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AN ACCOUNT OF A JOURNEY INTO TRANSORANGIA AND THE POTCHEFSTROOM-WINBURG TREKKER REPUBLIC IN 1843

REV. JOHN BENNIE 1796-1869

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BY

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D.W.

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INTRODUCTION

The Manuscript

Manuscript documents on the early history of the Orange Free State and Transvaal are comparatively scarce and therefore any addition to the existing number is worthy of serious consideration, however small its contribution towards existing knowledge. Amongst the Bennie MSS. in the Howard Pim Library of the University College of Fort Hare is an incomplete account of a journey undertaken in 1843 into the Orange Free State and Transvaal by the Rev. John Bennie of the Glasgow Missionary Society. The manuscript consists of twenty-nine sheets of writing paper, rather tattered but quite legible except where the edges of the sheets are frayed and, on some pages, where liquid has stained.

The account of the journey has been transcribed as Bennie wrote it, the only additions being those words and letters which the ravages of time have obliterated and which he himself omitted, discretion being used in connection with his indiscriminate use of the capital "S" and his practice of linking words together. On occasion his spelling is faulty and the punctuation and sentence structure rather peculiar. It should, however, be remembered that this manuscript was probably the draft of a report delivered to fellow missionaries.

As an anthropological, topographical, biological, social and political document, this manuscript is valuable. Much of what Bennie heard was hearsay, but at least it reflects what information was going the rounds of the scattered homesteads of the land beyond the Orange River. It is a pity that no published memoirs or other descriptive work has come to light. He was an acute observer and History has lost much because of this oversight of chance.

John Bennie

Until 1820 there was no systematic missionary penetration of Caffraria, i.e., the land beyond the Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony, the Great Fish River. Dr van der Kemp and Joseph Williams had both made efforts to Christianise the Bantu, but it was with the appointment of John Bennie as missionary to Kaffirland in 1818, his settlement at Chumie in 1820, and the arrival of the Scottish missionaries, William Ritchie Thomson and John Bennie in 1821, that permanent missions made their appearance in Caffraria[1]. Following on the heels of the Glasgow Missionary Society, the Wesleyans began their chain of stations in 1823[2]. A fact not generally known is that by 1827 the Glasgow Missionary Society had adopted a somewhat similar plan; the intention was to carry the mission stations "backward in a line from the coast to the internal regions of Africa"[3]. Thus, by 1823, the precursors of Western Civilization were firmly established in the fringe of the territory inhabited by the South-East Bantu.

John Bennie was born in Glasgow on the 26th of October, 1796 and was received as a member

of "the Church in Campbell Street" in December, 1814. In December, 1816 he became associated with the Glasgow Missionary Society and after being appointed as missionary-catechist to Caffraria in October, 1820, was "set apart" in the North Albion Street Chapel (23rd February, 1821). Leaving Glasgow in February, 1821, in company with the Rev. William Ritchie Thomson, he reached Cape Town on the 28th of July, 1821 and Algoa Bay on the 1st of November of the same year[4].

While travelling to Chumie via Grahamstown through the strange, wild country, Bennie was assailed by some misgivings. "Many a time", he confessed, "I think on all the dear friends whom I have left, and sometimes I wish I were with them for a while. But I could not choose to remain at home. My love for this poor country would not allow me"[5]. On this journey he almost succumbed to an attack of apoplexy, his probable decease being forestalled by one Dr Coke who was travelling with the missionaries[6].

Bennie took an active part in the pioneering work of the Glasgow Missionary Society in Kaffirland. He was associated with the formation of the first Presbytery of Caffraria (1st January, 1824), being ordained by the presbytery thus formed in 1831. He was present at the first baptism in Kaffirland. "Old" Lovedale, on the Ncera River, and Lovedale proper in part owe their foundation to him.[7] He also made a positive contribution towards reducing the Xhosa language to writing[8]. Living first at Chumie and then at Lovedale, he moved to Burnshill mission station early in 1843.[9]

On the 6th of July, 1827 John Bennie married Margaretha Magdalena Maré[10] and from thence-

forth seemed periodically to visit the Colony, on one occasion, at least, declining "to give any satisfactory statement on the matter" when asked by the presbytery his reasons for doing so[11]. It is true that from as early as July, 1834 his wife's health played a part in these visits[12], but when, in 1849, he finally asked for a prolonged leave of absence from Caffraria, he offered as an additional reason the fact that the Foreign Missions Committee of the Free Church of Scotland was in financial difficulties and that he had not been provided with suitable accommodation at Burnshill[13]. During one of these visits he lived at Fort Beaufort, ministering to the "heathen" there and in the neighbourhood[14]. Bennie thus drifted gradually from the fold of the Scottish missionaries in Kaffirland. Whatever the reasons for this drift — and it seems to me that they go deeper than the apparent reasons which he offered, and in spite of his wife's health — there is no doubt that he became very familiar with the Boers through his marriage[15].

When the Great Trek began the Dutch Reformed Church dissociated itself from the movement, not the least reason being that there was a preponderance of Scottish ministers in the frontier districts, holding office in the D.R.C.; these refused to move out of the Colony with the Boers, partly because the latter were quitting British authority. The subsequent dearth of ministers amongst the Voortrekkers resulted in repeated requests for clergy[16]. John Bennie, probably by virtue of the fact that he had had frequent contact with the Boers, was invited by "that portion of the emigrant farmers who have become located north-

ward of the Vet River" to visit them, possibly with the intention of persuading him to take office among them. The period 1837-47 was a time when only missionaries ministered to the Voortrekkers[17]. It is difficult to find any other reason for his journey, unless it was Bennie's roving disposition which had already manifested itself in his frequent visits to the Colony.

Bennie left the Colony on the journey which he describes in the manuscript in June, 1843 and returned in September of the same year. It is difficult, owing to the paucity of records, to assess when this report (if, indeed, it was one) was delivered to the "brethren" in Caffraria. It is certain that Bennie was back in Kaffirland by the 21st of July, 1845[18].

1843 was a crisis year for the Trekkers. In 1841 their Republic had been constituted theoretically to embrace Natal and the Winburg and Potchefstroom areas (in practice, however, Potchefstroom, and therefore Winburg, never assumed the subordinate role allotted to it). The British annexed Natal in August, 1843 and all hopes for an independent state were thus finally vested in the areas north and west of the Drakensberg[19].

The Boers, both the Trekboers and the Voortrekkers, were thinly scattered over the area through which Bennie journeyed. It was a time when the Whites, with their fixed ideas about colour relations, were adjusting themselves to a *modus vivendi* with the Blacks, who were recovering from a period of internecine warfare. The missing portions of the manuscript may contain much valuable information so far as this, and many other aspects, are concerned.

During the Frontier War of 1846, Bennie once more resided in the Colony. At that time "he visited, along with the Minister of Victoria and one of his elders, a body of Caffres who reside within fifteen miles of Victoria. They are partially civilized but they are without the knowledge of Christ and the way of Salvation through him. They begged the undersigned (Bennie) with apparent sincerity to visit them occasionally for the purpose of instructing them. There is a larger body of the same race within thirty miles of them. A number of Colonists among whose children and coloured servants he laboured sometime during the last war, having heard by some means of the financial difficulties of the Foreign Mission of the Free Church of Scotland have lately earnestly entreated him to come and labour among them as a Missionary and Teacher, offering him a comfortable residence and a competent salary . . . . He therefore begs that the brethren may be pleased to grant him leave of absence for two or three years . . . ."[20].

Early in October, 1849 Bennie left Burnshill[21]. The next three years were spent on a farm, "Toverwater," in the Graaff-Reinet district, teaching the children of Mr Burgert Joubert and the coloured community on the farm and in the neighbourhood[22]. In 1853 he expressed to the missionaries in Kaffirland a willingness to return to the work there. They, however, using "an argument of a financial character", advised him to remain where he was if he could usefully be employed there. Replying to them he drew their attention to the fact that his leave of absence was not unlimited, but suggested, nevertheless, that "should my

diminished physical ability[23] and Mrs Bennie's continued poor state of health, be properly considered the Committee might .... be induced to extend my leave of absence still further"[24]. This extension was granted "until further notice"[25].

In April, 1854 Bennie attached himself to the Dutch Reformed Church in Middelburg as a missionary, receiving from that body the sum of £100 p.a., " .... so long as I may be permitted to remain here as missionary on extended leave of absence". Therefore his status was a missionary of the Free Church of Scotland on extended leave of absence associated with the D.R.C.. He also undertook certain teaching duties towards the children of White colonists in order to supplement his salary, the schoolroom being supplied by the Session of the D.R.C. and the furnishing and apparatus by himself[26]. It seems that Bennie came to Middelburg primarily as a missionary among the Hottentots, freed slaves and other groups of Bantu representing various tribes, such as the Kaffirs (South-East Bantu), Fingoe, Basuto, Baralong, etc.[27]. He found that " .... strong prejudices are acting as yet powerfully to keep them and the Gospel far asunder .... I might have remained more retired on the Sneeuberg but the desire to be upon the more open African Mission field prevailed, perhaps to die on it; or rather I ought to say what I believe to be the case, that God in his all wise providence sent me hither to a poor destitute people who — I am grieved to say it — are not permitted by the singularly narrow-minded Christians in this part of the country to enter the house in which they worship God. There are individuals who are otherwise minded, but

they form a small minority. I am willing to labour and even to suffer, should such be the will of God, for the sake of these poor people. The Lord Jesus Christ, the King of Zion, having stationed me here at least for a time, will afford me all the strength, wisdom, counsel and comfort and aid needed. My reiterated request is before him; it is that should such be in accordance with His Holy Will He may be graciously pleased to direct his agents, the Foreign Mission Committee of the Free Church of Scotland, to sanction my residence and employment at this place as one of their missionaries for a time, and to grant me such counsel and aid as said Committee may judge requisite"[28]. This request was apparently acceded to.

The great cattle-killing of 1857 gave Bennie an additional opportunity of ministering to the Bantu. The emaciated hordes poured into the Colony and Sir George Grey, through the *Sending-kommissie* of the D.R.C., encouraged missionary labours among them. As a result Bennie's work extended as far as Graaff-Reinet, Richmond and Murraysburg[29].

John Bennie never returned as a missionary to Kaffirland. The remaining fifteen years of his life were spent in Middelburg in the service of the D.R.C.. His motives for leaving Caffraria in the first instance — and his journey into the interior must be viewed against this background — appear to be mixed. That he was a sincere Christian, anxious to spread the Gospel among the Bantu and the Coloured heathen, is evident; whether he was prepared to go the whole way in sacrificing bodily comforts and peace of mind to achieve this end is at least dubious, as revealed in his corres-

spondence. He was prepared to regard these exacting demands, which faced all missionaries in Kaffirland at that time, as the agencies through which God directed him from one field of labour to another. Viewed in this light his apparent shortcomings have a significance for the Christian observer which mitigates the criticism of the less religiously inclined.

On Sunday the 7th of February, 1869 he preached his last sermon at Burgersdorp. While returning to Middelburg he complained of a pain in the chest and died on the 9th of that month, following to the grave his wife who had passed away in May of the previous year[30].

[1] For an outline of the establishment of the Glasgow Missionary Society in Caffraria, see Shepherd, R. H. W., *Lovedale, South Africa*, Chapters 2-3.
[2] Shaw, W., *The Story of My Mission among the British Settlers in South-East Africa*, Pt. II, Chapters 2-3, *passim*.
[3] *Glasgow Missionary Society, Report*, 1827, p. 25.
[4] See Bennie's Bible, where much of this is recorded in his own handwriting; *Fasti Ecclesiae Scotianae*, VII, p. 565.
[5] *Glasgow Missionary Society, Report*, 1822, p. 28.
[6] *Ibid.*, 1823, pp. 27-28.
[7] Minutes of the Presbytery of Caffraria, I ,*passim*; Shepherd, *op. cit.*, *passim*; *Fasti Ecclesiae Scotianae*, VII, p. 565.
[8] For further details of Bennie's scholastic achievements consult Shepherd, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-121; R. Godfrey, "Rev. John Bennie, the Father of Kafir Literature" in *Bantu Studies*, 1934, p. 123; C. M. Doke, *The Southern Bantu Languages*, p. 14.
[9] *Glasgow Missionary Society, Report*, 1843, p. 11.
[10] Bennie's Bible.
[11] Minutes of the Presbytery of Caffraria, I, p. 58, 6th March, 1828.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 281, 2nd July, 1834.
[13] *Ibid.*, III, 4th July, 1849.
[14] *Ibid.*, I, p. 328, 4th July, 1835.
[15] For instance, see Bennie's Bible: at the baptism of Sara Margaret Bennie, 21st April, 1828, Jacob P. Maré and Jeremias Ziervogel and spouse were present as witnesses; at the baptism of James Bennie, 12th July, 1829, Stephanus Maré and spouse were present.
[16] Moorrees, A., *Die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid-Africa*, 1652-1873, pp. 693-694; Dreyer, A., *Die Kaapse Kerk en die Groot Trek*, pp. 10 ff.
[17] Dreyer, A., *Die Kaapse Kerk en die Groot Trek*, p. 87.
[18] Minutes of the Presbytery of Caffraria, III, 21st July, 1845. For some details of the determination of the date of the journey, see below, p. 18, Note 2.
[19] Walker, E. A., *The Great Trek*, Chapters 7-10, *passim*; also see below, p. 26, Note 44.
[20] Minutes of the Presbytery of Caffraria, III, 4th July, 1849.
[21] *Ibid.*, 2nd January, 1850.
[22] Dreyer, A., *Kerksoewenier van Middelburg, K.P.*, p. 44.
[23] He had been troubled with influenza.
[24] J. Bennie to Rev. D. Macfarlane, 22nd March, 1853.
[25] H. Tod to J. Bennie, 9th July, 1853.
[26] J. Bennie to H. Tod, 15th June, 1854; Dreyer, A., *Kerksoewenier van Middelburg, K.P.*, p. 47.
[27] *Ibid.*
[28] J. Bennie to H. Tod, 15th June, 1854.
[29] Dreyer, A., *Kerksoewenier van Middelburg, K.P.*, p. 45.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 46. Also *Blythswood Review*, January, 1934.

A JOURNEY INTO TRANSORANGIA AND THE POTCHEFSTROOM-WINBURG TREKKER REPUBLIC IN 1843

Brethren[1]

Owing to the peculiar circumstances in which I had been placed by the unprecedented conduct of the native Chief Sandile[2], and to the invitation which I had received to visit that portion of the emigrant farmers who have become located northward of the Vet river, you kindly extended my leave of absence from my station Burnshill.

Twelve days elapsed after I had rejoined my family at Vogel river[3] before preparations for such an extensive journey could be completed.

Having committed my family to the care and protection of our covenant keeping God, I left the Vogel river on the 15th June, in a six horse waggon, accompanied by my father-in-law[4], and a young Dutchman.

We reached Graaff-Reinet on the 17th. There we were detained, chiefly by the intervention of the holy Sabbath, and the boisterous state of the weather, until the 20th when we again crossed the Sunday river, — we had crossed it twice before reaching Graaff-Reinet — and began to ascend the lofty Sneeuwberg in the face of a bleak northwest wind which blew down on us from the snowclad peaks of the mountain. Having the Compass berg, which is the highest point of that part of S. Africa, on our right, we reached on the evening of the 21st the summit of the Sneeuwberg where streams which flow toward the east and toward the west have their fountains. Descending the mountain until the afternoon of the 24th, we arrived at the

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 281, 2nd July, 1834.
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village of Colesberg which lies at its base. We had to contend against piercing cold winds all the time we were on the Sneeuwberg: when near its summit we rode several successive hours in snow which covered the plains lying between the chains and clusters of its stormy peaks. Owing, as I suppose, to the coldness of the weather one of our horses became unwell. One of my companions, the young dutchman was also unwell for a couple of days; I was on this account under the necessity of taking the reins.

On the 26th at midday we reached the Orange river at Allemans ford[5] which is a little way above its junction with the Oorlog's Poort river[6]. A noble stream is the Orange indeed compared with any other I had ever seen in S. Africa; but its breadth did not exceed my expectations. It seemed to me to be about as broad as the Clyde is at the Broomilaw[7], and the rapidity of its current to be nearly equal to that of the Clyde there. Its greatest depth at the ford did not exceed four feet, as the water did not reach higher than just to wash over the lid of the driver's box of our little waggon on which I was seated.

Having crossed the Orange, we travelled in a north easterly direction thro' the Grikwa territory, Philippolis being on our left and the land of Moshesh on our right[8], each being a few hours from the river and from the line of our route. We had not got beyond the river more than eight hours or 48 miles when a second snow storm overtook us. Our road was now one continued line of mud along which the poor horses dragged us until they were completely knocked up. The difficulties in which we now found ourselves involved were

considerably increased by our keeping too high[9] or wandering too far toward the east. At length after much toil we reached 4th July a branch of the Modder river, called Koorn Spruit. We travelled, or rather plowed down along that Spruit until the 8th when we crossed the Modder, and reached the farm of a relative[10]. Our horses could take us no farther, and glad were we to find that we had brought them to a place where the trees and the hills combined to afford them shelter from the bleak blasts, and the sharp frosts to which they had been exposed while on the plains.

Having obtained six strong oxen from our relative Lewis Bredenbach, we started on the 11th for the Mooy river[11]. The weather was now more favourable; but we again lost our road by mistaking the directions given us; we aga[in] went too high, or too much toward the east, we took in consequence 9 days to travel a distance which we could have travelled in 7 had we kept the more direct road. We crossed the Vaal and reached the Mooy on the 20th.

On the 26th, we started with a fresh span of oxen for Mahale's Berg[12], travelling nearly due north up along the Mooy until the afternoon of the 27th when we reached what the emigrants denominate its eye[13]. On passing it, we crossed a long grassy ridge which separates the waters running south or south west from those which run north east into the Mapoota which falls in Delagoa Bay. On the afternoon of the 29th we reached Mahale's Berg at the farm of Hendrik Potgieter Head Commandant[14].

I feel disposed, under the direction of the best I can command to place that corner of Mahale's

Berg in south latitude 27.30. being near the latitude of the Kuruman or New Latekoo, and in 29. east longitude[15]. You will perceive that that point is a little farther in a direct line from Graaff-Reinet than Graaff-Reinet is from Cape Town[16]; you will perceive also that it is a trifle nearer to Port Natal than it is to Delagoa Bay[17]; and that it is about 3.20. west by north from the Bay of St. Lucia at the mouth of the Volose. Graaff-Reinet is said to be 95 hours or 560 miles from Cape Town; Mahale's Berg may be therefore stated to be about 1150 miles from Cape Town[18].

Having remained at Mahale's Berg two days, we started for Potschefstroom on the Mooy which we reached on the 4th August.

Leaving Potschefstroom again on the 25th Augt., and keeping the most direct road, we reached the Modder on the 2nd Sep. Finding on our arrival there that, owing chiefly to the absence of suitable nutriment in the dry frostbitten grass, our [oxen] were not yet fit for the road, we were under the necessity of purchasing six oxen to take us home. Leaving the Modder then on the 5th we reached the Orange which was high, and which we crossed by the pont on the 11th. Norval the pont keeper is a Glasgow man born in the High Street near the College[19]. His price for taking a waggon and oxen across the river is £1.

Continuing our course homeward, we passed thro' the Hantam, over the Rhenoster Berg by Tebus, thro Quaggas Hoek or Kerk, over Coetzee's Berg and in to Vogel river which we reached on the 18th with 4 tired oxen. There I found that, altho' Mrs. Bennie had had a sever[e] attack of sickness, our covenant keeping God had been dealing

mercifully, and affording us still cause to praise to Hi[m] for His continued loving kindness.

I wish I could give you, Brethren, a correct and clear notion of the appearance of the country thro' which I passed; the state of its inhabitants, its productions, etc.; but such is, I fear, beyond my powers of description. As you may however expect that I should say something on these subjects I proceed.

The general appearance of the country from Agter Sneeuwberg extending to that which is beyond the Modder may be said to be uniform with respect to its hills and its plains. The latter are sometimes very extensive and nearly level, with here and there undulating ridges running in any direction and partly or wholly embossomed by elevated stony ridges, and table and conical stony hills of every height from 20 to 300 feet. A row of these stony hills often form the near boundary of the traveler's horizon; but so soon as he ascends their base, and gets between two of them, another bounded plain lies extended before him. But sometimes the first object which attracts his notice, after getting between two such stony hills, is a farm house with its kraals, its adjoining corn land and garden, or a village as Colesberg and Bethany. When approaching Colesberg by . . . .[20]. . . . . ground, for if he has a good span of oxe(n) before his plow, he knows that it will be broken should the share pass under the root of the Neerrukker. The root of the Ne[er]rukker when dried is light. It is the cork of the emigrants[21].

In many parts of that country game is very abundant. In a valley containing sweet grass, and a brook or pool a thousand animauls, consisting of

Spring and Bles bucks, Zebras, Gnous[22], Quaggas etc. may be seen at a glance. These swiftfooted game some inhabitants of the desert which they cheer are constantly attracting the attention of the traveller by their movements. Soon as the waggon enters on the verge of a plain, every eye is turned toward it, and the flocks and herds which happen to be nearest are instantly in motion following their respective leaders, crossing the waggon road in single file, or in columns.

I did not see the Eland. It has retired from parts occupied by the emigrants, in consequence, as I suppose, of its flesh being preferred by them to that of several other animals of the chase. Nor did I see the Giraffe, Buffalo, the Rhenoster, the Sea cow, the [E]lephant; but all these are found not far [d]istant from Mahale's Berg. I saw hunting parties who had returned from hunting excursions, having their waggons loaded with Seacow fat and hide, hides and horns of the Rhenoster or Unicorn of the ancients[23], hides of the Giraffe, tusks of the elephant, skins of the blue gnou, skins of two sorts of bucks the names of which I have not previously heard.

I have mentioned the Rhenoster as being, as I have supposed, the Unicorn of the Ancients. I am aware that the correctness of this opinion has been and may be questioned; but I incline to agree with those who think the Rhenoster and the Unicorn are one and the same animal, for these reasons: first, the length of the Rhenoster's one horn is remarkable as also is its strength. I saw one measured which was in the possession of Potgieter father of the Commandant, and its length was 3 feet 2 inches. When in its position the horn has a

tusk near it protruding 3 or 4 inches. The horn is straight, sharp, hiary and hard[24]. Secondly; When any thing unusual is obs[erved] by the animal in his way, as a waggon, a person on foot or on horse-back, he bend[s] down his head and putting the point of his horn into the earth, he advances an[d] as he advances he plows up the ground. The remains of one which advanced in this manner to a waggon are still seen near the ford on the Vaal. He came up to the waggon and entered between the hott or left fore wheel and the hott shaft ox whe[re] he got entangled and where the driver shot him. He is not reckoned a dangerous animal if one sees him advancing, and has time to get out of his way; but if otherwise he gores the person and tosses him into the air.

Lions, tygers, hyenas, wild dogs and jackals are numerous. Among the lions the emigrants have made considerable havock. They are numerous and in consequence of this boldness accidents sometimes occur. I must confess that, one stormy evening while outspanned in a desert place, I felt my pulse beating quicker than usual on hearing a lion roar. A native of the Malemu[25] [tri]be who was sitting at the fire instantly [t]urned his face as in fear toward the di[r]ection the roar proceeded, and then turning to us he said in a loud whisper, Tau, tau[26]; but tau did not think us worthy of a nearer acquaintance; rather the Angel of the Lord did not permit either him or any of his mates who were around us that night to disturb our rest. We heard them roaring in several directions at day break, but we did not see any of them. Some times as many as 14 are seen together by the hunters. That which the traveler fears most in that country

in reference to the lion is what the emigrants call, The oxen catching the scent of the lion: for in that case, should the driver not look sharp and get betimes the front oxen round to a fore wheel and bound there, the whole span may start off at a gallop. When a span does thus start off, the best plan, it is said, that the driver can adopt is to keep his box, and ply the whip briskly on the sides of the oxen, and then call on them to get into the usual pace. The oxen are more apt to catch the scent [to]ward the evening when the lion leaves his lair; they are for this reason always span[ned] out about sunset, and before the close [of] twilight they are fastened to the waggon wheels.

I saw only one lion: his slumbers ha[d] been disturbed by the crack of the whip, for having stood up from among the long grass at some distance from our road, sha[k]ing his mane and looking at us for a few seconds, he lay down again. He refused to answer frequently repeated cracks of the whip by getting to his legs again, altho' we wished to obtain a better view of him. The oxen were unusually brisk[27] and looked as if suspicious that day; but none excepting the driver one of the emigrants, suspected the cause until the lion stood up. There may have been others near our route which we did not see. 45 lions were killed by one party of emigrants while they were traveling toward their settlements. They mention many instances to illustrate the generosity of the noble animal; as for instance when L.B.[28] ascended with his three companions the stony, thicketcrowned hill [on] which a party of lions had taken up their [a]bode, and from which they descended nightly to feast on the herds of the neighbouring farmers.

L.B. was on his knee, and [was in] the act of presenting his long rifle at a male lion which stood near bristling his mane and lashing his sides with his tail, — two lionesses were in view but retreating, and L's two white companions were snug among the branches of a tree, — when his Hottentot companion who had been ordered to reserve his fire, happening to look round, said hastily, Don't fire, Master, see who we have got behind us. L. looked, but he looked confounded on seeing other two full grown lions so near, and apparently bent on mischief. He stood up and gazed now at the two then at the one alternately, as if matching the motions of the animals who seemed determined to make him and his swarthy ally pay for their temerity with the forfeture of their lives. Now one and then another of the three would make a dash toward him, with glaring [eyes] and gnashing teeth, and suddenly stop short within four or five paces of him, a[s] if daring him to fire at them, or trying to frighten him away in order that they might retain possession of their hill, and enjoy rest there; but L. had concluded that to show a bold front was his safest plan, and this he continued to do until the lions as if by mutual agreement, scampe[r]ed off and were soon on the plain, but beyond the reach of the balls which were rather ungratefully sent after them.

The otter is found in the Mooy and also in other streams of that country.

The wild goose, the Makau, the duck, the Guinea hen and the turtle dove are numerous[29].

I saw only one specimen of the wild pig. It was a neat limbed nimble creature. While turning up the earth with its snout in search of a small bulbous

root called the uintjie,[30] it went always down on its knees, on which it also moved forward as [it] proceeded in its work.

Before proceeding to that part of [th]e report which relates to the inhabitants of the country thro' which I passed as being destitute of the knowledge [o]f God and of His [Ch]rist, I shall briefly notice the rui[n]s [of its] towns, and a custom of its or[igina]l inhabitants.

On approaching the Sand river, but higher up than where it is crossed by the main or m[o]re direct road, I was surprised on fi[nd]ing myself alongside the ruins of an extensive town before bei[n]g told that such ruins could be seen on our route[31]. I had indeed previously received some intimation of the existence of certain ruins, but of the extent and appearance of those which I now saw I could form no proper conception until I had seen them. The town seemed to be about half a mile broad where we passed it, but its breadth varied as it ran along the ridge on which it stood according to the nature of the ground. I was unable to guess its length, for I had not time sufficient to go thro' it. The ruins consisted of circular stone kraals adjoining circular stone kraals 5 or 6 feet in height, with lower stone walls many of which also formed small circles, and others running in lines bending or nearly straight between the kraals and the lower and smalle[r] circles; thus forming numerous areas of various extent and form. The attempt to make out the use of the low walls [puz]zled me until I had seen an inhabited native town; then I concluded — a conclusion which was confirmed by friends who had seen other towns — that the lo[wer] circles formed the areas and were

the foundation and upright portion of native huts; and that the bending or nearly straight walls formed the areas of the outer and inner small courts of the huts. The hut was erected on and over the low stone walls of combustible materials of which not the smallest vestige remained. The ravages of the destructive hordes of Umzilikazie[32], and of time had left only part of the loose stone walls standing as a shelter to the game in stormy weather, as the droppings of the Zebra, the Gnou, etc. indicated. I examined several huts at another ruined town which were still entire so far as they were formed of loose stone. These huts or small domes were formed of flat thin stones, one layer laping interiorly over that immediately under it until they closed above. The apparent width of these beehive looking huts was on the inside about 4 feet in diametre. The door way was low and square, and so small did it seem to be that even my little body would have found some difficulty, I imagine, in getting thro' it. Had I not found these small domes in clusters I would have supposed they had been dog kennels on account of their smallness. They would form a poor shelter from the wind and rain unless they were originally covered with plaster of which I could observe no traces. Perhaps the[y] formed cool resting or sleeping apartments in hot weather, or [th]ey may have been enclosed by a thatched frame, and intended as a defence again[st] fire, or against a foe who dared not to enter the small door way[33]. But with all their labour and precaution, the poor natives are not always able to defend themselves against fire when purposely kindled to destroy them in their huts. I give an instance as it tends to

shew in what manner the hordes of Umzilikazi may have destroyed many tribes.

The men of a town, eastward from the Suikerboschrand, sent last year messengers to the remains of the tribe who reside on the Rand under the protection of the emigrants; saying, Join us in killing the whites and you shall have a share of the booty. They refused, were attacked and before the emigrants could come to their rescue, the enemy had enclosed them in their huts, and burned them alive. The dark places of the earth are everywhere and in all ages the habitations of cruelty. O that the light of the glorious gospel of the Son of God were caused to shine into such places in all its native strength, for they would then become the habitations of peace and safety.

I may here remark that the time of triumph was of short continuance to those men; for the emigrants guided by some individuals who had escaped soon thereafter surrounded their town where they did not leave a male alive. The females and children were taken. I saw some of the latter[34].

I may mention a circumstance connected [with] the punishment of those people on account as I think of its singularity. A blind aged female was sitting near to a male at whom a ball was aimed. The [ball] after striking a stone entered above the left ear of the female, and ran forward about four inches within the coats of the cranium without materially injuring the bone. The wound healed and the ball still remains where it was lodged. On hearing this case related, I could not avoid looking somewhat sceptical when several individuals on whose veracity I can depend declared that they knew the old blind woman well, she had been at

their farm, and that they had seen her causing the ball to shift from the point where it was lodged to where it entered, and vice versa.

The ruins of small towns and villages are numerous between the Sand river and the ridges of the Mooy. Every ridge which is near a stream is crowned with them, but no native chief seems inclined to take up his abode at any of them. The remnants of the former populous tribes have left their fastnesses, and reside in the glens under the protection of the emigrants who found the country a desert,[35] and who have driven the destroyer Umsilikazi far into the interior where he is still advancing in his exterminating career, as if ignorantly supposing that by destroying all the tribes within his reach he is rendering his own dominions unapproachable to those who may be commissioned to chastise his insolence. It is feared that he finds customers for a portion of his prisoners in the latitude of Delegoa Bay.

The native custom which I proposed noticing is the manner in which [they] dug pits for taking game. I mention it rather because it differs from that of the natives of S. Africa[36] with whose customs we are better acquainted, and because it is the only other indication in addition to the ruins shewing that the country was once in possession of populous African tribes[37].

Where there are pools or streamlets at the junction of grassy ridges there pits were dug near the edge of the water, so near indeed that they must have in many instances been filled with water to the level of the stream. They were formed at short distances, say 12 or 15 feet each from the other. The earth dug out of the pit was thrown into

the streamlet or pool thus forming an opening among the rushes, flags or coarse grass, and a sloping path into the water inviting the approach of a thirsty animal. I saw none of the pit[s] even partially covered; for they were also all in ruins, and more then half filled in; but I can readily concei[v]e that they had a slight covering of twig[s] rushes and grass when in the state for taking and detaining game.

Some paths behind Mahale's Berg are said to be full of danger to the unwary traveler; for on them are formed large covered pits for taking the elephant, the Giraffe and other large game.

Pits were also formed by the natives in the plains far from the water. Of this I saw a remarkable instance one day while riding between the Valsch and Sand rivers. We had been admiring a beautiful stripe of mimosas which ran down to the road from a ridge on our left, and on reaching the point of the stripe I observed a number of small paralel sandy ridges rising on our right. On going to examine them, I felt surprised on seeing that a vast amount of labour had been expended in that spot. Between each shady ridge were beds of pits, each bed containing — if my memory serves me right; for I did not jot down this number at the moment — six rows, 15 in the row, or 90 pits in a bed. The pathway between the pits lengthwise was narrow; but not so narrow as to prevent me from running along them without fear of tumbling into a pit. It was a little narrower where it crossed the bed between the pits. Each pit was about two feet in diametre, and it may originally have been about five in depth; but many of them were partially filled in. Such was the nature of the ground where

these beds were formed that I could not see their termination, and as I had not told my fellow travelers to cause the waggon to wait for me, I had not time to run down the ridge; but I could see that they extended to a considerable distance in the form of a new moon, the beds in their length pointing toward a common centre. I can easily conceive that much game may have been taken in such a place when an army of hunters .....[38]. ..... [emi]grated in order that they might get quite of annoyances to which they say they were subjected in the Colony, complain bitterly of the conduct of individual emigrants who were nothing s[upe]rior while in the colony, but who as soon as they had arrived in the countr[y] despised those bearing rule and sought to become heads of the people. The consequence is that their free rep[u]blic[39] is broken down into parties which are jealous each of the oth[er] and which are united only at certain points. This state of things has, I believ[e] already led the more discerning portion of the community to perceive that one having and exercising supreme authority is much wanted[40]. Individual councillors perceived this three years; fo[r] on the 12th Aug. 1840, they wrote to our Govt, requesting that two commissioners should be sent to them. And again about 18 months ago the President of the Council of Pietermaretzburg wrote to the same quarter praying that one comm[ission]er might be be sent to them; but the contents of those letters were first published only when Commissioner Cloete reached Pietermaretz-burg. They were made public because those who had written three years ago had accused him who wrote 18 months ago of treachry[41].

The better disposed portion of the community who, I apprehend, are as a majority not to be sought either among General Mocke's dvision of 1900 men[42], nor among the Natal division of 400, but among Potgieter's division which stretches from the Vet river to Mahale's Berg, complain also of an act of injustice committed by a [p]arty of refractory emigrants. One de Klerck[43] is seems headed a party some time ago and attacked an unsuspecting tribe of Africans against whom the emigrants had no cause [for] complaint. De Klerck and his party carried of the cattle and children of the tribe. The emigrant Govt had so much authority as to cause the restitution of the children and a portion of the cattle; but power was wanting to enforce punishment[44].

Many of them complain also of the acts and writings of the late commandants Retief and Uys. The lat[ter] as I think, had received the present of [a] bible from the merchants of Graham's Town who it seems talked to him about his becoming the Head of a nation which would trade with th[em]. He and the simple people who on his arrival among them appointed him chief, imagined that the merch[ants] could not talk so unless they knew the mind of the British Government. Uys soon published his list of Articles, declaring the independance of the whole body of the emigrants[45]. It grieves one t[o] hear the simple people[46] say that the commercial body alone incline to favour their independance; for any one might easily perceive if such be the case that to encrease gain by the extension of trade is the cause.

Like all other ignorant people[47] the emigrants are not only easily misled, they are stubborn also,

and fond of cherished tho erroneous notions.

But I must check myself and proceed to[w]ar[d] the conclusion of this report which h[as] [ex]tended to a greater length than I had intended.

We spent the first evening after crossing the Orange river at the house of Gideon Britts. Before supper the [t]able was set out into the middle of the floor, and the family bible resting on a cushion was placed on it. I conducted worship.

On our arrival at the farm of Mrs Viljoen 8 hours beyond the river, she [wa]s pleased to say that she was happy . . . . . [48].

. . . . . [indi]viduals told me there that when out on hunting excursions toward the N.E. they saw trees whose stems were much thicker than any that they had ever seen elsewhere. Some were 8, 10 and even 13 faoms[49] in circumference; but they also all agreed in stating that the wood of those trees is spongy. I heard also frequent mention made of a tree whose branches descended and struck root in the earth; that it afforded a cool shade to men and animals, and that looked like a dome supported by pillars[50].

1 In 1838 the "Ten Years' Conflict" in Scotland resulted in the break-up of the original Glasgow Missionary Society, a schism which reflected itself in Caffraria. John Bennie, John Ross, Alexander McDiarmid, James Weir and James Laing chose to support the "Glasgow Missionary Society adhering to the principles of the Church of Scotland." (Shepherd, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-92). William Govan joined them in 1841 (*Ibid.*, p. 93). To these "brethren" the manuscript probably is addressed. It is possible that the Rev. William Ritchie Thomson, who left Chumie in 1830 for the Kat River Settlement, was also acquainted with it. He maintained a very close connection with these missionaries after his departure.

2 At the beginning of 1843 Bennie was situated at Burnshill mission station. On 2nd February, 1843, the presbytery agreed that he should exchange places with Laing who was at Lovedale (*G.M.S. Report*, 1843, p. 11). This decision was partially due to the uncomfortable circumstances in which Bennie had been placed in relation to Sandile, Paramount Chief of the amaXhosa. Exactly what these circumstances were I cannot fully ascertain. The only reference I have found is contained in a letter which Bennie wrote to Ross, dated 6th February, 1843. It appears that there had been a misunderstanding between Bennie, the Diplomatic Agent (probably Captain Stretch) and Sandile. Bennie apparently was placed in a position where he could not accede to a demand of Sandile's without considerable loss of face and influence. "I therefore beg that you will not detain me as Mrs. Bennie's health is by no means in an improving state. If you cannot go on with the case [i.e. concerning Sandile] without me then I beg that your com[mittee] will let it lie until I return" (Bennie to Ross, 6th February, 1843, No. 3456, Cory Library, Rhodes

University). Bennie left Burnshill for the Colony on 24th February, 1843 (*G.M.S. Report*, 1843, p. 12).

3 Unless a specific farm is being referred to, this could mean anywhere between Tandjesberg in the north to the Zuurbergen in the south (for a lucid map see Marais, J.S., *Maynier and the First Boer Republic*).

4 Bennie's father-in-law was Mr Maré.

5 Alleman's Drift, between Botha's Drift and Norval's Pont.

6 Bennie means to the west of the Oorlog's Poort River.

7 An embankment near the centre of the city of Glasgow.

8 The boundary of Moshesh's territory was recognised in 1834 (Lagden, G., *The Basuto*, Vol. I, pp 70-71. Also map facing p. 72). Adam Kok's territory was defined on 19th February, 1845, as extending along the Orange River to near Bethulie (Eybers, G.W., *Select Consitutional Documents Illustrating South African History*, 1795-1910, p. 261-263).

9 i.e. towards the east.

10 I have been unable to determine what the relationship was.

11 Mooi River.

12 Magaliesberg.

13 Magalies Oog, probably the present Maloney's Eye.

14 In 1839 Hendrik Potgieter settled at a farm called "Doornkop" in the Magaliesberg range (Agar-Hamilton, J.A.I., *The Native Policy of the Voortrekkers*, pp. 50-51).

15 This location would be near the present site of Vrede and is approximately 130 miles to the south-east of the Magaliesberg range. Kuruman does lie in approximately the same latitude as Vrede, i.e. 27.30.S.

16 Correct, if calculated from Vrede.

17 *Ibid.*

18 Not as the crow flies.

19 Glasgow University was founded in 1450. For long years it was in the High Street, but in 1870-84 the University was built on Gilmorehill, a commanding site to the north-west.

20 Some pages are missing here.

21 This reference is to the root of either the Elephantorrhiza Burchellii (elandsboontjie) or the Erythrina Acanthocarpa (tambookie thorn). The latter is a small shrub. The root of the tambookie thorn "is sometimes 3 feet long and up to 6 inches thick, the whole tissue filled with water as a reserve against prolonged drought. Owing to the thinness of the cell-walls the dry rhizome is lighter than cork" (Marloth, R., *The Flora of South Africa*, II, p. 47). It is interesting to note that a commentator in the middle of the Nineteenth Century pointed out that the root of the tambookie thorn "is long and succulent, and when perfectly dry is extremely light, and in that state sometimes made into light summer hats" (Harvey H.H., and Sonder, O.W., *Flora Capensis*, II, p. 237). The name "Neerrukker" was probably a local name, in the Free State and Southern Transvaal, which has since become extinct. There is no mention of it in Marloth, R., *Dictionary of Common Names of Plants*.

22 Gnu is a species of buck, the black wildebeest or white tailed gnou (Ellerman, Morrison-Scott and Hayman, *Southern African Mammals*, 1758-1951, *A Reclassification*, p. 204).

23 The unicorn is described by Greek and Roman authors as a native of India. Ancient descriptions seem to be similar to that of the Indian Rhinosceros. It is probable that the origin of the unicorn legend, as Bennie suggests, was the rhinosceros itself.

24 There is no evidence that the rhinosceros has a hairy horn. There were two species of rhinosceros in Southern Africa at this time: the Diceros simum (wide-mouthed or white rhinosceros) which was first described by Burchell in 1817, and the bicornis or

black rhinosceros. Neither have hairy horns. Possibly Bennie was acquainted with the anatomical structure of the horn which is really not a horn at all, but a cluster of fused hairs, "hard, fibrous tissue" (Roberts, A., *The Mammals of South Africa*, pp. 241-243).

25 This should be "Malimo". The word refers to any tribe which, through privation, indulged in cannibalistic activities.

26 "Lion". This word belongs to the Sotho group of Bantu languages.

27 From "I saw . . . . ." to " . . . unusually brisk" Bennie has drawn a line down the margin and written "Inocuous".

28 Lewis Bredenbach.

29 "Numerous" ends the sentence on the left hand side of the page. On the right hand side, in the blank space of the line and near the edge of the page, is "A".

30 This could refer to any bulbous plant, chiefly Iridaceae (Marloth, R., *Dictionary of Common Names of Plants*, p. 84).

31 According to the late Professor C. J. van Riet Lowe the clusters of huts which Bennie describes hereafter were built, apparently, by the first Bantu invaders from the north and north-west, the Leghoya, who intermarried among the earlier Bushmen of this area at the begining of the Eighteenth Century. The Leghoya lived in huts of circular form which Stow described in his *Native Races of South Africa*, Chapter 22, p. 441, but the stone clusters were a local variation thus designed "as the best form of protection against the wild and ferocious animals that roamed this area in such vast numbers." They lived here until the beginning of the Nineteenth Century when a composite horde from the north and north-west, the Mantateese, or Bathlokua, set to work exterminating them. This onset was followed by the coming of Msilikazi and his Matabili who cleared the land before them and occupied it by 1830 ("A Preliminary Report on the

Stone Huts of Vechtkop", *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Society*, LVII, 1927, pp. 226-227).

The late Professor R. F. A. Hoernle and Dr Agnes Hoernle, giving an account of their investigations into stone huts near Bethal, stated that while they found no "positive evidence to confirm this hypothesis, we certainly have found nothing which would throw doubt upon it. It remains, for the time being, the only hypothesis in the field" ("The Stone-Hut Settlement on Tafelkop, near Bethal," *Bantu Studies*, IV, 1930, p. 42).

The Editor restated the current theories in the light of the above investigations ("The Stone Huts of the Free State and Southern Transvaal", *The Star*, 19th December, 1955) and F. R. Paver subsequently drew attention to the fact that in 1912 the Rev. D. F. Ellenberger, in *The History of the Basuto, Ancient and Modern*, p. 71, had stated that the Bahlakoana of Mapholole "lived in a district which was more than usually infested by lions, and in order the better to protect themselves and their families they learned to build huts of stone and mortar in the shape of an oven with a rough pavement in front, so as to prevent the lions undermining the door by scratching under it" ("The Riddle of the Little Stone Huts", *The Star*, 28th December, 1955).

Bennie's description of the stone huts is the earliest extant account known to the Editor at the time of writing. A. A. Anderson, in *Twenty Five Years in a Wagon in the Gold Regions in South Africa*, pp. 37-38, and W. B. Lord and T. Baines, in *Shifts and Expedients of Camp Life, Travel and Exploration*, pp. 279-280. described the stone huts as they found them later in the Nineteenth Century.

The late Professor van Riet Lowe, in a letter to the Editor, stated that the present known distribution of the settlements (i.e. in September, 1954) extends "from near Machadodorp in the eastern Transvaal to

the southern Transvaal from Heidelberg to Klerksdorp (including the Witwatersrand) and thence southwards into the Free State, where they occur from Hoopstad to Vrede, Memel and Harrismith in the north-eastern areas and thence westwards in the valleys of the Wilger, Rhenoster, Vals, Sand and Vet Rivers as far approximately as the main N-S railway line. Only one settlement has been reported west of the main railway: near Bothaville. They may therefore be said to occur over much of the southern Transvaal and practically the whole of the N.E. Free State — with an isolated occurence in the eastern Transvaal and another in the western Free State". This information slightly modifies his map in *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Society*, VII, 1927, p. 229.

For further comment on the question of the distribution of the stone huts see F. R. Paver, "The Riddle of the Little Stone Huts of the Free State", *The Star*, 28th December, 1955.

32 Msilikasi or Moselikatsi, the Matabeli chief, a former captain of Chaka, who fled from the wrath of the latter and by 1832 had established himself in the Marico River Valley. By 1837 he had been driven northward by the Trekkers (Walker, E., *The Great Trek*, pp. 118 ff). Bennie's observation regarding Msilikasi's clearing of the land in order to keep the Trekkers at bay is a novel one.

33 It did not occur to Bennie that the huts could have been built in this peculiar fashion as a defence against the wild animals, which, according to his own description, were so abundant. Over and against van Riet Lowe's hypothesis about their origin and F. R. Paver's view (see Note 31), one must place the doubt of the Hoernle's about the stone huts (of Tafelkop, at least) being the normal dwellings of people (*Bantu Studies*, IV, pp. 36-37).

34 This is further evidence for what Agar-Hamilton (in *The Native Policy of the Voortrekkers*, p. 53)

calls "a refutation of the worst of the sweeping charges of cruelty and enslavement that are sometimes brought against the farmer". Bennie mentions (see above, pp. 12-13) that the Native tribes willingly came to live under Boer protection; the implication is that the Boers fulfilled their obligations to their subjects. The taking of children, however, confirms the existence of the "apprenticeship system", with all its openings for abuse, particularly where a weak central government existed (For further information about the "apprenticeship system" consult Kistner, W., "The Anti-Slavery Agitation against the Transvaal Republic, 1852-1868", *Archives Year Book for South African History*, 1952, Pt II, pp. 226 ff).

35 See Note 37.

36 Bennie means the Bantu south of the Orange River and mainly those in Kaffirland.

37 Bennie's observations regarding the depopulated nature of Transorangia should dispel any doubts which W. A. Macmillan (and others) have concerning the validity of evidence on this score. Macmillan allows himself to be hardly persuaded that this area was virtually empty (*Bantu, Boer and Briton*, pp. 172 ff). Bennie was travelling in 1843 and consistently emphasises the desolate nature of the parts of the Free State through which he travelled. Assuredly Bennie was not looking for empty ground, which Macmillan assumes to be one of the reasons why "emptiness" was recorded by former observers (*Ibid.*, p. 173); he was an impartial observer.

38 Some pages are missing here.

39 The "free republic" was probably the Natal Republic with the Adjunct Raad at Potchefstroom. The definite break between the two communities did not occur officially until the 7th of August, 1843 (Wichmann, F. A. F., "Die Wordingsgeskiedenis van die Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek, 1838-1860", *Archives Year Book for South African History*, 1941, Pt. II, p. 37).

40 This probably refers to a quarrel between J. N. Boshoff and L. Bardenhorst in connection with the supreme authority in the Natal Volksraad (See letter by Boshoff, *Grahamstown Journal*, 23rd August, 1838 and Minutes of the Volksraad of Natal, 1st February, 1841).

41 On the 4th of September, 1840, the Voortrekkers in Natal asked Sir George Napier to acknowledged them as "a free and independent people" and suggested that two commissioners be sent from Natal to the Cape Colony to treat with Napier on the subject (Eybers, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-159). In the Natal Archives there is no evidence of any individual, who was a subject of the Republic, contracting with the Cape or the British Government in connection with the above matter. L. Bardenhorst became Chairman of the Volksraad in April, 1840 when a dispute arose between the previous Chairman, J. S. Maritz, and Andries Pretorius. It is possible that Bardenhorst may have written to the British Government in connection with this matter, but there is no such evidence in the Minutes of the Volksraad of Natal. It appears that Bennie received a garbled version of what had happened. (I am indebted to Mr P. C. O. Strydom, the Chief Archivist, Pietermaritzburg, for his suggestions and assistance in compiling the material for Notes 40 and 41).

42 Many of the Trekboers (as opposed to Voortrekkers) living in Transorangia were not hostile towards Great Britain, and in 1848, when Sir Harry Smith annexed the O.F.S., these Boers were referred to as the "well-disposed" (Macmillan, *op. cit.*, p. 271). These "pre-Trek men" were "fearful and jealous of the later and more vigorous arrivals" such as Commandant J. G. Mocke, who entertained violent anti-British sentiments and who assisted the Boers in Natal in opposing the British annexation (Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 288 ff). At this time there were some 10,000 Boers living on the High Veld from the Orange River to

Magaliesberg (*Ibid.*, p. 287). Bennie was probably not referring to the number of men in Mocke's commando which went to assist the Boers in Natal. It is more likely that he was referring to the number of Mocke's adherents in Transorangia (For further information on the political divisions see van Schoor, M. C. E., "Politieke Groepering in Transgariep", *Archives Year Book for South African History*, 1950, Pt. II, *passim*).

43 This might refer to Landdrost Jacobus de Clercq of the Transvaal.

44 It is unlikely that this refers to the Volksraad at Pietermaritzburg. The Adjunct Raad at Potchefstroom never assumed the subordinate position which it was allotted in February, 1841 (Wichmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28). In September, 1840 an Adjunct Judiciary was created, before a Volksraad materialised (*Ibid.*, p. 24). By August, 1843, the bonds between the two constitutional bodies were very slender indeed, and by 1845 the Boers beyond the Drakensberg were wholly independent (*Ibid.*)

45 Piet Uys, the leader of the Uys-Trek, arrived at the Retief-Maritz camp after the Nine Articles — the first Trekker consitution — had been drawn up (Walker, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-140). If Bennie was referring to this he was misinformed.

46 See Note 47.

47 These are curious admissions from Bennie who was so closely linked with the Boers by marriage and who was intimately concerned with the Dutch Reformed Church later. It seems to indicate that he drew a distinction between the Boers within and without the Colony.

48 Some pages are missing here.

49 Incomprehensible.

50 Ficus Pretoriae, commonly known as the "Wonderboom" (Harvey, H. H. and Sonder, O. W., *Flora Capensis*, V, Pt. II, pp. 528-529).

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D.W.

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