposite sides. The second application of [the] horn [is made] without cleansing away the dried or congealed blood. [They] shut the extremity of the horn when they remove the mouth with the thumb, understand[ing] that it is necessary to keep the air exhausted, and that a fissure in the horn unfits it for the instrument to perform the suction.

Several other cases of *quatsie*, some in early stage like a flattened tumour, which on the surface becomes sottered² like an imperfect burn, towards centre a black point soon appears which is succeeded by an ulcer, and several vesicles run in different parts around point; [it] occurs principally during damp, rainy weather.

Clahaniani,³ a Batclapin chief, states that when they are going to war all the people are assembled together, then an ox or a bull is slaughtered and eaten. All sorts of herbs are brought together and prepared in various ways, then mixed with the fat of the beast; their bodies are afterwards rubbed with that. Some of the medicines are also powdered and a portion of the powder given to each, who ties it up in a piece of skin and fixes it to his shield. When they approach the enemy they untie it, put a portion of the powder on the palm of the hand and blow it towards the enemy. Portions of the medicine are carried in horns and on

¹ *I.e.*, the horn.

² *Sotter*, in Scots, means "to boil slowly."

³ *Matlhanyane*.

branches of shrubs and waved and blown when near the enemy by the magicians who are forced to proceed a little in advance of the commando.

Several new cases of *quatsie* have been discovered to-day amongst the natives. All have been eating of the dead cattle. One under the right armpit; the skin affected is about 4 inches in length and two inches in breadth, *vide* drawing C.¹ The skin is considerably elevated and irregular and as if slightly burst; when touched hard and rigid with here and there drops of a serous looking fluid oozing out but no distinct vesicles. Colour: pale rosy along the centre of the elevated parts; an irregular ulceration of a darkish tint and quite dry; considerable surrounding swelling which is gradually lost in the surrounding parts and considerable hardness which extends deeply towards the ribs. Some time before the local disease appeared he suffered from cold chills, and about the time it appeared had severe headache. At present he complains of sickness at stomach and occasional pains in the bowels; very sensitive to cold; is dull and languid; pulse not much affected; tongue loaded; bowels confined. [They] generally rub the affected parts with a sort of ointment formed of fat and powdered bushes. Arend² generally makes a few incisions in the part affected and introduces into them a little tobacco oil; says in most cases that prevents the extensive ulceration and sloughing, not however in all. Saw one

¹ I cannot trace this drawing.

² Arend, or Aaron, Josephs was a runaway slave who obtained his freedom through the intervention of George Thompson, the traveller, and who came to live at Kuruman with his wife and family. See Moffat, R., *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa*, London, 1842, pp. 496-497. See also Campbell, J., *Travels in South Africa* (Second Journey), London, 1822, Vol. ii, pp. 356-359.

woman who was recovering from the disease which had its site on the forehead. There was a black crust the size of the part affected separating at the edges and yet firmly attached; towards the centre somewhat like a shilling. The centre is the part at which it separates last, and sometimes the diseased part adheres for several days at that point only by a substance not thicker than a thread.

22 FEBRUARY (SUNDAY).

Quatsie extending amongst the natives; a horse belonging to Mr. Moffat died of the sickness. Also an ox, one of the young oxen belonging to the Association,¹ attacked with the sickness; much swelling in front of the right shoulder on the side of neck. When the wind blows from the southward, very cold; during the winter when from the northward, warm and dry.

23 FEBRUARY (MONDAY).

Lacerta No.² Head, body and extremities jet black; on side of head a white longitudinal stripe and an oblique one of the same colour; from hinder angle of eye to lower part of neck a partial ring of five reddish white spots; behind neck an interrupted line of yellow; along centre of back and towards head some small yellowish spots; on each side of dorsal line on fore and hinder extremities some fine yellow dots; on last joints tail reddish brown; the yellow line of back extends down it a short way, on

¹ The Cape of Good Hope Association.

² No number given.

each side of yellow line a black stripe from black of back, broadest towards back. Length about six inches ; a slender species caught between Kuruman and old school.

Left Kuruman about 11 a.m. and reached the place where Seretz¹ lives about $\frac{1}{2}$ past two in consequence of having been delayed by finding it necessary to change some of the oxen in consequence of sickness. Here are three distinct kraals of considerable size and some smaller ones : one of the large ones belongs to Seretz, a Baclaru² chief, with his people ; another belonging to the Barolong under Malala,³ a famous commando maker in old days and who went once against the Damaras, and the other is under Deentu⁴ the proper Baclaru king.

24 FEBRUARY (TUESDAY).

Setube,⁵ on the attack of Clas Dryer,⁶ fled with a party of people to the Damara country. They entered about Honey Vley ;⁷ from the fley⁸ till they reached the Damara country they got no water. About 200 persons, men, women and children, also cattle, they lived entirely on the water melon ;⁹ there were plenty

¹ Seretse, chief of the Tlharo. See Campbell, J., *Travels in South Africa* (Second Journey), London, 1822, Vol. ii, pp. 76, 81 and 103.

² Tlharo.

³ A Tlhaping chief, brother of Mothibi. See Campbell, J., *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 66.

⁴ Dintho.

⁵ Sethobe (?).

⁶ Klaas Dreyer, who with Jacob Cloete led a horde of bandits of mixed race against the Tlharo. See Stow, G. W., *The Native Races of South Africa*, London, 1880, p. 530.

⁷ Honing Vlei, or Chue. The furthest point reached by W. J. Burchell in 1812. See map.

⁸ Vlei.

⁹ The *tsamma* (*Citrullus vulgaris*) is regularly used by dwellers in the Kalahari desert when food and water are scarce.

of them good, but not quite so good as the right water melon.

The surface of the country entirely sand and quite flat. Along the roads men cannot walk, they sink several inches in the sand ; but on the sides of the road they can walk without sinking. The whole face of the country is thickly covered with mimosa, camel thorns, etc., so that persons crossing are forced to follow the roads made by antelopes, etc. There are neither fleys nor wells ; the rain sinks in the ground. Camel, wildebeast, eland, springbok, steenbock, duiker, roodekat, muskalcatt, kat leopard, and tyger, also lions.

They used to bring all the skins for sale to the Batclapins, but since Sabiquoa¹ has gone to live there he has killed part of the people and the rest he forces to bring the skins to him. Never saw a rock on their course, but where the Damaras live there are rocks. Says that he has heard of a large lake² which lies between the Damaras and the Bomareme or Bamangwato ; from the Damaras where he was about as far as Phillipolis. The Bamangwato live there ; in some places the water is narrow, in other places broad. The water runs to the west. As soon as they crossed the Kalahari desert, they got to a country where they generally get water ; sometimes they must dig pits. On the west of this country is also a desert before they reach the Damaras ; nine days crossing the second desert. The country where they lay was in appearance like the country about Kuruman, a good deal of high bush surrounding the vlees ; had always water in a

¹ Sobikwa, son of Makaba, chief of the Ngwaketse.

² Lake Ngami.

spring. Sibiquoa is now residing there. The Damaras make woodwork the same as the Batclapins and cover the roofs with skins. They do not assemble in large kraals like the Batclapins but in parties about six, eight or ten houses together. There is in that country plenty of water. Before they arrived there Moguana¹ lived there and they fought about the country; the Moguana were beaten and fled to the Bamangwato; they had about the distance of Phillipolis to go. There were Bakalahari² there and they lived with them. There was but little water by the vleys and they were only hollows or valleys which were covered with grass but of small extent. The Damaras stick and throw hassegays. They, the Damaras, have a sort of short petticoat made of small thongs which hangs from the loins to near the knees; inside of this in front a piece of skin to cover the organs of generation. They have sheep and cattle but no goats.

Pechua³ was at the lake. Molala sent him from the vleys where they were living in the Kalahari. [He] was ten days travelling without water. Moreme⁴ was the chief of the Bamangwato who resided on the lake; they are of the same nation as those that live near Masalakatzie. He took beads to exchange cattle. The same evening Sebitwani's⁵ commando arrived and killed many of the people and took their cattle. They have a wooden thing called *coro*.⁶

¹ Kwenä.

² Kgalagadi.

³ Petswa.

⁴ Moremi.

⁵ Sebetwane, a chief who originally formed part of the Mantati horde, but who, after their disruption, formed his own force of warriors, chiefly Fokeng, and attacked and overcame Makaba, chief of the Ngwaketse.

⁶ *Koro*, a canoe.

It is a river as broad as to the Kuruman (7 miles); the water runs to the west. Sea cows are in the water. The crocodile is also there. A commando of Masalakatzie went against the Damaras, but the latter destroyed them. About the vley there are no large hills, only ridges and thick bush; the desert finishes before the vley is reached. There is a sort of people who live on the outskirts of the Damara country which are called by the Borolongs Masaru,¹ who speak the language of the Damaras. They are entirely naked, both men and women. They have a small piece of wood through the nostrils and bows and arrows. He was two years with Malala at these fleys. Sibiquoa's people when flying from Masalakatzie attacked them, but they vanquished them and the invaders fled. After this Malala's people left for this country. During their return many women, children, cattle and men died from thirst. The Damaras attack during the night. In a commando against those people Clas Dryer was killed.

During the middle of the day very hot. Thermometer in the shade 89. The heat is here oppressive though the thermometer does not rise very high.

Clas Dryer, as far as a subject of Waterboer's believes, never went on commandoes against the Batclapins till his wife was carried off by Mohura² with her own consent and that of her father, a Griqua, Wm. Japtha. At the time Japtha was living in Langeberg and Dryer was with him. After he lost his wife he left his father-in-law and carried on the commandoes. The Berganheers also went on commandoes

¹ Bushmen.

² A Tlhaping chief.

against the Batclapins amongst others. Hoyman, John David, John Bloom and a certain number of Corannas which usually stood under Dam and Barend were also associated with them. This same informant states that he has understood that Sturman¹ who with his banditti has lately been so troublesome on the river was killed by a portion of his party. They seized his arms when he was off his guard and then put him to death. The Berghaneers were twice troublesome, first when in company with Hendrick Hendricks, Andries Hendricks, etc., and on that occasion a commando went against them headed by Waterboer and attacked them upon a hill on the south of the Riet River towards Phillipolis. Cornelius Kok was also with the commando. They fought in the day and the Berghaneers fled during the night. Soon after this they made peace, and then rose again headed by Jan Bloom, Jan David, brother of Peter David, and Gert Hoyman. They passed Griqua Town down the river, then organised a commando and returned and attacked Griqua Town, were repulsed, fled down again and soon after returned a second time [and] were again repulsed. Waterboer followed them with a commando, attacked them and put them to flight. Since that no more commandoes. Amongst the persons which were executed by Waterboer were Piet Hendricks and Engelbright, son of Gert Engelbright. Leucas and Jantjie Hoyman were heads of the commando which came to Kuruman from the east and made peace at last through the interference of Mr. Moffat. Gert Hoyman and Jan David both fell in Barend's commando by the hands of Masalakatzie's people.

¹ A Hottentot robber. Theal, G. M., *History of South Africa* (1834-1854). London, 1888, Vol. iii, p. 375.

Thermometer at nine a.m. 76. Clear. 4 oxen sick.
From School to Seretz'¹ 7½.

25 FEBRUARY (WEDNESDAY).

Grey partridge : Sichuana *lesbooh*² (perhaps the *b* ought to be wanting) to lay, from his often lying down and permitting persons to kill him. Consider it a stupid bird.

This is the Kuruman, the station Saree. The hills, Hambana,³ from the peak resembling a stick for digging.

A Maclaru told his son that he must go and assist his sick mother to get into a shade. He made use of a few ridiculous remarks and went off. The father said he must go himself as the probabilities were the son would go wandering about the kraal and never think of his mother. There appears but little filial affection ; often strong parental affection.

Thermometer at noon 88. Cloudy ; wind from the north.

Left Kuruman and reached⁴ about dusk. About the latter there runs more water in the channel of the river and there are abundance of Caffer gardens wherever there is any humidity.

After bleeding one or two Caffers almost the whole kraal made application to have the same operation performed. One man had a pain in his loins and he was very anxious to have blood taken from the foot.

¹ The place of the chief Seretse.

² *Lesego*.

³ Gamohaan, a few miles N.W. of Kuruman.

⁴ No name given.

It was always with difficulty that [I] could get them to permit me to tie up the arms to stop the flow of blood. Mr. Moffat informs me that he has been permitted time after time to bleed them, and with him they showed the same desire to lose great quantities. They are also very partial to medicine and take any with avidity which may be given to them. [They] have great faith in purgatives and emetics. One man presented himself for advice who had an enlargement of the brachial artery just above the elbow, and its shape and pulsations were very distinct. It appeared as if inclined to ossify.

The quantity of cattle possessed by these kraals is small, having lost them through attacks of the Corannas, etc.

26 FEBRUARY (THURSDAY).

(M.) No. 96 :¹ Head, breast, neck menscapulars dark shining green ; back brownish ; rump dull dark blue ; shoulders like head ; wing feathers brown black, some of them edged with a lighter brown and some of the innermost of secondaries quite brown ; tail even green black, the two centre feathers brownish ; belly black with metallic reflections ; hinder belly, vent and under tail coverts white ; legs and bill black, an orange tuft under each shoulder ; eyes nearly black. Length about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Thorn and camelbooms. Tail even.

(Fem.) Above, light grey brown, most inclined to brown on rump ; beneath, white with a greenish tint on throat and breast ; tail coverts green black ; tail the same ; shoulders same colour as back ; secondaries

¹ No name given for this bird.

and primaries brownish with a slight tint of green and many of them edged and tipped with dull white; bill and legs dark horn colour, smaller than the male. Travelled about two hours along the Kuruman River and then halted for the night; no water.

27 FEBRUARY (FRIDAY).

Started at daylight and travelled along the channel of the Kuruman and a little above where it joins [the] Matluare¹ so named from the olive trees which grow along its bed and which are called *maguare*.² The water in this river used to run but now it has entirely disappeared for the last three years. The name of the spring here is Malichan or Malichana,³ so called because the mud is so deep that if an animal falls in it cannot get out again. This spring ever since the people remember has been of the same strength. The hill to the north of this is called Tsening.⁴ The hills (low) to the south are called Patanie, or Poort.⁵ Last year three elephants came to drink and got fast in the mud; all three were killed and with the teeth the Caffer bought a gun. The Malopo joins the Kuruman near to its union with the Orange River, towards the sources of [the] Malopo there is water and at Queis⁶ there used to be water when the Baclaru with Morua lived there.⁷

¹ Matlaring River. See map.

² *Motlbware*, an olive tree.

³ *Madijana*, or little pools. Smith's meaning is wrong.

⁴ See map.

⁵ Patani, not far from Tsenin.

⁶ Queis, or Kweis, was on the Molopo River. On modern maps it is spelled Khuis.

⁷ Campbell, J., *Travels in South Africa* (Second Journey), London, 1822, Vol. ii, p. 107. The date was 1820.

[He] was born near Griqua Town, was young when old Barend came to Griqua Town; he was about 20 years of age.¹ No persons lived in that country except Bushmen before Barend came there; in that time there were poor Caffers living about Blink Klip² and Langeberg. This Bushman was with the commando in which Piet Pinneer [and] Jan Bloom took the Caffer cattle; they attacked them at the place of Seretz. The Caffers fled towards the north; the commando pursued and took the cattle belonging to the posts. They shot a great many of the Caffers and took a great number of cattle, sheep and goats. It was a large commando and all the Bushmen were pressed into the service. The chief of the Corannas that went with Jan Bloom was commonly called old Laino. When the commando returned home then the Corannas went up the river above Griqua Town. The Bushmen used to take their cattle from them and at last they fled to the Hart's River. The Bushmen were very numerous in those days, but now they are very few having all been killed by the civilised people and also the Corannas. Jan Bloom gave the Bushmen but few cattle. They had no chiefs when they went on a commando to steal cattle; a chief was appointed for the time being and when the commando returned he was discharged. They selected a man that was brave in order to be ready to fight if they were pursued. He was about fourteen years of age when he went on the commando of Bloom.

In that time there was much more water in the Kuruman than at present, also in all the other rivers; all ran. There were more springs also in those days;

¹ A local Bushman who was being questioned by Smith.

² Near Postmasburg.

Griqua Town's spring was also very strong. There were rhinoceros, elephants, buffalo, etc. in those times about Griqua Town. Bushmen in those times lived on the south of the river. Says he always heard the Caffers lived in the district of Phillipolis but he never saw them. Had no cattle in those times; says the Bushmen never had cattle from old times. If they stole cattle they always eat them up; they would not keep them to breed because being other men's cattle they were afraid that the owners would come and retake them. They did not purchase their wives [but] carried them [off] by force; would repair to a house and take a girl by force; nevertheless the woman and her parents were averse to it. They sometimes fought in consequence of carrying them away so. They pursue the same system now where they live apart. They had sometimes two wives; part used to run away to the old people, part remained.

28 FEBRUARY (SATURDAY).

The Bushmen will not keep cattle nor goats because if one party have them there is immediately a commando made by some others to take them away. When the district of one set of Bushmen has not had rain they go to a district which has had rain and live with them for a time till their district gets rain, then they return. When berries are ready in a district all repair there; one district's people must not hunt in another's district, else they have war over it, taking away life. If an old sensible man be present he may perhaps be able to prevent murders, but if only young people, and any object is to be found, they hesitate not for a moment; they think nothing about killing a person, one of their own or of strangers. Ever since

he can remember it has always been a feeling amongst Bushmen that if a Caffer can be got in the hand he must be murdered. They have always had a sort of respect for civilised people and would not generally murder them. The Caffers are more brave; they always conquer the Bushmen. The Bechuanas are always overcome by the Bushmen.¹ The Bushmen invariably murdered Corannas whenever they had an opportunity and the feeling was great against the Caffers and Corannas by the old Bushmen. The Bushmen cannot regard a person with good feelings who endeavours to establish a friendship between them and any other people; they consider that such friendship is only calculated to work their destruction; they prefer to live at enmity and then they are perpetually on their guard against everybody. The Bushmen are in the habit of burying an infant or one which is yet nursing with its mother; if she dies they place the child alive in the same hole. When there is great want of food they sometimes leave their children in the field to die of hunger. When a Bushman happens to be killed on a commando, his bow and string are burnt but they save the arrows. [They are] afraid that the sweat of the man which may have dried on the bow may injure them. The string is burnt on purpose that the sons shall not be so unlucky. They put something in the nostrils when they work with a dead man to prevent them inhaling the smell of the dead; [they] think it might cause their death. They say that they cut women or men open because the Coranna kill and do so to Bushwomen as they get them; perhaps drive a piece of wood into the vagina and leave her lying so.

¹ Possibly because of their poisoned arrows, which the Tswana did not understand. Compare Maingard, L. F., *Bantu Studies*, Johannesburg, 1932, Vol. vi, No. 2, p. 114.

Before he was born he has heard from old people that Caffers lived about Griqua Town and Wittewater, and stone kraals were there when the Grikwas first arrived. The Bushmen and Caffers were to a certain extent intermixed in old times. The holes which they made about Wittewater¹ to catch game used to be examined by the Bushmen, and if any game [was] in them they used to take them; they also began to steal from the Caffers, and from the latter the Caffers fled back with nothing. He says that the Bushmen were the first to break the peace. He says that he has heard when young from the old people that the Bushmen were the first inhabitants of the country, and that the Caffers came into the country and seized the best places and over that the wars originated. Never since his time had the Bushmen cattle, nor he ever heard from the oldest men that any of them had had cattle; that their habit was wherever they saw them they killed the people in charge and took away the cattle.

[They] have a tradition that the Bushmen came out of a hole near White Water and there was an appearance of a foot path which the old people used to say the devil made for the Bushmen to walk upon. The locusts and honey bees also came out of that hole. They think the devil made the road as they have been so unlucky. They think the snakes also came out of the hole at Wittewater.

The *Euphorbia* juice with the dried poison of snakes and the gall of a certain snake mixed up is used for making their poison. They prefer the . . .²

¹ About 18 miles south-west of Griquatown.

² Word missing; it is *spough*, or 'spitting.' See Smith, A., *Illustrations of the Zoology of South Africa*, London, 1838, Reptilia.

slang *cobra capil*;¹ they mix the eggs of spiders and their heads also.

The Bushmen of this side used to visit those on the south of the Orange River and there, they say, [are] prettier women than at home. Then they make a commando and carry her off. It is first agreed upon who shall have the women. The Bushmen from the Colonial side used also to retaliate in the same way.

David Hume,² a trader, has certainly been farther to the north in the longitude of Latakoo than any other person who has returned. He visited the clan called Bamangwato and was informed by the chief that there was a very large river about five days to the north of him, where his uncle with another portion of the clan was living; that the portion he (the informant) was with had emigrated from the uncle's party. He said none of the people knew what was on the other side of the river; they could indistinctly see sandy flats but whether these were inhabited or not they could not say. Before he arrived at the Bamangwato country he had to cross a large river like the Vaal River, and on reaching it he travelled 11 days down it. Its course was to the east, and to the east of where he turned back [he] saw a range of very high mountains, running, he thinks, about N.N.E. Hume with 27 shooters were behind Masalakatzie on a hunting expedition at the time Barend attacked him. One night whilst the commando was in the vicinity, a large party of Masalakatzie's people were sent to attack Hume's party and had actually encircled them.

¹ *Cobra da capello*.

² David Hume, with another traveller named Hugh Millin, visited the Northern Transvaal about the beginning of 1833. Their report caused great excitement in Cape Town, and led directly to the formation of the Association which sponsored Smith's Expedition. See Steedman, A., *Wanderings and Adventures in Southern Africa*, London, 1835, Vol. ii, p. 145.

Some of the men had gone out to a pool to watch rhinoceroses, and some arriving they fired upon them. This led the Caffers to fancy that they were surrounded by Hume's party instead of the party being surrounded by them, and they instantly fled. A day or two after Masalakatzie sent two red oxen for sale and also a message that all was well with them; that they must leave the country in peace. Hume knew nothing of his hairbreadth escape till he went in again next year, when he was told of it by the people, who laughed at their mistake. The party having passed the next day a large post of cattle and having neither disturbed men nor cattle inclined Masalakatzie to believe that they were not in any way connected with the commando, and led him to send the message as stated. When Barend's commando was attacked the cattle were all lying on one side of the party, and the first thing the party did was to drive them upon the Griquas and to intermix themselves with them and strike every man they could get at. The Buchuanas who were forming part of the commando were on the other side, and they immediately fled in amongst the Griquas, hence all was confusion. Masalakatzie had a gun which was taken on that occasion with the ball just about a finger's length down the barrel.

From the Black River as far as this place one of the most common birds has been the *Columba capensis*. In places where the water is scanty it may during the whole day be procured in great abundance by placing a person near to the water; sometimes a dozen will arrive together [to] drink, which they do very quickly and vanish instantly. There always appears on those occasions to be more males than females. All the *Fringillidae* seem to be very partial to water and

regularly during hot weather repair to it several times in the course of the day to drink. The *Pterocles tachypetes* in the morning and afternoon in large flights constantly screaming as they fly; they also drink quickly and are immediately on the wing again.

The *Pterocles bicinctus* was found to the west of the Kuruman at all the water places. The drinking time for this species is in the dusk of the evening and seldom more than two or three arrive at once without noise; they rest but for an instant and then fly again. About the missionary institution at Kuruman the kuikenduif is often seen; more seldom at the lower place and from thence scarcely at all.

Masalakatzie is very particular in his inquiries relative to [the] Colony and when answers are not given to questions in a direct manner he will smile and slyly look to his old men and grin. He will never eat before he has washed, even when with Hume, till nearly 12 o'clock. One day without having eaten he was offered a basin of coffee, an article which he particularly admired; he refused, saying he could not eat not having washed that day. Should he be without his kaross.¹ One of the principal points in Masalakatzie's policy is to gain the confidence of a tribe he intends to attack and then when that is in his opinion secured he falls upon it. To ensure that, he is in the habit of sending friendly messages or even a wife to the chief. The messages generally convey his pretended respect and friendship, and information that though he has attacked such and such persons they may sleep easy. That as has already been stated was done to Mohatla.²

¹ Smith started a new topic here, but stopped. He recommences it in the next paragraph.

² Chief of the Huruthse, driven from Mosega by Mzilikazi; for Mosega see map.

immediately before he attacked him, and several other similar instances have been mentioned to me. The chiefs are all now so well acquainted with his plans that they consider themselves always in most danger when, if they were to credit him, they are most secure. Sibiqua is also a great tyrant amongst his people and puts more of his subjects to death than Masalakatzie does. It is only three years ago that Masalakatzie got to know Ramapip, and Kama,¹ the Baquana² chief, acted as guide to a commando which went against the Bamangwato. Ramapip has lately taken the cattle of the Bamangwato, and six men came out with Hume to go to Masalakatzie to request his assistance against them. He sent a commando against him and destroyed him; also at the same time destroyed the Bamangwato. A portion of the tribes which attacked Takoon fled to the north and are now living beyond the Bamangwato under the name of Mantaties; they have aprons like the Basutu and Backloqua.³

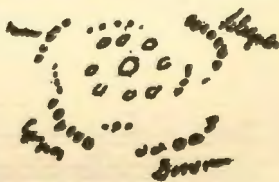
Should Masalakatzie happen to be without his kaross and wish it, a servant goes off and brings it in a basket and places it on the ground a little distance from him. Another man goes, takes it out and puts it over his shoulders. He then stands up and arranges it himself. If he wants beer, a little girl, said to be his daughter, brings it in a basket and presents it upon her knee; when in that position she first tastes it and then he drinks it. He has a son about fifteen or sixteen years of age; he lives at a kraal apart from his father [and] has charge of it, and all at that kraal are boys of about the same age as himself.

¹ Khama.

² Kwena.

³ Tlokwa.

Every year the entire of the boys are collected together and all about ten years of age are turned out and set apart to form a new post. They are told that they have charge of the cattle and are to defend them, though that is not really intended, the kraal being formed between some of the other posts. They are not required when of that age to go on commandoes, but when about sixteen they go out under the charge of an old man, and when of this age they are said to fight equal to the grown up men. His posts are placed with considerable regularity. His own kraal is nearly in the centre of his country, and then his principal soldiers are placed round him in posts not very distant from each other and no one of them more than an hour's walk from his kraal. At these posts his best cattle and those for breeding are kept; outside of those again are placed posts about nine in number in each direction where he fears the approach of any enemies. Thus in the direction of Kuruman he has eight or nine posts, in the direction in which the Griquas can approach him eight or ten, in the direction of Sabiqua a like number, and in the direction in which Dingan's commando approaches also a number. Each of these divisions have the different kraals so placed that they are within sight of each other. Between each of those posts in the openings he has small Buchuana kraals, but these are within the outer circle so :
At these outposts the worst cattle are kept. Masalakatzie will not eat of stolen cattle; he breeds cattle for his own use. Those taken in commandoes are employed for the



people. The kraal where his own cattle are kept is in one of the most secure parts of the country and scarcely any of the people are permitted to go near it, lest by their traces an enemy should discover it. His son has also his own cattle for breeding. Sibiqua acts in the same way in regard to his own private cattle. Masalakatzie has a brother who is a great rascal. His mother is still alive, and resides at one of his kraals ; she has more power than any of the people at the kraal. Masalakatzie's warriors always carry three hassegays, one a light one with a handle about the same length as the other ; this they throw with the finger. The other two they will not throw away ; they keep one in reserve lest the other break it.

When Masalakatzie's people arrive at his kraal from an outpost or from any other situation to report to him, they leave their hassegays and shields at a considerable distance from his kraal and approach within 100 yards of him, then stand still and scream out their tale ; perhaps at that distance he gives an answer [or] perhaps calls the man to approach. Should the communication have pleased the chief and he gives a pleasant answer, the reporter departs towards his shield and hassegay leaping, dancing and performing all sorts of antics.

The Buchuana dislike wagons approaching their habitations because they have discovered that Masalakatzie's commandoes have more than once followed their trails and attacked them. Heavy rain during the night.

I MARCH (SUNDAY).

Rain in the morning ; rest of day fine but cloudy
Prayers towards evening.

2 MARCH (MONDAY).

Pterocles, f.: top of head freckled black brown and buff, yellow over eyes, a buff yellow stripe below eyes and chin the same colour; back mantle, rump and tail coverts buff with a tint of gilded green; edges of feathers with white or pale buff spots; feathers towards quills brown black, back therefore a mixture of the three colours; shoulders gilded green, spotted with white, black near quills, but little seen; primary coverts black; secondaries towards centres brown mottled with white, tip and edges pure white; primary quill feathers brown, shafts towards quills white, some of the innermost tipt with white; secondaries black brown, very faintly tipt with white; throat, breast and sides of neck pale rusty brown spotted with white; belly white freckled with rusty brown spots most scanty towards vent; under tail coverts pale buff white; tail feathers black with white bars and broad white tips, two middle ones greenish brown with imperfect rusty green bars and the tips of the same colour; legs rusty white; toes horn coloured with a reddish tint; claws black; eyelids livid; iris dark black brown; bill nearly black. Shot at Tsening and other waters in that direction. Resorts to drink in the mornings and generally in company with the common species. Its call is much weaker and a good deal resembling the *P. bicinctus*.

Started with the intention of visiting Langeberg and proceeded down the channel of the Kuruman River after its junction with the Matklarie.¹ During

¹ Matlowing River. See map.

this day's journey we found three holes dug by the Caffers in the bed of the river, the two first small, the third pretty large and all tolerably deep, the last about ten feet. The water contained in these holes had a dirty yellow green tinge and tasted of the ground. From the last water was drawn up to supply the oxen and poured into a hole dug in the ground to which three oxen were allowed to resort at a time. When approaching the watering place several Caffers were observed in the act of carrying away water, and when they observed us they threw away their utensils and fled with the utmost precipitation. Upon inquiring of them, some having been overtaken, the cause of their flight, they stated that since Sturman had visited them so often and killed so many of their companions they [were] always in dread, and also they feared visits of their own chiefs, they being in the habit of falling upon them and taking away their carosses or what property they might possess when they did not repair to the principal station with dried berries and skins, or did not attend during the time the corn was in ear to assist in keeping off the birds. One of them had been in that direction only a few weeks before and had entered their houses and carried away whatever he could find. Sometimes when they take the articles above mentioned the chief in return will give them a few inches of tobacco. This year there have been few berries and their own wants actually urged them to consume them themselves. It has always been the custom for the chiefs to exact from the poor people lying remote from their habitation such services. After considerable difficulty we procured an old man to act as guide to the mountains. He was

very restless during the night and did not, till next morning, when I gave him some tobacco and food, appear to get rid of suspicions as to what might be our intentions.

3 MARCH (TUESDAY).

Started at daylight and left the channel of the Kuruman in order to cross the sand flats lying between us and Langeberg. After advancing about 4 hours reached a small hill composed of black iron stone and at one extremity of it found sufficient water in a hole in the rock to supply a drink for the oxen and water for ourselves. Here we also found several poor Caffers in the neighbourhood all equally alarmed as those of last night; from them we heard a similar tale as to their fears. In the afternoon we proceeded to near a vley which we were told contained a tolerable supply of water. In consequence of the depth of the sand and the quantity of camel trees¹ and hack dorns² we made but slow progress having to pursue a very winding course. After dark observed a fire on the top of a ridge which separated us from the vley. Traces of cameleopards were observed amongst the trees of the valleys which must have been from a very late visit of these animals. They do not require water. Three wildebeasts seen and some of the common jackal heard at night. The iron stone hill on the flat is called Linchana,³ which means knowl.

The Caffers who are living in this direction subsist principally upon a species of *Cucumis*, perhaps *C.*

¹ Kameeldoorn (*Acacia giraffae*).

² Haakdoorn (*Acacia detinens*).

³ *Lentswana*, a small hill. This hill is now called Ysterberg. See map.

prophelarum, which they roast in the ashes and when ripe it tastes not unlike roasted apples, [and] is very juicy and well calculated to quench thirst; they also eat the Caffer water melon which sometimes grows in considerable abundance. Both of these fruits when not ripe are very bitter. Rained heavily during the afternoon in the neighbourhood of the mountains. The Langeberg mountains are called Majun.¹

4 MARCH (WEDNESDAY).

Soon after daylight proceeded to the vley where we found abundance of tolerable water in a hollow having a bed of sandstone of a recent formation. Some of our Caffers went off in search of the people, and after some trouble found the kraal with the men preparing to start and the women all gone. From them we heard the like accounts as from the others.

Here we found several of the *Pluvialis* with blue head, described page 137.²

Several of the Caffers who came to us at the vley had bundles of young locusts with them, and whilst sitting by us were employed in devouring them. They had previously boiled them and now they only pulled the legs off and eat the remainder; some also removed the head, others not; they appeared very tasteless and dry, so that to afford nourishment sufficient to support existence they must eat a great quantity. They are passed nearly as eaten. Extremely hot about ten or eleven o'clock and continued on till late in the afternoon. The early part of the evening is also very warm arising from the radiation of the

¹ *Mantsweng*, the locative of *mantruw*, on the mountains.

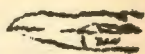
² This apparently refers to a special note-book; page 137 of the MS. has no description of this bird.

heat received during the day, then the light airs there may be are cool. Towards the Langebergen the Baclaru lived in olden times and it was in this district that they lost all their cattle through Clas Dryer. The poor Caffers now inhabiting this country eat the hyaena, jackal [and] lion; will not eat the horse because they think it is like eating of their own fellow men, it being a tame creature.

Kodoes occur about the small hillocks. *Copris* and other insects which work with the excrement of animals and man generally approach from the leeward side and it is not long after a deposit of that kind takes place till all is removed. When it happens to be so liquid that it cannot be rolled off pure they mix it up with sand in order to give it sufficient consistency. Obtained a viper with a single horn over each eye yesterday; very ferocious. The steenboks of this district appear larger than those about Cape Town, and have invariably the black marking on the forehead. A springbok shot two days ago had short horns curved forwards so: the animal appeared full grown. Shot four specimens of *Tokus*¹: bill greenish yellow, upper mandible towards base with some clouds of brown, part of lower mandible horn coloured; eyes light yellow; legs and toes black. *Lanius excubitor*: eyes dark brown; legs, toes, bill and claws black; when vexed falls upon its back and claws like a hawk. *Otus perlatus*: eyes fine yellow; cere a livid dull green with yellowish minute clouds; bill light greenish yellow; toes a sort of buff yellow; claws black. *Vanellus calcopterus*: bill brown

¹ Specific name not given.

black, base of lower and edge of upper towards base between scarlet and lake, so : inside of edges of eyelids dull scarlet ; eyes dark brown ; legs lake, with a little red mixed with it ; toes brown red. *Ploceus socius* : bill livid blue, edge of upper and lower faint greenish yellow ; legs and toes pale horn colour clouded with light green and livid blue ; claws light horn coloured. A great number of this species form their nest under one roof which is built upon a thick branch of a camel thorn. The roof is formed of a strong coarse grass, and the nests which are constructed under it have their opening directed to the ground and placed vertically alongside of each other. Each year they appear to build a new tier which is interwoven below the other, so that after a number of years it assumes an immense magnitude. A section of it will exhibit somewhat the following appearance :



The thatch is put on in successive portions as the body of the nest deepens. The nests are constructed of a fine straw which is placed vertically around the entrance into the nest. It lays generally three eggs of dull white ground with minute numerous brown dots particularly towards the great end and sides.

Started after midday and about dusk reached a small vley containing abundance of fine water. Appel¹ early in the afternoon showed signs of sickness, coughed a good deal, and on his reaching the vley stood perfectly still with his head hanging, breathing hurried and expirations very hot, hinder part of body and limbs cold. These symptoms kept increasing till towards morning when he got very restless, and at last after lying for a few seconds got up, staggered and reeled about for a little, and then fell down and expired almost immediately. Considerable discharge of a frothy mucus from the nose and during the last hours of his life breathing very hurried and sonorous.

5 MARCH (THURSDAY).

Started at daylight and proceeded to the base of the Langebergen over and through abundance of trees and bushes. Here we found another large vley with fine water. These vleys only contain water after rains. Several Caffers living in the neighbourhood; all the women had fled to the hills. Also a kraal of Bushmen which lay near this place. Got the Caffer men to come to the wagon. After breakfast ascended the mountain, and from the summit saw the flats extending to the south-west, north and north-west, without hills in these directions. There are four vleys in this direction; on the west of hills no water. There used to be a well on the other side of one hill and in rainy weather there used to be water in it; for the last three years they have had so little rain that it is quite dry. The cattle when

¹ One of the oxen.

the Baclaru lived here always drank and¹ by the wells in the channel of the river. This is 7 days from the Orange River ; there is a second line of mountains beyond these and in them the Bushmen live. The Bushmen often kill their people when they visit them, and wish [for] hassegays or knives and do not get them. They generally have their revenge by killing those who refused them when they find them in the fields.

By the well mentioned [on] the other side of one of the hills Matsabaleli used to live and here it was where Sturman's party attacked those now lying by the vleys and killed ten. Sturman's reason for attacking them is he does not wish them to be situated upon the road which he must approach by, because they give information to those behind who have cattle and thereby enable them to receive them before he arrives. It was on his return that he killed them. Early in the morning they knew he was in but they expected he would return the regular road and were watching for him upon it. He took a byway and came upon them quite unexpectedly, and the men with firearms crept close to the kraal and fired upon them. William Jochim who was resident near the Langeberg together with Class Dryer and Sturman were engaged in plundering the Batclaru. Sturman formerly lived with Africaner and then was a goat-herd of Cornelius Kok. Soon after he left the latter he commenced plundering the natives. In consequence of having heard so many shots they fled from us, it appearing to them to be a commando and that it must be Sturman ; from its having been

¹ Word undecipherable.

a rainy season they expect him. On the last commando of Sturman's ten men were on horseback and a great party on foot consisting of Bushmen and Corannas. The Bushmen had arrows, the Corannas partly arrows, partly guns. [On] the three first commandoes he got cattle, the 4[th] none, the last only a few goats. They are not ordered to reside here by their chief, but prefer it to a life of servitude without any property at the kraals. They sometimes follow the steenbok for days together till they at last tire it out and then they kill it. The descendants of the earlier chiefs become in time the servants of the reigning families.

Retd. $\frac{1}{2}$ way to fley and reached¹

6 MARCH (FRIDAY).

Started at daylight and reached the vley first approached. New species of *Pterocles*: male, eyelids and space round eye yellow; female, livid bluish; eyes dark brown; bill black; toes above pale horn colour, with a pinky or reddish tint; toes of female greenish yellow tinge or horn colour. This species resorts to waters in the morning with the common species; make a noise like the *bicinctus*.

Soon after our arrival at the vley a number of men, women and children arrived to carry off water to their kraals for the day's consumption. The vessels were ostrich eggs. Some few had bags of skin with the hairy side inwards and formed like the kanapsacs² of the colonists. The eggs, when full, they pack in a net or springbok skin and by two

¹ No name given.

² Knapsacks.

rims,¹ one at each end, they fastened them over the shoulders like a soldier's napsack. Some carried fourteen or fifteen eggs. The side of the net or skin which lay next the shoulders was lined with dry grass to keep off any portion of water that might escape between the vley and the house. The sacks were carried in the same way. The water was poured into these by the upper shell of a tortoise. The net was formed of the bark of the *Mimosa*.

The skin of the sociable weaver bird is very loose on the body and therefore easily skinned; it eats insects. They breed twice at least in a year [and] have eggs at present. There is generally each alternate nest without eggs, probably for the visit of the males during the night.

The Caffers all use umbrellas made with ostrich feathers. They must put great value upon the ostrich eggs because when one gets cracked they take the greatest trouble to render it watertight, which they do with a sort of bulb burnt in the fire and then wrought tough between the fingers.

Vanellus calcopterus was perched on a tree when it was shot. The koran, *Plocus*² and larks were also building.

Left vley about 4 p.m. and travelled about half to the puts³ in the Kuruman. Towards evening heavy thunder and rain.

This day three specimens of *Corvidae* procured, all females; were five together, made a chattering noise. Also one of the white birds with black wings

¹ Riems.

² Specific name and word following are undecipherable,

³ Well,

figured by Sir Wm. Jardine¹ from Cape. Latter, eyes [?] as in drawing, eats caterpillars, worms, etc.; *Corvidae*, insects.

7 MARCH (SATURDAY).

After travelling three hours this morning reached the puts; scarcely any water. About 11 started and reached Tsening² with a fresh span of oxen which had been sent to meet us this morning. Those which had been with the wagon much tired by the sands. Stated my determination to attempt the Kalahary.

8 MARCH (SUNDAY).

The guide came and stated that he had just learnt that Mahura was about to attack his tribe and that he must go back; also that his father had told him that if we intended to go into the Kalahary he must not go. The latter was what frightened him, the other was a mere story got up to introduce the subject of his intention. Prayers towards evening.

9 MARCH (MONDAY).

Saw several men who had lately left Queis³ according to their account from want of water. Queis lies upon the Takoon River. Got a new guide. Lachacanie⁴ was once a place where there was water on the other side of Chue. These men stated that there had been no rains in the Kalaharey for several years,

¹ Sir William Jardine (1800-1874), a distinguished Scottish naturalist.

² At the junction of the Kuruman and Matlaring Rivers. See map.

³ See footnote 6 on p. 284.

⁴ Lohohane Hill, close to Maubel Hill (*v. infra*).

and that all the waters were dried up from Machua¹ or Marrebing² to Mobil³ two days on foot. Mobil was the water where Mr. Le Mermu⁴ turned back. They say that there is a small but high hill close to where the water used to rise. Reached Kooroo⁵ about $\frac{1}{2}$ past seven. The water here is in wells and that but in small quantity. Several Caffers with cattle in the neighbourhood. A party of Barolongs who had been residing here with cattle moved off towards Tsening, there not being sufficient water; the vleys all dry where [a] party of them used to drink.

10 MARCH (TUESDAY).

This morning a little water had collected in the wells but scarcely sufficient to supply the wants of our oxen. Endeavoured to enlarge the opening through which the water issued, but the quantity did not appear to increase. Last night the therm. fell to 55; during yesterday it stood at 98 in the shade. At 12 to-day several of our young oxen would not descend to the water.

At 2 p.m. started for Morrebing⁶ and travelled ten hours; halted one hour to rest the oxen, the road being so very sandy that they appeared after travelling four hours almost exhausted. Before the last halt

¹ Mashowing River.

² Madebing, at the junction of the Mashowing and Kgokgole Rivers.

³ Maubel Hill, 45 miles N.W. of Madebing.

⁴ Rev. Prosper Lemue.

⁵ Kuru, or the Wells, a few miles north of Dikalong, on the Kuruman River. There is a large cluster of wells at this spot.

⁶ At the junction of the Mashowing and Kgokgole Rivers. The Madebing Native Reserve is close to the spot. See map.

one ox fell, perfectly exhausted, in the yoke ; several others were nearly in the same predicament. Came to a halt at 2 midnight, and started again at $\frac{1}{2}$ past five. During the journey to the water several oxen gave up and required to be changed ; want of water perhaps even more than the labour was the cause. On the sides of the road observed a number of small ditches dug to catch locusts, and near them old fireplaces where they had been cooked and eaten by Caffers journeying from Morrebing to Tsening. At the former we found a fine supply of good water, and it was pleasing to see how the oxen enjoyed a draught of it ; scarcely were they unyoked till they fled towards it even though they could not see it from the place the wagons halted. Dogs, men and horses were equally anxious to drink ; indeed it would have been difficult to say which was most alert in the pursuit of water.

11 MARCH (WEDNESDAY).

A kraal consisting of poor Caffers live a little way up the river from the water pool ; amongst them all have only one goat. No Bushmen in this country nor never have been. [They] make holes for game near water-places ; two sorts, one narrow and oblong, one round. The latter they cover with grass and soil ; the oblong they leave partly open and place a piece of wood pointed at the extremity in the bottom and those are covered also. The open ones force the game over the others to avoid them. When game [is] abundant some fall in almost daily, quaggas, springbok, wildebeast, etc. The young locusts cause pains in the belly.

Had conversation with a chief of the Baclaru living here. He acknowledges all the benefits of Kuruman, and says that those that lie remote from the town are regarded as dogs. Has cows and pack oxen at Kuruman; lets them remain there for fear that they might be stolen if here. Says he has heard that the missionaries have a church at the Kuruman but does not know what takes place there; no person has ever told him. He means to go there, then he will go to church as he must also hear and understand what the people there understand. Does not know Sunday; has heard that Sunday is not a day for work. Several years past men said they would make rain and it never came; now this year they were afraid to continue their promises, therefore no one pretended they would make it, nevertheless it has come abundantly.

The *bulabul*¹ hisses strongly and from the description given of it, it is much like the puff-adder. They take out the fat to soften their karosses; they skin this snake and soften it by rubbing, then place it round any part that is diseased, sometimes the breast, stomach, etc. One of them bit a dog yesterday and it died immediately. It often enters the huts of the natives and gets under their karosses. It is very lazy, hence the name which implies its laziness. [It] bites men and causes death in a very short time.

An old man about 55 years of age states that when he was about 16 years of age both the Kuruman and Maclare Rivers had abundance of water; when low, to the knee, when full, very deep so that people

¹ Zulu *ibululu*, the puff-adder.

could not pass them. Used in hunting the buffalo to drive him to the river and he invariably stuck fast in the mud; since about that time the river has not flowed. In those days had abundance of rain. The Machua also was a running river in those times and when they all met they ran off in a large stream to the Orange River by Africaner's place. Water has been getting more scarce every year. They eat the water tortoise.

After having travelled on Tuesday night till 2, we halted till daylight and then proceeded to Merebin. The number of hours from Kooro to Merebin, $15\frac{1}{2}$.

12 MARCH (THURSDAY).

At 5 o'clock p.m. started from Merebin and travelled $6\frac{1}{2}$ hours, then halted for the night. Road hard for some distance from the water, then over heavy sand. Several herds of springboks and quaggas seen toward dusk. Two snakes caught during the night, one a puff-adder, which is the *bulabul* of the Caffers; it appears a variety of the Cape species. The colour is brown grey instead of yellow, and the black marks are not so deep. It has no black markings on the belly. Has somewhat the appearance of being about to change its skin; to this may be owing the colour, though the Caffers say it is always of the same tints. Penis double and each again towards front subdivided into two, both thickly set with white prickles, large towards base, small towards extremity. The other was the snake with white eyebrows and brown above, *vide* drawing.¹

¹ I cannot trace this drawing.

13 MARCH (FRIDAY).

Started at daylight and reached Chue after travelling about 6 hours ; Road over a heavy sand. But little water in vley. A number of Caffers living in the district around the vley, partly Baclaru, partly Baralong and partly Bakalaharie ; the latter have left Mobil in consequence of the water having disappeared. The natives say that the same thing is taking place in every direction and that the water melons, etc., are also getting scarce.

14 MARCH (SATURDAY).

During last night some quaggas came to drink at the water near which we were outspanned. Early this morning a fine male wildebeast was shot and last evening a young one.

Several Caffers from the neighbouring kraals visited us to-day and were all extremely anxious for tobacco, also that we should kill some game for them. One brought a species of guanna which he caught under some rocks and requested beads for it. States that there is another species in this country which is smaller than this and also lives amongst rocks. Most of the people residing here appear half-starved and doubtless they are so. Two messengers from the Baralong chief passed this two days ago to call in the people to assist in keeping off the birds from the corn.

Towards evening several quaggas approached the water but turned off when they discovered our

wagons. Baboons inhabit the rocks near which we are lying; young ones were heard screaming as if hurt by the old ones during the whole of the night.

Tennant was not required on watch last night though warned for it and he objected to going on to-night.

Falco biarmicus attends regularly by the water and is often seen pouncing upon the *Pterocles* which come to drink. The rhinoceros has entirely left this district. The cameleopard, still here though not very abundant, seldom resorts to the water to drink during the season in which the trees are green.

Had some conversation with several persons who had been on a commando to the Damaras. They all agree in stating that the Matclama¹ are of a much darker complexion than the Caffers, almost quite black and that they speak a quite different language. They are people who keep entirely to themselves and are very ferocious when attacked or plundered of their cattle. They describe their hassegays as already mentioned; each had one, five karies and two wooden arrows, one on each hip. Their bow is about 6 feet long. They rush upon their enemies, strike with the karies, stab with the hassegay or cut the throat. No shields. Wear sheepskins round the middle somewhat like the Basutu. From Mobil to [the] vley where Malala resided for a time, 9 days; from thence to Damaras, 4 days. Do not cultivate corn; live entirely on flesh and milk; hair soft and anointed with fat.

¹ Damara, or Herero.

15 MARCH (SUNDAY).

Prayers towards evening. Several Caffers visited our encampment during the day.

16 MARCH (MONDAY).

The kuikenduif eats young locusts. The Caffers roast the locust in a small ditch which they make in the sand, when it is filled with them they cover them with sand and kindle a fire over it. When the wood is burnt and enough of ashes have been formed they mix them, ashes and hot sand together, till they are thoroughly roasted, then divide them, place them in bags and carry them off. Dakka¹ has from time immemorial been known to the Caffers; [they] are very partial to smoaking it. Those that can procure both tobacco and dakka snuff the former and smoak the latter. They smoak it through water. An eland's horn is filled with water; a hole is made on one side and into it a reed is fastened which is connected with the pipe containing the dakka. When ready to be used they insert the lips into the large extremity of the horn and inspire; the smoak rises into the mouth which is previously filled with water from a separate vessel. The water prevents the smoak from proving too irritating. In the absence of a pipe they smoak it through wet ground with water in the mouth. In making the latter they wet clay or sand, [and] form it into a convex ridge. From one extremity they introduce a cylindrical piece of wood the length of the ridge, then form a

¹ *Leonotis leonurus*.

vertical cup which communicates near one extremity and a small vertical opening towards the other. Into the cup they introduce the dakka and place some live coals upon it. As soon as it begins to burn they place the mouth in contact with the small opening and draw the breath in so as to get the smoak along the tube. The Barolongs are partial to smoaking dakka. Mateebie and some of the Batclapin chiefs smoaked much of it and got sick therefrom; they then told their people they must not smoak it. Since that little has been used.

No. 101 D. Head more or less green, about the tympana usually bluish green but changes colour; two transverse yellow white stripes across top of head and a third indistinct across hindhead; round eyes light vermillion red and yellow; chin blue green with longitudinal waved whitish lines; belly white, or white with undulating pale reddish longitudinal lines; body red brown, variously clouded with blackish, and along the centre of back a whitish or ash white band broadest at hindhead where it commences and where it is circular in front; along the middle of it a line of short spines curving backwards, most distinct on neck; on sides two or three curving rows of elevated spinous points formed by the points of some larger scales; 10 or 11 anal pores; tail reddish white or yellowish white beneath, back and sides same colour or a little more brownish with imperfect blackish rings; legs red brown with transverse reddish white bars; eyes dark brown. A male: darkest the colours after changing their skin in the month of March; tail long and tapering; change colour to a considerable extent.

The rock iguana: liver light sandy red; three lobe gall bladder, subpyriform; gall duct entering intestines about an inch from pylorus; intestines about.¹ inches long; first nine, thick and flabby; inner coat very villous; last thin, and from inner coat slightly villous; stomach: outer coat semi-cartilaginous, cellular, and middle coat fine, inner glandular, like so; eats insects. Larva of *Papilio*, etc., vide  drawing of internal parts. Book.

During the early part of the day a very hot wind blew from the S.S.E., and whenever the wind blows from that quarter the Caffers state that it is always suffocating and warm. From the west the wind is always cool. [They] say that in the Kalaharie the heat is extreme and that even during the nights it is so great as scarcely to be borne, the bush being so close that no wind gets through it. Thermometer averaged during the days we have been here in the shade 90 and 60 during the night.

17 MARCH (TUESDAY).

Algyra No. III: head pale yellowish brown with a faint greenish tint; back and upper part of sides brownish red with two interrupted lines of a greyish tint along centre of back and one of the same colour along each side of back, (perhaps the centre line is only single but slightly divided by some brown red spots which are placed at [a] distance from each other along its middle lateral lines) spotted with dull white; some indistinct white spots also on brown red of

¹ Number not decipherable.

sides, under the brown red of sides a red dull vermillion line and above its upper edge a line of roundish white spots; fore legs grey brown mottled with white faintly towards toes in particular, toes light greenish brown; beneath red lines mottled with minute blackish dots; belly¹ with a faint reddish tinge; under tail same; hinder lip greenish with a reddish tinge; under and hinder surfaces of both legs as belly; tail above grey with some white spots along side towards base and two rows of brown reddish with green tinge and dotted with black near root; towards tip of tail brown; scales of top of head with raised edges; edges of upper lips variegated with black; scales of back carinated and pointed and imbricate; of belly smooth and imbricated; tail carinated in whorls; tail long and tapering; pupil with a reddish yellow ring, rest of iris brown. Female, nearly the same; the female in drawing² is apparently a variety. Along centre of back a line of square brown spots generally edged on each side with a dull white spot, on each side of that a row of dark brown spots in a clear reddish brown band, and outside of that a row of dull white spots, outside of them again an indistinct blackish line; rest of back and sides of body greyish with brown tints; along underpart of sides towards head a continual whitish line which on body gets discontinued and forms spots; beneath that dull reddish; on sides of neck another white line as far as fore legs; belly pale rosy white tint, brown grey above with some white spots on sides and two rows of blackish ones on back near root; upper lips on

¹ Word undecipherable.

² I cannot trace this drawing.

sides a little mottled with brown; femoral pores distinct both in males and females; bites with great violence for its size; edges of scales on top of head also raised; fore legs curd brown; hinder legs grey with a reddish tint showing through it and everywhere indistinctly spotted with dull white. *Hirudo* (Chue): dark olive green with 7 light grass green lines, one along middle of back, two on sides narrower, and one on each side below them more inclined to yellow and broader, along lines small elevated dots; broad anus; head small. Attaches itself to the limbs of men who happen to walk in the water. Much feared by the natives [who] say it penetrates the skin and works itself entirely into the flesh. If pulled when in that occupation it breaks and leaves the head in, which festers.

About 4 p.m. started for Takoon; travelled three hours and then halted to rest the oxen, the road from it being over a deep sand, being very fatiguing.

18 MARCH (WEDNESDAY).

Started at $\frac{1}{2}$ past ten last night and travelled till 7 a.m. of the 18. Road still the same; oxen were very much fatigued when we halted. At 4 p.m. moved on again in order to reach the water with as little delay as possible, the oxen evidently suffering greatly from thirst. The thermometer during the early and middle part of the day in the shade 97. At sunset halted till $\frac{1}{2}$ past eleven and then proceeded along the channel of the Mashua. Both oxen and people suffering dreadfully from the want of water; many of the latter walked off several miles in search of it but without success. About 3 a.m. of the 19 dis-

covered 2 large pools in the bed of the river enough for all; here we halted. The oxen when unyoked rushed to the pools with such violence that it was found quite impossible to keep them from traversing every part of them, though ten or twelve persons were labouring to keep one portion undisturbed for the use of the people. Much difficulty was experienced in getting them away after they had had moderate draughts, and the moment I judged it safe to permit them to have a second drink the men which were between them and the water from which they would not depart were called off and again with violence they rushed to the pools. On this occasion I permitted them to satisfy themselves and they left of their own accord. During the day nothing but spleen and ill-humour was evinced by most of the members of the party almost all declaring that if they were in the Colony again they would never leave it. As soon as they got a full supply of water laughing was heard in every quarter and their wonted spirits appeared to have returned.

19 MARCH (THURSDAY).

Yesterday discovered a nest of the *Estrilda granatina* in a waght - en - beetjie bosch,¹ vide drawing.² It is externally formed of the tops of the grass which abound in the neighbourhood coarsely put together and covered over with the entrance on one side [and] lined inside with feathers. It contained two young ones. Alongside of the stem of the same bush was the nest of a guinea fowl

¹ Wag 'n bietjie bos.

² I cannot trace this drawing.

containing 11 hatched eggs; straw was placed in a hollow in the ground and upon that the eggs were lying. *Carduelis squamatus* nest also found on a bush containing two young ones; also covered over like [that of] the *Estrilda* and composed of the same materials. *Geko*, No. 110, female: colour above light brownish red finely variegated on head by minute dark black brown specks or clouds and by reddish white ones on back by larger clouds of same, the reddish white often spangled with dark spots and sometimes edged with the same dark colour; tail light yellowish red imperfectly banded with dark brown, the latter deepest and most abundant on sides nearly forming a continuous longitudinal line; legs mottled dull brownish and pale reddish yellow or reddish white; sides of lower jaw pale reddish white with indistinct vertical dark purple stripes; eyes greenish metallic with a fine yellow circle round pupil; pupil vertical oval; cheeks reddish white clouded with dusky about 4 inches long beneath dull white paint colour; two minute but distinct white warts on each side of base of tail just behind anus; toes of hinder feet distinctly fringed with a row of spinous points curved towards nails on five toes; also, but much less distinct, under toes a row of transverse single plates with minute scales towards edges; anal pores distinct. The *Algyra* eats locusts, bites other lizards with great ferocity, [and] is in its turn eaten by snakes; one taken out of the stomach of a *Jaculus* yesterday morning. Passed amongst a clump of bushes perfectly covered with locusts same as found in the district of Philipolis. Some hours after sunrise they began to wing their course to the eastward. Wind very strong to-day from the

south of west. Two of the party suffering from colds caught some days ago.

Started about three p.m., and reached a vley in which the water of last year still stands, about six o'clock. Here Baralong's are lying with their cattle this year. Hitherto it has been one of Mahura's outposts but from his having moved this year to the south-east of Takoon the posts were established in that direction. The Caffers state that the Mashaua has been this year twice flooded, once very full, but in two days it was quite dry. On that occasion it flowed to Merrebin; on the other occasion it did not reach that place. Heard that Maclaniani had returned from Masalacatzie with an answer to our message and accompanied by one of Masalacatzie's people, also that two wagons with soldiers had arrived at Takoon.

20 MARCH (FRIDAY).

Started at 2 o'clock a.m.; at that time very cold. Grass now begins to get more abundant and green. Mr. B[urrow] suffering from a slight dysenteric affection. Thermometer at 7 o'clock a.m. in the shade 55. About 6 a.m. the wind blew strong from the south-east and very cold; continued till about noon but then moderately warm. Got a specimen of the common black *Coluber*: faint ridges on scales of back a little behind head same as in the Colony. Appeared very anxious to procure a shade from the sun; would not rest an instant when at liberty exposed to the sun. *Agama*, No. 101, female: belly dead white much variegated as well as chin and throat with waved pale black bands uniting in a sort of

net work; has no anal pores; male has. *Gekos* No. 110 D. is found widely distributed. On the approach of night it begins to call out; during the day [it] remains quiet in holes in the sand. Found along the southern banks of the Modder River. Very common in the sandy districts between Kuruman and Chue; not so numerous as on the Modder River. Difficult to procure. Young ones have the tail ringed with black; most of the *Gekos* seem marked in this way whilst young, though they disappear when older. At 3 p.m. started and travelled till dark. Country began to assume a more interesting appearance, being slightly undulating and studded with camel thorns in pleasing groups. Wind from the eastward and very cold, towards dusk so much so as to make all fleg¹ the fires.

Chanane² was one of the chiefs of the Mantatees which attacked Takoon; all of them had the Basutoo dress and small shields.

21 MARCH (SATURDAY).

In consequence of there being no water between this and Motito we remained till midday and the oxen having drunk started and travelled to the latter where we arrived about 7 p.m. Encountered a most hearty welcome from Mr. and Mrs. Lemu. Grass very fine in every direction, and the grouping of the camel thorn and the other bushes rather picturesque.

Passed several nests of the *Plocus socius* upon the camel thorns.

¹ A Scots word meaning "kindle."

² Tawane. He was, however, a Rolong chief, Theal, G. M., *History of South Africa* (1834-1854), London, 1888, Vol. iii, pp. 321-323.

22 MARCH (SUNDAY)

At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 a.m., 1 p.m. and $\frac{1}{2}$ past seven p.m., Mr. Lemu performed divine service to a congregation of Caffers. The attendance was comparatively small in consequence of most of the inhabitants being of necessity absent in watching their crops. Not yet having a church built the service is performed out of doors on one side or other of the dwelling house according to the position of the sun; in the evening with the light of a candle. Several well dressed Caffers both men and women attended, also a considerable number of children were present on all the occasions.

23 MARCH (MONDAY).¹

A Baharootzie woman who fled lately from Masalakatzie being asked how she was able to get away without being retaken stated that during the day she slept in the bush and travelled in the night along the road leading to the Kuruman, knowing that Masalakatzie regarded that road as sacred and would not cause her to be pursued in that direction.

All the Caffers here are much alarmed in consequence of our arrival and several absented themselves from church on account of my being there. They stated when spoken to by Mr. Lemu that they were afraid of the captain of the soldiers and asked if I was not a person calculated to excite their fears.

¹ The date 23 March (Monday) has been inserted in the middle of the text at this point.

Mohura has a very difficult task in governing the people of his district; they are composed of the remnants of so many different tribes all having separate interests and all being eaten up with fear. If he reproves one of the people of another tribe they instantly state that he intends making a commando against them; the report gets rapid circulation, all are in consternation and nothing but death and destruction are expected for a time. This has several times happened and at present the Baclaroo are under apprehensions of that kind, though when I spoke to him on the subject he appeared perfectly surprised and declared that such an idea had never entered his mind. He said he had spoken to them and reproved them for leaving him without first stating to them his intentions, but never once hinted any intention of further interfering with them. Says that the poor Baharootzies and others of the ruined tribes are in great numbers towards the Molopo, and that they are constantly carrying off cattle from Masalakatzie, and that he fears their depredations will bring misfortune upon this part of the country.

The new koran with a pale rufous crest has reddish yellow eyes, dull blue white legs and toes, upper mandible dark horn coloured, lower livid blue.

Nevertheless I have so often given it to be understood that smoaking could not be tolerated in or close to the wagons, I observed Mr. Kift smoaking whilst seated upon his wagon chest. I have for a long time been tormented by the indifference of this member of the expedition; he has in every thing disregarded my instructions and I feel at last bound in a duty to the Association to endeavour to come to

an understanding with him as to his views and ideas. He as far as I can judge never exerts himself in the slightest degree to perform the duties entrusted to him. I have never known him take trouble to ascertain if a native had any article for sale and even the various trifling duties that I have required of him he has never as far as I know even attempted to perform. He appears to avoid any communication with me and if I require him to purchase any articles he never states when he has procured them or not. Once whilst proceeding on the road I sent a young ox to him which was offered to me for sale, and stated that I wished him to purchase it. He talked with the man [and] showed him the articles he had for exchange which necessarily caused the wagons to be halted. The man declined taking them, the ox was left standing, and upon inquiring why the wagons had remained stationary for nearly ten minutes after the man had declined selling his ox in consequence of my not knowing what was the result, I only learnt by making inquiries that the bargain had not been concluded and that Mr. Kift had been for a considerable time in his wagon. This took place on the 22 Jany. ult. In consequence of the indisposition of Mr. Burrow who follows Mr. Kift in the list I informed Mr. Ford that I should require him to be present tomorrow morning when it was my intention to have some conversation with Mr. Kift on the subject of his want of zeal in the discharge of his duties. I have reason to believe that Mr. Kift has even advised at least one of the members of the party to smook close to one of the wagons and when it was observed by Mr. B[urrow] that it was contrary to order he, Kift, remarked "What is the harm.?"

24 MARCH (TUESDAY).

Several chiefs of the different tribes arrived to-day and demanded the news. Mr. Lemu was present in one of the cattle kraals of the Batclapins when some women entered the kraal and one had shoes on. A man immediately addressed her and called to her recollection that she must not enter with shoes upon her feet. Spoke seriously to-day to Mr. Kift and all was settled; he declared he had no intention of acting improperly. This was in presence of Mr. Ford.

25 MARCH (WEDNESDAY).

After making the necessary arrangements in regard to the two wagons which were to remain at Motito, I started with the other two and the cart for Kuruman at 8 o'clock a.m. On reaching a small spring called Dorn Fonteyn¹ we halted to allow the oxen to drink and feed. I found that the distance between Chue and Motito by the road we travelled was 77 miles. Abundance of fine grass between Motito and Dorn Fonteyn. Mr. Lemu most kindly sent us a span of oxen to convey one of the wagons to Kuruman in order to admit of ours resting at Motito. Mrs. Lemu also insisted upon my taking a quantity of bread which she had prepared for me, and which was more than sufficient to serve us to the Kuruman. This is another instance of the great kindness and consideration which we have everywhere experienced at the hands of the amiable people employed in teaching

¹ See map. The position is approximate.

the gospel to the natives of the countries through which we have passed.

At 2 p.m. started and proceeded to the Macklareen¹ and from thence an hour farther; there halted. Much thunder and lightening to the west; a few drops of rain.

26 MARCH (THURSDAY).

At 2 a.m. started and reached Kuruman about 8 a.m. After breakfasting with Mr. Moffat sent for the messengers which went to Masalakatzie and the following is their statement.

They left Kuruman and proceeded to Motito and there got an additional message for Masalakatzie from Mohura which amounted to little or nothing. They came in communication with the first Matabeli at Mosega.² They were instantly recognised and a chief man came up and talked with them. He demanded their business and upon being informed that wagons had arrived at Kuruman but were not inclined to proceed to Masal. in consequence of the fate of Bain being known, till Mas. feelings were known. He, the chief, said that was good. They remained there for the day and next day the chief proceeded with them to Masalacatzie.

[No conversation took place relative to Bain's misfortunes. Some conversation took place amongst the people and them on the subject whilst resting at the kraal, and the Matabeli said the wagons had been seized because the people of the wagons had taken

¹ Matlowing River.

² Near Zendeling's Post, Transvaal. See map.

cattle. No questions were asked them about the expedition, it being a law that they must not enquire concerning news which is for Masalakatzie.]¹

Masalakatzie was living behind the Kurrechani mountains² and as the cattle were entering the kraal, on the second day after they left Mosegha they reached the kraal where Mas. was living. From Mosegha a man was dispatched on their arrival to inform Mas. of the news. When they reached the kraal Mas. was seated upon a small hill about 100 yards from the kraal. They left their guns and with the chief proceeded to him; some other man was with him. When they approached him he stood up and said "Hoe morgen."³ The first word he said is "You are a liar; where is Mr. Moffat? You come always to say Mr. Moffat will come and he does not come; therefore you are a liar." He then asked him where he came from. He had been so long absent but he was glad that he now saw him. He was then informed that it was his meaning to have accompanied Mr. Moffat when they were to cut wood,⁴ but hearing that Jan Bloom's commando was going in Mr. Moffat and all turned back. M. said that was no reason why Mr. M. should turn back; he, M., knows from what direction Jan Bloom came and that was not sufficient to make Mr. M. turn back. He contd. Mr. Moffat has no love for him; he has love for

¹ These square brackets are Smith's.

² The range to the north of Zeerust. Kurichani itself was near to what is now Enzelberg; it was at one time the chief town of the Huruthse. See Campbell, J., *Travels in South Africa* (Second Journey), London, 1822, Vol. 1, Ch. xx.

³ It does not follow that Mzilikazi spoke Dutch; it is more likely that this is what the interpreter said to Smith.

⁴ For the rafters of the Kuruman church. See Moffat, J. S., *The Lives of Robert and Mary Moffat*, London, 1885, pp. 180-181.

Mr. M. He has only once seen him and has love for him. He said he troubles nobody ; people trouble him yearly. Jan Bloom is every year there to take cattle. He never follows him ; all he does [is] to endeavour to retake his cattle. He cannot continue still and see his cattle taken from him. He said he, Maclaniani,¹ was again come to deceive him ; let him, M., see Mr. M. again. He had love for Mr. M. ; he must come in and I must also come in to let him see me. He knew that white people would take nobody's goods. Maclaniani said that was the truth. M. then observed that he wished to move towards Kuruman so that Mr. M. might assist him ; he cannot stand out so against the attacks of Jan Bloom. Maclaniani answered there is not water enough towards Kuruman for so many cattle as he had. He said then he would come and live here. Maclaniani gave the same answer as [at] first. He then repeated the same and said he would come and see Mr. Moffat but he was afraid the people would think it a commando as he could not come alone and on that account he could not visit Mr. M. M. then said "You can remain here a day or two and then go quickly back to Kuruman. I am very anxious to see Mr. M. and the wagons of the expedition can also come in." M. observed again that he was deceiving him. He had been twice there before to tell him that Mr. M. was about to visit him and Mr. M. had never done so ; if Mr. M. could not visit him he, Maclaniani, must always visit him and tell him the news. He, M., said he knew well from what side the commandoes came ; he always sent men to the Kuruman and one had been to Graham's Town ; all returned to him therefore he

¹ Matlhanyane.

knew he had friends in that direction. He asked how many persons were with the expedition. He, Maclanie, told him. He said that was many but nevertheless that was nothing; they did not come to injure him, they must come in. He said he had heard that there were white men with Dingan and he is anxious that white men shall also live with him.

He acknowledged that he had taken Bain's wagons, but he said he was with men who took his cattle and therefore he was equally guilty. He said his people who surrounded the wagons intended to ascertain whose wagons they were, but Bain's party fired too soon upon them. The wagons are at another kraal on this side of Masalakatzie and the loads yet in them. He sent the man who was dispatched with a message to the Kuruman to show the wagons to Maclaniani. The wagons are in charge of the chief who took them to M.; 6 wagons are there, 3 of the Bastards. The son of Peter David and the other two youths are with the wagons, the daughter¹ is at Masalakatzie's kraal; the other women try to teach her the Caffer language. Masalakatzie sits with her and appears very friendly. Maclaniani says he appears afraid in consequence of his having taken the wagons from Bain, nevertheless he was there; he could still see that he was afraid Mr. M. must go there. He is frightened in consequence [of] having heard that the cannon which the white people had were terrible instruments for destroying people, and that the Matabeli who were with Gibson² had told him that

¹ Triley. Her story may be read in Harris, W. C., *Wild Sports of Southern Africa*, London, 1839, p. 145.

² A trader who had visited Mzilikazi. He befriended Bain after the episode of the waggons. See Steedman, A., *Wanderings and Adventures in Southern Africa*, London, 1835, Vol. ii, pp. 242-243.

the white people were more numerous than the Matabeli. The man together with the chief and the messenger spoke together on the subject. The Matabeli seem to think that a commando will attack them in consequence of Bain's wagons. His intention was to have sent a chief but the one who had been first to Kuruman, and who according to their law must always afterwards go, was sick and therefore he ordered the man who was with Gibson to go. M. said that the house which Mr. Lemu and Mr. Rolland built at Mosega they must go and rebuild and live with him.¹

Mr. Moffat questioned the Litabeli as to what took place in regard to Milne² when he was last with Masalacatzie. He said he was present when Masalacatzie was one day with Milne, and when Mas. went off from him he heard M. say to some of his chief men did they not think Milne was sick. He did not speak and his cheeks and eyes looked curious. Sometime afterwards M. said he would go again and see Milne. He went and still thought him sick. He returned and saw he was very sad having lost his daughter's child and his friend was also sick. Milne in the meantime sent for some beer from one division of the town and not liking it he sent to another. The man that brought it would not drink of it, which the Litabeli states arose from his having lost his mother the night before and according to their laws they could not at such times drink beer. He, the informant, states that he drank of the same beer and that that

¹ The French missionaries had originally settled at Mosega, near Zeerust, among the Huruthse. When that tribe was driven off by Mzilikazi they left. Prosper Lemue afterwards became missionary at Motito.

² Hugh Millen.

was known to Milne's own people who might be questioned as to the fact.

Sent word to Masalacatzie that it was possible the Caffers might fly in his direction and he had better be prepared to defend himself. He said that was good ; he could from that see that we were his friends, as if not we would not have sent him such news. I also desired Maclaniani to tell him I had seen Dingan¹ and I was in hopes if I saw him that I must be able to establish peace between them. He said when he saw me he would make me acquainted with the cause of the enmity between him and Dingan.

On the 23 inst. I accused Mohura of permitting some of his people to keep some oxen in their possession which were the property of Masalakatzie. After some explanation he acknowledged that he was aware of the circumstance but that they had taken them from people who had taken them from Masalacatzie. I told him if I had to return to the Colony knowing that and without also knowing that he had sent them back I would be forced to speak of him as a bad man. I told him I might some day or other be required by the white king to speak of his character, and if so I could not if reparation was not made say anything but evil of him. I told him likewise that such acts would be printed and would get to Europe, and perhaps after that persons who had read of him would visit this country and when they reached Kuruman and found him to be the chief they would

¹ On his trip to Zululand with Captain Edie in 1832. See *Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette*, Cape Town, 1831-1832, Vol. ii, No. 7, p. 336.

recollect the occurrence and despise him, in the same way as I did Darhuip ; also that on my seeing Masalacatzie I might request of him not to disturb Mohura. He might tell me "I have reason to do so, he has some of my cattle"; I could then certainly not urge my request.

And lastly I told him from knowing the circumstance I could not conscientiously make over to him the present sent for him by the governor, though he had given me satisfactory answers to all the questions I was required to put to him, till he had proved to me by giving up the stolen cattle that he was inclined to maintain peace. He saw the force of the remarks and promised to have them immediately collected and that they should be given over in my presence to the Litabeli who would be with us on our way to Masalacatzie. I also called to his recollection that a woman had stated that she had fled from Masalacatzie along the Kuruman road knowing that she would not be pursued if she took that direction. I pointed out to him how wrong it was in him to permit Masalacatzie to be injured from that direction when he treated that road with such consideration, that he would by such means bring shame upon it also would have it bear the marks of the Matabe[li] commandoes like those in other directions. Macklaniani says Masalacatzie does not intend to take Peter David's daughter to wife as it is contrary to their customs for the king to marry a captive. He has given the son and the other two seven cows to milk, and the former together with the chief are in charge of the wagon. Two of the Griqua wagons broke down on the road and were left behind.

27 MARCH (FRIDAY).

Employed most of the day in arranging the collection of birds, animals, etc. Thermometer last night 49. Several more cases of *quatsie* seen to-day. One man died a few days ago; the local disease made its appearance upon the right forearm.

28 MARCH (SATURDAY).

In the early days amongst all the Buchuana it was customary to seal a covenant or agreement touching mutual friendship by pulling each others noses. After this whenever a man who had had his nose pulled by another visited him or arrived where he was, he was entitled to demand anything he wanted from him and he was bound to give it. When they salute a chief they say ... interpreted ...;¹ when common people meet [they] say *rumala*.² The Buchuanas use a sort of berry and dry it, pound it, and mix it with sweet milk which forms rather a palatable dish. Very partial to thick milk. Caffers of the Batclapin and others when finding it necessary to cross rivers flooded, search for the trunk of a tree which is very light, lay on it holding fast with one arm and the other hand they use as a paddle.³ When they require to pass with oxen, provided the cattle be large and able of themselves to cross, they catch hold of their tails and get their assistance across; if the cattle be young the Caffers usually pass below them and during their

¹ The words are omitted in the manuscript. The salutation, however, was: *Morena*, master.

² *Dumala*, good-day.

³ The old Korana practices,

passage keep driving them obliquely upwards against the stream. *Rumala*¹ means "I send to" and it is usually replied to by the person saluted with *leo rumetsa*² meaning "I have believed."

The river north of Kuruman is called Motluare, Motluareen in the ablative case,³ the river still more north is the Mashua, often it is spoken of as Mashauéen.⁴ Mashua means white sand or perhaps simply sand. This river is very full of sand. Motluare is [so] called in consequence of the number of wild olive trees, *litluare*⁵ [being] the name for that tree; the name of the tribe, derived from their having lived at first by those trees, they are called Batluaroo. The Batclapin call themselves also Bapuroo-huroo, which means they of the steenbok, also Bapuroo-chuana.⁶ The proper name of Mohura's residence is Letako, the ablative Letakoon.

When a girl menstruates the first time she is according to the Batclapin custom required to abstain from speaking for a month, and during the time she is unwell she is fed by some old woman.

Thermometer during last night fell to 30.

When people join Masalacatzie from an enemy's country he always places them in his country at a station the most remote from the place from which they have fled in order that should they be spies they will have difficulty in escaping.

¹ *Rumela*, to send for.

² *Kedumetse*, I am happy. Smith is completely "off the target" here. The mistake he made is well described in Livingstone, D., *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, London, 1857, pp. 57-58.

³ Locative, adverbial form.

⁴ Mathlowing River.

⁵ *Leitluare*.

⁶ Phuduhudu, Phudutswana.

29 MARCH (SUNDAY).

Divine service as usual. A report reached to-day that Mohura's people had been stealing more cattle from Masalacatzie.

30 MARCH (MONDAY).

A Caffer arrived this afternoon from Motito with letters, one from Mr. Lemu and one from Mr. Burrow ; contained nothing regarding the cattle stolen from Masalacatzie. Early this morning I dispatched letters containing instructions to Mr. Kift to move the wagons and people immediately to Kuruman should he find that cattle had been taken again. The messenger who brought the letters here states that he heard the report at Motito. He states that he heard that cattle had been taken, that they had been left in the field, that men had come by Mohura's kraal to know if they might bring them to the kraal. No person had informed Mr. Lemu of the report ; were afraid lest it might be false. With the exception of the persons attached to the mission all others avoid informing of such transactions knowing that he reproves them severely for such conduct. The statement was made in the hearing of the Litabeli sent by Masalacatzie. The messenger was a Morolong and spoke of the conduct of Masalacatzie in respect to his nation. He accused the former of having first injured them. The other, a Maquan,¹ got quite animated and deneyed the charge with much warmth ; he seemed much better versed in the history of the transactions which marked the proceedings in early days than the Moro-

¹ Kwena.

long and stated in firm and clear tones the actual truth.

31 MARCH (TUESDAY).

The Bechuanas in softening and preparing their skins for karosses scrape them with the teeth of a sheep, goat or other animal of that description, it being previously moistened with water. A Bechuana infant for some time after birth has long soft hair that they shave off and then the curled hair grows.

The Litabeli says that the posts of Masalacatzie which are situated in the Wanket¹ country are generally in charge of people who have been conquered, he fearing nothing in that direction. The cattle are taken care of in the field by children. When they do not reach the kraal about the usual time the men think that they are only kept later by the children. When night arrives and they do not come home then they think they have been stolen, and they repair to the spot where they had been feeding. Next morning, when they ascertain that they have been taken away they then go off to one of the chiefs to report the circumstance; he orders a commando to proceed in search of them. To get men together requires several days so that it is not easy sometimes to overtake them. At the time Piet Barend took the cattle Masalacatzie himself happened to be at a neighbouring kraal not many miles distant (perhaps 4) from the kraal where they were taken. The men were all together to partake of what was killed and therefore they were quickly on the pursuit. These posts are principally in charge of Baharootzie, and they may probably connive at the

¹ Ngwaketse.

robberies of the people from this side. Most of Masalacatzie's fighting men are on the other side in order to watch the Griquas and Jan Bloom. The Litabeli insists that Masalacatzie will not send a commando in this direction whilst he is here with a message for us. This opinion of his is doubtless known to the Batclapins, and they are probably presuming upon their security. It is generally believed that Mohura does not wish a friendly alliance to be established with Masalacatzie; he would rather have matters remain as they are and he have the opportunity from time to time to steal a few cattle. It has been said at his kraal that the best way to prevent us going into the interior is to steal some cattle from Masalacatzie.

In the early times of the mission here it was contrary to law to cut the hack dorn whilst the corn was unripe, also some other sorts of wood. On one occasion Mateebie gave permission to Mr. Hamilton to cut one of the proscribed sort, and soon after sent him a message that some of his old men were averse to it and that he must not go. However, Mr. H., being all prepared, went and cut the wood. Mateebie complained to Dr. Philip;¹ he said the clouds just showed themselves behind the hills over the place where the wood had been cut and then disappeared. They objected very much to drying cloths as the rain-makers had asserted that it drove the rain away. It was common in those days to strew medicines in certain positions with the intention of making some person disliked sick; whenever they saw what they

¹ Rev. John Philip, of the London Missionary Society. Theal, G. M., *History of South Africa* (1834-1854), London, 1888, Vol. iii, *passim*.

did not recognise lying on the ground they regarded it as something of that kind.

Motebie went out with a large commando against the Baquana about 1818 after being much advised to the contrary by Mr. Read. He was defeated and a great number of his people killed; the Batclaru were with him. He had formed an alliance with Sifonelo, a Baralong chief, and the latter was to attack with his commando as soon as he knew that Motebie had commenced. On Motebie's return he attacked the posts of Sifonelo and took away a portion of his cattle. The latter on returning heard of that and in turn fell upon the stragglers of the Batclapin and killed them.

About the month of Jany. the king and several of his old chiefs assembled and some of the Caffer water melons were brought. The king took one of the leaves and placed it between his teeth, then all the people began to use them. They would not at first use pumpkins or Colonial melons till the same ceremony had been gone through; now such is little required anywhere and not at all at the station.¹

Mohura was the first man that commenced wearing trousers. He was much ridiculed and even abused for adopting the white men's customs and laying aside those of his forefathers; he persisted and several others soon followed his example. On one occasion he was prevented joining in a dance till he cast them off. Make trousers of hartebeest skins, exceedingly warm; not difficult skins to procure.

In the early days of the Mission at Kuruman the people were very impertinent to the missionaries. On

¹ Compare Campbell, J., *Travels in South Africa* (Second Journey), London, 1822, Vol. II, p. 197.

one occasion Mrs. Moffat told a woman to go out of the cook-house as she wished to lock the door and go to church, the woman looked at her for a moment and then took up a yokeskey¹ which was there and raised it to strike her. On another occasion they had some people employed in cleaning heads of Indian corn. Mrs. Moffat went to the spot and perceiving a great number assembled told two or three to go away as there were enough without them; one of the women raised her hand to strike Mrs. Moffat. Something similar happened to either Mrs. Hudson or Mrs. Broadbent;² a woman attempted to strike her with a stick. Such occurrences were common in those times but their conduct is very different at present. No redress could be got by reporting such proceedings to the chief; all that he did was to say they are stupid.

It is customary amongst the Batclapins, etc., to get on the top of a house or some high place and proclaim aloud during the night all the faults of his wife in order to put her to shame and let it be known to the other women of the village.

During the night thermometer fell to 45.

I APRIL (WEDNESDAY).

The Batclapins after a heavy rain were not permitted to work next day; often a general order was issued by the chief prohibiting any women from going to work. Mr. Hamilton in one of his letters to the Missionary Society mentions that a rain-maker on

¹ Jukskei, or yoke pin.

² The wives of Rev. T. L. Hodgson and Rev. S. Broadbent of the Wesleyan Missionary Society.

approaching Kuruman was presented with a sheep and that he washed it previous to entering the town ; also that a woman was killed by lightening and the chief with all the people proceeded to the place, sticking hassegays in the ground and making fires to give the clouds smoak. They washed the body very carefully and then permitted the body to be buried. The day after the moon is first seen when new they abstain from labour. After they used to have rain the rain-maker was in the habit of walking round the town and he was generally followed by a number of women singing, shouting and dancing ; he proceeded round in order to get presents from such people as might be inclined to give them.

2 APRIL (THURSDAY).

Agreeable to my request Mr. Burrow left Motito with Mr. Hume and arrived this morning. Disease still troublesome.

About May or April [they] begin to prepare the young girls for the circumcision ceremony. When undergoing it they are without karosses, [and] have a great number of strips of reeds and pumpkin seeds suspended round the loins and cords bound round the chest. Each has in her hand a hack dorn switch to beat away the boys. They go to the water about sunrise, and are regularly washed towards the termination of the ceremony. They are held up upon the shoulders of a woman with their legs opened in order that the old women who are active on the occasion may ascertain if they are fitted to marry. It is said that at this time their hands are scorched with pot irons to harden them. No men are allowed to be

present during the ceremonies which are performed upon the girls. When the boys are to be circumcised all the cattle are brought together and the ceremony usually takes place at the king's kraal. Many cattle are killed. The houses in which they are to reside whilst separated from the kraal, which are about a mile distant, must be built in 24 hours. Almost all the people are occupied in getting them ready. The men proceed about evening to cut wood and the women to get grass; they work during the night and usually have them finished by midday following.

There appears much reason to fear that Mohura has actually taken the second cattle from Masalacatzie though he denies it strongly. I have therefore ordered the wagons from Motito lest a commando of M. should follow to Takoon.

3 APRIL (FRIDAY).

After the ceremony of circumcision is over all get new karosses and according to the sex they are reckoned men or women. In the evening a package of letters arrived from Griqua Town.

4 APRIL (SATURDAY).

The wagons arrived from Motito as also Mr. and Mrs. Lemu. Reason to believe that a second portion of cattle had been taken from Masalacatzie by Mohura's people.

5 APRIL (SUNDAY).

Divine service performed 4 times and the sacrament administered to the members of the church.

6 APRIL (MONDAY).

Mr. Hamilton was present when a chief was buried.¹ They dug a grave about three feet deep and nearly circular. That being done the body was brought out, bound up in a net, and carried through a hole made in the hedge avoiding purposely the door. It was set down close to the grave, then the rain-maker rubbed the inside of grave with bulbs cut into slices. The body was then placed in it and the earth taken up in wooden basins and strewed round it; persons trod it down with their feet. When filled up nearly to the top of the hand they halted and placed on the latter a ring of plaited grass, then filled on till all was covered. This being done, the men who were chiefly engaged wash the extremities of their feet, and during this time a great number of basins of water were brought by the women and set near the grave. The men took them up and threw the water over the grave; upon this being finished the men retired and the women commenced howling most dreadfully. When first placed in the grave they brought his bow, arrows, hassegays, bones of a pack ox, etc., and told him those were his and he had left them all, then removed them away again. When a person of any importance or one much beloved is sick and it is believed they will die, the women run about like mad persons, knocking their heads against houses, fences, etc., beating with their karosses on the ground and howling most dreadfully. The relations after a death sit pensive in the working kraal and scarcely speak to any one. Mr. Hamilton thinks that arises in most cases

¹ This information will also be found in Moffat, R., *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa*, London, 1842, pp. 307-309.

from real grief. For a time after the death of a person the relations are not permitted to enter the cattle kraal.

Mohatla was chief of the Baharootzie when Mr. Lemu went and settled amongst them. They were all living together and according to his idea amounted at that time to 5 or 6,000.

7 APRIL (TUESDAY).

8 APRIL (WEDNESDAY).¹

9 APRIL (THURSDAY).

Bushmen are in great repute amongst the Buchuanas on account of their supposed skill in the curing of diseases.

10 APRIL (FRIDAY).

After the young girls are assembled for the ceremony they proceed to the water accompanied by the old women, wash themselves, mix white clay and paint themselves. They then return to their homes and get their dresses ready which consist of reeds hung round the thighs like a petticoat, and plaited grass in cords crossed like soldiers' belts on the chest; over the eyes a piece of old skin or reeds. They after this proceed every morning to the water to carry some to the house, and before they leave it daily they dance for a time upon their knees, placed in a row. When they return the first day from the water a young girl marches between two old women, and they will

¹ There are no entries for these two days.

then go through the village without regarding the men. But after they have got their dresses on they are more particular ; when they proceed to the water after they have the dresses they always carry a hack dorn twig to beat boys who may come in their way whilst at the water. After dancing they are flogged by the old women. As soon as they return with the water they place it in the house and then go off to the field to carry wood ; whilst there they are also flogged. That ceremony lasts for a month, and when nearly over they abuse the men whenever they see them ; the old women with them do that, saying they are lazy, they will do nothing but sleep with women, they think of nothing but getting children and that is for nothing as they provide no food for them to eat. The boys when they are nearly well abuse the women when they come near them in the same way. The new dress is made from the tops of the corn stalks and between each joint is placed the seed of a pumpkin. The cords are placed on the body when they are damp and they often get so hard before they are removed that they chafe or even cut the body. When over, all these are burnt and they get new karosses ; begin also to wear the twin karosses like the old women.

When a person is sick in a Buchuana house they place a stick across in front of the door or else hang up an old skin which tells that nobody must enter ; they think the sick person will get worse if visited by a stranger. When a girl first menstruates she can speak to no man but must sit inside of the fence till well ; when she begins to be sick the old women set up a cry which makes all the village aware of what is taking place.

The guana is held sacred not only amongst the Batclapin but also amongst the Baharootzie; they say that if they kill it they will get no more rain, not believing that it gives rain but that rain will be withheld from them as a punishment for the act. When Mr. Lemu killed a flamingo, the people said it was *clarie*,¹ meaning thunder or anything very strange, and a considerable Baralong chief came to him from Takoon to get a bone of this bird to produce rain.² Mr. L. threw away³ the bones of the wings when skinning the bird, and [the] said chief took up one of them, rolled it up in his kaross and carried it off. When it thunders strongly men will often spring out with hassegays in their hand, abuse it, and say if it comes that way they will kill it.

During the circumcision of the boy cattle must be killed every day. The poor people come together to the chief's kraal and he must feed them during the ceremony; those that possess cattle take perhaps each an ox and give it to the chief leaving it with him when it is to be killed. In former times Bushmen and all sorts of people used to assemble on such occasions to partake of the feast but now they are not so liberal, restricting their gifts to the parents of the children.

When the relatives of a man are sick he cannot according to their laws pass a stream of water; he can go as far as the river but not across it. It does not matter whether there be water in the river or not.

¹ *Hadi*, a thunderbolt.

² To make the *naka*, or doctor's whistle. See Kirby, P. R., *The Musical Instruments of the Native Races of South Africa*, London, 1934, pp. 97-98, and Plates 34A and 35A.

³ "Again" in MS.

When it is wished to form a matrimonial alliance¹ between a boy and girl the boy tells it to his mother; she goes to the mother of the girl and says her boy wishes the girl; the mother of [the] girl says she will speak to the husband and to her neighbours and let her know also what will be the price required to be paid. Shortly after, according to the decision, the mother of [the] girl tells the mother of the boy, and if agreed to the cattle are sent and the mother of the boy sends an ox to the father of the girl to be killed, [and] the mother of the girl sends an ox to the father of the boy to be killed. The brother of the girl has the distributing of the ox sent to the father of the girl. Neither father of the bride nor bridegroom goes to the feast, but each has his portion sent to his house. After the circumcision, if the agreement has been made when they were children, the bride can go to the house of the bridegroom or rather to the new house which is prepared for her.

Mohura once arrived at Takoon and saw two kids in his garden; he flew at a man who was grinding corn close to Mr. Lemu's house and who had not charge of the garden and beat him severely with the sambuc² which he had in his hand, first with the small end then with the large, by which he cut his head. The man remained perfectly quiet and said only "I am one of your people; you can kill me." Crippled or deformed children are generally destroyed soon after birth and deranged persons seldom are permitted to live long because almost the first injury they inflict is punished by death.

¹ See Lestrade, G.P., in *S.A. Journal of Science*, Johannesburg, 1926, Vol. xxiii, pp. 937-942.

² Sjamboek.

The Batclapins, at least the poor amongst them who live in the fields, will not destroy the lion. They rise in the morning, look round to observe if any vultures are flying, and if so they proceed towards the spot where they are seen, and if a lion has killed any game they beat upon skins and other articles whereby a great noise is produced sufficient to frighten away the animal (*vide* drawing, Bell¹) and then they seize the prey. They swallow the marrow of animals uncooked. Eat a wolf at Motito; say when fat it is very good. When game killed, [they] catch the blood in the two hands, transfer it into a bag and carry it away and cook it. When killing is in progress at a kraal the people are all so engaged that it is impossible to get almost anyone to attend service. Once a favorite amongst the Batclapins died; a chief told Mr. Lemu that all the people were too sorry to be able to attend service. One more open said "Why has God killed so and so? What harm did he ever do to God?" They would not attend church apparently as a sort of revenge.

A Baralong chief placed a head of Caffer corn on each side of the cattle kraal gate for good luck. There was a tree near where Mr. Lemu lived when with the Baharootzie, and Mokatla would not permit him to cut it because, said he, it will frighten away the rain. The Baharootzie often separate the sick from the village. Mr. L. once found four or five people who were sick lying in a ravine whither they had been conveyed by the people of the kraal; food was carried to them though in small quantities. The Bechuanas place unripe beans in a hole in the ground to ripen; say a few days will accomplish it. During circumcision of the girls they eat *mackaloni*² beans and cannot

¹ I cannot trace this drawing.

² I cannot identify this word.

drink milk nor eat animal food. Cut pumpkins into thin slices and dry them; will keep good during the winter.

11 APRIL (SATURDAY).

In¹ Hume accompanied Mr. Lemu to the Baharootzie and after the ground was pointed out where the station was to be formed Mokatla remarked that now he was very glad as he would get plenty of flesh, meaning they would get a supply of guns and powder. Before the arrival of the missionaries the Baharootzie used to profess a great anxiety for missionaries, believing that peace and quietness went with them, and they thought that if they had them they would be able to sleep without fear. When they arrived at Mokatla's there were several Basootoo there to trade. Some Matabeli arrived soon after with Mr. Pellisier's wagon which was returning from Masalacatzie. The instant the Basootoo observed them approach they got up and retired; one of the Matabeli called out "You need not go, I see you." Mr. Lemu had been there for some time before the Matabeli arrived. Mokatla, fearing that it would be told to Masalacatzie that the Basootoo were with him, under pretence of their being spies resolved to kill them. This was immediately conveyed to Mr. Lemu, and he requested Mr. Hume who was long known to Mokatla to go to him and endeavour to prevent it. As Mr. H. advanced towards the town he met people returning from a kloof at a little distance from the town with the karosses of the poor unfortunate men covered with blood, taking them to Mokatla. The

¹ No date given. The year, however, was 1829. Theal, G. M., *History of South Africa* (1834-1854), London, 1888, Vol. iii, p. 317.

policy of Mokatla in this case was to keep friends with Masalacatzie, and at the same time let the circumstance be known to Dingan, should they have been spies from him. He therefore connived at the escape of two who might tell the tale and gave them to understand that he was forced to destroy the others by Masalacatzie.

Some time after this ten Zoolas approached the town and the chief man sent to Mr. Lemu for some meat, saying he was tired; the meat was given and taken past the chief who in about ten minutes arrived at the wagon. A report had previously been in circulation that M. intended to send a commando to destroy them or force them all to go to him. The fate of the meat increased the probability; they thought it was sent to it.¹ The Matabeli during the night would not sleep by the fire but distributed themselves in various places; one went amongst the corn, another in the kraal and so on. This was suspicious. Next day Mokatla came to the wagons with three Zoolas and said they must all go to Masalacatzie or he Mokatla would be killed. They then decided upon leaving, but instead of its being for M. it was for the Kuruman.

Next year Hume saw M. in his own country and he denied it all and said it was Milne who had told them some lies. Milne, when they were with the Baharootzie, arrived there from Masalacatzie's country. As soon as Masalacatzie was made acquainted with the death of the Basootoo he sent an ox to Mokatla to be killed and the murderers to be cleansed by passing through a ring formed of the stomach of the ox. Hume saw all the murderers, who were

¹ Thus in MS. ; possibly "to him."

readily known by a black vertical stripe in the middle of the forehead. As soon as the act was perpetrated a number of men were sent out to collect roots to cleanse the operators; that was done next morning and then the black stripe was washed off.

It is said that the Baquana and Wankets were originally one tribe. In making karosses of furs the Buchuanas sew the skins together with thread made from the sinews of cattle and they preserve it in hanks like those of Europeans and place the one in use double between a piece of skin which envelops the entire length of the thread. They first pierce the skins with their needle then withdraw it, straighten the point of the thread by twisting it between the finger and thumb like a shoemaker and then push it through the hole made by the needle. In thatching their house and in fixing the poles, etc., they either employ the bark of the *Mimosa* torn into narrow strips or cord formed of grass. They break the husks of beans with a stone; also with a round stone they beat out their corn, then throw it in the wind to carry away the chaff.

When persons are wounded in the wars or seriously sick it is customary for the Buchuanas to build a house for them away from the kraal and place people to take care of them. Malala's son was wounded by a buffalo and he was placed apart in that way; a lion visited his hut and carried him away during the night.

12 APRIL (SUNDAY).

Light rain last night. Mr. Hamilton was this morning at Kuruman and he advanced towards a

house where he saw a fire burning to get some fire to kindle his pipe; the man rushed out in a great hurry and requested him to stop as a man was dangerously sick with *quatsie*.

13 APRIL (MONDAY).

The Baquans separated some time ago into two parties. One remained under Kama,¹ and when Hume visited them about three years ago they might consist of about five or six thousand; the other party under a chief named Lichali² lived with his people on the road to the Bamangwato and was the stronger of the two. About Jany. 1833 Hume saw them, and many of them had been destroyed a little before by one of Masalacatzie's commandoes in consequence of their not evincing an inclination to be tributary to him; they had no cattle. Kama on one occasion fled. M. sent a commando after him and brought him back; gave him charge of a post of cattle. Mohura's brother was on a hunting party and when in pursuit of game lost his companions. He, when night came on, halted, tied his horse to a tree, and went to sleep. Both he and the horse were in the night destroyed by lions; only his shoes were found in the morning. A few days ago three Batlaroo women were in search of certain seeds. One remained a little behind the other two not being ready to proceed with them but intended to follow immediately. Night arriving, the other two went to sleep and the third not arriving they returned next day to seek for her. They saw close to the spot where they had

¹ Khama.

² Sichel (Z).

left her a number of vultures, and on approaching found the body almost quite consumed.

A woman was required to cup Mrs. M. She, a practised hand, was sent for; message returned that her daughter had given birth to a child last night and therefore she could not come near Mrs. M. I went to the house, found the door fixed and could get no women to go in; all were afraid lest they should be abused for entering. There exists a belief that thereby the child might be injured.

They moisten the skins for making karosses by placing them under wet sand.

They bury sweet reeds and in this way preserve it during the winter.

Observed a stick placed across the outer door; entered and found a woman with a whitlow in the thumb. Men would not enter; some came to the door but turned away again. Placing the stick is the old custom.

When any member of a person's family, particularly a child, has died, the people of other kraals will give him no cooked meat till his wife has another child, because they say their cattle will die and those that are with young sheep or goats will produce dead ones. He can receive raw meat and cook it himself. The Batclapin produce fire in the same way as the other Caffers. The circumcision both of boys and girls is at present going on at Motebi's.

14 APRIL (TUESDAY).

"You are come to tell me that other white people are coming.¹ They can come. If they wish to hunt,

¹ Report of the messenger who had been sent to Mzilikazi.

they can come. If bad men, they can go somewhere else, but not come to him." They answered, "These men are not come to do evil; they are coming with a good intention." He, M., said: You must tell Mohura to tell the Baharootzie that they must not go on stealing from him, else he will send a commando and destroy them; he will send to their town. They must tell Moffat that he must tell the Baharootzie to leave off stealing. People will say that now the Baharootzie are now living with Moffat and Mohura, and if he sends a commando in that direction it is against Moffat and Mohura. Masalacatzie says it is good. Mr. Moffat must go and after he returns he must send him the news and M. will send him the news in turn; that the same messengers must go. Met the first Matabe[li] at Mosegha. The first, they say, were women and children watching the corn who hid themselves in the corn. A few of the children ran to the kraal to tell the others, soldiers who were busy skinning and eating of the flesh of an ox. They looked towards them and instantly saw that it was Maclaniani and that it was [an] ox which Masalacatzie gave to Mr. Moffat. One of the soldiers ran to tell the *tuna*¹ (Clapeli)² who came, and as he approached Maclaniani and the others saluted him with their guns. The chief immediately took them to the kraal, gave them sweet reeds and milk [and] told them they must stop there that day. This chief sent for another chief the same evening; he came the next day and took them to Masalacatzie. When they reached Masalacatzie's kraal he was upon a hill as stated. Maclaniani and Lepeli went

¹ *Indana*.

² Tlhapeli (?).

up to the hill to him. Soon after they came down and Masalacatzie ordered beer to be brought; he gave first to Maclaniani, then Lepeli, then to the narrator. When the last had done drinking he handed it to one of Masalacatzie's people. M. said "You must not do that; you are hungry. It is my business to take care of them," meaning his people. "You are hungry; I shall send you more. You must keep it. Lately sent a commando against Sibiqua, but the sun was so strong that it weakened them much. When they reached Sabiquoa's kraal he was aware of their approach and they had forced a poor Kalahari to go as guide to show them the water. He took them in a wrong direction and told them that water was by that tree, but there was none. He knew that. At that moment Sabiqua sent his people in three divisions, one on each side and a third in the middle, [and] fell upon them almost dead with thirst and put them to flight. They slept next day. Sabiqua followed up his victory, fell upon them and killed many; the rest fled back to Masalacatzie. It was not the soldiers but the boys. All the *machaba*¹ are in the Baharootzie mountains on this side watching for Jan Bloom.

Statement of Molemo regarding the lake² which is in the interior. When the locusts wish to cross it they fall in before they can cross it. [He] is a Mangwato; always lived there. Their chief, called Moreme,³ had posts on all sides. Can cross three times in the same day in a boat. There is only one place where they can do it often; at another place they cannot

¹ *Amajaba*.

² Lake Ngami.

³ Moremi.

see the ground on the opposite side. It runs towards the east, shown by putting some light substance upon the surface of the water. On the west of the lake live the Batclama Damaras,¹ who are like the Matabeli. In the country of the Batclama [there are] large springs like the Kuruman and in great numbers. The lake towards the west is inhabited on all sides by the Batclama; the latter have no boats. Baralongs used to live where the Wankets² latterly lived. Sabiqua used formerly to live in the country now inhabited by Masalacatzie. From Lehotiting³ to the Bamangwato there is only rain water, which is a distance of 4 days with a few pack oxen. It is towards the middle of the lake that they cross the water; on each side very broad. On the west of the place where they pass they cannot see the other side of the water; to the east they can see across and as it extends east it diminishes in size. Runs far to the east, but [he] does not know where it terminates; farther down than the Bamangwato, Batlete,⁴ than Bakalaka, Bamangwato; this portion was with the other but they fought together and the first portion fled. They got beads from the Bakalaka. Where the water comes from is another tribe, Bacompo;⁵ brought them large white beads of the size of a musket ball and also the iron of hassegays about a foot and a half in length like a knife, not like the Batclama but like the Bechuana. The Bamangwato used to take karosses to buy beads; the hair hung down in long strings to the middle of the back. The

¹ Herero.

² Ngwaketse.

³ Lehututu, a Kgalagadi village in the middle of the Kalahari.

⁴ Botletle.

⁵ Bakompa.

chief of the people that attacked them on the lake was Sibatwani¹ and Madeletzi.² The people were dressed like the Basuto with black karosses. Malala knows Sibatwani. There was another chief with him, Leshage.³

19 APRIL (WEDNESDAY).

Conrad Buys, a Dutch colonist, during his absence from his farm, left his property, partly consisting of merchandise procured in Cape Town upon credit, in charge of some neighbours, but they permitted it to be destroyed by the Caffers. On his return he was prosecuted and everything he had was sold, as also some other punishment was awarded him. He upon that fled beyond the Colony and lived amongst the Caffers. He never continued long in one position, always moving from chief to chief, and was constantly employed in stealing cattle from the tribes in the neighbourhood.

In the year⁴ Arend, a runaway slave, joined him together with another from the district of Graaff Reynet whose daughter Arend had married, and who came to him when he, Arend, was residing at Langeberg. Buys at the time Arend joined him had 1,500 black cattle and large flocks of sheep and goats. He had 300 milch cows. He gave to each a portion of cows, oxen, etc., and always told them they must never in any attacks give up but rather die. Soon after they joined him where he was on the Hart River, it was intimated to him that Stockenstroom

¹ Sebetwane, chief of the Fokeng.

² Madiletsa.

³ Leshage; i.e. a light coloured Tswana, or albino.

⁴ No date given.

had been to Griqua Town to arrange for his capture, and that a commando of Griquas was about to proceed against him. He immediately gave directions for flight and they took a direction towards the Vaal River and located themselves above Patteberg.¹ Here one day the commando arrived, and after firing two shots at him they left, taking no trouble to get him else they might easily have done it.

After this he heard that a large commando was preparing and fearing from his weakness and want of guns [and] powder he sent to Sifonel, a Baralong chief residing in the neighbourhood, and informed him that he wished to come and reside under him. Sifonel came to him and agreed to his joining him, and promised if the Griquas should come that he would assist him; that the cattle Buys possessed should remain his if he continued to live with him, but if he left they should remain.

Shortly after this Buys wished Arend and his eldest son to go to Delagoa Bay to get gunpowder, and he said he would go with them as far as the Molopo. Accordingly they started and left Buys. Then they proceeded to within (what they were told) six days of the bay, but found that the rivers were flooded and there was no possibility of crossing them, nor would there be for a long time, which induced them to return and they found the old man still near the Molopo (March 1820). He had determined to live there and wished Arend to go to Sifonel and get his cattle and property left there. After some remonstrances Arend endeavoured to do so but Sifonel would not give up the property; he gave Arend his

¹ Platberg.

and also the cattle which Buys had bought from the Colony but none of what he had taken from the natives.

About this time Buys joined the Baharootzie and was living with them when Mr. Campbell arrived at Letako and sent for Arend to go with him to the Baharootzie. Arend was then on the Hart. As soon as Buys heard of Campbell's intention he left the Baharootzie and went off to the Bawankets. The latter sent to invite Campbell to visit them and when Buys heard that he left them also and retired more inland towards the Bamangwato. There he died a natural death, and there one of his sons is yet living. At one time he had two Hottentot wives and a Caffer wife. He dismissed the two Hottentots before Arend joined him and lived with the Caffer alone.

On one occasion a letter was sent him from the Colony offering him a pardon provided he would return. When Arend delivered it to him he replied : who would believe Englishmen, he knew them too well ; they would promise anything just to get hold of a person ; they would just use him as they had done Van Yensfeldt¹ and others. He used to manufacture gunpowder, but at last his sulphur was expended and he could procure no more ; it was bad powder and very weak. When Arend joined him there were with him two Englishmen who for some crimes had left the Colony.

Once Buys gave them some oxen to go to the Colony to get gunpowder. The river was swollen and

¹ Van Jaarsveld.

there was some delay and difficulty in passing it. When they got over they wished to go separate roads; one was not disposed to permit the other to have any power in making the arrangements. When the two got over and all was got across by the assistance of Corannas, etc., [the] one who wished to be master was found dead. The other went off with the cattle to trade with some of the Boors, and on his return to the river it was again swollen. The Corannas fixed some pieces of dry timber together to enable him to get across and when he was upon this and nearly in the middle of the river it went to pieces and he was drowned. The Corannas who were present took the few oxen remaining and a small quantity of gunpowder which he had procured to Buys. Arend says he was a very timid man when in danger.

16 APRIL (THURSDAY).

Towards the afternoon a heavy thunderstorm and a good deal of rain in the night. Wind from the west, and blew strong.

17 APRIL (FRIDAY).

In the early days the Batclapins inhabited the whole of the country between the Vaal and Black Rivers, also about Griqua Town. Were forced to fly in consequence of attacks from the Colony and from the Corannas. When the Baralongs separated from the Baharootzie and came towards Letako, they found the Batclapins inhabiting that part of the country.

18 APRIL (SATURDAY).

The Batclapins used to catch fish and eat them when they were poor.¹

The attack upon the Mantatees at Takoon took place on the 26 March, 1823.² Mr. Moffat visited Griqua Town previous to that to get assistance from Waterboer; the result of Mr. Moffat's visit to Griqua Town satisfied Matebie very much. The interest Mr. M. had taken in their welfare formed a principal topic at the meeting.

The enemy entered old Latakoo on the evening of the 20; at the station spent the night in packing up and hiding stores in the ground. On the 22 the commando of Waterboer amounting to about 100 mounted men arrived. Reports that white people were amongst the enemy.

On the morning of the 24th started from Kuruman at 9 a.m. and halted at the Matclarie River.³ After dark Andreas and Mr. Moffat with 11 others mounted and rode 4 hours in advance and then halted amongst some trees till morning of 25.

On this morning approached the enemy with all speed. At 10 a.m. came in sight of the enemy who were lying on a declivity north of where the town formerly stood and south of where it now stands, rode up to a young woman who was seen in one of the ravines, said they had come from a distant country

¹ It is interesting to note that the *seano*, or totem, of the Thlaping was a fish.

² It should be June, not March. Both Moffat and Thompson agree on this point.

³ Matlowing River.

but could give no information as to their object. Every endeavour was made to bring them to terms and converse with them by approaching to within about 2 musket shots of their encampment. They rushed out upon the party [and] rendered it necessary for them to fly.

On the 26, Thursday, saddled horses and all together rode to about 150 yds. from their position. They instantly set up a terrible yell, threw out their right and left wings and threw numerous hassegays. Waterboer ordered his people to commence firing. Many fell, nevertheless [they] sallied forth with renewed vigour, [and] caused the Griquas to retreat a little. They fought with great determination, but in the end were forced to fly. Only one Bechuana was killed.

The entire men, women and children amounted to about 40,000. Men robust, smeared with charcoal and grease; features resembled the Bechuana. Lower dresses of the women much inferior to that of the Bechuana. Men had a small skin about the middle; on their head a small cockade of ostrich feathers. During the engagement naked except skin of middle and on head ornaments. Sometimes eight rings of copper round neck, also armlets, leg-rings, and ear-rings [of] same material; had porcelain, iron and copper beads, and some of the men wore very large ear plates. Weapons hassegays, war axes and clubs; battle axes somewhat like sickles, more curved, sharp outside. Language a dialect of the Sichuana.

About 4 p.m. the commando collected and rode to a fountain on the plain which we reached at 9 a.m. Took from them upwards of 1,000 head of cattle.

Claani¹ and Carrahary² two chiefs; the people of the former are called Mapite,³ of the latter Batcloqua.⁴

19 APRIL (SUNDAY).

Divine service as usual, crowded congregation.

20 APRIL (MONDAY).

Preparing to send off four wagons to Motito with Mr. Lemu.

21 APRIL (TUESDAY).

About 12 o'clock four wagons and most of the stores were sent on to Motito.

The Corannas have a ceremony in admitting youths to the privileges of men. Mr. Hamilton was once at a kraal when that was in progress. There was a large fire in a sort of kraal with a pot upon it in which meat was cooking. He wished to have fire to kindle his pipe but they would on no account permit him to approach the fire; the men rushed and prevented him approaching. He saw the principal part of a fine fat ox there and endeavoured to buy some of it, but nothing would induce them to sell any of it; they said it was impossible that he could use of it. The young man who was undergoing the ceremony was sitting alone at a distance and was about fourteen years of age. The girls also undergo some treatment

¹ Tlhane.

² Karahari.

³ Mapiti, or perhaps Mopati, who lived in the desert north of the junction of the Molopo and Kuruman Rivers.

⁴ Tlokwa.

previous to their being admitted to be women. The Coranna women could not eat of the meat killed on the occasion.

When the missionaries moved to the upper station Motebie would not go, assigning as a reason that the Bushmen would steal their cattle. After their arrival at the new station the Bushmen stole their cattle several times; they are in the habit when they steal from Caffers to kill here and there an ox or cow, knowing that they will not pass meat on the road without waiting to eat. The delay so occasioned from time to time enables them to get off with a certain portion before the Caffers can get near them.

A Bastard woman well versed in the Coranna custom tells me that they are in the habit of lending their wives to each other and she says the Griquas who are at a distance from the missionary establishments do the same. Long before Mohura carried off Klaas Dryer's wife an interchange of wives used to take place between these two. When Mohura used to visit Klaas Dryer the latter was in the habit of leaving his house, etc., to the former and vice versa; at least, the wife of Klaas got so attached to Mohura that she rejected her real husband and went off with Mohura. Klaas assigned that as a reason for commencing war upon the tribes in his neighbourhood.

CORANNA COMMANDOES.¹

1. About the beginning of Augt. 1824 a considerable number of Corannas armed with firearms, bows

¹ These accounts were obtained from Moffat by Smith.

and arrows headed by Jacob Cloete and Klass Dryer's disaffected Griquas fell upon the village and the vicinity of Quis,¹ a town of Batlarus on the Kuruman River. The attack being unexpected they succeeded in taking a great number of cattle. Between 30 and 40 persons including seven chief men were shot by the marauders who also added to robbing and murder acts of barbarity to those who fell into their hands.

2. During the month of Sept. the Mountaineers [so] called from their rendezvous being in the Long Mountains, attacked the Batlarus, who suffered severely from the repeated attacks of these lawless plunderers. A circumstantial account of the loss of lives and cattle I could not procure with any certainty, but it must have been considerable from the state of several villages being reduced to absolute starvation who before were in affluent circumstances, having lost not only their cattle and garden produce but nearly all their karosses, ornaments, etc. At this period many fled to the northward of the Baralongs living on the Molopo.

3. On the 10th of Sept. just as Brother H[amilton] and I were getting in readiness to go to our old station to remove the remainder of the goods, a message arrived with information that a powerful commando was on its way to attack the Batlapas. On the morning of the 12, Friday, we were apprized by the incessant firing of muskets that the enemy had actually attacked the town, and the dense volumes of smoke arising from the different villages convinced us that the enemy were carrying all before them.

Not being able to send persons to ascertain what was likely to be the result, we waited some time in

¹ See footnote 6 on p. 284.

much suspense during which time the women and children were flying past our station, some fainting from weakness, whilst the more vigorous of the sex continued their trembling steps towards the south. From the women we could learn but little, which induced us to send two men on horseback to learn something conclusive.

They were scarcely gone when two messengers from Motebie arrived who stated that the commando had killed many men, taken an immense number of cattle and burned their towns. The doleful tale was scarcely told us when Motebie came, deserted and forlorn, and related with many a sigh the events of the day.

Agreeable to Motebie's imperious request we sent our men to ascertain the real state of affairs and see if it was possible to obtain an interview with some of the heads of the commando. Next day our men returned with the following information. On approaching the commando they were fired upon and nearly surrounded by horsemen which obliged them to make their escape, which they effected with the greatest difficulty. One of their hats was shot off with a ball and a civilised Bushman was taken prisoner and 3 or 6 Bechuanas killed.

Next day the commando retired with the plunder and in a few days afterwards we were enabled by means of some prisoners, including the Bushman, who made their escape to form some idea of the marauders and the ruin they had occasioned. They were composed of Griquas, Bastards from the Colony, some Namaquas and a great number of Corannas with some Bushmen; also two sons of Conrad Buys

who had lately come from the Colony. The heads of the party were Griquas; Jacob Cloete, Class Dryer, Class Kornet, with Buys' sons, etc., etc. On their entering the Batlaru country they plundered and set fire to the villages and destroyed the gardens by allowing the cattle to eat their produce. Many of the Batlarus they compelled to accompany them against the strong Batclapins. The Batclapins and Myeries¹ made at first a resistance, but being overwhelmed with firearms and some of the bolder men falling they fled in consternation. The horsemen seemed to take an inhuman pleasure in hunting them down and leaving the men on foot to cut them to pieces with war axes.

Great cruelties were exercised on females by the Corannas whilst wresting their ornaments from their limbs. Many females were taken prisoners that the brutal consequences might add to their barbarity that of debauchery. The number of cattle carried off amounted to several thousands, which, including the loss of gardens, house utensils and clothing, was a terrible stroke to comparatively pastoral people. The number of muskets (nearly 50) and horses with plenty of ammunition gave the enemy the decided advantage over a people naturally timid.

It may be easily conceived how the Bechuanas felt after the above storm blew over, not understanding or rather not believing that [through] political intrigue amongst the Griquas many had broken off all connection and become characters. The Bechuanas naturally believed, nor could we convince them to the contrary, that the

¹ Does this refer to the Bayeye, or Mayeye, a Kuba tribe who lived in Ngamiland? Compare Livingstone, D., *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, London, 1857, p. 145.

Government of the Cape connived at such iniquitous proceedings, and that their ruin must be the ultimate object of the Govt. They frequently interrogated us as to where the Corannas on the Orange River procured their horses, guns and ammunition; we, of course, could not deny a notorious fact that they were purchased with oxen from the farmers on the limits of the Colony. The recollection of that fact often made them very violent, from which we sometimes had reason to fear the worst of consequences. We concluded that from the immense number of cattle taken it was not likely that a commando would soon return, but in this we were mistaken.

4. In the beginning of May, 1825, another party from the Orange River headed by Kurasic Cloote and Klass Kornet entered the Batlaru country. They had only 11 horses. There were still a few Batlarus with only a handful of cattle. Being taken by surprise their cattle were taken; five men and one woman were killed. Encouraged by their success they came up the Kuruman River towards the Batclapin, who were still in the vicinity of our station. At one place they were violently opposed till the old Batlaru chief Lahiesa¹ was shot, when they immediately fled. They then came up within three miles of our station to which place the Batclapins had fled. After surveying the place from a distance they retired, taking some young women prisoners. The party brought with them a wagon which they left at some distance in care of a few Corannas. The scattered Batlarus, having being informed of this, repaired to the spot, killed two Corannas, and took away all that was

¹ Lahesi, a Thlaro chief. See Campbell, J., *Travels in South Africa* (Second Journey), London, 1822, Vol. ii, p. 99 *et seq.*

moveable. They also succeeded in retaking 160 cattle while the party was crossing the desert.

5. About this time several of the Batlarus who had fled to the Molopo returned to occupy their former stations. They had scarcely got well settled when another party of the banditti drove them from their temporary habitations, took the few cattle they had and cruelly murdered all who fell into their hands. The Batlarus becoming desperate by accumulated ills fell upon the party in the night, killed 7 or 8 and took several muskets. Panic-struck with the intrepidity of the natives the remainder fled with the cattle to the Orange River.

6. In the beginning of June, 1827, another party came from the Great River on pretence of hunting elephants, and succeeded in getting a party of reduced Batlarus to accompany them to the Baralongs near the Molopo. However, when the horsemen arrived at the outposts of the cattle they seized on the objects of their pursuit, and the poor Batlarus seeing how they were gulled had no other alternative but to follow and assist in driving the cattle. In order to avoid remunerating the Batlarus a cruel plot was laid by the heads of the party which was to fall upon the unoffending natives who had been compelled to assist them. This having been communicated by one of that number to the Batlaru chief, he in return made provisions against the time appointed, that when resting after a long march through a dry country they rose and killed several men. The vanquished party fled with nothing more but their weapons. Amongst the killed were two Griquas, Hans Berend and Klass Kornet. Several muskets with all the cattle fell into the hands of the Batlarus.

7. Next day as they were returning along the Kuruman River congratulating themselves on their late deliverance, they discovered the approach of a very large commando. The day following they made their hostile intentions evident in the neighbourhood of Patanie and were successful in plundering many families of the poor Bechuanas. A very few cattle they did take but not without sustaining some loss in horses of which there were but few. Motebi dreading their approach, sent out a force sufficient to overcome the marauders, who had upwards of 20 muskets, and from all we could learn no lack of ammunition.

The commando had also with them near 200 Corannas and Bushmen armed with bows and arrows. Motebi's force being divided when the enemy came on them, they were obliged to fly with the loss of 2 or 3 men. The conquerors they did not come near the town dreading the approach of Andries Waterboer who was expected. They made a precipitate retreat towards the Molopo ; on their journey thither they murdered the inhabitants of several villages of the poor Bechuanas. It was supposed that their object in perpetrating such horrid deeds was to prevent their approach being made known to the Baralongs.

A few days after this skirmish with Motebi's force, ten horsemen passed through the Batlaru country and followed the commando with a view to join them. It has since been supposed that they belonged to the Mountaineers¹ who attacked Griqua Town and had left immediately after that event. Notwithstanding their inhuman measures which they adopted

¹ Berghenaars.

to prevent their approach being made known, the Baralongs had timely notice and fled eastward along the Molopo. Finding themselves closely pursued, they resolved on withstanding the marauders; with the intention of fighting [they] collected their cattle. Their fate however was soon decided, for being overpowered with firearms they took flight and left their cattle and bag and baggage to the murderous gang who, overjoyed with such a large booty, returned in triumph. 3 or 4 Corannas and two horses were killed by the Baralongs.

On their return towards the Orange River the Batlaru fell upon them in the desert when the cattle were taken and retaken several times, till at last the Batlaru succeeded in taking off almost 200 when the enemy proceeded with the others towards their rendezvous on the Orange River. We have since been informed that they arrived without any cattle, the Bushmen in the Long Mountains having plundered them of what they retained.

The number of cattle taken by the different commandoes must have amounted to many thousands, and many hundreds of lives lost independent of the great numbers who have perished from their want, being driven from place to place without a house, a field or a garden. The Batlarus have been the greatest sufferers. Before the commandos they were rich, peaceable [and] industrious; now they are unprovided, scattered and their numbers greatly reduced. The tribe of Baralongs lately attacked on the Molopo are reduced to the greatest extent and there is no doubt but many will be cut off by famine. The Batclapins have suffered the least, having always

been in the immediate vicinity of our station. The comparative peace and union which previously existed between those minor tribes has been turned to enmity and vengeance, for the enemy sometimes compelled one tribe to assist them against another, and one party being robbed of all that they possessed had no alternative to supply the imperious pangs of hunger but to fall on their neighbour's cattle.

As already hinted at, the impressions produced on the minds of the Bechuana tribes are to them natural enough, though of a very painful description. Every commando seemed to have no lack of ammunition, which gave them the decided advantage. The Bechuana are also well aware that all that ammunition came by some means or other from the Colony, and how such quantities could be obtained without the connivance of Govt. is to them inconceivable; and how the Mountaineers on the Black River near the limits of the Colony could be allowed so long to desolate the interior with firearms is to them an equal mystery.

These impressions became more deeply engraven on their minds by being informed by prisoners who have fled from their rendezvous that the marauders send numbers of oxen to the Colony to purchase ammunition and they do procure it; and many of the tribes, reduced by the Mountaineers, have seen their own cattle in the possession of colonists. If some measures be not soon adopted to prevent such robberies and bloodshed, the time will soon arrive when the country will become depopulated or its inhabitants be compelled to sink to the degradation of Bushmen. Many of the ringleaders in these depre-

dations have fallen whilst pursuing their barbarous career. Several were murdered by the Damaras, having fled to Namaqualand to elude the vigilance of Waterboer; others were murdered in this country. This letter was addressed to Revd. Mr. Miles¹ by Mr. Moffat and was submitted to the Colonial Government in the time of General Burke,² written, Dec. 5, 1827, Kuruman.

22 APRIL (WEDNESDAY).

During the absence of Class Dryer with Mr. Moffat to the Wankets the commandoes began upon the Caffers. Wm. Engelbright was at the head of several of the first, and when Klass returned and heard what had taken place he was much delighted and said it was just what he had long wished for. He declared his intention of also joining. Several persons and amongst others Barend and John Hendricks endeavoured to dissuade him, but though he promised them to take no part in such proceedings yet he was almost immediately in the midst of them. Wm. Engelbright was one of the six executed by Waterboer. When the commando was passing near to Letako with Towane's cattle, Mohura sent Clampan³ to offer his services as a guide and to conduct them through a place where he had his people lying to

¹ Rev. Richard Miles, Superintendent of the London Missionary Society. See Moffat, R., *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa*, London, 1842, pp. 476 *et seq.*

² Major-General Sir Richard Bourke, Acting Governor at the Cape, 1826-1828, Theal, *History of South Africa* (1834-1854), London, 1888, Vol. iii, p. 278.

³ One of Mothibi's Captains. His name is spelled in various ways; Champani (Burchell), Shampan (Moffat), and Sampan (Thompeon). It would be better represented as Tlhampani.

intercept them. On the occasion when the attack was made the persons comprising the commando were without their arms, they being behind in possession of some of the people appointed to carry them when not required. One man named Isaac had two shots fired at him by Mohura's brother Canakamora; neither took effect. Mohura called out to him to hunt him and kill him. His brother however on seeing Isaac begin to cut the trousers off his body felt sorry for him and permitted him to escape. They said Isaac arrived after wandering for three days at Kuruman late in the evening and came to Mr. Moffat perfectly naked except a pair of shoes on his feet; he was afraid to approach the stations during the day lest the Bechuanas should kill him. Kurasic Cloete was killed with Class Dryer by the Damaras in a commando after leaving Griqualand.

In 1828 a sort of peace was concluded between the Griquas and the Mountaineers. Another commando approached from the Orange River on the 9 Augt. 1828. They came to the Kuruman River about 10 miles N.W. of this place (station). On the morning of that day they murdered a number of poor Bechuanas and in the evening they surrounded two men and one woman who were coming to the station with three pack oxen loaded with skins. The two men and the woman they dragged out to one side and despatched them with their knobsticks and stones. A boy who was also in the company escaped that night and gave us the information. In the evening of next day (Sabbath) we learned that they were approaching our station, upon which arrangements were made and watches set. We had only, including Bechuanas, twelve armed men, and of those

dependence could only be placed upon two men. [On] Monday morning the commando came in sight, having advanced in the night to within $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile. Seeing the entrenchments full and that their approach was evidently known, they had no alternative but to advance which they did with as much sluggish pomp as they could devise.

I waited above in the entrenchments to watch their movements, but chiefly with a view to prevent the people firing upon them. I wished them not to fire at all, but leave the commando to batter away at the entrenchments till their ammunition should be expended. When they came within gun shot they marched off towards the river where they intercepted a flock of goats belonging to the Batlarus of the station, a flock of sheep belonging to Mr. Hamilton and a few oxen. Three horsemen rode to the top of the different hills to see if there was no more booty. With the commando were a number of Bastards, well dressed, near 40 guns, above 90 men and nine horses. After consulting for nearly an hour they despatched a man with a sort of old rag on a stick to speak to me. I went towards him to prevent him seeing the weakness of the station. From him I learned that they were composed of Mountaineers and Corannas, and that their object was to attack the place for purposes of revenge.

Jantjie Hooyman¹ who was one of the chief of the party wished me to send him a span of tobacco and begged to have an interview. To this I consented. He came and was soon joined by two more of the

¹ Compare Moffat, R., *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa*, London, 1842, p. 489.

party. After stating that he was dumb with shame being found with a party whose object was to attack the station, he manufactured some falsehoods with a view to convince me that he had no part in the matter; that Paul the chief of the Karosshebbbers¹ was the head of the commando and that he for his own part would rather defend than fight with me.

Whilst reasoning with him on the impropriety of his conduct a wagon appeared on the road. I immediately sent a man to bring the wagon forward, for it had to pass the Corannas; he was taken prisoner, and as the wagon came up they were inclined to stop it. I requested Jantjie to go and save it, and that by doing so he could best prove the sincerity of his intentions. He did so and it proved to be Mr. and Mrs. Archbald from Plattberg.² Soon after I procured an interview with Paul, the Coranna chief, who appeared rather reluctant, and recognised him as an old acquaintance in Namaqualand. After asking him many questions and telling him much which touched his conscience, for he had one and also some scriptural knowledge, he declared that he had nothing against me and that he would be the last man to do me harm. We spoke of the attack upon the Baralongs in 1827, and stated that whilst passing their part of the country he was attacked by the Batclapins, etc., and that he had now come with the express purpose of seeking revenge.³ I wrought upon him by speaking to him of the consequences of shedding so much innocent

¹ The wearers of the kaross; a clan of Korana.

² Rev. James Archbell, of the Wesleyan Missionary Society. The Plattberg Station was founded in 1826. See Broadbent, S., *A Narrative of the First Introduction of Christianity amongst the Baralong tribe of Bechuanas, South Africa*, London, 1865, p. 174.

blood, and told him if he would not desist I should not resist with firearms but leave the punishment to the Lord. Whilst addressing him in that way he ordered a man to go and bring back the cattle, etc., and declared he would go no farther but return to his friends on the Orange River.

Was afterwards informed by one of the Mountaineers that the reason why he was reluctant to speak with me [was] that he was afraid I should overcome all his resolutions to seek vengeance. Though 4 times the strength of our shooters they were so alarmed that they begged me to prevent any attack being made on them in the night. All the cattle were returned and they continued till Friday, in the meantime making us frequent visits begging victuals, tobacco, etc. The Coranna chief before leaving begged me to give him a few pounds of tobacco as a token that I still viewed him as a friend. He returned with the majority of the commando. Three of the Mountaineers accompanied Mrs. Archbald to Barend's place and about 12, chiefly of the latter, left about three miles from the station and directed their course towards the interior with the hope of getting a few cattle. But doubtful, the natives driven to desperation are now less afraid than at first.

A party of Corannas with their families possessing 20 muskets passed this station for the purpose, it is said, of settling at a short distance beyond. They were reduced to starvation and had left several of the number to perish in the desert. They had scarcely set themselves down on the Maclareen River when they mustered about 40 men, proceeded to old Latakoo, and fell on a village of Myeries,¹ who are

See note on page 365.

subject to Motebie. These villagers, though taken by surprise, fell upon the Corannas with the courage of lions, killed 30 and 10 only narrowly escaped by flight.

CORANNA CIRCUMCISION.¹

When a boy reaches about 15 years he is taken by the old people to a sort of kraal made for the purpose. Throw away all his old clothing but give him an old one to wear during his stay. The old men then urinate on him whenever they require to do so. When perfectly wet with it they strew his body all over with powdered *buchu*. In that place he remains till the killing is over. If relatives rich, sometimes kill ten oxen and ten hamels; the flesh is cooked in that kraal; neither women nor children can eat of it nor no person who eats hares. No women nor children can go near the place; he must sleep in that kraal and some old people sleep with him. Then when done a new kaross is placed upon him and he is permitted to associate with the old men, then they give him a jackal tail on a stick and a hassegay in the hand, and in that way he goes out and wanders about. They continue to practise this up to the present day. [He] cannot marry before that but as soon after as he will.

 With girls a house is built for the purpose and the girl is placed in it, then smeared over with cowdung and afterwards sprinkled with powdered *buchu*. They kill then and the old women and the girl eat of the meat; the men also eat but the children cannot

¹ Compare Maingard, L. F., in *Bantu Studies*, Johannesburg, 1932, Vol. vi, No. 2, pp. 137-142.

eat. Perhaps as in the case of the men it lasts for eight days. Their karosses must be thrown away that they wore before the ceremony ; when they go out they get new karosses. After this cannot eat hares. Then gets rings put on the wrists and in that way makes her exit ; she then has the dress of an old woman.¹ She can then marry, not before.

They have also a custom amongst the Corannas and there is only one particular woman at the kraal that has the power to order it to be observed ; when she is in want of food she generally practises it. She has a large house made in the centre of the kraal and when it is built there she sings a song and in it she calls to such and such a man to come and sleep by such and such a woman till she finds husbands for all the women who are in the house. During the ceremony which lasts for nearly eight days they kill ; the old woman has the direction of that. Each man must contribute something. They sleep all together in that house. The young girls also go there and have husbands, but to go is not forced upon them. When Adam² was on his way from Phillipolis he slept at Jan Bloom's place when that was going on. When the men are called they must go whether willing or not. The old woman selects the men ; those that are rich are most certain to be called. When done all go to their houses. Other persons cannot go to the house. There were unmarried girls in the house at that time when he was there, so girls are as much esteemed after as before and as readily find husbands, even supposing she has a child. After that is over the house

¹ Of a grown woman, or adult.

² Adam Kok.

is burnt. That often causes separations between men and their wives.

When a Coranna wishes to marry he sends some people with a few cattle and drives them in front of the mother's house. If she is unwilling she gets up and drives them away. If so they are brought back next morning and if she still does so then they desist. If she does not drive them away then one is caught and his throat cut, skinned and taken into the house by the friends of the man; he is himself not there, and that being done they return home. The man then goes to the house and is received. If the woman's house is not ready she lives in her mother's house for a time till ready, then goes into her own house. According to the man's will they remain there, then leave and go to the man's kraal. He cannot take away the woman till she is payed for; the payment is, according to the wealth of the parents of the man, from two to ten.¹ Then the father of the woman gives something back according to his wealth. When a man dies the woman returns to her father after everything being taken away from her by the father of the man if he be alive or by the brothers if he be dead.

Jan Bloom joined with Malitsani and attacked Masalacatzie whilst he was living to the east of the sources of the Vaal River; this was about three months before Mr. Moffat visited Masalacatzie.² Malitsanie understood Masalacatzie's manner better than Jan Bloom did; he got a division of the cattle as soon as possible and then set off with his portion

¹ Oxen.

² In 1829.

with all possible speed. Jan Bloom's movements were more gradual and the consequence was he was attacked and had them retaken. A youth, said to be a son of Masalacatzie's, was taken and he told them there was no chance of their being able to carry away the cattle.

About six weeks before Jantjie Hooyman and Paul attacked or threatened to attack Kuruman. Andries Bloom with a Coranna commando arrived at the station. Karse¹ who resided near Daniel's Kuyl, and who was married to a sister of Bloom's, heard of their intention of proceeding on a commando to the interior and repaired with his wife to Kuruman to endeavour to stop it. When the commando reached the Matlaru River, Karse and Arend rode to it and dissuaded them from the undertaking and got them to turn back.

They came to Kuruman and remained behind the Moffats' house for several days as friends, visiting in every direction and begging tobacco. The sister of Bloom got him on the side of the station and when he saw that they felt an inclination to attack the station he made his sister aware of it and abandoned them. Many relatives of the woman were amongst the party and she wrought hard to dissuade them from their intention. She and her husband went back and forwards between the Moffats' house and their camp, and so fearful was she that they would kill her husband that in returning from the latter she always walked behind him. During the time they were threatening

¹ Jan Karse, a Griqua, who left his farm at Kramerfontein to live at Kuruman in order that his children might be educated. He was a brother-in-law of the Blooms. See Moffat, J. S., *The Lives of Robert and Mary Moffat*, London, 1885, p. 144.

and carrying on the debate Bloom was in Mr. Moffat's house fearing their vengeance for having seceded. About four years ago Jan Bloom let it be known that he wished and intended visiting the missionaries at the Kuruman, and on his arrival he stated his intention of abstaining in future from commandoes and now wished to live on terms of friendship with the inhabitants. That he did from having attacked them sometime before and carried off a number of their cattle. Mr. Moffat reasoned with him for several hours regarding his previous life and brought before him the fate of all such as had hitherto led a life like his. He then asked him if it was not true; he replied "If I did not believe it I would not be so thoughtful to-day." He soon forgot his determination and continued making commandoes.

Class Dryer, when busily engaged in plundering and murdering said to some of his companions "It is all very well that I go on, taking cattle with you," but he knew what would be the end of it.

Malitsani killed two men who were sent as messengers to him by Masalacatzie.

At a Coranna marriage whatever is asked by a person arriving at the time must be sent after the person, let the distance be what it may or the article what it will.

South winds very cold in winter; northerly winds generally warm. This morning the wind which had been southerly got round to the north. Still cold; ice the last two nights. People very active getting in their tobacco.

They, the Corannas, often exchange wives for a time. When a Coranna goes on a journey then his

brother lives in the house and sleeps with the woman till he returns, even though married ; if no brother then the nephew or near relation must do that. There are never disputes about the children ; all are reckoned the regular husband's children. As a stranger arrives and agrees with a man to exchange wives when visiting, then he leaves his house and gives it up to the stranger and vice versa. It was customary when a man took his wife on a commando that he hired her to another man and she lived with that man so long as the commando was out ; perhaps eight or ten oxen according to the success of the commando. Polygamy exists amongst the Corannas. The Coranna women have elongations of the nymphæ like the real Bushwomen. When a woman first menstruates amongst the Corannas she stops in the house and cattle are killed ; after done eating then she goes out. A gun with a hair trigger is called after the name of the penis of a man ; one without it has the name of the female organs.

A court once held at Jan Captain's to investigate a case of fornication, the woman a widow ; case proved ; man sentenced to pay a cow and that was to be delivered to the Captain to be kept by him till the child was born, then to be given to the woman to support her and the child.

BAREND'S COMMANDO.

Thinks there were three hundred Griquas and a great number of Caffers with Malitsani, Towani and Matclaba. The wagons and Barend remained on a stream beyond Maquasse.¹ The charge of the com-

¹ The site of the Wesleyan Mission Station near Wolmaranstad.

mando then fell upon Gert Hooyman. Advanced five days beyond the wagons ; [this] was in June, 1830. On a river which runs to the east was Pelanie,¹ a Buchuana chief ; that chief asked Barend to assist him. The Bastards and Corannas and Griquas had long before been in the habit of visiting that chief hunting in the country and exchanging, but after Masalacatzie arrived he would not permit Pelanie to trade in that way any more, and he therefore requested assistance of Barend to get away Masalacatzie from his territory. Barend was with Pelanie when he made that request and Mr. Archbald went nearly so far and separated to go to Masalacatzie. Barend after this went to the country inhabited by Masalacatzie to hunt. At this time Mr. Archbald was with Masalacatzie.

One of the principal chiefs of Masalacatzie came to Barend's wagons and requested beads from Barend, saying if they were sent Masalacatzie would send oxen. Never got the oxen but sent two teeth. Would not take them because he wanted for each tooth a large bag of beads ; he sent them back. Barend said he could not give more beads ; he had already sent beads and received nothing for them ; he must exchange with the beads he had remaining. The one tooth was for a bag of beads, the other for a gun. He sent also an ox and a cow and for those a horse was asked. Heard no more of M. ; went on hunting and then returned home. Did not find Mr. Archbald again.

On return Barend submitted the request of Pelanie to the Government and it ordained that he must have assistance. A letter was then sent to Old Dam,² who

¹ Pilane, chief of the Kxatla.

² Adam Kok.

first refused, but his councillors said "This is the first time that Barend has asked assistance though he has often assisted you ; why cannot you help him ?" and on this Dam sent a commando [which] joined Barend above on the Vaal River. When together Barend explained to the people his intention which was to drive Masalacatzie out of the land which he had without right taken possession of, and if cattle were taken they were to be given to the Buchuanas who had lived and lost them. No person spoke against that. When they had left the camp and Old Barend, the people of Dam, Haip and Adam Kreger appeared dissatisfied with the arrangement that the cattle should be given to the Bechuanas. [They] had again a meeting and some of Barend's people stated the meaning of the chief ; then the commando became of one mind a second time. On this side of the hill [they] took 2 posts, on the other side one ; then the people began to fly in all directions and the last day they took nearly 4,000 cattle. They [on] the last day surrounded a number of women on a hill, and these women told them after speaking some time that they had heard that the commando of Masalacatzie was past and that they must take care that night ; and about sunset the commando of Barend's which was divided came together, then moved a little homewards but did not take the women.

The women told that two months ago the young men were away to the Bamangwato ; that the old men were only at home. The latter fought in the day, the others in the night because they are weaker. They said, "Those are the night fighters. Most are at home, therefore you must take care they fight only

in the night. They are skelems¹; they fight not in the day." Where they halted was an open level place away from hills. After they got the cattle all together the people formed round, then kindled fires and killed to eat. After that Gert Hooyman the chief came round and asked some what they thought; he, before any one answered, said "I expect the Caffers to-night." Then said one of the Hemraad,² Jan Pinnear, "Answer, how shall the Caffers come; the Caffers do not fight, how then shall they come to night?" Nothing more was said and then they went to sleep, not one placed to watch. The order of the chief Barend was if they took cattle that they were to make fires round them, and then the people to saddle up and leave the place till daybreak, but that was disregarded. Just before day as the moon was yet on the hill the Caffers attacked them. One man saw the Caffers approaching about 200 yards, called others, and just as they got their shoes and jackets on and the guns in the hand the Caffers rushed on. When they approached close they began to scream and beat on their shields. The Bechuanas were on one side and most of the Masalacatzie Caffers ran upon them. When they saw that they rushed in amongst the Griquas and created such a confusion that not one knew what to do. Some rushed so quickly by the others that they actually forced the guns out of the hand.

About a year before Barend attacked Masalacatzie, a party of Griquas consisting of David Berghover, Peter David, Frans Jot, Piet Jot, old Frans Jot, Jan Karse and several others went on a hunting expedition into the Baharootzie country and whilst the greater

¹ Skelms, or rascals.

² Heemraad, assessor to a Landdrost, or judge.

part of the men were absent looking after elephants a party of Bechuanas who were with them were cutting up an elephant which had been shot. Six Matabeli came to the spot and seized one of the Caffers, tied him, and with him went to a Caffer village close at hand. When the people of that village saw the Matabeli enter they fled and at the moment the Matabeli killed one Buchuana and a woman. They said to the man that was tied "You say you have no cattle, and here are cattle spoors." He said, "They were the spoors of the pack oxen belonging to the Bastards who were here hunting, and had been to get the flesh and teeth to convey them to the wagons." They told the man he must show where they were, and in going towards the place he got off from them and ran to the wagons.

Four men and old Jot were by the wagons and when they looked they saw the Matabeli driving off their oxen and horses, 4. Two had remained in the village. One of the two went after and when he approached fired a shot gun, got out of order, returned to wagons to get the other which was there, went off with it and fired again [and] missed. The Caffers then turned upon him and pursued him to the wagons but he rode past the wagons. The four came to the hinder wheels of the wagon and David, who was one of the two, and old Jot, stood by the disselboom.¹ There were about 100 Bechuanas with them. David called to the other man to bring the gun. At last [he] came, fired the shot but missed, had only two shots remaining; loaded, and being a melder² and he not knowing it, as he was using [it] the second time it went off without hurting

¹ Shaft.

² Milde, Middle Dutch for "soft." A "soft bullet" is probably meant.

the Caffers. They retired a little. The Bechuanas threw at them but they turned off the hassegays with their shields. The people who had fled from the village ran to the hunters and told them. They instantly repaired to the wagons, and whilst David was loading his last time they approached and immediately shot the four Matabeli. The latter did not fly but stood prepared to fight. They next morning prepared all and left for their homes; after killing the Caffers they got their cattle again.

After this time they were on a hunting party by the same place and the oxen during a heavy rain strayed and divided into two portions. One went off to a Bechuana kraal, the other to a kraal where there were also Bechuanas and one Matabeli. Both kraals contained Masalacatzie's cattle. David went on one spoor and two men on the other. David reached the Bechuana village where no Matabeli was and got the cattle. The others could not get the cattle from the Matabeli but returned about daybreak. Barend, who was with the party, desired four men to go back and explain that the cattle had strayed during the rain and ask for them. If he would not give them they must take them. The Matabeli refused. They then took them. A cow was wanting and that cow they saw with the oxen the day before. The Matabeli on being asked about the cow said he did not know anything concerning a cow. Jan David was the owner of the cow and he was opposed to permitting him to remain. Barend said "We are now without powder and lead and a long way in Masalacatzie's country; if we do anything we may get worsted, therefore we must remain quiet and return home." They did so. This was always the country to which the Griquas went

formerly to hunt and barter with the natives. Gert Hooyman, Jantjie Hooyman and Hans Hooyman were killed by Masalacatzie's people. The oldest son of Peter David was also killed, also Jan David, also Jan Pinnear and Valtyn . . .,¹ Hemraaden of Barend.

23 APRIL (THURSDAY).

When a chief of a vanquished tribe solicits permission to reside under the protection of another chief or to join him it is with hazard he leaves and [it is] always impossible to get off his cattle.² Mokatla some time ago sent a message to Mohura that as soon as the corn was reaped he intended to come and live near to him. Mohura in return said he must not do that as he intended leaving Kuruman and proceeding to him. This occurred soon after the news was heard concerning Waterboer's power and which was reported to be so great as to warrant him in interfering with Latakoo and its inhabitants.

24 APRIL (FRIDAY).

Purchased 20 sheep from a Griqua belonging to Barend. He is one of them who remained behind at Bootschap, and who with the others is about to leave in consequence of the reports concerning the powers of Waterboer. Those who have been living at Daniel's Kuyl are also preparing to start, and all appear dissatisfied with the reported new arrangements. One man, David Berghover, a veld cornet of Barend's who has ever since their departure from Bootschap been resident at the Kuyl, intends remaining there till

¹ Name cannot be deciphered.

² To take his cattle back with him.

Barend returns from Namaqualand, and if he be disposed to cede his right to that place, then he will leave with him. When the commandoes attacked the Batclapins, Batlaru and others to the westwards of Kuruman, the Bushmen were on the alert as they returned and generally by cunning or open attacks came in for a share. Waterboer used to catch such Bushmen as stole from his people, and caused them to work in irons about the village; they for a long time have not stolen from him.

25 APRIL (SATURDAY).

26 APRIL (SUNDAY).¹

27 APRIL (MONDAY).

[The] Lehoya² left Nokaning³ for Takoon and then they went to Town.⁴ From thence they fled towards the Vaal River. Tauianes,⁵ then the king of all the Baralong. Batclapin and Lehoya at that time cannot cross water when any of his family is sick. Batlaru are Baharootzie; lived[?] on the outskirts of the Batclapins. A tribute the breast of all game, particularly elands, etc. Perhaps may grant permission to separate. After his commandoes approach they make it known by sending men round.⁶

¹ No entries for these two days.

² Ligoya, the earliest of the Sotho tribes to go south. No trace of them remains to-day.

³ Nokuning, about twenty miles north-east of Takoon. The modern Klein Chowling is the spot.

⁴ Taunga.

⁵ Tawane.

⁶ I cannot make sense of this passage.

April	<i>Morana</i>
May	<i>Motsihanu</i>
June	<i>Lieta Baseugh</i>
July	<i>Puki</i>
August	<i>Patu</i>
September	<i>Poan</i>
October	<i>Cerematuli</i>
November	<i>Palan</i>
December	<i>Quanatsali</i>
January	<i>Hiricong</i>
February	<i>Leramatuli</i>
March	<i>Clakulae</i>
[March]	<i>Mopiqua</i>

East <i>Boclabatsatsi</i> ¹	Foreday	<i>Gamakaka</i>
West <i>Bopero matsatsi</i>	Sunrise	<i>Gamusbo</i>
North <i>Baquani</i>	Midday	<i>Matsihari</i>
South <i>Borua</i>	Halfunder	<i>Molibila</i>
	Sunset	<i>Liperimili</i>
	Dusk	<i>Loklaklan</i>
	Dark	<i>Mabancani</i>
	Midnight	<i>Bosego bari</i> ²

¹ These lists of words, in Brown's orthography, are as follows :
botlhabasatsi, bophirimatsatsi, bokweni, borwa, makuku, ka mosbo, motsbegare, molebela, phirimile, maabanyane, bosigogare, lotlbatlhana.

² Owing to the fact that the Tswana reckon by moons Smith has thirteen entries. It will be noticed that, having got as far as March, he repeated that word for the thirteenth moon, and afterwards drew his pen through it ; I have put square brackets round the deleted word. Also, since the moons change, the Setswana names as given by Smith do not tally in every instance with those given by Brown in his Dictionary ; I therefore give Smith's list in Brown's orthography, slightly modified by Doke.

Moranang, motsiganong, seetebosigo, phukwi, phatwe, poane, sedimotbulwe pbalane, ngwantsele, berikgong, sedimotbulwe, silakole, mopitwe.

The twelve months according to Brown and beginning with April as in Smith's list are :

Moranang, motsiganong, seetebosigo, phukwi, phatwe, poane, pbalane, ngwantsele sedimotbulwe, berikgong, silakole, mopitwe.

[They] eat the blood of animals ; boil it in a pot and mix fat with it. Mix salt in the medicine the doctor makes to obtain rain ; say the salt calls the rain. There is a snake that is found in water which they kill and use in making rain. When they will catch him they rub medicine on a branch and hold it before him [so] that he licks it in order to tame him, then catch him, fix him in the kaross, carry him home. Kill him and take the fat out, melt it and pour it in the medicine. Asking him why he did not kill it by the water he said the . . .¹ has always been opposed to that. Many believe in dreams ; part do not believe in them.

As they kill the guana in summer it will not rain ; as they kill it in winter they burn it in order that it must rain. Baboons' and nuni boks'² bones are picked up to make rain and [they] burn them ; also pick up the bones of the secretary [bird], and when done burning take up the ashes and place it after the house within the fence.

When a person is sick in a house they fix a stick before the door ; if men go in the sick person dies. They do not destroy cripples or deformed people. When a person goes deranged they endeavour to cure him ; if they cannot they leave him to his fate.

The Kuruman was always an unhealthy place for cattle ; *quatsie* was always in the country. Use nothing for cattle ; sprinkle medicine from bushes, etc., upon the disease in men. Small pox has been thrice in the land, once about 80 years ago, a second time

¹ The word cannot be deciphered, though in general appearance it looks like "land".

² *None*, or *muni*, of the Tswana ; the *blesbok*.

about 35 or 40 years ago, and the last time about 4 years ago.

MANTATEES.

Matuan¹ put them to flight from their country, Karahari, Cobiniani, Moquatsi, Tsitaki, Lidoqua, Ceturi, Mohapi the great chief; they were all of the same nation. They were called Batlathlaquan and also Bahole. They had shields like the Matabeli which they made during their flight, but their own shields were like the Mantatees. The waters near which they lived ran to the westward and discharged themselves into the Liqua.²

[They] make their karosses black by rubbing them with fat and charcoal. Formerly they used to make their *makabis*³ of flowers which grew in one of the rivers; now since they have left their country they use the Batclapin *macabi*.⁴

They first fought with the Matabeli and upon being conquered by them they fled and all the tribes they approached fled. Another chief was Maklari. The order of their king was to catch and take the cattle, not to kill people. They knew nothing of horses and guns; when they saw the men on horse-back they thought they were elephants. Men that they had caught on the road told them that they must lie down and the balls would miss them. Mulitsani⁵ was chief of the Mackari. They had the same dress as the

¹ Matiwane, a powerful Zulu chief who had fled from Tshaka.

² Vaal.

³ *Makabi*, skin petticoat of Tswana women.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Moletsani.

Mantatees. They lived upon a river which also ran into the Liqua. Chaka¹ drove the Mackari.

On the 8th Aug. 1818, first rain that spring, thunder and lightening.

Women cry much when they think a captain is dying.

Matebe² would not plant Indian corn because it was, they said, medicine; but the king said he would eat of it if we planted it for them.

Rain-makers wash the dishes sometimes with medicine; also sometimes call all the people to go to the river to be washed with medicine to make rain. Rub their limbs also with some bulbs for the same purpose. Once the rain-maker said he could not make rain, that the rain was buried with an old man, and that he must be taken up and washed. [This was] agreed to and done though he had been buried for a month or six weeks. His name was Marupolo, which means clouds of rain. The rain-maker also said that the horn with which they called the people to church had blown the rain away; so long as they called "A kirk koo"³ they had rain, but now since they used the tin horn they had none. [He] said to the people they must get a baboon without dogs and skin it alive, and then he could give rain. [He] told them once that they must go and sleep without their wives for the night and then they would get rain. Another time [he] told them when he could not get rain that they must go and take an owl alive; they promised to go. Feb. 28, 1819. A slave arrived at Kuruman.

¹ Tahaka.

² Mothibi, the Tlhaping chief.

³ Kom kerk-toe, come to church.

A meteor once appeared at Kuruman whilst they were dancing ; [they] left off and cried terribly and fled to their houses.

Graves 3 feet diameter, 5 or 6 deep. [They] sometimes place pieces of ants' nest about the feet of the deceased when the earth [is] up to mouth. They put a small thorn branch and roots made round upon the head. Men engaged in burying have water brought in a bowl mixed with roots, wash their hands, also put a little on the upper parts of feet, then the women do the same. They then called out for rain. The women leave the grave crying when the ceremony is ended and after the water is thrown over the grave. When they perform the latter they call for rain. Was buried under the hedge of his own cattle kraal then made up again.¹

Berghaners were troublesome in 1817. Jacob Cloete was then on Hart River and threatening Griqua Town.

[In] 1820, 18 July, first thunder and rain. [On] 24 May, finished a church at Lower Kuruman.

In the month of Augt. 1820, Griquas went after Buys at the request of Stockenstrom. [On] 24 Septr., 1820, Mr. Moffat arrived from Griqua Town.

The son of Class Borne who murdered Barend's daughter was hung at Daniel's Kuyl near Griqua Town in the year 1820.

Sheep sent to meet a rain-maker at river ; he washed its feet then its body then his own feet, then took it into the town and killed it. Ordered one day no women to dig, no men to cut a single bush nor grass to thatch the houses, for if they did the lightening that came

¹ I.e. the hedge.

with the rain would come to their houses and kill them. Send a whip [to] drive the clouds away ; also washing white clothes. Once went up to the top of the hills and rolled a stone down to produce rain.

Once Mr. R[ead] went to Matebe's son who was sick. John Hendrick could not enter because he was unclean, his child having died a few days before, and Mr. Read because his child had no teeth.

Contrary to their laws to go for blink klip¹ before harvest. Must not touch ivory whilst the corn is growing ; if so must take up some ashes in the fingers.

A person killed by lightening must not be buried, as it will stop the rain. Was asked to permit her to be buried by the missionaries ; gave it but went first thro' many ceremonies. The rain-maker and many men washed her body with water, ordered no women to work the day after, no bushes to be cut and said the clouds must be given medicine or else they would kill more people.

The king must bite the leaf of the water melon before the people can eat them ; if before that they think they would die and they are also punished if it be known.

The first preparation for circumcision begins by making the boys lie on the ground and they beat them with a branch of a bush. They must not cry. The day the boys were to return the men of the town went to their houses which were about half a mile from the town, and when they approached the town most of the people went out to meet them. The women were desired to keep at a distance. A wand was stuck

¹ *Sabbe*, or grey ore sparkling with mica.

in the ground at about the distance of half a mile. All the boys ran off to it to see who could get first to it; he was the most honourable. Then they all ran off towards the mountains and we saw no more of them for that day. In the evening the men and women went round the town with burning torches. Every day after they are a little recovered they take them to hunt hares, etc. That day the boys set fire to their house, the men having previously taken out the poles. They were then marched by [the] men to the town, and taken to the king's kraal where they remained all night. The next morning they were carried to the field and each division of boys was told off to the cattle of that division. At night they came home amongst the cattle and this ended the ceremony.

At the end of the ceremony of circumcision of girls [they] brought an earth figure like a human body with beads round the neck and presented it before the girls in a bowl, but it had a head like a bird 2 feet high. One old woman danced round it but said nothing. The girls were all there in full dress dancing.

Matebe, after recovery from sickness, was cleansed. He was stript naked. An ox on which no man had rode had its feet made fast; a board in the form of a cross was placed on its back and he was placed on it. A large bowl of water was poured upon his head and then another was brought and the ox's nose held in it till it died.

This year the Buchuanas had been engaged cutting a tree to burn it in order that it might not stop the rain; it had been struck by lightning. The year before they rubbed it with bulbs, etc.

Did not formerly bury people who died of the blood sickness.

Matebe at a general meeting about rain once said that the want of rain arose from the women going to the fields to dig without coming to him so that he might order who should go. [He] told his brother Malala that he was accused of witchcraft, that he must go to the town and inquire about it, then take all the men, women and children to the river and have them washed so that the rain might come. Once Matebe sent word to Mr. Hamilton that the lightening had struck in the missionary grounds and that he might send a sheep or a few beads to the rain-maker which he would offer to God as he was angry.

28 APRIL (TUESDAY).

Batsatsing the correct name of Botamaha, same family as the Batclapin; they were [a] portion of the tribe which emigrated eastwards. The chief Dibi Makosi lived near where Griqua Town now stands. During his time they left in consequence of wars with the Corannas, etc. They went to live near Mokaring.¹ Lehoya formerly lived near or at Nokaning.² The Batclapins also at one time lived there.

29 APRIL (WEDNESDAY).

Preparing despatches for the Colony. Two men started with them for Griqua Town about 8 p.m. 

¹ Possibly by the Matlowing River.

² Nokuning, about twenty miles north-east of Takoon, or old Lithako.

30 APRIL (THURSDAY).

About 9 a.m. started for Motito. Reached Matluari River about 4 p.m. At dusk inspanned and proceeded about two hours, then halted for the night. Part of the road sandy. One sheep died suddenly. Left 18 and four young oxen at a kraal on the Matluari River to rest for a day. Hot during the day; very cold during the night.

1 MAY (FRIDAY).

Reached Motito about 3 p.m. Very warm from eleven till 3. One of the percussion guns was discharged by accident and nearly shot Minton.¹ The ball just grazed his back about the loins.

2 MAY (SATURDAY).

The female initiation is called in Sechuana *boyale*.² Round the middle a sort of kilt formed of reeds cut in pieces about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch long strung upon strings and hang from the waist to within a couple of inches of the knees. Between each piece of reed is included one of the seeds of the *magatan*,³ or wild water melon. In front of the head over the eyes is fixed a shade composed of small rushes placed alongside of each other and fixed by means of threads passed through them in the same way as mats are made. The rushes are placed vertically and the shade is about four inches in length. Attached to the string which retains the

¹ John Mintern, Smith's servant.

² Initiation ceremony at age of puberty.

³ This may be connected with *magapu*, a melon.

shade in its position is a number of pieces of the feet of jackals which partly hang down in front and partly behind over the bands which cross the body and shoulders. The latter rise to a great height in front and behind where the two series cross each other. When they dance the last day the contents of the stomach are taken up by the girls who have gone through the ceremony and strewed over the ground where they are to dance. A sort of image is brought to the place ornamented with all descriptions of beads, and that is carried by several women who till it is properly placed surround it, then it is exposed and the men must go and look what a fine thing they can make. On the same occasion a woman is often dressed in grass over [the] eyes, etc., and she is led to the dancing place where she is left and all make game of her.

Once when the wind blew for a long time from the Kuruman, Masalacatzie said that was good; he knew by that that no commandoes were coming from that direction.

The circumcision of the boys is called *boguera*.¹ For labour they say *belega*,² for the birth of sheep, etc., *tsala*;³ *tsatla*,⁴ yellow, envious. When one of the girls misbehaves in any way the whole are punished. Should a portion of reed be broken off their dress when dancing they are taken to the cattle kraal and flogged throughout.

3 MAY (SUNDAY).⁵

¹ *Boguera*.

² Labour in childbirth.

³ To beget, or give birth to.

⁴ *Tsibelba*, yellow.

⁵ No entry for this date.

4 MAY (MONDAY).

It having been reported to me that Hendrick Whiteboy, Cape Corps, had been making use of language of a very improper description and that in the hearing of several of the party, I sent for them to be informed of the nature of his remarks. Jeremias from Gnadenthal first questioned. "I and Ismael were sitting together with Hendrick Whiteboy in our tent when Besuidenhout came in and I asked him where he had been. He said he had been over to the Caffer kraal to get milk and had heard that Mohura's cattle would come here as he was going to move in consequence of having got the name of being a thief and having stolen Masalacatzie's cattle. Then Hendrick said he wished Mohura had as much understanding as he had to bring a commando on us in the night and kill us even if he was there also and must die, but he would see to escape. If he had so much power as Mohura he would know how to make the commando ready and bring it on us. He said the man (meaning Mohura) was stupid but God would give him the power to do that. He said that he was always a murderer in [his] own land and to-day he was yet not a peaceably disposed man."

Upon hearing that and considering it in conjunction with many other acts of his which had previously come to my knowledge, I sent for him and desired him to get ready; that I intended sending him back to the Colony. He remarked when going from my wagon to the fire place that he was glad that he was now going back and that he was free from the party. Hendrick said that when we passed Mohura's place on our way to Masalacatzie we should see him no more.

He spoke in a composed manner relative to his visit to Mohura and said we shall yet hear about the subject. There was only Botha with him therefore reason to fancy Botha was concerned in the matter. Botha . . .¹

BOYALE. DRESS, SEE ... BOYALE GIRLS.²

The ceremony is performed during the months of April and May. If the queen has a daughter to be circumcised she tells all the women that there will be a circumcision, then the girls are all brought together. A house is taken, generally one of the poor, and they are forced to leave it and the girls live in it altogether for the time. Each chief has such a ceremony. After [they are] brought together then one woman is the head and she prepares their food. It must be a widow. It does not matter what they eat. The chief's daughter must first eat, then the rest. The woman who has charge of them can eat of that food but nobody else. The father of one girl gives a sheep, another an ox, a friend an ox, etc., to the woman to be used. Begin to wear the dress on the fourth day. They go every day to bring wood and the woman in charge beats them severely. The wood is for their own use; they bring water also for their own use. They cannot go alone to bring water. They get out of the way of men. The branch is to beat the boy that may come in the way. They are smeared with white clay from the first day. They dance during the time at the king's kraal, but when they have returned home they cannot mix with men or boys. Every third day they remain without dancing. Every day they dance and the woman dressed

¹ Nothing follows the name.

² Thus in MS.; probably "see drawing of." Compare Plate 30.

in rushes is always there; she stands amongst the men, who make game of her. She must be a widow; it is the custom. When the time is over they go to the river, wash the white clay off and smear [themselves] with fat and red clay, cut the hair according to the fashion and rub it with black clay. In that day all the people come together and dance and make merry. It is against the law to allow them to sleep during the time. It lasts for about a month. She tells them of the pains of child bed, etc. An ornamented figure adorned with beads and made of wood is produced in a bowl for all to see. They say it is the god of the *boyale*.

Early in August 1832 the town of Towani, a Bara-long chief, was attacked by the Matabeli. It was situated on the other side of Sitlakole¹ at a place called Kunuana.² The attack was made in consequence of many of Towani's people, amongst others his son, having joined Barend in the commando of 1831. The report of a commando of the Matabeli being about to proceed to attack Towani, and on their way back to take all the youths of the Baharootzie, was brought to the latter by one of the Matabeli, which caused them all to fly immediately.

The town of Towani was situated near the point of a hill, and a town of Bawankets was very near to it. The intention of the commando was to attack in the night but it being so very cold they waited for day concealing themselves at a distance. It came in sight of the town about 11 a.m., and when near it it was divided into three portions; one continued in the

¹ Setlagoli. See map.

² Kunana, fifty-seven miles due north of Schweizer Reneke. See map.

middle to intercept the cattle. A wing was despatched round the north of the hill to catch those who took to flight and the right wing was destined to encircle the Bawankets and join the left. The latter, however, made too sharp a turn and in that way did not accomplish its object, whereby the Bawankets had time to escape, and they had orders that if they fled along the Kuruman road the commando was not to follow them. Happily for them they took that direction and escaped. The left wing caught the Baralong's flying and killed without mercy men, women, children, old men, etc. Two days afterwards some Bechuanas passed and saw mothers dead with children sucking their breasts but they left them there. The Matabeli burnt all the houses, threw the corn together into heaps, and put dead bodies above it. At this kraal they continued the remainder of the day and all the night making merry. Towani had ten wives and all of them, it is supposed, were killed.

Towani despatched a man to tell Mohura of his misfortunes, and to ask permission to retire and live with him. Kanakamora,¹ either before or after the man arrived, went off in the direction in which Towani's cattle were retiring and came up to them attended by Towani's son and the herds. He went to the son, talked with him in a friendly way, then shook hands with him [and] mounted his horse as if going away. Soon, however, [he] began to make his people surround the cattle to take them. The son of Towani seeing that ran away, but as he could not fly quickly, having a quantity of ammunition with him, he was soon overtaken by the Batclapin who pursued, and was then killed.

¹ Brother of Mahura.

When Mr. Lemu³ was returning from the Baharootzie he halted for 8 days at Towani's town and experienced the most friendly treatment from the son of Towani. Whilst there he lost a cat which he had with him, and soon after leaving, that son discovered it and sent a man after Mr. L. with it a considerable distance. Mr. Lemu recommended Towani to move back with his cattle towards Litakoon and was consequently very sorry to hear of what had happened to his son. When he saw Towani he satisfied him that it was not in his power to prevent the occurrence. When he fell in with Towani he looked a most wretched being; his beard was long, which is generally the case when they are flying, travelling, or suffering from misfortunes. The Baharootzie fled immediately on hearing of the intended commando.

Messrs. Lemu, Rolland and Pellisier left Kuruman for the Baharootzie country on the 17 February and reached Mosegha¹ on the 12 March 1832. They left it on the 2 June of the same year. In conversation with Dr. Phillip at Kuruman, the latter proposed to collect the Baharootzie and place them at Daniel's Kuyl. He advised Mr. Lemu to accompany him to Griqua Town and get Mohura also to go. All was arranged but something prevented Mohura going. Dr. P., Mr. L., and Waterboer agreed that Daniel's Kuyl should be the station, and Mr. L. returned with the intention of proceeding to collect them. Before he left for that purpose he got a letter from Dr. Phillip from the hands of Mohura who had returned from Griqua Town, saying that he had agreed to the plan. When Mr. L. was starting, he got a message from Mohura

¹ Mosega, where Zendeling's Post is to-day, near Zeerust.

to say that he must not go ; he wished to see him. Mr. L. sent him word that his wishing to see him was nothing ; he would go and go he did. When Mushuara¹ the brother of Malala, a Baralong chief, heard Mr. L. was going, he said Mokatla was an old friend of his and therefore he would accompany him to assist him in getting them to remove.

After travelling some days in an easterly direction they found Mokatla with the remains of his people near a small bush of *Mimosa* trees and upon stating to him the plan he appeared at first rejoiced but afterwards scruples arose, and he said he must have time to reflect and consult his people. Next day he appeared unwilling to go, but Moiloway,² a young chief and nephew of Mokatla, was anxious for the removal so that Mokatla at last consented and they began to get ready for the march.

They started, and on reaching Hart River, the residence of a party of Coranna, some delays took place and Mushuara, who had received a message in the interim from Mahura, got very angry ; declared that they, the missionaries, had deceived him, and was determined to return to Letako. Mokatla determined to go no farther and there Mr. L. left him and his people and repaired to Motito where he established himself on the 12th Nov., 1832. A number of Baharootzie followed them and placed themselves at Motito. Mahura offered no objections but even promised that he would himself live at Motito. He has never done so.

¹ Mothlware.

² Moiloa. See Campbell, J., *Travels in South Africa* (Second Journey), London, 1822, Vol. i, p. 220 *et seq.*

Motibe	take care of him.
Mahura	fat.
Malala	poor.
Bogosi	kingdom.
Techoe	mocked at.
Mamorati	beloved of his mother. ¹

The eldest son of Mahura was called Bogosi by his mother who was a very proud woman. When they were about to fly and leave their country all the women laughed at the queen for having given the name of kingdom to her son, and when she had a daughter she called her Techoe, that is, mock'd at.

5 MAY (TUESDAY).

Mokatla [is] about 60 years of age. When he was born his father lived at Sitabing,² two days on this side of the Molopo. Towani was born at Sitlaholi. Moleta³ was the king of the Bawankets in those days; Macaba⁴ was young at that time. They then lived a long distance beyond the Molopo, but afterwards emigrated to the Molopo. A commando of the Baquana drove them away from the country near the Bamangwato. When Macaba got chief he returned back to his own country, and some time after Malala with his people went to him and lived with him some time, then left him and returned back to his old country.

¹ With the exception of the fifth, which I have not been able to check, the meanings of these names are substantially correct. The proper spelling of the five which are accessible would be: Mothibe; Mahura; Molala; Bogosi; Mamorati.

² Setaben, about 12 miles north of Kuruman.

³ Melita, a former chief of the Ngwaketse.

⁴ Makaba, chief of the Ngwaketse.

The position of the Bawankets was to the north of the Baharutse, and there was a mountain called Kari¹ between them and the Baquana. The Baquana had the same dress as the Bechuana; they were a portion of the Bawankets. The chief of the Baquana was Muchacieli.² Melite and Muchacele were two brothers; the first was the oldest. They fought about cattle; the Baquana drove them to the Molopo. When the Bawankets returned, they again fought with the Baquana till the Matabeli came who drove them in separate bodies in various directions.

Cowan's³ party passed Malala at Molopo, then went to the Bawankets, then to the Baquana, afterwards to the Bamangwato, and then came to a large river and in attempting to cross they were all drowned in the river. There is a tribe living beyond the River Mahalatcela,⁴ who said they were drowned in the river when Malala was young.

Mashe⁵ was chief of the Batclapin and lived at Nokuning towards Blink Klip. The Batlaru then lived

¹ Matlakhari Hill, near Artesia Railway Station, in the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

² Motshwasele, chief of the Kwena. Compare also Livingstone, D., *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, London, 1857, p. 14, where the same chief gives similar information.

³ The expedition of Dr. Cowan and Lieut. Donovan, which set out in October, 1808 to explore the country between Lithako and the Portuguese province of Mozambique. They were known to have reached the Ngwaketse, who were living near Kanye, but from that point all trace of them was lost. Theal, G. M., *History of South Africa* (1834-1854), London, 1888, Vol. iii, pp. 140-141. Smith's expedition was specifically asked to find out what had happened to them, since previous travellers, including Burchell and Campbell, had failed to obtain satisfactory information from the native chiefs. See *Instructions for the Expedition into Central Africa*, Cape Town, 1834, p. 9.

⁴ Possibly the Mhalapshwe River, which runs past Mahalapye Railway Station and joins the Limpopo.

⁵ Mashwe.

by Langeberg. Taue¹ lived at Takoon before Malala was born. Ratclo² first lived on Hart River, then moved to Letako, then to Sitlaholi, and there died of small pox.

There were no Corannas in that time in the Hart River; they were all below Griqua Town. The Baralongs fought with the Batclapin, and the latter went to reside towards the Orange River. That was before he was born; they lived together before they fought. They both lived together at Letakoon. Corannas always lived on the Black River and Bushmen were mixed with them. Batclapin lived on the other side of the Vaal River.

The Lehoya used to live towards Thaba'unchu. The Bakalahari first lived at Molopo, then fled into the desert. Their chief [was] Maluali; they were poor Baralongs. Ratsipip³ was a Matabeli, and came originally from Dingan's country. Towan and Kama were the two chiefs of the Bamangwato and fought together; Towan fled. His people were called Mampuru.⁴ There are also a tribe residing near by the lake called Makoba⁵ who live upon corn and fish. Towane's Baralong men were called Boratiri, Mochuara's people Baraclu, Sibinel's people Bamakop.⁶

6 MAY (WEDNESDAY).

The Baralongs with Malala took the same road in going in to the Kalahari that they followed in coming

¹ Tau, chief of the Rolong.

² Ratbou, chief of a branch of the Rolong.

³ Rathsibi; he was, however, a Tswana chief.

⁴ Possibly Mamphoro.

⁵ Makoba. Compare Chapman, J., *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*, London, 1868, Vol. i, p. 168.

⁶ Branches of the Rolong.

out. They got scarcely any water, a little at Maubil¹ (for people eat only the bitter apple), a put on this side of Lehutitun. By Maubil there are several small hills; by Lehutitun the water is large and there are four springs. There were only poor Caffers first. The Baquana were there when he arrived. He fought with them and drove them away to their own country, then the Wankets came. They fought [and] drove the Wankets, but afterwards removed. 6 men died during the flight, [and] two women and two children; a great number of cattle died in crossing.

7 MAY (THURSDAY).

The Baralongs call their principal chief *kosi*²; some call him king, some father. When they killed an elephant one tusk was always sent to the king. When they kill an elephant they cut off a foot and the front of the trunk and bury the latter. The foot they eat. Send portion of game to the king. Eland, camel, buffalo, and rhenoster they send the breast to the king. When a commando is out and brings cattle, the king takes as many as he wishes and gives them the rest. A man can marry two sisters. The number of commandoes, etc., destroys many of the men, therefore always a surplus of women. Malala says when travelling people lend him their wives. The Bawankets and the Baquana take each other by the nose to make friends, then those must give of their property to each other. If a man who has taken a person by the nose has a wife and the man whose nose he has pulled goes by her the man must not be angry. It is the way

¹ Maubel Hill. See page 306.

² *Kosi*.

to cement a friendship by lending wives to each other. Last night a very heavy thunderstorm and much rain.

8 MAY (FRIDAY).

Malala says that in old times when men or cattle died they said it was God that killed them; they thought he lived under the ground. They are afraid to pass graves but they seem to have no notion that they can be injured by the dead, only they have a dread [of] and antipathy to a corpse.

Says there is a flat rock in the Baharutsie country. All the nations came out there; all animals came out and Bushmen also. They always speak of Bushmen apart from men and animals, generally speaking of men, cattle, and Bushmen. Says the Bushmen were always bad people. They were bad people when they first came out of the ground. In every district there are a sort of poor natives which approach to the character of the Bushman near the Colony.

The persons who have been engaged in burying a dead body must wash the whole body. It is only when men die during rainy weather that they throw water on the grave. When they die in fine weather they do not throw water on the grave. Men who have children that have not yet teeth cannot go to see a sick person because that would cause the sickness to increase. They cannot explain why, only say it is the law.

The man cannot enter the house, when his wife has had a child, for a month. Say as another man sleep with the woman before the child is weaned it will

be sickly, but if her proper husband that will not happen.

When a man has killed another he must be cleansed before he can go to his house. He goes to the fence where the men work and then the doctor brings medicine dissolved in water in a round wooden basin, and into it he dips the tail of a hartebeest, then holds it over the head of the man when he is placed on his knees. Two men are assisting and they wash with their hands the whole body. After the washing is completed they make small longitudinal incisions round the wrists quite superficially, and they rub bushes burnt and mixed with fat upon these parts. Then they make a long incision along the front of the thigh and rub medicine on it, then cut round the ankles and rub also the great toe but [do] not cut it; then they rub the face. That being finished, they go where they will. The next day it is nearly all gone.

Tylops (No. 122) caught in ground at Motito: ground colour light grey with bands of black spots (longitudinally) very slender; plate on nose pale livid blue; about 8 inches long.

During the time the boys are absent from the kraal at the circumcision they wear a sort of kilt made of the bark of thorn trees twisted (two plait), and round the neck a string of the fat of the cattle which are slaughtered. On one occasion also ropes of the same fat across the chest as represented in drawings, *vide boguera*¹ boys. The body, excepting the head, is smeared with white clay. They carry in the hand a switch of straight wood, also an hassegay and a karrie.

¹ See Plate 29.

CLEANSING AFTER KILLING A MAN ON COMMANDO.

When the commando returns to the kraal, those that have killed men repair to the fence where the people are accustomed to work and there are cleansed by the doctor before they can go about the kraal or return to their own homes. Each in succession kneels down upon a log of wood and supports himself by means of the hands which are also placed on the ground. The doctor brings a wooden bowl filled with herbs mixed in water, dips the tail of a hartebeest in it and then holds it over the man's head and back upon both of which the water falls. Two men are in attendance, who immediately rub and wash the whole body, head, etc. He then sits up to have the extremities washed in the same way. That being done he places himself in the original position, and the doctor creeps from one side to the other under his breast. The next part of the ceremony is then practised, which consists of making small longitudinal incisions round the wrists and in front of the ankle joints, also one long one in front of each thigh. They are then smeared with medicine mixed in fat, and that being done, the doctor stands up, separates his feet to a considerable distance and the man passes between his legs from before backwards. The great toe is also rubbed with medicine but is not cut. *Vide* drawing for forms.

When a young female menstruates for the first time they [say] for it *italega*,¹ interpreted, to become green; when after *chuala*² or *ipoga*,³ root *boga*.⁴

¹ *Italega*, to become green for oneself for the first; i.e. to menstruate for the first time.

² *Tswala*, to shut, or to cover the nakedness.

³ *Ipoga*, to menstruate; it is the reflexive form of *boga*, to bind.

⁴ *Boga*, to bind.

9 MAY (SATURDAY).

When the corn is ripe the chief breaks the head off a few of his and makes beer of it, and as soon as he drinks of it he says the other people can begin to act. When the *macatan*¹ is ripe the chief takes a portion of the leaf, chews it, then rubs it on the navel, between the great and second toe, and upon the sandal inside upon the inner side of the foot; then all the men, women and children throughout the country must do the same. The wives and children of the chief must do that first and then the other women and children. They must also rub the insides of their shields; that is to prevent it creating disorder in the belly. The water that comes from the *macatan* is used also for washing the hassegays. The Baralong and Matclapins do that no longer; says that the *macatan* does not disturb the belly more now than it did before when they observed these ceremonies, therefore he, Malala, thinks it was done without any advantage and that it was only a superstition of the old people. About the time that they will commence to eat of the first fruits they used to be called altogether, and then they were informed that the chief would eat of the first fruits. Then, broken up, [they] went all home and eat after going through the same ceremony. They dance, and when the men are away the chief eats. After the *picbo*² [he] drinks the beer also.

When a tree is struck by lightening they make a large fire round it and burn it to ashes. This is done by the rain-maker. If lightening strikes a garden they say God is angry, and the owner of the garden is washed with medicine dissolved in water and then

¹ Melon.² *Pine*, or meeting.

wood is carried to the spot and burnt on the place. Previous to that they dig into the ground and take out the moist ground and burn it with the wood. If in a kraal they take the ashes and throw it in the water ; if in the field they let it remain. They must always pay the doctor for such work. The same cleansing as for killing a man (*vide* drawing).¹ If thunder strikes in a kraal for holding cattle, all the people whose cattle stand there must be washed.

Amongst the Baralongs when a man was sick the doctor gets a goat and sticks a sharp stick up its nostrils so as to cause it to bleed. The blood is allowed to flow over the sick man. When the blood stops they give medicine to the animal so that it must die, then they skin it and eat it. The sick man then eats of the flesh mixed with medicine.

BARALONG COMMANDOES.

When a commando goes out they are all treated as in cleansing except they do not cut when they get near the place where they are to fight. The doctor has some powdered herbs in a piece of skin ; then it is opened and each licks a little of the powder with the tongue ; then they go to fight. The person who has charge of it holds a little over and when they are about to begin to fight he blows it towards the place. They say that will enable them to conquer their enemies and kill them. All the hassegays are brought together when the *picbo* is held. The doctor washes all the hassegays with medicine. The medicine is burnt and thrown into the water, then washed with wildebeast tail that has been found dead. They will not use one that has been killed by men.

¹ See Plate 31.

Feb 28. When people from Masalacalpa come to the country they always place their in his country at a distance the most remote from the town which they have fled in order that should they be seized they will have difficulty in escaping.

29 March (Sunday)

Some news as usual & reports reached today that the Masalacalpa people have been dealing more coolly from the salmucage

30 March Monday

The coffee arrived this afternoon from Salto with letters: one from the town and one from the Mission contained nothing regarding the cattle stolen from Masalacalpa except that some were missing & such other letters containing instructions to the effect to move the weapons and people immediately to the town and should be paid that cattle had been taken again. — The messenger who brought the letters here states that he heard the report at Salto & the stated that he heard that cattle had been taken that they had been left in the past that had come by to there as he said to know if they might bring them to the town. He never had reported to the town of the report and afraid that it might be false with the exception of the persons attached to the mission all others were suspicious of of such transactions knowing that he reported them wrongly for such conduct the statement was made in the hearing of the debatable with Masalacalpa. The messenger was a Morology and spoke of the conduct of Masalacalpa in respect to his nation he accused the former of having just captured them the other a Macra. It quite surrounded and despite the charge with much warmth. He knew much better versed in the history of the transactions which under the proceedings in early day than the Morology and stated in fact and clear words the actual truth.

31 March (Tuesday)

The Pachuanas in afternoon and preparing for their sheep for Macra. They took with the birth of a sheep goat another animal of that description & being previously surrounded with water. A Macra report for some hours after birth has long soft hair that they shake off and then the ewe has long hair. The Salto people say that the people of Masalacalpa which are in the market and are presently in charge of the sheep and



Plate 2.

Colesberg, Nachemaal.

See page 64 of text.



Plate 3.

The Orange River, near Buffel's Vley.

See page 68 of text.



Nº 5. Philippolis. Capital of Griqualand 1844.



Lo. Bell.

H. Hendriks

No. 60. Hendrik Hendriks brother of David and Andries Hendriks
the Poyanassers - son in law of Adriaan Hek (the Chief) and the able
Secretary to Government of Ceylonland - presented with
from out prison of Wellington and sketched while good life 1834



Plate 6.

Verhuil, now Bethulie.

See page 84 of text.



Nº 20 - Moriah - French Mission Station in the Reports Comting 1834. The Maluki Mountain in the distance *L. Bell.*



No. 23 - Thaba Bosigu (Mountain of Darkness) Stronghold of Moschethu Chief of the Basuto - 1854.

Plate 9.

Thaba Bosigu (Mountain of Darkness).

See page 113 of text.



1834 The Drakensberg Range East of Bassoutoland



1834 Lishuane a Wesleyan Mission Station during the war as appears from the picture of the

L. Holt

Plate 10A.

The Drakensberg Range, East of Bassoutoland.

See page 132 of text.

Plate 10B.

Lishuane ; a Wesleyan Mission Station.

See page 122 of text.



Plate II.

Mr. Edwards' congregation at Lishuane.

See page 124 of text.



Plate 12.

Umpokuane; Wesleyan Mission Station among the Corannas.

See page 127 of text.



1830. Stronghold of Sikonelli - chief of the Mantatees - 1830.

Plate 13.

Stronghold of Sikonelli, chief of the Mantatees.

See page 129 of text.





Plate 15.

Thaba'unchoo (Black Mountain).

See page 146 of text.



Plate 16.

Uitdraai, on the Riet River.



No 64 - The Valley of the Riet River - 1835-

L. Bell.



Plate 18.

Sketch on the Modder River.



Plate 19.

Sketch on the Modder River.



L. Bell.

Plate 20.

Fording the Vaal River.

See page 220 of text.



No. 11. London Missionary Station of Kuruman in the Bechuanaland County 1836



No 74 - Kuruman from the North East - across the Vley of reeds. - 1835 -

Lo. Bell.



Plate 23.

A Bechuana cupping. Cuts, exhaust and knife.

See page 273 of text.



Plate 24.

The Langeberg in the Kalihari desert.

See page 301 of text.



*No 80. L'inchuane - (little house) - hole in rock - containing dirty water
the first draught in returning through the desert of Hakkarie 1835*





No 83. Motito French Mission Station among the Batelapi — 1835



Plate 28.

Mr. Lemue holding Evening Service.

See page 321 of text.

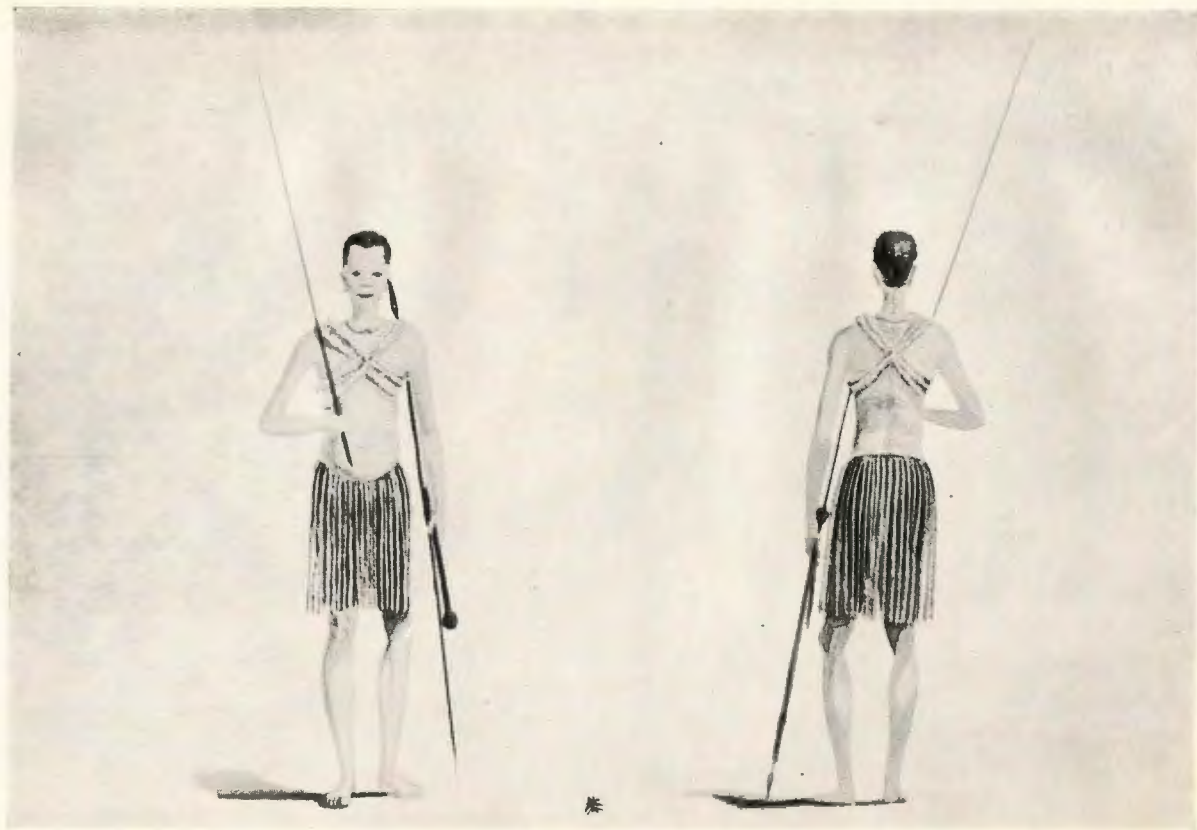


Plate 29.

Dress of boys during the ceremony of Circumcision.

See page 410 of text.



Plate 30.

Dress of Bechuana girls during Circumcision ceremony.

See page 397 of text.



Plate 31.

Barolong purification ceremony. . . See page 411 of text.



*No. 39. Medicine Men administering the Charm to Barolong
warriors when going to battle 1834*



*No. 40. Medicine man blowing conch charm bones,
the Posing -*

