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An Account of the Amakosae, a tribe of Caffers adjoining the Eastern Boundary of the Cape Colony. By N. MORGAN, Esq. Assistant Staff-Surgeon.—(Abridged.)

[Read at the South African Institution.]

THE formation of a colony of Europeans at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652, was the precursor of a great change in the condition of the Hottentot people, the original possessors of the country. A settlement was obtained by treaty, and an increase of territory at various times was gained both by seizure and conquest, so that from possessing a few acres of land only in 1659, the Dutch at the time of the British conquest, were masters of nearly all the country, and the original proprietors of the land were the servants of their conquerors.

Though the desire to possess land capable of affording pasturage for their flocks induced many of the Dutch inhabitants to leave the protection of their own Government and seek it in a dangerous and troubled country, yet others made this removal from a far more culpable motive, in seeking thereby to obtain possession of the flocks of the defenceless natives. This was done under various pretences, sometimes by interfering in their internal disputes and acting as the avengers of those who were sufferers; at others, by boldly attacking the neighbouring kraals and taking the flocks of the scattered people. These causes produced a state of hostility against the European in the surrounding tribes, and by them they were often deprived of their illgotten herds. Their lands and houses were frequently ravaged and destroyed, and their lives even at times fell a sacrifice to this general feeling of depredation and revenge. On these occasions the Colonists always had recourse to their own Government for protection; and the usual plan to remedy these evils was, to unite to the colony that part of the land so inhabited. While the Dutch were thus gradually encroaching on the Hottentot limits from the Westward, the Caffers were making encroachments on the East, and about 1786, when the district of Graaff-Reinet was formed, the two parties of Conquerors, or aggressors, came in contact; and the Caffers still

pursuing their system of aggrandisement became often opposed to the Colonists.

The Hottentot tribes were then possessors of little territory; it was bounded by the sea on the South, by the Colonists on the West and North, and by the Caffers on the East. The attacks of the Caffers had always been conducted on the principle of extermination, for by them the Hottentot men were always slain if they could not effect their escape. The women were taken, and their cattle driven away; the Caffers succeeding them in the possession of the depopulated land; and by these means they had occupied the Hottentot Country as far West as the Sunday River; and the Frontier Colonists often suffered in like manner as the Hottentots had done from their predatory inroads.

The Hottentots had now dwindled into a very few tribes; some of these began to unite with the Caffers in their aggressions on the colony, others threw themselves entirely under the protection of the colonists; and the remaining part of their country in 1798 fell into the hands of the Europeans. Since that time the Caffers have been forced to relinquish that part of the country that is to the west of the Keiscamma River, and since 1825 have ceased to assail the colony, and have become a nation trading with the European Colonists on the system of mutual interest and benefit.

The country at present occupied by the Caffers, is nearly of a rectangular form,—the northern side is bounded by an extensive chain of mountains; the country beyond which is, to the north-east, inhabited by the Tambookies, on the north-west by the Bushmen. The eastern part is bounded by the Bashee River and the country of the Tambookies; the western part joins the colony, and the south-east borders on the sea. It is 150 miles in length; its breadth is uneven, being from 30 to 90 miles; containing about 10,000 square miles.

These mountains are very high, and are covered with large forests, in which various timber trees, most of them common to the colony, flourish luxuriantly. The woody summits intercept the clouds that are wafted by the winds from the ocean, and furnish constant supplies to the numerous springs which form the sources of the many rivers flowing from them toward the sea. Though the distance from their source to their union with the ocean is comparatively short, yet the body of water in these rivers is very considerable; and the unevenness of the ground through which they have cut their tract, the rocky projections that frequently divide their streams, and the falls that constantly occur between the interior and the shore, cause them to impart a charming freshness and vivacity to the surrounding country through which they find their way.

The face of the country is very uneven, the higher ground being formed of plains and ridges from which branch a number of kloofs and ravines, each of which opens into some stream or river. The upper part of the country, or that nearest the mountains, is the least intersected by these ravines, and is also more open than the lower part next the sea, which is full of ridges. The whole country abounds with the Mimosa tree; and the courses of the rivers, streams, and ravines are frequently concealed by thick bush; the different species composing which are the same as are met with in similar situations in the colony. The climate is very healthy, and does not materially differ from that of the eastern part of the colony. The winter is here generally the dry season. The spring is showery, but the greatest falls of rain happen in the summer and autumn, and are always attended with thunder, lightning, and hurricanes of wind. The rivers and streams which before were fordable, almost everywhere at this time become torrents, rushing with inconceivable rapidity, and swelling to a great height, so as to render them for a time quite impassable. The water, however, soon runs off, and they sink to their former level. The mouths of none of these rivers are navigable.

I shall now endeavour to give some account of the general history of these nations, first premising that it is very difficult if not impossible to acquire any correct knowledge on this head, as they have used no method of recording past events. Their oral traditions scarcely appear to have preserved any thing of their origin; and every person seems to speak only from his own recollection. If you desire intelligence of an earlier date than he is able to give, you are referred to an older person, who, perhaps, may give a little more information of former events. Thus every affair of past times is very imperfectly obtained, and even the most recent circumstances are collected by the enquirer with the greatest difficulty.

The only tradition among them of their origin is, that the first Caffers came out of a cave, which they describe as being situated to the eastward, somewhere between Caffraria and Tambookieland, and from thence they spread over the country towards the setting sun. The name of the cave they call U'Daliwe. Dala is the word they use for the Creator, and Uka Dalwa the Creation.

They say that there was only one Chief formerly, and that from him came all the different Captains of the present time; and, by a Chronological Table compiled by a Missionary of the Glasgow Missionary Society, it appears that, in all instances, the various chiefs trace their families into the same stock, at a few generations back, probably about two centuries ago, during the time of a chief of the name of Um Conde.

I am led therefore to conclude that about this period the first division of these people began, and also that their first encroachments upon the Hottentot country took place about this time. That the Hottentots at one time possessed the country to the westward of the Kay River is extremely probable, because the names of all the rivers from thence, in that direction, are still in their language, as well as many to the eastward as far as the Bashee.

The Mandanhie tribe derive their origin from Um Dangie, a son of Un Conde, and as these were the most advanced Caffers, having possessed themselves of the country as far to the westward as the Sunday River, it is probable he was the first chief who led out his people from the main body and sought a new possession by conquest from the Hottentots.

Um Bange, a grandson of Un Conde, is the head from whom the chief of those Caffers now on the Buffalo River has descended. The chief U'Queno derives his origin from U'Lango, a son of U'Palo, and with his people formerly possessed the country to the west of the Fish River, but it was during the time of U'Calika that the greatest and last division took place, when all the people to the westward of the Kai River became in a manner free from the immediate controul of the direct descendants of Un Conde. U'Henza is the present chief in this line, and is acknowledged to be the head of the whole people, and still possesses some kind of authority or influence over all the other chiefs, for to him are referred all disputes respecting authority, guardianship of minors, &c. and he frequently of himself also inquires into and decides upon affairs of major and minor importance to the nation, and his interference is not thought any encroachment on the power or authority of the other chiefs, but they readily submit to his opinion on the subject.

The only regular accounts of their proceedings that can be collected, commences in the time of U'Caleka, the third in descent from Un Conde, who it appears ruled absolutely over all the people for some time, until his brother U'Raraba, who was a man of great influence, and much esteemed by the whole nation, resisted some of his unpopular measures, and was joined by a numerous party. A civil war ensued, and ended in the division above alluded to: from that time he acted independently of his brother. At the death of U'Caleka the part of the Government that remained to him descended to his son U'Kanta, who was succeeded about twelve years ago by U'Henza, He it is who now rules over those Caffers who inhabit the country to the East of the Great Kai River. U'Raraba, the brother of U'Caleka, who caused the division of the people, succeeded in establishing his authority. He

was a great warrior, and had many children, who, in the wars in which their father was engaged against the Hottentots and Tambookies, became celebrated for their bravery. The principal mentioned are Un Lawie, Un Acube, Un Thlambe, Un Tsusa, and Un Nukwa. Un Lawie was much liked by his father, both on account of his being his successor, and for the great daring and bravery he manifested in the field. He fell in battle, having gone with a great command to make an attack upon the Tambookies—it proved unsuccessful; the Tambookies fighting bravely, killed many of their enemies, and among them Un Lawie himself. U'Raraba being much enraged at this loss called all his people to arms, and with them immediately proceeded to avenge his son's death. To insure success they took a large number of bullocks, (at that time the Caffers used these animals in their wars.) The Tambookies having heard of their preparations assembled a large force to defend themselves, and received U'Raraba's attack with great courage and skill. When the oxen, as was the custom, were driven on them to break their ranks, and put them into confusion, the Tambookies divided themselves and mixed with the oxen, and having got command of these animals, they drove them back on the Caffers, and succeeded in breaking through and scattering them. A very great slaughter followed, and among them who fell was U'Raraba himself, with several of his children; and all the cattle became the prize of the conqueror. By these two disastrous campaigns the Caffers sustained so great a loss that they never afterwards dared engage in any great enterprize against the Tambookies, but turned their arms against their less courageous enemies, the Hottentots and Bushmen.

By the death of U'Raraba and Un Lawie, the sovereignty fell to Gika, the son of the latter, but he being very young Un Thlambe, his uncle, was chosen Regent. Un Thlambe is spoken of as having been at this time a very powerful and just Ruler, and not only able to defend his own part of the country, but also to protect the independence of that of Gika; and he appears, during the minority of Gika, to have acted as supreme Ruler of the whole nation West of the Kai River.

This difficult task he is said to have managed with great prudence and address, for, by promising to abandon the rule when the young Chief was of age sufficient take to the power into his own hands, he was supported by most of his brothers, and retained the Government against all opposition. But when Gika assumed the Government of his own kingdom, and expected that U'Thlambe's would also be under his authority, U'Thlambe refused, and being supported by the chiefs of U'Henza's people, several battles were fought with various success. But Gika appears in the end to have been successful, for many chiefs of

the adverse party were slain in the field, and a pitched battle being fought between the parties, U'Thlambe's party was entirely defeated. U'Thlambe and one of U'Henza's brothers fell into the hands of the conquerors. U'Thlambe, after submitting to Gika, was set at liberty, because (as it is reported) Gika said "he had taught him to govern;" but the brother of U'Henza fell pierced through by Gika's own assagai. Some time after, on account of some obnoxious measures of Gika, a confederacy against him was formed by various chiefs, headed by U'Thlambe. This appeared so formidable that Gika was obliged to submit, and to renounce all controul over U'Thlambe or his people. A treaty was formed, in which each acknowledged the sovereignty of the other, and a boundary was fixed as the extent of each other's rule.

This peace between Gika and U'Thlambe did not last long, for on some of U'Thlambe's people seizing a crane which Gika's people had killed, (this bird is valuable to the Caffers on account of the long shoulder feathers which they wear on their heads when engaged in a war,) Gika made it a pretence to enter U'Thlambe's country and seize his cattle. This renewed the war, in which, though U'Henza himself did not appear, yet many of his chiefs went to the assistance of U'Thlambe,—Gika was defeated in a great battle, and brought nearly to the brink of ruin, when he met with a protector in the English, by whose interference U'Thlambe was compelled to relinquish what he had gained by his successes, and enter into treaty of amity with Gika. U'Thlambe by this treaty retained Sovereign rule over his people, but acknowledged the authority of Gika.

This is the last general war that has taken place amongst the Caffers.

The Chief U'Thlambe died 14th of February 1828, having lived to a great age; and on the 15th of November the following year (1829) Gika died, himself having hastened this event by the great intemperance of his latter years.

U'Thlambe retained the respect of his people to the last. He had been a great warrior, and though the situation of his country had for many years prevented him from exercising this talent, yet his former skill and bravery were the constant theme of the people, and the youth were instructed to respect and look up to him as one of their greatest Heroes, and his various deeds were pointed out to them as most worthy of imitation.

Gika, on the contrary, was never celebrated as a warrior, but was spoken of as very little skilled in the affairs of war, and as not possessing any great degree of personal courage even when the times required that it should be shown. His character was totally different from that of his father and grand-father, who were men of great enterprize and courage, desirous of the

aggrandizement of their country, and generally occupied in seeking it by finding constant occasions for war with the neighbouring nations. Gika took no delight in exertions of this kind, but manifested great aversion to war. His habits of life were indolent, and his disposition sluggish, but though this was the case he was a very inquisitive and keen observer of every thing that passed under his notice, and was a man of great ingenuity and cunning. He was a great orator, and prided himself upon this talent; he was quick in his perceptions, and lively in his speeches, at times keeping his auditors in constant laughter, and then again fixing their most serious attention. His policy as a chief was cautious and deliberative, but did not appear to reach beyond the present time. He was very rapacious but not tyrannical; though his exactions were frequent they were not rigid; and he exacted more to gratify those who were round him than to satisfy his own wants. He was neither loved nor feared by his people; their attachment was grounded on their regard to the memory of his father and his hereditary descent. His death was neither regretted nor lamented by the people.

The principal subordinate chieftians ruling the people forming the western part of the Caffer nation, which, from its vicinity to the Colony, is that which is most known, and of which I shall now more particularly notice, are U'Maaquomo, the eldest son of Gika and present Regent (a young child being the real heir for the reasons mentioned hereafter); Un Carle and Un Matwa, sons of Gika; Un Queno, grand-uncle to Gika; Un Phundis, a grand-son of Un Thlambe, Gika's uncle; and U'Botuman, a great grand-son of Um Dange; and the family of the Congos.

That part about the sources of the Keiskamma River is under Gika's son, U'Matwa. The sources of the Chumie River is the part that is governed by U'Carle. The lower part of that River is under the command of U'Macquomo, who is the Regent of the whole people lately under Gika. The course of the Keiskamma River below Fort Willshire is the country under the command of the chiefs U'Botuman and U'Queno. Below this, U'Dushonie's son, Un Phundis, has a small part along the boundary that is under his control, but the greater part is situated farther back in the rear of Un Queno's government. From this chieftain's boundary to the sea coast is the part that is under the command of the U'Congo family. This person has lately arrived at the dignity of Chief; his power originated in the accession of the Gonooka tribe of Hottentots. Un Phundis possesses a tract of land to the eastward, and situated along the Great Kai River. Un Tsusa and Un Nakwa, relations of Gika's, are chieftains of the country along the

mountains to the east of U'Matwa's people, and about the sources of the Buffalo River.

Their want of skill in computation, and their ignorance of the real number of people that are under the command of the different chiefs, make it very difficult to ascertain with correctness the amount of the population of their country; though the following calculation of the strength and numbers of those people may not therefore be quite correct, yet it is as near so as circumstances would permit it to be made, and will afford a pretty accurate knowledge of the strength of each chief. The whole population of the west part of Cafferland appears thus to amount to 150,000, men, women, and children. The male population is above 25,000, of whom about 16,000 only are warriors; but when any favorite expedition is engaged in, many others flock to the standard of their chiefs, and swell their ranks to a greater number.

The following is the estimated population of Cafferland:—

Under whose command.	Men.	Women and Children.	Total.
U'Gika's Sons and Uncles	6000	.. 30,000 ..	36,000
U'Botuman	2000	.. 10,000 ..	12,000
U'Queno	3000	.. 15,000 ..	18,000
U'Dushanie and Children	4000	.. 20,000 ..	24,000
Un Thlambe and Children	5000	.. 25,000 ..	30,000
Un Phundis	2000	.. 10,000 ..	12,000
Congo and Family	3000	.. 15,000 ..	18,000
Total	25,000	125,000	150,000

The amount of the military force of Cafferland is above 18,000, of which number any enterprising chief might bring 12,000 together, to support him in any measure that would meet with the universal approbation of the Caffer chiefs.

There are frequent skirmishes between the people of the different chieftains, most commonly arising from disputes between Herdsmen respecting water and pasturage, or acts of aggression on those who are not under their authority. The desertion of some wealthy individual from his own chief to another, is also a frequent cause of dispute, and these sometimes can only be decided by an appeal to arms. These skirmishes have lately seldom led to any serious war, for some of the neighbouring chiefs generally interfere, and a fine of cattle is received for the offence that has given rise to the dispute.

Though I have hitherto spoken of those people as a nation existing under the regular control of acknowledged rulers, yet we must bear in mind that the political union of all rude nations is so very incomplete, their civil regulations so few, and the authority to enforce those regulations so very feeble, that they

may in this state almost with propriety be deemed independent agents, rather than a people united together in the bonds of a regular society.

The chiefs are not so despotic, nor are they so tyrannical in the exercise of their power as has been long and generally supposed. It is considered quite proper to arm and resist his power, when the chief attempts to punish the people of any kraal; and many of these communities being united to each other by relationship or other ties, they fly to the assistance of the one in distress; so that, in perhaps eight cases out of ten, the chief's party is successfully repelled: in these circumstances a treaty is commenced, and a small fine generally satisfies the chief for this resistance to his authority; but even this is often refused. No affair of consequence can be entered into by the chief without the consent of his council, which is never given if they think the act will be contrary to established custom, or injurious to the nation at large; there is in fact no chief in Cafferland whose power approaches in any degree to despotism; they cannot act against long established usage; and the minor chiefs and people are very jealous of their rights, and are daily encroaching on those of their chiefs. At this time the power of every chief is so nugatory that no dependance can be placed upon any promise or treaty they may make. The people would laugh at it, and they would, if for their interest, break it immediately.

These observations are supported by the opinion of the Missionaries, who have long resided among them, and are thus capable of judging in their affairs with greater accuracy than any traveller or casual observer. One of them says, "Many of the actions and proceedings of the chiefs and great men of this country shock every feeling of humanity. Yet the power exercised by them in these acts does not flow so much from any absolute authority that the chiefs possess, as from *tyrant customs*. Most of the cruelties practised can plead the use and wont of the people, which are considered as law, or the rule by which the chiefs act." And again, "The actings of the chief are more frequently the carrying into execution the advice of these men (that is his council) than the gratification of his own desires." Another writes me, "However disposed a chief may be to enter into a treaty,—and however disposed he might be to keep inviolate his engagements, yet his own dependance on the tribe would totally incapacitate him from fulfilling it; for if not satisfied with his government, they would revolt, and be received with open arms by a rival chief."

The following brief account of the state of society in Cafferland will make this apparent, and show in some measure the state in which the Caffers exist as a nation:—

Kraal is the name given to their villages by the Europeans ; these in general are formed by the members of one family, and by others united to that family in bonds of friendship or servitude, for there exists in Cafferland a state of vassalage.

This kraal is under the controul of a person who is generally the senior of the whole, and always the father of many who form this society ; to him belong the greatest part of the flocks, which are pastured near it ; to him they look for assistance and advice,—a sort of patriarchal authority exists in him, and according to the extent of his fame as a man of judgment and equity, so is his advice sought after and followed by similar and surrounding kraals, and he becomes a sort of natural councillor to a portion of the nation.

The brothers, sons, and nephews of the king, who have obtained a name from their experience or ability in the affairs of the nation, or their daring and bravery in the chase or war, also form kraals ; and to these persons are attached a number of the more brave and ardent of the people. From the most experienced of these chiefs of kraals and divisions a council is formed, who esteem it as their right to advise and direct their king in affairs of national importance ; and contrary to this advice no king has power to act. In conformity with the dictates of this assemblage of chiefs, the king leads to war, or negotiates for peace. Their advice in favour of war is followed by an arming of the whole land. Their recommendation of peace re-calls the warriors to their respective homes, and the person of the sovereign is forsaken by all except his own immediate followers, who compose but a small part of the force of the nation, and are only members of a society similar to the others, but of which the king is chief.

The government of these individual societies is vested in their own chiefs, and they are entirely under his sway ; he may be compared to the father of a large family, receiving submission and respect from them, and bestowing rewards or dispensing punishment as to him may seem proper. From his decision no appeal is made, and the advice of no other is sought, except as a matter of choice, when a case of more complicated nature comes under their notice. When the matter in dispute involves a question of the right of another chief, then it is considered as a national one, and the king and council take cognizance of it, and the punishment of the offender devolves on the king, to whom belongs the fine which is generally in these cases exacted from the offender.

It will appear by these observations that each chief is the ruler of a small independent state, subject however to this restraint, that he is under the jurisdiction of an assemblage of chiefs who are similarly situated as he is,—that a supremacy

vested in one person is acknowledged by these several chiefs, and that the right of possessing that supreme power is derived from hereditary descent. The right of succession to the supreme power depends upon the claimant being of royal descent both on the father's and mother's side.

The degree of relationship which exists between the chiefs of these people prevents them from intermarrying with the females of each other, as it is a custom with them not to marry with any that they suppose to be in any degree related to them; they, therefore, choose a consort from the royal family of the tribe of Tambookies, and the eldest male offspring of such alliance is the person entitled to the succession.

As polygamy exists among them the chiefs take several wives from among the common people, but the offspring of these wives never possess the sovereignty, though they raise themselves to great power, and often become the guardians of the kingly authority.

If the heir is a minor, he is taken under the care of one of the chiefs, who is appointed generally by a council of the chiefs to act as regent during the minority.

All the cattle, arms, and lands are considered as the property of the king; every person tacitly acknowledges that his flocks, wives, and every thing he possesses is derived from his sovereign; and when the cattle are seized for any real or alleged offence, it is said he was not worthy to be trusted with the king's property, and that therefore he has only taken his own to bestow it on some more worthy person. The subordinate chiefs, in like manner, claim the property of all those who are under their controul, and when they levy a fine it is in the king's name and for his use, and they always send a portion of it to him.

There is no stated revenue for the support of the royal dignity: the wealth of the king arises from his own private patrimony, for though he claims all the property of the people, and they acknowledge the justness of the claim, yet they never voluntarily give up any thing, nor can he deprive them of it without a pretence be offered, or be framed for that purpose. Fines for the offences of his subjects, real or alleged, form one method of increasing his wealth; another is, a share of the plunder acquired in a successful incursion, but if the act be resented and restitution demanded, and the king is not willing to sanction and defend the aggression, restitution is made out of the property of the offender, and the remainder is retained by the king. Also when any man dies, all the cattle that he had in possession are taken by the chief to whom he belonged, and in this case part of them is sent to the royal kraal. Part also of the price obtained for their cattle or for game is claimed

by the king. By these and similar methods the kraals of the king are kept well stocked, and he is enabled to bestow gifts upon those he may wish to conciliate or reward, or by whose services he has been benefitted. The inferior chiefs use the same means to increase their wealth, but in these cases the king is presented with a part of the acquired stock.

Laws are unknown, the chiefs rendering judgment according to their will, founded, however, upon custom. Most crimes are compensated by a fine of cattle: the thief by this custom is compelled to restore ten-fold to the person he has robbed. The crime is only to be proved before and to the satisfaction of the chief, when the execution of justice is committed to the party aggrieved, which instantly follows conviction. The chief himself has no power to lessen the mulct; he may, however, and generally does intercede for the culprit; if successful, he claims a reward for this intercession.

The more heinous crimes, such as adultery and murder, are in like manner proved before the chief, and may be compensated, but the party aggrieved fixes the price; and also in this case the chief stands between the parties as an intercessor. In cases of murder, if the aggrieved person or any other should slay the offender, he is subject to no fine.

Women are entirely in the power of the men to whom they belong, and may even be put to death with impunity for any crime committed by them.

They are firm believers in witchcraft, and the punishment of the wretch who is accused and found guilty of this offence is extreme torture, or even death, and the whole community anxiously assist in the execution of the sentence. Persons accused of crimes are generally present when the accusation is made, and are permitted to defend themselves against the charge, and they also receive the assistance of others to effect this; they discover great skill and ingenuity in the examination and cross-examination of witnesses.

This is not the case, however, when a charge of witchcraft, or of an offence against the person of the king, is preferred. This is made before a select council, and often the accused is only apprised of it by those who are sent to execute the sentence; which not unfrequently is death, or he is dragged away to a torture that is worse, and generally terminates fatally—in both cases the whole of the cattle of the accused offender is forfeited to the King.

(To be continued.)