Andrew Smith's Journal of his expedition into the interior of South Africa / 1834 - 36

An authentic narrative of travels and discoveries, the manners and customs of the Native tribes, and the physical nature of the country

Edited with an introduction and notes by
William F. Lye

With contemporary illustrations by Charles Davidson Bell

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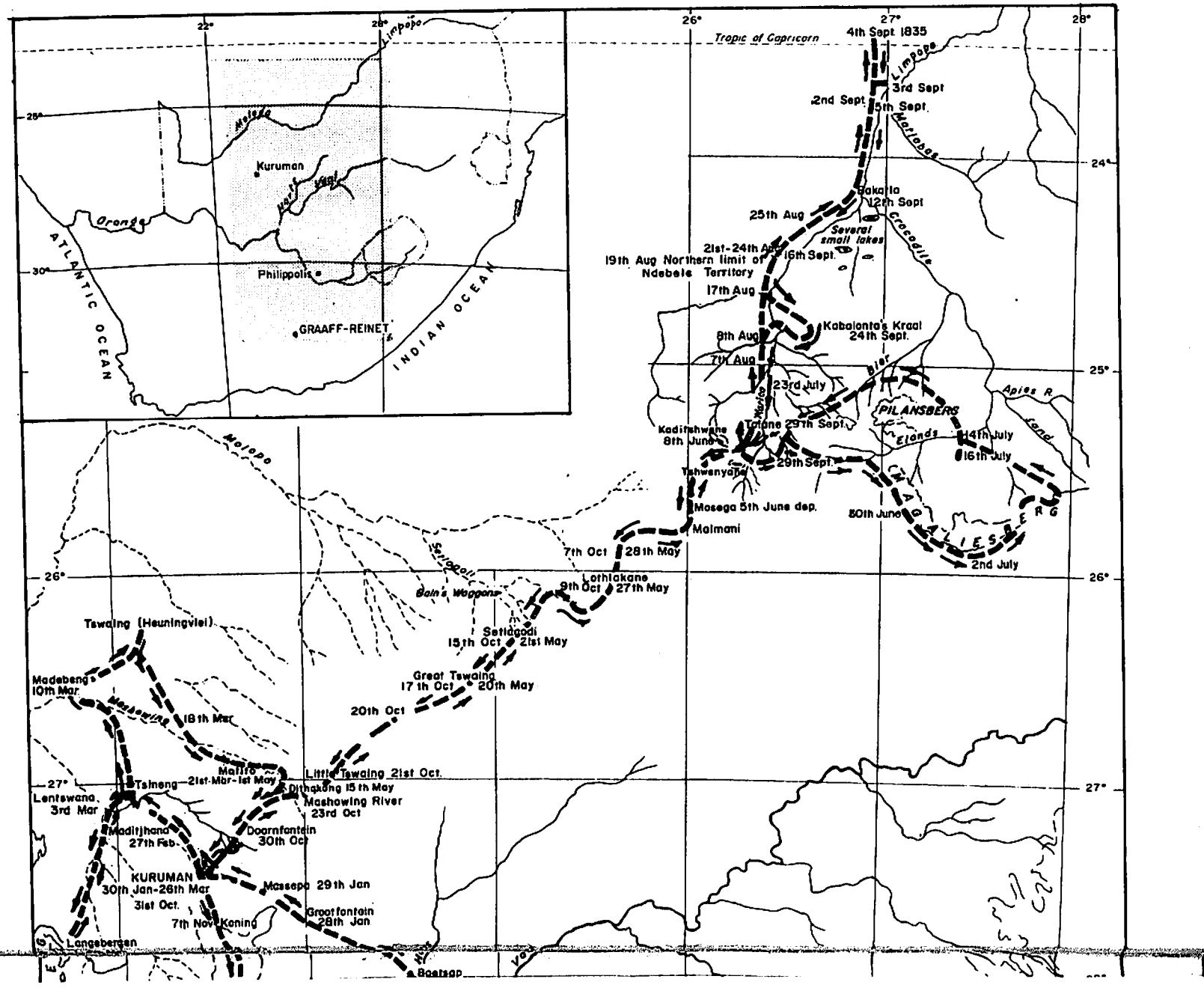
Tropic of Capricorn
Limpopo
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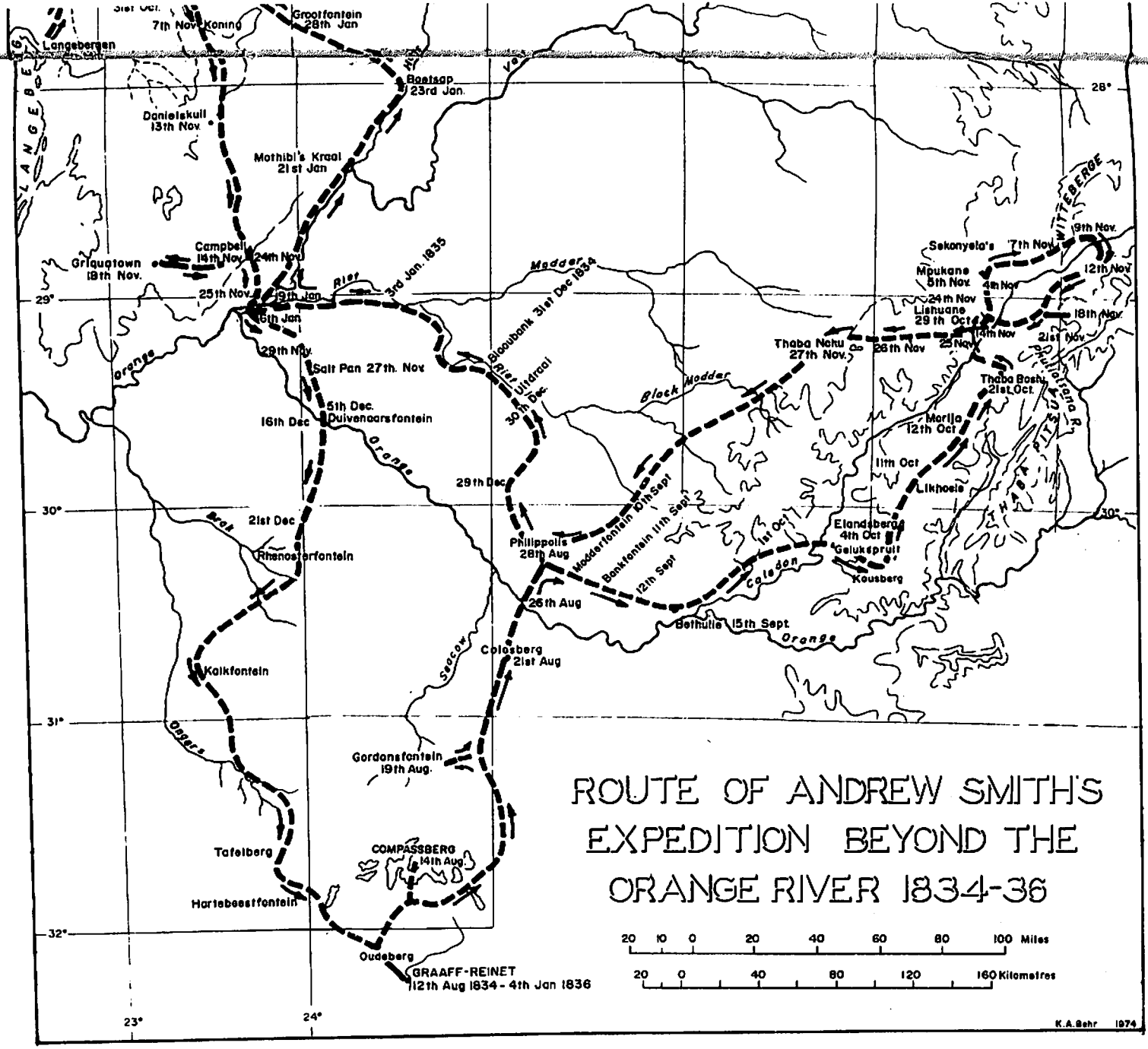
Kuruman
Orange
ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
Philippolis
GRAAFF-REINET
4th Sept 1835
3rd Sept
2nd Sept
5th Sept
Bakalla 12th Sept
25th Aug
Several small lakes
Crocodile
21st-24th Aug
16th Sept.
19th Aug Northern limit of Ndebele Territory
17th Aug
Kabalonta's Kraal 24th Sept.
8th Aug
7th Aug
23rd July
Marico
Elands
PILANSBERG
Apies R
Land
Kadifshwane 8th June
Tolane 29th Sept.
14th July
16th July
29th Sept.
Tshwenyane
Masega 5th June dep.
Malmani
30th June
2nd July
7th Oct 28th May
Lethlakane 9th Oct 27th May
Bain's Waggons
Setlagoli 15th Oct 21st May
Great Tswaing 17th Oct 20th May
20th Oct
Tswaing (Heuningvlei)
Madebeng 10th Mar
Magwaring 18th Mar
Little Tswaing 21st Oct.
Dithakong 15th May
Mashowing River 23rd Oct
Doornfontein 30th Oct
Masepa 29th Jan
Groot fontein 28th Jan
7th Nov Koning
Lentswana 3rd Mar
Tsineng
Madibjhane 27th Feb.
KURUMAN 30th Jan-26th Mar
31st Oct.
Langebergen
Boetsap
Vaal



ROUTE OF ANDREW SMITH'S EXPEDITION BEYOND THE ORANGE RIVER 1834-36

Introduction

South Africa in 1834

The Colony of the Cape of Good Hope stood in 1834 as a bastion of European culture along the southern tip of the vast continent of Africa. Though it had passed from the hands of its founders, the Dutch East India Company, the Cape remained important primarily as a strategic link along the sea lanes to the Orient. Nonetheless, the miniscule community of settlers had developed an identity of its own, and had that year obtained an Executive Council and a Legislative Council as it advanced towards representative government.

The centre of the commercial activity remained at Cape Town, and those who engaged in it evolved a cosmopolitan culture blending with considerable harmony the older Dutch community with the more recently arrived British administrators, soldiers and merchants. A vital society existed in the city which provided a climate of inquiry and challenge. It had spawned a free press, a literary society, a scientific institution, a library and a natural history museum. The latter was directed for a time by Dr Andrew Smith. All in all, quite an exciting place to live for a person of inquiring mind.

Within the European community new and disturbing laws had arrived under the British which disrupted the conventions of a long history. Evangelical influences had already modified the court procedures to provide access for the subservient peoples and the slave trade had been abolished. Missionary work had begun to stir not only the servant population in the colony, but the Africans beyond. A culminating change arrived in 1834 when the British abolished slavery throughout their empire.

Beyond the commercial centre at Cape Town, the colony had generated an insular pastoral culture which shunned the secular city and which lived a self-sufficient life on the expansive grass lands beyond. These 'Veeboers' blanketed the land as far east as the Fish River and as far north as the Orange, at least along its middle course. On these fronts the Boers came into direct and, often, violent contact with the indigenies beyond them. In 1834 they took up arms again in the 'Sixth Kaffir War' against the Xhosa.

Beyond the boundaries of the colony equally cathartic transformations had recently occurred. The emergence of the Zulu nation as a military conquest state altered permanently the traditional way of life of the Northern Nguni, the Africans who occupied what is now Natal. All the small communities of the area fell prey to the emergent Zulu power, and either joined into it, or else fled or fell under the assegai. Those who fled adopted the warring tactics newly evolved there, and avenged themselves upon the unsuspecting neighbour communities to the south, north and west until they had ravaged the land from the borders of the Kalahari Desert to the lake country of Central Africa. Their exploits entered the traditional histories of their victims under such names as 'Fetcani', 'Mfengu' and Baca (in the south), Hlubi, Ngwane, and Matabele or Ndebele (in the west), and Ngoni and Shangane (in the north). These wars by the dispossessed Nguni bear the name *Difaqane* or *Mfecane*, which terms refer to the terror in which the victims fled before the invading hordes, even throwing their babies off their backs in order to save their lives.

Before the *Difaqane* occurred, a different threat developed along the northern boundary of the colony. As the colony expanded, indigenous Hottentot pastoralists found themselves pressed from their lands. They gradually reorganized near and beyond the Orange River. The earliest settled towards its mouth, their successors, in waves, forced their way further upstream, being able to

contend against the comparatively more numerous and powerful Sotho, thanks to their having adopted the use of the white man's guns and horses. The latest arrivals, called Bastards and later Griqua, fixed upon the junction of the Vaal and Orange Rivers for their home. These Griqua and their distant kin, the Kora, found great advantage in their use of guns and horses.

Even before the *Difaqane* the Kora had expelled the Rolong branch of the Tswana from the Harts River area. After the *Difaqane*, much smaller bands of Kora and Griqua could succeed because the African communities had become fragmented and impoverished. Such smaller bands emerged among the dissidents from the attempts of the senior community of the Griqua at Griquatown to establish law and Christian order. These dissidents split off and spread themselves widely along the branches of the Vaal in the east, where they received the name "Bergenaar." From their new base they easily plundered the Africans of their cattle, where any survived the *Difaqane*, and their children. These they sold to the frontier colonists in exchange for guns and ammunition in illicit trade. In this activity they had the advantage of a continual supply of arms and new recruits from the lawless elements amongst the colonial Hottentot and European frontiersmen.

Naturally, the colonists at the Cape maintained an active interest in the relations beyond their boundaries. In that land were numerous customers, real or potential, for the goods of the colony, and sources of wealth for them to obtain. The land beyond the colony had traditionally been there for the taking, and a natural boundary, such as the Orange River, could not be expected to hold them back for long. Their land tenure system demanded extensive tracts, called 'Loanplaces,' for each new generation to expand into. Thus, even by 1834, frontier colonists had already staked out claims, temporary for the most part, to grazing rights in the trans-Orange country, and had widely dispersed in it. Law had never restrained them under the Dutch, and it still could not under the British.

The evangelists also found much to interest them in the souls of the Hottentot and part-Hottentot refugees from the colony, and in the Africans beyond the civilizing influence of the colony. Thus several major missionary ventures had penetrated the frontier, including especially the London Missionary Society, the Wesleyans, and the Paris Evangelical Society. Permanent stations of these societies existed with the Griqua, Tswana, and Sotho people to the north, and with the Southern Nguni to the East. Their work did not receive the unstinted support of the colonists.

Andrew Smith[1]

Andrew Smith, the son of a shepherd of the Scottish parish of Kirkton, Roxburghshire, gained his early education at parish schools in Stobs, where he got a bad start because of the disposition of his teacher, Minto and Lilliesleaf. In 1813, his sixteenth year, he entered the University of Edinburgh, where he studied medicine for two years. During the off terms he apprenticed in the office of a Doctor Graham in the town of Hawick, where his family had settled. Smith then applied for admission to the Army Medical Service in 1815. Though he was only eighteen and not yet fully qualified in medicine, he received an appointment as 'Temporary Hospital Mate.'

Through the encouragement of the Director of the Army Medical Department, Sir James McGrigor, Smith continued his studies at the London Infirmary for curing Diseases of the Eye. After a three-month course he was gazetted 'Hospital Assistant' in March 1816. Thereafter, in 1818, he transferred to Edinburgh, where he completed his studies at the university. His thesis which completed the requirements for his M. D. degree he wrote on secondary smallpox.

While at Edinburgh he obtained election to the Wernerian Natural History Society, acknowledging an avocational attainment which had matured since his childhood in Kirkton. He had gratified that interest at university by enrolling in a botany course, but he never formally studied zoology, which was to become the area of his major scientific contribution.

Once fully qualified in medicine, Smith received three overseas postings in rapid succession. He first served as hospital assistant at Quebec, but soon transferred to Nova Scotia and on to Malta. These three assignments occupied him until late 1820. Near the end of that year he received orders for the Cape.

Dr Smith entered South Africa in 1821, in his twenty-fourth year. His first assignment was as a medical assistant to the 72nd Regiment, stationed on the Eastern Frontier at Grahamstown, which was at that time a new military garrison town established to protect the recently arrived settlers from Britain. While stationed there Smith took opportunity to familiarize himself with the African people who bordered so near. He also vented his interest in natural history by studying the fauna of the area. By 1823 Smith was promoted to the position of District Surgeon of Albany District, where he was living. This office he held until December of that year.

In 1824, Major Henry Somerset, Commander of the Cape Corps, posted Smith to Fort Willshire as Medical Officer of the frontier post, with specific

instructions to make friends with the African people and to observe their customs and their attitudes. His influence in fulfilling this assignment he later referred to in evidence which he delivered to a parliamentary "Select Committee on the Kaffir Tribes" in 1851. He there stated, "I know in 1824 and 1825, I had such an influence over the frontier Kaffirs that I could have almost raised them against their Chiefs." While on assignment on the Xhosa frontier, Smith recorded his observations in an extensive volume he entitled "Kaffir Notes" in which he covered every imaginable aspect of their culture. This exercise, though never prepared for publication, gave him a familiarity with the Africans and with the character of ethnographic observation which served him well during his career in South Africa.

In 1825, the Governor, Sir Charles Somerset, father of the commander of the fronter, visited the east and there arranged for Smith to be transferred to the Cape. At this arrival, the Governor announced the founding of the South African Museum with Dr Andrew Smith as its first superintendent. This duty he carried out in addition to his medical assignment as Assistant Surgeon. Obviously, his functions as director of the museum gave him great experience in the collection and classification of natural history specimens which would prepare him for his later assignment as director of the expedition to explore Central South Africa.

In 1828, Smith received a new charge from the then Acting Governor, Sir Richard Bourke, to obtain information regarding the state of the inhabitants along the lower reaches of the Orange River and as to their reaction to government policies. His assignment was confidential and he disguised his official duty behind his position as director of the museum, by gathering specimens of birds, which he noted extensively in a volume. While along the Orange River he encountered many of the Bushman and Hottentot people and discovered that they suffered from Bergenaar raids that far west of the Griqua country.

His journey led him through much of Little Namaqualand, where he met the major chiefs, and to the mouth of the Orange River. He travelled for a period of eleven months, six weeks of which he spent in close contact with the Hottentot frontier folk. During his absence from the Cape the governor left office. The new governor, Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole, had not yet developed a concern for the problems of the north, and consequently Smith's mission led to no immediate action by government. Nonetheless, on his return, Smith proposed to Lowry Cole the necessity of government support for further explorations of Southern Africa beyond the boundaries.

The public consequence of Smith's mission to Namaqualand was his presentation of a scientific study entitled, "On the Origin and History of the Bushmen," which he read on 31 August, 1929, and later published. In this study he departed from the opinions of his day on several points: he suggested that all indigenies of South Africa belonged to just two genetic types, the "Caffers" and the "Hottentots." The Bushmen he classed as belonging to the Hottentot type, differing only as to culture. Nor did he accept the idea current in his day that they were the product of "outrages of the colonists," but, rather, that they were "pure Hottentots." He adopted the name "Saan" for them, which will be easily recognized as the term which some modern ethnographers accept as their designation.

His study of the Bushmen graced a new organization founded in 1829 in Cape Town, the South African Institution, whose objectives were to investigate the "Geography, Natural History, and General Resources of South Africa." Smith served as secretary of the Institution. The *South African Quarterly Journal* emerged from the work of the Institution. Smith published his paper on the Bushmen in its pages, and contributed regularly thereafter. Perhaps he served as its editor. The Institution also took superintendence of the South African Museum and to it added several private collections of zoological specimens.

Soon after the founding of the South African Institution and the *South African Quarterly Journal*, Smith received a new posting to the Eastern frontier. Enroute he visited the Cango Caves which had much to offer his scientific curiosity. Also, from his new post he kept the Institution well supplied with his observations and his scientific specimens.

In 1830, the Zulu monarch, Dingane, sent seven of his subjects in the company of John Cane, a pioneer European in Natal, to declare his intentions to remain at peace and to encourage trade with the colony. He also requested that a missionary be sent to him. To confirm his friendly feelings, Dingane sent four elephant tusks to the governor, and solicited a present in return. The Civil Commissioner at Grahamstown, Captain Duncan Campbell, learned further that the Zulu had obtained fire-arms from an American vessel and were being trained in their use by a trader, Nathaniel Isaacs. Rumour further indicated that the Americans were interested in settling people at Port Natal. Campbell forwarded the news to the governor, who solicited the Colonial Office in London for official permission "to send some person in whose judgment I can place full confidence, and one who can have no interested motive for deceiving the Government, to ascertain the real wishes of Dingan, the Zulu Chief, as well as the nature and capabilities of his country."

Smith received that commission, and between January and June 1832 he carried it out. During his travels he met with many of the frontier chiefs as well as meeting Dingane. His reports indicated a strong distaste for the despotic violence of the king, but affirmed Dingane's peaceful intent. However, he had barely left Zululand when the king expelled the traders who had resided at Port Natal since 1824.

Smith highly praised the fertility and abundant vegetation of Natal. Being largely vacated by the Zulu wars, Smith saw the land as ideally suited for the settlement of the surplus population of Great Britain. Their occupation of the border lands of the Zulu would make good use of the vacant space, and, at the same time, tend to protect the surviving victims from Zulu incursions. He also felt that the locale served well as a base for carrying trade into the heart of the continent.

On his return from the Zulu country, Smith reported personally to the governor, and then he returned to his duties on the Eastern Frontier. His interests in natural history were further whetted by this journey as he travelled on horseback in order to examine the coastal route. His stay in the east only lasted from late October 1832 until April 1833, when he received a new posting to Cape Town.

During this stay at the Cape, Smith apparently advanced two of his major research interests in addition to carrying out his medical duties. He compiled three large foolscap volumes of extracts from published and archival sources, many translated from the Dutch, on the history of South Africa, particularly as it related to the indigenies. Nothing formal came from this research, but his vigourous examination of the issues was reflected in his views expressed later in his journal and in the parliamentary inquiry to which he was called to testify on Native Affairs in South Africa.

A second project received the affirmation of the South African Literary and Scientific Institution, the reorganized association of which he had been secretary when at the Cape in 1829 and 1830. This was a synopsis of African Zoology. To achieve his ends, Smith had to compile the known information from scholarly sources, and to supplement them with his own observations regarding South Africa. Further, it entailed his reviving the *South African Quarterly Journal*. He published ten installments from October 1833 through July 1834, amounting to 176 pages. Thereafter, Smith removed from the Cape again, this time on his exploratory expedition to the north. His "Epitome of African Zoology" remained unfinished.

The struggling Literary and Scientific Institution received a boost on 5 June, 1833. On the one hand, the governor joined as an honorary member, and, on the other, he arranged for the reading of an account by two traders, David Hume and Hugh Millen, of their recent visit to the Limpopo River and the Tropic of Capricorn. This immediately spurred their interest into organizing an expedition to explore the scientific and commercial prospects of the area. They chose Smith to be its director, thus fostering an interest he had sustained since he first visited Namaqualand.

The preparations and execution of this expedition occupied the doctor the next three years. On his return to the Cape in February, 1836, he still busied himself by hosting the Ndebele embassy which returned with him to meet the governor, and by assembling his collections of zoological, ethnographic and geological specimens. He also busied himself preparing an official report. On the completion of that work Smith transferred to England where he was appointed Staff Surgeon at Fort Pitt, Chatham, which assignment he took up in 1837.

Even in England his interest in South Africa continued. He oversaw the shipment of an exhibit to London where he set it up in the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, which ran for a year. He also committed himself to the publication of his journal of the expedition and *Illustrations of the Zoology of South Africa*. The latter work appeared in installments over twelve years from 1838 to 1849, but his journal never appeared, nor did he complete his researches on the history of South Africa or a proposed multi-volume ethnography of all Africa for which he had collected five volumes of notes.

The Expedition

As early as 1829 Smith had proposed that the government should sponsor exploration in South Africa as far north as the tropics. Though no official policy emerged in that regard, it was the government which assigned him to investigate conditions beyond the eastern frontier as far as Zululand. In the meanwhile, private traders had advanced the exploration of the north, and their work received publicity in the press at the Cape. As early as 1826, Andrew Geddes Bain and John Biddulph reached as far north as Ditubaruba, the capital of the Kwena tribe. Robert Scoon and William McLuckie extended their search more to the east, reaching as far as the Magaliesberg Range, where they encountered the fabulous Ndebele and their chief, Mzilikazi, in 1829. In 1832, two parties penetrated to the Limpopo River: a trader named Whittle, and the traders Hume and Millen, whose account was read before the Literary and Scientific Institution.

The proposal by the Literary and Scientific

Institution to send an expedition into that region was accompanied by the suggestion to make the venture public and to sell shares at three pounds each to defray the costs. They initially assumed that the expenses would be about six hundred pounds. The members in attendance at the meeting agreed to constitute themselves as a provisional committee to carry out the intentions of the motion. They issued a prospectus to explain their objectives, which they circulated at the Cape and in the provincial towns.

The response to the prospectus proved sufficiently strong that a public meeting convened on 24 June, at which the governor presided, where they learned that 141 subscribers had purchased 179 shares in the amount of £537. Thus encouraged, they elected a permanent 'Committee of Management' consisting of twenty people. That committee soon declared the original estimate of costs to be too low, and called for new subscriptions to bring the total to one thousand pounds. The extra money they solicited, in addition to the local efforts, from the scientific associations in England and India. By February 1834, when the local subscription approached the new figure, the committee began to express further worries. However, when a Mr J. McQueen of Scotland offered three hundred pounds, their financial concerns ended. In addition, the new governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, generously contributed permissions, the loan of instruments, and other support to the venture. The next few months constituted a period of furious preparation for the departure, which occurred for Smith on 3 July, 1834, though the main body of the expedition left Cape Town enroute to Graaff Reinet on 7 June.

The hopes and expectations of the subscribers were best expressed in a letter sent to Smith on 23 June, 1834, and later published with *The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette*. This letter is of sufficient interest in explaining Smith's conduct during the expedition that it is quoted here in its entirety:

INSTRUCTIONS
Addressed To
THE DIRECTOR OF THE EXPEDITION INTO CENTRAL AFRICA.

To Dr Andrew Smith, *(or the) Director (for the time being) of the Expedition into Central Africa.*

Sir, – In offering to you certain general instructions for the purpose of elucidating their views as to the object and conduct of the enterprise committed to your direction, the Committee of Management take the earliest opportunity of expressing their confident reliance on your Zeal, Talents, and Experience, as of themselves enabling you to apprehend and provide for the proper object and most beneficial detail in such an undertaking, and they therefore expect that you should not consider yourself bound by any decision of theirs, to adopt or reject, in deference to their opinion, any measures of which their views at present do not coincide with the judgment you may be led to form in your progress.

They feel certain, moreover, that any measure which you may conceive it necessary to adopt amid the unforeseen occurrences of this enterprise, will meet with approbation from the Shareholders. As, however, amid the incidents to be considered and provided for as contingent, the expedition may be deprived of your services, it is the wish of the Committee that the intention and the proper course of proceeding, as far as such can be determined at present, should be defined and rendered familiar to the parties composing the expedition.

It is to be hoped that this may be only the first of a series of efforts prosecuted by the same means, and deriving their support from the same sources, but the fulfilment of this expectation must evidently depend in a great degree on its success. We cannot expect that our limited Colonial Society should feel justified in supporting any measure tending to sacrifice its valuable members and waste its resources, for objects solely of contingent and distant benefit, should it happen that the consequences of this endeavour confirm the impression of peril attendant on the view generally taken of it. However wide and promising therefore may be the views of benefit we entertain as about to arise from the knowledge we may gather, or the means and sources of commercial and scientific enterprise which the expedition may unveil, these views must be held in subservience to the recollection that the unimpeded progress and absolute safety of this one is of paramount importance as a guide, model, and inducement to others: this, therefore, is ever to be kept in view, and first considered in all its undertakings, and any measure obviously unsafe, even though its advantages, supposing it successful, should seem to be many and eminent, ought to be carefully avoided. While our failure would, by its effects on society here, necessarily damp our prospects of future benefit, it is to be apprehended that it would also have a disastrous influence on the natives to be visited. Even disaster from natural causes might diminish the impression of European skill and power; and acting on the excited supersition of the savage might quench his desire for our intercourse; and should it arise from the rapacious ferocity of

the native tribes it would erect a more serious obstacle to future progress in their gratified appetite for plunder and their jealousy of retaliation. These views should inspire especial caution in regard to every proceeding, or even verbal enquiry among tribes where it is to be suspected that such lamentable incidents have already occurred. The impression of its safe advance and return, and of any benefits it may confer on those whom it visits, will unquestionably proceed far in advance of its presence, and necessarily subdue or weaken those obstacles which may at present restrain its proceedings within regions where the Colonial influence may be in some respects considered as overlooking its movements and watching for its safety.

Our inquiries lead us to anticipate that the natives of the interior districts adjoining this colony, are generally disposed to welcome the approach of travellers, and to treat them respectfully, lest however the opportunity of easily acquiring by plunder what they exceedingly covet, should prove too tempting for their respect or caution, it is requisite that such an apparent preparation to repel assault should be preserved as may render it obviously perilous to the assailants; separation of the party must therefore be avoided when holding intercourse with them, and if a division should be unavoidable, the main body must be kept in sufficient strength, and held in readiness to aid the detachments or serve as refuge for them. It will best accord with the object of the expedition, that not only every reasonable probability of avoiding collision should be shunned but that all scenes and situations offering any likelihood of its occurrence, should be well examined before they are approached.

It well be inconsistent with any beneficial result, that, in its progress outwards, the expedition should force its way through the territory of any tribe disposed to resist it, if no persuasive means be found of avail to overcome their repugnance, the advance in that direction must cease: it is only in case of the party being itself attacked, or being beset by a force showing an obvious disposition to assail it, and a determination to oppose its progress in any direction, or in case of the defiles of a territory being occupied and closed against its return, that the Committee can reckon it justifiable to exercise upon the lives or persons of the natives those formidable means of warfare with which the expedition has been furnished. It will be proper that each individual attached to the expedition should have a determinate station, in which it is expected that he shall be found in cases of emergency, and it will be well that the measures necessary to be adopted should be fully illustrated and impressed upon all by such previous training as circumstances may admit of.

In regard to the territory the expedition is to visit, there are two methods in which it may arrive at beneficial results: it may either 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 may enable it to reach; or it may leisurely examine in detail, throughout its length and breadth, the condition, capabilities, and productions of a district of more manageable dimensions. The Committee conceives that the former might be perhaps the more interesting method of proceeding, on account of the greater probability of romantic peril, adventure, or discovery, but that these very circumstances of greater uncertainty and danger, do, in this case, preclude our aiming at the comparatively barren honour of exciting wonder, and of throwing a partial and obscure light on an extended region; the Committee therefore assumes that the last-mentioned of the two courses is, in all respects, more accordant with the views and interests of the Subscribers, as expressed in the Prospectus; the Committee therefore recommends that no endeavour 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 favour it greatly, and, secondly, if the intervening districts do not afford objects of sufficient interest and importance to occupy the attention of the expedition. The territory limited by that boundary is about four times the extent of the British Islands. It is in truth to be anticipated that the wide regions between the Cape Territory and the Southern Tropic will have sufficient extent and variety for the time and resources to be employed in our present undertaking. It will, therefore, be advisable that the expedition consider Klaar Water (Griqua Town), or Latakoo, as the starting point or base of their operations, and that its first effort be the examination of the district from which issue the northern branches of the Gariep and the streams which fall down to the Indian Ocean, that then the dividing ridge be traced towards the North, leaving it to the discretion of the Director to determine at what parallel he should change his course, to the North or West. Our present information leads us to esteem it advisable that the Eastern side of the slope be examined first, in order that if the great desert of Challahenga should extend far to the eastward, so as to bar the progress of the expedition towards the

centre of the Continent, there may remain the unexplored territory along the Western slope to occupy its attention in returning. Much of the ultimate importance and interest, as well as the security of guidance and prospect of safe return of the Expedition, will of course depend on obtaining an exact knowledge and preserving a faithful record of its route, which can only be done by the aid of Astronomical observations made with due regularity and precaution, not only at such stations as form the most interesting features at the moment, in the eyes of those concerned, but at every station where the Expedition may rest long enough to permit observations to be taken deliberately, and with due regard to safety both of the observer and instruments. The track of a caravan on land, as of a ship at sea, is defined as well by the less as the more remarkable points through which it passes, and it may very easily happen that stations of the highest interest in a commercial, political, or physical point of view, may, by reason of that very interest, be inappropriate for selection as principal observing stations, either from the attention of every individual being distracted to duties of immediate necessity or from the risk attending the exhibition of instruments in the unavoidable presence of a rude, curious, and suspicious population. In all such cases it will be proper to connect by observations of a less elaborate nature, those stations with others not far distant, which, although less intrinsically important, may be easier of exact determination. The Committee would therefore recommend, that stations of observation be classed as either *primary* or *secondary*: those to be considered primary stations whenever the circumstances may appear particularly favourable, by reason of leisure from other occupations, expected duration of halt, and freedom from annoyance, to afford a good determination of the longitude and latitude, such as may serve to render them useful for Zero points, to which the secondary stations may be referred, either by dead reckoning of time and distance or by such less elaborate observations as can be obtained at the secondary stations themselves. Of course, however, should circumstances permit, the more important in other respects the point which can be made a primary observing station the better, and the Committee would expressly notice Griqua Town, Latakoo, Kurrechane, and Meletta, as points of which the Geographical position should be determined with care by observations on the spot, and the observations then made transmitted home along with the latest communications with the Colony. Since, however, the circumstances which may render stations objectionable as primary points are mostly of a moral or political nature, it is expected that no great difficulty will occur in fixing them at positions of especial geographical interest, as at the confluence of rivers, at the extreme borders or on the culminating points of mounting ranges, on remarkable rocks, &c. or at least of determinating their bearings and relative situations with respect to such prominent features, with some degree of exactness. A combination of circumstances of this kind of local interest will of course have its due weight in determining (*caeteris paribus*) the halt of the Expedition.

At primary stations the Committee recommend the assiduous application of every instrumental means for the determination of the three elements of latitude, longitude, and elevation above the level of the sea, and especially, at such station, as many series of lunar distances as possible should be procured in addition to the usual sights for time, (or observations of the altitudes of heavenly bodies near the prime vertical,) which, together with meridian observations for the latitude, they would recommend to be practised daily as a matter of regular duty, at every station, as well primary as secondary. At primary stations also the barometer and thermometer should be observed at regular intervals, and the magnetic variation ascertained *by taking the sun's azimuth immediately before and after the observation for time, (noting the exact moments, and thus obtaining data for interpolating to the time of observation).* At such stations likewise a careful investigation of the Index errors of Sextants should be made, the zero points or index corrections of the Sympiesometer should be determined by leisurely comparison with the mountain Barometer (giving time for the instruments to attain the same temperature,) and the difference noted in the observation books. The necessity of frequent comparisons of these instruments will be apparent if it be considered that in the event of fracture of the Barometer tube, no other means will exist by which the zero point of a new one can be determined. Occultations of stars by the moon, and, if possible, eclipses of the satellites of Jupiter should be observed whenever an opportunity may occur. The former especially, affording the best known method of ascertaining the longitude by a single observation should be constantly borne in mind, and the Almanac consulted several days in advance, so that no occultation of a large star certainly identifiable, should be allowed to escape through inadvertence.

The Committee especially recommend that every observation made 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, and that the observed or presumed index or zero corrections, whether of Chronometer, Sextant, Barometer, or other instrument, should be stated separately in every case, and on no account incorporated with observed quantities, and, moreover, that the observations upon which such index errors have been concluded, should also be preserved. Since however the guidance of the expedition will necessitate the calculation of many observations on the spot, the results of such calculations should be entered (as such) beside the observations from which they have been concluded.

The Committee farther recommend, that the Chronometers with which the expedition has been provided by the liberality of His Majesty's Government, should on no account be corrected by moving the hands, however great their errors may become, not even in the extreme case of one or both of them having been allowed to run down. In case of such a misfortune (which should be more carefully guarded against by making it the daily duty of more than one person to remind their bearers to wind them at a stated hour) it will be most convenient in place of setting them, to defer winding them until the hours and minutes come round, at which they may respectively have stopped, as near as may be ascerteined from one to the other or from both, to other watches of the party, and such event, should it take place, should be conspicuously noted in the observation book; and, as a further and useful precaution, it is recommended to keep some of the best-going watches belonging to individuals of the expedition, to mean Greenwich time, by frequent comparison with one of the Chronometers. In every case where time is observed express mention should be made of the Chronometer or other watch employed, designating it by the maker's name and number, so that no uncertainty may ever arise as to the proper application of the correction for error and rate.

The rates of the Chronometers should be examined at any station where the expedition may rest two or more consecutive nights, either by equal altitudes of a star or more simply by noticing the disappearance of any large fixed star from the same exact point of view, behind the edge of a board fixed at some considerable distance in the horizon, and having its edge adjusted to a vertical position by a plum-line; the interval between the two such disappearances being an exact sideral day or 23 h. 56 m. 4 sec. mean time. Under the head of secondary observing stations may be classed those in which no lunar distances can be got, and when the sights for time and meridian altitude can only be superficially and imperfectly taken, or one without the other. With a view to the connection of these with the primary station and to the sketching out a Chart of the Country passed through, at every primary station a series of angles should be taken with the Sextant between remarkable and well-defined points in the horizon, dividing the horizon into convenient portions, and carrying the angles all round the circle back to the point of departure: and in the selection of such points two ends should be kept in view, first, the precise identification of the point of observation, in case of its being desirable to find it again; and, secondly, the determination from it of geographical points. The first of these purposes will require angles to be taken between *near*, the second between *distant* objects. For the latter of course remarkable mountain peaks will, if possible, be chosen. Of such, when once observed, the appearances from the place of observation should be projected by the *Camera Lucida*, and their changes of aspect and form as the expedtion advances should be well and carefully noticed, to avoid mistakes. The approximate distance of any remarkable object may be had by pacing or otherwise measuring more exactly, a base line of a few hundred paces, in a direction perpendicular to that in which it appears, erecting a staff at each end, and from each staff measuring the angle between the object and the other staff.

In this manner the neighbourhood of any station may be mapped down so as to be available for many useful purposes. In all such cases the compass bearings of the most important object in the horizon should be taken, and in the absence of the sextant angles, azimuth compass readings of each point may be substituted, though of course with less precision.

Indications of the progress of the expedition should be left at various points in its course, by making marks on rocks or stones, &c. and by burying documents in bottles. In regard to the latter it will be necessary to deposit them one foot deep at some known distance, say 15 feet from a conspicuous surface of stone, on which there is painted a circle containing the distance and bearing by compass of the bottle, from its centre, and that the situation of such places of deposit should also be ascertained by exact compass bearings of several remarkable points in the horizon, both near and distant, as well

as by angles between them, carefully determined with a sextant, and noted down in the journals of the expedition for their own reference or that of future travellers.

In surveying the basin of a river, or in proceeding along the prevailing slope of a country, it is very desirable to determine as many points as possible on the same level, and form thus as it were a parallel of elevation to the level of the sea. A line of this kind traced at the altitude of, say 1000 feet, would determine in a considerable degree the physical condition of extensive spaces on the map on both sides of it. The stations of most interest will be found at the extremities of transverse arms of the ridge, or in the central and most retiring points of the intervening spaces. Let the general slope of the country on both sides of such stations, be noted as to its rate and direction; and in regard to the vallies which intersect the slope, let their width, direction, and general rate of declivity, and the section and velocity of their streams, be ascertained, and the probable course of the rivers, as far as it can be determined by the appearance of the country, and the reports of the natives; giving them the aboriginal names when they can be discovered. The altitude and acclivity of remarkable peaks or ridges should also be investigated, along with the nature of their climate and of the clouds formed upon them. It will be requisite also to mark with care the nature of the winds and sky as well as the temperature at stations in the neighbourhood, and to note the influence which changes of that description have upon the barometer, and observe also the temperature of deep pools or lakes and copious springs.

The geological structure of the country is especially worthy of minute and extended observation, and will require that notes be kept of all such appearances as indicate or accompany changes of structure in the formation or of components in the soil and surface, especially such fossil remains of plants or animals as may occur, and metallic ores, and that proper specimens accompany these notes, ticketed on the spot with precise localities.

The Botanical researches of the expedition will extend to the preservation of specimens of plants not found in the colony, and especially of transportable roots and the seeds of all such as may be found in a ripened state, noting localities and the varieties of aspect which vegetation puts on in different situations. In regard to other branches of natural history, as it is obvious that after a short experience of research under your direction, almost every one will be able to recognize and preserve what is rare or novel, no further instruction needs to be given, except the general expression of the desire of the Committee that all shall endeavour to secure for the Expedition whatever in any department they esteem valuable, it being expressly understood that every article collected by each individual belongs in property to the Subscribers to the Expedition collectively.

In regard to the inhabitants themselves it is of paramount interest to gain an exact portrait of their life as respects their condition, arts, and policy, their language, their appearance, population, origin, and relation to other tribes, or in general whatever tends to elucidate their disposition or resources as sharers or agents in commerce, or their preparation to receive Christianity.

It will be proper to ascertain their religious traditions or practices if they have any, distinguishing what is indigenous from the glimmering apprehension of great religious truths which necessarily spreads in advance of the scenes of missionary labour.

Examine also the state of their intellect generally, as exemplified in their social and political arrangements and common traditions, songs, or amusements, and particularly in regard to their knowledge of nature and their notions of its vast and varied proceedings, as thunder, rain, wind, &c.

Enquiries respecting commerce and the prospect of its extension are to be viewed as of no small importance in this undertaking. Every means must be used to ascertain its present nature, channels, and extent, and to determine the existing demand for foreign commodities, and the return which may be expected for them. Proper enquiries may also lead to some satisfactory views of its future condition, as indicated by the wants of the native population, or the objects of most importance to improve their condition, and the corresponding resources for exchange which may arise from a more beneficial employment of their industry.

Lastly, we may notice the propriety of making enquiries or gathering information with respect to similar enterprises, as whether the natives have traditions of movements of their own, or of the arrival of strangers among them. All that can be gathered respecting Dr. Cowan's expedition will be acceptable in the highest degree. The elucidation also of an isolated effort to struggle through the difficulties of African travelling should also be kept in view: it was made by a missionary of the name of Martin, who has not been heard of since he crossed the Colonial boundary in December, 1831. He is consequently supposed to have perished in the

Gariep, or to have been destroyed on its banks, though, as it was his intention to avoid the establishments of Europeans or their lines of communications, there is a lingering possibility of his still surviving.

The articles fitted for carrying on commerce with the natives have three distinct objects:– First, by keeping up a constant appearance of traffic, to present in their eyes an appreciable motive for this visit to their territory. Second, to conciliate favour, or to procure provisions for the purpose of husbanding the resources of the Expedition. And third, for the purpose of procuring any profitable articles to carry on to the other districts for the ends abovementioned, or to sell in the Colony at the termination of the enterprise. In regard to these the Committee has to remark, tht attention to the two first-mentioned objects is indispensable, from its necessary connection with the safety and efficiency of the Expedition, and that the third is to be contingent on the acquisitions of the party in regard to its main object of collecting information as to the country, and securing what illustrates its natural history and resources, and on the state of its means of transport. The Committee therefore recommend that this third object be attended to only in case that it be necessary to send wagons back for supplies, or in case that in the homeward progress of the party there be room for such articles without incommoding it in its other operations.

(Signed) THOMAS WADE, Chairman
J. HERSCHELL,
A. OLIPHANT,
JAMES ADAMSON, D.D.
T. M'LEAR,
A. J. CLOETE,
C. F. H. von LUDWIG,
F. S. WATERMEYER,
JOHN CENTLIVRES CHASE,
Hon. Secretary

June 23rd, 1834.

Though the expedition was privately organized and sponsored, the instructions from the management committee were supplemented by a letter from the secretary to the governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, requesting him to enter into negotiations with the major chiefs in the north to assure their goodwill towards the colony. To this end the governor supplied cloaks, medals, and looking glasses for Smith to present to those chiefs who co-operated. The success which Smith had in this regard was attested by D'Urban in a letter to Lord Glenelg dated 23 April, 1836, in which he stated, "Dr Smith fulfilled this trust with great judgement and ability. . ."

For Smith to carry out his instructions, the Association proposed that his party should consist of no fewer than forty individuals, specifying that six should be Europeans, preferably soldiers, and thirty Hottentots, six of whom should be from the Cape Corps. The membership of the expedition is in question, but many names were recorded. The following list derives from Smith and from John Burrow, the young astronomer who kept a diary:

Participants	Identification
Andrew Smith, M.D.	Director
Wiliam Edie	Deputy Director, Captain, 98th regiment
Benjamin Kift	Official trader for the expedition
Charles Bell	Artist, landscapes and ethnographic drawings
John Burrow	Astronomer and surveyor
George Ford	Artist, specialized in Zoological drawings
J. or Henry Lowe (Low)	Soldier, 98th regiment, Zoological drawings
George McKenzie	72nd regiment, corporal Drowned enroute
John Mintern (Minton)	Smith's Batman, 98th regiment. "Birdskinner"
James Terry	Soldier, 98th regiment Edie's Batman
Harry Corkerell Charles Hastwell (also Haswell, Hartwell) E. Tennant	Burrow says civilians, Kirby suggests they were soldiers.
Adam Marthinus Du Toit W. May Speelman Henrick Witbooi	5 members of the Cape Mounted Rifles
Andries Botha	Convict, probably from Rifles. Killed enroute
Abraham Andries Jeremias "September" Jonas Seym or Syme	From Genadendal Mission station
D. April Bezuidenhout Gert Ishmael Jantje Philip Piet	Hottentots, no other identity given

Apple Baba July Moketisi	Guides and interpreters

(The following people associated unofficially with the expedition.)

Donald Moodie	Protector of slaves From Graaff Reinet to Colesburg.
Gebel, Kraut, Schmidt	Berlin missionaries Left party at Philippolis
Andrew Geddes Bain David Hume Robert Scoon	Traders, Bain and Scoon joined at Graaff Reinet, went different ways from Philippolis. Scoon and Hume associated with the party in the north.
Richard Miles	L.M.S. Superintendent. Graaff Reinet to Philippolis
Carel Kruger	Farmer, beyond the colony. Recruited as blacksmith.
Robert Moffat	Missionary, accompanied Smith from Kuruman to Mzilikazi
Graham,Garnet Cotton, Malcolm	'India Gentlemen' hunting. From Cape to Philippolis
Grant	Probably confusion with Garnet, but listed as soldier of the 98th regiment by Bain

Mzilikazi's delegation to Governor D'Urban:

T'Umbati (Mkumbati)	Chief induna of the Ndebele
Mohwabe	'Chief spy' of the Ndebele
Monaheng	Ndebele guide
Machakan (Machaban)	Ndebele blacksmith
Moloiinkomo (Monyacom)	Ndebele interpreter
Moketisi	Tswana interpreter
Aletsetse Pietoe	Tswana servants to the Ndebele

The expedition commenced officially at Graaff Reinet on 12 August, 1834, after a considerable delay in obtaining the necessary complement of servants. It first deflected to the east because drought conditions made travel in the west hazardous for such a large company. After visiting the Griqua at Philippolis, Smith continued to the land of the Sotho of Moshweshwe and the Tlokwa of the infamous Sekonyela. Enroute back to Philippolis he inspected the recently founded communities of Rolong, Griqua and Kora who had migrated to the east under the influence of the Wesleyan missionaries.

The second stage of his travels led him to the country of the Griqua under Cornelius Kok beyond the Vaal River, and on to the Tlhaping, especially those at Kuruman where the London Missionary Society had long established a station. During a lengthy stay in the west Smith took side trips to discover the character of the Kalahari Desert. From Kuruman, Smith obtained the services of the Reverend Robert Moffat to accompany him into the land of the Ndebele. During this extensive phase of his travels he visited far to the east to the Magaliesberg hills from whence the Ndebele had been expelled by Zulu attacks. He also travelled northward along the Marico River as far as the Limpopo and beyond to the Tropic of Capricorn. Because of drought he never reached the great Lake Ngami of which he had heard much, but he personally investigated the extent of the disruptions of the tribes caused by the *Difaqane* and the Ndebele raids.

Enroute home he visited Griquatown where he met and negotiated with the chief of the senior branch of the Griqua, Andries Waterboer. He arrived back at Graaff Reinet on 4 January, 1836, with an emissary from Mzilikazi, chief of the Ndebele, whom he took on to the Cape to treat personally with the governor.

Though his travels never extended beyond the country which had already been visited by traders, his scientific training and the skills of his travelling companions produced a more thorough investigation of that country beyond the colony than had any previous expedition, or, perhaps, than the total accumulation of such information had afforded. Being a scholar and an enthusiast, Smith delivered up to his sponsors and to the governor evidence full worthy of the trust placed in him. This included not only a numerous correspondence and an official report, and sketches of the country and of its inhabitants and its fauna, but also physical specimens of the ethnography, geology, botany and fauna.

The Documentary Sources of the Expedition

This journal, which only now comes into general circulation, was promised to the public in a prospectus published in 1837:

Preparing for Publication, in two vols., demy 8vo.
Journal of an Expedition
sent into the
Interior of Southern Africa
by
The Cape of Good Hope Association for
Exploring Central Africa
Comprising an Authentic Narrative of the Travels
and Discoveries of the
Expedition
An Account of the Manners and Customs of the
Native Tribes; and of the
Natural Productions, Aspects and Physical
Capabilities of the Country
Illustrated by a Map and Numerous Plates of
African Scenery, and of the Dresses,
Costumes, Weapons, Dances, Religious
Ceremonies, &c. of the Natives
By ANDREW SMITH, M. D.
Surgeon of the Forces, and Director of the
Expedition
Also, by the Same Author
The Zoology of Southern Africa
Embellished with highly finished Plates, executed
from Original Drawings
London
Smith Elder and Co., 65 Cornhill
1837

Obviously, Smith intended to publish these works shortly following the announcement. As already noted, the *Zoology* did appear but the journal faded from attention and was never completed because of ill-health of the author. Nonetheless, Smith did compose over six hundred foolscap pages of manuscript of the journal which have survived. This manuscript treats approximately two-thirds of the duration of the expedition, and shows clear evidence of having been partially edited for the press by Smith and some other writer.

With the exception of the publication serially of the handsome *Illustrations of the Zoology of South Africa* between 1838 and 1849, and the exhibition of the collection of natural history objects in Cape Town and London, Smith's contemporaries had to depend on the publication of the official *Report of the Expedition for Exploring Central Africa*, in 1836, as the main source of information regarding its accomplishments. That brief document consisted of only thirty-four pages supplemented by an appendix which delineated the scientific discoveries and listed the articles which were submitted to the Association as fulfilment of the agreement.

Amongst the articles returned to the Association were two diaries, both of which reached publication only in the present century. Andrew Smith's diary, edited by Percival Kirby, was published in 1939 and 1940 by the Van Riebeeck Society. More recently, Kirby discovered and edited the brief diary of John Burrow, the youthful surveyor and astronomer of the expedition.

That part of the expedition during which Robert Moffat accompanied Smith was also chronicled in letters written by the missionary. That written to the Mission Headquarters in London was edited by Kirby and published in the *Bantu Studies* Monograph Series in 1940. The longer version written to Moffat's wife, Mary, was edited by J. P. R. Wallis in the Oppenheimer Series of the Government of Southern Rhodesia in 1945 under the title, *The Matabele Journals of Robert Moffat, 1829-1860*. The hunter, Andrew Geddes Bain, also accompanied Smith during the early stages of his travels. The account of his association with the explorer as far as Philippolis and of his subsequent encounter with the Ndebele impis was reported in a letter to John C. Chase, the secretary of the Association, which is published in the *Journals of Andrew Geddes Bain*, edited by Margaret H. Lister for the Van Riebeeck Society in 1949.

In addition to the published information available, much other data has been preserved which was never intended for publication, though most of it served Smith as background for his researches or as the basis for his journal.

The partially completed journal was composed from Smith's diary and other field notes which he made enroute. I have taken his lead in using these sources in completing the journal, and I have also used his published *Report*. These unpublished field notes, preserved in the South African Museum, are included in two bound foolscap volumes (marked 9 and 12 of the collection of Smith's papers). Volume 9, which includes the original manuscript of the *Diary*, also includes a few pages of miscellaneous ethnographic jottings and 114 pages of geographical, vegetational and geological notes and diagrams and barometric readings covering the expedition from their visit to the Compassberg, which he dated 15 August, 1834, until their return in January, 1836, the last entry being of the Zwartruggens and the Zuurbergen to the south of Graaff Reinet. Volume 12 contains a fuller collection of Smith's ethnographic and historical notes regarding the African peoples whom he encountered enroute. Most of the notes are fragmentary and scattered, but he made more extensive and systematic descriptions of the Kwena, the Ndebele and the Griqua, and these have been utilized extensively in the present work.

The other volumes of Smith's papers are less important to this project. Five consist of extracts from books, missionary correspondence, and

government documents relating to the history of the African peoples, two specifically collected preparatory to the great expedition (volumes 13 and 14). Though these items are not original with the author, they are significant to demonstrate the extent to which he prepared himself for his task. The remaining five volumes consist of notes he was collecting for a comprehensive ethnography of the entire continent of Africa. Some of these notes derive from published sources and others especially collected from informants, but some are Smith's personal observations based on this and earlier visits among the African people.

Other information regarding the expedition is contained in the correspondence from Smith to members of the Association and to Governor D'Urban. Some of these letters have been published in Kirby's biography, *Sir Andrew Smith*, but others are preserved unpublished, particularly in the Government Archives, Cape Town.

Several members of the expedition supplemented the verbal record with illustrations. Smith interjected little line drawings into his diary and field notes. John Burrow filled his brief diary with interesting sketches of incidents he observed and of African culture. George Ford provided most of the water-colour drawings of animals for the *Illustrated Zoology*, but Henry Lowe and Charles Bell contributed several.

Charles Bell executed about three hundred water-colour and pencil illustrations which included landscapes, portraits, animals, incidents, and cultural practices and possessions of the Africans. Some of these have illustrated the accounts of other travellers. Many of the originals are preserved in the Africana Museum, Johannesburg, and in the Government Archives, Cape Town. It is gratifying to be able to restore them to their original purpose to illustrate the journal of the expedition.

Editorial Considerations

The publication of Andrew Smith's journal at this late date, and after the appearance in print of his diary covering the same expedition, may deserve some explanation. I should like to start by noticing that the value of the journal in my personal researches on the *Difaqane* led me to believe that it deserved public attention. When I discussed the matter with Dr T. H. Barry, the Director of the South African Museum, he readily agreed and obtained the permission of the Trustees of the museum for its publication and for my assignment as editor. After nine years of acquaintance with the material, I can only testify that I still agree with my original opinion.

Dr Kirby, who edited the *Diary* some thirty-five years ago, specifically selected that work in preference to the journal for reasons which he published in his preface. I agree that the journal was never completed and that it stops short of the author's visit into the uncharted lands, that it was only written some years after the events, and that it does not offer a day to day chronicle of events or locations; but his judgment that the diary reveals the man better than does the journal is subject to question. Of perhaps greater concern is the fact that the diary has long been out of print. The accelerating interest in the study of the African people makes increasingly important the availability of this additional and corroborating source concerning the conditions existing amongst the communities beyond the Cape Colony immediately prior to the Great Trek.

A major justification for publishing this work is that it was the account of the expedition which Smith intended for the public; it is written in a systematic and formal manner such as are none of his other documentary sources. Even though it lacks much in literary qualities, it is Smith's testimony regarding the expedition. In addition, it is more comprehensive than the other, deriving from the diary and from his other field notes. The manuscript of the diary consists of 361 foolscap pages; the journal, covering two-thirds of the time period, contains 643 pages; well over twice as great coverage of the period.

The journal also affords the opportunity to discover Smith's attitudes and biases on a wide range of matters of which he had first-hand knowledge. He editorialized freely regarding all manner of topics: missionaries and mission societies, colonial policy towards the Griqua and other frontier people, the Boers both in and beyond the colony, gun trade, the plight of the refugee peoples, the customs and morals of various African communities and their chiefs, and numerous other subjects. As to the fact that it was not composed until some time after the completion of the journey, that enabled Smith to organize his data and to give it a perspective that he could not do with his diary and field notes, which he recorded enroute. Evidence proves that what he wrote was done by 1838. In reference to the conclusion of the journal, which had to be newly created, this also made possible the inclusion of a broader range of data because reference could be made to correspondence, reports and other field notes in addition to the diary. In fact, because the diary is so generally available its use has not been emphasized.

The manuscript journal as it has been preserved is obviously an unpolished draft. Some sections have undergone revisions, deletions and additions in Smith's hand as well as in that of another

reader, who also made editorial comments. It contains many unusual abbreviations which any type setter would have restored, inconsistent spellings of normal English words, neglected final letters, such as the 'y' in 'they', and missing connective words. The punctuation and paragraphing are highly erratic and sometimes entirely neglected. To preserve these lapses would be to flaunt Smith's intentions, and to notice the corrections would be valueless pedantry. Undeciphered, obliterated, or missing words have been indicated in square brackets, and, where the meaning is clear, a suggested reading has been supplied. Of course, Smith's rendering of African words, including the numerous variations, has been retained with no attempt to standardize it. The goal has been to allow the manuscript to read as nearly as Smith would have intended had he seen it through the press.

Smith occasionally appended footnotes to his writing. Some of these appear to have been additions to the text; where they have been so interpreted they have been inserted at the appropriate location without notice. Others are obviously supplemental references, and these have been referred to by asterisks and inserted at the base of the page where they relate. Editorial notes have been reduced to a minimum to avoid the unnecessary distractions from the reading. Where notes are provided they appear in a single listing at the end of the volume and are referred to by superscribed numerals in consecutive order for the entire journal. No references are provided in the text for the identification of personal, tribal or place names, for the definition of terms, or for bibliographical citations. Rather, the interested reader is invited to examine the annotated index at the end of the book, which is intended to provide that information.

The concluding parts of the journal have been devised to let Smith speak for himself as if he had completed the work. The basis for this section is his *Report* of 1836. That brief outline, from page 24 to the end, is reproduced in full, and is indicated by indented paragraphing. References to the diary are few and are easily traced by date, so no further citation is provided. Other sources which flesh out these two, including Smith's ethnographic field notes, his correspondence, and his reports to the governor, will be referred to by footnote, but most citations will cover several paragraphs or even pages. All this is intended to make the work acceptable to the general reader, who would have been Smith's original audience, and still to provide the assistance to the scholarly researcher.

The map illustrating Smith's route is modified from that which was prepared by Dr Kirby and R. McNee Tait for the second volume of the *Diary*. It has been redrawn by K.A. Behr, cartographer, University of Cape Town.

If Smith is not a literary master, he is a scholar and an observer of integrity and persistence. No other traveller entered the field of South African exploration with greater interest or with better preparation. His training in medicine and his experience and avocation as a naturalist, his previous excursions beyond the frontiers, and his careful notation of the writings of others all combined to give him a perspective that make his observations worthy of serious consideration. It is appropriate that he should be remembered by this, his most comprehensive statement regarding that important expedition beyond the boundaries of the Cape Colony at such a crucial time in the history of the African people.

W.F. Lye

Andrew Smith's Journal

23rd May 1835

Between Citlaholi and our next halting place called Meritzani we passed near to two or three active hamlets inhabited by some of the remains of the Bituana tribe which had formerly occupied the country now possessed by Musulacatzi. The moment our approach was discovered by these people they also attempted to conceal themselves, but on finding that impossible and discovering that their residences were observed by our guide they carelessly advanced and many of them proceeded with us towards the spring where we intended to pass the night, giving us to understand that, now their haunts having been discovered, they would find it necessary immediately after our return to repair to another part of the district. So long as we should continue in the Zoola country or in its neighbourhood, they fear of no interruption from Musulacatzi but they felt certain that the moment we left the country a commando would be ordered in search of them as it was the system of the Zoola king to prevent people in their circumstances occupying country in his neighbourhood. Their circumstances, as they described them, were very deplorable and their appearance went to confirm of what they stated. Often for days together they had nothing to eat and at no time had they sufficient to satisfy the cravings of hunger. The cattle they formerly possessed and which had furnished ample food for themselves and family were now supplying nourishment to the children of their enemies, and under such circumstances they should hate the Zoolas. The country, they observed, in which they were now forced to reside was too arid to admit of cultivation or the production of grain, but even were it otherwise it would be impossible for them to attempt to supply themselves of the means of subsistence by cultivating the land as such a step would enable their enemies to discover their retreats, and though they themselves might escape, yet the produce would be immediately destroyed. Their sustenance was, therefore, solely to be derived from the chase or from the edible roots which the soil afforded, and as both were very precarious sources of subsistence, and scarcely able to calculate upon more than was but just adequate to sustaining nature. Notwithstanding that such was their woeful plight, they exhibited as marked an aversion to change their locality as any class of people we had yet seen. Professing themselves ignorant of any other except that from which they had years before been expelled and fearing, should they seek what we considered a better, that inconveniences equally disagreeable as those they now experienced might even there require to be encountered.

From what we saw on our approach to Meritzani and from what we heard during the time we remained there, we had proof the Zoolas were not the only enemies these poor people had to fear. The lion was another enemy against which they had to guard and it not infrequently happened that their nocturnal repose was disturbed by the means it became necessary to emply to prevent him from making inroads into their hamlets. Though we obtained no proofs that the lion is here so ferocious and destructive as he is in situations we shall afterwards have to notice, yet he is, however, by no means inactive and never fails to seize every opportunity of feasting upon human flesh. It is, therefore, extremely dangerous, even in this district, to travel during the night or to venture towards evening to places where there is water. The instinct of the animal seems to point out the latter as being most favourable for supplying his wants; and from that not being duly considered many human beings have fallen a sacrifice to his voracity. Indeed the list of such sufferers had nearly been increased by some of our own party who incautiously advanced to some water in the vicinity of one of these hamlets where two lions were crouching, no doubt in expectation of either man or beast approaching to quench their thirst at the pool.

Our guide stated it was the wish of Musulacatzi that we should make him acquainted with our arrival at the Malapo River and there wait for a chief whom he should dispatch to conduct us to Mosegha. Hence on our arrival at Meritzani, which was only one day's journey from the Malapo, we thought it advisable to dispatch a messenger to announce our approach and to inform the king that by the time the chief intended to escort us should reach the river we should be there to meet him. When first this idea was entertained, it was suggested to our Zoola guide that possibly he would be expected to perform that duty, but no sooner was that intimated to him than he replied, "No. Were he to make his appearance before the chief had joined us, Musulacatzi would immediately order him to be put to death!" He had been sent, he continued, to guide us over the road and to take care that none of the commandos, which were constantly in motion upon the Zoola frontier to defend the country against approaching enemies, should molest us and, were it to appear that he for an instant left us to travel by ourselves, the order of his king would not have been complied with. Maclaniani was, therefore, selected for the duty and dispatched with all possible speed.

27th May 1835

The fear of the scattered population spread over this part of the country, not less than that of

Tswana travelling

Musulacatzi, had no doubt some influence in preventing the Zoola guide from undertaking the duty. He, as well as his fellow countrymen, was fully aware of the extreme hostility which the members of all the other tribes in that direction feel towards the Zoolas, and of the readiness with which they avail themselves of evincing their hatred by injuring or killing such of the nation as in a comparatively defenceless state may fall in their way, even though they have had ample proof that such proceedings seldom fail to be avenged. The thought of consequences, however, never seems to give them any consideration or, if it does, they, probably like most other barbarians, calculate that these will not fall up themselves and they are comparatively indifferent to what may happen to others. Hence the opportunity of gratifying individual feeling is seldom resisted unless the chances of direct suffering by indulging it is evident. It is owing to the prevalence of this unfortunate description of reasoning that so many crimes are committed by individuals which must unavoidably entail retribution upon someone though, in all probability, not the offender.

During our detention at Moratzani the poor natives were constantly in attendance upon our camp and zealous in their endeavours to persuade us to hunt for them. Large game being here abundant we took every opportunity of endeavouring to relieve their wants, and our efforts might be said to have been successful, having supplied them with several rhinoceros, elands, gnus, quaggas, etc., every part of which animals they devoured with voracity, and though they continued feasting during the night as well as by the day, few instances occurred among them where we could clearly consider they felt their appetites fully appeased. On seeing us act in this manner many of them expressed a desire that we should take up our permanent residence in the country and occupy our people constantly on their account. And when spoken with as to the sacrifice such a proceeding would require us to make, they scarcely seemed to consider their request was greater than ought to have been complied with. We have often been astonished by the unconscionable demands which the South African natives have made of us, and, from knowing that they were not in the habit of making such of their own countrymen or of persons of their own colour, we could but ascribe the practice to nothing but to an idea they entertained that the white man was ordained to benefit them, and that such an idea had originated in their having so long seen and heard of the disinterested exertions made by missionaries for their benefit.

These paupers indicated, like Mahoura, a disinclination to our proceeding further, but that disinclination evidently did not arise from the same cause. With them it originated in an anxiety to prolong our stay in their country, finding that our presence there afforded the means of ensuring them food as well as perfect immunity from Mosulacatzi. Among other reasons they advanced why we should not extend our journey was one which they naturally supposed would have a powerful effect; they described in vivid terms the awful ravages disease had committed and was committing in the country occupied by the Zoolas and still endeavoured to convince us, should we proceed thither, we might become sufferers in no less a

degree than the natives.

The occurrence of this disease they looked upon with great satisfaction, regarding it as a just retribution for the injuries Musulacatzi and his people had inflicted upon them. On expressing a belief that the disease was a species of retributive justice, we fancied by following up that expression we might discover something which would indicate a notion of the existence of an all-ruling power, but few enquiries had been made before we were disappointed; they manifested no indications that they considered the disease having been occasioned by any such power considering it only as having arisen from a want of due respect to a certain earthenware vessel which had been deposited in the crevice of some rocks with an intention of which they were ignorant by some one of their wise men while their tribe inhabited the country, and which was always respected by them. The zoolas, after they became the possessors of the country, discovered this vessel and upon being made acquainted with its history and importance by some of the Bahoorootzie captives, ridiculed their belief and broke the vessel, observing, "They would see if it had any powers of occasioning misfortunes." Scarcely had this been effected before the disease began to appear and the great destruction which was the consequence they ascribed entirely to the power possessed by the person who secreted it and which had been so severely exercised; from revenge for the little respect that had been shown it.*

28th May 1835

On the third day from the departure of Maclaniani (28th May 1835)[86] we proceeded to the Malapo under a hope of finding our messenger had returned there with the promised Zoola chief. The Malapo at the point we reached it was a small but fine stream and presented us with the first running water we had seen since leaving New Latacoo. The shallow and level valley through which the river wound its course towards the westwards was thickly covered with fine grass; and, towards the edges of the stream, in many places thick with reeds. Its soil was everywhere a rich vegetable mould every portion of which might easily be made available for the purposes of agriculture as the waters are not only abundant but run level with the banks and might be led out in any direction to supply the means of irrigation. The Malapo, contrary to what is usually observed in the permanent streams of South Africa, is for a great distance from its sources nearly destitute of trees along its margins; and in this respect it bears a striking similitude to the Kooroman river, which it also resembles in deriving its waters from strong springs issuing out a limestone rock. This valley furnished us with the first example of a tract so extensive and well adapted for the purposes of cultivation being entirely neglected and we could not but feel that some effort should be made to profit by the bounties nature has here bestowed with a liberality almost unknown to most other part of South Africa.

On minutely surveying the locality in question we could easily perceive why a portion of the Griquas were so desirous of becoming possessors of this valley and the adjoining district; and, did we not feel that it ought if possible to be appropriated for the benefit of the tribes who had been driven from their native country by the Zoolas and who are now existing in absolute destitution in the barren tracts in its neighbourhood, we could have wished them success in their efforts to acquire it had our impressions been that their position there could have been productive of anything but their own destruction.

The course which under circumstances it appeared to us should be pursued was, if possible, to incline Musulacatzi to cede his assumed right to the Malapo valley and the country northward of it; and if that could be effected, establish there a missionary station and collect as many of the paupers as may be found willing to abandon the mode of life they had lately followed and establish them there as cultivators of the soil. Before trying such an experiment, however, it would be desirable to ascertain if there should be nothing in the soil to unfit it for the purpose; for we must confess, it appears rather extraordinary that a tract apparently so well calculated for cultivation should to all appearance have always been neglected. The Bituanas have ever endeavoured to obtain a portion of their sustenance from cultivation and such being their practice it is not a little singular that they should have disregarded the situation of which we are speaking when they possessed the country and lived in comparative peace.

The attempts we made to ascertain the character of the locality were unsuccessful, which arose from the circumstance of the paupers of the neighbourhood having only become particularly acquainted with it since their own country was invaded by the Zoolas during which time, as has been already stated, they have never found it safe or practicable to practise cultivation. We would anticipate, however, there is nothing in the soil to unfit it for

* Having no idea that misfortune can arise from anything but natural causes, they believe every occurrence is to be accounted for by natural causes and, therefore, found it necessary to discover those in order to be able to account for what is daily happening within their own observation. It is owing to this description of belief that sorcery is so much believed, and that so many innocent persons fall victims to their uncivilized ideas.

cultivation, as, to all appearance, it is exactly circumstanced as that existing in the valley of the Kooroman River and which has long been proved fertile and well adapted for the production of corn and other vegetables.

30th May 1835

On the 30th of May, the third day after our arrival at the Malapo, having heard nothing of our messenger, we dispatched our Zoola guide and two Hottentots for Mosegha to ascertain the cause of delay, but before they proceeded any great distance on their journey they encountered Maclaniani accompanied by the Zoola mission with whom they returned. On their arrival at the waggons we were absent to examine the sources of the Malapo. The mission was composed of the chief warrior of the tribe and four private soldiers; one of them a near relative of the king.[87] The chief and three of the soldiers we found on our return to the camp enjoying the warmth of a large fire and engaged in an easy and friendly conversation with Mr Moffat, the fourth soldier having been sent back to inform the king of our arrival at the Malapo.

Our approach in no way deranged their occupation. They regarded us with apparent indifference only casting a passing glance as we advanced to the waggons to deposit the collections made during the excursion. On joining the group no special regard was paid to us; all that we could discover in their manner was an apparent desire to read our character from an occasional and attentive survey of our countenances, and whenever they were detected in that their expression brightened and a partial smile passed over their faces which only became complete when it was drawn forth by a smile from us.

As we have elsewhere stated, the messengers of A South African chief after simply making their appearance commonly wait an invitation to disclose their mission. We naturally supposed the silence observed on the subject arose from our not having conformed to the custom. The word of Musulacatzi was demanded from them when we could readily perceive from the apathy of the chief that we were not the nearest to the king's heart nor the individuals of the party of the greatest importance in the king's eyes, consequently not the persons to whom the official communication was to be specially addressed. The full and formal disclosure had evidently been designed for Mr Moffat, which pleased us exceedingly, and what they communicated to us upon our putting the question above stated was more an act of courtesy than of duty. The purport of the communication was: the king was glad to hear we had so far proceeded on our journey, was extremely anxious to see us, and would be at Mosegha to bid us welcome to his country, and that, in the meantime, Calipi (the chief who delivered the message) would attend to our wants and convey us safely over the country.

By some means or other a knowledge of our possessing representations of the countries, their inhabitants and animals, had reached the Zoolas as being probably the greatest curiosities which we possessed, at least such might be inferred. Scarcely had Calipi arrived at our camp before he asked to see them and, on their being presented, his astonishment was unbounded. He closely surveyed each drawing and after having done that he closely inspected the back of the paper expecting to find appearances of the actual objects themselves, but observing them to be perfectly smooth and white his wonder appeared tenfold. He then demanded by whom they were made, and, when Mr Bell and Mr Ford were pointed out to him as the persons, he surveyed them several times in succession from head to foot; no doubt with an idea that he should possibly be able to discover some indications of the extraordinary powers which he ascribed to them – powers no doubt akin in his estimation to those supposed to be possessed by the barbarian sorcerers, rain-makers, etc.

As we have already stated, the Malapo derives its waters from springs issuing from the limestone rock upon those springs it almost entirely depends for its supplies. Owing to the general flatness of the country in its neighbourhood little water reaches it from the surface; but there is no doubt that much of the water which falls upon the surface eventually contributes to its share to the strength of the stream by descending between the limestone strata and contributing to the formation of the springs which alone appear to feed the river. For several years the strength of these springs had undergone but little change though, previously, they were much stronger, when the stream was also larger and flowed to a much greater distance westward than it does at present.

Near to our encampment, in the midst of some dwarf brushwood we discovered marks showing the spot to have been the temporary resting place of a large party of natives; and upon speaking of this to our guide he informed us it was the place where the Zoola's commando had passed the night after the attack upon Mr Bain's waggons. From the numberless traces of fires it was clear the party must have been considerable and, from the display of broken bones of a large size, we had ample proofs that the Zoola warriors are not prohibited by their king from making a liberal use of whatever booty their exertions and bravery may acquire. For the comparative privation they often experience while in search of the enemy they make ample

amends by the voracity with which they feed when their efforts are successful; and though they sometimes consume before their return to their tribe half of the captured cattle, they are seldom censured, or even considered to have acted improperly. It is on account of being permitted this privilege to their satisfaction in their favourite food that they feel so little averse to such duties.

31st May 1835

On the day following the arrival of Calipi (Sunday), six Zoolas reached us from Mosegha laden with vessels containing native beer, for the dispatch of which orders had been given by the chief named previous to his leaving Mosegha agreeable to the command of the king. These vessels were immediately carried to Calipi and placed in a row at his feet upon which, after reserving one for himself and his attendants, he pointed out the individuals of *our* party to whom they were to be presented. A similar supply, we were informed, would be daily furnished till our arrival in the Zoola country; and, as it had been discovered that we were particularly partial to milk, strict orders were given by the chief to the beer-carriers on their leaving that a supply of that article should also be forwarded next day.

2nd June 1835

Two days' journey from the Malapo brought us to Mosegha. The first day we travelled over nearly a level country abundantly supplied with grass and the aspect varied here and there by a few small and scattered trees and towards the latter part of the day our view for a time was circumscribed by a low rocky ridge that lay immediately to the north of our route and over which we occasionally got a glimpse of a range of hills at no great distance to which belonged the one called Curry Chain by Mr Campbell.* Previous to reaching Merimani, the spring at which we were to pass the night, two men and four women with the promised supply of beer and milk reached us, and, on their presenting themselves to Calipi, they received instructions to return with their load to the proposed halting place; and, on our reaching it, the vessels were distributed in the same manner as on the former day.

1st June 1835

Intelligence of a number of rhinoceros being browsing in the neighbourhood led several of the hunters to fly to their guns and before dusk we had information that a species different to either of the two inhabiting the countries more to the southward had been killed and that the Bituanas who had accompanied us from Latacoo were unacquainted with the animal. We repaired to the spot early the next morning hoping, as might naturally be supposed, that the report might prove correct. The first sight of the huge beast set at rest our hopes and fears. We found the Hottentots to have been correct observers and that the animal which approached most nearly to the South African (*Rhinoceros bicornus*)nevertheless differed from it in many material points which we have elsewhere indicated.*

Before proceeding to skin the animals a long discussion took place among the many persons assembled to accomplish the laborious task as to the points of difference between it and the common species and on this occasion the Hottentots, acute as they generally are, were rather slow in instancing its peculiarities, though all at once observed from its general appearance an evident dissimilarity. While thus occupied, a Mohorutzi joined our group and the moment he saw what lay within the circle of the observers, he exhultingly exclaimed, "Ah Kietloa!" You have found your Master!"

Upon his being questioned about the animal, he described it as an inhabitant of the districts more to the northward in which, he added, we might find it in abundance and then described in what respects it differed from the common species. Among those differences he mentioned its greater ferociety, it being considered by the natives the most dangerous of the three species; and on a subsequent occasion slyly informed us that the Bituanas in that neighbourhood used to liken Musulacatzi to this rhinoceros.

The acumen which the South African natives who are unmodified by civilization exhibit has often been the occasion of wonder to us, and in the case of this man another example was afforded calculated to produce the like effect. The accuracy with which he particularized the points in which the two closely allied species [differed] showed how minutely he must have observed and, had we had any doubt before how necessary the practice of constant and close observation is to enable slight shades of difference to be perceived, we should have had enough to convince us on this occasion. Our Hottentots, who as far as the powers of vision are concerned are inferior to no people in existence, yet from their having of late been comparatively occupied in pursuits in which the powers of observation are not or do not require to be

* *Travels in South Africa*.[88]

* *Illustrations of the Zoology of South Africa*, No. 1, Pl. 1.[89]

amaTsetse: Ndebele cattle boys

In proportion as the mountains opened and the breadth of the pass increased the road improved and though the quantity of wood still continued, considerable, yet the open grassy plains between the stripes and clusters of trees allowed of our advancing with moderate speed so that we were enabled to reach the spot where we intended to halt about sunset.

Scarcely had the necessary arrangements been made for the night when information was given that we were in a position much infested with rhinoceroses and this was scarcely stated when three of these animals were seen as if advancing directly towards us. A general bustle prevailed in the camp, every individual flew to his gun, and in a few seconds nearly thirty persons well armed were advancing towards the animals. Owing to the quantity of bush, only one was to be discovered when the spot was reached where the three had been seen, and against that the arms of the hunters were levelled. The beast appeared quite astounded at the first shots; for a moment he stood motionless and intently surveyed his enemies. He then gáve a snort and followed it by a clumsy spring and then advanced directly towards the spot where the majority of the hunters stood. A second volley from them appeared to cause a change in his intentions; he moved off at a right angle with the direction he at first took which brought him within the reach of others of the party who by some well directed shots wounded him severely, though they were obliged to fly from his then making a most desperate effort to reach them. By this time the dogs, who till then had remained behind at the waggons, joined in the attack and greatly harrassed the wounded beast. When first they assailed him he had not suffered so severely from the injuries he had received as to render him unable to fly. He continued running in consequence, but on receiving two or three additional wounds his powers of motion were much embarrassed and he then condescended to seek revenge upon the dogs which he only tried to effect with his horns. The dogs, however, were too active for him and though he made great exertions to strike them both by rushing directly towards them and by moving round in a circle with outstretched head, yet he completely failed in his object. His efforts caused no abatement of their exertions and though they soon found they could not injure him with their teeth they persevered in springing upon him with open mouths and it became difficult for the hunters, who had now approached within a few yards of the contest, to get a good shot at him without wounding the dogs. After a time the hunters managed to plant a few bullets in the more vulnerable parts when the animal made some desperate plunges, sunk upon its hinder parts and almost immediately afterwards fell flat on his side with every appearance of life having fled. The dogs then flew upon the body and perseveringly attempted to bite it but without success, and at last directed the whole of [their efforts towards] the lips, ears, and tail, which were the only parts [they could] get between their teeth.

On examining the body it was found that a few of the balls had entered the skin, though the mottled appearance of its outer surface afforded sufficient evidence that numbers had struck him. To attempt killing rhinoceri or elephants or hippo-

potami with bullets purely composed of lead is vain. Only those partially made of some harder metal being constituted to injure either of these animals. The bullets, therefore, commonly employed by the South African hunters are composed of one part pewter and two parts lead.

The animal thus overcome was of a different species to that mentioned as having been killed the day previous to our arrival at Mosegha. It belonged to the species which in early times existed in abundance even close to the extremity of Southern Africa and which has been long known under the name of the two horned rhinoceros *(Rhinoceros bicornus. Sim:)*. By the aboriginal natives it is called *Boreli* and stands in high respect amongst them on account of its strength and courage and those members of their communities who are reputed for these two qualities are often designated at their public meetings by that appellation and they themselves, in singing their own praises, often drop the name given to them by their parents and substitute that of Boreli.

When the animal was first discovered its pace was a walk, but on seeing its danger, that was changed to a trot which it retained for some time even when flying, though at last commenced a heavy gallop, in all which motion it exhibited a striking resemblance to what is observed in the movements of a common pig; and the snort which was occasioned by a forcible expiration also bore much resemblance to the noise made by the latter animal.

Just as we returned from the hunt two messengers arrived from Musulacatzi who stated his great impatience for our arrival and that he was busily employed in making preparations to receive us and had sent for fat cattle to be sent from the late country of the Baralong cats[94] where, at that season of the year, oxen were in best condition.

7th June 1835/8th June 1835

At this resting place we passed the whole of Sunday the 7th of June, and early on the 8th continued our journey and, after travelling through a well-wooded country, arrived towards evening at a moderately sized river called Mariqua.

The Mariqua River derives its sources in the more easterly division of the limestone plateau one part of which, as we have already mentioned, forms the southern boundary of the Mosegha basin. The plateau, we have reason to believe, reaches, if it does not extend beyond the sources of the Fall River. From the origin of the Mariqua it flows for a considerable distance in a south-west direction during which much of its course lies within the part of the Curry chain east of Mosegha. From that range it escapes at a short distance to the southward of where we halted and takes a northerly direction to join the [no name given] river about two miles distant from our camp.

Scarcely had we halted when it was discovered that a number of Buffaloes were grazing in the wooded tracts which lay upon both sides of the stream, and as we were almost without animal food, our hunters were dispatched in pursuit of them, and in less than half an hour several of the animals were in a condition to supply our wants.

We found this Buffalo to be of the same species as those which used to occur in abundance in the Cape Colony and the only difference that could be discovered between them and the few yet remaining in the latter was in their habits, Those of the Mariqua when compared with the others appeared extremely timid, and even when wounded manifested a stronger inclination to fly than to become assailants. On the other hand, the buffaloes of the colony are always ready to pursue whoever they may conceive places them in danger and when merely wounded have recourse to various plans to avenge themselves. The sagacity they display at such times is occasionally very extraordinary and some of the measures they adopt would appear the result of reason than of instinct. It is owing to the great sagacity shown by this animal that hunting it is always viewed by the colonists as a dangerous occupation, and it generally happens that persons unacquainted with the pecularities of the buffalo become serious sufferers from his horns. Among the various instructions given to young hunters by the more experienced is never to follow directly upon the traces of the animal after having wounded him, because he invariably makes it a practice to retreat for a certain distance and then retrace his steps as if he calculated that, as a matter of course, the hunter would follow the exact route by which he had fled. The only safe mode by which the animal may be followed is by advancing in a direction parallel to the one by which he fled and always to the leeward of him so that he may not be able to scent the pursuer.

We had now reached a country where it was necessary to be supplied with water before the darkness set in as crocodiles were to be found from hence in all the rivers, which were in the habit of seizing persons who might approach their haunts at night or even wander in their vicinity. David Scoon, a trader and a man of veracity who formed one of our party, when halting upon the banks of the Mariqua on a former occasion lost his *tracto*.* Every search was made to recover it, but without success, and it was not till the following day when a crocodile made his appearance at the ford where

* A thick trace composed of plaited stripes by means of which the oxen draw the waggon. [Trek - touw]

Mosilikatzie's people and we could easily perceive from their looks and manner that they had been greater sufferers through the conquerors than their females. There was a gaiety and cheerfulness in the latter which did not appear to be interrupted by the presence of our Zooloo attendants and in some instances their boldness and nonchalance increased in proportion to their proximity to the latter. We have often seen such similar manifestations and believe them to arise generally from temporary delight and an ungovernable inclination to let enemies see they feel themselves at the moment safe and equally in favour with the white people.

Such want of foresight often lends to their injury. If a retribution cannot be extended at the moment, the necessity of it is kept in recollection and an early opportunity is taken to repay them for their boldness and presumption. Of the intended adoption of such a course I have had frequent intimations from the mouths of the irritated parties who sometimes feel so incensed that they cannot resist the utterance of threats which they intend to discharge when favourable opportunities occur. Nevertheless, the offenders are aware of their dependent condition and satisfied of their generally having no defence against those they irrirate, yet such is the infatuation, particularly of the women, that they cannot resist aggravating their crimes by replying tauntily to the threats shown in word and look and thus, as long as they feel secure, continue to add fuel to fire.

On reaching the spot where we determined to pass the night a messenger was dispatched to the kraal to inform the inhabitants that we wished to see some of the principal people. In a few minutes our invitation was acknowledged and a party arrived carrying with them a culubash of beer, which they immediately offered for barter. On reaching our camp they appeared easy and apparently prepared to enjoy themselves but the instant they observed in our company some of the Zooloo's soldiers the cheerful looks vanished and in their place an air of melancholy and suspicion clouded their expression.

To the south and west we had a view of the country over which we had passed since leaving the kraal of the Zooloo king as well as other parts of the district which had hitherto been concealed from our sight. The surface of this part was highly irregular and studded with low knolls and rugged ridges between which run valleys and rivers. Several of the valleys were of considerable breadth and well supplied with a deep fertile soil, where agriculture might be pursued with the prospect of great advantage, but the extent of such were too limited to render the country desirable save to natives or pioneers. On the knolls and ridges there was scarcely any grass but all were abundantly coated with brushwood, and many of them still bore marks of once having been the sites of large native kraals. The number of these was much greater than we had hitherto supposed.

The cold was still piercing during the nights and often a hoar frost was very distinct before sunrise in the morning. In this neighbourhood two of our hunters were benighted at a considerable distance from the camp and as they were endeavouring to reach it they were stopped by four lions which appeared in front of them and forced them to seek safety in a tree which fortunately happened to be close to the spot, and on it required to pass the night.[102] The kings of beasts, disappointed with their escape, continued to prowl about the spot for some considerable time, and after seeing there was no chance of the prisoners falling to their jaws, they retired and left the field open for them to leave for retirement in the morning.

19th June 1835

On the 19th we reached a position where the two ranges of hills were comparatively but little apart and where the northern range, by much the highest, formed an elbow from which it tended to the eastward, thereby changing from its course which hitherto had been less south-east and regular than it now was. Near us the river close to which we had travelled since leaving Mosilikatzie's kraal passed through the northern range in order to join the L'oon, which flowed some distance to the N. E. of the Cashan hills, the name of the northern range. A desire to see the character of the country to the north of these hills led us to ascend the highest which was about 1,100 feet above the valley in which we were encamped but owing to the haze which pervaded the atmosphere in every direction we had only a very limited view.[103]

The haze which we had for days perceived and which operated so much to limit our view we found to depend upon the quantity of smoke which was rising in all directions from the universal conflagration in which the country all around us appeared involved. At this season the natives always burn the old grass with a view to expedite the appearance of the new which people who trust to cattle for support look upon as one of the most fortunate arrivals which can appear among them.

The country to the northward so far as we could see consisted of extensive flats, apparently with a short coating of withered grass, and freely studded with small trees which were numerous and congregated on the banks of permanent or temporary streams. These flats were much cut by deep gullies which generally ended in the permanent rivers and were sufficient without the information we had

from the natives to satisfy us that this district must be occasionally visited by heavy falls of rain, the temporary torrents from which cut the deep soil of the plains in all directions and deepening gradually till the bed is formed of more resisting material, generally rock. Some of these were twelve or fourteen feet in width and as many in depth and we found that travelling was rendered difficult and almost impracticable in this direction from the frequency of such gullies.

Rhinoceros in abundance were seen during the day and two of the white kind (R simus) were killed, an adult female and her calf. When the former fell, the latter, which was about three feet in height, remained with her and continued butting her with its head as if endeavouring to ascertain her condition, until it also was shot. Several small herds of elephants were also seen upon the slopes of the hills and the carcass of one of these animals which had just been killed by the party of a trader who for the purpose of hunting had accompanied us from Latakoo. At the dead animal the inhabitants of the kraal whose houses were upon poles had assembled and were actively engaged in cutting up the flesh and drying it upon trees. They were in high spirits and apparently overjoyed with the prize, when the labours of the day were finished, they commenced those of the night which consisted of cooking, eating and singing, and no relaxation was permitted in either of these avocations until the reappearance of the sun told them that it was time to resume the work in which they had been occupied during the bygone day.

The moment it became known that our people had killed a rhinoceros a party moved off to secure what flesh we did not carry away and they observed a like course to those occupied in the preservation of the elephant. The flesh of the elephant is rank, strong and disagreeable to the taste, that of the full grown rhinoceros is also strong and rather hard, but that of the young animal is most delicious and would be relished by the most professed epicure. It has somewhat the appearance of veal and its flavour is between veal and tender pork. No opportunity of acquiring it was lost and, though we lived much upon it, no one appeared to get satiated or wish a better food.

One of the first crocodiles we obtained was killed here in the river near our camp, and after receiving the shot he had just power to leave the grassy bank on which he was basking in he sun and reach the water before life was extinct. At the time he was shot he appeared sleeping and, from the nature of the situation in which he was discovered, it was evident he was in quest of rest and heat rather than food. When the latter is the object this tyrant of the rivers generally repairs near to a spot where animals frequent for drink and there conceals himself till they either commence quenching their thirst or see him before that is begun. In either case whether in or out of the water he raises his head and part of his body gives a sort of hissing whistle, opens his large jaws, and fixes his eyes upon the denoted animal. The latter appears instantly deprived of all reflection and power, stands like an object inanimate and awaits his approach which is soon made after he discovers that terror has had its full effect. With his gaping jaws he seizes his prey and dives with it towards deep water there to be consumed at his pleasure. On some occasions it happens that he pursues a different course, darting without such preliminary steps upon the object he wishes to secure which, the native say, he does knowing that he is not always successful in generating such terror by the exhibition already described as will render flight impracticable if he be discovered.

The cold continued very severe during the nights, in consequence it was arranged that as we had but a small quantity of spirits remaining, a glass should be given to each man who was on watch during the night. No sooner was this determination made known than several of the Hottentots volunteered to mount guard every night merely in order to secure a daily allowance of that which proves the bane of so many civilized and almost all uncivilized being within whose reach it comes. While halting here one Zooloo interpreter got a new name. His native appellation was Maloa Incomo (herder of cattle).[104] Here he was designated "wide ogg" from the following circumstance: a quantity of flour, almost the last in store, was served out, in order to enable them to have a plum pudding, Mrs Moffat having presented us with a bag of raisins on leaving Latakoo. Maloa Incomo, when this was cooked, found it very delightful; and, as it happened, after that belonging to the people had been cut up and divided, something called the entire party away for a few minutes. The interpreter, however, did not accompany the rest, but commenced the moment everyone left the camp examining the spot where each person's ration of pudding was deposited and removing cautiously a small portion from each. When he had nearly finished his work one of the party, who had observed him from the commencement, advanced upon him. He simply looked and laughed, seeming to wonder what he had done as a good joke, and quite correct. Each piece he received he swallowed without delay so that, with what he obtained by stealth and what he received on the division of his proportion, he had a very fair share of the pudding and rendered himself not miscalled Wide Ogg under which name he ever afterwards passed and to which he answered with as much readiness and good nature as to his original of (Maloa Incomo). His

Hunting rhino in Mzilikazi's country

companions were the only individuals who never designated him by his appellation but all of them enjoyed themselves in a laugh at his expense when they were made acquainted with its import and with the proceeding which obtained it for him.

24th June 1835

Towards evening of the day after we left this place, some of our hunters encountered a black rhinoceros with her young one, and on firing several shots at her she fled with great rapidity and in the flight which took place among dense brushwood the calf lost her. As soon as that took place the little beast, which was closely pursued by one of the assailants, turned upon him with the appearance of being highly infuriated and as if determined to revenge the injury he himself had sustained and likewise that of his mother. The man fled with precipitation to the highest tree he observed and he had not ascended that sufficiently high before he received a violent blow on one of his limbs from the head of the little combatant who was not larger than a moderate sized pig. He soon, however, reached a place of safety, and though beyond the reach of immediate danger he did not feel secure from consequences, as the little beast continued butting the trunk of the tree with the utmost violence and each time causing it to yield, so that fears were entertained it might in time give way. In a few minutes the entire of the bark of one side was displaced and marks were even left in the solid wood portions of which some began to peel off. In this position was the prisoner when several of his companions attracted by his call reached the spot, and the instant they approached the enemy abandoned the tree and made towards them. On their flying he did not follow but returned to the tree and pursued his employment as if he had actually settled within himself that by perseverance he was to succeed in getting the individual who had been a prominent actor in depriving him of his mother into his power.

By this time the waggons had reached close to the spot and cords were immediately supplied to secure the beast, and dogs were also taken to confuse him while he should be entangled in the [cords] which were prepared for him. The plan was successful, but the instant he discovered himself in the power of his enemies he got doubly infuriated, and it was impossible to manage him until two ropes were fixed so as to pull in opposite directions by which he was prevented from approaching those who held either. The result of the last

measure served to excite him violently. Instead of running furiously onwards as he had done hitherto, he now held back and it was feared he would be strangled in the endeavour to get him to the spot where we had established our camp for the night about a quarter of a mile distant. With patience, however, he was carried safely to the spot, but not till after the holders of the cords relaxed them alternately so as to give him hope that by a violent rush he might reach some one of his [assailants], all of which keeping constantly in advance of him. Though panting to a degree inconceivable from the exertion he had made, and apparently almost unable to stand, nevertheless, on reaching the waggons, renewed his efforts against whatever attracted his attention, and on finding himself unable to reach living objects he set to butting with determination every substance that was within his reach.

Pity for his suffering and a conviction that perseverance in such proceedings must soon terminate his existence, his feet were tied with a hope of putting a stop to his efforts. In this, however, we were not successful, for though he was reduced to a condition in which he could not stand, he, nevertheless, persevered in dashing his head so violently against the ground that in a short time he effected the destruction of the thick skin by which it was covered in several places besides breaking up the hard soil upon which he was lying. A few hours of continued exertion, however, completely exhausted him, and at last he lay as if dead and did not notice any persons who approached.

25th June 1835

Next morning he was to appearance disposed very differently to what he had been previously. When approached he raised his head from the ground, looked good natured, and almost courted caresses. These were bestowed without any effort on his part towards resentment, which led us to untie him. The moment he was let loose he ran towards the nearest person, but with no symptoms of rage or an appearance of offering violence, commenced sucking at their clothes and manifested every evidence of suffering under extreme hunger and in hope of acquiring food. Now he was docile, affectionate, and imploring, there was the most perfect safety in his company and his condition called forth general sympathy, so that his life was taken but not without reluctance. In this case we had a proof of what hunger was capable of effecting, even upon one of the most ferocious and obdurate of animals. The lapse of some hours had probably also operated towards blunting his recollections of his mother and had brought him to forget that one object was more fitted than another to administer to his wants. Had we been on our return to the colony there would in all probability have been no difficulty in taming him without either difficulty or trouble.

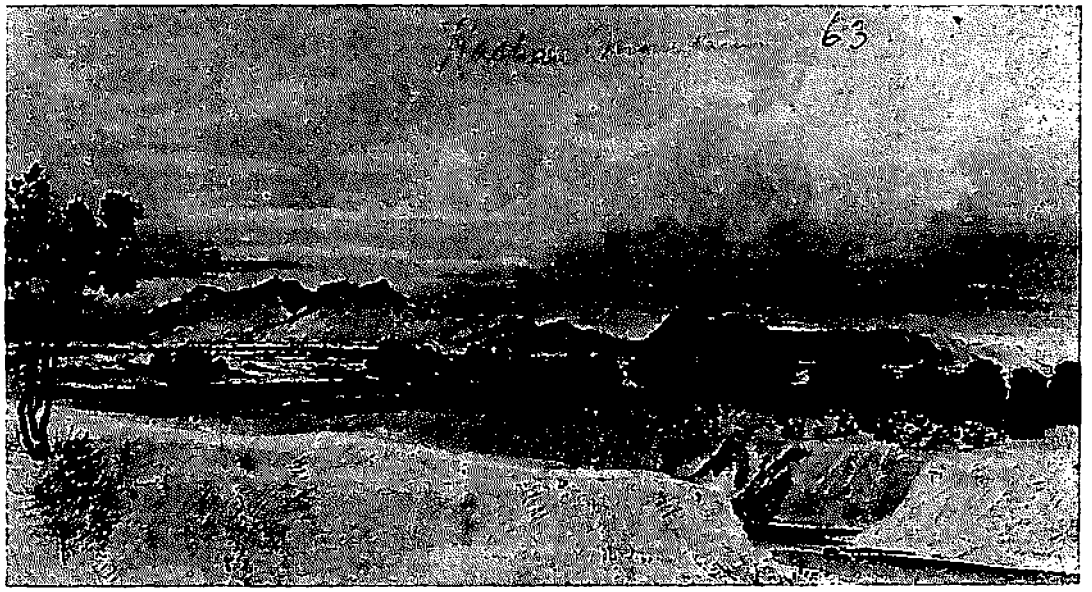
24th and 25th June 1835

We were now advancing, as it were, between parallel walls. The country was more rugged and broken by rocky knolls coated with grass and brushwood and small streams were descended here and there from the northern wall, and discharged their waters into the larger one which wound to the westward at a point nearly equidistant from the two ranges. The remains of native kraals increased as we progressed to the eastward, and we had in advance of us a high transverse ridge over which we had to pass to get again in the continuation of the valley which went on extending to the eastward. Under this connecting ridge we passed the night of the 24th and the whole of the 25th, in consequence of our requiring a new axletree for the small waggon, the old one having got broken while passing over the rugged road along which we travelled most of the 24th. From a height a little removed from our resting place we obtained a full view of the country lying between the lateral ridges along which we had travelled, and we found the old kraals much greater than we had previously supposed, and many of them of very considerable extent. Here we had an evidence of what we have so often had elsewhere, namely, that it is not possible to infer the capabilities of Africa by a regard to what comes within the view of the passing traveller. Here thousands of cattle must have formerly lived and yet there scarcely appeared food for a hundred when we travelled over it. It is on the rapid reproduction of vegetation that trust is to be placed. If eat off ten times in a season a general shower will rise it rank and fine as before.

The tribes which were once the masters of these now ruined kraals were of the Bechuana nation and were known by the title of BaCashan, or they of Cashan,[105] but we could not discover whether these hills had given the name of the tribe or the tribe had given the name to the hills, which it will be recollected were to the north of us.

26th June 1835

On the 26th we crossed the transverse ridge which extends from one of the lateral barriers of the valley to the other and came upon the sources of a river running to the eastward and closed within the hilly ridges which [were a] continuation of those



The Kashan [Magaliesberg] Mountains from the west

which had hitherto walled us in on the north and south. [There was] little difference in the appearance of the country to that we had left. The bosom of the valley presented the same undulating surface truncated with knolls and ridges which, however, were not quite so rocky. The quantity of grass was greater and also the width of the valleys. The ruins of some kraals similar to those of the western valley were observed but not in such numbers.

28th June 1835

On the 28th, three additional men arrived to accompany us by order of Mosilakatzie. One, the chief of a kraal to the north of the Cashan hills, and the others commoners, one of them a Mochuana. With this movement we were surprised, and as we had no intimation that such would be the case we could not but wonder that something had occurred since our departure which had led to the step. Under circumstances, however, it did not appear judicious to make any inquiries. We appeared as a policy quite gratified with the addition, which we pretended was a proof of the unremitting anxiety of the king for our safety and comfort, and this seemed to satisfy the chief who soon became more friendly and open than he at first appeared, and from this we could readily perceive that he had not, after a little, the same impressions which he had on his reaching us. After joining us, and after he had remained in our company for some time, he retired and was shortly afterwards observed apart from the party in earnest conversation with the persons who had been with us from starting.

As it happened, it proved most fortunate that we interpreted this act of the Zooloo king as we did. Had we acted otherwise, or given him to suppose that we were suspicious or anxious to know why we had been furnished with an additional number of men, it might have nourished an idea, which perhaps was entertained, that our object in advancing in this direction was not of a nature friendly to the Zooloo, more especially as it had been stated to the king since we left that a commando of Dingan's was approaching the district towards which we were proceeding. Though this was the case, and we could discover there was some uneasiness, yet a whisper to enlighten us never escaped from our guard, and that course they no doubt adopted with the view to ascertain if we knew anything of the circumstance. Being perfectly ignorant, of course, we manifested no alarm nor took any trouble to ascertain their views or fears, by which course we soon satisfied them that we were in no way acquainted with what might be in progress. The change in the chief's manner in consequence was agreeable and we continued our course with comfort and without any interruption, only our movements were strictly watched and no height was ascended or no distant point visited without some of the Zooloos being our companions.

Here one of our hunters had a narrow escape from a leopard which he encountered upon the edge of a bush. After threatening an attack it retreated upon hearing the approach of some dogs

and entered a hole in the ground at no great distance from the spot he was discried. The possibility of the animal being different from the leopard of the colony inclined us at first to hunt him; but, upon finding the hole to be deep and the Hottentot decided in his opinion that no difference existed, we abandoned our intention. Some proposed to fire into the hole which others opposed, saying that experience proved that such a proceeding always caused the animal to spring out, and in so doing he invariably flew at the person nearest him. The custom of this animal would almost incline one to believe that by instinct he is conversant with the attributes of dogs, for whenever he is discovered by a party provided with these animals he flies rather to a hole in the earth than to a tree, which is the opposite if he be not aware of the presence of dogs.

From the way in which he was secreted when first seen, and from his showing a disposition to the offensive, our people were of opinion that he had food in readiness in the neighbourhood, and that he was merely there to guard against its being devoured by other animals. The leopard often leaves his prey entire upon the spot he kills it while he retires to a short distance to guard its being eaten by other animals; at other times he takes it after it is obtained and suspends it in some tree or shrub and near it keeps watch in the same manner. The aborigines consider that he prefers it tainted and in consequence resorts to this course, and they say that even if he be hungry when he kills game he will, unless actually starving, resist the inclination to eat until the food is in a more palatable condition to him. Some consider he leaves what he kills upon the ground as a sort of bait to lure other animals to the spot, which he also kills and thereby keeps up his store, and they say that he often succeeds if that be his object. By his success against one animal, he is often enabled to kill dogs, cats, and various other carnivorous beasts which he in time consumes. By thus retiring to a place of concealment he differs in manners from the lion, who after he kills game lies by it to prevent its being touched or approached by other animals. The latter is probably sensible of the want of that activity and swiftness which the other possesses while he is conscious of the possession of a strength and power which ensures him against any enemies and, therefore, his proceedings are dictated by the consciousness of such being his condition.

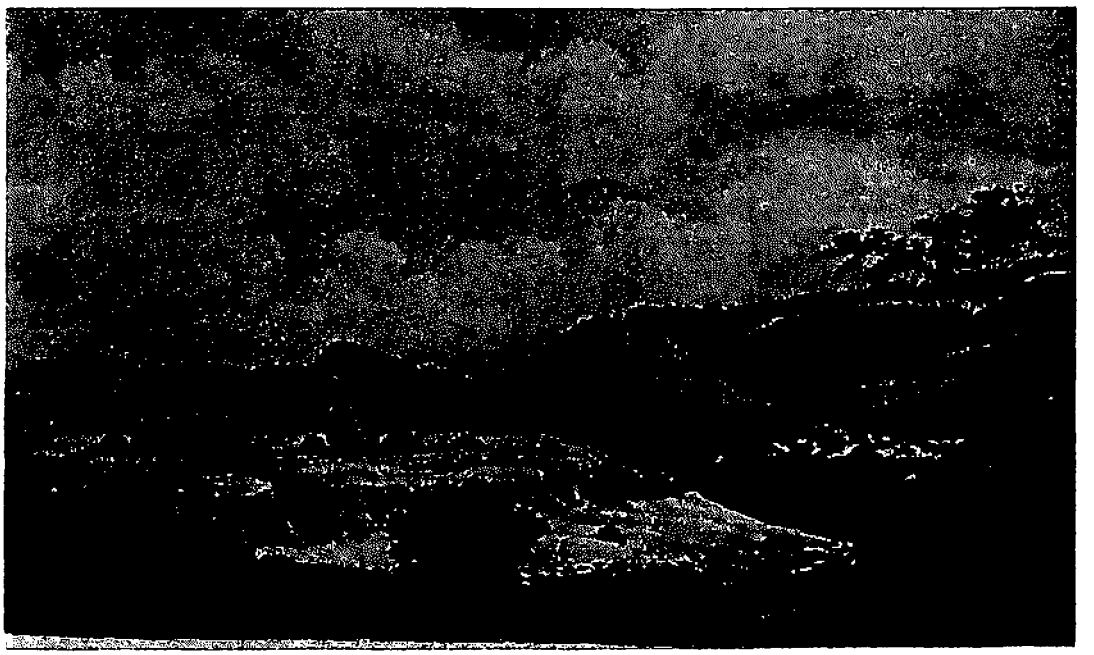
The leopard is said to be very partial to the flesh of young baboons and to obtain that he frequently rushes out on a troop of these animals in which are a proportion of young ones and flies from one to another with great agility giving each a single bite which proves enough to cause their death. During this proceeding he is very actively engaged in watching the movements of the old ones whom he fears as, if one of them can get hold of him, he bites with that efficiency which soon causes his death. After such a proceeding he is often hunted to a great distance by the troop, but his speed readily enables him to escape the danger with which he is threatened. When the chase is abandoned and, dispirited, the baboons retire towards their rocky habitations, he cruelly retraces his steps to the late scene of attack and there avails himself of what may have fallen victims to his fangs.

On ascending one of the highest hills in this neighbourhood we were surprised at the number of foot marks of animals which everywhere appeared, and on expressing ourselves to that effect, we found from the natives that all the quadrupeds which subsist upon vegetable food repair to the hilly regions during the winter, these being better supplied with the articles of their food than the plains and valleys. On the very summit of the hill we observed the foot marks and excrement of old and young rhinoceroses so that, though unwieldy and awkward animals, they are evidently well able to advance over regions not to be attained by men without difficulty and toil. Elephants, we found, also readily reach similar localities and wander upon them with apparent ease and freedom.

28th June 1835

After crossing this barrier we reached a similar valley; similar as far as it was walled in laterally by a continuation of the hilly ridges, but different, however, in other respects. The surface on both the slopes was less broken and more densely covered with grass, and the knolls without lacking the broken surface which had hither occurred. The quantity of wood or brushwood was also much less and only existed as scattered trees along the banks of the principal river which ran towards the east or in patches near the same stream. Both the slopes, but particularly the northern one, were deeply cut by chasms formed by the mountain torrents, and besides these several other small streams of a permanent description were found descending from the ravines in the Cashan hills and discharging their contents into the river which winded along the lowest part of the valley.

These streams would admit of being led out for irrigation, and though to appearance the entire of the country was more agreeable to the view and apparently better supplied with grass than that we had left, yet there were no remains of kraals. We consequently were necessitated to infer that there was something not favourable in the grass or



The Kashan [Magaliesberg] Mountains from the Mavooba [Magalies] River

position. It requires experience to judge of the character of a country, especially in Africa, and especially of its fitness for pasturage. The character and quality of the grass varies exceedingly and where the greatest quantity of vegetation exists it is not always the best place for the residence of nomad people. Where the soil is deep and the grass abundant and rank it is often injurious to cattle and generally not coveted by them, where, on the other hand, the soil is scanty and there is scarcely an appearance of sufficient to nourish a thin crop, it is sought for and found to be highly conducive to the nourishment of domestic animals. This will account for the density of population in the tracts we have passed. The wild ruminants, on the other hand, are not so particular in this respect. Here we found abundance of these and soon after descending the eastern slope of the transverse barrier a herd of elands came in view which were feeding upon the northern side of the valley.

Being without animal food, it was an object to secure some, and to effect that I rushed them and after a short ride I came up with the herd, turned off the fattest male from the rest and pursued him till I got him in a favourable position and into the line in which the waggons were to pass. Here I shot him. It is always advisable if possible to separate the individual intended to be killed from the rest, as that disheartens him and prevents him making the exertions to escape which all do when together. Congregation appears to give the elands in particular courage and spirit.

While in this valley we had a proof of how difficult it is to keep a number of persons of a certain intelligence in a right state of thinking and how blind men are to their own interests and those with whom they are associated when temporary irritation or erroneous sentiment get possession of the mind. A soldier named Terry, a man who at all times was disinclined to submit further than necessitated, came to a determination after some conversation with his companions that no one save myself had any military authority and, therefore, that if he was placed to act under anyone he would leave the duties in which he was employed. This was reported to me, upon which I questioned the man on the subject and warned him against such a proceeding. He expressed his determination, nevertheless, to act as he had professed, and next morning it happened that he was the man on watch when the extra guard was called. As has already been stated, the guard always consisted of one of the more important persons of the party, and this morning Mr Bell was the individual. The moment the latter appeared Terry walked away and determedly refused to resume his duties. In this act, I am happy to say, he was not countenanced by any individual of the party, indeed the reverse. A shyness was manifested towards him and several quarrels between him and individuals followed in which he paid for his unpricipled proceedings and which, it is more than likely, would not have happened had not a sort of momentary irritation been the consequence of the temporary destruction

of the harmony which had hitherto strongly existed.

The difficulty of managing a party of any strength will always be experienced when far removed from the usual checks which are necessary to keep badly disposed persons in subjection, and every person called to manage them will do well to keep in view the propriety of making the management dependent as much as possible upon individual exertions. That is, make the different grades unite in managing their own party, and let each party feel that all its members are in a measure responsible for the actions of each individual, and all as likely to derive credit or shame from the acts of one. Our party was a little nation consisting of a certain number of small states, each state having a certain share in its own character and only answerable to myself for the general interests. How this operated in the first instance with the Hottentots will have already been seen where we have described the proceedings ordered when the first crime was committed and nothing up to this time went to show that the plan had not been one crowned with perfect success.[106]

29th June 1835

Under a second transverse ridge we passed the night of the 29th of June, and we were exposed to great danger from the burning of the grass. At one time our position here became one of danger and anxiety and had not the most active measures been adopted we might have been left destitute had our lives been preserved. As has already been remarked, the natives were actively employed burning the grass in every dirction; and, owing to our position in the hollow bosom of a valley, we could not see the direction the fire was taking. When night set in the whole sky appeared illuminated and it seemed as if we were within a circle of brilliant light which, though there was no moon, enabled us to read the smallest print with as much facility as during the brightest sunshine. While admiring this novel appearance and meditating the dispatch of a party to the high grounds to windward to ascertain how the flames were proceeding, scarcely had the intention arisen before all suspense was removed by the sudden appearance of a wall of flame in a semicircle to the east of south of our station and which was advancing with a rapidity that made us fearful that before we could extricate ourselves from our dangerous position all our waggons would be burnt.

No time was consequently to be lost. Fire brands were in every hand with a view to raising up a counter flame to the one which was approaching, and, scarcely had we accomplished that and got all the grass on fire in a circle around us, before the other fire was within a short distance and sending forth a heat that almost roasted us. Only those who have been exposed in such a situation in a country where vegetation was dried up and every article in a state to augment the violence of the combustion can have an idea of the rapidity with which fire extends or be able to form a notion of the necessity of expedition in order to ensure against its baneful results.

In daylight it is a strange sight to observe the belt in advance of the flames. When the country is on fire it appears all alive and swarming with beings confusedly endeavouring to fly from the consuming element. Insects, snakes, tortoises, and even quadrupeds sometimes promiscuously mixed in one dense assemblage running too and fro to escape from the impending danger. Generally speaking their efforts prove but labour lost, for though for a time flight may be safety, yet in the end they fall a prey to what in the first instance flight enabled them for a time to escape. The appearance presented by the tracts over which the fire has passed is well calculated to excite commiseration, the beings above instanced are seen in numbers partially consumed and only with sufficient life remaining to show them yet suffering from the torments which partial death had occasioned.

This is a time of jubilee for the birds which feed upon such food. They are to be seen following closely to the fire, and feasting upon the prey which that devastating element has prepared for them. Crows and hawks are the most numerous of these and their sagacity is seen in the methods they adopt to make the most of the favourable occurrence. They almost venture into the fire to secure what to their appetite is so desirable, and though the majority are satisfied with following the flames others are seen even sufficiently bold to venture in advance of them and to hunt the fugitives in the yet unburnt grass with the smoke and flames densely rising around them.

The appearance of a country after such general conflagrations as occasionally take place in South Africa is very unpleasant, being one continued black surface often as far as the eye can reach. In this country it is not, as in Europe, within the power of the persons who set fire to the grass to direct the course of the flame or to conduct it that only certain tracts shall be burnt. Every vegetable production is so dry and sapless that the instant the fire brand is applied the flames rage with such vehemence that no endeavour which can be made will either limit or direct its course. Nothing will stop it to leeward except rivers or stripes of green vegetables, and unless these be of considerable width they, even, will not do so. The burning ashes carried away by even the currents raised by the heated air pass to considerable distances in the

whirlwinds, and often where they fall raise a new fire which again generates others till everything vegetable in the district is consumed.

In Europe the inconvenience of such a general conflagration would often prove serious to the lower animals, but in Africa that is less important. The time required for the reproduction of a new covering is so very short that in a few days a grass will be offered which animals can crop in sufficiency to support life. Eating such grass is, however, very unhealthy, and the traveller who wishes to retain his cattle in a condition to enable him to go onwards will do well to take care that they do not, if possible, be permitted to consume grass so new. If they are allowed to do so, he will soon see the plump and healthy animal lank and weak and in a state which will render it necessary to remain tranquilly where the occurrence takes place until a more aged food constricts the bowels and strengthens the frame which the other had loosed and weakened.

2nd July 1835/3rd July 1835

A sea cow was shot near to where we halted on the 2nd of July, and as it was easier to be got on dry land entire the opportunity was considered a favourable one to have a thorough examination and a correct drawing of the beast. On the third a large party left the camp to give effect to our purpose and soon was our object accomplished. The figure published is a correct representation of the specimen the general character being in keeping with what had been seen of them while actually walking upon dry land or on the bottom under water.[107] This was the first individual we killed, and almost the first which had been seen. In former times no distance required to be travelled in order to be able to acquire such a sight but of late it has been necessary to attain a distance beyond the colonial limits before the animal can be found.

When the Cape was first settled by Europeans, sea cows existed in all the principal rivers of the most southern extreme of the continent, but the colony had not long been established before the numbers began to diminish, and for years past not more than two or three have been observed within the colonial boundaries. The animal has always been hunted with a twofold object, for its flesh as an article of food and its tusks as an object of commerce.

Until it became acquainted with the deadly nature of the weapons used against it and of its being an object of keen pursuit with the Europeans, it preserved its pristine confidence and made but trifling endeavours to evade the approach of man, but as soon as it became aware of its new position, afterwards its habits underwent a material modification and in proportion as it became pursued and harrassed, in proportion it became cunning and cautious. The practice of feeding upon the grass of the banks during the day was soon abandoned and the indulging of curiosity which led it to rise its head and part of the body out of the water to survey strangers who invaded its solitudes being found to be no longer safe was in a measure laid aside, and instead of such exposure it only raised the eyes above the water together with a little of the forehead and the ears and the tip of the nose, and so alert did they become that the sight of a suspicious object caused them instantly to descend.

The killing of this animal, which at first was an easy operation, in consequence of the change in its habits became one of labour and exertion and required the adoption of a more systematic and lengthy process. It now became necessary to take advantage of what was seen to be the custom of the animal and to lay in wait for him when the time should arrive when he usually left his diurnal retreat for the banks of the stream to feed during the night. At these times the exposure necessary to enable the huntsman readily to kill him was afforded and in this way individuals continued to be more readily secured than by what had been the plan hitherto of killing them when in the water. For this purpose, as preliminary, the edges of pools in which the animals were known to live were examined and the spots where they were in the habit of making their exit from it ascertained. The huntsmen, then, as the sun began to approach the horizon, betook themselves to the neighbourhood of these and there awaited the approach of the animal upon which they opened their deadly fire when a favourable opportunity occurred. At these times the same positions were assumed before daylight and the animal was shot on his return to the watery element. They were sometimes hunted also in moonlight nights while feeding upon the green plots which skirted the streams. When in such situations they are fired upon they either retire with precipitancy to the river or pursue their assailants if they be observed. On this account more caution was necessary while hunting in this way than in the other.

At this point in the narrative Dr Smith abruptly ended his writing. That he intended to publish the journal is verified by an advertisement he issued in 1836, and also by the fact that he and another person made editorial revisions on the manuscript. Perhaps other assignments distracted him, or perhaps, the criticisms levelled against him in the press discouraged him. His correspondence attributes his failure to prolonged ill health. At any rate, barely two-thirds of his total journey is accounted for in his writing.

Fortunately, we have the published report which Smith delivered to the Association in Cape Town upon his return. Though this report summarizes his total journey in only thirty-four pages, it reflects what Smith regarded as most consequential. Therefore, that report will form the framework for the construction of the remainder of his journal. It will be supplemented by references to his diary, the ethnographic notes and geographic notes which he made enroute, and to his correspondence. This follows his own precedent, as he clearly used these sources in the portion of the journal which he completed.

Where possible, Smith's own wording will be used. His *Report of the Expedition for Exploring Central Africa*, from page 25 to the end, will be cited in its entirety in indented blocks. References to the diary will be easily traced by date, and no other reference to it will be cited here. Other sources will be cited by footnote.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Journey completed

Continuing from where Dr Smith's journal concluded, on July 3, the party travelled onward seeking the site where Mzilikazi first established himself on the high veld after his flight from the Zulu country.

> Our course, in order to accomplish the meditated journey, was nearly south-east, and the road lay over a rugged and broken country, between two ranges of hills, which rendered travelling difficult and tedious. For some days after starting, we passed occasionally kraals well stocked with cattle, but for a long time before turning back we saw nothing but the remains of stone walls of great extent, which, in former times, had confined the cattle of the various Bechuana tribes, then living in the peaceful possession of that country. Everywhere, during the outward journey, we found a fair supply of grass and an abundance of water; the sources of most of the rivers in that direction being in the range immediately to the north of us, which divides the waters that run to the eastward from those that flow to the westward. The scenery here surpassed any thing we had yet seen, and judging from all appearances, the country was much better calculated for grazing and cultivation than any portion of the district we had found the Matabili occupying, indeed none of them hesitated in acknowledging that, and stated that the fear of Dingan alone had led them to neglect it.

Smith wished to continue his eastward journey to the south of the Kashane,or Magaliesberg, range to the sources of the Vaal River, but his guides refused to take him further in that direction. He conjectured that his guides were hiding their real concerns:

> On reaching the Oori River, which is fed by many fine streamlets from the range already mentioned, we were told by the guides, that beyond it water was very scarce, indeed seldom to be found within a great distance, and that it would be quite impossible to advance farther with oxen. This information I received with suspicion, yet the anxiety evinced by the guides, that Umsiligas should understand that they had afforded it, gave so much the air of truth as did not warrant me in persisting to oppose their recommendation, which I afterwards ascertained to be judicious at the time. Though they stated that the same obstacles existed to our farther advance beyond the Cashan range of mountains, which lay immediately to the north of us, yet from its not being desirable to return by the road which we had just travelled, I determined upon crossing it, and then decided as to the course which ought to be pursued. From the position we were then in, passing the range could be effected by one road, and that with difficulty, owing to the quantity of bush and the number and size of the stones, yet with caution it was effected, and we were again able to reach the Oori before dark, and to camp for the night on its eastern banks, about four miles to the northward of the mountains.

6th July 1835

The passage through the Magaliesberg was effected on July 6. Though he turned back from his route to the Vaal on the southern side of the mountains, he persisted eastward on the north. This deflection caused further concern, as he reported in his diary:

> "Had much difficulty in persuading the Litabeli *tuna* to take a letter to Mr. Moffat, he returning from this [place] to his king. Says his orders were to show us the country where Masalacatzie formerly lived, and then when we turned back he was to leave us and go on to say when we would be back.

Ndebele kraal on the north side of the Kashan [Magaliesberg]

abandoned when Dingane's commando had attacked the Ndebele capital, to the east.

During the mid part of July night temperatures fell below freezing, and the party was delayed for a time repairing a waggon. But they were soon on their way again.

> The second day after this, [after leaving the river] we passed the site of the battle fought between Barend's Griquas and the Matibili, and the appearances yet to be seen told in the strongest terms what must have taken place. The slope upon which it occurred, was still actually white with the bones of men and horses; and the remnants of guns, saddles, jackets, hats, &c. proved what must have been the fate of many a Griqua. That commando had actually the whole of the Matabili cattle in its possession, a circumstance to which its defeat is in a great measure attributable. The difficulty of keeping such a quantity of cattle together during the night, rendered it necessary that the force should be much divided, and, from the various parties being dispersed around their prey, the moment the attack commenced, the guns of the Griquas destroyed more of their own party than the assagais of the enemy. According to the Matabili, the attack was made about an hour before day-light, and ere the sun rose not a living Griqua was to be seen, almost all that had presence of mind fled at once, whilst those that were panic struck, together with the few that had the bravery to defend themselves, were instantly destroyed. The result of that commando furnishes a remarkable example of the misfortunes which often arise from want of system and foresight. The very night the assault was made, some Matabili women whom the Griquas had as prisoners, urged them to be on their guard, as on that night, said they, something of importance would happen; yet nevertheless the Griquas feasted till towards midnight, and then betook themselves to rest, without, it is believed, taking even the precaution of placing a watch. In this engagement none of the regular warriors of Umsiligas were present, they having some time previously gone on commando to the north. It is reported, that during the early movements of the Griquas, the king was in a most desponding state; and cried like a child, seeing no prospect of ever again recovering his property, but every chance of being left with a ruined tribe as occurred when he fled from Chaka. The turn matters took, however, upon the occurrence of the general conflict, has changed so much his notions as to the power of men armed with guns, that he is now almost disposed to under-value such weapons, and regard his own as even superior to them.

Smith editorialized in his diary on this event about the quality of the Griquas as to their vigilance:

"The proceedings of this commando illustrate correctly the character of the Hottentot; when they have been engaged in any evil act they fear for the moment, but if what they suppose a time for danger passes without anything occurring, they

Kashan [Magaliesberg] Mountains from the Crocodile River

Tlokwa never reached this area. Lye, "Difaqane," VIII, 107-131.

85 In 1829, when Moffat first visited Mzilikazi, he encountered Ndebele kraals five days of travel east of Mosega, but the king had moved west in 1832. W. F. Lye, "The Ndebele Kingdom South of the Limpopo River," *Journal of African History*, X (1969), 96.

86 The dating does not coincide with his diary. He there indicated that he sent Matlhanyane on May 27, and he followed next day. *Diary*, II, 46.

87 The diary says the relative was Mzilikazi's brother. *Diary*, II, 48.

88 Kaditshwene. The reference is to the *Second Journey*. I, 222-24.

89 Smith named the species *Rhinoceros keitloa*.

90 Further reference to the "Mother of the Kraal" may be found in Wallis, *Matabele Journals of R. Moffat*, I, 26; Thomas M. Thomas, *Eleven Years in Central South Africa* (London, 1873), 225.

91 This house was constructed by the revs. J. P. Pellissier, Prosper Lemue and Samuel Rolland during their sojourn with the Hurutshe. See note 82, above.

92 See note 88, above.

93 Various estimates were made regarding the size of Mzilikazi's military. This is summarized in Lye, "Ndebele," 96-97.

94 i.e. Ngwaketse. See *Diary*, II, 57.

95 Other visitors wrote their own descriptions of the king, sometimes quite different from Smith's. R. Moffat, *Missionary Labours*, 543, 546; W. C. Harris, *Wild Sports*, 101, 106; J. P. Pellissier, Mosega, 12 May 1832, in *Journal des Missions Evangeliques*, VIII, 5-19; Daniel Lindley, 18 Aug. 1836, in D. J. Kotzé, *Letters of the American Missionaries* (Cape Town, 1950), 130.

96 Meaning the governor of the Cape Colony. See above, p.105n.

97 The Sixth Kaffir War, which commenced on Dec. 21, 1834, just prior to the commencement of the expedition. Walker, *History*, 185-86.

98 Incomplete in the manuscript. The intent appears to be, "the instant he does so they will make demands of him."

99 This event is dated 12 June in the diary. Mzilikazi is there said to have not ventured out on 13 June because of the weather. *Diary*, II, 68-70.

100 Aasvogel, Dutch; Aasvoël, Afrikaans, meaning vulture.

101 Smith started with five, then changed it to ten, then crossed both out without replacing them.

102 The hunters were E. Tennant and C. Hastwell. *Diary*, II, 78.

103 Smith dated this climb on June 20 in the diary. II, 80.

104 Also written Mohanycom, Monycom, Maloiikomo and Maloincom. These names appear to be corruptions of either Malwa dinkomo, "Conqueror of cattle," or Mohanya dikgomo, "Robber" or "Hoarder" of cattle." Variations of these names were also used by Burrow, *Travels*, 53, 74, and Harris, *Wild Sports*, 121ff.
The name "Wide Ogg," according to Burrow, "Wido," was a contraction of "Alderman Wide Awake." Burrow, *Travels*, 53.

105 The mountains are now called the Magaliesberg range, after Mogale, the founding ancestor of the Kwena. M. Wilson in M. Wilson and L. M. Thompson, *Oxford Hist.*, I, 132.

106 Smith recorded the imposition of a penalty of extra guard duty on Marthinus Du Toit on 27 Oct. 1834, for neglect of duty. *Diary*, I, 120.

107 See *Illustrations of the Zoology of South Africa: Mammalia* (London, 1849), plate 6.

108 The incident and the dating derived from Kift. *Diary*, II, 137.

109 This description of the Kwena is extracted from Smith's field notes. Smith papers, XII, 153-155.

110 Verbatim transcript of field notes, excepting that punctuation and paragraphing has been provided and spellings have been regularized. Smith papers, XII, 105-114. For a modern survey of Ndebele customs, see A. J. B. Hughes, J. van Velsen and H. Kuper, *The Shona and Ndebele of Southern Rhodesia* (London, 1954).

111 Obviously this is a slur on the people of Dingane, by his informant. Smith consistently called Mzilikazi's people Zulu.

112 Smith to A. Waterboer, Mzilikazi's kraal, 10 June 1835, in P. Wright to B. D'Urban, 15 July 1835 (Cape Archives, GH 19/4). Waterboer's letter has not been discovered.

113 Waterboer to Smith, Griqua Town, 15 Dec. 1835 (Cape Archives, GH 19/4).

114 Verbatim transcription, with punctuation, paragraphing and spelling altered. Smith papers, XII, 66-68.

115 The following section was bound with the