

# JOHAN AUGUST WAHLBERG

Travel Journals (and some letters)  
South Africa and Namibia/Botswana,  
1838-1856



Introduced and edited by  
Adrian Craig and Chris Hummel with  
cartography by Oakley West

Translated from the Swedish by  
Michael Roberts

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available to Wahlberg, enabling him to identify species by the names Swainson had used such as *Halcyon rufiventer*, now *Halcyon leucocephala*, a kingfisher which is both rufous-breasted and grey-headed. Elsewhere he often used the original Linnean names for the species, e.g. *Dipus caffer* for the springhare, and *Turdus morio* for the red-winged starling. The journals do provide useful information on the distribution of a number of bird and mammal species at that time, and considering the limited reference sources at Wahlberg's disposal, he was well prepared and accurately identified most of the birds and mammals which he encountered.

On the other hand, the fact that Wahlberg wrote up and published so little of his massive collections, which have all been worked up by others, is after all an indication of his limitations as a scientist. It also emphasises the fact that he was primarily a collector. Indeed, Wahlberg seems to have deferred respectfully to the professional zoologists, and actually handed over his collections for them to work on. And for all their regard for him, he was not treated as their equal. Andrew Smith (1797-1872), the noted zoologist and pioneering collector in the interior of South Africa,<sup>39</sup> when acknowledging specimens sent to him from Stockholm implies a clear difference in status between Mr Wahlberg the collector and Professor Carl Sundevall (1801-75) who, as head of the vertebrate section at the Royal Museum in Stockholm, was the scientific colleague.<sup>40</sup>

But there is no question about Wahlberg's dedication to scientific endeavour. For the sake of science he was prepared to stay far longer than his initial period of leave allowed,<sup>41</sup> even if to take much longer would cost him his job in the Survey Office,<sup>42</sup> precisely because he had no doubt in his own mind that his real task – for the moment – lay in southern Africa. For the moment: for after all southern Africa was not big enough for him. He very much wanted to go to Brazil – or at least, to Mozambique – justly confident of his ability to stick it out in the most enervating climate.<sup>43</sup> After the disaster of the first trip to the Limpopo he was ready to endure it all again, if he could solve the mystery of how many species of rhinoceros

actually existed.<sup>44</sup> His fortitude, even in the grimdest circumstances,<sup>45</sup> – starting with his very first experiences travelling 2nd class to the Cape<sup>46</sup> – is impressive. He met accidents and mishaps with marked stoicism, resourcefulness and ingenuity.<sup>47</sup> Unlike his Swedish assistant and companion in south-west Africa, Oscar Lindholm,<sup>48</sup> he seems to have been able to keep his temper under considerable provocation.<sup>49</sup> He bore few grudges: his resentment of Letterstedt's "punctilious" behaviour (which was unfair in any case)<sup>50</sup> he had got over, it appears, by the time of his return to Cape Town from Port Natal on 28 December 1844.

One cannot help but be impressed also by the friendly relations between Wahlberg and his more important assistants. In that regard, too, he stands head and shoulders above those who joined him on his south-west African safari, including the traders, Castray<sup>51</sup> and Green<sup>52</sup> (and of course Lindholm!). A good example is how he and his right-hand man in Natal and the Limpopo, Willem Nel, went through thick and thin together, their frequent quarrels<sup>53</sup> notwithstanding. In south-west Africa, it was the same with the Damara assistant, Cairo; and it is not difficult to understand why Cairo wept when he found himself at the end of the queue for pudding!<sup>54</sup>

44 Wahlberg MS.; Wahlberg to his family, 5 Jan. 1845. During his visit to London, Wahlberg notes seeing "horns of the four presumed species of rhinoceros" in W. Burchell's collection. The black rhinoceros *Diceros bicornis* had been described by Linnaeus in 1758 from specimens from the Cape of Good Hope. Andrew Smith described

*Rhinoceros keitloa* from Zeerust in the western Transvaal in 1836, based on specimens in which the back horn was as long or longer than the front horn. For the white rhinoceros, Burchell first gave it the name *Ceratotherium simum* in 1817, but later *Rhinoceros oswelli* was used for animals in which a straight anterior horn projected forward at an acute angle. These were the four species names in use in Wahlberg's time. Later investigation showed that the form of the horns is individually variable, and only two species should be recognised, with *keitloa* a synonym of *bicornis*, and *oswelli* a synonym of *simum*.

45 Possibly the most concentrated illustration of such circumstances is to be found in above letter.

46 Wahlberg MS.; Wahlberg to Professor Retzius and other family, 30 Sept. 1838 & 12 Feb. 1839.

47 Examples to be found in pp.16, 17, 23-24, 27, 82, 103, 106, 112, 132, 188, 189, 190, 191, 201 & 203.

48 See p.148, including fn.5 of letters.

49 Below, pp.110-111 & 114.

50 Wahlberg MS.; Wahlberg to his brother, 31 Jan. 1841.

51 Charles Catheart Castray; also farmer and settler. After accompanying Wahlberg on his south-west African expedition, he went into partnership with Wilson in the mid-1850s. As one of a group of traders he became politically and militarily involved in the 1860s in Otjimbingwe.

52 Frederick Joseph Green (c.1830-76); also hunter and often reckless adventurer.

53 Below, p.143.

54 Below, p.162.

39 As first superintendent of the South African Museum (founded in 1825) and author of a monumental 5-volume work published between 1838 to 1849, *Illustrations of the zoology of South Africa*, consisting chiefly of collections during an expedition into the interior of South Africa in the years 1834, 1835 and 1836, Smith earned himself the title of the 'father of South African zoology'.

40 A. Smith, *Illustrations of the zoology of South Africa*, Vol. Aves, *Reptilia*, text to pl. LXVIII, fig.1.

41 Wahlberg MS.; Wahlberg to family, 28 Aug. 1838. See also Wahlberg to Professor Retzius, 21 Dec. 1839, and to Professor Sundevall, 31 Jan. 1841.

42 Wahlberg MS.; Wahlberg to Professor Sundevall, 31 Jan. 1841.

43 *Ibid.*

16. Pass Rensburg's. The man was not at home: visiting his brother. From Plessies' to Kasper Krieger, over the veld. See the large *tospan*. Outspan at Krieger's brother's farm.

17. To Crocodile River.

18. To Mammakhalisberg [sic].<sup>696</sup> I went at once with Swart Boy to this Kaffer Captain and (at the cost of 2 buck) hired of him 3 men to accompany me to the Apies Rivier and look after my oxen there. Their dwellings particularly neat and well-built, the form circular like this: [sketch]. The walls are of stone or wood and reed, thoroughly and evenly smeared over with clay. Each house is usually divided into two parts. On the way back brought down the large *tospan* with No.4 and wounded 1 steenbok with ball.

19. Tried unsuccessfully to bag some game for food. Set off over an extensive grassy plain, but was soon prevented from going on by fearful thunder and a heavy shower.

20. Soon got into the forest region. Saw the gigantic giraffe for the first time in a wild state, feeding on the tree-tops, and the enormous Rhinoceros, and herds of quaggas<sup>697</sup> and blue wildebeest: of the last of these Willem bagged one cow, which came in very appropriately, since the provision of meat for the Kaffers had long since been destroyed. The dogs and Kaffers revelled in it, the latter (Abasuto)<sup>698</sup> wound the bloody fat intestines round their necks as decoration, and sought out their hosts and the mafura<sup>699</sup> [sic]. Found 3 bees' nests with the help of an *Indicator*.

21. The forest continues. Bastard Hartebeests and rooibok.<sup>700</sup> Twice took a shot at the dark Qvartele<sup>701</sup> [sic]. Ostriches.

22. Arrived at the magnificent Apies Rivier, now flowing pretty strongly. Beautiful acacias and other trees. Forest everywhere. Put up a lion. Maku<sup>702</sup> [sic]. *Haliaetus vocifer*. Bring down an *Indicator flavicollis*.<sup>703</sup> A

beautiful *Euplectes*.<sup>704</sup> 1 *Eurocephalus*.<sup>705</sup> Arrange a laager (kraal) of the thorny acacia. Terrific thunder. Very busy until the end of the month. Willem brought down 1 Rhino [sic] . . . [illegible].

1 February. April goes off. A rhinoceros bothers us at night.

2. In the evening I find Roejland<sup>706</sup> covered with blood, the tip of his tail is off. At first I suspect our herdsman, but fortunately discover my mistake. Tie knots in the agtersjambok and load the double-barrel with ball. Willem gets 2 blue wildebeest. Extremely busy every day.

11. A party of Basutos comes looking for honey, and encamps by our camp. The honey is a pretext; the real object is meat, which they hope to get from us.

13. Out hunting. 1 steenbok, 1 vlakvark, 1 *Rhinoceros africanus*,<sup>707</sup> the latter lying in the shade of a little tree. A *Buphagus*<sup>708</sup> attracted my attention, and I knew that as long as I kept out of her sight the Rhinoceros would not notice me either; I got within 25 paces, protected from the *Buphagus* by a little bush which permitted me to get a clear sight of the rhinoceros through the high grass. He was standing somewhat leaning to one side, and the only motion that could be seen was a little flicking of his ears. My well-judged shot removed him from sleep to eternity. At first he lay quite still for some time, but gradually he began to struggle to his feet. I then let him have another bullet from my double-barrel and grabbed an assegai from the young Kaffer and stabbed him in the heart. He was one of the little black sort, with a sharp pointed horn; they are very fierce and chase a man at sight. We put up another *Rhinoceros simus*,<sup>709</sup> which at once took to flight; this sort is much less fierce, and flees from man. He made off at a sharp trot, carrying his head high. We pursued, but could not catch him. Saw plenty of game, such as giraffes, blue wildebeest, *A.lunata*, *A.Rödbock*<sup>710</sup> [sic], *Phacochoerus africanus*.<sup>711</sup> The beautiful *Astur musicus*,<sup>712</sup> which I tried unsuccessfully to catch.

696 See fn.545.

697 Probably Burchell's zebra *Equus burchellii*.

698 Basotho, or its earlier version, *Basuto*; the people of the high veld area, now known as Lesotho (formerly Basutoland).

699 "Mafura" (or Mofara) appears on 30 April 1842 as a "native" chieftain, so perhaps the answer is that "they sought out ... the Mafura", i.e. Mafura's people. (*Translator's note*.) The name is perhaps derived from Mavura, ruler of the Shona Mhunhumutapa kingdom in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth-centuries.

700 Here "rooibok" must mean impala *Aepyceros melampus*, since red duiker *Cephalophus natalensis* do not occur in this area.

701 Probably refers to quail which are common breeding visitors in many areas in summer.

702 Probably the spurwing goose *Plectropterus gambensis*.

703 Greater honey-guide *Indicator indicator*.

704 Bishop birds, family Ploceidae, in which males have distinctive black and red or black and yellow plumage in summer.

705 White-crowned shrike *Eurocephalus anguitimens*, related to the helmet shrikes, family Prionopidae, and a social species which is a co-operative breeder.

706 One of his oxen; the first casualty.

707 Black rhinoceros *Diceros bicornis*.

708 Oxpeckers, aberrant starlings, family Sturnidae. Both species feed primarily on ticks which they remove from grazing mammals. Rhinoceros and buffalo are among their favourite host animals. In South Africa the red-billed oxpecker *Buphagus erythrorhynchus* was always more common than the yellow-billed oxpecker *Buphagus africanus*, which was for a time extinct as a breeding species in this country.

709 White rhinoceros *Ceratotherium simum*.

710 Impala *Aepyceros melampus*.

711 Warthog *Phacochoerus aethiopicus*.

20. Out hunting. Got 1 hyaena. I placed the bullet well up on the shoulder, and it lodged in the skin at the other side, but nevertheless the animal ran several hundred yards almost without seeming to be affected, but at last turned round exhausted and was brought down by Willem. 1 *A. melolampus*. 1 *Rhinoceros simus*. I got to within 30 paces and broke his back with a bullet; he fell at once, and now followed a grisly death-struggle, during which a watery blood-tinged sweat dropped from the skin of the sufferer. He struck out in rage with his horn. We shot two bullets at his head with the small rifles, but they did not penetrate. Willem then shot with the big gun, but though the bullet was well placed for the heart, and the blood gushed out, we had to leave the beast still dying. Willem wounded 2 rhinoceros. A giraffe came well within range, but our bullets were finished.

24. Rain. Busy the preceding days with packing.

25. In the morning the oxen make off over the Apies Rivier, and the Basuto who was watching them did not dare to go after them, since by reason of the heavy rain great masses of water were pouring down the river. At his shout Willem with Swart and Wit Boy hurried to the spot, and they swam over the river and followed the tracks of the fugitives, Willem quite naked. They came up with them only at the third river and on recrossing [the Apies] on the way back Bontberg<sup>713</sup> was nearly drowned. I had sent the 2 Basutos over, and when they were now to return with the oxen, not only were they nearly drowned themselves, but almost succeeded in drowning the oxen too. Heavy rain.

26. Rain. Bring down 4 rooibok, but recover only 2 of them, the 3rd eaten by vultures. Willem 1 blue wildebeest. Rooibok not afraid of a shot; they advance, blow, and try to scare the attacker.

27. Rain.

28. Fine weather. Continue packing.

1 March. Finish packing. Kalilä<sup>714</sup> with several Basutos return with a number of dogs and bring *Megalotis Lalandii*.<sup>715</sup>

2. Break camp. Scattered cloud. 6 Basutos and 30 dogs constitute our advance and rearguard. A rhinoceros scares the oxen, but immediately makes off. The road level and good between the thorny acacias. Chase an *Astur melanoleucus*, without success. Plenty of game. Apart from the 30 big dogs 2 Basutos had each a sack full of puppies on his back.

712 Pale chanting goshawk *Melierax canorus*.

713 One of the oxen. Cf. entry for 20 Nov. 1842.

714 Not traced.

715 Bat-eared fox *Otocyon megalotis*, once known as Delalande's fox, an insectivorous species.

3. At the station on the lower Apies Rivier. Walked to the confluence of the Soane and the Moritemi.<sup>716</sup> Great wide-spreading meadows with tall grass under water (knee-deep). Looked unsuccessfully for *Plectropterus*.<sup>717</sup> Extremely exhausting walking about. On my way back brought down a blue wildebeest cow with the double-barrel. The Basutos who were with us, when they came up, at once threw themselves on the ground and greedily sucked the milk of the dead animal.

4. Left for the Salt Pan.<sup>718</sup> Passed a large kraal of Basutos, with extensive plantations of Kaffer corn; on every piece of land is a high wooden structure, on which 2 or more watchers stand – usually women or children – to give a signal if wild beasts or other thieves approach. The curious natives came out in large numbers, and followed by the side of my waggon.

5. Looked for a suitable place for camp, and pitched it. Willem got a large *Rhinoceros simus* 10' 8½" long.

6. Out hunting. A *Prionops*<sup>719</sup> etc. In the evening forced to shoot one of the Basuto's dogs, who was becoming altogether too much of a nuisance by eating food hung up in the tent. Feared a riot among the 10 Basutos.

9. Out hunting towards the Salt Pan. As I was crossing the rocky ridge that surrounds it, I suddenly heard a *Buphagus* call, and at the same instant saw a rhinoceros spring up, and with head raised and nostrils wide open, come straight towards me. There was an enormous fallen tree behind me, and thither I took refuge, although I could not climb much higher than the height of the beast itself. When I looked round, I saw the creature already on the spot where I had been standing, blowing and snorting, casting in all directions and striking out with his terribly-armed head. I had already the trigger cocked to shoot a volley of bird-shot at him in order to drive him off, when he suddenly turned about and fled swiftly away. In the Salt Pan 1 *Himantopus*.<sup>720</sup> I winged him, and he waded out into the water, I followed, but soon sank in the mud up to my middle, and nearly got stuck. Fortunately he made his way back to the shore. Various other birds and 1 large Leguan. Willem 1 *Coracias nuchalis*.<sup>721</sup>

10. Rain.

716 Probably the junction of the Moretele and the Tolwane rivers before they flow further westwards into the Crocodile river.

717 Spur-winged goose *Plectropterus gambensis*.

718 Gyldenstolpe in *Ibis*, 1934, p.269 suggests Hamanskraal 28,58 miles (46 km.) north of Pretoria as the location.

719 Helmet shrike, family Prionopidae; probably the white helmet shrike *Prionops plumata*.

720 Black-winged stilt *Himantopus himantopus*.

721 Purple roller *Coracias naevia*.

11. Rainy. Got 1 *Megalotis lalandii*; there were 4 of them together. Some birds. Wounded 1 rooibok and 1 wildebeest. Saw 3 rhinoceros.

12. Rainy. Willem 1 *Carus chama*.<sup>722</sup> The dogs catch 1 *Megalotis lalandii*, Willem another young *Rhinoceros simus* and his mother, who in her death-agony tried undauntedly to protect her young, and frightened the Basutos.

13. Busy preparing skins.

14. Fine weather. Ia ill. Willem 1 bastard hartebeest, but though he had hung the meat in a tree, the vultures had contrived to get hold of it. Ate tortoise-eggs, really delicious, but only the yolk hardens with boiling; it was the large mountain tortoise.<sup>723</sup> *Coracias nuchalis*, and, with a good deal of trouble, a *Falco musicus*.<sup>724</sup>

27. 1 bastard hartebeest. 1 *Otis kori*.<sup>725</sup> [sic]. 2 *Turdus*. Wounded 2 *Rhinoceros simus*, they chased me, but not very far. One screamed horribly when I gave him a bullet. 1 hyaena in a trap. On my way home in the dusk I very nearly trod on a frightful *Bolula*;<sup>726</sup> he paid dearly for the scare he gave me, for my bullet blew his head from his *truncus*.

3, 4, 5, 6 April. Thunder every day, violent rain; consequently unable to continue with packing.

10. Set off at midday and outspanned at the first river. Chased a giraffe without success.

11. Ttami.<sup>727</sup> *Cypogeramus serpentarius*, Basuto Lehututa. *Buceros carunculatus*.<sup>728</sup> *Struthio*.<sup>729</sup> Mpi or hmpi,<sup>730</sup> Basuto Pâgobi – *Canis mesomelas*.<sup>731</sup> Leba.<sup>732</sup> *Columba risoria*.<sup>733</sup> Tpisi – quagga.<sup>734</sup> Outspanned opposite Mam-makali's kraal,<sup>735</sup> though at some distance from it. George and Calmel<sup>736</sup> walk home to the kraal. Lions bothering us all night, roaring round the waggon and preventing us from sleeping. We were forced to shoot repeatedly in order to quieten the oxen.

722 Cape fox *Vulpes chama*.

723 *Geochelone pardalis*, the largest tortoise in southern Africa, which can weigh up to 40 kg.

724 Pale chanting goshawk *Melierax canorus*. Cf. fn. 712.

725 Kori bustard *Otis kori*.

726 Probably the puff adder *Bitis arietans*. Cf. the Zulu name *ibululu*.

727 Evidently a local name, perhaps of secretary bird.

728 Southern ground hornbill *Bucorvus cafer*.

729 Ostrich *Struthio camelus*.

730 Sotho for ostrich.

731 Black-backed jackal *Canis mesomelas*.

732 Evidently a local name.

733 Cape turtle dove *Streptopelia capicola*.

734 Here almost certainly Burchell's zebra *Equus burchelli*.

735 See fn. 545.

736 Unable to identify further.

12. Arrive at the Crocodile River and cross it, though it was pretty full. Got 1 *Astur musicus*.

13. Rainy, with thunder. Did nothing.

14. Did nothing.

15. To Blaauw Wildebeest Kop [sic].

16. To Plessies'. Adrian de Lange<sup>737</sup> there too.

17. To Sterkstroom. Begin hunting *A.nigra*. After roaming around for a long time, see one in a deep valley. Stalk it very circuitously, and wound one which was afterwards wounded by Willem, and in the end I gave him the fatal shot.

18, 19. Looking in vain for it [*A.nigra*].

20. Rather further off, by a spruit.

21. After a long tramp through the suikerbos [sic], at last encounter an *A.nigra*. She runs off, and I follow her as quickly as I can, and when she stops to look round, she gets my bullet obliquely through the great ribs. After running a short way she falls dead. Come home after dark, as has happened on several occasions. During the whole time we have been in the Makhalis Berg there have been swarms of grasshoppers.

22. Stayed in camp.

23. To the Hex River.

24. Covered a lot of ground. Towards evening met 5 *A.nigra*, but could not get within range. Also *A.equina*.<sup>738</sup> shot it. *Oreotragus*.

25. Hunted without success.

26, 27. Far afield. An *Indicator* leads me to a particularly rich bees' nest, in a krantz; a Ratel had tried to rob it the night before; I tried it, but without success. 1 Eland bull, caught by a lion. Calmel smeared its stinking marrow into his hair and over his body. He had earlier plastered his hair with honey. Too far away from the waggon in the evening to get back to it. We camped by an old hut made of leaves, and lighted a big fire. Cold during the night; slept little. Lived like John the Baptist in the wilderness, on locusts and wild honey.

27. [sic]. Returned after breakfasting on roasted locusts and honey. In a deep dell encountered 1 *Felis jubata* with 3 cubs; the old one got away, but we took the young. Through deep river-beds, clothed in high grass; got 2 *A.eleotragus*,<sup>739</sup> one old cow in calf, with a nearly full-grown ram-calf.

737 Probably one of the family of Adrian de Lange (1799-1861), farmer in the eastern Cape, one of whose sons Johan Hendrik explored the interior of southern Africa, including the vicinity of the Magaliesberg prior to leaving for the Natal trek in 1837.

738 Roan antelope *Hippotragus equinus*.

739 Southern reedbuck *Redunca arundinum*, although this name has also been applied to the mountain reedbuck *Redunca fulvorufa*.

8. Busy with the Kudu skin. Bring down a kind of partridge and a hare.  
 9. Wind, and very warm.  
 10. Wound 1 Kudu, and in following its spoor come upon a herd of buffalo, who refuse to allow themselves to be scared off.  
 11. Stroll down below the junction of the two Umfolosis. Wound 1 Waterbuck. See a lion. Arrange pits to catch *Aulacodus*.<sup>792</sup>  
 12. Willem brings down a waterbuck. Delegorgue comes home. I get *Aulacodus*, a young one, for the first time. Willem 1 buffalo with the little double-barrel.  
 13. Willem 1 buffalo. Prepare the skin of the waterbuck.  
 14. Delegorgue 1 rhinoceros. Willem does not come home. Some rain towards evening.  
 15. Willem comes back, having brought down 2 elephants, of which one was a young one.  
 16. At home.  
 17. *Sunday* [sic: *Saturday*]. About midday we start off with some bread in our knapsacks, and towards evening take up our quarters in a cave in the hill near the White Umfolosi. We scramble up the hill and see a herd of elephant in the wood below us; also quantities of buffalo.  
 18. Willem stalks an elephant and bags him in one shot, so that he lies where he falls. Two young ones, probably its offspring, refuse to leave the carcase, and have to be driven off with shots. [Cf. Wahlberg MS.; Wahlberg to his family, 28 May 1843.]  
 19. An elephant wounded. Thunder and rain. We return home.  
 20. Look for a route to bring the waggon down to the confluence of the two Umfolosis, and succeed in finding one. An elephant wounded. Plenty of buffalo. Thunder and rain.  
 22. Clearing a road, with spade, pickaxe and axe. Bag a crocodile. Rainy. Send off my Kaffers to fetch the oxen.  
 23. Overcast. My oxen arrived.  
 24. Move to below the confluence of the Umfolosis. Disturb two lions in thick bush; they depart, roaring. Towards evening see several Rhinoceros grazing.  
 25. Bring down 1 *Rhinoceros simus* in one shot; he takes to flight, screaming incessantly, but soon falls dead. Another adult and a young one, which were with him, remain by the carcase. I wound them both, and they make off. (One of them was found dead some days afterwards.) Cut up the carcase, with incredible labour, get the oxen to come and fetch the skin on a cut-down acacia. Get home after dark, and pitch my tent over the skin.

792 Cane rat *Thryonomys swinderianus*, a large herbivorous rodent which is very good eating.

26. Hard at work on the skin. Delegorgue returns from the Umfolosi.  
 27. *do. do.* Get a buffalo with one shot on the shoulder-blade; an enormous herd.  
 28. Towards evening wound 1 bushbuck and bring down 1 *Rhinoceros simus*. First bullet on the shoulder-blade; he falls, but gets up again, and moves slowly into the reeds, where I give him another bullet, and leave him lying, still alive, but unable to get to his feet.  
 29. Find the Rhinoceros still living; give him two shots from the double-barrel at his head without effect, and finally two from the big gun, which crush two ribs, and after a short struggle put an end to his sufferings. Make a start with the dissection, and wallow in blood and flesh all day. Willem and 2 young Kaffers lend a hand. Towards evening hang all the pieces in a tree.  
 30. Find all the ribs scattered around under the tree, but fortunately recover them all. This was the work of the vultures, who had also eaten up all the flesh of the Rhinoceros. Continue dissecting, and carry home part of the bones. Fire at a herd of buffalo, who refused to be scared away by shots.  
 1 October. A terribly hot and dry wind blowing from the North. Willem brings down 1 *Antelope ellipsiprymnus*;<sup>793</sup> towards evening fires, which threaten to burn the waggon. Message from Panda, who forbids hunting of elephant.  
 2. *Sunday*. Willem and Kâtjaja move off up the White Umfolosi to fetch the elephant tusks, which had by this time worked loose.  
 3. Cold and wet. Return from hunting wet through.  
 4. Willem returns and has found yet another elephant tusk. Cold and wet.  
 5. Roll up the skin of the Rhinoceros for the last time, and tie it up with thongs.  
 6. Unwell. Hunting *Epir* . . .<sup>794</sup> [illegible] without success. Lions roaring frightfully every night.  
 7. Sick; take an emetic. Send off the Kaffers to fetch the oxen.  
 8. Oxen arrive. Kugelman<sup>795</sup> left behind on the road, being incapable of keeping up with the others. Keep up a large fire at night.  
 9. Pack up, and leave for Delegorgue's house.  
 10. Continue my journey. Many Eland in sight. 1 large bull wounded. I secure 1 Tarental and 1 Patrys. Get milk by barter.  
 11. Continue journey. Pass the kraal where the oxen had been taken care

793 Waterbuck *Kobus ellipsiprymnus*.

794 Unidentified. Perhaps Epikoa as later. See fn.1055.

795 One of the oxen.

eastward. We outspanned without finding water, but in the end I succeeded in finding a little river. On my way back I came upon Tom, sitting by the riverside; he had followed our spoor and escaped his pursuers, and now gave us information about our route. W[illem] 1 bastard gemsbok. A rhinoceros chases the oxen at a run and the disselboom came near to being broken.

30. Pitch tent in a valley.

1 October. Hunt *Aequina*. Wound a rhinoceros. Observe its method of defecating and urinating.

2. W[illem] encounters Delegorgue.

3. Delegorgue visits me.

4. Our camp disturbed by a rhinoceros: he gets a bullet. Visit D[elegorgue], who hires Tom.

7. Tom went off to D[elegorgue].

8. Go to Pillaan,<sup>908</sup> (Zulu girls for whom lobola is not paid do not consider themselves to be legally married, so that if they have no father or brothers they choose another husband in order to receive the payment. It is said of the Korannas<sup>909</sup> that when e.g. a man is visited by one of his friends he hands his house over to his friend for the duration of his stay, and the friend enters unreservedly into all the rights of the master of the house, not only over his domestic equipment but also over his wife. When a Koranna dies and his son is a minor, his paternal or maternal uncle takes all the stock and keeps it until the son is big and strong enough to thrash his uncle, who after being overpowered pronounces the son fit to take over his property. Other relations who may happen to be jealous of his guardian are said to feed up the son in order that he may the sooner acquire the necessary strength.)

9. The road to Pillaan rocky and extremely bad. On arrival Tom and I repair to the kraal. We enter, and meet Pillaan with his captains; he passes by me without condescending to look at me, and takes his seat on a rock which dominates the kraal, rocking on his bottom with his feet up and his hands round his knees. He was wrapped in a kaross of genet-skin, and is of good stature. We follow him, and after he had seated himself he greeted us amicably and conversed with courtesy. Excellent Ttjoalla was produced. He first tasted it himself, and then handed it to us. He accompanied us to

908 The Tswana chief Pilanne or Pilane, chief of the Kgafela branch of the Kgalagadi tribe, whose homestead or *umuzi*, following and manner are vividly described by Delegorgue, *Voyage*, ii, especially 412 and 434-35.

909 A Khoi people, herding sheep and cattle, who lived mostly near the Orange, Vaal and Orange rivers, deriving their name from that of a famous leader, Lora (Gora, or even Ora).

the waggon, but refused (probably instructed by Pottgieter) to give us any information about Pottskoan.<sup>910</sup> We spoke to him about the way his people had treated us by refusing to stay with us and going off home as soon as they had got sufficient meat. To this he was not prepared to listen, but at once rose and made his way back to his kraal. Some of his people stayed behind, and expressed their desire to accompany us, in return for payment.

9 [sic]. Tom returns to Delegorgue. I continue on after having got 2 Basutos to accompany us. We pass round the end of Leroma<sup>911</sup> and continue on the other side along the mountain to westward, and arrive at a Kaffer kraal and outspan there. W[illem] brings down one black rhinoceros.

10. Continue on our way due north.

11. do. Water scarce. A Basuto sees a *Keitloa*.<sup>912</sup>

12. Reach Mokopoani berg.<sup>913</sup> A fine spring. Many abandoned kraals. Pillaan had lived here, but at the time when I was last at the Apie's river Mazilikazi attacked his kraal at night and murdered many of his people, and so they have now deserted this place and moved nearer Makhaliasberg.

13, 14. W[illem] and K[oos] hunting without success. Bring down 2 bastard hartebeest.

15. Hunting. Wound a [illegible];<sup>914</sup> Bast. Vand.<sup>915</sup>

16. W[illem] 1 eland, lions roaring.

17. A herd of wildebeest grazing with the oxen; they take to flight in alarm on the approach of the herdsman. The oxen, seeing this, follow at a gallop. Every time the wildebeest stop, they stop too, but as soon as the herdsman gets near them they are off again, till finally, deep in the wood, he manages to drive them.

19. Delegorgue comes upon my spoor and camps quite near me.

21. K[oos]. brings down a young *A.nigra* ♀.

22. Packing and preparing for departure.

910 Cf. entry of 18 Mar. 1843.

911 The Laroma-berg or Pilanesberg, site of Pilanne's *umuzi*. See fn.920.

912 Cf. fn.44 introduction; and fns 951 & 991. This is Wahlberg's first reference to the third species of African rhinoceros which Andrew Smith had been sure actually existed. (W.F. Lye, *Andrew Smith's Journal of his Expedition into the Interior*, p.213 & Smith, *Illustrations of the zoology of South Africa. Mammalia*, pls 1, 2 and 19, and accompanying text). Wahlberg became convinced by his observations that it did not exist. See Wahlberg MS.; Wahlberg to his family, 5 Jan. 1845.

913 The Witfontein mountains (Brinck, *South African animal life*, p.30 and Gyldenstolpe in *Ibis*, 1934, p.273), presently known as the Witfonteinrand.

914 In pencil in the original, very faintly written. *Translator's note*.

915 Perhaps bastard hartebeest.

killed one and wounded another. The Basutos dancing this evening by the light of the fire, and singing Mazilikazi songs.

14. W[illem] follows the track of the wounded elephant, but in vain. Prepare the *Argala* and arrange my collections.

15 *Thursday [Friday]*. W[illem] kills a rooibock [sic]. The elephant tusks cut out; but our people return late, so we get no further than to the spot where the elephant was lying, and had our hut put up close by. During the night we could hear lions roaring quite close to us, and elephants breaking trees and trumpeting.

16 *Friday [Saturday]*. W[illem] follows their tracks, but they had waded through the river. We go a little further on our way and find the spoor of an elephant, which W[illem] follows in vain. I bag 2 *Sciurus cepapi*, etc. We pass close to a kraal belonging to Sickela, and enlist 6 men to act as tusk-porters. In the course of the night the 3 younger ones decamp, leaving their assegais behind them.

17 *Saturday [Sunday]*. W[illem] gets a rooibok. One of the 3 older Basutos goes off to drink, and runs away, leaving his Koko<sup>986</sup> [sic] behind. See a beautiful *Accipiter niger*.<sup>987</sup> Take up our quarters in the house where we had left Maluba: not a trace of him either. Our hungry Basutos here made a meal of the dried hide of the old buffalo, pounding it between two stones and roasting it.

18 *Sunday [Monday]*. At last we shoot something; I get 2 rooibok in one shot, and W[illem] gets another, and our Basutos fill their hungry bellies. Arrive at our hut above the Malenga. I hack out the teeth of the black rhinoceros. Rain.

19 *Monday [Tuesday]*. Rainy. We wade through the Malenga – dangerous, with water up to our waists; and when we reached the kraal where Malubu had been were greeted with the disturbing news that Ko[o]s was ill. We make all haste to get to the waggon. Sickela's captain and one of his people accompany us as tusk-porters to a kraal of Pillaan's people, (at which we arrive just in time to miss a tremendous downpour), and we take up our quarters in one of the huts.

20. We take 6 men from this place to carry the tusks, and after a long march in the rain reach the kraal which lies near the isolated mountain in a clearing in the blue expanse of bush. Tracks of elephant. Makanos everywhere, and good eating. The Basutos dance in the evening. Windvogel sick.

986 Perhaps *khōsō*, the Sotho word for string of beads worn round the loins or else the

987 Setswana word *kākā*, meaning group of people, and therefore perhaps following.

987 Probably the black sparrow-hawk *Accipiter melanoleucus*. See fn.687.

21 *Wednesday [Thursday]*. Continue on our homeward way through Makanos-bush. The Basutos try to lead us astray. Night quarters between the 2 mountain ridges. W[illem] 1 bastard hartebeest.

22 *Thursday [Friday]*. Hastened my march. Saw a black buck and a bastard gemsbok [sic]. Reached my waggons at midday, and found that Ko[o]s was out hunting. He had collected a good deal during my absence. Letter from Delegorgue, dated 9th; then on his way home.

27 *Tuesday [Wednesday]*. W[illem] set off with half of the elephant tusks, to buy oxen.

29 *Thursday [Friday]*. I kill an old white rhinoceros bull with one bullet when he moves to attack me. He runs around for about 100 paces and falls dead. A cow with her calf take to their heels.

30 *Friday [Saturday]*. Ko[o]s and I strike camp and make for Die Spitzkoppe Makakoā<sup>988</sup> [sic], where we chased without success *Butastur linnonia*.<sup>989</sup> Continued across the veld; and when we reached the edge of the bush [met] large numbers of *Rhinoceros simus*. Ko[o]s shot a bull. Buffalos, camels [giraffes], etc., and during the night lions roaring and jackals howling. We sleep at a quagga-water.

31 *Saturday [Sunday]*. Arrived at a little sand river and camped by a quagga-water, where we had our hut put up. Went out hunting. I wound a giraffe with my carbine. See rhinoceros, black falcon etc.

1 *April Sunday [Monday]*. Wound another giraffe, kill a bastard hartebeest. Roamed around a good way. Saw another giraffe but could not get within range. At a Kaffer kraal, and get 2 men.

2. Chasing giraffe again, running until I was pretty well out of breath and trembling; but no success. Close to being bitten by a ringhals, but escape. Many eland: killed 5, and 1 eland cow, on the way home. Got back after dark. Ko[o]s, 2 rhinoceros, and (at last) 1 giraffe bull.

3. Preparing the skeleton of the giraffe, although he was not fully grown. First sent off 3 legs to our hut; and afterwards 6 loads, comprising the whole skeleton. Got back after sunset.

4. Kill 1 Bontquagga<sup>990</sup> [sic] and wound 1 jackal at the rhinoceros carriion. Tracks there of Pāsatjan:<sup>991</sup> the Basutos say that he follows the vultures and eats meat. A showdown with the Basutos. Give Pillaan's brother a flogging. He runs away during the night with the 2 other Basutos, and this forces me to return to the waggons with old Mapatani. On the way see

988 Spitskop, possibly a small hill situated to the south of the Witfonteinrand.

989 Probably *Butastur lessonii*, the booted eagle *Hieraetus pennatus* - these may in fact be the birds later described as Wahlberg's eagle *Aquila wahlbergi*, a small migratory species.

990 Burchell's zebra *Equus burchellii*.

991 Another name for rhinoceros. Cf. fn.912.

giraffes, elands, etc. 2 black rhinoceros. Arrived at midday. Send off Mam-måkåri to look for men. I go out hunting and see a giraffe, 1 bastard gemsbok; and at dusk on the way back, from a dangerous position on the open veld, I put a bullet into a black rhinoceros. When I get back I find Windvogel with a letter from Willem reporting that the Boers are asking 50 Rdr for every ox, etc.

6 Friday [Saturday]. Kill a redbuck ram. Mammåkåri returns with 3 men; 6 men from Mapota<sup>992</sup> come also. I send Windvogel back with a letter for Willem, and after having something to eat return once again to our hut, arriving just at sunset.

7 Saturday [Sunday]. Ko[o]s kills 1 eland; and I, 1 vlakvark with 2 shots; it was mad with rage. The sun went down as I was flaying the hide, and on the way back in the dark Nånbåbå had a narrow escape from being killed by a Patjan.

8 Sunday [Monday]. Ko[os] sick. Prepared the hide of the vlakvark. The captain of the neighbouring Basuto kraal comes to me with 2 men. Brought 2 pampoens.<sup>993</sup> I come to an agreement with him that one of his men shall stay with me, and to this he consents; but after his departure - with two loads of meat which I gave him - the man he left with me disappears also. I pursue them, catch them, take from them the meat and 2 assegais, and give them a few strokes with my stick.

9 Monday [Tuesday]. A whole party of armed Basutos come to me: I drive them off. Ko[os] kills a white rhinoceros and 1 quagga stallion, which we cut up.

10. Prepare the quagga hide. Ko[o]s wounds a camel [giraffe]: he got quite close to it and saw it kneeling to graze on the smaller bushes.

11. Wound 2 wildebeest and 1 black rhinoceros. Ko[os] kills a camel cow in calf, and one black rhinoceros. The wounded camel is attacked by a young lion, who bites a great hole in its backside, but immediately takes to its heels with its companions when it becomes aware of the presence of man. Send Mapetaani to the waggons with meat.

12. Return to my waggons with the young camel and put it into *spiritus vini*.<sup>994</sup> Chased by a black rhinoceros.

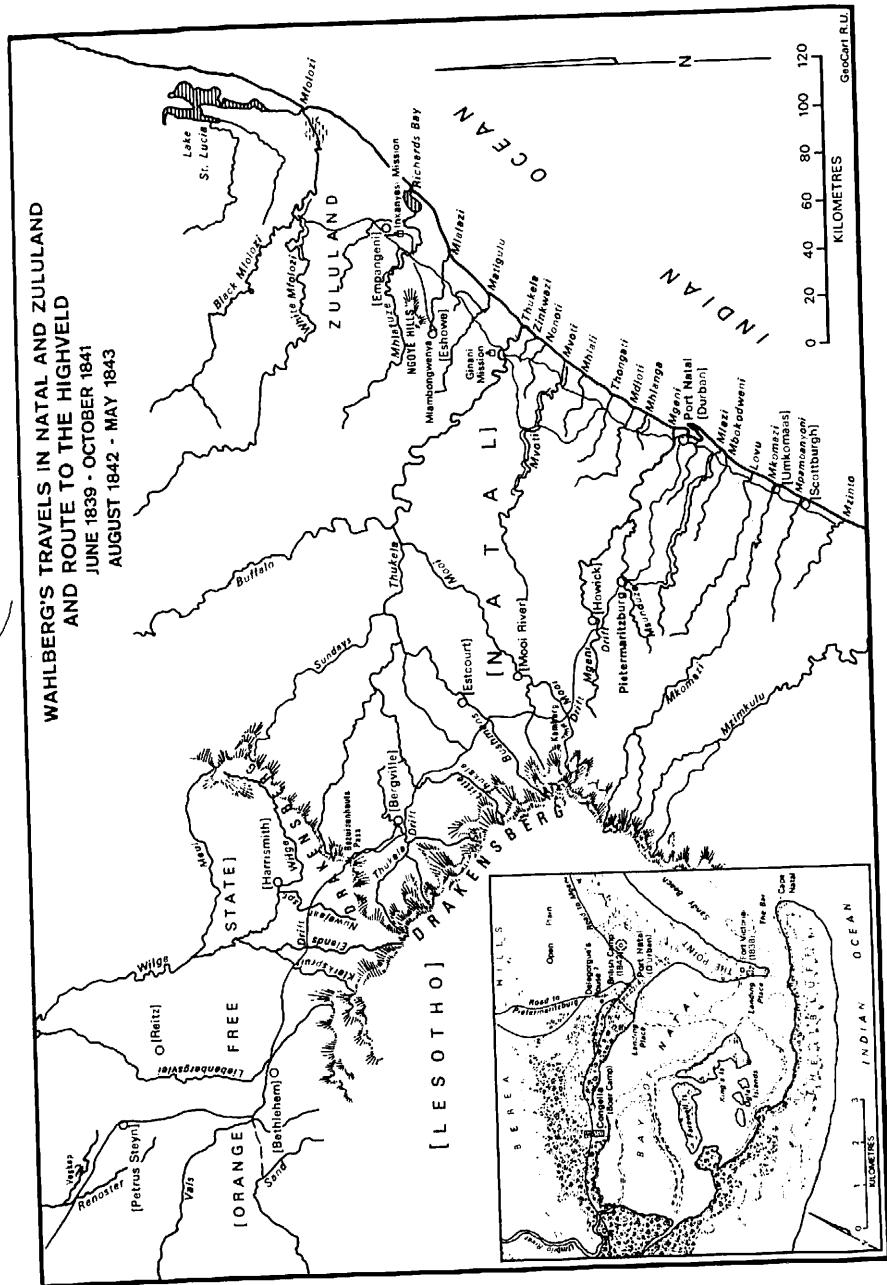
13. Go back to my hunting station, taking Makaba and Sipa<sup>995</sup> with me. Shoot 1 waterbuck and skin it, wound 1 black rhinoceros. People from Pillaan with 2 sheep, which they wish to exchange for powder and bullets.

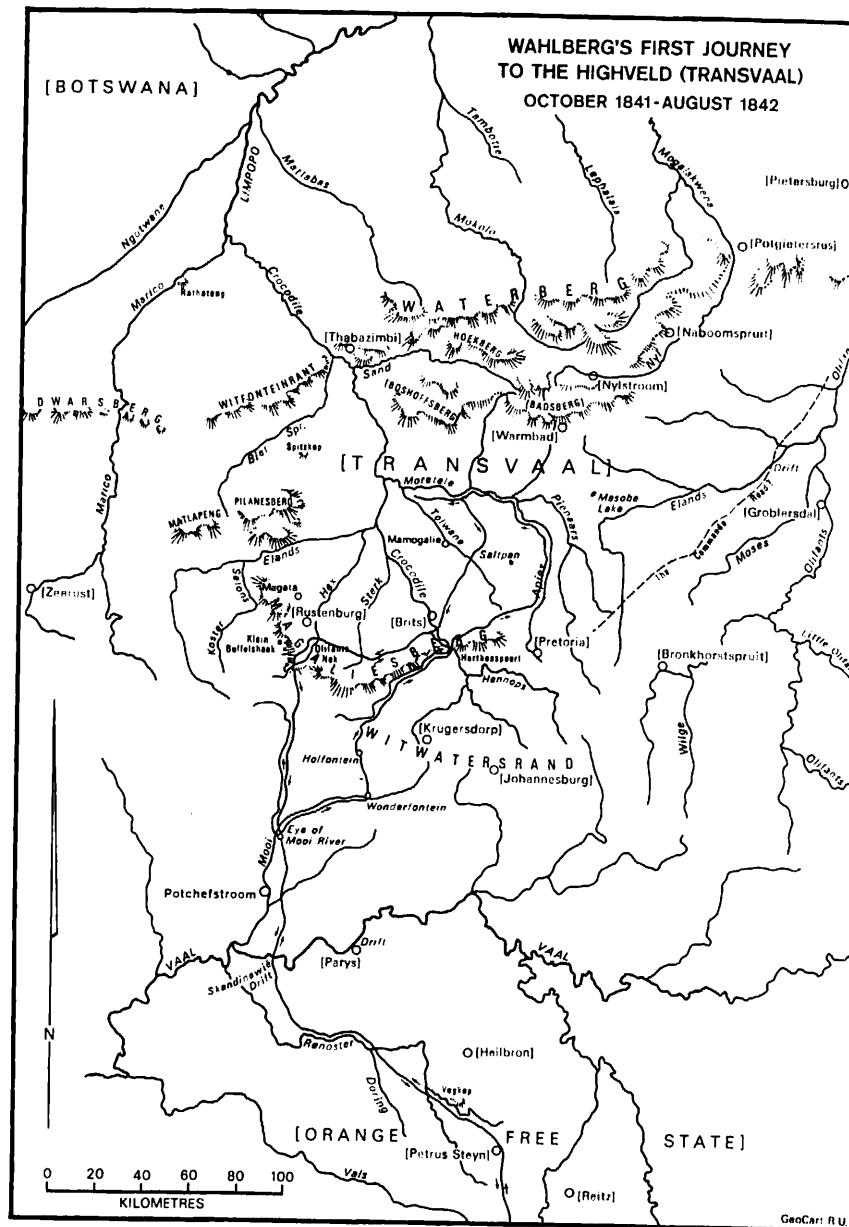
992 Not further identified.

993 *Cucurbita pepo*, pumpkin.

### 994 Alcohol for preserving specimens.

995 Another hired assistant.





B

14. Preparing the waterbuck. Ko[os] gets nothing.

15. Sunday [Monday]. Shoot 1 old camel [giraffe] on the run; remove her head. She was extremely fat. The Basutos are delighted, and wrangle over the lumps of fat. Continue my wandering, kill 2 white rhinoceros, one a cow and the other her almost fully-grown calf. The cow took one bullet, the calf 2, from the carbine. She screamed with rage, but one of her forelegs was shattered. I finish her<sup>996</sup> off with an assegai in her dorsal artery. My Basutos and I return, loaded with fat and meat, and reach the hut at dusk.

16. Monday [Tuesday]. Ko[os], 1 quagga. I stayed at home. 1 Jackal, for use as a bait in the trap at night.

17. Hunting cameleopards [sic], without success.

18. Ko[os] wounds 2 rhinoceros, but gets nothing. I get 1 quagga, which I skin. Nånbåå off with meat to Mammåkåri, who has been living on makanos for two days already.

19. Kill 1 blue wildebeest and wound 1 white rhinoceros, so that he screams, and the blood gushes from his nose. Ko[os] finds one of the rhinoceros that he wounded the previous day.

20. Pursue 2 giraffes; one of them comes within range, but my gun refuses to perform 4 times in succession, and he gets away.

21. Set off with the bones and hides; 20 Basutos carry them to the little river Inkolubå (or Varkensrivier) at Die Spitzkoppe.<sup>997</sup> See giraffes. Wound 2 rhinoceros. Kill 1 redbuck; Ko[os] 1 waterbuck.

22. Cover a great deal of ground without getting within range of anything. 1 old buffalo bull runs away, covered all over with mud. Kill 1 blue wildebeest.

23. Move to the waggons. Hunting there; get quite close to a herd of giraffe. Ko[os], 3 Epikoa.<sup>998</sup>

24. Return to my hunting station. Ko[os] gets 1 Epikoa; I get 1 blue wildebeest, bathing. Set the trap. Willem returns, having obtained 18 oxen. Tom came with him. Tells me that Isaac Niekirk has stolen Delegorgue's wagon and oxen.<sup>999</sup>

25. W[illem] and Tom, 4 buffaloes; Ko[os], 1 Epikoa.

26. W[illem] contrives a trektouw. Ko[os], 2 Epikoa.

27. I return to the waggons. Tom sent to fetch kaffer-corn. Return to Inkolubå in the evening. Rainy.

996 Wahlberg by mistake writes "him" and "his". *Translator's note.*

997 Possibly a small tributary of the Bierspruit near Spitskop (now called Kwa-Sefikile). *Cartographer's note.*

998 Unable to identify but see fn.1055.

999 See Delegorgue *Voyage*, ii, 541-43. Delegorgue was outraged by this act, which cost him £200. His attempts to recover the stolen wagon and beasts at gun point were variously frustrated.

tinued our march. Crossed the Moritini<sup>1013</sup> on cut-down trees. Strolled upstream and saw in the distance smoke rising from Tjouba's<sup>1014</sup> kraals. We camped at the edge of the bush and slept by a fire under the sky.

22 Tuesday [Wednesday]. This morning we at last arrived at the Buys's<sup>1015</sup> – the two giant brothers Doris and Gabriel: the former with a scar on his chin from a buffalo, the latter with a scar on his calf from an elephant-axe. At first they were friendly; but later changed completely after a talk with that two-faced Tom. We stopped here overnight.

23 Wednesday [Thursday]. Tom deserted; and we began our return journey along the Moritini. Saw *Plectropterus*. K[oos] got 1 springbok, W[illem] 1 white rhinoceros.

24 Thursday [Friday]. Continued our march. W[illem] shot at a lion but missed. Ko[o]s 1 redbuck, W[illem] 1 white rhinoceros.

25 Friday [Saturday]. About midday, after crossing the Talwani,<sup>1016</sup> we reached the Åli and crossed it at Delegorgue's little house, now ruinous. Took our dinner there and then went on along the river. Acacias 5 to 6 feet high.

25. Arrived at a smallish kraal, and here made a soup of the redbuck bones to recruit our fainting stomachs. K[oos] 1 redbuck. Afterwards went on to an isolated hill close to the river. Saw here a blackish *Epikoa*.

27 Sunday [Monday]. Rain. W[illem] 1 redbuck. We broke camp late. Passed the carcase of the elephant.<sup>1017</sup> W[illem] 1 white rhinoceros. Reached Injaka's kraal at dusk.

28. Made our way to my waggons, through difficult boggy ground. Chased (in vain) *Butaster Lersonii*.<sup>1018</sup> News that Mazilikazi has caused a Basuto kraal on the Limpopo to be plundered. Meanwhile make preparations for our departure.

9 June. During the night a herd of buffalo came quite close to our camp. W[illem] shot 1; a lion took it as it lay dying.

10. The oxen arrive. A trap with 2 guns, for the lion. It goes off in the course of the evening.

11. After skinning the lion, left for Inkolubi. The lion had been bitten to

1013 The Moretele, east of the Apies river; now part of the Pienaar river system.

1014 Unable to identify further.

1015 Presumably two more of the Buys family, later associated with the farm Leeuspruit, in the Heidelberg district of the Transvaal.

1016 Probably the Tolwane.

1017 Presumably one of the two shot by Willem on the 17th.

1018 Correctly *lessonii*, a name for the booted eagle *Hieraetus pennatus*. Once regarded as a non-breeding migrant to South Africa, but there is a widespread resident breeding population, and birds are recorded regularly in winter. Nevertheless this identification based on a sight record only is uncertain.

pieces by a [blank]. Received information of Pottgieter's advice to Pillaan to drive me off from his [blank].

12. Most of the Basutos abandon us.

14. Move to the small kraal on the open veld.

15. Bring down my first *Pterodes*.<sup>1019</sup>

16. *Ditto* 7 of them.

17. *Ditto* 6 of them.

18. Push on. During all these last days a fruitless hunt for *Rhinoceros africanus*.<sup>1020</sup> All we get are ugly specimens – ears or tail missing, and a huge sore behind the shoulder-blade.

19. Reached [a place] near Leroma and made camp there. 2 lions come to our camping-place. [Blank] fights with them. I am concerned for my Kaffers, who are asleep, and send Basutos with firebrands to waken them. 2 rhinoceros shot.

24. K[oos] killed 1 white rhinoceros.

26. K[oos] killed 1 black rhinoceros.

27. K[oos] killed 1 white rhinoceros, 1 buffalo.

29. K[oos] killed 1 lion, W[illem] 1 black rhinoceros.

30. K[oos] killed 1 black rhinoceros.

1 July. K[oos] and I set off for the black rhinoceros, with a troop of Basutos, and cut it up.

2. K[oos] with the oxen, collects the hide.

3. Prepare the rhinoceros hide, which dried in the next few days. I find traces of Tåmaan,<sup>1021</sup> it is supposed to occur in the area around Måkuzi.<sup>1022</sup>

9. K[oos] kills 1 buffalo cow, for food. It takes 7 bullets; the last one mine.

10. Move off to Pillaan. He gives me a cool reception.

11. He is not prepared to let me have men to carry the elephant tusks which will have to be left there for Maluba to take care of. Reach Elandsrivier.

12. From Elandsrivier to Makalå.<sup>1023</sup> He comes to me in the evening. Conversation about rhinoceros etc.

13. With Malakå. His wives (a large number of them) are richly clad,

1019 *Pterocles*, a genus of sandgrouse, family Pteroclidae.

1020 See fn.44 of introduction & fn.912.

1021 Probably a reference to *Bauhinia esculenta*, named by Burchell in 1812, the native name of which is either *tammani* or *tama* (gemsbok boontjie in Afrikaans); a climbing plant that occurs in this region, and the seeds of which are edible and are either used as a vegetable or roasted and used as a coffee substitute.

1022 Unable to identify.

1023 Cf. fn.694.

8 Thursday.

To the other side of the Krokodilrivier. The oxen resting.  
9 Friday. Across the plain of the Mammakkali,<sup>1037</sup> to where the forest region begins.

10 Saturday. To the Saltpan.<sup>1038</sup> Hire 4 Kaffers from Samosk.<sup>1039</sup> K[oos] Kourie<sup>1040</sup> [sic] stayed the night with us. The grass is getting green again.

11 Sunday. To Apiesrivier.

12 Monday. To the Moritili by a new path cut through the bush. W[illem] 1 and K[oos] 2 buffaloes. 1, 1 rooibok.

13 Tuesday. Along the Moritili down towards Tjouba to [word omitted], when we turned east.

14 Wednesday. The country is becoming extremely beautiful. We outspan by a small lake. Here I kill 1 beautiful *Clangula*.<sup>1041</sup> Further on we have the misfortune to meet the Commissie returning (from Delagoa), and are compelled by that stupid and arrogant Commandant Pottgieter to turn back to the little lake.<sup>1042</sup> In the evening we have a talk with him, but get only negative answers.

15 Thursday. Early in the morning, after a sleepless night, I go with W[illem] to see P[otgieter], and in the end was given a sort of permission to hunt, but with stringent restrictions, and threats that if the public should make any complaint about my being here, P[otgieter] would be forced to send men to remove me, at my own expense. Zwellenkamp<sup>1043</sup> is said to have proposed, and to have advised the emigrants, not to permit any English or other travellers to pass through the country, and so make it known. The slave trade was depicted [?by him] as being most lucrative; with other diabolical counsel. They have obtained a sufficiency of powder and ball.

1037 Cf. fn.545.

1038 Situated about 23 miles (37 km.) from present-day Pretoria. (Brinck in *South African animal life*, p.30.)

1039 Cf. entry for the 19th. Just conceivably he was referring here to the Swazi chief Somcuba, contemporary of Sekwati. (Cf. fn.1044.) On 19 August Wahlberg spells him "Samok".

1040 Perhaps a member of the same Fourie family as Joseph Johannes Fourie, one of the founders of Pretoria in the late 1840s.

1041 Generic name used by Andrew Smith for the white-backed duck *Tbalassornis leuconota*, but today used only for a northern hemisphere species.

1042 Presumably a reference to Potgieter's expedition to Delagoa Bay in 1843-44 which had the purpose of opening up an independent Trekker route to the sea.

1043 Presumably Johan Arnold Smellekamp (1812-66), pioneer Dutch trader with the Boers, and at the time of the above expedition, agent in Delagoa Bay who met the Potgieter embassy and advised the Boers to leave Natal and settle north of the 26th parallel so as to be able to carry on unhindered trade with Holland through Delagoa Bay.

Innumerable elephants along the road. Lies about Sinquali's<sup>1044</sup> people, to provide a pretext for getting hold of their fat sheep etc. K[oos] kills a beautiful eland bull, which I skin.

16 Friday. Busy with the eland hide.

17 Saturday. Go on a little further in the direction of the Makallakoane.<sup>1045</sup> Outspan.

18 Sunday. Without water, on an unpleasantly burnt-off plain.

19 Monday. Continue over the veld to Samok's old kraals. W[illem] wounds 1 *Keitloa*, 2 blue wildebeest.

20. Walk to the Makallakoana. Umslata māfi (milk bush) is eaten by a rhinoceros which bears its name, presumably Pātjan. We camp by a pool. K[oos] shoots 1 vlakvark. Mankopa's<sup>1046</sup> people out hunting: one of them comes to us, is hailed by our Basutos: we keep out of sight. When he sees us coming, he thinks himself a dead man, the sweat pours from him – a fine proof, this, of how they are treated by the Boers. I see to it that meat is given to him, and calm his fears. Find an ostrich nest with 10 eggs lying on the bare ground. Hunting around the lofty Table Mountain Umlimole.<sup>1047</sup> Many baboons, klipspringers, etc. Vultures<sup>1048</sup> whitening the crania [?the kranses]. The Makallakuana comes out of the mountain on the other side and meanders across the plain, first towards the east and then to the north.

21. We retrace our steps a little way to a water hole where elephants had been drinking. I stalk a lioness; she runs off. I see her moving slowly through the bush; approach her from behind. She quickly lies down in the grass, and all I see of her is her tail waving; she roars. I clamber up a tree to get a sight of her. The man who carries my guns, and who was with me, handed them to me; but then (he was a Basuto, with one arm mutilated by Makata)<sup>1049</sup> he too made all speed to climb up; but the branch on to which he was clinging broke, and he fell flat on his back and kicked for some time

1044 Perhaps another variation of Setshele or Sekwati. Cf. fn.952 & Wahlberg MS.; Wahlberg to his family, 5 Jan. 1845.

1045 Probably the Nyl or Nylstroom which is the upper reach of the Mogalakwena. See Wahlberg MS.; above mentioned letter.

1046 Probably the Hurutshe chief, Mangope, who had settled his people at Manyana c.1840.

1047 Probably the Badsberg as shown on old maps; mountains north of Warmbad. *Cartographer's note*.

1048 Probably Cape vultures *Gyps coprotheres* which breed on rocky outcrops in the Transvaal, though today an endangered species with many former breeding sites abandoned.

1049 Cf. fn.694.

running, having seen the vultures settling; and from them hear where Randequaan's kraal lies. Obtain the skin of Piritjanga<sup>1060</sup> – probably a strandwolf. N.B. at one place in this area observed numerous piles of stones, which at first I took for grave-cairns, but was later informed that they had been piled up only to clear the ground for the cultivation of Mabälä.<sup>1061</sup>

5. For fuel they use here the straw of kaffer-corn etc.: there is no wood. I had a chilly sleep. In return for a blanket and other small trifles obtained 10 men. These Kaffers speak the Zulu language. Their kraals not fenced in. On the other hand every hut has a riet-hedge around it, well made and high, which gives good protection against the wind. The huts are small, doortraeckes<sup>1062</sup> [sic]. K[oos] kills 1 black rhinoceros (N.B. wounded so that he was paralysed behind, and came at us on his fore-legs, dragging his hinder parts behind him, etc.). This was left for Rondequaan's people who are returning to the kraal. We go on to the place where we slept on the 3rd. K[oos] here kills 1 white rhinoceros.

6 Friday. On our way again. K[oos] once again, 1 white rhinoceros. In the evening we reach the place where we slept on the 1st, at the point where the Commando-road crosses the Musi.<sup>1063</sup>

7 Saturday. We follow the Commando-road, which runs N[orth] E[ast] K[oos] 1 black rhinoceros. Find 1 old lioness – probably bitten to death by its fellows. A beautiful country, alternately mountain and plain; bont-got<sup>1064</sup> [sic], little rivulets, tributaries of the Musi. Towards sunset K[oos] got 1 young buffalo bull. During the night lion and hyaenas roaring more than usual.

8 Sunday. Our expedition continues to follow the road, which changes direction rather more to the east, and runs between 2 mountains. Towards evening we halt in a laagte<sup>1065</sup> [sic] of fine Tambuti-wood.<sup>1066</sup> 1 *Othus rufin.*<sup>1067</sup>

1060 Presumably the brown hyaena *Hyaena brunnea*.

1061 Presumably *Sorghum caffrorum* or mabela; millet usually called *Kaffir corn*.

1062 loincloth.

1063 The commando road presumably refers to the increasingly frequent reconnoitring of the north-eastern Transvaal area by Potgieter and others, ultimately in search of a route to the Mozambique harbour of Inhambane. An obviously well established drift crossing Cf. entry of 24 Sept. 1844. Cf. also fns 1042 & 1043.

1064 Literally variegated bush. Probably to mean thick, lush bushveld, the habitat of the *bontbosluis* or bont tick.

1065 Dutch; a low-lying arch, valley dip, depression.

1066 Tamboti *Spirostachys africana*, the wood of which makes fine furniture, although the latex is poisonous and the sawdust can damage the eyes. It is never attacked by insects, and small pieces of wood placed among clothing will act as an insect repellent.

9 Monday. Vlakvarks very common: the Kaffers' dogs catch one. We continue on our way, and presently find elephant-tracks, which K[oos] follows. I make camp with the Kaffers beside the Musi. See a hawk, probably *Le Blanchard*,<sup>1068</sup> but cannot get at him. Bathe in the river. K[oos] returns, having seen a herd of elephants with their calves.

10 Tuesday. We now alter course towards the Umslabazi,<sup>1069</sup> and are tormented with thirst on the way. Beat a Kaffer for disobedience. Bones of an elephant, recently killed. While pursuing rooibok I lose touch with K[oos] and the Kaffers, and go on alone to the Umslabazi, reaching the river one hour before sunset. Shoot and shout in vain in hope of contacting my people. Forced to sleep by the river alone; prepare my bed in a dense thicket near the water, and make a fire. During the night hear crocodiles dragging themselves through the sand on the river bank. Monkeys and a tarantula in the trees above me. Bagged 1 monkey: it looks like the common one, but has rust-coloured hair in the groins also. [Cf. this episode of his getting lost with that described in Wahlberg MS.; Wahlberg to his family, 5 Jan. 1845. The circumstances are not the same, yet they appear to have happened at about the same time in the journey.]

11 Wednesday. Fire a shot, and hear K[oos] answer it. Meet him, and receive the irritating news that all Randequaan's people have run away during the night, except that crazy Umsluno Kamakala,<sup>1070</sup> but that K[oos] has caught 2 of their dogs. Go on downstream with only 4 Kaffers, and have difficulty in obtaining meat. Towards evening I kill an enormous ♂ of *Rhinoceros simus* – pretty fat – and reach our camp only after it was getting dark. Many elephant-paths, and *Lykaoni*<sup>1071</sup> common. K[oos] fires 5 shots among them without getting one.

12 Thursday. Wash myself and my clothes thoroughly in the Umslabazi. In the afternoon strolled to the Lepenula,<sup>1072</sup> and along this considerable stream to where it is joined by the Umslabazi: 2 hippopotamus with 1 young one come quite close to me. They sleep on a small island in the river. A small mussel underneath stones in the bed of the Lepenula [sic]. In the afternoon miss my shot at redbucks: camp in the same place.

13 Friday. Continue our way down the Lepenula [sic]. A handsome rock

1067 Probably the red-crested korhaan *Eupodotis ruficrista*.

1068 Le Vaillant's name for the crowned eagle *Stephanoaetus coronatus*, but identification uncertain, as Wahlberg indicates.

1069 Could be the Moos (or Moses) river.

1070 Not further identified.

1071 Plural form from *Lycaon pictus* the wild dog.

1072 The Lepalule or Olifants river.

salamander<sup>1073</sup> on the rough (pinkish) rocks along the river. Its tail a beautiful brick-red, its belly indigo-blue, the upper side of the body greyish-blue otherwise the whole animal grey-brown with 3 longitudinal stripes on its back. Also caught a lizard here, as well as a little scorpion. Reached the point where the Musi enters the Lepanola; and took up our quarters here. K[oos], 1 redbuck.

14 Saturday. Crossed the Musi, and soon came to the Commando-road. Soon afterwards we found the fresh spoor of an elephant bull; K[oos] followed it, and succeeded in bring him down with one shot through the heart. We now made our camp by the carcase, half an hour away from the Lepenula, in the bush, and here erected a little hut, covering it with pieces of the elephant-hide, and began hard work on the skeleton. Flocks of vultures soon brought various parties of Basutos to us, who returned loaded with meat.

15. Work continues, and by evening we got the elephant cut up with the help of our 4 Kaffers. Hyaenas make a fearful racket.

16 Monday. K[oos] sets off to fetch one waggon, and I go on with the work with 3 men. Fix up a pretty stout kraal round the bones.

17 Tuesday. Still working on the skeleton. Wound 2 hyaenas.

18 Wednesday. Shot 1 *Rhinoceros simus*, for food.

19 Thursday. Work continues. Shot 1 hyaena. Work continues. Shoot another hyaena. Finished the skeleton.

21 Saturday. Shoot 1 rooibok. Clear a path to the elephant. In the morning lions around the elephant-meat; kept off by a fire.

22 Sunday. Climbed a high hill<sup>1074</sup> with Kurukastje. Bag 1 *Macro*<sup>1075</sup> [blank], and the blue salamander.<sup>1076</sup> Ko[o]s arrives from the waggon. Pack up the skeleton and set off for Lepanola.

23 Monday. Push on: rain and thunder towards evening. Outspan by the Musi.

24 Tuesday. Move on to the Musi drift and stop there to give the oxen a chance to eat something. K[oos], 1 blue wildebeest.

25 Wednesday. Continue on our way. K[oos], 2 *Rhinoceros simus*. At a water-hole we discover a young dead elephant; probably its mother had been killed by other hunters, and the calf had died of hunger. Since it was

1073 Salamanders (tailed amphibians) do not occur in southern Africa, but the lizard described is clearly the common flat lizard *Platysaurus intermedius*, a beautiful species which lives in colonies on suitable rocks.

1074 Not further identified though old maps show a hill named variously as Mathebi's Kop, Thaba Nchu and Rooibult in this area. *Cartographer's note*.

1075 Unidentified.

1076 Probably the common flat lizard. Cf. fn.1073.

still fresh, only damaged by a cut on one of its flanks inflicted by my Basuto, I decided to prepare the hide, and we stay over here. Towards evening K[oos] once again killed a *Rhinoceros simus*.

26 Thursday. Move on a little. Here an appalling thunderstorm came on, with hail the size of hens' eggs, which ravaged the bush and the veld.

27 Friday. Resumed our return journey.

28 Saturday. Reach our other waggon at the Masubā lake. W[illem] returns in the evening with an ostrich skin. News that 4 of Samok's people were murdered on the night of the 25th on a rocky hill quite close to my waggon: the corpses hidden.

29. Prepared the ostrich. Maloko's brother killed, etc.

30. W[illem] and K[oos] go hunting elands, for food for the return journey: no success. K[oos], 1 redbuck and 1 young white Rhinoceros. Cut off the head of one of the corpses and wash it, only to find that the cranium has been completely shattered.

1 October Tuesday. Cut off the head of another corpse, probably Maloko's brother. It was now easy to get at, having been exposed by the hyaenas. W[illem] and K[oos] hunting: in vain.

2 Wednesday. W[illem] and K[oos] shoot rhinoceros. The younger Wolverantz [Wolmarans] passes by my waggons.

3 Thursday. Move to the Moritili. W[illem] kills 1 *Keithloa* [sic], and I cut off its head. See *Plectropterus*, and try in vain to get it.

4 Friday. Move to the Ap[ies]rivier, and there in the evening I shoot 3 *Galago*.<sup>1077</sup> They made a fine, almost bird-like, sound and were extremely common among the shady doornbooms.

5 Saturday. Go on to the Tuluani.<sup>1078</sup> Quarrel with W[illem], as usual. When we passed Gert Krieger's farm he told me that I was a liar, and that he had never given me permission to penetrate further into the country, etc.

13. Reached Mooye Rivier.<sup>1079</sup> Our return journey held up on all sorts of pretexts – the results of Wolmarans's<sup>1080</sup> [sic] contrivances.

24. Start from Mooye Rivier, having obtained waggons from Frans Schutte<sup>1081</sup> and his brother-in-law for 170 Rdr apiece. So pressed for time

1077 A bushbaby, most likely the lesser bushbaby *Galago senegalensis*.

1078 Cf. fns 716 & 1016. Tolwane.

1079 Transvaal river by that name, north of Potchefstroom. Cf. fn.616.

1080 In the original text this name is pencilled over "Wolverants". *Translator's note*. Cf. fns 594, 889 & 1000.

1081 Probably one of the family associated with Phillipus Jacobus Wilhelmus Schutte (1803-73), Transvaal Voortrekker who in 1843 had settled on the farm Buffelsdoorns in the district of Gatsrand near Potchefstroom.