

THESIS.



AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE CIRCUMSTANCES RELATING TO THE
CATTLE-KILLING DELUSION IN KAFFRARIA 1886 - 1887.

THESIS PRESENTED FOR EXAMINATION FOR THE M.A. DEGREE

BY

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NOTE.

On the map 'Kaffraria' is spelt with one 'f' as in the original.

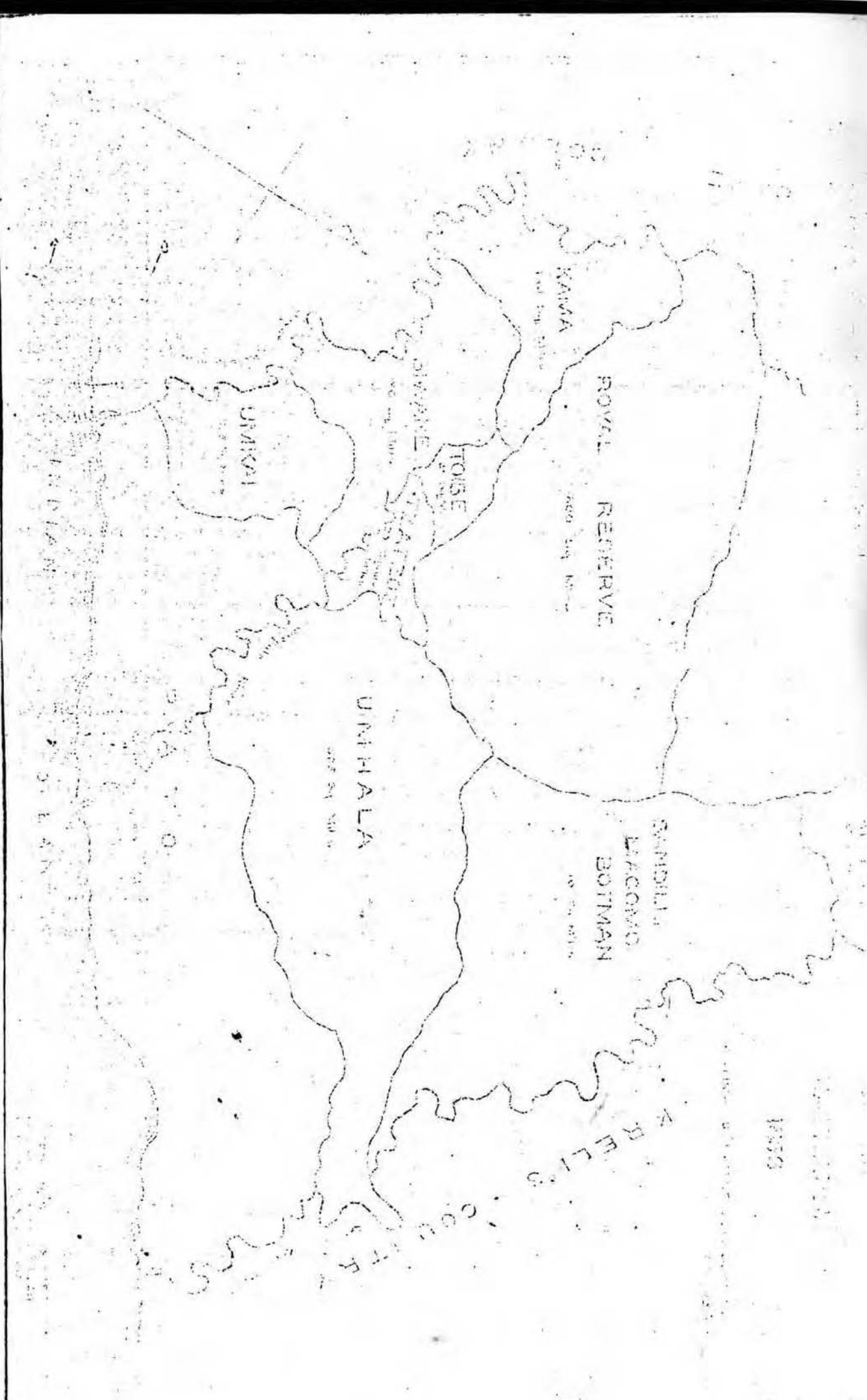
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INTRODUCTORY.

If the relations existing between the Native chiefs and the Colony which Sir George Grey found on his arrival are to be fully understood, a brief consideration of Cathcart's policy and Frontier settlement is necessary.

When Cathcart came out as Governor in 1852, he found the rebel chief Sandilli, with associate chieftans' and large bands of followers, still occupying their locations in the Amatola ranges. From this haunt no force had as yet been able to drive them. During the series of skirmishes known as the Eighth Kaffir War, their first crop of Indian corn was destroyed so early in the season as to allow of a second crop springing up. This unusual phenomenon inspired the prophet Umlangeni to claim that he had worked a miracle. Fortunately later reverses and the expulsion of Sandilli from his mountain fastness discredited this thoughtful opportunist.

Sandilli, as paramount chief of the Galkas, might have held an influential position in the councils of the Kaffrarian chiefs; that he did not hold such a position, was due, in Charles Brownlee's opinion, to his timid and suspicious nature and to the fact that his mental capacity was 'hardly above mediocrity'. He was unable to fight owing to lameness, and he lacked 'sufficient resolution and strength of mind to resist the evil influence of bad advisers', nevertheless he could be obstinate and he never, to the end of his life, gave up the idea of getting back to his old location in the Amatolas.

Macomo with some three thousand followers had likewise evaded all attempts to turn him out of his haunts in the Kroonse range. He, together with his associate the Tambockie chief Quesha, and diverse

1 Further papers re Kaff. Tribes, presented May, 1853, p. 218, No. 15.

2 B.K. 71, Brownlee's report on the chiefs in British Kaffraria, January, 1855.

rebel Hotterlots, indulged in frequent marauding forays into the surrounding country.

Macomo was the eldest of Galka's sons and was 'allowed by all to be the greatest politician and best warrior in Kaffraria'.¹ During the minority of Sandilli Macomo had acted as his regent and had attained great influence over the tribe; this he afterwards lost, for he moved to the neighbourhood of Fort Ecaufort, where 'in a state of intoxication most of his time was passed'. He had, in Brownlee's opinion, done more mischief in the war than any other chief. Great jealousy was felt between Macomo and Sandilli, especially on the part of the former; this was shown through the cattle killing period in his efforts to involve Sandilli, while attempting to keep on the right side of the Government himself.

Further south, indeed within the Colony itself, such petty chiefs as Seyolo² and Botman,³ lurking in the Fish River bush, and the Keiskamma kloofs, rendered the main road dangerous, and even succeeded, for a time, in completely cutting the line of communication between Kingwilliamstown and Grahamstown.

The paramount chief of the Xosas, the redoubtable Kroli, had for a long time refused to pay a fine imposed upon him by the Government. During the Eighth Kaffir War a successful expedition was sent against him, which resulted in his apparent submission and the immediate payment of the fine.

Cathcart organised troops of mounted police with whose assistance he cleared the Kroome range and the Amatolas of rebellious Natives, and established military posts therein. Seyolo was imprisoned and sent to Cape Town; Macomo, Sandilli and Quesha fled to the Kei, and further territory was left vacant when Mapassa⁴ was killed and

¹ B.K.71, Brownlee's report of Jan. 1855.

² Petty chief of the Undushane tribe, regent for his brother Siwani during the minority of the latter.

³ Petty chief of the Galkas. See map.

⁴ A Tembu chief killed in the war.

his followers dispersed.

Cathcart, therefore, returning to the traditional plan of massing white colonists on the frontier for defensive purposes, approved of the erection of the village of Queechstown to the North of the Amatolas, and the occupation of small farms clustered round the military posts in the Royal (later the Crown) Reserve. This Reserve was a wedge of territory from which the rebels had been removed; it adjoined both British Kaffraria and the Colony. Thus Kingwilliamstown, (on its border), would be safeguarded against a repetition of that complete isolation it had experienced in the war, and the most densely populated part of British Kaffraria would be under the direct control of the military. In the Governor's eyes, however, the most important reason for this arrangement was his belief that constant intercourse with, and observation of the white man's manner of living would be the best means of civilising the black.¹ Considering the type of people who usually inhabit the frontier of a colony, Cathcart was perhaps a little over sanguine. He hoped, however, by encouraging a race of small farmers, to solve at once the problems of frontier defence and the scarcity of labour. The sons of these men, he supposed, would grow up skilful and industrious, and would hire themselves out to richer farmers. Thus a useful rural population would develop which would be a great improvement on the 'adventitious and by no means respectable class of citizen' which gathered round the military posts of Grahamstown and Fort Beaufort,² and indeed on 'the generality... of the present generation'. Not in this way, however, was the labour problem to be solved, for within three years of Cathcart's departure the Colony had its rural population of labourers; unlike his idea they were not particularly skilful, nor were they ever industrious. The settlement included the rewarding of the Fingoes, who had

¹ Papers re Kaff. Tribes, July 1855. p.16, §3.

² Ditto p.27.

remained loyal, with farms in the Reserve; others were to be enrolled in a police force established to patrol the frontier.

Sir George Grey, therefore, came out to find Krell established beyond the Kei, the rebel chiefs more or less settled to the south of it, while, nearer the border, the loyal chiefs had been rewarded with large tracts of land, and the Royal Reserve was peopled, though still sparsely, with loyal Fingoes and white farmers.

Cathcart had returned to England well pleased with his arrangements, but Grey, on his arrival, though he paid a generous tribute to the work of his predecessor,¹ was not altogether satisfied.

Professor Walker attributes the necessity for a change of policy to lack of time, 'The essence of the Cathcart settlement' he says 'was time and the difficulty was to make sure of the time'.²

In point of fact it was unsatisfactory from the first and the gradual civilising process that Cathcart had expected, was in the circumstances, hardly likely to come about. The rebel chiefs, Sandilli, Macomo and their friends, could not forget that ideal base for foraging expeditions, in the densely wooded mountains, which they had been forced to leave. Remembering as they did, the frequent changes of policy in the Colony, they continued to regard their new quarters as temporary, and to look forward to a return at some future date. 'They had' said Grey, 'instead of being required to retire across the Kei, as was originally contemplated', been 'located upon its southern bank, in the vicinity of their own country of the Amatolas, to which they must be for ever longing to return.....this must be to them a cause of constant unease and annoyance..... The country within which they are confined is not believed to be adequate to their wants, this must also be a source of constant discontent to themselves, and probably of apprehension to their neighbours. There is little doubt that Kaffraria proper must be looked to as an outlet for the Ganna tribes'.³ But Kroli, the chief of all the Kosas, ruled beyond the Kei, and it was improbable that he would welcome to his immediate territory so powerful a chief as Sandilli, especially as the Ganna

¹ Papers re Kaff. Tribes, July 1855, p.56.

² Walker - History of South Africa, p.286.

³ Papers re Kaff. Tribes, July 1855, p.37.

chief, though subject to him, did not always choose to remember his inferior status.

Grey could not help noticing, too, 'how much the bearing of the Fingoe tribes had altered since they had been collected in large bodies and had felt their own strength'.¹ The friendly tribes who were to protect the border, had themselves become a menace. Troops had actually been 'got under arms on account of rumours regarding the Fingoes, and on one occasion the inhabitants of Cradock turned out to protect themselves from an expected attack by the Fingoes in their neighbourhood'.¹

In 1854 during Darling's Lieutenant-Governorship, some alarm had been caused by the apparent willingness of the Fingoes and the Kaffirs to resume friendly relations. The Kaffirs were believed to be trying to persuade their old enemies to return to Kaffirland² and such an unprecedented movement could only be the beginning of a great alliance against the white man. The means by which the two races were to be brought together was that of intermarriage and it was said that a union between Sandilli and the daughter of Jokweni³ was contemplated.⁴ On the death of the loyal chief Umkai, his counsellor Umgwaga (in January 1855,) stated that his late chief intended, had he lived, to communicate to Maclean the information that there was a strong possibility of an alliance between Sandilli and Umhala and the Fingoes, and that this had been discussed at a beer meeting some months earlier.⁴

Rumours of this sort led to the appointment of Mr Calderwood as 'Commissioner to enquire into the present state of the Fingoe locations'.⁴ The result of the enquiry seemed to be reassuring. He could find little evidence of any contemplated matrimonial alliance between Sandilli and Jokweni's daughter; the latter had been, in fact, betrothed to someone else. He pointed out,

¹ Papers re Kaff. Tribes, July, 1855, p.37.

² Ditto, p.34.

³ A Fingoe chief living near Fort Peddie, he died in February, 1853.

⁴ Papers re Kaff. Tribes, July, 1855, p.41.

further, that such a marriage would not have been without precedent for Gaika himself had had a Fingoe wife. He spoke, too, of the loyal sentiments of the old and middle-aged Fingoes.

Grey was always inclined to paint somewhat gloomy pictures of Native conditions in his despatches to the Secretary for the Colonies. He probably did this because he knew from previous experience how difficult it was to persuade the home authorities that his expenditure was absolutely necessary. On this occasion he wrote that his general impression gleaned from Calderwood's report was that 'the Fingoes feel, and much overrate their strength, and undervalue our power; that their young men are becoming haughty and insolent; that they are now a source of danger rather than of strength to us; and that if immediate steps are not taken to remedy this state of things disasters must be speedily anticipated.'²

The frontier was then as usual, insecure and uneasy, and Grey realised that the late Governor's arrangements must be improved upon. He realised that the Native chiefs, 'who' says Walker, 'from having too little power had been suddenly given too much',³ must be brought under control, and that British Kaffraria must be adequately policed if it was ever to be anything but a menace to the Colony.

Maclean, the Chief Commissioner of British Kaffraria, believed that the hostile plans were closed for the present; he nevertheless advocated preparations for possible war, and a display of force for disciplinary purposes. It seemed to Grey that peace was especially necessary at this time as the expense of a war would be an additional strain on the resources of Britain which was then engaged in the Crimean War. He realised that the present position was simply an armed truce; every day he expected a blow to be struck, for it was apparent that 'from day to day intercourse with the Native tribes appeared to diminish and distrust of them to increase'.⁴ Such a

1 .

Papers re Kaff. Tribes, July 1855, p.45.

² Ditto p.44.

³ History of South Africa - p.296.

⁴ Papers re Kaff. Tribes, July 1855, p.33.

'state of things' he wrote, 'can but result ultimately in great disaster'. This disaster he determined to avert.

Firstly Grey, always a constructive statesman, determined that a different course of education in civilisation must be evolved. He did not share Cathcart's belief in the benign influence of the frontier farmer. The country must be opened up and this could be done by the Natives themselves. Organised into working parties, under European overseers, they would learn to work and would render possible the establishment of 'institutions for the education of their children and the relief of their sick, institutions of a civil character suited to their present condition'¹.

With this sane and well-conceived idea Grey left for the frontier and on his arrival immediately decided that 'efforts should be made to push forward the Fingoes in intellectual, moral and agricultural skill.'²

On his return from this tour Grey outlined his frontier policy³ at the opening of the second session of the Colonial Parliament. Like Cathcart he advocated immigration, but he suggested the introduction of 'enrolled pensioners'. These men should be encouraged to volunteer for service in South Africa, whither they would be able to bring their wives and families, and where they would be given land on the frontier. In course of time this land would increase in value so that the owners would be unwilling to leave it, and the frontier farmers, being trained soldiers, would be able to defend as well as cultivate their property. Their children would serve to swell both the frontier police and the number of labourers in the Colony. This scheme had proved remarkably successful in New Zealand.

He suggested that the Colony should undertake to provide for an increased force of Mounted Police and 'make such provision for the

1
Papers re Kaff. Tribes, July 1855, P.38
2
Ditto, p.41, No.25.
3
Ditto, p.55.

defence of the Colony by a Burgher force as they judged most provident'. He hoped Cathcart's Fingoe militia might not be permanently necessary and he proposed that this force should be employed on the 'Public Works' at a small rate of working pay, while 'retaining their present character of a militia'.

In the same speech he spoke of the establishment of Industrial schools, of the eagerness of the Natives to be employed on public works, (this is not borne out by facts,¹) and of the terrible lung sickness prevalent among the cattle and horses in the Colony. This disease had spread rapidly causing much poverty and want, especially among the Natives, who were at this time an almost entirely pastoral people. The ravages of this lung sickness had consequences of far reaching importance to the whole country, and even in the early stages, Grey, quick to appreciate every opportunity, saw that it would help him in his efforts to encourage Native labour on the public works.

With respect to the government of British Kaffraria he stated that he had advised Her Majesty's Government to control that country by means of a direct grant, thus making its administration entirely distinct from that of the Colony.

The government of British Kaffraria had been a vexed question for some time. Letters Patent had been issued on the 16th of December, 1850 '.....constituting British Kaffraria a regular government'.² Cathcart only became aware of the existence of these documents in February, 1853, and he could find no trace of any correspondence to show whether they were in force or laid aside. He described them as 'admirably adapted for the government of this country' and 'in no way incompatible with the exercise of martial law'.² He believed that no increase in expenditure would result from their promulgation. He left the country almost immediately after this discovery and his successor, Grey, refrained from

¹ C.O. 2148, No. 18 Brownlee to Maclean, 19th Feb. 1856. Jennings to Maclean, 5th March 1856. Ayliff to Maclean 13th Mar. '56. and following letters.

² Papers re Kaff. Tribes, July 1853, p. 217.

making use of the instructions in question.

The new Governor wrote in 1856 that British Kaffraria was at present unfit for any more complicated system of administration.¹ Later he pointed out that when British Kaffraria became a separate dependency of the crown 'expensive establishments' would have to be called into existence, which would be unnecessary if it became a part of the Colony.² Letters Patent referring to this district were, therefore, not promulgated until 1863.³

In compliance with Grey's wish to encourage Native labour, Brownlee, the Gaika Commissioner, offered to help Sandilli to construct a water-course for the better irrigation of his land. Sandilli immediately saw in this offer a plan to bind him to his new territory and render even more remote the possibility of his return to the Amatolas.⁴ It was clear that the civilising process would be a long business.

Dr Bindon, in furtherance of the same idea, practiced among the Natives at Dohne with marked success, though Maclean regretted that he could not be paid at the same rate as the Kingwilliamstown doctor (4/- per diem); in fact it seemed doubtful whether he could be paid at all.⁵

In September Grey again visited the Frontier where he found everything peaceful and quiet; Natives were still employed on the public works and the chiefs appeared to be pursuing the even tenor of their ways. With his usual quick grasp of affairs, however, Grey saw at once the iniquity and possible dangers of the Native system of justice by which the chief and his counselors tried criminal cases, fined the offenders and kept the fines. Thus any industrious Kaffir, amassing wealth, was in constant danger of being 'eaten up' by an avaricious chief. To use an Americanism, a 'frame up' would be staged; he would be

1. G.H. 41, No. 23.

2. Ditto, No. 24.

3. G.H. 24, No. 53.

4. Papers re Kaff. Tribes, June 1856, p. 4, line 2 in No. 2.

5. Ditto, p. 13.

tried and convicted for some crime he had never committed, (probably witch-craft,) and his property would be confiscated. It was clear that under such a system any interest in the acquisition of property and a consequent desire for security of tenure and advance in civilisation were impossible.

Grey decided to place a magistrate with each chief 'such gentlemen to be selected from the ablest men this country affords'. Cases would still be heard by the chief and his counsellors who would 'be assisted in their deliberations and sentences by a European Magistrate'.¹ All fees and fines for public offences would form part of the revenue of the crown as elsewhere, but in lieu of these the chiefs and counsellors would receive fixed salaries from the Government.

Each magistrate would further 'hourly interest himself in the advance and improvement of the entire tribe and must in process of time gain an influence over the Native races which will produce very beneficial effects'.¹ The Governor felt that in the circumstances, when great poverty was bound to result from the losses due to the lung sickness and the chiefs would find it difficult to extract fines, they would be glad of the salaries and submissive to the changes.

Maclean strongly, and Brownlee less vehemently, objected to the new system. It must, they felt, discredit the chiefs and therefore be resented by them. 'The Kaffir' wrote the former, 'contented like the North American Indian with this barbarous state and apathetic as to improvement, clings tenaciously to his old customs and habits and while considering the white man as a means of obtaining certain articles which the despised industry of the latter supplies, would yet prefer their absence'.² The chiefs, he said, dreaded the passing away of their powers and the people clung to the idea of chieftainship rather

¹ Papers re Kaff. Tribes, June, 1856, pp.15,16.

² Ditto, p.18.

than to any one chief personally 'as a power which was of and which represented their race.'¹ He drew the attention of the Governor to the fact that these people were not yet British subjects even as much as the Fingoes were. He then reminded him of the agreement between the British Government and the chiefs by which the latter were to be allowed to rule themselves in all internal matters 'so long as they are not repugnant to humanity'.¹

Notwithstanding these objections Grey took the step and as a beginning appointed Major Gawler and Captain Reeve as magistrates with Umhala² and Kama³ respectively. He refused the requests of some of the chiefs to choose their own magistrates as he was especially anxious that only the best type of soldier should be appointed.

It is difficult to decide whether this policy of Grey's was primarily responsible for the cattle killing, or whether the failure of the chiefs to organise a rebellion during that movement was its main achievement.

¹ Papers re Kaff. Tribes, June 1856, p.18:

² The second chief in the Hlambi District. See map.

³ The only Christian chief. Of the Hlambi tribe. See map.

It has been remarked that Cathcart's settlement resulted in general discontent and consequent plotting among the dispossessed chiefs in Kaffraria. Grey's settlement with its whole emphasis on decentralisation, seemed hardly likely to be any more popular. It placed, to use his own terminology, 'a talented and honourable European gentleman'¹ in every kraal; in the eyes of the Natives it must have provided an ever present spy. The chiefs were inevitably humbled as they became the pensioners of the Government and lost their age-old ruling privileges. It seemed too, at first, as though the pensions would amount to considerably less than the former fines. There were, fortunately, various reasons against an immediate out-break of hostilities on the part of the chiefs. Firstly, there was a certain amount of destitution; ^{secondly} there was much inter-tribal jealousy, and lastly, the new system made it very difficult for a dissatisfied chief to organise his troops in peace and comfort.

Grey placed great faith in the plans he had made for educating the Natives in civilisation. Among the most important of these was the employment of black labour on public works, and especially on road making. Besides opening up the country this would encourage the Natives in habits of industry and good workmanship.

Meanwhile the magistrates were established with their chiefs, and Grey showed himself a most competent judge of men, for in every case the officials showed restraint,² wisdom, kindness, and especially that good humour so much in demand in all dealings with the Bantu race. The establishment of these magistracies occurred simultaneously with the spread of the lung sickness to the north-east. Indeed the poverty caused by this plague was one of the reasons why the chiefs accepted the position as calmly as they did, and why later, the system became fairly popular, so much so that lesser chiefs, such as Xoko and Fynn, actually asked

1

Papers re Kaff. Tribes, June, 1856, p. 15.

2

Even Vigne, who later had to be dismissed, was an excellent official.

for it to be extended to them.¹ Krell, from his eyrie beyond the Kei, cannot have remained unaware of this change of front on the part of his lesser brethren, and this, together with the strongly decentralising policy of the new Governor, must surely have given him food for thought.

Several times towards the end of 1855 and the beginning of 1856 references were made to the numbers of Kaffirs employed on public roads and it really seemed as though here a training ground for Native labour might well be established, but there were to be stronger and more powerful reasons than any affection for work to send Natives flocking into the Colony before very long.

The tremendous spread of the lung sickness was found to be the occasion for work by witch doctors, but their powers proved to weak to cope with this deadly scourge with which even the Governor, who believed himself able for most things, confessed himself unable to deal. The result of the failure of the witch doctors might well be to drive them to "save their faces" by prophesying. These people, above all other Kaffirs, had least reason to love the white man who had not only laughed at Kaffir magic and sought to disprove it, but, far worse, had made it appear ridiculous by introducing superior methods of his own.

Among the prophets who arose at this time there was a notable preponderance of women. The first of whom the officials heard was the 'wife of the son of Petshaur' (of Stock's tribe). She began her career in Kama's tribe but, owing to the Christian proclivities of that chief, she was expelled and continued to achieve notoriety at Siwani's.³ She prohibited cultivation and directed the Kaffirs to kill their cattle, to purchase axes and to use them for making kraals for new cattle.⁴

When Brownlee wrote to Maclean on the 11th May, 1856, he

1.

G.H.89; sched.257, enc.1. No.21.

2.

Son of Eno, chief of the Amacalu.

3.

Great son of Undushane, son of Hlambi.

4.

G.H.89, sched.272, enc.1.

remarked that the most mischievous doctor at present was the wife of Bula, one of Kama's chief counsellors. This lady predicted the return of Kama and all Christian Kaffirs to Heathendom and the destruction of the white men because of the 'wrath and curse of God that was upon them'. This impending doom, she stated, was the result of their crime in putting to death the Son of God. Kama's followers had imbibed their Christian teaching too. She told further of the 'Fahendoda' or new heaven and new earth in which plenty would be provided for all Kaffirs, and she urged the abolition of witch-craft in order that this good time might come the sooner.¹

From this time forward there grew up a strong anti-witchcraft bias among the upholders of the movement; they apparently realised how this evil force stood in the way of all racial development.² Kwenkwe of Seyolo's³ tribe suddenly rose up and in defiance of his predecessors, ordered the people to cultivate.¹ No one, however, paid the least attention to this masculine protest and soon Xenwe of Umhala's location announced that the Russians had conquered the English and would soon come to the aid of the Kaffirs.¹ There now arose in Kaffirland two beliefs with regard to the Russians, one that they were a black race akin to the Bantu, and the other that, living, as they were supposed to do at the antipodes, they would proceed to Africa through the bowels of the earth. This was how the Russian illusion became linked up with the idea of the return of the Kaffir ancestors at the Fahendoda. Thus in time the Russians and the ancestors became the same people.

Brownlee noticed that the prophetesses were apparently not exhorting the tribes to make any attack on the British, that they rather induced a belief in external aid. Sandili, he believed, was at present disposed for peace while Krepil was

¹ G.H. 89, sched. 270, enc. 1.

² Lynx, an earlier prophet, had prohibited witchcraft.

³ The half brother of Siwani, he was imprisoned at Wynberg at the close of the Eighth Kaffir War.

waiting with one eye on Moshesh.¹ Maclean, however, had 'certain information of a continued traffic in gunpowder and arms into Faku's and Krell's territories.'²

In May, Ayliff, the Hlambi Commissioner, noticed with regard to Sandilli '....a spirit which Mr Brownlee does not suspect'. He commented on the appearance of new prophets who, at a meeting at Siwani's, foretold the total destruction of the British. Moshesh, he said, had sent Pato a message regarding a fight³ between Boers and Basutos together with the grim words "Hlaca umkosi Kude", (spread the war cry far). From East London to the Keiskamma Mouth he reported, not a garden was cultivated and the few remaining cattle were being slaughtered rather than left to die from lung sickness. Nevertheless he commented on the surprising fact that '...though prospects are so gloomy, no despondency seems to exist, but on the contrary, all seemed in good spirits'.⁴

Reeve, the magistrate with the Christian chief Kama, found the new system popular with both chief and people. He noticed some interest in the war with Russia. He reported that the early realies were, generally, a failure, and later, in June, that Pato's tribe was in great want owing to the failure of the people to cultivate, in obedience to the war doctors. Kama's people, though few of their cattle were left, were not yet in state of want owing to the large number of their young men who were working for a wage in the Colony.

Thus by July 1856, the determination to refrain from cultivating had not spread to any great extent; cattle killing as a result of superstition could as yet hardly be distinguished from that resulting from the lung sickness, and there was no evidence of any concerted policy of destruction among the Natives. Nevertheless

¹ G.H. 89, sched. 272, enc. 1, No. 34.

² G.H. 89, sched. 244.

³ Paramount chief of the Amagunukwebe tribe, the most powerful and influential chief in the Hlambi district.

⁴ G.H. 89, sched. 275, last enc.

the wildest rumours were floating about Kaffraria and were being received with credence by such disaffected tribes as that of Pato.

As yet Kreli had made no move and the great question was which course would he follow; would he discourage destruction as a suicidal policy on the part of the blacks or use it to remedy the old difficulty of the division of the tribes into warriors and protectors of property, which had weakened Kaffir armies from time immemorial. It was obvious that when he had made his decision he would lead the movement.

At the beginning of July Maclean reported to Grey the utter scorn expressed by the chiefs regarding the rumours current in Kaffirland. 'All the chiefs in the district laugh at the absurd nonsense in circulation.'¹ His own spies had not yet returned from the wizard Umhlakaza at the 'Kabouquava River, half way between the Kei and the Bashee.'² Sandilli piously declared that having believed in Umlangeni he would not allow himself to be deceived again.¹ In this despatch is to be found the first mention of Umhlakaza, who had however, started public work as early as April.³ It is worthy of note that he was not by any means the first of the prophets; for in May Brownlee had mentioned that the wife of the son of Petsheur had begun her 'talk' 'about eight months since'.⁴ Other doctors, too, had apparently been at work for some time, for in the same letter Brownlee said, 'I was aware some time since that several doctors had arisen among the Hlambis, but until lately I did not know of the extent of the influence they had exerted'.

Umhlakaza is one of the central figures in the drama and it seems impossible to come to any final decision as to whether

1 G.H. 90, sched. 236, enc. 3.

2 Umhlakaza lived on the Xara, about 3 miles from the Kei, not on the Kabouquava.

3 G.H. 90, sched. 263.

4 G.H. 29, sched. 272, enc. 1.

he was Kroli's willing tool or whether Kroli was duped by him. Most South African historians have unhesitatingly adopted the former view but their evidence seems insufficient to justify their deciding either way.

Umhlakaza was a prominent member of his tribe which inhabited the hills to the north east of the Kara River. Grey speaks of him as 'A Kaffir prophet who there is room to believe is partially deranged, and who, having some years since been in service with Europeans, had then caused trouble to his employers from visions which he alleged he had seen'.¹ The wizard's kraal soon became the Mecca of the 'Believers', who went thence to commune with the more illustrious of their ancestors; unfortunately the latter insisted at first, on remaining invisible to all except Umhlakaza and the girl Nongause, variously described as his niece, daughter, and sister. She was, on her own evidence, his niece, being the daughter of Umhlanhla, who had died when she was very young; since his death she had lived with her mother's brother Umhlakaza.² At various stages in the movement emissaries of chiefs or chiefs themselves claimed that they had seen and spoken with their forebears, but in every case their stories were told after long interviews with Kroli, and the witnesses were invariably discontented Natives.

Like his predecessors Umhlakaza ordered the abolition of charms and the killing of cattle. Nature herself seemed to be on the side of the mischief makers, for the continued loss of cattle from lung sickness made the Kaffirs 'apathetic and careless and led them to listen to prophets' while the non-appearance of the rains at their usual time provided a welcome excuse for believing chieftains to postpone sowing their crops.³

For some time Maclean believed that the Kaffrarian Natives were not receiving the rumours very kindly and both then and later

¹ or Gxara.

² Papers re Kaff. Tribes, August 1857, p.4. No.2.

³ Appendix to Votes and Proceedings of Parl. C.O. Vol. 13 p. 27. 1858

⁴ C. H. S. vol. 294, p. 1

he stated decisively "I cannot discover that any system of ¹com-
-bined attack has been framed". He knew, however, that Krelli
had sent messages and cattle to the prophet, so he took the
opportunity to send the following 'word' to the chief ² -

'Krelli— My heart is sore to hear what has been done
in your country.....I hear many lies from your country,....
...I have also heard that Umhlakaza is telling great lies. I
have been long aware of Umhlakaza's lies, and I have waited to
see how the chiefs would behave. Warn your people not to destroy
themselves by killing their cattle, for if they do their wives
and children will die with hunger.

'I also know what has passed between the chiefs and people
from across the Kei. I am sorry that it is said that Krelli
believes Umhlakaza's lies, but if Krelli is ready to give his
chieftanship back to his grandfather I hope he will tell him all
that has happened since Ulouta died. ³ How the Gaikas believed
Umlangeni, and how Umlangeni died, and how the Gaikas left the
Amatolas. If Krelli allows Umhlakaza to order the Gaikas to kill
their cattle they will starve, but that is Krelli's affair not
ours, but I have heard that Umhlakaza orders the people this side
the Kei to kill their cattle. I am very glad to say very few do
so - but if he continues to do this I must ask Krelli to stop him,
and if Krelli cannot stop him, I will be very ready to help him. I
can easily do that, for there are many men here who were in that
part of the country before, and I have some new men besides, and
expect more.'

Brownlee reported at the end of June that 'last moon' (May), a
girl, the daughter of Umhlakaza saw strange people at the mouth of
the Nkoro River, ⁴ and that Krelli's brother Xozo was said to be
killing. ⁵ Xozo was one of the men who was supposed to have been
in communication with Mosheeh as early as 1854. It was said that

¹ G.H. 90, sched. 294, enc. 1.

² 2nd enc. in above.

³ or 'Couter'. ⁴ or 'Gxara'.

⁵ G.H. 90, sched. 294, 5th enc. No. 43.

he had sent to Basutoland for medicine that would render the Xosas invulnerable in war.¹ Exciting reports were industriously circulated among the tribes. Krell sent an entirely false message to Sandilli saying that the Governor had demanded from him the surrender of the late Cape Corps deserters and six of the leaders of the rebel Hottentots, among them Willem Uitaider and Rhenardus Pearl. This demand Krell professed to believe was simply an attempt to force a quarrel. The effect of this report together with those relating to Umhlakaza was 'to cause great excitement in the minds of the Galekas.'²

Gubo, a friend of Brownlee's, described an unsatisfactory state of things at Umhala's; he said, too, that although the 'people from across the Kei' were invisible that they had, nevertheless, plenty of gunpowder, karosses and blankets. People were becoming very guarded in their conversation about Umhlakaza and some even denied that they had heard of him.²

The various magistrates differed in their views with regard to the gravity of the position. Major Gawler, the officer with Umhala, did not take it very seriously at first. At the end of June he wrote that although 'at the Bashee they were killing plenty, the news is not yet quite strong enough for us to kill ours'.³ Umhala received a message from Sandilli about the 4th of July; this contained the news that the latter had had from Krell 'to the effect that Krell's brothers, Dima and Xoxo, having been to the prophet, had there seen 'Couter', Krell's grandfather, and 'Paio' also an ancestor of Krell's and a variety of other antique gentlemen of distinction'.⁴ He further reported to Sandilli the murder of an Englishman by his people, to which Sandilli replied "I am an old man and tired of war".⁵

During the middle of the month Gawler said that there was

¹ Papers re Kaff. Tribes, August 1857, p. 73, 13.

² G.H. 90, sched. 294, 5th enc. No. 43.

³ Ditto, 6th enc.

⁴ or Ulouta.

⁵ G.H. 90, sched. 294, 13th enc. No. 14.

little or no talk at Umhala's, that the excitement had died away, and that this was the time of year when Kaffirs normally killed to make clothes for their wives.¹ Later on, however, by the 25th, he had occasion to report the return of Umhala's messengers from Kreli's 'so impressed with what they saw that some have already killed'. They had not been allowed to see the new people but they told of the great number of chiefs and counsellors who had gathered at Umhlaakaza's Kraal from all quarters.² Nongause still figured in all ceremonies. 'All the messengers' said Gawler describing the reception of Umhala's messengers, 'retired to the haunted bush, the chief counsellors, sight-seers and newsmongers sat outside, Miss Umhlaakaza entered, and after a short absence returned and said she had been to a great hole in the bush and looked in, and she had seen therein numbers of people long since dead, quite alive, and an incalculable number of new cattle for true believers'.²

Umhlaakaza's next move was to order the Kaffirs to 'get rid' of their cattle; this was decidedly a more politic suggestion than that they should kill them and it had immediate effect, for 'A most extraordinary number of Gaika cattle' passed Gawler's house during the following days. These were sold at Kingwilliamstown for anything from 11/- for a cow and 15/- for a fully grown ox. Maclean received information from spies that Umhlaakaza was 'in all things supported by his chief Kreli'.³

Pato denied to Vigne, his magistrate, that he had any belief in the prophet, but he showed his real feelings when he refused to summon his people to advise them against listening to the prophecies. He stated that his men were simply killing for food for their children.⁴ This disingenuous attitude was doubtless the result of a 'word' from Maclean. This word was of the same nature as that previously addressed to Kreli, and contained the

¹ G.H.90, sched.294, 14th enc. No.16.

² G.H.90, sched.293, enc.5.

³ G.H.90, sched.299, enc.1.

⁴ G.H.90, sched.296, enc.1.

ironic suggestion - 'Pato, if you really believe you will see your grandfather again, I hope you will tell him all that has happened since he died'.¹

Reeve, the magistrate with Kama, wrote at this time that a member of the tribe, Dwanza, had wished to speak at a meeting, of the utter absurdity of the prophet's claims; he was, however, strongly dissuaded by his friends who were convinced that in the present state of the tribe such a course would be extremely dangerous.² Pato had sent Kama³ a message (of which Reeve gave the first two words in Kaffir, as their meaning was 'peculiar') 'Bubula Ubuti'⁴ meaning apparently 'give up your charms', the rest of the 'word' running 'which have made you chief though not the son of a great wife'. Kama's answer was 'Bubula Ubuti' together with the information that his only charm was having embraced Christianity in his youth, and that the Bible was the only charm he could send. There was in consequence a certain coldness between the two chiefs. In Kama's tribe there was not as yet much excitement, for servants continued to come to be registered for service in the Colony.

Throughout August conflicting accounts continued to arrive with regard to the progress of the delusion and Grey saw in it indications of a movement towards alliance between Moshesh and Krelli. He therefore decided to avoid all possible cause of a rupture between the Colony and the Natives whether Xosa or Basuto. 'It is clearly our policy' he wrote in his despatch of the 16th August, 'and that of South Africa generally, at present, to prevent a war from taking place. Every effort shall be made to preserve peace altho' this will be now difficult because Moshesh to strengthen himself is undoubtedly negotiating with some of the Kaffir tribes.'

1 G.H.90, sched.206, 2nd end.

2 G.H.90, sched.294, No. 25/56.

3 Kama and Pato were half brothers.

4 Kroeber gives - Bubula = to perish, Ubu-ubutia = to growl in a low tone, to mutter. See 'A Kaffir English Dictionary'.

Whether or not Grey was justified in his statement regarding the negotiations seems likely to remain an open question, for the Kaffrarian officials never obtained conclusive proof of messages between the chiefs. This whole question will be dealt with later in Chapter X.

AUGUST 1856.

CHAPTER III.

with a view, probably, to speeding things up, the 16th August (full moon) was fixed by the prophet as a 'day of darkness'. This did not cause undue excitement among the tribes as an earlier day, similarly appointed, had passed by without any fulfilment of the prophecies, nor were the people yet, in such a state of destitution that they would fix their fervent hopes on the most remote possibilities to save themselves from utter despair.

Meanwhile the alarmists living on the border caused the authorities some trouble and annoyance. 'It is quite distressing' wrote Maclean on the 11th, 'to hear the various reports fabricated in Alice and Kingwilliamstown, and I have traced many of these reports to Europeans who ought to have known better'.²

Brownlee continued to offer useful and practical suggestions though he showed excessive faith in such Kaffirs under his jurisdiction as Sandilli, whom he described as threatening to fine anyone who should kill.³ He declared that he had not been able to discover any object in the movement, and that the excitement reported earlier in May was wholly confined to the tribes with least reason for war, that it was wholly among the people and against the expressed wishes of the chiefs.⁴ At the end of July he communicated to Maclean the significant fact that Keshi had visited Umhlakaza and seen his dead son alive and well, also a favourite horse sometime dead, a fresh ear of corn, and a pot of Kaffir beer. He further reported that Umhala had said 'the cause of the rupture will be that the Government will dig in the cavern in which the Russians have appeared, to get out the Russians, when war will ensue'. This Brownlee interpreted as

1 Papers re Kaff. Tribes, Aug. 1856, p. 10, sub enc. 3 in enc. in No. 2

2 Ditto, p. 14, enc. 3 in No. 2.

3 G.H. 90, No. $\frac{27}{56}$. Reeve to Maclean, 2. 3. 1856.

4 Papers re Kaff Tribes, Aug. 1857, p. 13, sub enc. 6 in enc. 2 in No. 2

meaning 'if the Government interferes with Umhlekaza the Kaffirs are to take up arms'.¹

By the 6th of August there were only fifty workmen left out of a hundred and fifty on the public works near Dohae; all the Gaikas had deserted.² Brownlee, when paying them off, took the opportunity to point out their folly and to warn them that they would soon be glad to return to him to work for food. His little homily had not the slightest effect though his words were to prove true enough. The Gaika Commissioner was becoming anxious and he withdrew at this time the few men who were still stationed at the Thomas River 'until it is seen what turn matters will take'.³ He believed that the movement had originated 'with a private person across the Kei, but was immediately taken up by Kreli who encouraged it both precept and example'. This idea of the origin of the movement being traceable to a private person was doubtless the result of the information communicated to the Chief Commissioner, by a trader, on the 13th of July. This is given for what it is worth but little importance can be attached to it, as there is no means of knowing firstly the date of the journey mentioned, and secondly whether the servant's story was original or whether he had heard rumours already current in Kaffirland.

'Having gone down to the sea on the east side of the Kei we slept on our return at a Kaffir kraal. The people asked my Native guide the news; he said to me 'It is no use saying there is no news, I will tell them a lot of lies, and they will believe it. He then went on to say that at the sea he had seen a ball of fire on the sea, and that he had seen people and cattle come up to it from the shore, he also said that, when outspanned at the bush, he had heard people talking and that when he looked round they had gone; he went on with a number of other things and they listened to him open mouthed, one man remarking that

¹ Papers re Kaff. Tribes, August 1857, p. 3, sub enc. 1 in enc. 1. in No. 2

² G.H. 90, sched. 304, enc. 5 No. 66.

he believed it, for several times at the sea he had seen the spoor of people and cattle and never could understand how the spoor came there. The news spread from the chief man of the district upwards, and was much talked of, and I believe caused a great deal of the present rumours, for at that time I had heard nothing of Umhlakaza and his prophecies¹.

At the beginning of the month 'among the Gaikas belief in Umhlakaza was gaining ground, and cattle were being killed though not to the extent they were among other tribes'. Sandilli's views seemed still unchanged and seven among his chief counsellors were firm in their opposition to Umhlakaza. Macomo was doubtful; publicly he said that his people were not to kill, but he himself was said to have killed, and certainly most of his people had done so.²

Botman, personally, was opposed to the movement, but his people had gone extensively into it. Anta,³ Oba,⁴ Xoxo⁵ and Fynn⁴ seemed still to be firmly opposed to the prophet.

Umhala favoured the movement and had sent to Macomo to ask his advice regarding the treatment of his three principal sons, the son of Zetu, and the counsellors Undai and Quisana, who strongly opposed the thing. Macomo was said to have advised him to use no coercion, otherwise his approval of Umhlakaza would become known to the Government.² If this message was sent by Macomo it strengthens the natural suspicion aroused by the somewhat over-effusive tone of his statement made in the presence of the magistrate and addressed to the Governor when the latter visited British Kaffraria. On this occasion Macomo said - 'We are happy to hear that you are coming amongst us at the

¹ G.H. 90, sched. 206.

² G.H. 90, sched. 306, No. 69.

³ The son of Gaika, not always disposed to yield to his superior Sandilli.

⁴ Grandson of Gaika, brother of Fynn, both were sons of Tyali whose tribe was broken into two when the latter attained his majority.

⁵ Son of Gaika, a weak minded and but lightly respected man.

present time, as there are many false reports going about to the effect that the peace of the country is in danger. There is no truth in these reports. Had there been any truth in them news would have come from Kreli to Sandilli and from the latter to myself; no messages have passed between, it is not therefore true. I am sorry to hear that many farmers in the Colony have left their farms in consequence of the reports; such a move is injurious to them and to us; in leaving their farms they must lose much property, and our common people when they hear that the farmers are leaving, immediately say 'It is war', and would then commence killing their cattle, we hope you will put a stop to these moves and reports, as they are injurious to all, and there is no cause for them. In my tribe there is no prophet; we are only waiting to hear what you have to say to us through our magistrate - I told him he might trust me - I would have told him had there been any truth in the reports, at the same time offering my services to the Government. I asked the Government to give me a separate country as I did not like war, and wanted to live quietly and not be involved in the acts of other chiefs - My people have not been influenced by the prophets, we thank you for coming; it will give us much assistance in preventing these reports spreading - I do not like the reports, they are not good¹. Notwithstanding this effusion, Macomo had, according to Brownlee, sent messengers to Kreli 'ostensibly to ask for slaughter cattle', these messengers had returned with three oxen from that chief.²

Henry Lucas, the magistrate with Macomo, had written on the 1st August 'These reports do not appear to gain ground with the tribe of Macomo and Botman, nor do I think they are received with much confidence or favour by those chiefs at present... the Kaffirs in my district are not acting on the advice of the prophets in disposing of their property; they are more anxious to acquire than to dispose of property at present'³. By the 13th he was so far

¹ G.H. 90, sched. 515, 3rd enc. No. 21 1858.

² G.H. 90, sched. 306, enc. 2.

³ Papers re KAFF. Tribes, Aug. 1857, p. 9, sub enc. 2 in enc. 1 in No. 2

disillusioned as to report that 'excitement amongst Macomo's tribe with reference to the prophets is rather on the increase; I am of opinion that some of the other chiefs are endeavouring to implicate Macomo in the matter, and they have so far succeeded that Macomo on the 11th inst. received three oxen from Krell, which oxen were sent I understand, with a message, that he, Macomo, should purify himself. I could not get a man of Macomo's tribe to work at present.....I cannot at present say how far Botman's people have gone in the matter, I know that within the last week some of his people living on the Kei road have killed a number of cattle'.¹

Writing of Kama's tribe, Captain Reeve had occasion several times to report on the killing that took place in defiance of the chief's orders. This magistrate felt that the rapidity with which the rumours had spread among these people gave good cause for apprehension. He expressed pleasure at hearing that a 'detachment of troops, together with a hundred police' were to be stationed near Post Victoria. 'This judicious arrangement' would he felt, 'have the best possible effect and be the means of protecting much property now abandoned --- Could a greater number of police be spared to patrol along that part', he believed 'that the best effects would follow, as it would prevent that amount of stealing, which will certainly result even if war is prevented, as food will soon be very scarce'.²

Pato, who was undoubtedly hostile from the first, tried at an interview held at Fort Murray on the 13th, to convince Maclean of his entire innocence.³ He had earlier assured Vigne, his magistrate, that his people were killing for their children, and that they would sow as soon as rain fell.⁴

Among Anta's subjects the people were reported to have been 'amusing themselves lately with dances'. They seemed, said Robertson, happy and perfectly quiet; agriculture was at a standstill on account of the dryness of the season and as Anta had no

¹ G.H. 20, sched. 306, enc. 3.

² G.H. 20, sched. 304, No. 28
1856

water-course he was unable to irrigate his land.¹

Umhala was still loud in his threats as to what he would do to 'any fool in his kraal' that commenced killing.² By the 14th, however, his manner to his magistrate had become abrupt and he was showing his dislike of his old counsellors, who were all opposed to Umhlakeza.³ He was now 'surrounded by a number of young second rate counsellors, ambitious of distinction and ready to take their chance in forwarding any of the current nonsense.'

It is clear then that during the first half of August, killing had increased, and, though the excitement had not yet reached any high pitch, that the Umhlekazian movement was progressing with strong support, and that the magistrates were in most cases apprehensive of worse to come. From about the 20th, however, the whole tone of the despatches of those in authority became more optimistic. Grey was able to write on the 24th that affairs were more favourable, that though he believed embassies had passed between Moshesh and Kreli and that the prophet was probably an instrument in the hands of the great chiefs, yet the presence of intelligent officers with each chief gave the Government a correctness of information it had never before possessed.⁴ On the 25th he wrote further that 'everything continues quiet there' (British Kaffraria); that the cattle killing and waste of corn had almost ceased; that a very decided change for the better had taken place; and that the Tambookie tribes who are all faithful to us, believe that from the delusion which exists among the Kaffirs no war can take place'.⁵

It is worthy of notice that this was coincident with the reception by Moshesh, of Grey's letter of the 27th of July, in which the latter had definitely stated, that although

¹ G.H. 90, sched. 320, enc. 1.

² Papers re Kaff. Tribes, Aug. 1857, p. 9, sub enc. 5 in enc. 1 in No. 2

³ G.H. 90, sched. 310, enc. 1.

⁴ Papers re Kaff. Tribes, Aug. 1857, p. 15, No. 4.

⁵ Ditto — p. 19, No. 5

the general principle on which the British Government desired to act was that of a strict non-interference in any dispute beyond the boundary of the Colony, yet he wished to remind Moshesh that 'in the progress of such a war new circumstances from time to time arise, which may entirely alter the relations existing between neighbouring states'. Thus he pointed out that a serious responsibility would rest upon 'any person who may unnecessarily plunge any part of South Africa into the miseries of war. I rely therefore', he concluded 'with confidence, upon your continuing to do your utmost to preserve peace'.¹

A brief consideration of affairs in the Orange Free State may shed further light on the behaviour of the prophet in Kaffraria. At the end of July or very early in August, the President of the Orange Free State sent a deputation to Moshesh to demand redress for the misdeeds of his people in that colony, and to insist that he should 'take active measures to put a stop to these depredations and annoyances for the future'.² 'I have' wrote Boshof to Grey on the 4th August, 'given him till the end of this month, but if all that I shall receive from him should prove as hitherto a mere declaration of his desire to maintain a state of peace, and fair promises only, I shall find it indispensable to take such measures as may be thought requisite for the protection of our frontiers, even at the hazard of a general war with the Basutos'.³

In connection with the above, the sudden increased activity of the prophet during the first half of the month can scarcely be regarded as being without significance, especially when the fact is added that, on the 25th, Boshof agreed to the request of Moshesh (made on the 20th) for more time.⁴ It was then that the lull became noticeable in Kaffraria.

¹ Papers re Kaff. Tribes, Aug. 1857, p.3 enc.2 in No.1.

² Basuto Recs. Theol. p.225. (Vol.2.)

³ Papers re Kaff. Tribes, Aug. 1857, enc.3 in No.1.

⁴ Basuto Recs. Theol. p.233. (Vol.2.)

'I will' wrote Boshof in reply to Moshesh, '...grant you from this time to the 20th September to return the compensation required and make the further arrangements as requested in my letter, that I may give a clear account to the great council of our people which will be called together shortly after and take their instructions as to any further proceedings in this affair'.

It was during August that Grey decided on the preparation of these relief measures which were to save thousands of lives in the approaching famine. It is worthy of note that all his plans had been either suggested in the first place by Brownlee in his official despatches, or anticipated by him. On August 2nd, for instance, he had written 'as many of the Kaffirs are disposing of all their corn and cattle and as great want and misery must inevitably result, I would beg to suggest that arrangements be made for the purchase of as much grain as can now be obtained and stored. This may hereafter be distributed to the destitute for seed and food, and such arrangements could be made in the distribution that the greater part of the money expended in the purchase may be got back in labour or otherwise from those who apply for relief'. This was done, the magistrates being ordered to buy up all corn, cattle and other produce offered by the Natives at below market price.³ Grey further instructed the magistrates to offer the chiefs advance payments of their pensions to be invested in stock, seed and other commodities. Brownlee, on receipt of this order was able to point out that he had already advanced £10- 10/- of his own money to Sandilli for this purpose.⁴

Grey was very fortunate in the quality of the officials under him in British Kaffraria who were all (with the possible exception of Vigne) honest, practical men, with the welfare of their troublesome charges at heart, possessed of incalculable

¹ Basuto Rec. Theol. p. 233.

² Papers re Kaff. Tribes, Aug, 1857, p. 14 sub enc. 7 in enc. 2 in No. 6.

³ Ditto, p. 24, sub enc. 5 in enc. in No. 6.

⁴ Ditto, p. 23, sub enc. 7 in enc. in No. 6.

patience, and in the case of Brownlee and Maclean at least,
some understanding of the almost incomprehensible mind of the
Native.

SEPTEMBER - OCTOBER 1856.CHAPTER IV.

September opened with renewed attempts on the part of Krell to involve his countrymen in the new movement.

Siwani (alias Smith,) the son of Umhala, who had been strongly opposed to the killing, was sent by his father to Krell's country. This journey was undertaken nominally to purchase horses for an Englishman, but almost certainly the real purpose was the conversion of Siwani and the collecting of fresh news about the prophet. Siwani brought the following news which he spread through the country on his way home. Cattle killing, he said, had received new impetus through the adhesion of Krell, who had issued orders to his people to kill. Krell had himself paid a visit to Umhlakaza to see his magic, the wizard told the chief and his attendants to sit and look on the ground and they would see the shadows of the new people. Krell saw the shadows and was convinced. Umhlakaza told them not to mind the English; that an Englishman was like a stabled horse 'you have only to enter the stable, put a rein in his mouth, and lead him where you please'. Krell returned home and issued orders to kill which were carried out with enthusiasm.

Umhala's people were deeply impressed by this news and the great majority decided that the 'talk' was true, and that it was after all 'more acceptable than what they are told by the missionaries and not at all so incredible as some parts of the Gospel.' Killing began immediately at the kraal of this chief and Gawler concluded that his district was now at a turning point 'and the balance I fear' he wrote 'is the wrong way'.¹

When it is remembered that Umhala was noted for following the example of the paramount chief, it seems odd that he should, on the 25th September have, 'for the first time in the history of this country given the Government information'.² He communicated officially to Gawler, through his son Macinno, the news

¹ G.H. 90, sched. 303, enc. 1.

² Papers re Kaff. Tribes, Aug. 1857, enc. 4 in No. 3, p. 29.

that Krell had ordered his people to kill their cattle, and that he, Krell, 'sends this news to all his chiefs on this side of the Koi and tells them to do likewise'. Perhaps it would not be entirely unjustifiable to surmise that Umhala suspected that this news must in any case have reached the ears of the authorities and by his action absolved himself from apparent guilt.

Grey was tremendously impressed by Umhala's behaviour; he drew attention to it in his despatch to the Colonial Secretary and he wrote a personal letter to Umhala telling him that when he gave Krell's message to his people he should give Grey's too. This was — 'I fear that if they determine to obey Krell's message other people will follow their example, that want and poverty will then ensue, that then stealing and disorder will follow. If all this takes place from their following Krell's orders, I must then, however sorry I shall be to do so, look upon Umhala and his people as enemies. I trust, therefore that you will not run this risk, but exert your influence and authority to prevent your people from destroying their property'.²

The Governor wrote also to Sandilli, pointing out the good example set by Umhala and saying, 'I have not yet heard if Krell's messenger has arrived with you, or what was his answer. Let me speedily hear these things. Perhaps you have sent him away in disgrace, and have returned no answer. I should be glad to hear you had done this. Do not let your pretended friends make a fool of you, and injure your people for their own purposes.'

Meanwhile belief in Umhlokaza was steadily gaining ground among the Gaikas, and the people generally showed a determination not to cultivate, even should the rain fall in time. It was reported that anyone who attempted to sow would, as a punishment, be rooted to the ground for ever. Sandilli gave this as his excuse for neglecting his gardens when the Gaika Commissioner

¹ Papers re Kaff. Tribes, Aug. 1857, p. 26, '14.

² Ditto, p. 30, enc. 5 in No. 3.

visited him on the 13th.¹ Browalee promptly ordered his men to hoe the ground to show how harmless it was, but the chief remained unconvinced. Nor did he appear to be impressed by Browalee's warning when the latter pointed out to him the 'fearful consequences of his example to his own people, and that by the step he had now taken he confirmed the evil disposed, and prevented those from cultivating who otherwise would have done so'.¹

The Gaiika Chief's attitude was causing much apprehension among the older and wiser of his counsellors. He showed his sympathies even more clearly when, after Grey's visit, he refused to answer the Hlambis of his district who were not present at his interview with the Governor, and who asked him what had passed at the meeting.¹ Little more than a week later, however, Sandilli had changed his mind again and had told his counsellors that it was 'his determination to adhere to his resolution, already made known to them, to oppose the killing of cattle in his tribe;'.² This decision was no sooner made than abandoned owing to the arrival of messengers from Kroli.¹

Lucas found that Macomo's and Botman's people, with the exception of a very few, would not sow; he found, too, amongst them 'a sullen determination to say or do nothing'. 'The mania for killing and selling their cattle' he wrote 'is as bad as ever. Want and thieving amongst themselves is becoming every day more prevalent'.³

The High Commissioner had meanwhile made use of the lull during late August and early September 'to put the country into such a state that we might be prepared for any emergency which might take place'. He spoke gratefully of the timely arrival of the reinforcements sent out by Her Majesty's Government from England, and stated his belief that no disturbance would take place in British Kaffraria 'especially now that our means for repressing such disturbances are so large and apparent to the Kaffirs'.⁴

¹ G.H. 80, sched. 331, enc. 11, No. 95.

² Papers re Kaff. Tribes, Aug. 1857, p. 32.

³ G.H. 80, sched. 334, enc. 2

⁴

A Native Police force of thirty men was divided up among several military posts 'for the purpose of promptly following up stolen cattle or horses'.¹ Such thefts were becoming more frequent as the menace of approaching starvation rendered the property of the frontier farmers very insecure. The authorities still hoped that their influence, wisely directed, might serve to stop some at least of the chiefs from their suicidal progress and on the 10th October Maclean issued a circular to the magistrates stating that where common spades and even a few ploughs, might be advantageously bestowed, he would be happy to provide them.²

It was about the middle of October that Krcli first showed signs of that definitely aggressive attitude towards the Ama-gogotya or non-killers which was later to develop into a kind of civil war both between individuals and between whole tribes. His attitude soon became so threatening that a number of Fingoes living in his country, taking with them their families and property, crossed the Kei by night, and joined the Fingoe chiefs Xenxe and Umtintsilana on the Tzele River in the Crown Reserve.³

The reports of the secret service men employed by the Chief Commissioner, though they seldom proved as reliable as he at first believed them to be, were occasionally significant, usually interesting, and not infrequently amusing. One of these 'reliable men', on his return from a visit to Umhlakaza, gave the first, and indeed the only Native description of the heroine of the affair. 'Nongause', he said 'has a silly look, and appeared to me as if she were not right in her mind. She was not besmeared with clay, nor did she seem to me to take any pains with her appearance'. The same agent reported that later-ly the new people had only consented to show themselves to

¹ G.H. 90, sched. 334, enc. 4.

² G.H. 90, sched. 339, 3rd enc.

³ G.H. 90, sched. 342, enc. 3.

members of the royal branch of the Galesas. Other visitors were only shown the place where they usually appeared.¹ This could hardly be really convincing save to the most gullible.

Another spy, this time of Jan Tzatzee's tribe,² told Maclean that Krell was angry with Sandilli and Umhala for making his plans known to the Government; that it was evident that, as they usually did, they would involve him in difficulties and then clear themselves with the Government, whose pensions they did not want to lose.³ Krell had had ample opportunity of seeing the hold the authorities had obtained over the chiefs by the adoption of Grey's pension system. He had probably realised, from the moment of its introduction that it was likely to have a subversive effect on his influence. Grey did not take the same view of the matter as Krell. In his despatch of the 13th October, he informed Labouchere that 'Krell longs for war; he has hitherto never suffered by wars, in which he has taken no part and all the events of which fall on the tribes of British Kaffraria who are in front whilst the greater part of the booty invariably becomes his as it is sent to the rear for safety.'⁴ This perhaps makes intelligible Krell's plan, which would otherwise appear to be that of a wild fanatic or visionary, it is quite clear that he was neither of these, for he proved himself on many occasions to be an astute practical statesman. If all Kaffirland was starving then it was possible that all Kaffirland might unite as it had never yet been prevailed upon to do. Then, as the Kaffir hordes advanced into the Colony the white men's cattle would provide food for the warriors and booty for Krell. The paramount chief would be able thus to replenish his kraals as he had done before, not from the gifts of the new people, but with the even more welcome spoil from his old enemies. The system of gathering armies was a simple one and could be organised with amazing rapidity. Grey was well aware of this; 'Several kraals' he wrote 'are nearly always

¹ G.H. 80, sched. 343, enc. 7.

² Ditto, enc. 2.

³ Chief of the Amagwile, a Galesa clan.

In sight of each other, and the war cry being raised at any of them, spreads from one to the other on every side with wonderful rapidity, and soon reaches the extremities of Kaffraria; so that continuous streams of warriors, led by their proper petty chiefs, coming from great distances, soon hurry from various directions towards any point which has been indicated in the alarm which was raised'.¹ It is more difficult to speculate on his possible plans with regard to the women and children, unless he really was in close touch with Moshesh. If he thought that Moshesh was about to attack the Free State he may have believed it possible for the weaker members of the tribe to fall back upon the well-cultivated districts of Tembuland and effect a junction with Moshesh's people in the interior. All this is of course pure speculation, but, unless some such explanation is adduced, it must be supposed that Kroli was the dupe and not the moving spirit in the delusion. This is unlikely. It does, however, seem possible that some of the chiefs, notable Sandilili and perhaps Umhala, while commencing to support the movement in obedience to the orders of their paramount chief, may have become convinced against their better judgement, of the truth of the prophecies. This would explain the complete absence of any effort to weld the tribes into any sort of unity, apart from the actual insistence that everyone should kill. It would explain too, the venomous hatred shown towards the unbelievers.

Matters in Kaffraria were not improving; Sandilili, in spite of the urgent prayers of his older councillors, had finally identified himself with the movement; many of the common people were deterred from cultivating and forced, by threats to slaughter their cattle.² No attempts were now made to conceal the announcements made by Umhlokaza, which soon became well-known ever. 'Napakada'³ (one of the leaders of the new people) was

¹ Papers re Kaff. Tribes, Aug. 1857, p. 37-14.

² G.H.C., sched. 344, No. 104.

³ Napakada = everlasting, eternal life, eternity.
Grey suspected a connection between Napakada and Moshesh.

said to have at last given orders to his subordinates to come out openly. Sandilli succeeded in reviving the enthusiasm of his people for cattle killing by announcing that November was the month fixed for the appearance of the ancestors.¹

Rumours of the approaching arrival of German immigrants (who were to people the Crown Reserve and the frontier villages and provide a respectable and industrious class of white labourer), were turned to good account by the followers of the prophet. They insisted that the newcomers had been obliged to leave England owing to want and starvation, as they had been conquered and plundered by 'Sifubasibanzi'.² It is clear that the South African Native is not without skill in the use of propaganda.

Go, the son of Umkutukana, reported to Brownlee on the 20th October, that Krell had taken up a disrespectful and belligerent attitude on receipt of Grey's letter. He also told, indignantly, of how one night during his visit Krell's counsellors boasted of the new people and of the happy time that was to come. Go, at last, unable to conceal his feelings, pointed out forcibly, that did not every one point up to the sky and say 'There is God' and point down below and say 'There is the devil'? "Who is this" he concluded, "whose works you are restraining? Who is this poor supplicant begging of you to destroy your cattle and your corn and to cast away your charms that you may accomplish his designs is this God? Has God ever come to Krell to ask him if he would permit him to take away a child or a subject; he has not."³ This protest had of course no lasting effect.

Reeve accompanied Kama on a tour during this month with the object of trying to persuade the people to cultivate. He reported a certain measure of success though at some places, he said, the chief was received coldly.⁴ Later he was able to report the registration of no less than one hundred and twenty

¹ G.H. 90, sched. 344, No. 104.

² Ditto, No. 107.

³ Ditto, No. 103.

⁴ Ditto, No. 103.

six souls for service in the Colony between the 1st and the 23rd of the month.¹

Fielding was equally cheerful in his accounts of Jan Tzetzee, who treated the prophet's reports with contempt and urged the people to cultivate.² Anta's attitude was entirely satisfactory. Macomo, on the other hand, had given a positive order that none should sow, though in the opinion of Lucas many would have done so had they been allowed. Sandilli, his old enemy, had sent a message to Macomo which his magistrate regarded as a movement towards peace and possible combination in any act of aggression. Macomo meanwhile did his best to make use of the anxiety of the Government in order to recover his old territory. He declared that he would never cultivate while at his present location. There was much destitution in his tribe; many families were living on their friends and, though the people showed no signs of anxiety or preparation for war, the chiefs were obviously restless.⁴

Umhala's attitude was similar to that of Macomo; he had threatened to 'eat up' anyone who should kill, and had sent a friendly message to Umhlakaza.⁵ Gawler regarded his suddenly frank and open attitude on the matter as a most unfavourable sign. 'His former demeanour towards me' wrote the magistrate, 'has lately changed; he is now very civil, high-spirited and witty'.⁶ He believed that the Government would not stop his pay as they were trying to bribe him not to listen to the prophet. Later he tried to terrify Gawler, who, he may have felt, was becoming more than a match for him. When Eulungwa, the chief's son-in-law, was being hunted down on a faked charge of witchcraft, he took refuge at Gawler's house whereupon Umhala's armed men gathered round the building 'more rapidly than I considered either necessary or entertaining' wrote Gawler 'they knew it

¹ G.H. 90, sched. 346, enc. 1, No. 42.

² G.H. 90, sched. 340, enc. 2.

³ G.H. 90, sched. 346, enc. 4.

⁴ G.H. 90, sched. 346, enc. 2.

⁵ G.H. 90, sched. 353, 5th Enc.

would be a breach of Kaffir law to seize him on my premises. I therefore judged Umhala was either trying to intimidate me to turn Bulungwa out of my place for my own safety, or that he was ready to take the chance of a war'. Gawler suggested sending the Fingoes, whom Umhala had forbidden to sow, some tools, so that the chief might see that he had not 'got the Government quite so much under his thumb as he imagines' for he had lately become very 'patronisingly independent'.

Beyond the Kei Umhla-kaza was, apparently, having his own difficulties, for Gawler received (on the 20th October) an account of a great row at Umhla-kaza's. It appeared that Ungubo a counsellor of Kreli's, residing near the Bashee, 'got up in a great rage and talked the prophet and his daughter to a stand-still, and then left telling them they were humbugs'. This was said to have produced a good impression on all who heard it.

News from Kreli's country was sent by Mr Waters, the clergyman in charge of St Mark's Mission, who said that no one had cultivated, though his people attended services and school as usual. He said that he had spoken seriously to Kreli, asking "Where is euesha now, who had so much ground, and where will you be after the next war? I never saw a man's face change more than his when he said this" continued the gullible divine, "he certainly had a noble look when he disclaimed having any wish for war." Control of his features was not the least of Kreli's gifts.

Moshesh's movements at this time seemed peaceful enough, though to some he appeared to be simply playing for time. He answered a stern letter from Grey with a pious assurance of his fidelity and affection. He wrote thus —

'Votre lettre du 27 Septembre m'a remise hier, Dimanche à l'heure de la priere, et j'en ai pris connaissance après la sortie du service religieux de l'après midi.

Le contenu de votre lettre m'a fait plaisir en ce sens, qu'il

¹ G.M. 21, sched. 343, enc. 1 in Letter 232.

² G.M. 20, sched. 344, enc. 4.

³ G.M. 21, sched. 343, enc. 2.

me montre que vous m'aimez et que me voulez du bien. Car quoiquo
 je ne suis qu'un pécheur, je n'oublie pas que vous voulez doter
 mon pays d'une école d'industrie, et je vous en suis reconnaissant.
 Cependant, j'ai été affligé à la pensée que votre Excellence a
 pu croire que je nourrissais dans mon cœur des sentiments
 hostiles à son gouvernement, et que, parlant d'une manière, j'ag-
 -issais d'une autre....' and so on. The letter goes on to
 deny any friendship with Kreli, who he declared 'est mon ennemi;
 dans une guerre il a tué l'un des mes frères, et je n'ai pas eu
 de relations avec lui depuis plus de trois ans'.¹

Unfortunately for Moshesh, Grey was convinced that there
 had been recent communications between the two chiefs with
 regard to Umhlakeza though he could not ascertain the gist of these.
 He informed Coleman, the delegate from the Orange Free State, that
 that community 'had been the cause of the present disturbances in
 Kaffirland, by adopting a line of policy towards the Natives,
 without as would have been proper under the circumstances of the
 two Governments, previously acquainting him with our intention
 and asking advice from the Mother Country'.²

¹ Papers re. Kaff. Tribes, August 1857, p. 83.

² Basuto Records. Transl. p. 280.

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CHAPTER V.

The magistrates continued to hold different views about the condition of Kaffirland. Robertson¹ expressed his doubts as to the possibility of getting back stolen cattle from Krell, whom he believed to be 'omnipotent for evil', but he insisted that the condition of his own district was most satisfactory, and that 'to all appearances the people' were 'still untingered with Umhlabaza, and the chiefs free from party spirit and ill-feeling towards Government'.²

Maclean was forced to go on a short tour into Kaffraria to prevent the judicial murder of Bulungwa, Umhala's son-in-law, who has been mentioned above in connection with the attempted intimidation of Gawler.³ This man had incurred the enmity of the believers through refusing to kill. In his despatch concerning the matter Maclean commented on the large number of those who believed in the predictions, remarking that the women were especially enthusiastic. Among a people whose women are the cultivators of the soil this is easy to understand. The Fingoes in Umhala's tribe, about three hundred in number, had been forced to stop cultivating by the express order of the chief.⁴

While Grey's magistrates were behaving with patience and trying to manage their incorrigible charges with firmness and tact, the police were less conciliatory and treated even friendly chiefs in an insulting and overbearing manner. Following on a complaint from Robertson, Maclean reported to General Sir J. Jackson that the behaviour of the police towards Anta's people 'was both arbitrary and indiscreet'.⁵ Anta, together with Oba and Siwani, had begun to cultivate, but among the other tribes, 'neglected gardens spoke clearly of the woeful and calamitous hereafter, starvation and

¹ Magistrate with Anta.

² G.H. 00, sched. 548, enc. 4.

³ *Supra* p. 41.

⁴ G.H. 01, sched. 348, enc. 1. No. 230.

⁵ G.H. 01, sched. 350, enc. 1.

death.¹ Maclean spoke words of warning to many but they only smiled, and in his irritation he gave a short but pithy summary of the national character. 'It is evident' he said 'that the Kaffir has no guiding principles beyond those of clanship and self-interest, the latter being, I regret to state, overruled by the influence of the chief and his wicked counsellors; the obedience to Umhala's mandate by Umdai (an unbeliever) and the Fingoes in that location; is I submit, good proof of this opinion'. In the same letter he stated his belief that the chiefs were cognizant of the political deception in which they were engaged, though the people, and more particularly the women, were firm believers in the prophet.¹

Vigne wrote despondently of Pato's hypocrisy; the chief was voluble in his promises to sow and in the presence of his magistrate, ordered his people to cultivate, but he himself followed a course of complete inactivity.²

Gawler realised that Umhala was absolutely determined to continue his killing, his enthusiasm being redoubled when he received a promise of rejuvenation from Umhala.³

On the 7th November Maclean issued an important circular to the Kaffrarian officials.⁴ In it he directed them to forward monthly, to the central office, 'a nominal return of all natives who may have applied to you to be registered during the month, together with any remarks opposite each name.....'. Further, each magistrate was to keep an official register of all Native applicants for work within his district, and a central office for the registration of all Native servants was to be established at the Resident Magistrate's office at Kingwilliamstown. Farmers or others within the Colony who might require Native servants, could apply either to the central office, or, if it was more convenient, to the nearest magistrate with any particular tribe.

This decision proved to be of enormous importance in the economic history of the country, and was the first constructive

¹ G.H. 91, sched. 343, 5th enc.
² G.H. 91, sched. 357, enc. 3, No. 60.
³ G.H. 91, sched. 350, enc. 1.

step to result from the movement. It was a definite effort to organise the labour that would be obtainable when the lack of crops and cattle led to want and famine in Kaffirland. When this scarcity should reach its height it seemed fairly certain that the Natives, in their condition of utter dependence on the white men, would be exploited by many of the frontier farmers, so Maclean took early steps to keep the inevitable dispersal of the tribes under Governmental control. This organisation will be discussed in some detail later but it may be remarked here that the authorities were largely successful. It is true that to-day some of the aged Natives in the Transkei tell ^{now}, as children, they were taken to Graaff-Reinet, put up to auction, and sold.¹ This actually happened, the Cape Argus of the 17th April, 1853, has a leader devoted to the subject, and the following numbers contain several letters protesting against this traffic. One correspondent of the paper actually defended the practice. Grey spoke of 'statements in the local paper to the effect that some improper proceedings are allowed by the Kaffrarian Authorities in reference to a Mr Hart being allowed to take the inhabitants of Kaffraria into the Colony as labourers disposing afterwards of their labour under some system of bargaining for the same'.²

Notwithstanding this, the fact that there was remarkably little ill-treatment of Natives by the colonists was certainly the direct result of the timely efforts of the Government.

Another circular was issued about the same time, tightening up the regulations respecting the payment of counsellors.³ In future these men were to receive their salaries not from the chief but from the magistrate. Besides preventing favouritism on the part of the chief this placed the magistrate in a position of more direct control over the tribe. 'A report of actual service performed by each counsellor or his attendance at the

¹ Statement of Seeko Ngumq of Ushala's tribe, in the possession of the writer.

² E.M. 2, Trevor to Maclean, 18th April, 1853.

³

chief's kraal for that purpose during the previous month' was to be given by each chief to his special magistrate on the 1st of each month.

Thirdly it was announced that a return setting forth the names of the counsellors employed, and their actual services, together with the amount of money paid to each, was to be made by each special magistrate and duly submitted by him to the Chief Commissioner monthly.

Lastly, the officials were informed that the money withheld from non-attending counsellors was to be formed into a fund to be denominated 'default fund'; this was to be used to reward such counsellors or others 'as may render eminent service to the Government'.

Thus the counsellors came under the direct control of the magistrates, and those believers who had hitherto drawn their salaries from friendly chiefs found that they could no longer serve two masters, in other words that it paid to uphold the Government.

On the 12th November Umjaja of Umhala's tribe appeared before the Chief Commissioner to make a statement. He was the son of ¹Lyax the late prophet. ²Umjaja, being unwilling to assume the parental rôle, came to tell Maclean that he had left Krceli's country where he had lived for nine years. He wished, he said, to dissociate himself from Krceli and his non-cultivating policy; he himself had always cultivated extensively and had now moved nearer the Government so that he might continue to do so. People would, he knew, when they remembered his father, say that he was mixed up in the affair, but he was not; he had not even visited Umhala. He was feeling bitter, too, towards his own chief Umhala, because he had not taken any notice of him since he left his country for that of Krceli. 'I left Umhala' said the injured Umjaja, 'because I was not satisfied with his manner of treating me; he has never even sent to ask me why'

¹ .
Alias Moranda (or Mokhama) alias Nacle.

² or Umjuga

did so¹. This indignation was of some importance later for it was the petty chief Umjuju who captured Umhala when that chief was wanted by the Government.

Ill-feeling between the believers and unbelievers continued to grow and when Undai, one of Umhala's principal counsellors, insisted on working in his garden with his children, his wives all ran away.³

The Fingoes at this time expressed grave anxiety as to their position at the next harvest season. They had been better treated by the Kaffirs during the last twelve months than ever before, but they knew that, unless they received the support of the Government, they would be mercilessly plundered as soon as their crops were ripe, and probably persecuted by believers long before that. The Fingoes in Krell's country had, of course, special reason for apprehension; there they were fairly numerous, a large body being situated on the Quekira (or Kwelegaa), a smaller one on the Umvoivo, and two or three other bodies elsewhere.³ They were well disposed towards the Government in which, they knew, lay their only hope of safety. Gawler suggested the establishment of troops at Fort Warden or even nearer, but the Chief Commissioner would not guarantee protection to any scattered parties of unbelievers in Kaffraria.

Sandilli suddenly began to cultivate on the 19th November, and he urged his counsellors to do the same. Brownie complied with requests for seed, and he suggested to Maclean that those who refused to cultivate should be deprived of their salaries which could be added to those of the workers as a reward for good behaviour.⁴

Umhala, who was killing again, was, in the middle of November anxiously awaiting the return of a commission sent by him to Krell to hear the news. The members of this commission had met with various adventures on their journey. On the way to Krell they had seen the 'Geyser', a boat sent to explore the mouth of the Kei, overturn, and the crew swim to the shore.³

¹ G.H. 91, sched. 351, enc. 6.

² See below p. 131.

³ G.H. 91, sched. 353, enc. 8.

⁴ G.H. 91, sched. 351, enc. 6.

The unheroic commissioners immediately dispersed so that perhaps they did not see that all the sailors reached the shore safely. This accident was, of course, turned to good account by Umhala¹ who explained that the ancestors had come up out of the sea and overturned the boat. Thus the good moral effect which the Government had hoped would result from the presence of a boat in those waters, was completely lost.

While crossing the Kei one of Umhala's messengers was drowned but at length the remainder reached Umhala's kraal.¹ There they had to wait for three days while the prophetess remained silent, but on the fourth day, when there was a thick mist over the water, they were led out and told that 'they should see what they should see'. Nongause then walked away to a distance of about one and a half miles and they saw figures, but of what they could not tell. When they asked to be allowed to speak to the people face to face they were told to go home and kill their cattle after which this privilege would be granted them. Eventually, after a further nine days delay, occasioned by floods in the Kei, they returned to convey their news to a somewhat puzzled chief.² 'I have felt certain several times' Gawler had written in a previous despatch, 'that matters were at a turning point but I find it all corners and endless like a polygon.'³ The return of the commission shed little light on the course of events, and he said again 'This is another turning point and the future as obscure as ever'.²

Although all Umhala's messengers agreed that they had seen nothing, they nevertheless, with the sole exception of Sivani,⁴ declared that they believed the prophet.⁵

News now came from Anta with regard to Nonesi, the Pambovie chieftainess from beyond the Kei. He said that she could no

¹ G.H.91, sched.353, enc.5.

² G.H.91; sched.354, enc.4.

³ G.H.91, sched.354, enc.5.

⁴ Sivani was the son of Umhala. He had quarrelled with his father owing to his (Sivani's) refusal to kill.

⁵ G.H.91, sched.355, enc.6.

longer restrain her people from slaughtering their cattle in great numbers, nor could she prevail upon them to sow. He stated further that Kreli had sent her a message saying that he and his people were killing and that he considered himself sufficiently powerful and prepared to commence a war with the English at any moment. Ante expressed his belief that Kreli's Kaffirs were prepared for active hostilities and were wishing for, and expecting the British to attack them. He insisted that a crisis was at hand, but that, though everything looked threatening, Siwani, Kama, Kona, Toise and he himself were cultivating.. He reported that the prophet had circulated a story of a fight between his people and the British at the mouth of the Koi, in which the latter had sustained a defeat and been forced to fly. This rumour had led to increased enthusiasm for killing ¹ and in Macomo's and Botman's tribes cultivation had entirely ceased.

Lucas told of a meeting of all the Gaika chiefs that was to be held to consider the advisability of listening to Umhaxaza's word rather than to that of the Government. It seemed to this magistrate that the chiefs were trying to postpone this meeting until the sowing season was over; it was, however, improbable that they would succeed in this as many people were 'getting clamorous about not sowing'. ²

Umhala sent to Kreli saying that he would kill, and he sent to his son Undai asking if he was for his father or for the Government. Undai replied pointedly 'What river do you now intend crossing, you were once near Grahamstown'. ³

Throughout this period rumours of war circulated among the tribes, but the belief was always expressed that the British would attack. Whether or not this idea was encouraged by the chiefs to avert blame from themselves in the event of the

¹ G.H.91, sched.355, enc.3.

² G.H.91, sched.357, enc.1.

³ G.H.91, sched.358, enc.1.

failure of their ancestors to rise to the occasion it is difficult to determine. The magistrates were finding their charges more than usually perverse and even Kama, the loyal Christian chief, deliberately fined two of his subjects without consulting Reeve, and, worse than this, he handed the fine over to his son William and some other Kaffirs who had not in any way been injured by the original crime.¹

Finding that many of his people were unwilling to obey the prophet's mandate, Umhala suddenly said in his usual guileless way that he was afraid of Government and also of the prophet, but that he had opened his eyes and given the word to cultivate;² he put off the moment of starting, however, by pleading lack of seed. Meanwhile he sent two messengers, Yase and Kwitonic, both prominent believers, to ask Umhlakaza the pertinent and somewhat puzzling question 'What is to be done with the cattle we set apart at Hlambe's burial?'³

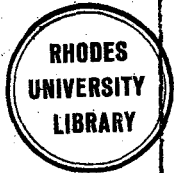
It was the custom in Kaffirland to let the cattle set aside on such occasions die a natural death. It was reported in the same letter that Moshesh's son Samuel was a visitor at the kraal of the Galeka chief Vozey,⁴ it was said that the young Basuto had come to buy a horse. Spies had brought the further information that several Galekas had lately joined Moshesh. Here then is a suggestion of communication between Moshesh and Umhala, and certainly, if any chief beside Krelli appeared to have some strong influence urging him on in this affair, that chief was Umhala.

Maclean interviewed a 'trustworthy Native' on the 31st December and received from him a full report of an interview he claimed to have had with Krelli. Statements quoted as having been made by Krelli are rare in the official documents, and are of course to be regarded with the deepest suspicion by the investigator, as the sources from which they were obtained were far from trustworthy. Some, however, seem to be characteristic and to

¹ G.H.91, sched. 353, enc. 4.

² G.H.91, sched. 361, enc. 1.

³ G.H.91, sched. 361, enc. 2.



fit in together fairly well. This conversation seems to have been in the usual style and was described as follows —:

'I met Kreli at Butterworth, and as I am in Kreli's confidence having known him for many years, he called me aside and the following private interview took place between Kreli and myself, two of his counsellors, Vona and Maki, being also present — Kreli commenced by asking for the news from King-williamstown, what the white people thought of the talk going on in the country about Umhlakaza and the new people, and about the order to destroy cattle and corn, and not to cultivate. I said to Kreli I had no news, everything was quiet so far as concerned the white people, but that the Kaffirs were committing many robberies in British Kaffraria, which state of things I told Kreli, I did not think could last long, as the Government I thought would grow tired of seeing property taken and, if anything happened, the Kaffirs had none but themselves to blame for it for having listened to the foolish talk of Umhlakaza and his niece Nongause. Kreli replied Umhlakaza and Nongause were not in any way to blame; they spoke the truth, they were not like Umlanjani, that Umlanjani said nothing about a new people that the present prophet and his niece were employed by the new people to convey their words to him (Kreli) and to all the Kaffir nation, they were therefore the mouths or agents of the new people, and that this did not originate from them but from the new comers -- that he, Kreli, was a strong supporter of what the prophet said and believed the whole to be quite true, he had accordingly killed almost all his cattle, only having about a hundred and eighty cows left and as he had many people he could soon devour them. I asked Kreli what he and his people would live upon, if they destroyed all their corn and cattle and did not cultivate — he said it was his intention to make war with the English, that he killed his cattle so as to have none to guard, and therefore have more men available to fight, that he did not see the use of cultivating, as the crops would, when the war commenced, only be cut down by the troops as was the case with the Galkas last war; and as to provisions, when

the war was going on, the Kaffirs could obtain their food by taking cattle from the white people and the Tambookies, as he would also make war with the Tambookies. I told Krelli that I had heard that Sandilli was cultivating, and that I believed the other chiefs, viz Pato, Macomo, and Umhala, would also shortly cultivate, he replied "You do not know what I know, that is all done as a blind -- I and they have already come to a thorough understanding. None of them will take a part opposite to what I take. All I tell you is that when I and my people have cleared ourselves of the encumbrances of cattle and corn -- I Krelli will move from the 'Hohita'¹ further from the English to the country of Unsindenakala², for I am now so near the English, that they can start from Kingwilliamstown, and in two days be in my country, therefore, I would like to have the women and children at a distance, and an open field for the men to fight...³"

If this could be taken as an honest declaration of Krelli's plans, then the whole plot would be perfectly clear. That it was not such a declaration was proved by subsequent events. No attempt was made either to send the women and children to Mosesh, or, later, to move to that chief's country when the Galekas were driven beyond the Bashee. Maclean commented thus -- "There can I think, be no doubt but that Krelli's sayings express truthfully Krelli's hopes and wishes. The Umhlekaza party is essentially an anti-English party, and in the Galeka country more than takes a war party. Still I think the statement made to me is more a report of Krelli's wishes and boasts than of his fixed intentions, and that possibly Krelli rather wished (seeing how much we know) to intimidate us and to gain concessions for himself, or to create suspicion or distrust as to our chiefs, which might help on his warlike views. My reasons for this view are, that I do not quite believe Krelli's reasons for the cattle killing

¹ Hohita = a tributary of the Kei river.

² The name of a kind of short grass which grew in Mosesh's country. G.H.91, sched.561, enc.3.

and corn destroying, it is too suicidal for a mere political move, especially if there is the chance of emigration, and secondly I do not think that, my informant being a Christian, is a likely person for Krell to make a confidant of and he is well known to go with the English, dresses in clothes etc.

'There is I fancy, little doubt but that the Kaffirs are ready for war, by which I mean it would surprise no Kaffir to see a war break out at any moment, they feel that they are liable to be brought into it by any move of their chiefs or of ourselves.....'

Though Maclean expressed the 'fullest confidence in every-thing stated' by this Native spy² there must always be taken into consideration that misleading habit of the Kaffir of telling the white man what he seems to want to know; this statement fitted in so well with the views held by the colonial authorities that it is especially open to suspicion on that account.

Dr Fitzgerald, who had been established at Kingwilliamstown by Grey, in order that he might, by his medical skill, help to discredit witchcraft in the eyes of the Kaffirs, attributed the Umhlabazian movement to professional jealousy on the part of a black rival. 'The taunts and jeers of the people, openly expressed', he wrote, 'the number of people relieved or cured, the demands made for the restoration of fees long since paid, the fear that the Kaffir doctor's influence would soon disappear and that the chiefs could no longer use this power and influence for political ends, if once the mass of the people were convinced that disease did not depend on witchcraft..... Some of these various reasons made me often feel that a powerful opposition, secretly perhaps would arise. But a short time elapsed, after I commenced when Umhlabazian the political agent arose beyond the Kei and almost suddenly the Kaffirs

¹ Memo in S.H.91, sched.361, enb.3.

² Note to same despatch.

ceased coming in numbers, their place however was almost instantaneously filled up by Fingoes and Hottentots.... Extraordinary efforts were made beyond the Kol to prevent Kaffirs coming to me. The Kaffirs are a doctor loving people, their doctors and prophets form part of the machinery of the government which is held together by a powerful authority on the one hand, and a reverential and devoted obedience on the other. The Kaffir doctor is a man of immense influence patronized and supported as he is by the chief, and will be sure to take advantage of every little error of judgement, and failure of cure'.¹

It was found very difficult to find a satisfactory staff for the nursing department, and Fitzgerald suggested that 'Miss Nightingale's charity and presence could alone.... remove the difficulty. The Governor could effect this, perhaps the Crimea was for her, but a preparation for South Africa'. He reiterated this belief two days later when he expressed his conviction that Miss Nightingale was the only person who could solve the problem of keeping a hospital as a civil institution with no religion and no politics.²

During December it seemed once again as if matters were coming to a head. The story of the overturning of the 'Geyser' by the ancestors gave a strong impetus to the delusion 'beginning with the Galekas, extending to Umhala's tribe and then taken up by the Gaikas' with the result that the enthusiasm for cultivating which had recently manifested itself among Sandilli's people, promptly disappeared. With a few notable exceptions, such as Noposi, Sandilli's 'great wife' (who continued to cultivate until she became 'sick in the face of the strong opposition of the other wives',) the women were at this time the most fervent supporters of the delusion. Most of the men who cultivated had to hoe their gardens for themselves, for

¹ G.H.91, sched. 367, enc. 1.

² Fitzgerald to Maclean, S. 12. 1868, found immediately after the above.

their wives, in almost every case, returned to their parents where they were encouraged and supported. This would, in itself be a strong inducement to Native men to refrain from cultivation for, as has been mentioned above, then as now, the women worked in the fields, while the men looked after the cattle.

It was during this month that Umhlabakaza's orders respecting decoration were issued, and even 'wretched old hags who had discontinued paint and ornaments for years, though tottering with age and want, are found covered with red clay and ornaments. Hints were now thrown out by the prophet of an engagement which was likely to take place between the Kaffirs and the Government, in which case those who had risen from the dead would interpose and annihilate the British. This suggestion proved most unpopular with the common people, who while quite willing to see the white men dispersed by supernatural means, were themselves strongly averse to fighting. It was therefore not insisted upon and was put forward in the first place, probably, merely as a feeler.

Again, in December, full moon was fixed for the time when the new people would arise but 'like many other final moons before it' it was, in due course, postponed. If there were ever to be a crisis in this extraordinary affair, it must, thought the officials, surely come soon. 'Hunger' wrote Brownlee, 'is fast closing upon its victims, and though there should be no war their sufferings will far exceed anything which they have hitherto experienced'.¹ He suggested in the same letter that grain should be imported in large quantities from Natal and Delagoa. Without some such measure it would probably prove impossible to carry on the public works which were so usefully serving a double purpose, first, in opening up the country and thereby facilitating the march of civilisation into the interior, and secondly, in accustoming the Native workers to industry and fixed hours.¹

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C.H. 91, sched. 362, enc. 3.

Reeve corroborated Brownlee's opinion. 'Every day' he said, brings us nearer a crisis in our relations with the Natives and this month and the next will in all probability decide the question of peace or war, I cannot but think that the time has arrived when we should endeavour to take advantage of the weakness which will soon result amongst the people from their folly, and that we should be prepared to check that spirit of theft and aggression which will very soon most certainly obtain..... My view is that it will be of the most paramount importance that the marauding Kaffir be prevented from returning to his empty cattle kraal with fresh cattle from the Colony, as it would soon be said that this was the fulfilling of the prophet's sayings and I think a war would then be almost inevitable, whereas the return of disappointed thieves to their still emptying kraals would, I think, do more to maintain peace and to bring about a desire for honest employment than months and even years of fighting'.¹

Many Kaffirs were speaking of war in connection with the prophet's words and this was probably the most critical period of all, for the Natives, though not yet weakened by starvation, were beginning to feel desperate, while the optimism of the firmest believers could easily have been turned to account by skilful propaganda. The obvious and insoluble question, then, is, why did Krell not utilise such a moment to attack. The warriors would have been able to travel light, because the greater part of the cattle of Kaffraria had by now been slaughtered and the remainder would have sufficed for the women and children while they fell back beyond the Bashee. Possibly the invasion was actually fixed for this full moon and the theory of a Krell-Moshesh combination would bear out this suggestion. Maclean quoted a letter from a resident of the Free State, dated 25th November 1856, 'Our political affairs' it said, 'are now beginning to assume a much darker hue than hitherto; it has transpired that at the last meeting of the Volksraad permission

was given to the President to declare war with Moshesh whenever he liked, consequently we expect it about the 10th of next month (full moon) as this is the time given by the last deput-
-utation to Moshesh to deliver out all compensation claims, and which I have no doubt he will be unable to comply with. This of course implies a very great dependence of Krell on Moshesh, which even the strong indications of fairly constant communi-
-cation between them hardly bear out.

It must have been clear to Krell long before this that one of three things must be the outcome of the affair— either the ancestors must arise with the new cattle as predicted, or his people must fight, or they must starve. It seems improbable then that a powerful chief of clearly independent views, would have put off fighting till his people were weakened by famine simply to suit the convenience of a powerful but distant neighbour. It is often stressed that Moshesh was an object of awe and admiration to his contemporaries owing to his reputation as an unconquered chief and the victor of Berea; but Krell, though he had been driven beyond the Kei, had the satisfaction of knowing, as Maclean pointed out more than once, that while others had suffered severely he had always managed to come out of the Kaffir wars more or less unscathed, and usually with an increased number of cattle. It is then, at this point, that the idea presents itself that perhaps Krell himself may have been hoping against hope that there was something in the prop-
-hecies after all. Notwithstanding the fact that later on several of the lesser prophets confessed to ulterior motives and fraud Umhlekaza died before any inconvenient questions could be put to him, and he may, just as much as Krell, have had an axe to grind. Few chiefs could resist the persuasive suggestions of their witch doctors or prophets and there is no reason to suppose that Krell was exceptional in this respect. It is possible that he began by seeing the advantage that might

be taken of such predictions as those of Umhlakana and later became himself, at least partially, a believer.

The failure of the expected attack to materialise may have been due, as Brownlee believed,¹ to the fact that the non-interference of the Government greatly perplexed the believers, who had counted on this interference to precipitate matters. There were, however, constant rumours in Maffrania, of projected attacks on Kreli and Umhlakaza by the Government, but these were not utilised to any extent by the chiefs.

The December moon, when it came, did not bring with it the fulfilment of the prophecies owing to the fact that the new people wished to upset another ship at the Kei mouth and thus convince the unbelievers so that the remaining cattle should be killed.² Famine was beginning to press hard upon the people; some kraals had a few milch cows left, which, owing to the unusually favourable season were able to provide nourishment for several families. Others had killed all, while near the coast whole families were dying of dysentery, as the result of eating shellfish off the rocks.

¹ G.H. 91, sched. 367, enc. 4.

² G.H. 91, sched. 364, enc. 1.

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In compliance with Maclean's circular the magistrates were frequently obliged to strike off from their pay lists first, second, or third class men as these stopped cultivating and began to kill. Failure to cultivate was not regarded as involving forfeiture of pay unless it was prompted by support of Umhikaza. Any zeal shown in the cause of the prophet was immediately penalised.¹

As things became worse in Kaffirland some of the missionaries grew anxious about the safety of their stations, and Kayser, who was in charge of the establishment at Peulton, wrote to Maclean pointing out the extremely dangerous position occupied by that mission, which would, in the event of an attack, receive the first onrush of the enemy. He therefore asked for supplies of arms and ammunition. Maclean forwarded this letter to the High Commissioner, but he did not conceal his opinion that the request was 'unprecedented and unreasonable'. He wrote to Kayser stating his belief that there was no intention of a general outbreak or attack on the white population.² It is noteworthy that, as late as December 1856, the senior official on the frontier believed that there was no intention of an intrusion of hostile Natives into the Colony.

The whole tone of Grey's despatches throughout this period was one of the most gloomy foreboding, and later of triumph that the expected outburst had been averted. Since Maclean was his principal informant, it must be concluded either that the Chief Commissioner took too optimistic a view or that the Governor used the affair skillfully to enhance his own reputation. In any case this expression of his opinion by Maclean must be remembered when the question as to the existence of a hostile combination against the Colony is considered.

During the middle and latter part of the month (after the failure of the new people to appear at the time of the Full Moon)

¹ G.H. 91, sched. 363, encls. 1 & 4.

² Ditto, enc. 6.

conditions seemed rather better: Sandilli was again persuaded to cultivate, and Kreli was reported to have gone to Umhala¹ 'to demand some token of the truth of his statements'. The next moon was now fixed for the final one. The working parties which had been organised at the Thomas River and at Tindvogels Bay² were getting on well and Brownlee considered these parties 'a good index of affairs in Kaffraria'.¹

There was no lull in the enthusiasm at Umhala's location, where there were constant rumours of war and Gawler received more than one warning to 'look out'.³ Cattle killing, said that magistrate, was 'going on to an incredible extent among the aristocracy' in his neighbourhood, 'calves and milch cows being now slaughtered in numbers'.³

The conversion of Xito, a prominent unbeliever and a brother of Kreli, was now said to be essential to the fulfilment of the prophecies. The new people wished him to move at once to his father's grave on the Kabouquaba. After a time he acceded to this demand though he was firm in his refusal to kill his cattle.

Macomo, who had not cultivated at all, seemed at this time to be disappointed and downcast. Brownlee was convinced that this chief had entered the movement simply to involve his old enemy Sandilli, whom he would desert in the hour of need. He himself would probably remain on the side of the Government if matters came to a head; he had already announced to his people that he would visit with the severest possible punishment any crime against the Government committed by his subjects.⁴

In Anta's and Oba's districts the unbelievers were twitting the others with the taunt 'who will eat first, we who have sown or you for whom food is provided?'⁴

'The crisis' wrote Brownlee, 'seems now past and the feeling of the people appears now to be turning against Umhala, and

¹ G.H. 91, sched. 366, enc. 7.

² In connection with Grey's public works scheme.

³ G.H. 91, sched. 367, enc. 1.

⁴ Ditto, enc. 4.

though he may yet for a time continue his delusions, I think he will not again command the same influence which he has hitherto had over the Kaffirs'.¹ It will be clear that the official views were not in accord with the idea which has become traditional, that the great crisis came on the 18th February 1857, the general concensus of opinion among them being that the danger was over early in January. By the middle of February the people had become dispirited, but since they had sacrificed everything at the instigation of Umhlakaza it was unlikely that they would suddenly give up all belief in the prophet for then nothing would be left them. To save themselves from utter despair many went on believing until late in 1857, and a revival of the movement was attempted as late as October 1858.²

Though he had moved near to Umhlakaza, Xito remained unconvinced; it had been announced that as soon as he was won over he would summon the Hlambi chiefs to a great meeting while Kreli summoned the Gaiikas. Kreli was said to be angry with Xito for his refusal to believe. Meanwhile, owing possibly to the recalcitrant Xito, a breach had occurred in the friendly relations between the different parties of ancestors. Mapakade wished to arise immediately with six hundred head of cattle but the ancestors and friends of the unbelievers objected 'as their posterity, not yet having obeyed the injunctions of Umhlakaza, would be consigned to the devil'.³ This naturally increased the bitterness felt by the believers for the 'Amagotya',⁴ who were standing in the way of the new people, and for a time the former refused to eat with the latter lest they should be defiled, and a system of purification was introduced to cleanse anyone who had associated with unbelievers.⁵

The demand for work among the people had ceased entirely during the latter half of December and thefts were becoming frequent.

¹ G.H.91, sched.367, enc.4. No.120.

² B.K.2. Information received by Maclean 24th Aug.1858, & following documents.

³ G.H.91, sched.372, enc.2. No.122.

⁴ Kaffir name for the unbelievers.

Gawler's own stable was broken into and two of his horses stolen. When he spoke to a counsellor about this he merely, to quote his own words, "received the gratifying consolation that my mis-hap was a mere trifle, 'You will see how they will steal eye and bye'". When he asked Umhala whether it would be advisable to send Mrs Gawler into the town the chief replied "On no, we understand one another, you may depend upon my giving you warning in time if you will do the same for me".¹

Umhala sent Kwitchie and another messenger again to the prophet, and although on their return they admitted that they had seen nothing,² the former at least remained one of the firmest supporters of the delusion.

It was now reported that the Tembus were killing; apparently their 'great doctor' had suddenly issued the order. When the people remonstrated and asked why they had not been told before he explained that he 'had been asleep, but that a few nights before a dark cloud had encompassed his hut and that the spirit coming to him out of the cloud had told him to give the order to kill'.³ Some of the tribes thereupon began to kill but the delusion never became general among the Abatembu.⁴

The next attempt to bolster up the prophet's words came in the form of a story, purporting to come from Basutoland, that Moshesh had not only killed his cattle but had received the new ones, while a terrific thunder storm had swept away the unbelievers and their cattle into the sea. Kreli sent messengers with this information to Sandilli and Umhala but Brownlee believed that it was simply used as a blind to conceal real messages, possibly of an unwelcome nature, that had been received from Moshesh.⁵

1
G.H. 91, sched. 372, enc. 5.

2
Ditto enc. 7.

3
Ditto, enc. 6.

4
G.H. 92, sched. 330, enc. 5.

5
G.H. 92, sched. 376, enc. 1.

Xito, now living at his father's grave near Umhlokaza's kraal, still refused to summon the chiefs to a meeting until he had seen the new people. He sent some of his friends, Amagobotya, to see the promised wonders but they returned saying that they had sat from sunrise to sunset and had seen nothing. It then transpired that the ancestors had been insulted by Xito's action in sending unbelievers and had in consequence departed to the Fish River Mouth for six days. Xito had therefore by his rudeness, postponed the day of deliverance. Growing tired of this Xito determined to leave the Kabouquaba and return to his home on the Bashee, and he wisely sent most of his cattle to the mission station at Peeltou, for safety. Brownlee hoped that this would prove to be a death blow to the movement but when Xito actually departed about the middle of the month, his son remained and was appointed in his stead.¹

This desire for Xito's presence may have been due to a decision on Umhlokaza's part to transfer the blame to other shoulders when the ancestors finally failed to appear. It was about the same time that the ancestors refused to have any more communication with the prophet as they did not wish to mix themselves up with 'a black bellied plebian'.¹ They were evidently less particular about the equally lowly Nongause for she continued to interpret the oracle or give answers to her own questions, answers which no one else could hear.

Several secret service men reported at various times that killing was not nearly so general round about the prophets kraal as on the Colonial side of the Kei; it was hinted, too, more than once, that both Kreli and Umhlokaza had sent cattle to the north against the day of reckoning.² This, however, seems to be disproved by later events, for Kreli was impoverished and Umhlokaza was one of those who died of starvation.

¹ G.H.92, sched.376, enc.1.

² G.H.92, sched.330, enc.5.

Reports about Moshesh were always popular and seemed to find credence easily enough. One which alarmed many Kaffirs and led to increased zeal for killing was the tale that, having refused to kill, Moshesh had been 'crushed between the seas and the heavens'¹.

The officials were completely at a loss to understand an order supposed to have been issued in the middle of January, to the effect that all ammunition and guns were to be destroyed; this was corroborated by several people who said that they had seen guns and powder scattered about.² On the 5th February, however, the report was contradicted by one of Maclean's spies who said that no such command had been given, that it was merely a rumour that had gone abroad.³

Robberies were becoming frequent, and daring thefts of horses from Fort White, and from individual Fingoes, were reported. Grey allowed himself a little gentle humour at poor Brownlee's expense when he received two communications, simultaneously, from Donne, the first expressing great satisfaction with the more cheerful aspect of affairs in that district, the second reporting, somewhat shortly, the theft of four horses from Brownlee's own stable. 'It is well' commented the High Commissioner, 'Mr Brownlee had written his letterbefore his horses were stolen; probably his views of the present aspect of affairs are more gloomy'.⁴

Among Lucas's Kaffirs there was a tremendous increase in killing just before the new moon and he believed that war was being privately discussed.⁵ At the same time Stenson reported that his working party had completely broken up, that all his men had said that they were tired and had gone home.⁶ They had probably left to attend the great meeting held at Butterworth

¹ G.H.92, sched.377, enc.2.

² G.H.91, sched.372, enc.2, No.122. & G.H.92, sched.388, enc.7.

³ B.K.89, Statement made to the Chief Commissioner, 5th Feb. 1857.

⁴ G.H.92, Comment on enc.2 in sched.380.

⁵ G.H.92, sched.379, enc.1.

⁶ G.H.92, sched.377, enc.7.

at the time of the new moon. This gathering was described as having been orderly and very cheerful and jocular; the people were certain that at last something was really going to happen. When a further postponement was announced, however, (until the next full moon), there was a noticeable change in the demeanour of the crowd, the members of which seemed overcome by gloom. Sandilli and other important people were told of Kreli's deep depression on account of this postponement; it was said that he had broken into loud and prolonged lamentations, that he had threatened to commit suicide, and that he had to be carefully watched and all lethal weapons kept out of his reach. Brownlee took a somewhat cynical view of the sincerity of Kreli's intentions in this respect,¹ and his attitude was soon justified, for, before long, Kreli was organising another meeting to speed things up.

Beyond the Kei, save in the immediate neighbourhood of the chief, the delusion was not nearly so strong as among his subject tribes to the south west. There were occasional outbursts of killing among the northern tribes as, for example, that which occurred among those of the Podonsi who lived along the coast, when one of their number returned, a convert, from Umhlakaza.² The Tambookies near Clarkebury, under Fula and Babela, killed to a great extent but the followers of Joyi and Umgangeni refrained. It was possibly this holding back on their part that led to a belief among the anagogotwa in Kaffirland that the delusion was simply the result of a spell cast upon Kreli by Umgangeni in revenge for the disgrace accorded to his sister, Kreli's great wife, who had been 'put away' by that monarch. 'It is said' wrote Ayliff to Maclean 'Umgangeni sent for a Basuto doctress and requested her to bewitch Kreli; she asked "In what way? Shall I kill him outright". "No" said Umgangeni; "but place him under a delusion in which he will see

¹ G.H.92, sched.379, 7th enc.

² G.H.92, sched.380, enc.5.

things which no one else sees, and which, spreading through his tribe, will cause it to be dispersed that they may be reduced to servitude and entirely broken up". On this the woman went to the seaside and procured some salt water in which she wrought the spell which is now operating so potently among the Galekas'.¹ The unbelievers themselves were not above explaining the delusion by black magic.

Umgangeni, perhaps in order to disprove the revenge theory, now proceeded to effect a reconciliation with Kreli and this move caused some apprehension among the authorities, for a combination between the majority of Transkeian tribes would have been a standing danger to the Colony. Kreli, however, refused all overtures,² probably because he had decided that, if the new cattle failed to materialise he would replenish his kraals from those of the Abatembu who had suffered much less than the Galekas from the ravages of the lung sickness. But, if Kreli intended to attack the Colony as Moshesh's ally, would he not have welcomed so powerful an ally, as Umgangeni, who moreover, if an enemy, could harass him from the rear throughout a colonial war?

The arrival of part of the German Legion during this month was intended to have, and probably did have, a salutary effect on the more warlike of the chiefs. Kreli scornfully refused to admit that these people were newcomers at all, but explained to his followers that the British simply took people from the Colony to Delagoa Bay and shipped them back again to make their numbers appear greater.³

Gawler, with a view to impressing the might of the white man's methods on his tribe, took some of the prominent unbelievers to East London and actually took some of them on board a ship, to see 'our new people come out'. 'On landing they expressed their wonderment and admiration of all they had seen and said it gave

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B.K.39, Secret Information 1856-1857, Ayliff to Maclean, 22. 12. '56.

2

G.H.92, sched.580, No.5.

them fresh confidence that they had done right in not killing their cattle. They seemed very proud of their achievement and received from their countrymen many compliments and congratulations on not having been taken to England.¹

Sandilli continued to vacillate and Macomo to use his civil influence over his weaker minded rival. Brownlee again stated his conviction that Macomo had 'involved his people in ruin simply for the purpose of ruining Sandilli, that he might in the end turn against him', for though he had committed himself as a believer by killing, yet he was very careful to keep on the right side of the authorities and did all in his power to prevent robbery from the colonists on the border.²

The threat of civil war in Kaffirland was daily becoming more menacing and the unbelievers again approached the Government for help; this, however, was not forthcoming. Fielding with the concurrence of his chief, Jan Tzatzoe, urged unbelievers to gather together under influential men of the tribe and to collect their cattle for mutual protection.³ This meant, of course, that many had to leave their gardens to be plundered. Others, such as Xito, some of Kama's and some of Pato's people, sent their cattle to mission stations for protection,⁴ and remained, often at the risk of their lives, to reap their crops. Anta one of the very few unbelieving chiefs, asked permission to move; this the Chief Commissioner would not allow as Anta and Oba⁵ exerted good influence where they were. The ultimate result of this decision was that both men were frightened into killing.

Maclean insisted, not only that it was impossible to guarantee protection to scattered unbelievers, which was obvious, but that it would be impolitic as it might be seized upon as an aggressive move and made a pretext for war by the Natives.⁶ Just as the

1 G.H. 92, sched. 323, No. 2.

2 G.H. 92, sched. 331, enc. 4.

3 F.H. 92, sched. 379, enc. 2.

4 Ditto, enc. 3.

5 G.H. 92, sched. 350, enc. 3.

6 Maclean's case to enc. 3 of sched. 323 of G.H. 92.

governmental policy in the Free State was to remain absolutely neutral with regard to Mochesh, so on the border it was to avoid giving the chiefs any excuse for war. Brownlee recommended some defensive measures; he suggested that one or two hundred men should be moved to the Dohne Post and Windvogel Bay for the double purpose of giving confidence to Anta and working on Sandilli's fears. He pointed out, too, that the moral effect of Grey's presence on the Frontier would be enormous and strongly urged that a visit should be arranged. He suggested further that a hundred and fifty or two hundred unbelieving refugees might be located in the Crown Reserve.¹ Maclean advised against such a measure even as a purely temporary expedient. The other suggestions he submitted to the High Commissioner without comment.²

The first news that Maclean heard of the new prophetess in Umhala's tribe was communicated to him on the 16th January. The lady in question lived at the Impongo, about five miles from Gawler's house.³ She quickly achieved a strong influence over Umhala's people, but the other tribes would not at first recognise her words as authoritative and she never achieved the inter-tribal fame of Nongause. Nevertheless in a smaller way she contrived to do a great deal of mischief.

Gawler soon reported that some girls had stated they had seen the new people, cattle and corn in a vlei about a quarter of a mile from their home. To disprove the supernatural qualities of this water he and Mr Fynn had bathed in it at different times until the girls were convinced. Then another child, this time the daughter of a witch doctor named Kulwana, claimed to have had similar experiences at the Impongo River.⁴ Here the 'talking was conducted.....through a counsellor of Umhala's named Kwitchie' that same Kwitchie who had carried most of

¹ G.H.92, sched.591, enc.3.

² He had given his views on the matter — see supra p.65 note 6.

³ G.H.92, sched.381, enc.6.

⁴ or Uapongo.

Umhala's secret messages to Kreli and Umhlabakaza. Umhala stoutly denied all knowledge of this girl Nonkosi.¹ In due course Brownlee, too, reported the matter, he spoke of 'an establishment to cooperate with Umhlabakaza' which was supposed to be under the patronage of Umhala.² At the beginning of February Vigne wrote of a meeting of chiefs at Umhala's where the delegates — Delima (the son of Macomo), Tabai and Ngasi visited Nonkosi and were deeply impressed. Delima proceeded to Kreli to convey the new instructions while the others returned home immediately to kill.³ It was reported from Kreli's country that up to the night of the 29th January many of the kraals were quite deserted owing to the flocking of the people to a great meeting at Butterworth. This meeting had been called to give a last stimulus to those who were still behindhand with their killing. The assembled gathering was shown for its encouragement no more inspiring spectacle than that of four strangers mounted on fine horses, who said that the change would take place on the 3rd February.⁴

In connection with the killing delusion February of 1857 must be regarded as a month of anti-climax. There were during that month three more or less definite dates fixed for the coming of the new people; on each occasion the resurrection was postponed, but, in preparation for each, there was a renewed orgy of slaughter so that by the end of the month there were practically no cattle left, those that did remain being the jealously guarded property of the unbelievers.

When the 3rd inst. brought no new people, a final meeting of the chiefs with the prophet was arranged. It was now decided that the 6th was to be the day⁵ and that the 4th and 5th were to be days of darkness. Kreli was determined to be at Butterworth on the great occasion so that he might see Hintza's Great Place

1
G.H. 92, sched. 386, enc. 1.

2
G.H. 92, sched. 388, enc. 2.

3
G.H. 92, sched. 389, enc. 4.

4
G.H. 92, sched. 390, enc. 1.

5
Ditto, enc. 3.

reappear together with his cattle. He and some of his chief men asked Conway, the trader, for candles to use during the days of darkness.¹

Still there seemed to be no threat of war other than the rumours always prevalent on the frontier. The Natives, with the possible exceptions of Pato and Umhala with their immediate followers, continued to be peaceful and law abiding. Sandilli had now entered wholeheartedly into the delusion, expelling unbelievers and ordering two sons of his counsellors to kill their cattle.² He, Pato, Umhala and even Macomo made no effort at this time to put down robberies from the white people or to secure reasonable compensation for such crimes. Kreli, on the other hand, suddenly issued an order that there were to be no thefts from white people, and promised to punish severely any who did so.³

The 6th February passed without any significant events and messengers finally arrived from the prophet at the kraals of the various Kaffrarian chiefs on the evening of the 10th February, with the news that 'eight days more were to elapse before the accomplishment of the prophecies, the 9th being the first day of the eight'.⁴ Thus the 16th was the day fixed.

During the last eight days the believers, in most cases, killed all their remaining cattle. Some of Kreli's influential counsellors, perhaps assailed by sudden doubts, fled into Pambockie-land with their cattle. The general feeling still seemed to be against rebellion and Sandilli volunteered to Brownlee that, should the prophet's word be false and war be the outcome of the movement, he would stick to the Government. The day at length dawned with, of course, no strange happenings though a thunder-storm on the evening of the 20th aroused a momentary hope that the miracles had come to pass.

¹ G.H. 92, sched. 390, enc. 5.

² G.H. 92, sched. 392, enc. 2.

³ Ditto, enc. 3.

⁴ G.H. 92, sched. 394, enc. 4. This news was given Brownlee by Sandilli himself.

A 'person from across the Kol' reported that on Saturday, the 21st, he had seen people in rows watching the sunrise, but the special magistrates, who one and all wrote most detailed accounts of all that happened, for the benefit of Maclean, did not any of them describe the dramatic happenings of the 'Day', which have become traditional in our history. There seems, in fact, to be some doubt as to which actually was the day, for it is variously reported as the 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th of February. The Kaffrarian correspondent of the Grahamstown Journal, writing apparently from Kingwilliamstown, said in his letter of the 19th February 'You are aware that Monday was said to be the last day of the prophecies I believe they extended over three days, and that Wednesday was therefore the final day'¹. Mrs Brownlee, in her reminiscences written many years after the event, dwells with much pathos on the 'fatal day'. But perhaps the person who used the so called crisis with the most effect was Sir George Grey in the speech with which he opened the Cape Parliament on the 7th April 1857. "At length" he said dramatically "matters drew towards a crisis. The means of subsistence of the Kaffir race had by the month of February last so far diminished that it was requisite that some decisive step should be taken by their chiefs. Their prophet therefore fixed upon Wednesday the 18th February as the day upon which his predictions were to be fulfilled. When the sun rose that morning, after wandering for a time in the heavens it was to set again in the east, and a hurricane was then to sweep from the earth all who had not believed in and obeyed the prophet, whether Europeans or Kaffirs. Then the ancestors were to rise from the dead, with countless herds of cattle of an improved breed and with quantities of property of every description, all of which were to be shared out amongst the followers of the prophet, who were to be at the same time restored to youth and

¹

 Grahamstown Journal of Saturday, 21st February 1857.

endowed with beauty.

"During the few days preceding the 18th February the believers in the prophet slaughtered all their remaining cattle and live-stock, and destroyed whatever means of subsistence they had left. They had previously re-thatched their huts in the most careful manner, that they might resist the expected hurricane; and finally, on the Wednesday, shut themselves up in them, awaiting the events which it had been predicted were to take place.

"The 19th of February found them disappointed, destitute, and in many instances prepared to commit any outrage. So complete was the state of destitution to which the followers of the prophet had reduced themselves that one of the greatest chiefs who had formerly owned immense herds of cattle, had not a single head left; none of the greatest chiefs had preserved more than three or four. It was evident that the long expected crisis had at length come and the Government at once took measures...."¹

It has been suggested above that the real crisis was probably over by the 6th at the latest for, after that date, the majority of Kaffirs were not physically strong enough to have waged successful war. By the 19th they were still further debilitated so that hundreds of those who fled towards the Colony to find food, had not sufficient strength to reach it, and died on the way.

Umhala promptly sent a message to the Governor saying 'I have listened to Krell and see now that I have done wrong — let me have a winkel² here as I and my people are starving'.³ Gawler replied sternly that he did not understand what Umhala meant by asking for a winkel because he had done wrong and a 'winkler' would hardly care to risk his property there. The chastened chief thereupon amended his message saying 'I and my people have listened to Krell, and are starving, let the Governor do what he

¹ Papers re Kaff. Tribes, August 1857, p. 90.

² A shop.

³ G.H. 90, sched. 402, enc. 2.

'likes' to me and my people'.— His kraal was being visited each day by crowds who came to tell him that they were starving 'by his orders'.¹ His hopes of assistance from the Government did not, however, deter him from sending messages to the prophet. Macomo and Pato did likewise, but Sandilli, firm for once in his life, refused to send.² Pato's messenger, Delima, returned with the news that there had been some misunderstanding between the chiefs of the new people, so that the Kaffirs must wait a little longer.³

Macomo and Umhala did their best to influence Sandilli and the efforts were not without effect for the latter ceased for some days to communicate with Brownlee. Umhala staged a scene at the Impongo for Sandilli's benefit; here it was explained that the delay was due to a difference of opinion between the people of the Impongo and those who had appeared to Umhlakaza as to who should take precedence in rising, but that the point of difference had now been settled by the removal of those at the Impongo to join the others at the Qora near to Umhlakaza's kraal, and they would soon appear. The Impongo people, however, wished to know what Sandilli meant by leaving his kraal (Brownlee had persuaded him to move nearer to Dohne, where he would be under the Commissioner's eye) and joining the *azagogótya*. If he did not return immediately they assured him that he would merit the heavy indignation of his ancestors. The non-believing Gaiikas, who had begun to gather some confidence when Sandilli came among them, now became apprehensive again and asked permission to form a camp near the Kabusi Post.⁵

Jali's complaint that 'Government evidently preferred those who threw assegais at it'⁴ seemed to have some justification, and Brownlee expressed himself strongly on the subject in a demi-official despatch. 'We weaken our own cause' he wrote 'by

1 G.H. 92, sched. 402, enc. 2.

2 G.H. 92, sched. 403, enc. 4.

3 G.H. 92, sched. 404, enc. 5.

4 G.H. 92, sched. 389, enc. 4.

refusing support and assistance to those who have so manfully resisted the delusion, and whether they should lose their cattle in Kaffraria or the Reserve I do not see that our position towards them would be materially altered'.¹

The position with regard to the Native labour available had altered during the month. On the 11th February Maclean had written in answer to Rawson's request for fifty labourers for Cradock, pointing out the utter impossibility of supplying these. 'Although' he said 'the Natives return after the passing of each period predicted by their prophet to the public works near their respective locations, it will be impossible at present to secure any organised parties for labour at a distance from their houses;' he concluded by expressing his hope that a change might shortly occur.²

Lucas commented on the 20th February on the inclination among some to take service in the Colony. 'In a few days' he wrote 'I expect numbers will apply for work and service. If employment was at first given them near their own districts until the first shock of famine was over, I think it would be well; they would, when they get accustomed to labour, go and seek it for themselves, at whatever distance it might be found, but whatever is done in giving employment should be done quickly, as there are only a few who have cattle sufficient to support them. I also think that all working parties should get a large ration and very little money, say 3d. a day, part of their rations they would give to their families; they cannot buy rations as cheaply as we can. Nothing should be given them without working for it.'³ These ideas were essentially sound, but it was left, as usual, for Brownlee to submit a carefully thought-out constructive plan of action. 'I think' he wrote, 'it would be well to write to the Civil Commissioners for the Colony, enquiring whether the inhabitants in

¹ G.H.92, sched.404, enc.5.

² C.O.2235, Br. Kaff. Chief. Comm. 1857. Maclean to Rawson, 11th Feb. 1857.

³ G.H.92, sched.399, 3rd enc.

their districts would be willing to receive Kaffir families, and what number; if they should be willing to receive them, it might be intimated to you, those willing to take servants could depute someone to take charge of as many as were required. I think it would be well if application be made for Kaffir servants, that it be understood by the Kaffirs before leaving this, that they must be contracted to their masters for periods of two to three years. I think the parties would at once consent to this and the arrangement would be to the advantage of both. Even should war or rebellion break out we will have thousands of applicants for employment, and though operations were carried on in Kaffraria we might send into the Colony the starving and destitute without any danger to their employers¹.

His second scheme was based on a suggestion made by Mr Rein, a missionary, who reported that he had promised a Kaffir family that appealed to him for sustenance that if the men applied for work he would look after the destitute children if they would attend his school. Brownlee advocated the extensive use of this plan which would have the valuable effect of safeguarding the Mission stations whatever the condition of the country.² In a note attached to this despatch Maclean regretted that there had been any unnecessary delay in sending applicants for work to the Central office at Kingwilliamstown and referred to the Government Circular of the 7th November 1856, relating to Native servants. This laid down that '....each of the Magistrates residing with the various Kaffir or Fingoe tribes in British Kaffraria should keep a register of all Native applicants for service within the District, and that a central office for the registration of Native Servants should be established at the Resident Magistrate's office at Kingwilliamstown'.

Thus a beginning was made in organising the importation of Native labour into the Colony and there disappeared, for ever,

¹ G.H.92, sched.399, enc.1.

² Ditto enc.2.

the possibility of that respectable class of European field labourers which Cathcart had hoped would develop in the Colony as the result of wise immigration schemes.

The introduction of cheap and plentiful labour into the Colony was one of the most important results of the delusion and proved the solution of the major problem of the farming community. It led to the extended use of the pass system which is still in use to-day. The 'Report of the Select Committee appointed to take into consideration the subject of the introduction of Kaffirs into the Colony' submitted on the 31st May 1857, will be discussed later, together with that of the Kaffir Labourers Committee.

The dispersal of the Native population (with the resulting significant changes in the power of the different tribes,) is perhaps the most important feature in the history of the next few months in Kaffirland. Some of the chiefs made desperate efforts to keep their people together and at the end of May a determined attempt to revive the delusion was made by Macomo, Umhala and Sandilli, while among the Tambookies there arose a new prophet who was said to have a great influence over Krelli.

Robberies with violence soon became so frequent that the people of East London sent a petition to Edward Staunton, the Resident Magistrate, asking 'that some protection be given us, either by a mighty military patrol around the town of East London or in whatever other efficient way may be deemed most expedient by the Civil and Military Authorities'.²

In order to protect the lives and property of both non-killers and Europeans a Government Notice was issued at Kingwilliamstown on the 3rd March 1857, stating that '....all persons caught attempting to commit, or having committed robbery with arms in their hands, will when convicted of such offence be punished with death....also....all Kaffirs found robbing in the Colony or elsewhere will be fired upon if it is found impossible to capture them. His Excellency therefore urges upon the chiefs the necessity of warning their people of the danger they will incur if they become marauders'.³

Maclean found it necessary to obtain expert opinion (from Barrington, chairman of the Board of Magistrates at Kingwilliamstown) regarding the legality of trying Krelli's Kaffire under martial law. He believed that Grey could include the Transkeian tribes in his proclamation of martial law 'on these grounds —

1.
G.H.93, sched.436, enc.3.

2
G.H.92, sched.404, enc.3.

3
G.H.92, sched.436, enc.1.

'That the law giving authority in any state has full right to legislate in regard to marauders and thieves offending and apprehended within its territory whether these offenders be from a neighbouring state or not, and generally that it has power to make such laws in regard to the entrance of foreigners as shall from time to time be necessary for the security of the country. That in the case of bordering savages the civilised state must of necessity take these matters wholly into its own hands since it cannot expect with any certainty either redress or prevention, and in fact in many cases a savage must be more especially considered as of no country other than where he at the time is.....'¹

Barrington's view was less extreme: '... It has appeared to me' he wrote 'that such people dwelling beyond our borders and being bona fide subjects of independent chiefs have not had the same offer of work made to them that those dwelling within our border have had and that therefore the crimes caused by want and starvation were not so great in degree in them as in ours who have had this offer.the circumstances of martial law being in force on the frontier, and the necessity of continuing it there, will justify the stringent measures of the Government notice of the 3rd of March, being enforced by the authority here against all marauders and vagabonds taken upon and within the Colonial border by the Colonial authorities and sent here for trial'.²

Towards the end of the year a special court was constituted to try 'grave offences in British Kaffraria'. The members of this body were Taylor, Cox, Gawler, Ayliff and Vigne, with the Honourable Henry Barrington as president.³

Pato, who did his best to avoid fulfilling his obligations with regard to policing the road,⁴ gave as his excuse that first

¹ G.H.93, sched.459, enc.5.

² Ditto, enc.6.

³ Gov't. Notice, Fort Murray, 4th November 1857.

⁴ Kingwilliamstown Gazette of 7th March 1857.

he must collect his people, and he complained, truly enough, that many of his great people were leaving him.¹ Macomo was troublesome about some goats belonging to Tani which he refused to return to their owner. He had seized these with the help of Namba, on the ground that Tani was moving without permission. Tani happened, however, to be in possession of a pass given him by Lucas. The other chiefs did not support Macomo in this matter and this had the effect of causing alarm and discontent in his tribe so that some of his people moved away with their cattle, by night. Grey closed the matter by deducting the value of Tani's property from the salaries of Macomo and Namba.²

Umhala, always one of the most warlike of the chiefs, saw with alarm the departure of numbers of unbelievers from his tribe and when he realised that they were flocking to Gawler, whom he had always disliked, he resolved to rid himself of this incubus. He therefore wrote privately to Grey complaining of his magistrate's misdeeds. This letter, written for him by the missionary — Greenstock, ran as follows — 'Umhala says the police who turns the guns is Gawler, whose permission did he ask.... Umhala says he never enters Gawler's house, Gawler drives him away although petty chiefs and common people are allowed to enter.' He does not know this white man Gawler, he said this to Maclean at the commencement, he will not have him, another white man must come who is good — Gawler treats Umhala wrongly; he will bring war upon this country, he knows not how to put the country right, he is passionate — Umhala says Government said he was to have money given to him, now his money is small, it was said the counsellors were to have money given to them, he does not know who pays this money' and so on.³

Gawler remarked that 'half the tribe wishes to leave Umhala and the other half is starved, but the first must have safe hold

¹ G.H. 92, sched. 405, enc. 1.

² G.H. 92, sched. 410, enc. 1.

³ G.H. 92, sched. 411, enc. 1.

of Government before they take the step — In the mean time Government influence is decaying, and numbers suspect themselves deserted. My recruits amount to 30, all non-killers'. This magistrate, always original in his views, then proceeded to make the simple and ingenuous suggestion that he should organize a rebellion in Umhala's country and by aiding the well disposed, bring 'all under control suited to their present crisis'.

Sometimes the position was reversed and it was the chief who wished to leave his people. Jealousy between tribes with food and those without threatened sometimes to develop into civil war, and Siwani was so terrified by the threatening attitude of his enemies, Pato and Bangi, that Hawkes had the greatest difficulty in persuading him to remain with his tribe. 'Had he gone' said that magistrate sadly 'I should have had no chief'.²

Maclean reported in March that Botman's tribe was fast breaking up 'in two months' he said 'the greater part will have left..... many have gone into service, some have gone into Anta's location and Mr Lucas believes a few are living among the Pingoos'.³ Anta received recruits too, from both Sandilli's and Kreli's tribes.⁴ Mate's followers left him in large numbers, many of them fleeing to Kama's location.

At the end of April Maclean learnt 'from an Informer' that 'the country from the Kei wagon-drift up to Colasa and thence to the coast is nearly deserted, only some able bodied males remaining with the cattle. The rest with nearly all the aged and women and children have gone into the Tembu country'.⁵

Brownlee injudiciously distributed passes to refugees who wished to enter the Crown Reserve, notwithstanding Maclean's often expressed disapproval. He thus drew down upon himself a severe reprimand from Grey who stated that anyone other than Maclean

1 G.H. 92, sched. 413, enc. 1.

2 G.H. 92, sched. 415, enc. 4.

3 G.H. 92, sched. 416, enc. 1.

4 G.H. 92, sched. 413, enc. 2.

5 G.H. 92, sched. 432, enc. 2.

issuing such passes would be asked to resign.¹

Apart from that change in the Native population resulting from the flight of large numbers of families from one chief to another heavy losses were suffered from deaths due to starvation and disease. There was, further, the exodus of able bodied servants into the Colony. During the month of April one thousand and fifty seven souls were registered for service, while from January to the end of April the number reached five thousand and ninety three.² This was comparatively early in the very lean period. The Chiefs Sandilli and Xoxo asked Mr Brownlee to receive their children at Dohne. Grey welcomed this opportunity of civilising the future leaders of the race and directed Mr Brownlee to tell Sandilli and Xoxo 'that I am anxious to have these children sent to me to take care of, and that they shall be sent back whenever he wishes to have them, every care being taken of them'.³ They were accordingly sent to the High Commissioner who placed them at Zonnebloem, the joint educational foundation of Sir George Grey and Bishop Grey, which developed about this time out of the Bishop's Court Industrial School at Protea.

Meanwhile there was no sudden cessation of belief in the delusion. 'The Impongo Prophetess' reported Gawlor on the 17th March, 'is talking louder than ever, says the cattle bellowing at the Xinira is stopping the cattle from coming out'.⁴ Even the death of Nonkzana, a colleague of Nonkosi's did not serve to disillusion those at the Impongo.⁵

On the 22nd Kreli left Butterworth after having had a meeting there, to attend another at his own great place, about the 27th, at which various matters regarding the prophet and his sayings were to be discussed. It was reported that Botman, Kreli's usual messenger to the prophet, went down this time but returned saying

1

G.G.92, Grey's note to sched.424.

2

See Gov't. Notice No.256 for 1857 in appendix.

3

G.H.92, sched.430, enc.2.

4

G.H.92, sched.416, enc.2.

5

G.H.92, sched.433 enc.1.

'what is the use of sending me, there is nothing there, the prophet is no one'.¹ Kreli was further reported to have 'told some of the old men who were not going to the second meeting that the prophet's sayings were to be followed no longer, people must collect what cattle they could and no more cattle to be allowed to leave the country, though the cattle of persons not moving were not to be interfered with'.¹ That the chief had really given these instructions seemed, however, improbable in the light of Umhlokaza's continued commands.

Maclean was further informed that Kreli's second meeting was possibly for the purpose of considering the case of Pama who had been a frequent medium of communication between Kreli and the prophet, and who had stated positively 'that men, horses, arms etc. had all been shown to him, so firmly did he uphold the delusion that during the last 8 days excitement, he publicly asked Kreli to put him to death that he might revive with the others at the appointed time'.

Fresh enthusiasm for killing, apparently due to orders from the prophet, was manifested in May by Sandilli, Macomo and Umhala. Fynn, too, obeyed, though Brownlee attributed this partly to the appearance of lung-sickness among his cattle.² Sandilli now destroyed his remaining cattle and Umhlokaza announced that the non-killers were responsible for the delay and must therefore be deprived of their property by robbery or forcible seizure.³

Tsimbi, the new prophet at Kreli's great place, made the Galekas kill all their remaining cattle and he demanded that all Galekas should return to their country, an obvious attempt to prevent the dispersal of the tribes.⁴ Tsimbi, however, died about the 21st of August, and although his attendant Iringo claimed to have conversed with his spirit and to have been

1 G.H.92, sched.453, enc.2.

2 G.H.92, sched.440, 2nd enc. wrongly bound in this schedule.

3 Maclean's note in sched.455.

4 G.H.93, sched.456, enc.3.

'assured by it that the events foretold would come to pass, the Natives refused to listen to him.¹

The lung-sickness had by this time made its appearance in the Tarkoosie country so that there was constant danger of their giving way to the cattle killing mania.²

On the 9th June Maclean issued a circular requiring his magistrates to report monthly on the cases of dire distress which occurred in their districts. He directed further 'that you will acquaint me how such fearful scenes of distress as are reported to exist in the neighbourhood of mission stations have not been brought to my notice, and also whether any missionary has privately or officially informed you of such distress prevailing in your district'. The same notice empowered the magistrates to provide food for a limited period to the young who were willing to take employment and also to such of the infirm and aged as were unable to work, all such rationing to be reported on monthly.³ On the following day a supplementary circular was issued, in which Maclean explained that it was not intended that all the young were to be supplied with food 'as this would only bring for Government support the whole of the children of Kaffirland, to whom it would be impossible to furnish relief'. He said definitely that those to whom the arrangement particularly applied were 'such aged, infirm, sick or young as are starving and really unable to accompany those families proceeding into the Colony for service'.⁵ A third circular, dated the 15th June, directed the magistrates to communicate with the missionaries residing in their districts and to report their statements regarding the state of destitution among the Kaffir's in their neighbourhood.⁴

By the end of June Brownlee was able to state confidently that 'the power of the Amaxosa is for the present, broken and prostrate'.

¹ G.H.106, Maclean to Travers 4th June 1857.

² G.H.93, sched.456, enc.5.

³ G.H.93, sched.460, enc.2.

⁴ G.H.93, sched.462, enc.3.

Most of Kreli's people had waited until the new moon of June in the hope that the prophecies would yet be fulfilled, and by that time most of them were so weak that they were unable to reach places where supplies could be obtained. Many members of Kreli's family, his mother and several of his brothers, fled north east across the Bashee. Others of the Galezas joined Faku, and Kreli's country was soon practically denuded of inhabitants. The problem of what to do with this land soon arose and its solution will be dealt with in Chapter IX, in connection with Gawler's 'trek'.

On the appearance of full moon in June the majority of Sandilli's and Fynn's unbelieving tribesmen left their old homes either to join Anta, or to proceed to Kingwilliamstown which was the most convenient means of entry into the Colony as farmers brought their wagons thither to carry away such labourers as were in too weak a condition to walk.¹

In reply to Grey's request for information regarding the stories of dire distress and fearful scenes told Grey by the missionaries, the magistrates agreed, one and all, that these reports were 'Native exaggerations too readily believed'. This opinion Maclean communicated to the High Commissioner. He said, too, that without doubt great distress and destitution did prevail and must increase amongst those who remained in their homes until the next harvest. He attributed this destitution firstly to the indolence of the Kaffirs which led them to await in idleness the fulfilment of predictions which the infatuated people believed, and then to 'the opposition of the chiefs to the dispersion of their people and especially to their dispersion into the Colony'.²

It has been mentioned that Kreli, Macomo, Umhala and Sandilli had all made definite efforts to keep their people together, and the latest revival had resulted in the return to their kraals of

¹ G.H. 93, sched. 433, enc. 6.

² G.H. 93, sched. 469, enc. 1.

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many who had previously left to obtain help and sustenance. In Kaffirland where the aged and infirm were always neglected, it was obvious, in Maclean's opinion, that they would be neglected in a time of famine more than would be the case in civilised countries. They were even, he said, on occasion, exposed to die and this custom would probably be revived in a period of great hardship.¹ Together with the women and children then, they would be the first to suffer. Nevertheless various causes contributed at this time to render the distress much less than it might otherwise have been. 'The ready absorption of kaffir labour by the Colony' continued the Chief Commissioner in his despatch to Grey, 'has already taken away a very large number of families nor is the supply equal to the demand, many more could be employed further on the public works in British Kaffraria and still more among the German villages and military posts'.¹ Besides the relief thus afforded, markets were established in convenient places where Fingoes and others could bring their produce for sale to the Kaffirs. Those proceeding to the Colony for service were fed from the hour of registration, in order to enable them to reach their destinations, while, as was mentioned above, many farmers, in their eagerness to secure this labour, actually came with wagons to fetch their servants. 'Such few as seemed to require it' were 'not refused charitable aid by the magistrates',¹ who were authorised by the circulars of the 9th and 10th, quoted above, to afford such aid. Then the well known hospitality of the Kaffirs saved many who would otherwise have starved. 'So greatly is this custom of living on their friends recognised in Kaffraria', wrote Maclean 'that their friends cannot of themselves shake them off'.¹ He went on to point out that the indiscriminate benevolence of the missionaries would simply cause further destitution among the actual Native adherents of the mission stations; for their friends would

¹
G.H. 93, sched. 489, enc. 1.

descent upon them in large numbers. He quoted a case in point telling how the comparatively prosperous police at Fort Murray 'were being eaten up by believers who now associated with them'. Since he did not consider these people 'fit recipients of bounty', he ordered them off and, to his surprise, was thanked by the police in a body.¹ Many of the starving had fled to Tembulana and some had even gone as far as the countries of the Amagondos and Basutos.¹

Brownlee's report was of a similar nature; though more than half the tribe were still in the location he could not get the two hundred and fifty men that he could employ on the works, nor did the women and children bring in thatch regularly though they could sell it easily as it was much in demand.²

Captain Robertson commented on the fact that farmers could not get labourers under the usual wages;³ Lieutenant Lucas could hear of no cases of death from starvation among Masoko's people.³ Ayliff and Fielding asserted that Toise's and Jan Tzatzoc's people could readily obtain private or public work, while Captain Reeve attributed the small amount of distress 'even among Kate's people and others',³ to the great emigration. Vigne, the magistrate with Pato, whose people together with those of Umhala had been the earliest to believe in the delusion, had only heard of five deaths as reported to Pato and of six among Stock's followers.³ In Umhala's tribe, said Gawler, distress existed among those who still congregated together and those who still clung to their belief in the prophet.³

'The whole of these officers' said the Chief Commissioner, 'state that neither publicly nor privately have they been informed by any missionary of such scenes of distress as have been alluded to' and he drew the attention of the Governor to the letters enclosed 'from nearly all the missionaries of British Kaffraria, which bear

¹ G.H. 93, sched. 469, enc. 1.

² 1st Report attached to the above.

³ Reports 2 - 6 attached to the above.

out the reports of the magistrates'.¹

Dr Fitzgerald, however, in graphic language painted a gloomy picture telling of human skeletons and other horrors. 'Every day' he said 'parents are presenting their children to me in an emaciated and dying state'.²

Maclean urged that 'any general relief would be neither politic nor true charity. Such would simply assist the chief, encourage the able bodied to live idly without labouring to support their families', and would, if large numbers of children were maintained, lead to the return of their parents as soon as their immediate wants were satisfied. It would further tend to 'teach the already improvident Kaffir to be more improvident still, as he would look to the Europeans as well as his friends to support him in his idleness and distress'. The greatest possible care, he insisted, should be taken in selecting the children to be brought up at mission stations, otherwise their parents would remove them as soon as the famine was over. Any charitable funds raised would be best administered by those missionaries who were well acquainted with the people, or better still by the magistrates, who were more likely to learn the truth, and even in their hands it was obvious that the distribution would need the greatest care.¹

The Kaffir Relief Society established by the people of Kingwilliamstown, was a cause of some irritation to the Kaffrarian officials. Maclean wrote during July informing Stair Douglas, the secretary, that the demand for labour was still greater than the supply, that comparatively few from Unhala's country had entered service, and that some families had actually been found making their way from Kingwilliamstown to his (Maclean's) house in the hope of obtaining supplies that would make it possible for them to live a little longer without seeking employment.³ In August

¹
G.H. 93, sched. 469, enc. 1.

²
Report No. 10 attached to above.

³
G.H. 93, sched. 478, enc. 2.

he wrote more decisively still; 'It appears to me that the members of the Committee are under the impression that the Government have left to private benevolence the duty of relieving the existing distress..... I am firmly of the opinion that it is infinitely better that Government assistance should be administered by the magistrates in their several Districts than that Kingwilliamstown should be made the point of attraction to and the receptacle of all who desire relief, I am unable to recommend that the Committee should be assisted with money or supplies at the public expense.'

John Crouch, 'Mangxna Sana'², the wise trader and sincere friend of Kreli, forwarded a message from that chief in which the latter stated that he had now given up all faith in the prophet, and intended making his people plough and sow. He wished the Government to be informed of his projected move to his father's great place at Butterworth, and he begged for a missionary whom he promised to protect.³ Together with this message the trader sent a private letter of his own giving a gloomy account of the state of affairs beyond the Kei, where, he said, the unfortunate people who had been recalled by the latest prophet were dying of starvation. Between Clarkebury and Butterworth he himself had seen twenty dead bodies.⁴ As a result of this information the Chief Commissioner gave John Crouch authority as agent to collect together as many of Kreli's Kaffirs and others as wished to go into service in the Western districts. Such volunteers were to be sent to East London with food sufficient for the journey, there they would embark for Cape Town.⁵

Crouch spoke further of that inter-tribal warfare which lasted for sometime after the cattle killing and was in part caused by it. 'Many of those' (Galekas) he wrote; 'who go in

¹ G.H. 93, sched. 433, enc. 1.

² wise man, Crouch's Kaffir name.

³ G.H. 93, sched. 474, enc. 6.

⁴ Ditto, enc. 7.

⁵ G.H. 93, sched. 491, enc. 3.

among the Tembus are killed by them, but Fubu, an influential Tembu chief living in the upper part of the Bashee is opposed to this and sides with the Galekas'. Quirana, chief of the lower Podumsi, was engaged in hostilities with the Pondo chief Damas from whose people he had recently taken two hundred head¹ of cattle. He was also at daggers drawn with Joyi.

A spy bringing information from Kreli's country said that Quesha and Fadana together with all the disaffected from Tambookieland and Kreli's country and some of Moira's people, were plundering both from the Tambookies and from the farmers. This movement he described as being in fact, a war between the unbelievers and the believers. One of Fadana's sons attacked six kraals belonging to Quesha's son Darala and swept off all the cattle; Darala followed and fighting ensued. Nonesi and Darala complained with some bitterness that the Government did not help them now that they were attacked. It was, said Maclean's informant, the general impression among the traders in Kreli's country that Kreli was the instigator in this excitement.²

It seems almost incredible that at this point yet another prophet should have arisen beyond the Kei; this was Songo (or Longo), who lived at Tsumbi's kraal in Kreli's country. Fadana and Kreli were said to be the only people who upheld his authority and whenever Fadana made his forays, either into the Colony or against the Tambookies, his warriors went first to Songo 'to be charmed'; the frequent success of these expeditions did much to enhance his reputation.²

Fadana openly declared that he would not die like a dog from starvation, but would take cattle from whomsoever he could, as well from the white men as his own countrymen; if death were to be the consequence it would be better than death from starvation. Brownlee suggested organising an expedition against him and pointed out that Anta might be glad to go and avenge several

¹
G.H.93, sched.474, enc.7.

²
G.H.93, sched.473, enc.5.

robberies. Grey ordered that a combined mounted police and burgher force, under the command of Commandant Currie, should fall upon him suddenly, taking him by surprise. This was done and the rebel horde was completely routed, both the chiefs, (Quesha and Fadana) being captured.¹ Thus fell Fadana, once the devoted adherent of Government, who had been thanked in person by Sir Benjamin D'Urban, for his services, but who had later been deprived of his independence when, by a Government proclamation his lands were brought within the Colonial boundary without his consent.²

The Kaffrarian chiefs were taking their downfall in various ways. Macomo, who was not sober at the time, assaulted his magistrate on being refused a pass and then proceeded to the Colony without one. As he was liable to arrest on a charge of receiving stolen cattle Grey directed that he should be apprehended but only if the evidence was strong.³ Meanwhile Pinkney⁴ reported that Macomo was in prison at Alice, having been found in the Colony together with four followers and a woman, without a pass.⁵ There he remained until his trial at which he pleaded guilty to the charge of having persuaded the other prisoners to steal Tisani's cattle on the occasion on which Tisani was murdered. He was also convicted of receiving at his kraal the cattle and gun, knowing them to have been stolen. He and six others were condemned to transportation for life, while the two who had murdered Tisani received the death sentence. There had been some apprehension among the authorities as to the possible excitement which might be expected to arise from the conviction of this once powerful chief. It is clear that chieftainship as an institution had received a serious blow for Maclean commented on the fact that there was no excitement the

1

G.H. 23, No. 148 of 1857.

2

G.H. 23, No. 136 of 1857.

3

G.H. 23, sched. 486, 8th enc.

4

Lieutenant Colonel of the 73rd Regt.

5

G.H. 23, sched. 486, 5th enc.

6

and each time for a number of months, during the last three years, has panic stalked openly through the land — causing a suspension of all useful and necessary country pursuits and numerous desertions of farms..... Extraordinary as it may appear, it is no less strange than true, that the prospects of every part of the Colony are now more brilliant than they have been for many years past; and the singular feature in the case is that, although judiciousness has characterised the rule of the powers that be, this agreeable state of affairs is almost as much due to what is commonly called 'chance' as to them. On every side now, we see tokens of energy, where formerly was nothing but inertness and inactivity — the effects of a constant and wearying state of alarm. The farmers, who formerly were in constant dread of having their stock swept off, now sit under their own vines and fig tree — none daring to make them afraid.

'To commercial affairs an impetus has been given, which has pointed public attention to the necessity of other modes of conveyance than the cumbrous vehicles which at present grace our roads.....'

The capture of most of the leading figures in the Umhlokazian movement shed some light on the affair, but not much, for though Umhala's seers admitted the fraud practised at the Impongo, Nongause was extremely reticent and Umhlokaza himself, caught in his own toils, died of starvation and so eluded human justice.

STATEMENTS OF THE IMPONGO SEERS.CHAPTER VIII.

The first of the prophetesses to be caught and questioned was the girl Nonkosi from the Impongo. She was examined by Major Gawler and later, on two different occasions by Maclean.¹ The latter described her as a 'Gonah' Kaffir, about nine years of age with strong indications of Hottentot ancestry. 'She seems' he said 'to be sharp and intelligent, and her demeanour is quiet and collected and self possessed, and to use a common phrase, somewhat old fashioned. With the exception of a slight eruption on her hands she seems healthy and of a hearty disposition, nor does she show in her looks or manner any signs of insanity or of one subject, or inclined to be epileptic, or hysterical affection'. He pointed out that, owing to their upbringing, huddled together and early left to take care of themselves, Native children were less dependent and in every way more precocious than children in civilised countries.

From the time that Nonkosi was brought in by Gawler great care was taken that no one except he should question her or show any interest in her, lest she should realise that she was regarded as an important witness.

At her first examination at Tschabo, before Major Gawler, she told a story of how when playing with the other little girls near her father's kraal on the Impongo, she saw a man appear out of the water; this frightened her and she ran home. Next day, however he appeared again and spoke to her; again she was frightened so he approached another girl, but when he found that the latter lived at some distance from the spot he tried Nonkosi once more. Later when she had acquired greater confidence, he showed her cattle in the water, some of which he milked on the bank; then several other men appeared in the

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For Nonkosi's examinations see G.H.94, sched.519, enc.1.

river. He told her to tell Umhala and the other chiefs what she had seen and that he would speak with no one but her. With the help of her companions she built some huts on the river bank in which he sometimes slept. He told her that he had come 'to put the country right', and that he had been to Moshesh and given him some corn, but that half Moshesh's people had been destroyed because they were not quick in believing. The Fingoes were to be destroyed and the British driven to Kingwilliamstown and annihilated there. The new people would come out when Umhala's black ox 'Vanscorwe' was killed. Nonkosi declared that when this ox was killed and still nothing happened, she stopped going.

Under cross examination she stated that the prophet called himself 'Umlangeni', wore a skin kaross and had a sword and sjambok. She saw seven men and three women and among the men were Palo, Hintza, Gaika, Hlambi, Undushani, Queno and of course Umlangeni himself. The cattle stood still in the water putting their heads up and down, the men sat on the water but, with the exception of Umlangeni, none of them ever spoke. When Macinnon, Umhala's son, came to see them a hand was put up above the water and corn dropped from it on to the surface. On another occasion fire came up and burnt the huts on the bank. Once the 'talking' had started Umlangeni would be seen by no one but Nonkosi.

The next examination took place before the Chief Commissioner at Fort Murray; here the story did not differ in essentials but was somewhat fuller. She declared that her father (who, together with her other relatives, had died of starvation,) was a witch doctor in his practice, and was frequently called upon by Umhala. He had, however, not been much called upon until about twenty moons earlier when Umfundisi visited him. After this great numbers of people came constantly and he declared that Nonkosi took after him. Umlangeni's miracles were described as before and Umhala's two messengers Quina and Penana were mentioned; they did not have direct intercourse with Umlangeni but spoke only through

Nonkosi, and this method of procedure was followed by all the visiting chiefs and delegates. Umlangeni's last instructions were that the prophetess was to tell her father that 'he was to put all things straight'.

During the examination Pato arrived unexpectedly and enquired 'who is that little girl?'; she turned on him sharply and told him that he knew her well, whereupon he admitted having visited her father's kraal when on his way to Umhala's some months before.

On the following day she was further cross examined. She now acknowledged that Umlangeni had told her of the fire from the water which destroyed the huts and that she had not herself seen it. She then described how Umlangeni had told her of his country underneath the vlei and of many things there which the Kaffirs did not possess. Suddenly she found herself in this country though she did not know that she had moved. The huts were smooth and round and there were many kraals with much livestock. She came to Umlangeni's kraal where he warned her to eat nothing as one little girl had died from eating in this world. To leave this country she ascended a perpendicular hole being carried by Umlangeni. She saw water spread above this hole and wondered why it did not fall down but Umlangeni explained that it was not really water but a sort of cloth gate to their country. Her legs were, nevertheless, wet, when she reached the edge of the water.

At this point Maclean reminded her that such deceptions as hers had caused the deaths of her parents and relations. He said that if she spoke the truth she had nothing to fear, and that the chiefs admitted that it was all deception. He then ordered her to look at him steadily that he might see by her eyes if she were speaking the truth or not. This time the story did differ in essentials. Umlangeni now turned out to be none other than Umkwitche¹ of Umhala's tribe, who had been

1
or Kwitche or Kwitchi.

mentioned more than once¹ as the messenger most frequently chosen to represent his chief at the various meetings held at Umhlaakaza's kraal across the Kei. He was, moreover, the brother of Nonkosi's mother and it will be noticed that more than once the villain of the piece, quite in the English tradition, turns out to be the 'wicked uncle'.

Nonkosi, it now appeared, believed in the miracles though she herself did not see them. Kwitchie always spoke to her alone and he told her to say she had seen the chiefs mentioned and to describe Hlambi as a short brown faced man, Undushani as having a protruding forehead, Queno as light coloured and Hintza as bent forward. All the chiefs would, he promised, give her money and take care of her, and Umhala, Namba and Sandilli each gave her a shilling at different times.

Kwitchie returned to the Impongo shortly before the death of Nonkosi's parents; he then told her that if she mentioned to any one that he had told her all of which she had spoken, not only he, but she, too, would be strangled; she must not even tell her father.

The four chiefs who visited her were Umhala, Umfundisi, Namba and Sandilli. Kwitchie had told her to say that fire had come out of the water and burnt the huts on the bank though he had actually burnt them. Here the examination ceased 'as all necessary information had been obtained', and Maclean did not want her to invent more from that 'morbid desire of deception and notoriety which so often characterises imposters of her class'. In a 'demi-official' letter to Grey Maclean wrote that he was looking for a steady person to take charge of the girl as far as Cape Town where she was to be sent in the hope that, under proper care, she might turn out a 'very good woman and when removed from this country may disclose more than I have heard from her'. Before this happened, however, she was again examined, this time

¹ See pps. 51, 63, 69.

G.H.108, Maclean to Grey, demi-official, 26th October 1887.

by Sir Henry Barrington, Chairman of the Board of Magistrates.¹ Her story was much the same with a few extra details. Umhala, she said, came often and each time Kwitchie was hidden in the reeds and warned her of who it was. The chiefs never came without first sending messages; thus Kwitchie was given time to make his arrangements. She had begun talking about the time that tilling should have started, this was about a month after Umhala's visit. Umhala told Kwitchie to keep his whereabouts a secret and when the chief, wishing to find out if he had done this, asked Kwitchie's wives where their husband was, they answered that he had gone to Kingwilliamstown. The first time Umhala visited Nonkosi she brought him some news from the hidden Kwitchie, and the second time, when he brought some followers, Kwitchie, from his hiding place threw chaff upon the water, after which Umhala gave the girl a shilling and went away saying nothing. Next morning Quisana came to give notice of a further visit of Umhala; this time he came to complain of Major Gawler at the 'great kraal'. Nonkosi, instructed by Kwitchie, told him to take no notice for the new people would soon come out, after hearing this Umhala departed without comment.

Sandilli only visited the Impongo once. He went to ask if he would get back his old kraal (this probably meant his old home in the Amatolas); he was told to leave his new kraal and to go to the old one, (here the old one presumably meant the kraal which Brownlee had persuaded him to change for one nearer Dohne, where the Gaika Commissioner knew he would be able to bring his influence to bear more easily, this was a recent move).

Namba went three times to know if the talk was true; he was advised to go to Kreli's country if he wished to hear all about it. He took this advice but returned saying he could get no news, Nonkosi could give him no satisfaction as Kwitchie had been sent to Kreli by Umhala and she did not know what to say.

¹ For this examination see G.H.95, sched.32, enc.3.

she therefore told him that the underground people had gone away. When Pato came he received the same answer.

This completed Nonkosi's evidence and there does not seem to be in it any real proof of Umhala's guilt. In fact he seems to have been hoodwinked by Kwitchie. The latter, however, told a somewhat different story and it was mainly on his evidence that Umhala was convicted. Perhaps in both cases Maclean did not remember sufficiently his own dictum that 'a Kaffir will at all times take his tone from his auditor even when it does not benefit himself, but much more will he do so when he expects to benefit thereby'.¹

Kwitchie was captured by Major Gawler at Middle Drift after a long hunt.² He was identified by Nonkosi as the deceiver of the Impongo and was found to be a plausible scoundrel. From the first he testified strongly against his chief Umhala, who, he said 'tried very hard to get me to take his messages to and from the Impongo'. At his first examination, before Gawler, he admitted giving Nonkosi Umhala's message 'to talk away, the sharper the better'. He also tried to gain credence for an attitude supposed to have been taken up by himself towards the chief. He had told the latter, he said, that he was accepting money from Gawler and could not 'play double'. Gawler, who had a short-way with impostors, said sternly that he did not wish to hear of Kwitchie's conscientious scruples, merely why Umhala liked Nonkosi's talk. Kwitchie here showed signs of extreme nervousness and after some hesitation said that Umhala wished to frighten Gawler, whom he hated, and who was preventing his people from killing fast enough. As for Nonkosi, her father Kwiwand was a witch doctor and it was from him that she learnt how to talk. Under cross examination he asked frequently if Nonkosi had 'said it', and 'will you not kill me?' Gawler pointed out that Kwitchie had already been cautioned against lies and was

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G.H.93, sched.469, enc.1.

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For Kwitchie's examinations see H.K.31, correspondence of 16th November 1857, & G.H.93, enc.5 in sched.32.

being given a chance now if he told the truth. He then made the following statement —

'Umhala sent for me one day, I went and found him in his hut, his wife Biggwe was in the hut too, this was just after I had come back with Gwalu and Noawe from Umhlekuzza's, Umhala sent Biggwe out. Umhala said "Go to Nonkosi and tell her she must say that she saw people and cattle, tell her she must say she saw Hintza, Hlambi, Palo, Gaika, Dushani..... But she must not see Lynx. I went first to speak to her father Kulwana, and after that I took Nonkosi down to the river and told her to say all Umhala had told me. I told the names of the chiefs and described to her those I knew, she agreed to say all this and I promised she should be very rich.

'I made a fool of myself in the water before a lot of little girls. Great fires were made to frighten the English. Umhala wished to get rid of Gawler..... Nonkosi said nothing of herself, all that she said was from Umhala through me. Nongause spoke for Kreli as Nonkosi spoke for Umhala.

'The beginning of all this was a message from Kreli to Umhala..... the message was — 'Kill your cattle, Umhala, we will go and fight for the English cattle.' Umfundisi visited Nonkosi and told her to talk sharp and see all things. The object was a war. I believe Kreli wished it. All these chiefs wished it except Kama and Siwani Toise and Siwani (Umhala's son). The cattle killing was got up to deprive the people of property that required so many to look after. The people would go more free to fight, and the English would have nothing to take. It has failed because it was not done quick enough, half were starved before the others had killed. Umhala and I were the only ones in the secret and Umhala used all means to make all kill.....'

At a later examination by Maclean Kwitche repeated his story with some additions. He himself, it now appeared, had often expressed his disbelief in the prophecies; such declarations had led to Umhala's explanation that a war of desperation

was being planned.

The prisoner described how he had walked about among the rushes at the Impongo, holding a pair of horns above his head, bellowing at intervals. Sometimes he would dive, and then, appearing out of the water in different places would shout "We are rising, we are the people who died".

He remarked callously that when alone he could not help laughing at the thought of these deceptions, and often cried out "Are Kaffirs such fools to be thus deceived?" Twice he had gone to Umhlakaza for news but he had never conversed with Nongause in person. He said it was Cwalisa (who had since gone to the Colony) who had impersonated Umlangeni, and helped Kuliwaga and himself to arrange the scene. He declared positively that the object of all this was war with the British and mentioned in support of this belief the private interviews held by Umhala with many chiefs at different times. At these meetings Zicina, a counsellor (he too had since gone into service in the Colony) and Kwitchie himself were the only other people present. These conferences had led to the decision that once the cattle were killed the warriors would be unencumbered and the British would be able to take nothing from them. They were determined to regain the country from which they had been driven. A plan of campaign was worked out, the open country was to be left and the more bushy parts inhabited. The Gaika chiefs led by Sandilli, having met in the Amatolas, would commence operations by plundering the Keiskama Hoek Post. The Hlambi chiefs, headed by Umhala, would occupy Lynx Bush near Fort Pato and proceed to carry off cattle, first from Fort Pato and then on to East London. Kreli, meanwhile, was to enter by way of Queenstown. These plans were frustrated by the unwillingness of a large section of the people to kill; this resulted in the breaking up of whole tribes as starvation did not come upon all simultaneously. Kwitchie himself had been forced to kill by Unfundisi, who had been very anxious for war.

Two months later Kwitchie was brought before Henry Barrington. Here he spoke further of the original news of the movement, brought to Umhala by Sixana; this was public news for which Umhala sent back thanks, instructing his messenger, if Kreli would permit him, to visit Umhlakaza. In addition to the public news a private message was sent to the effect that Kreli had seen his father Hintza, who had given him an assegai with which to kill his cattle. The assegai, of course, was the symbol of war. On receipt of the secret message Umhala sent Kwitchie Noawe and Gwalli to Umhlakaza to see if the reports were true. Kreli's chief messenger to Umhala was Maxambelia, a prominent counsellor.

An important meeting was, according to Kwitchie, held at Umhala's about a month after Gawler had left Pato's great place (i.e. 16th April, 1857); many of Umhala's and Pato's people were present on this occasion and Pato asked what was to happen should the prophecies not be fulfilled. Umhala answered that in that event they would attack the British and take their cattle, but Pato observed pessimistically "An Englishman is like a stone so strong".

The general plan of attack was again mentioned, Maxambelia told Umhala that while Kreli attacked by way of Queenstown Umhala was to take the centre and Pato the coast. Umhala returned thanks for the message and instructions, of which he approved; he suggested an alliance between Kreli and the Tambookies; he then told Pato of Kreli's message. Pato thanked him but expressed his conviction that it was too late and that the people would starve; he supposed, however, that it must be 'all right as the great chief Kreli had sent the message' though he himself did not see how it was to be done. Kreli had, according to Kwitchie, definitely ordered them to go to war, saying "I have already got the assegai of my father in my hand". Umhala forwarded this message to Macomo who enquired why

Kreli ordered them to fight now that they were without cattle, for the Englishman was very strong and had beaten them when they had had far more to eat than they had now.

Kwitchie then stated that he had gone with Umhala to the Impongo valley and had heard the chief tell Nonkosi that 'whether she saw the truth or not she was to go on with it'. She answered that she did see cattle whereupon he enquired what the new people were saying. She approached Kwitchie, who was now in the water and gave the chief his answer 'kill your cattle and ask no more questions', Kwitchie meanwhile splashed about in the water bellowing and shouting "we are coming". This completed Kwitchie's evidence; he begged that it might not be told or the chiefs would kill him. Barrington promised him government protection.

This evidence seems to prove that Umhala was involved in a plot with Kreli, Pato and others to make war on the Colony, it is, however, impossible to say whether or not he believed in the prophecies. Kwitchie's statements on this point are contradictory though he accused his chief of being fully cognizant of the deception; if this accusation was true there seems to have been no sufficient reason for Umhala's solitary visits to Nonkosi or for Kwitchie's acting on these occasions. If Kwitchie's antics really convinced the chief, then the visits of Umhala in the company of other chiefs would have been enough to impress her, but Umhala actually came alone and asked for advice. Then there must always be kept in mind that trait of the Native which leads him to tell his listeners what he thinks they wish to hear, and it must have been clear enough to Kwitchie and indeed to all Umhala's people that the authorities were seeking for evidence which would convict that chief.

While evidence against Umhala was being collected legal advice with regard to the charge of treason and the drafting

of an indictment was sent for from Cape Town,¹ Meanwhile some difficulty was experienced in arresting the chief. He made overtures to Maclean to which the Chief Commissioner replied somewhat shortly 'Unconditional surrender, life spared. J.M.'²

He was at length apprehended by Umguga, a petty chief of the Hlambis. In due course he was charged under the Acts XI and XII Victoria, by which 'if any person compass to deprive the Queen of any of her dominions and countries and express it by an overt act or deed, this is made a felony punishable by transportation for life or less, or imprisonment'³.

On the 23rd October Umhala was found guilty of conspiring to levy war and at the end of the month he was taken, together with Nongause and Nonkosi, to Cape Town, by Major Gawler, on the Sailing Ship Alice Smith.⁴ He served his sentence, of five years transportation, on Robben Island.⁵

Pato and his son Pafa, a notorious thief, had already been sentenced, each to five years transportation, on the charge of receiving stolen goods, knowing these to have been stolen. There had been an alleged informality in the proceedings of the Court that tried them; they were actually found not guilty by this body but the authorities were so convinced of their guilt that the Court was required to reconsider its decision. They

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G.H.94, sched.539, enc.3.

2

B.K.73, Ft. Murray, 1. 4. 1853.

3

or Umguja, or Umjuja.

4

S.A. Commercial Advertiser, 30th October, 1853.

5

The Attorney General (who believed that Umhala had been the dupe of Kwitchie and Nonkosi,) took exception to the wording of of the indictment and suggested that an unprejudiced court, unfamiliar with the history of the movement, would probably have come to a different conclusion with regard to the chiefs' guilt. See G.H.97, sched 129, 3th enc.
1853

Grey disagreed with this view, stressing the evidence of Umhala's wife, who described visiting the veld with her husband when Nonkosi showed him the method employed by Kwitchie and herself in deceiving the believers. See G.H.97, sched.129, 7th enc. Grey granted Umhala a free pardon for the first crime of which he was found guilty, that of receiving stolen goods, knowing them to have been stolen.

were thereupon found guilty.¹ This remarkable procedure was defended by Grey on the ground of the exceptional difficulty found in organising satisfactory Courts of Justice in British Kaffraria.¹ Nevertheless it undoubtedly influenced him in his treatment of Pato, who served his sentence in the Hospital at Cape Town, receiving meanwhile his salary of sixty pounds a year, less twenty pounds which was drawn by his principal wife.¹

Thus the rebel chiefs disappeared for a time from British Kaffraria.

¹
G.H.95, sched 34 of 1853.

There are three other confessions or statements to be considered, those of Nombanda and her brother Ungula, and finally, that of Nongause. The first two were captured by that same Umgugu who had handed over Umhala to the Government. He was the petty chief who had fled from Kreli's country to Major Gawler, and who, though the son of Lynx had no hereditary interest in the occult and disbelieved the prophecies, though Theal, surprisingly, describes him as fully expecting his father to reappear sooner or later.¹ Umgugu told how while on an expedition sent by Gawler to capture Nongause, he had found Nombanda and her brother asleep in a hut about one and a half miles from Umhlakaza's kraal. He had recognised the girl as one of Umhlakaza's prophetesses, one as well liked as Nongause and frequently even preferred to her. There was one man with the group in the hut and Umgugu immediately recognised Ungula, Umhlakaza's messenger to and from the chiefs. These two were taken captive and brought to Major Gawler's headquarters. They said that Umhlakaza was dead and that Xito, mentioned earlier as Kreli's brother and Umhlakaza's (unbelieving) chief, had taken Nongause with him to the Bashee.²

Umgugu described two interviews he had had with Nombanda during the killing. She had told him that the new people were much put out by his arrival; this he attributed to the fact that the Kaffirs believed that the son of Lynx would be able to detect any deception. Nombanda, who always took a long time answering questions, told him that the prophecies would be fulfilled when Xito came.

Nombanda stated that she lived near the sea beyond the Kei and that she had been the companion of Nongause who had been the

¹ Theal — Hist. of S.Af. since 1795, vol.3. p.213.

² G.H.95, sched.30, enc.3.

³ For the examinations of both Nombanda and Ungula see enc. referred to in note 2.

principal speaker. She had often accompanied Nongause to a certain bush where she spoke with people but although she frequently said that she saw people and heard them speak, she had not really done so until after she had constantly visited the place. At last she had seen a number of men among the bushes and heard them speak; they resembled Kaffirs in appearance and spoke the same language. She denied ever having had private interviews with the chiefs as she declared Umhlakaza had done. Kreli, according to her evidence, had been a frequent visitor at Umhlakaza's even before Nongause began talking and after she gave the order to destroy the cattle he was the first chief to visit her. When he and Xito came they always stayed for some days and Nongause spoke most when they were there.

Ungula stated that he was married to Umhlakaza's sister, that he knew Umhlakaza's niece who was at present at the Bashee with Xito, her chief. He had, he declared, been sent as the prophet's messenger on one occasion only, that was to Umzabella, a petty chief under Xito. He was sent to ask what news the prophet could give the crowds of people who assembled at his kraal; Umzabella said in reply that he could give no answer as he knew nothing about the news.

Nongause was handed over to Gawler by Morry to whom she had gone after the killing. On the 9th April she was examined at Fort Murray before the Chief Commissioner, who described her as an intelligent girl, apparently between fifteen and sixteen years of age, who gave her evidence freely. Her first statement will be quoted in full, but unfortunately, like most of these statements it is given in the despatch as a monologue with the questions obviously put by the interpreter, omitted.¹ It is this fact that makes it impossible to come to any definite conclusion respecting the value of the evidence for a suggestive question

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For this examination of Nongause see Appendix 1. to Votes & Proceedings of Parl. 1868, p. 97.

very often provides its own answer.

'My name' is Nongause... Umhlakaza was my uncle and a counsellor of Xito, a petty chief. My father's name was Umhlania of Kreli's tribe. He died when I was very young. I lived with Umhlakaza, he lived at the Xara on the Kei, near the sea, Umhlakaza is dead, he died about six moons ago of starvation. Umhlakaza's son and elder brother, and my brother lived at the same kraal. After Umhlakaza's death we went and lived with the Amabomvana, across the Bashee, near Morny's¹ kraal. We originally intended crossing the Umtata, but remained at this kraal near Morny. Umhlakaza had many cattle before the talk about the new people. This talking commenced about seven sowing seasons back (two and a half years). It commenced after my having reported to Umhlakaza that I had seen about ten strange Kaffirs in the gardens, and I told him I was afraid to go there. The people I saw were Kaffirs, young men. I was afraid of them because I did not know them. Umhlakaza told me not to be afraid of them as they would do me no harm, he told me to speak to them and ask them what they were doing there. I did so. They replied "We are people who have come to order you to kill your cattle, to consume your corn and not to cultivate any more". Umhlakaza asked them through me "What are we to eat when we kill our cattle etc.?" They answered "We will find you something to eat." The people then said that was enough for that day; they would return some other day. We asked them who sent them, they answered "we have come of our own accord, as we wish everything in the country to be made new." They said they had come from a place of refuge (engoba). I asked them where this place of refuge was. They said "You would not know if we even told you." I always pressed them to tell me where this place of refuge was, but they gave me the same answer. The next day Umhlakaza killed

1
or Morny.

one head of cattle. He then called a meeting of the people and told them that strangers had come to tell them to kill their cattle, to destroy their corn, and that great plenty would be provided for them hereafter. The people dispersed, and from that day they commenced killing their cattle &c. and Umhlakaza commenced killing his cattle, one a day. The people killed more cattle than they could use. The dogs and wild beasts ate the carcasses. About four days after we saw the strange Kaffirs, three men came. We first heard of their arrival by an old woman, who told Umhlakaza that the people from the place of refuge had arrived. Umhlakaza took me with him to speak to them. I asked them for the news. They answered "We do not know what news you expect, our only news is to tell you to kill your cattle, consume your corn, and plenty will be provided for you". They left the same day. In five days after two men came. I recognised them as two of the men who had come before. They said "Our great chief has sent us to tell you Umhlakaza, that all the people must kill their cattle &c., as he wishes to change the country and that you must communicate this to Kreli and all the Kaffir chiefs". Umhlakaza told me to ask them who their great chief was. They said they would not name him for if they did we would not know him, having never seen him or heard of him. They soon after left us. Umhlakaza then went to Xoti (Kreli's uncle,) who is chief of the Galekas in the lower country between the Bashee and the Kei, and told him the news. Xito¹ instructed Umhlakaza to spread the news, which he did. After Umhlakaza returned from visiting Xito's and other kraais, the three men came again. I heard Umhlakaza tell these men what he had told Xito, and that he had spread the news over the country. They answered him that he had done right. These men then said, "You must all be quick in killing your cattle, as in seven

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This seems to be a mistake in the copying, Xito was the brother of Kreli and a prominent unbeliever, see pp 62, 64 &c. Xoti, to whom Nongause was probably referring throughout the

days 'the people will rise". I asked them what people? They replied "The same people as ourselves, and they will rise at the different kraals;" that they would have cattle, guns and assegais; and that they would drive the English out of the country, and make them run into the sea. Within seven days Umhlokaza killed all his cattle, and the killing of cattle throughout the country became general. Krell, Xito, Ungubu (Krell's cousin), and Lindixowa frequently visited Umhlokaza, and had private meetings with him. These meetings were quite confidential and secret. There was no one present. I was not there. The following chiefs also visited Umhlokaza :— Pama, Dundashe, Zino, Umgwebi and Sigidi, Galekas, also Dilima (Pato's son), Gabimcola, Sanulili, Macomo, Pato, Qasana, and Xoxo, Gaika and T'Siambi chiefs, and many whose names I did not know. They came attended by counsellors and many people. Krell's counsellors supplied cattle to feed the chiefs and people at these meetings. The chiefs always slept several nights at Umhlokaza's kraal. They used to have secret meetings with Umhlokaza at which I was not allowed to be present, and so I do not know what passed between them and Umhlokaza. Shortly after the expiration of the seven days, I saw the men who stated they had come from the place of refuge. They came with Krell. I told them that Umhlokaza had killed all his cattle, but they made no reply. Some time after this a petty chief, Lindixowa, came direct from Krell and told Umhlokaza that, though he (Umhlokaza) had killed his cattle he was to remain where he was. Umhlokaza remained ten days after this, and then moved down towards the sea, for the purpose of living on roots and shell fish — When we were starving I often heard Umhlokaza regret his having killed his cattle and destroyed his corn. That he never thought he would be so reduced or come to such misery. I have often heard him blame Krell as the sole cause of the cattle killing, which was

¹ or Xoti, see note 1. p.108.

² An alternative form of 'Hiambis'.

done for the purpose of leading the Kaffirs to war, and driving the English out of the country. I heard Xito and Pama say that the killing of cattle was to force the Kaffirs to war with the English'.

To this statement Maclean added a note to the effect that, when questioned as to whether she had heard any others than Umhlakaza, Xito and Pama speak of war, she replied as follows:—

"The three men that stated they came from the place of refuge said they intended fighting with the English and driving them out of the country. I also recollect when Kreli paid his first visit to Umhlakaza, after the killing of the cattle commenced, he, Kreli, told me, in Xito's presence, to tell the strange people that the English were in his way, and that these people must assist him to fight against the English and drive them out of the country. I delivered Kreli's message to these men; they answered 'Yes we will assist Kreli to fight against the English and drive them out of the country.' I went to Kreli who was sitting near at hand, and gave him their answer. Kreli replied 'I am glad' and called out in a voice sufficiently loud to be heard by the three men, 'I thank you my friends, I have been at a loss to know what to do with the English, as they have been stronger than the Kaffirs; you have come to strengthen us'. Xito was present upon this occasion, also a great many counsellors. I heard Kreli on several other occasions express his thanks in the same manner whenever he asked these people to assist him; and he also told them to be sure to keep their promise". Nongause admitted having heard Umhlakaza speak of Nonkosi, but said she had never seen her.

On receipt of this account Grey asked whether any information could be obtained from this girl as to who the three men were who had given her the messages, or if she was telling a story in this respect, or whether she only pretended to have conversed with them and was really telling tales which others had ordered

her to repeat'.¹

The prophetess was therefore re-examined before Gawler on the 22nd April, and then cross examined by the Chief Commissioner. She made the following statement:²— "The first time I saw the strange people on my informing Umhlakaza, he expressed no surprise but merely told me not to be frightened to go to the gardens as usual, and also to speak to these new people. This went on for ten days, but I never ventured to speak to them. At the end of these ten days Dhlimbola, who I think is a Kaffir of Bolcor's tribe, came with his two sons from the Great Place at Butterworth and told Umhlakaza that he must pay attention to these new people and hear what they had to say; Umhlakaza refused. Dhlimbola then took me and Pemporre's wife into the garden to the three men and told us to talk to them. The men said they had come to put the country to rights, &c., &c. After the conversation Dhlimbola took us back and said to Umhlakaza that he must send the news to the chiefs. Umhlakaza refused, saying he wished to be a non-killer. Dhlimbola said 'If you do not do as I tell you the chiefs will eat you up.'

Dhlimbola then left and went all over the country telling the news, after which the chiefs flocked in from all directions to ask Umhlakaza and me about it. I do not know what these people lived on, but I have seen them about our huts after dark".

Under cross examination Nongause admitted² that she saw the men often but had no idea where they came from. She had spoken to them herself and Nombanda was sent for to bear witness to what she said, Nombanda did not talk until Nongause became ill. At first Nombanda could neither see the people nor hear them talk. Maclean on hearing this cautioned her against lying, whereupon she explained that 'she meant that Nombanda, although

1

G.H.96, Grey's note to sched.53 of the 12th April, 1858.

2

G.H.96, sched.69, enc.2.

It is difficult to estimate the value of Nongause's evidence. She seems to have been duped and yet to have realised that war was being planned. She made the most of Krell's guilt while showing her uncle, Umhlakaza, in a more favourable light. Unless, as has been suggested in a foot note, Xoti should be read for Xito in her statements, Xito was deeply involved in the affair, whereas all other evidence goes to show that he was a firm unbeliever who had openly sent his cattle to a mission station for protection.¹ His refusal to kill or to express belief in the new people had been a standing grievance to the believers.²

A careful consideration of all these confessions leads to no very definite conclusion, but the general impression is given that, though the chief actors were planning war, they nevertheless did believe, to a certain extent, in the prophecies. Grey and Maclean were convinced that the 'new people' were really the Basutos and this, originally, may have been the case; but as time went on and the leaders began to deceive each other, it is probable that no prominent believer in Kaffirland knew certainly whether or not there was anything in it. Only in this way can the inactivity of the chiefs at the critical time be explained. By December 1857, and even earlier, it must have been clear to everyone that unanimity with regard to the killing could never be reached and that the moment had come at which to strike.

For several months before Umhala finally came under the ban of the law his magistrate had constant trouble with him. At length, in order to safeguard their property, Major Gawler moved with a party of Umagogotya to a safer spot in the vicinity of Berlin. He took with him five petty chieftains,³

¹ See supra p.64.

² See supra pp.51,62 &c.

³ Each receiving a salary of 25 per mensem.

with their followers. Besides these he raised a force of sixty one men to form a body of police to patrol the new line.¹

By the beginning of 1858 the land between the Kei and the Bashee was almost entirely destitute of inhabitants. The Galekas had either trekked northwards into the Amabomvana country, between the Bashee and the Umtata, or farther, or they had accepted the Government's offer and crossed into the Colony as indentured labourers.

The question now arose as what use was to be made of this territory. There were rumours of the return thither of knots of thieving Natives and this forced Grey to an immediate consideration of the future of this stretch of country, which lay so near the border. He therefore organised 'a series of rapid operations which would effectually discomfort the Kaffirs who had begun to collect again in thieving parties'.²

Commandant Currie was sent with a force to expel Krelli³ across the Bashee, and it was decided that Major Gawler, with a force of mounted and foot soldiers, should lead the unbelieving remnants of Umhala's tribe into Krelli's old country, where they would be allowed to settle. On the 19th February Gawler called a meeting of chiefs and counsellors and told them of the Governor's offer.⁴ They were extremely doubtful and many refused to go;⁵ it transpired later that a trap was feared, for rumours had been in circulation to the effect that Kaffirs were to be lured to the coast and then transhipped to India to fight in the Mutiny.

On the same day, however, Gawler started off with the consenting tribesmen and a force of fifty mounted and two hundred and fifty unmounted Native police. On the 22nd he

1
G.H.92, sched.431, enc.3.

2
G.H.25, No.9 of 1858, p.225.

3
B.K.79, Currie to Maclean, 1. 3. 1858.

4
Minutes of Meeting at Tshabo - B.K.81, 19. 2. 1858.

5
B.K.81, Gawler to Maclean, Kingwilliamstown, 29. 8. 1858.

crossed the Kei and held another meeting of the chiefs at which there were present Smith, Sigitl, Stocque, Burungwa, Mantowlie and others. He promised that, if after they had settled in their new homes they should meet with resistance, the Governor would send police from Queenstown and Clarkebury to clear the whole country. The chiefs were delighted and rode about selecting sites for their locations. Smith chose the Idutya, Sigitl the Xexle, and the Fingoes a place lower down on the Nbara.¹

On the 24th February Gawler crossed the Qora at its mouth and the next day halted within three miles of the Ebb and Flow drift of the Bashee, where he stopped a large number of people who, with their cattle, were making for the Manubi forest. On the 26th he met Commandant Currie and his men who had come down the Bashee. The country was practically deserted but a few people were found at the Qora mouth; these were told that they might either join Gawler's party or cross the Kei, all chose the former alternative.²

On the 1st March Currie reported the expulsion of Kreli across the Bashee,³ and Gawler made the camp on the Xnabara his headquarters in order firstly, to await information concerning Kreli's movements, and secondly, to come to a definite understanding with Morry the Amabomvana chief who ruled between the Bashee and the Umtata. The latter chief proved amenable to the Governmental advances and sent expeditions over his country to collect Galexa property. Then they had gathered up thirty four head of cattle and three horses, he sent these to Gawler as compensation for Galexa robberies, and it was he who sent in the prophetess Mngause.⁴

From his base on the Xnabara Gawler made expeditions into the surrounding country and prevented the few remaining

¹ B.K. 81, Gawler to Maclean, 22. 2. 1858.

² B.K. 73, Gawler to Maclean, 26. 2. 1858.

³ B.K. 73, Currie to Maclean, 17. 3. 1858.

⁴ B.K. 73, Gawler to Maclean, 7. 3. 1858.

inhabitants from forming small colonies therein.¹ On the 17th March he reached Clarkebury² and on the 31st he returned to Butterworth to collect the rest of his people and remove them to their new country which was within eighteen miles of Clarkebury. He reported that the chiefs and men were delighted with the country and grateful for the gift.³ Maclean, realising the importance of showing that Major Gawler was well supported, arranged that the Hottentot levy was to continue under his orders and that Commandant Currie should remain in occupation of Krel's country. He further agreed to the organisation of more regular communications between himself and Major Gawler and promised that any supplies the latter might need would be forwarded under Native escort.⁴

In July Grey was able to report to the Colonial Secretary that 'the tribes of Kaffirs which I had removed beyond the Kei with a view to our protection against Krel, and with the further object of rendering somewhat more equal the proportion between the European and Native populations of Kaffraria, have also settled down in regular villages laid out upon European models, with abundance of arable land in their vicinity, that the people there are perfectly contented and happy whilst that district, so long a source of terror and trouble to us, is in a state of perfect tranquility.'⁵

The majority of people in the Colony had, apparently, little knowledge of what was taking place beyond the Kei, and the Cape Monitor reported that on the Frontier 'the old spirit of uneasiness is once more beginning to prevail, a very considerable contingent of Mounted police are still retained on secret or unknown service on the banks of the Bashee..... It is high time that the country should now be informed somewhat of

¹ E.H.73, Gawler to Maclean, 7. 3. 1853.

² Ditto, 17. 3. 1853.

³ Ditto, 31. 3. 1853.

⁴ G.H.95, sched.46, Maclean to Travers, 22. 3. 1853.

⁵ G.H.25, No.134 of 1853, p.430.

His Excellency's policy with regard to the conquered territory beyond the Kei. Is this to be appropriated and colonised on the plan proposed in the opening speech to Parliament in March last?'¹

In October Gawler left the settlement he had established so successfully, in order to proceed to India with his regiment (the 73rd.) and Grey paid him the following tribute in his report to the Colonial Secretary. 'For any success' he wrote 'which may have attended my exertions here, I am quite as much indebted to Major Gawler as to any other officer in this country. He has on various occasions displayed great courage and judgement, and has encountered for long periods of time together no ordinary amount of personal danger and fatigue'.²

¹ Cape Monitor, 30th October, 1853.

² G.H. 25, No. 176, of 1853, p. 472.

The belief in the collusion between Krelil and Moshesh, prevalent during and after the cattle killing and still general to-day, is worth some consideration.

The case against this belief may be briefly stated. The Government never received any conclusive evidence of messages between Moshesh and Krelil; the reports which reached them were usually those of 'trustworthy Natives' from beyond the Kei or elsewhere; but the evidence of these spies proved, in ninety nine cases out of a hundred, so utterly worthless, that it is illogical to single out this one section for belief. Krelil did not go to Moshesh for succour when he was driven across the Bashee, nor did he send his women folk to Basuto-land.

Sir Godfrey Lagden, in his work on the Basutos, would attribute to Moshesh no sinister designs on the Colony, though he admits the possibility of the exchange of messages. 'That messengers frequently passed' he says, 'between him and the other leading chiefs was no doubt as true as it was rational, seeing that all the tribes were now becoming associated in blood ties by the interchange of girls in marriage; apart from that, too, there is nothing illogical in the idea that a common sense of protection prompted tribal combinations. The whole of the Basuto chief's career so far discredits the notion that at any time he harboured sinister designs against Europeans, many of whom enjoyed his respect and protection'.

Later in the same work he suggests that Moshesh may have used a pretence of sympathy with Krelil's plots to divert attention from himself. 'The Basuto Chief' he points out 'not unnaturally felt himself rather isolated at this time. He was under suspicion of the High Commissioner for intriguing with rebellious Kaffraria, evidence of which, according to the

1
 'The Basutos' by Sir Godfrey Lagden, (1909) vol.1. p.190.

Chief Commissioner there, was so clear from intercepted messages as to leave no doubt of his complicity. He was mis-trusted by the Orange Free State and used by Pretorius only as a tool for his own purposes. A great combination of whites lay against him; and, if he did hold questionable converse with others who might divert attention from him, he only did what civilised nations have often done under the same circumstances, though not in the form that semi-barbarians adopt. We cannot disregard the view that his secret manouvres may have encouraged the Cape Colonial rebels to believe he was in sympathy with them; yet we cannot prove that he had any intention of joining them in their murderous outbreak, or doing more than rejoice¹ at diversions in a time of peril'.

It is worth noting that he speaks of 'intercepted messages'; the difficulty is, however, that these messages never were intercepted, only reported afterwards. A brief consideration of the embassies supposed to have passed, at different times, between Moshesh and Krelli, will show the paucity of real evidence as to their existence.

The most conclusive evidence of communication between the two chiefs is probably the statement of Maclean that he heard of the Battle of Berea from Kaffirs two days before the news reached him by mounted express from the camp. This might however, be equally well regarded merely as an example of the amazing swiftness with which news travels through Kaffirland. Brownlee stated unequivocally, 'Immediately after the engagement at Berea, Moshesh sent a deputation to Krelli, to inform him that he had conquered the English; and the war with the Kaffirs not having been brought to a close, Krelli fully expected succour from Moshesh. After the conclusion of the war Krelli twice sent messages to Moshesh. On one occasion the sons of Gocini were sent, and on another, Cata, the son of Keai, was Krelli's messenger'. Mr Brownlee, unfortunately gave no

¹ The Basutos - Lagden - vol. 1. p. 228.

² Annexure 1. to G.H. 22, sched. 417, letter No. 225.

indication of how he acquired this information.¹

Mr B.M. Shaw received information from the Tambookie chiefs Joyi and Umgangeni with regard to the capture by the Tembu chief Fadana, of one member of a party returning from Moshesh's country carrying medicine with which to render Kaffir warriors invulnerable. The messenger confessed the purpose of the expedition, and that he had been sent by Xoxo, a brother of Kreli. This is the only instance in which the message may be said to have been intercepted and here the information was provided at second hand; further, the message was not even supposed to have been sent by the Galeka chief himself, but by his brother.²

On April 14th 1856 Sir James Jackson received information from a Native to the effect that it was the intention of 'the people over the river' (the Basutos) to join with Sandilli, and that messengers from Moshesh were actually in Sandilli's country.³ Another trustworthy Native told Maclean on the 8th November, of news that he had gleaned from a Fingoe who had been at Faku's five months before. While he, the Fingoe, had been there, Kreli had received two messages, brought by Matomela, son of Gokwini, in each of which Kreli asked Moshesh to make room for the Galekas in his country so that Moshesh could help him (Kreli) against the white Government. Moshesh replied that he had no land to give away, and that even if he had such land, he would not give it to a thieving people like the Kaffirs who would be constantly thieving from Moshesh's people and involving him in disputes and unpleasantness.⁴ Two months later the same man stated that a Tambookie living on the Orange River said that no messengers had ever been sent by Moshesh to Kreli, but that Kreli had frequently sent to Moshesh asking for land, which request Moshesh invariably refused.

¹ Annexure 1. to G.H.92, sched.417, letter 295.

² " 3 to ditto.

³ " 7 " "

⁴ " 8 " "

On the 25th August 1856, a European trader told Maclean that twenty mounted men from the Basuto country had recently arrived at Kreli's great place. On another occasion the same man stated that about September 1856, twenty three horses were sent down by Moshesh as presents to some of the Bashee Tembu chiefs. 'Of this having occurred', wrote Maclean, 'the trader is positive, saying he knows and could describe some of the horses'.¹

One of Kreli's counsellors supplied information to Maclean on the 26th October 1856, that about six weeks earlier Matomela, son of Gokwini, went to Moshesh from Kreli to bring news of Umhlakaza's prophecies. About three weeks later Matomela returned with Moshesh's reply.²

Mr Austin, the Superintendent of the Native Reserve at Wittebergen, wrote on the 28th October that one of the pardoned rebels, living at the Hottentot camp under Hermanus, had met strange men who had declared themselves to be special messengers sent by Moshesh to Kaffirland.³

Carolus Uithlathla, a Fingoe, residing in the Wittebergen Native Reserve, stated under oath that he had spoken to two of Kreli's messengers to Mr Shepstone and that they had told him that they had left six Basutos at Kreli's kraal whither they had come to see if Umhlakaza spoke the truth.⁴

Another trustworthy Native, who described himself as being in Kreli's confidence, told the Chief Commissioner on the 3th December (1856) that, about two weeks earlier, Matomela, son of Gokwini, was again sent by Kreli with a message to Moshesh. The message was supposed to be a request from Kreli for a place near Moshesh in order that the two chiefs might set up a combination against the white people; the messenger had not yet returned but was daily expected.⁵

¹ Annexure 9 to Letter 223.

² " 10 " " "

³ " 12 " " "

⁴ " 12a " " "

Major Gawler reported on December 26th, that he had received information that Kreli had heard from Moshesh that his (Moshesh's) cattle had been given out, and that Kreli must go and get his from Umhlakaza. A few days later he wrote again saying that messengers had arrived at Umhala's from Sandilli, with the following message which had come from Kreli;—

"Moshesh sends to Kreli — 'My new people and cattle have been given out, are you ready? On the return of this messenger I will move down and join you.' Kreli answers 'I am ready' and forwards this news to Sandilli, Macomo and Umhala".¹ A week later Brownlee sent in a similar report regarding the supposed presentation of the new cattle to Moshesh's people.²

The same trustworthy Native who had described himself as being in Kreli's confidence, told Maclean on the 14th January 1857, that on one occasion, at a meeting at Butterworth, Kreli had refused to remain until the full moon, notwithstanding the urging of the minor Galeka chiefs. Upon being pressed to stay he gave as the reason for his hurried departure the fact that messengers were awaiting him at his great place.³

A person from beyond the Kei reported on the 26th December 1856, the presence at her father's kraal, on a visit, of the daughter of Twanga (an unbeliever living about five miles from the Kei). She had married one of Moshesh's people, and had come down, with about ten followers to visit her parents. She stated that Moshesh's army was already out and asked her father why he was so foolish as to disobey. This immediately resulted in the renewal of killing in her neighbourhood.

There seems to have been a general unanimity of opinion as to the identity of Kreli's chosen messenger to Moshesh, for the name of Matonela, son of Gokwini, is constantly mentioned.

A review of the evidence does not, then, show any conclusive

1
Annexure 17 to Letter 293.

2 " 16 " " "

3 " " " " "

4 " " " " "

proof of an alliance or compact between Moshesh and Krell; there are, however, some suspicious circumstances which seem to point to that conclusion.

When Grey accused Moshesh of plotting with Krell and of encouraging him in the cattle killing Moshesh denied that there was any truth whatsoever in the report.¹ Krell, he stated, was his enemy, having killed his brother in war, and they had had no intercourse for more than three years. Brownlee described this statement as entirely untrue, there had been, he said, no war between Moshesh and Krell and there was no such enmity between them.²

The strongest evidence for collusion is to be found in the remarkable similarity between the fluctuations in the excitement and enthusiasm for killing and the changes in the relations between the Orange Free State and Moshesh. These have been mentioned from time to time in the narrative and will be briefly recapitulated here.

The excitement in Kaffirland increased until early in August (1856); after about the 20th of that month, however, there was a lull which lasted until September, when Krell took up the killing with renewed enthusiasm. It has been remarked that this lull was exactly coincident with the receipt by Moshesh of Grey's letter of the 27th July, in which the Governor had spoken of possible changes in circumstances which might alter the relations between neighbouring states, and of the responsibility of any person who should plunge any part of South Africa into the miseries of war. It was coincident, too, with the successful termination of an expedition sent from the Orange Free State against Witsie, and with the time of grace given to Moshesh by the Free State for the settlement of the questions in the

1
Supra p.43.

2
G.H.90, Annex.1. to Letter 293.

3
Supra p.37.

dispute between them. This time was up in September and it was then that the excitement began to rise again in Kaffraria.

Maclean expressed his belief that, had the delusion been genuinely fanatical, the chiefs would have been unable to work up the excitement of their people after so many 'days of fulfilment' had passed by uneventfully.¹

It has been noted above² that a deputation to Moshesh had given him until full moon (the 10th) of December, 1856, to settle finally all claims for compensation, and that some at least of the Free State residents expected that war would break out at that time. It is then, possibly significant, that the 10th should have been one of the days fixed on by the prophet as 'the day'. War did not break out between Moshesh and the Free State, and in Kaffirland there was a partial lull in the excitement after that date. From the close of December the excitement seems to have been deliberately encouraged until the middle of February when the day appointed again failed to bring forth the expected miracles. About the same time the cattle provided by Moshesh (for compensation) were provisionally accepted by the Orange Free State and the cattle killing gradually died away with no rebellious outbreak.

While this parallelism in the events of the two districts can hardly be ignored it must not be pressed too far and the point must be emphasised, that although Moshesh was the greatest of the chiefs, the one who claimed that he had never been defeated, Krelli, too, was great in his country and was not the man to sacrifice his people and lose his home at the pleasure of a remote neighbour living several hundred miles away.

There remain various possible explanations. Krelli may have meant to make use of Moshesh when he had rid his people of the

¹ G.H. 92, sched. 417, Letter 293.

² Supra - p. 53.

incubus of property, and Moshesh may have proved too clever for him. It seems certain that Krell was awaiting some event; this may have been the outbreak of hostilities between the Free State and the Basutos, or it may have been an attack on himself by the Government. Whatever it was he obviously waited too long. There must not be overlooked the possibility of his belief in the prophet; though, on the face of it this seems unlikely, it provides the only reasonable explanation of his inactivity in organising his people and his failure to make any sort of attack on the Colony.

An incident in the life of John Crouch is of interest in a consideration of Krell's part in the affair. The quotation is taken from the statement of Mary Jane Harwich (born Crouch).¹

'My father was John Crouch who after the 1851 war opened a store at Butterworth on the western side as you enter the village..... Having for many years previously trekked across the Kei on trading expeditions from Kingwilliamstown he was well acquainted with u-Sarili² whose one confidential European friend and adviser he became and remained until his death. His Kaffir name was Mangxna Sana (Wise man) but sometimes the Natives called him Mta Ka Kilawutsche (Son of Crouch) or Nyxwala Ka Kilawutoche (lame son of Crouch).....

'In 1856 I was a girl of twelve years old. A couple of months before we heard anything of Nongause's visions (which could not have started earlier as all current news was a matter for discussion at the shop among the customers) I was sitting late one evening in a darkened room with my father. A Native crawled in upon his stomach thinking that my father was alone and that the family had gone to bed. The room was so dark that I do not know whether he saw me. Only my father and I were there.

'This Native had been sent by u-Sarili with a message to my father

¹ This statement, signed and witnessed, is in the possession of the writer.

² or Krell.

has admitted that there was a plot. All assert that the cattle killing was made in full belief in the predictions of Umhlekaza. But it was said that when Umhlekaza was dying, he accused Kroll of having led him to make these predictions with a view to the destruction of the white men. This, however, has not been sufficiently substantiated so as to enable me to come to the conclusion that there was a plot. It seems hardly likely that a matter which must have been known to so many persons could after thirty years be still buried in mystery'.¹

The reasons given by Brownlee for his doubts are, perhaps, inadequate, and it must not be forgotten that they were expressed thirty years after the events. Nevertheless, as one of the chief officials who had to cope with the delusion, his opinion is of importance. There seems to be little ground for the idea, mentioned by Mrs Brownlee, that Nongause may have been a ventriloquist.²

The elderly Natives who to-day inhabit the slopes where Nongause once prophesied, and who were children at the time, assert that the girl was, indubitably mad and the people crazed. If they can avoid it they prefer not to mention the affair at all, the thought of it is far too unpleasant. It has, however, left its trace on the language and a year of drought and disease is still called in Kaffirland a 'Nongause year'.

¹ Brownlee - Reminiscences of Kaffir Life and History - p.135.
² Ditto, p.135.

RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS.CHAPTER XII.

The cattle killing, described by Theal as the 'National suicide of the Xosa nation', was the immediate cause of the exodus of immense numbers of Natives from Kaffraria into the Colony. This influx of a humbled and starving nation opened up a new chapter in the economic history of South Africa.

Before 1857 lack of labour had been one of the most serious problems to be faced by the farmer. Some Fingoes and a few other Kaffirs entered the Colony every year, but the demand was always very much in excess of the supply. Attempts to remedy this defect by the introduction of immigrants from overseas all failed, for as soon as white men set foot in the country they became eager to acquire land of their own, and they found it fairly easy to do this.

George Dacre, the military chaplain at Keiskama Hoek, wrote at the beginning of 1856 of the 'want of labour and desertion of servants so much complained of'.¹ Though he believed that this was partly due to the 'natural indolence of the Natives which led them to shrink from continuous labour', the colonists themselves were not free from blame; he went on to deplore 'the unwillingness of the colonists to pay a fair amount of wages to a black man (the result perhaps of the old slave system, which led them to regard the Native as a mere beast whom they were to catch and work) together with the too often defrauding the Native of his due.'¹

The Kaffir labourers who entered the Colony were usually the young unmarried men of the tribe, those between seventeen and twenty five years of age. They had no ties in the Colony and would return to the kraal when they were tired of working. Various efforts had been made to encourage them in regular habits of industry and the organisation of a Native Civil Police force for the purpose of following up the spoor of stolen

¹
G.H. 39, sched. 259, enc. 2.

cattle and horses had proved successful. This force consisted of thirty men and they remained conspicuously loyal. Less successful was Grey's Public Works scheme, and the unfortunate officials in charge of the working parties seldom knew, from day to day, whether they would have no workmen at all or (this happened more rarely), a larger number than they could cope with.

By the middle of 1856 it had become apparent that the approaching famine must, before long, lead thousands of starving Natives to seek work in the Colony and Grey took early steps to organise the movement so that there should be no sudden influx across the frontier of such a nature as to cause alarm and anxiety on the border.

The magistrates with the different chiefs kept registers of all Kaffirs applying for work in the Colony and in November (1856) a circular was issued directing these officials to 'forward monthly, to the central office, a nominal return of all Natives who have applied.....to be registered during the month', and stating that, unless the circumstances were exceptional and urgent, no Native was to enter the Colony unless a colonist had applied for his services.¹

The number of servants registered during 1856 varied with the different periods of excitement; at the beginning of November, for instance, Reeve enrolled a number of people for service, but later in the month (when the excitement ran high), no more Natives came for this purpose, though the demand for their labour had increased. As late as the 11th February, when extreme hunger was being felt, faith in the prophet was too strong to let the Kaffirs leave and as has been mentioned, Maclean was forced to refuse the appeal of the Divisional Council of Cradock for a Kaffir labouring party of fifty men, as it was impossible at present to procure any organised parties for labour at a distance from their homes.² By the

¹ G.H.91, sched.350, Circular of 7. 11. 1856.

² C.O.2233, Fr. Hoff. Chief. Comm.1857. Maclean to Bowen, 11. 2.

21st, however, Stenson had two hundred and forty kaffirs in his working party.¹

In order to relieve the starving families beyond the Kei, John Crouch was appointed agent to register as many of Krelli's Kaffirs and others as were willing to take employment in the Western Districts, and arrange for them to be brought thither. Brownlee pointed out that it would be wise to make all Kaffirs clearly understand, before leaving Kaffraria, that they must be contracted to their masters for periods of from two to three years.²

In 1859 a Select Committee was appointed by Parliament to take into consideration the subject of introducing the Kaffirs into the Colony. Although by this time a tremendous number of Natives had crossed the border there were still various problems to be faced. Firstly there was the question of the condition of British Kaffraria where Grey had organised the settlement of the Native population into villages instead of the old isolated kraals. He wished to extend this system, which had been successfully introduced among the Fingoes of the Crown Reserve. If the Kaffirs were thus grouped together in villages it would be a much simpler matter for the Government to keep them under its control, to tax them, and to prevent the reestablishment by the chiefs of their old undisputed authority. By the middle of January 1859, the Governor was able to report that 'the whole of the Kaffir population in British Kaffraria are now settled in villages and are now subject to British law. The Kaffir police works well; — offenders against the law, of whatever rank, are immediately arrested by their own people, whilst the Kaffir population by their direct contributions to the revenue in the form of the hut tax and a tax upon horses, already defray in a great measure the cost incurred

¹ G.H. 92, sched. 399, Hawkes to Maclean, 21. 2. 57.

² Ditto, enc. 1.

for their magistrates, police, and other means adopted for the preservation of peace and good order in their several locations'.¹

Commandant Currie, giving evidence before the Kaffir Labourers Committee, remarked that 'Nothing could be more exciting to them (i.e. the Kaffirs) than the present moving of them into villages'.² The Kaffirs were deeply suspicious of this movement;³ They were puzzled as to the motive of the Governor and the elderly foresaw the demoralisation of the young and the spread of disease as inevitable results of this community life. Notwithstanding these objections, however, Grey persisted in his scheme and in 1860 he was still urging on the magistrates 'the necessity of concentrating the Native villages' in their districts 'and if possible of getting them formed into some regular shape instead of their being as at present mere collections of scattered huts. The number of villages' he said 'should be as much as possible reduced, while the size of each village may be extended to the number of two hundred huts'.⁴

When examined with regard to the condition of the land between the Kei and the Bashee, Commandant Currie insisted that it was quite inadequately policed, that men were unwilling to join the force owing to the extremely low rate of pay, and that Kaffirs from across the Bashee were gathering on its further bank ready to cross over as soon as the opportunity should offer.⁵

The Kaffir Labourers Committee resolved that Certificates of Citizenship should be issued only under the most stringent regulations and that the Pass system should be tightened up. They decided that the Master and Servants Act should be extended, and drafted a Bill providing against Kaffirs

1 G.H. 23, No. 17 of 1859.

2 Appendix 2 to Votes and Proceedings of Parl. 1859, p. 319.

3 B.K. 2; J.B. Miller to Maclean, 2. 9. 1853, Kingwilliamstown.

4 Circ. 5. of 1860, Fort Murray.

5 Appendix 2 to Votes and Proceedings of Parl. 1859, p. 303.

squatting on private property.¹

The annexation of Kaffraria to the Colony did not take place until 1868.

It was in the year 1859 that the various towns and villages of the Eastern Province petitioned the Legislative Council for separation under some federal system of government. Requests of this nature came from Albany, Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, Cradock, Bathurst and elsewhere.

The Albany petitioners gave as one of the main reasons for the separate federal government they desired, the influx of Natives into the Colony. They spoke of the new problem of 'the preponderance of the coloured over the white people' which had greatly increased the amount of crime' and of the 'large bodies of Native squatterswho set at defiance all law and commit every species of depredation, and practise their barbarous customs with impunity'.² It was, however, obvious that these evils were of a temporary nature and the Cape Parliament provided for them as such. The cattle killing had indeed removed the menace of a powerful hostile nation on the frontier and in so doing had removed too, the fundamental reason for division of government.

Though Sir George Grey was recalled by the Home Government to explain some of his actions, notably his unauthorised expenditure of large sums in connection with his Kaffrarian policy, and his refusal to send at once, when told to do so, all available troops to India, he was immediately reappointed and his policy vindicated.

The dispersal of the tribes and the break up of the great power and influence of the chiefs led ultimately to a change in the whole of Kaffir life, and to that movement to the towns which is still in progress to-day. A reference to the table in the Appendix will show the extent to which the

¹ Appendix 2 to Votes & Proceedings of Parl. 1859. p. 616.

² Ditto, p. 1103.

rebellious tribes were diminished. In six months the number of Umhala's followers fell from twenty two thousand, seven hundred and fourteen, to five thousand, six hundred and seventy seven, Macomo's from three thousand to four hundred, and Sandilli's from thirty one thousand to four thousand five hundred and fifty. The loyal chiefs Jan Tzatzoe, Anta and Oba lost far fewer while Siwani's tribe actually increased from six thousand and twenty eight to six thousand five hundred and seventy, owing to the influx of refugees. Nana, though the most loyal of all the chiefs, lost nearly seven thousand; the dispersal of his people began very early in the movement when many of the believers deserted to the tribes of believing chiefs.

It is improbable that anyone will ever be able to come to any final conclusion concerning the truth of the cattle killing, whether its chief cause was the psychological effect of the lung sickness which attacked the cattle in 1858 or the realisation by the chiefs of the decentralising force of the Governor's new system of ruling the tribes. There is of course no documentary evidence to be found among the Natives and the lips of those who took a prominent part in the affair are, as Mr Brownlee put it 'sealed in death'. Tradition says that Nongause after her sojourn on Robben Island made her way to the Eastern Province where she lived to an advanced old age, refusing ever to discuss the events which had made her notorious and doing her best to enhance the atmosphere of respectable antiquity by changing her name to Victoria, Regina.

It is worthy of note that Nongause was not the first to foretell the resuscitation of dead Kaffirs nor the last to order the destruction of animals: Lynx, a generation earlier, had affirmed that Dalidepu¹ had communicated power

1

Dalidepu = The god of the coloured race.

to him by which he was to destroy all the Europeans because they were enemies of his god, and to resuscitate all coloured people who had died, also all the cattle which had either been slaughtered or died'.¹ He ordered the people too, to kill all their dun coloured cows. In recent years Transkeian farmers tell of the sudden killing by the Natives, on one occasion of all their white fowls and on another of all their pigs.

In 1877 Sir Bartle Frere reported the appearance of a prophetess among the Galekas, who professed to see the ghosts of Hintza and his confreres rising from the water and other visions similar to those of Nongause.² He had had the story from the Reverend Lot Khaie who said that 'all the women who went daily for water said they too heard and saw these things'.

Perhaps the last word about the whole affair might be said in a quotation from his report. 'It is' he said 'their custom, like children, to amuse and excite their companions'.

1. See Kropf 'A Kaff. Eng. Dictionary, under Dalidepa, p. 70.
 2. G.H. 14, No. 22 of 1877.

APPENDIX.NOTE ON SOURCES.

The collections of Records in the Cape Archives grouped under Government House (G.H.), British Kaffraria (B.K.), and Colonial Office (C.O.) have been extensively used.

The first mentioned (G.H.) are well arranged and indexes to some volumes are available. In this collection the letters and other documents are usually grouped under the schedules with which they were originally submitted. In the case of the Despatches to the Secretary of State the letters are arranged chronologically, both the pages and letters are numbered, and the enclosures are bound separately under the schedules.

In the case of the British Kaffrarian Records the grouping is less satisfactory. Here the schedules are bound separately and, in the letter books, though chronological order is aimed at, documents have frequently been omitted or enclosed in wrong places. In the references to these volumes the number of the volume, the date and the names of the sender and receiver of the document have been given. If an enclosure is wrongly placed mention has been made of the fact.

Several volumes of Colonial Office Records from the Strong Room were consulted with regard to convicts, hospitals etc. as these yielded no relevant information they have not been included in the bibliography. Those letter books of this collection which were made use of are arranged in much the same way as the B.K. records.

The Blue Books used are all in the Cape Archives, some of them were used too, in the Grahamstown Library.

The Newspapers mentioned were all consulted in the South African Library at Cape Town.

The statements referred to were obtained on the scene of action by the writer. No. 1. was contributed by an aged Kaffir originally of Umhala's tribe, who stated that at the time of the killing he was a boy of about fourteen years. He is now living on Mr. Harwood's Farm Shepton Kellie, near Koughe. Mr. Harwood is a

No. 2. is the statement of Mrs Mary Jane Harawich, the daughter of John Crouch. She was a girl of twelve at the time of the cattle killing and lived at her father's store at Butterworth.

With regard to the spelling of Kaffir names the simplest and most usual forms have been used throughout. Alternative forms have, in many cases been given in foot notes. The spelling of place names has been kept uniform as far as possible, the forms in use to-day being used.

The map provided was taken from the 'Papers relative to the Kaffir Tribes, presented August 1857, p.33.'

Throughout the thesis a knowledge of the history of Basutoland has been assumed. The affairs of that district have only been touched on in so far as they explain events in Kaffraria during the period under discussion.

G.H. 94, enc. 1, in sched. 516.

Total decrease in the Native population of British Kaffraria (exclusive of the Crown Reserve) in the period 1st January 1857 to 31st July 1857 = 68,334.

<u>No. of souls January 1857.</u>		<u>No. of souls July 1857.</u>		
Kama -	12,933	5,998		Capt. Reeve.
Umhala -	22,714	5,677		Major Gawler.
Macomo -	3,000	403)		Lieut. Lucas.
Botman -	2,000	443)		
Sandilli -	31,000	4,553)		Mr Brownlee.
Xoxo -	32,000	503)		
Fynn -	3,620	662)		
Toise -	1,651	1,403		Mr Ayloff.
Siwani -	6,026	6,570		Major Hawkes. ¹
Pato and Stock -	3,326	3,367)		Mr Vigne.
Jali -	1,933	1,067)		
Jan Tzatzoe -	2,351	2,171		Mr Fielding.
Oba -	2,625	2,205)		Capt. Robertson.
Anta -	2,230	2,205)		

¹
Increase due to the influx of refugees.

Govt. Notice No. 265 of 1857.

Abstract of the Number of Natives registered for service in the Colony from the 1st Jan. to 31st July, 1857.

<u>Period</u>	<u>Adults</u>		<u>Minors</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	
Jan.	31	16	6	7	60
Feb.	42	43	27	35	147
March	430	476	330	403	1,707
April	939	312	701	724	3,298
May	1,215	1,063	991	973	4,260
June	903	373	834	312	3,427
July	1,494	1,353	1,546	1,614	6,308
<u>Total</u>	<u>8,197</u>	<u>4,946</u>	<u>4,823</u>	<u>4,643</u>	<u>19,208</u>

Richard Taylor,

Res. Registrar's Office,

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