

Piet Hogg's reminiscences

Introduction

Piet (or Peter) Hogg's reminiscences of life in early Natal — like those of Thomas Green (published in *Natalia* 22, 1992) — were solicited in 1896 by the colonial government.¹ Hogg was then 67 years old and as he was illiterate and living on a farm in the Dundee area, he had to hire and accommodate a secretary to record his memories. The manuscript is in the Bird Papers in the Natal Archives and is very legible. There are abbreviated handwritten and typescript copies in the Killie Campbell Africana Library, and an outline of his early career, with a photograph, appears in Barbara Buchanan's *Natal memories*.² For reasons of space, only nine pages (pp. 30–9) of the manuscript in the Natal Archives are reproduced. These deal with various hunting trips he made or organised to the Zulu, Swazi and Gaza kingdoms between 1851 and 1859, and besides other aspects of colonial life, they give some idea of how destructive European and African hunters could be to the fauna north of the Thukela River.

Caution should be exercised when reading these early reminiscences. Hogg's memory for dates and facts was inevitably inaccurate at times and there may be other undetected errors. In addition, apart from being illiterate, he may well have been somewhat innumerate, as an assessment of his hunting statistics below suggests. It is also possible that he embellished facts,³ either to inflate his role in Natal's early history or to enhance his social status, both of which were modest. Piet Hogg (1829–1902) came from humble stock. He was born in Worcester, Cape Colony to John Hogg, a Scottish artisan immigrant, and Susanna Wilhelmina Odendaal⁴ from Swellendam. This mixed background influenced Hogg's life in various ways for it created in him divided loyalties which were to have grave consequences for him at the end of his life.⁵

After Hogg's mother died, his father John went on a number of adventurous British-sponsored expeditions, one of which involved the rescue of the survivors of the Louis Trichardt trekker expedition from Delagoa Bay on the *Mazeppa* in 1839.⁶ (One such survivor, Mrs Johanna Kok was to have a daughter, Anna Susanna, who became Hogg's second wife in 1879). John Hogg then settled in Port Natal and sent for Piet who joined him in late 1840. Hogg devoted five pages to a description of the dramatic British-Boer engagement in 1842 during his thirteenth year: his father was imprisoned by the Boers along with G. C. Cato, S. Beningfield and H. Ogle (all of whom feature in the extract below), while Piet claimed that he assisted Dick King to swim his horses across the Bay at the start of his famous ride.⁷

The material needs of the small, undeveloped settlement at Port Natal and its British military and naval forces (the latter engaged in the suppression of the slave trade) created various labouring and service occupations for the Hoggs, including woodcutting, victualling the military and naval forces on contract for two years, and then brickmaking, also under contract, for about six years, in which timber was probably also used. Hogg thus also played a direct role in the exploitation of Port Natal's timber resources, which in turn destroyed the habitat of buck and birds.⁸

Like so many early colonists, Hogg took up hunting and trading. These were the main local economic activities until at least the 1860s⁹ as most pioneers could shoot and the profits could be enormous; according to one source these could be about 500%.¹⁰ In the late 1840s the Hoggs formed a 'hunting company' with William Proudfoot (son of a Scottish landowner) and Elephant White¹¹ although he only mentions them on two hunting excursions in 1848 and 1850. Hogg hunted for only eleven years due to frequent attacks of fever and a financial (and human) disaster on his last and most ambitious expedition to the Gaza kingdom, but he usually hunted with from one to four white hunters and with between 25 and 50 African hunters. The combined firepower of such groups was so considerable that within fifty years Natal's major fauna was destroyed and by the 1850s elephants in the Zulu kingdom were scarce.¹²

Hogg claimed that on his first expedition, in 1848, four Europeans and about 33 Africans bagged

over 3 000lbs of ivory (elephant and hippopotamus), that on a trip to Swaziland in 1858 eight men shot 95 elephants, and that the Gaza king had delivered 1 000 tusks to his Portuguese agent in 1859. Since Hogg seems to have hunted almost every year between 1848 and 1859 (excluding the disastrous year of 1851), and if these statistics are accurate, he and his companions killed a very substantial number of elephant and hippopotamus, either directly or indirectly, in the region north of the Thukela River. This remains true even if one feels doubtful about some of Hogg's figures. For instance, the 95 elephants killed by eight men in 1858 he says were shot in a mere two hours; given the difficulties and dangers of hunting elephants¹³ this seems a remarkable feat. His claim that these creatures were part of a troop of about 1 500 — 2 000 also seems exaggerated; the largest herds recorded by contemporaries seem to have been between 200 and 500.¹⁴

In addition, Hogg's claim that he equipped about 400 African hunters in 1859 (for an outlay of over £2 000) and that he virtually lost £80 000 as a result of their murder by Soshangane, also seems extravagant for that era and particularly for someone in his social class. The estimated value of all ivory exports through Durban from north of the Thukela in 1853 was only about £3 600.¹⁵ A rough calculation of what Hogg might have earned from his hunting reveals the following: since they earned about four or five shillings per pound of ivory and paid their African hunters one third of the profits,¹⁶ on the 1848 trip the four white hunters could have earned about £125 each, which equalled the lower scale of a magistrate's clerk/interpreter's annual salary in the early 1860s.¹⁷ The 95 elephants shot in 1858 could have earned each hunter about £300 (assuming an average weight of 50lb. per tusk and one third payment to possible African retainers). Even if Hogg did have over £2 000 to invest in 1859, Chapman's suggestion that ivory profits of 500% were possible¹⁸ would only have yielded approximately £10 000.

Whatever the true facts were, Hogg does not seem to have become a wealthy man. At the end of his hunting career he moved to the Biggarsberg where he traded with the Transvaal Boers, then moved to a farm near Greytown which he says he bought. Here his first wife died. In 1879 he transported goods for the British during the Anglo-Zulu War, remarried and settled again near the Biggarsberg where he kept a hotel and then retired on *Driefontein* farm. He had to appeal to the colonial government to pay his expenses of hiring a secretary to record his reminiscences.¹⁹ After he was jailed for treason, his wife had to go and live with a daughter near Greytown as their house and furniture were destroyed in the Anglo-Boer War.²⁰ Hogg died intestate and without property, apparently in the Salvation Army home at 205 West Street, Pietermaritzburg on 22 August 1902.²¹

These reminiscences reveal many aspects of life in the pioneering phase of Natal's early history apart from hunting, such as the physical hardships and dangers, a degree of social mixing which was typical of colonial communities, the diplomatic customs to be followed when entering the Zulu kingdom to hunt and when visiting Zulu royalty, the goods traded with Africans, the names and activities of a number of fellow European colonists, and some fascinating passing references to the Gaza kingdom, the slave trade and the Portuguese at Delagoa Bay.

The punctuation and spelling of the original manuscript have been faithfully transcribed except for the occasional use of inverted commas round some personal and place names. If there is no note attached to a personal name it means that the individual has not been identified.

Acknowledgements

I am greatly indebted to Shelagh O'Byrne Spencer for most of the biographical background to the settlers, and to Bobby Eldridge at Killie Campbell Africana Library for photocopies of all the Hogg material.

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

References to the original manuscript in the Natal Archives are to the most recent pagination in square brackets.

1. See *Natalia* 22 (1992), p. 15, for an account of this project.
2. NA, Bird Papers, A79, v.7; KCAL, Uncatalogued mss files — Peter Hogg; *Natal memories* (Pietermaritzburg, Shuter and Shooter, 1941), chap. VII (The photograph is opposite p.63. Buchanan claims to have had a nephew who knew Hogg in his Dundee days. Her account is not entirely accurate and is not comprehensive).
3. I am indebted to Shelagh Spencer for this suggestion.
4. See Hogg's first death notice, 12.9.1902, for his mother's name, in NA, MSCE, 14/114. John Hogg died in Pietermaritzburg in October 1850.

5. His wives were Dutch and his children had mixed English and Dutch names. In his reminiscences he confessed his lifelong loyalty to the British government (p. 14) and his death certificate listed him as of 'Scotch' nationality, but during the Anglo-Boer War, he and a son were charged with treason. Hogg was sentenced to two and a half years in prison in 1900 at the age of 71 years. See NA, CSO, v. 1683, 1901/7002, Anna Susanna Hogg to Colonial Secretary, 8.8.1901; and AGO, v. 1/8/84, 201A/1902 Minute Paper, 24.1.1902, re Rex vs Jan Peter Hogg and others in the Special Court, Dundee.
6. For the Trichardt party see *The Oxford History of South Africa* v.1, ed. by M. Wilson and L. Thompson, (Clarendon Press, 1969), pp.410–1.
7. See E. H. Brookes and C. de B. Webb *A history of Natal* (Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press), 1965, pp.38–9 for a description of these events.
8. See B. Ellis 'The impact of white settlers on the natural environment of Natal, 1845–1870' in B. Guest and J. M. Sellers (eds) *Enterprise and exploitation in a Victorian colony* (Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1985), p. 74 (on brick-making) and p. 92.
9. See R. B. Struthers *Hunting journal 1852–1856 in the Zulu Kingdom and Tsonga regions* ed. by P. L. Merrett and R. Butcher, (Durban, Killie Campbell Africana Library, 1991), pp. (24)–(26) for an analysis of hunting and trading in Natal's early economy.
10. See J. Chapman *Travels in the interior of South Africa* v. I, London, Bell, 1868, p. 195 where he says that for goods worth £200, traders could make a profit of £1 000 from ivory from the Lake Ngami region in the 1850s.
11. Hogg said that Elephant White was given that name by the Africans due to his size and strength, that he was a popular figure and that he finally went to the Australian goldfields (p. 29). White is also mentioned on two other hunting trips in 1852: see W. C. Baldwin *African hunting and adventure* (Cape Town, Struik, 1967) (repr. of 1894 ed.), chapter 1, and G. C. Cato to R. J. Garden, 17.10.52, in NA, Garden Papers, A1157, v. I.
12. See Struthers *Hunting journal*, pp. (28)–(31).
13. See, for example, Baldwin *African hunting and adventure*, pp. 368–9 and Struthers, pp. 57, 69–70, 80–1, 86–7. George Shadwell ('two parties and a whole posse of guns') took a whole season to shoot 91 elephants in 1853; see Baldwin, p. 54.
14. For Hogg's hunting area see, for example, A. Delegorgue *Travels in southern Africa* v. 1, translated by F. Webb . . . (Durban, Killie Campbell Africana Library, 1990), p. 251 (he estimated that in 1842 there could not have been more than 1 500 elephants between the Thukela and the Phongolo because of the large territory they needed); and Fleming's account of seeing 200 elephants in Swaziland in 1852 — see P. H. Butterfield 'A military Nimrod in mid-19th century Natal' in *Africana notes and news* v. 29, 6 (June 1991) p. 240. For troops in the interior, see for example Chapman *Travels in the interior of South Africa* v. I, p. 26 and W. Cornwallis Harris' sighting of about 300 elephants in 1836 near the Magaliesberg recorded in S. D. Le Roux *Pioneers and sportsmen of South Africa, 1760–1890* (Salisbury, the Author, 1939), p. 37.
15. See Ellis, 'The impact of white settlers on the environment of Natal, 1845–1870', p. 87.
16. These seem to have been paid in cattle; see pp. 28 and 41.
17. See Struthers, *Hunting journal*, p. (27).
18. See n. 10 above.
19. See NA CSO, v. 1494, 1897/134 Hogg to Colonial Secretary 4/1/1897.
20. CSO, v. 1683, 1901/7002, A. S. Hogg to Colonial Secretary 8/8/1901.
21. See Hogg's Death Notices in NA, MSCE, 14/114 (September 1902).

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Extracts from *Piet Hogg's Reminiscences*

... In the early part of 1851,¹ five gentlemen arrived from *Europe*, (two *Englishmen*, two *Scotchmen*, and one *Frenchman*), who were desirous of exploring the country, of drawing up charts of the same, and of hunting; they intended to follow these pursuits for two years, and required for that period of time the services of one, or two, men, who could speak *English, Dutch & Zulu*; the name of the *Frenchman* was *D'Elgasse*, those of the remainder I have forgotten. *Mr George Cato*² was their agent, and a man named *William Mayas*³ and I were deputed, by *Mr C.*, to accompany them; our engagement was for two years, and, on returning, we were to leave them at *Cape Town*; we then had the choice of coming back to *Durban* by sea, or by land, at their expense. (See *Mr G. Cato's records in connection with these people*).⁴

And now I am about to relate one of the most horrible, and thrilling, experiences which ever befell a human being, and which might not fall to the lot of one person in a thousand.

We started, in the beginning of *March*, well furnished with amunition and provisions, with ten or twelve *Kafirs*, and with one or two horses; these latter died en route of horse-sickness; we took one wagon only.—

In accordance with the wishes of these gentlemen, we made direct for the upper end of *St. Lucia Bay*, (leaving our wagon and oxen some fourteen miles on this side of our destination), and, on arrival, in the early part of *April*, found that we had come too soon in the year, as the fever season (an exceptionally severe one) had not yet passed.—

The travellers all succumbed to the deadly fever, also several of our *Kafirs*; the remainder ran away, leaving *William Mayas* and I alone; we were attacked as well, delirious too, at times; and one day, when the fever had somewhat abated, I experienced the horrible reality that I was *alone amongst the dead!* *Mayas* had left! when, and how, or whither gone I knew not *then*; (We met afterwards);⁵ what became of the wagon & oxen, I know not; the bodies of the dead were not buried; the delirium at times was dreadful, and, when the fever gradually abated, I found myself more dead than alive, with the cord of my tongue contracted. I attribute the deaths of the travellers to the fact that they persisted in adopting their own method of medical treatment, in preference to our more simple (although, perhaps, more nauseating) form.⁶

On gaining strength, I tried to make my way, by slow degrees, to the *Tugela River*, having my rifle & amunition with me; I had no fear, and a sense of perfect indifference to danger seemed to take possession of me; I was resting one day, having, probably, covered a distance of 80 miles from camp, when I saw a white man approaching on a pack-ox, and, though unaware of my

presence in the neighbourhood, he was coming directly towards me; I sat quite still; when he saw me, he was much surprised at meeting a lonely white man in that part of the country, — and under such circumstances; we recognized each other, and, to my joy, he was one of my boyhood's companions *Hendrick Strydom*;⁷ neither could speak for, at first, we were choked with tears.

When we had overcome our first emotion, and were able to speak, I asked him if he would, kindly go to *Durban* for my wagon; this he readily agreed to do, and explained that he, *Mr Durus Potgieter senior*, *Mr Henry Täfell & Mr Coos Kruht*⁸ had come to that neighbourhood to hunt; that he was in front to look out for game, a practicable road etc, and that the before-mentioned persons were following in the wagon; it very soon came up, and I was made comfortable, and well cared for. *Hendrick Strydom* started at once for *Durban*, and returned, with my wagon, in about 2 weeks; we then left together, and, on arrival, I was kindly received into his mother's house, and attended by *Dr Best* of the 45th regiment.—

Under his treatment and the kind nursing & care of the *Strydom* family,⁹ I soon recovered. When quite well, I decided to build a house on my erf of land, and, for that purpose, procured stock bricks from a discharged soldier whose name I have forgotten.— I also bought necessary furniture etc, and it all ended in my marrying *Mrs Strydom's* eldest daughter,¹⁰ who had been very kind and attentive to me during my illness.—

The wedding ceremony was performed, in the morning, by the *Revnd. Lindley*,¹¹ (probably the first American Missionary to come to Natal before the arrival of the Dutch), at his Mission Station north of the *Umgeni River*; we returned to *Durban* in the afternoon, and the wedding-supper, at 6PM, was honoured by *H.E. Governor Pine*,¹² who was then in authority, and who had expressed a wish, through *Mr James Proudfoot*,¹³ to see a Dutch wedding; he joined in a waltz with the bride, and appeared to enjoy himself heartily; the other friends present were *Mr Samuel Benningfield*¹⁴ and all his family, *Mr Katz*¹⁵ & wife, *Messrs William & James Proudfoot*,¹⁶ *John & Thomas Cato* (nephews of *Mr George Cato*),¹⁷ *Dr Best* (45th Regt), *Capt Durnford* (45th Regt),¹⁸ and one or two other officers whose names I have forgotten; also *Mr Henry Täfell*, *Mr Durus Potgieter senior*, *Mr Cornelis Vermaak*,¹⁹ and many others.

In May 1850, I again left for a hunt, in *Zululand*, on a larger scale, leaving my wife with her mother, in *Durban*, and with her old Kafir nurse *Martha*, who died in the house of my wife's sister *Mrs Rock*.²⁰—

I must here pause, in order to explain a custom in vogue in those days when visiting a native King. When arranging to hunt etc, a messenger was always despatched, two or three days in advance, to inform the King of our approach, of the number of our party, and of the nature of the present which we were bringing with us.—

On reaching the King's Kraal, and delivering the message, the man stayed there, until the arrival of the party, as a guarantee of the good faith of the message sent.—

Upon receiving the news, the King would start off a trusty servant to the Kraal of the chief at which the travellers would first arrive, bidding him prepare a hearty welcome in the form of Killing a beast etc; on the party reaching this Kraal, another messenger was sent to the King, to tell him that the first stage in the journey had been reached, and the King's servant then went back to the Kraal of the next chief, telling him to prepare in a similar manner;

this operation was repeated until the party reached the last camping-place; it was, in fact, a system of fore-runners.

On this trip, I had with me between 40 and 50 hunters, 2 wagons, and 2 pack-oxen, and the oldest son of *Mr Ogle*.²¹

When we reached the Zulu country, we made directly for King *Mpanda's* Kraal, staying the first night at that of a chief named Mazeba; we then pushed on 25 miles, and encamped at chief *Umbuhlyana's* Kraal, leaving here one wagon; we had now 35 miles only to trek, which distance we soon covered. King *Mpanda*²² received us very kindly, and was very glad to see me again; I told him of my father's death, and that I was now a married man.—

Of course, he was anxious to see the present I had brought; and, when I told him that one man could not carry it, but that it would require three or four, he kindly sent some men with me to the wagon to unload it; the gift consisted of a large quantity of beads, picks & blankets, and the King expressed himself highly delighted with it; the conversation afterwards became general, in connection with the current news of that day, and we then returned to our wagon, the King kindly sending down a beast, at once, to be killed for our consumption.—

At the end of two or three days, we returned to our other wagon, and thence began to hunt, in the uplands, between the *Black & White Umfulusi Rivers*; we followed the game to the upper part of *St Lucia Bay*, and returned to *Durban*, in *September* or *October*, having had a successful hunt.—

I omitted saying that, on this trip, King *Mpanda* kindly presented me with a tusk of ivory weighing 95 lbs! (*See Note B*).²³—

The foregoing is a fair description of our hunting trips for several subsequent years, and, when at home, I used my wagons & oxen for transport while residing in *Durban*.

When hunting at the upper part of *St Lucia Bay* in 1851, I visited, alone, the scene of death which I have previously described, and picked up the scattered, and few remaining bones of my unfortunate companions, (*Scotch, English, French etc*), and buried them in a porcupine's hole; a few shreds of clothing too were lying about; the wolves, jackals, and other animals had, doubtless, been busy.

In December 1852, I rented my house & erf in *Durban*, and moved out to a farm, called *Waterbosch*, at the head of the *Nanutu River*, which I had purchased²⁴ from a man named *Hans Delanger*²⁵ for one roll of canvas, and 36 yards of unbleached calico, just after the *Dutch* had evacuated *Durban*. When absent, I left my wife on the farm, and allowed *Mr David Divana*²⁶ & his wife, *Mr Dupriet*²⁷ & his wife, and *Mr William Adams*²⁸ & his wife, with their families, to reside there, too, in separate houses, and to cultivate the land for their own use.—

On leaving to hunt in 1853, I took with me a *Mr Charles Phillips*,²⁹ from *Cape Colony*, who contracted fever at the upper end of *St Lucia Bay*; I had fever also, so we trekked back to the *Umsatusi*, (*leaving the hunters behind*), and he died at *Mr (afterwards Bishop) Schruder's Norwegian Mission*.³⁰

We hunted as usual in the years 1854, 1855 and 1856; I employed my time, when at home, in working each year on the farm since our *occupation*; in the former year, above-mentioned, an English gentleman of title joined our party, (*name forgotten*), who was accompanied by, and in charge of, an old and trusted servant of his family; on one occasion, when hunting, they found themselves on the weather (*wind*) side of a herd of elephants, which, of course, charged them on getting the scent; one animal in particular made for the

gentleman, on seeing which the servant rushed in between his master and the animal, in order to save and protect him, but was seized and trampled to death; this cast a sad gloom over our party, and the gentleman returned to *England* in a broken-hearted condition. (See *Mr George Cato's records*).³¹

In 1857, I was accompanied on my hunting tour, by *Mr David Divana* who was Killed by a bull buffalo on the *Umsatusi*.

Our hunting grounds were *Zululand*, and *Swaziland* as far as the *Issabi River*; while at the last-mentioned spot in 1858, we met an enormous troop of elephants trekking, (probably from 1 500 to 2 000), and killed 95 in about two hours; the work of 7 men & myself, after having surrounded them with fire.³²

In the same year, and when at the upper part of *St Lucia Bay*, I sent 2 men to *Delagoa* to purchase powder from the *Portuguese* governor;³³ they took, for this purpose, £3 in gold and one lambs-wool blanket; while my men were there, they explained the terms upon which I engaged them to hunt; a slave, happening to overhear their conversation, determined to make a bolt for his freedom.—

My people procured the powder, and returned with it, the *Portuguese* governor sending a message by them, to the effect that he would like to see me, and to purchase some more blankets of the same Kind as that sent.

About eight or ten days after this, the slave before-mentioned came to my camp at evening; my people, believing him to be a spy, were, at once, up in arms, seized him, and brought him to me; upon examination I found he was what he represented himself to be, a runaway slave, and satisfied my people upon that point; he was Kindly treated, and was overjoyed to find himself safe and free, having been granted permission to remain in camp, and to make himself useful.—

He said that he could take my hunters to a great King living ten days journey north of *Delagoa*, who would give them permission to hunt where elephants were very numerous; the name of the *Manakosi* (King) was *Ushushanggana*.³⁴ I bought more powder, for gold, from the *Portuguese* governor, but did not visit him.—

We reached *Durban* this year in *September*. In the same month I started off the runaway slave, with two of my men, to visit King *Ushushanggana*; they took with them samples of beads, blankets, native rings etc, also handkerchiefs, for the King's inspection and choice, with instructions to tell him that they were *English* goods; that I asked permission to hunt in his country for two years, and that if he would, Kindly, make a selection, from the samples of goods sent, I would bring him as much as would remunerate him for that period of time. The men returned in *February*, 1859, bringing with them samples of the articles chosen by the King, from those sent, and with his permission to hunt, for two years, on the *sea* side (coast) of his country; the *upper* part he had given to the Dutch to enjoy upon terms of friendship with himself.

I commenced making preparations accordingly, and expended £1500 cash on guns, amunition, and trading-goods, and £70 on goods for King *Ushushanggana*; I also procured, through a *Durban* merchant named *Ross*,³⁵ 40 rifles, of *English* manufacture, costing £18 each; and I made 60,000 bullets of six to the lb., and 60,000 of eight to the lb.

From the time the messengers returned from King *Ushushanggana*, great excitement prevailed amongst my hunters; they were eager to proceed to his country, (saying, if they hunted there for two years, they would, on their return, be enabled to lead a life of independence), but they did not wish me to

accompany them, as they saw plainly I was becoming more and more subject to attacks of fever; my wife, too, was very reluctant that I should proceed so far north, but I tried to pacify her by saying that I was only going to fetch the ivory from the slaughter of the 95 elephants before-mentioned.

It was my custom, when starting to hunt, to parade all my men in front of the house, in order that I might inspect all guns, rifles and bandoliers, issue ammunition, and give general instructions for the march; upon this occasion, my wife, having overheard my remarks, addressed the men, telling them that if I went north of a certain line, they were to return without me.

We started in *May 1859*, and trekked slowly, with *two* wagons and one salted horse, for the upper part of *St Lucia Bay*, (*having sent two messengers in advance, one to Mpanda, and one to Cetewayo, saying that I was about to cross Zululand, in order to hunt north of Delagoa Bay in the dominions of King Ushushanggana, and that my people numbered over four hundred*), *William Mayas* and *Johannes Strydom*³⁶ accompanying us.—

I afterwards learnt from *Cetewayo* that his spies had been watching us every night, on the other side of the *Pongolo River*, while we were crossing his territory.—

On arriving at *St Lucia Bay*, we left our wagons in charge of *Johannes Strydom* and some *Kafirs*, and divided into two parties, I taking, with my men, the upper side of the *Pongolo* to *Swaziland*, and *William Mayas* the lower side, with his men, to *Delagoa*.

In *Swaziland* I was again the victim of fever, attacks occurring in the morning & evening, and my hunters then insisted that I, or they, should return to *Natal*; I waited, however, three days, in which time the fever abated somewhat, and considered well, in the mean-time, what a large outlay I had at stake; I finally decided to let my hunters proceed, and that I would return to *Durban* with the ivory of the 95 elephants.—

On the fourth morning I mustered all my people, and told them of my decision, that two men were to go to King *Mswazi's* mother,³⁷ asking her to send down my ivory at once to the wagons, and that one man was to accompany me; that the remainder would go to meet *William Mayas* at the *Issabi River*, explain matters to him, and would then proceed to hunt in King *Ushushanggana's* country.—

I then left for my wagons, a journey of five days, and there awaited *Mayas* and the ivory, my health improving meanwhile; we were detained nearly three weeks, as the distance to be traversed by the (*ivory*) porters was fully 270 miles, an eighteen day's journey.

I was accompanied by *Mayas* and *Johannes Strydom* to *Natal*, was again attacked by fever en route, and reached my farm (*Waterbosch*) in the latter part of *October*; I was then subject to periodical attacks for the two following years.

In *December*, of the same year, while living quietly at home, I was one day surprised to see one of my men (*Booi*) returning and bringing with him 2 strange natives; after the usual salutation, the strangers explained that they were chiefs of King *Ushushanggana* who had sent them to say how pleased he was with my present, and that he gave me, in return, 1000 tusks of ivory, which had been duly delivered to my *Portuguese* clerk;³⁸ that he was very glad the *English* had come to his country, for he was tired of the *Portuguese*, and their cruel and unjust annual exactions in the form of ivory, and boys and girls for slaves; he believed that I was a man of influence, and begged that I would take

the two chiefs sent to the governour of *Natal*, praying him to use his power & good offices towards the stoppage of this dreadful demand for slaves.³⁹

The chiefs were allowed to interview *Government*, with what result I never knew.

When taking leave of my hunters & people in *Swaziland*, I little thought what a terrible calamity was about to overtake them, and me, but especially them.—

On a day of one of the winter months, in 1860, a hunter named *Umfuguse*, with his rifle-bearer, brought the awful news that *all* my people, numbering over four hundred had been killed by King *Ushushungana*, and all my ivory, valued at £80,000, confiscated! a false report had been sent him by a person, whose name, for charity's sake, I suppress, to the effect that I was a friend of *Mpanda* and *Cetewayo*, and that I intended, with them, to invade *Ushushangana's* territory in the following year, and to murder his people! that the hunting expedition was merely a blind, and that my real object was to spy out the land.⁴⁰—

I was simply staggered at this dreadful intelligence, so also the wives, children and families of the unfortunate slaughtered ones; the cries of agony, and wailing, of these poor souls, night and day, for two weeks, or more, were terrible! My hunting career now came to an end.

NOTES TO THE EXTRACTS

The references to Hogg's Reminiscences in the Natal Archives (Bird Papers, A79, v.7) are to the most recent pagination in square brackets.

1. Hogg later contradicts himself (p. 39) by stating that this expedition occurred in 1849. This is one of many inaccurate dates: it probably *did* take place in 1851, the year of his marriage. It is clear from the context that other dates are also inaccurate.
2. George Christopher Cato (1814–93), early settler, merchant, later first Mayor of Durban and M.L.C. He was imprisoned by the Boers after the siege of Congella in 1842, along with John Hogg and a number of others. See S. O'B. Spencer *British settlers in Natal 1824–1857: a biographical register* Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1987, v.4, p.55.
3. William F. Mayoss, son of Henry George and Eliza Mayoss who both died in Durban, respectively in 1849 and 1852. He also accompanied a Charles Etty on a hunting trip as servant in 1851. On pp. 39–40 Hogg says that Mayoss lived with him after his marriage, that he hunted and traded for Hogg in Zululand, that in 1857 he married Elizabeth Shortt (whom the Hoggs had adopted), and that when the Hoggs moved to Helpmekeer Mayoss stayed on *Waterbosch* (see n.24 below) and traded on his own account. In 1887 he was granted a 50 year concession in Swaziland (agricultural, pastoral and horticultural). Source: S. O'B. Spencer and her *British settlers in Natal* v.6, p.50.
4. There is no such reference in Cato's Reminiscences in the Bird Papers, A79, v.4, NA The present editor has not had the opportunity to cull the Cato Papers in Killie Campbell Africana Library.
5. In a Note (p. 39) Hogg describes Mayoss' experiences: after the fever subsided, Mayoss walked to the Thukela River where he met a Boer acquaintance who took him to be treated by Daniel Charles Toohey, trader, who was then living just south of the Thukela. Toohey took Mayoss to Mrs Strydom in Durban where Hogg met him later; Mayoss had lost all his hair. For more on Toohey see Thomas Green's Reminiscences (*Natalia* 22, 1992, p.20) and S. O'B. Spencer 'Green are the hills of Natal: early Irish settlers in Natal, 1824–1862' *Southern African-Irish Studies* 2, 1992, p.192.
6. Hogg described this on p.28: a large teaspoon of mustard and hot water as an emetic, followed by a large tablespoon of Stockholm tar three times daily.
7. Hendrick Strydom, member of the large Strydom family; see n.9 below.
8. Shelagh Spencer suggests that the first-named may be Dorus (or Theodorus) Potgieter (unidentified), and that the second was probably the Johannes Abraham Hendrick Davel listed in B. Cilliers *Genealogieë van die Afrikaner families in Natal* Kaapstad, Hiemstra Trust, 1985, p.105. The last-named has not been identified.

9. The Voortrekker couple, Hendrick and Maria Elizabeth Strydom, had numerous sons and daughters, one of whom, also named Hendrick, was Hogg's 'boyhood's companion' (see n.7 above). Thomas Green's Reminiscences (see *Natalia* no.22, Dec. 1992, p.20) says that Mrs Strydom, widow, was a well-known and popular figure in Durban who treated everyone's ailments. See also S. O'B. Spencer *British settlers in Natal*, v.1, p.11 (entry under William Adams).
10. Anna Gertrude/Gertruida Strydom, by whom Hogg had five daughters. After her death Hogg remarried in 1879 and produced another daughter and two sons. He attempts to list his children and grandchildren (see pp.9 and 42). Earlier (also on p.9) Hogg claimed that he married on 10 Dec. 1849 but this is an example of his dubious dating for neither Lt-Gov. Pine (see n.12 below) nor Thomas Cato (see n.17 below) were in Natal in 1849.
11. Daniel Lindley (1801–1880), Presbyterian minister and missionary (American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions) was sent to the interior in 1837 but when the Boers and Ndebele clashed, he came to Natal. He ministered to the Voortrekkers from 1841–46 and then returned to African missionary work at Inanda mission station until 1873. See E. H. Brookes and C. de B. Webb, *A history of Natal*, Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1965, pp. 27–8.
12. Benjamin Chilly Campbell Pine (1809–91) was appointed Lt-Governor in 1849 on the death of Martin West, but only arrived in Natal in April 1850.
13. James Proudfoot (b. 1819), son of a Scottish landowner, came to Natal in 1843. He became a storekeeper, elephant hunter, Zulu trader and leading resident in Durban until he returned to Scotland in 1862. See A.F. Hattersley *The British settlement of Natal* Cambridge University Press, 1950, p.186 and E. Goetzsche 'Rough but ready': *an official history of the Natal Mounted Rifles* [Durban, NMR, 197–], pp. 3, 7, 9.
14. Samuel Beningfield (1802–74): auctioneer, law agent and horticulturist. He arrived in Natal in 1841 and was also imprisoned by the Boers in 1842. He and his wife had a family of 6 children by 1849. See S. O'B. Spencer *British settlers in Natal*, v.2.
15. Probably Joachim Friedrich Kahts of Hamburg who arrived in Durban in the 1830s, where from 1839 he acted as a shipping agent and later as German consul. He was married to Maria Elizabeth Susanna Scheepers. See D.F. Du T. Malherbe *Family register of the South African nation*, 3rd ed., Stellenbosch, Tegniek, 1966, and S. O'B. Spencer *British settlers in Natal*, v.4, p.192. Thomas Green's Reminiscences (p.18) rather puzzlingly refers to 'old Mr. Kahts'; yet by the early 1840s, J.F. Kahts was barely 30 years old.
16. William Proudfoot (b. 1823), brother of James (see n.13 above), was a member of the 'hunting company' formed by the Hoggs and Elephant White in the late 1840s. He had farmed on the turbulent Eastern Cape frontier before coming to Natal and taking up farming at *Craigieburn*, Riet Vlei. He was Captain of the Karkloof Troop of the Natal Carbineers and conducted a number of raids against the San. Hogg mentions hunting with him in 1848 and 1850 (see pp.25 and 28).
17. Spencer in *British settlers in Natal*, v.4, p.61 claims that John Pearson Cato (1831–1908), later a contractor and farmer, and his younger brother, Thomas Pearson Cato, were half-brothers (not nephews) to George Cato and that Thomas was in Natal by 1851.
18. Spencer believes that Captain George Anthony Durnford, who was in the 27th Regiment (Inniskilling Fusiliers) not the 45th Regiment, could not have been at Hogg's wedding. He had participated in the relief of the besieged British force at Congella in 1842. The 27th Regiment apparently left Natal in 1845. D.R. Morris in *The washing of the spears* London, Cape, 1966, p.215 claims that he was uncle to the better known Anthony William Durnford (1830–1879) of the Royal Engineers who was killed at Isandlwana in 1879. See J.C. Chase *The Natal papers* (Cape Town, Struik, 1968), p.225–8, and A.J. Cook 'British military, Part 1: Irish in the British army in South Africa, 1795–1910' in *Southern African-Irish studies* 2 (1992), p.97
19. Spencer suggests that this may be the Isaak Cornelis Johannes Vermaak, baptised 1809, and married to Dorothea Johanna Laas, listed in Cilliers *Genealogieë van die Afrikaner families in Natal* p.621.
20. Wife of James Alfred Rorke (1827–75) and another of Mrs Strydom's daughters, Sara Johanna b. ca 1830. In 1849 the Rorkes were settled on a farm on the Buffalo River. Rorke hunted, traded and ran a ferry service at the Drift which was named after him. See G.A. Dominy 'Disputed territory: the Irish presence in the marchlands of the Zulu kingdom, 1838–1888' *Southern African-Irish studies* 2, 1992, pp.215–6, and Cilliers *Genealogieë van die Afrikaner families in Natal* p.589.
21. The elder Ogle, Henry, was one of the first white hunter-traders to come to Port Natal in 1824. After 1843 he settled near the Mkomazi River with a large African following. Spencer *British settlers in Natal* v.2, p.60 refers to John Ogle, son of Henry, who was out of favour with

- Mpande in 1850 for having abducted a Zulu girl. In v. 6, p. 225 Spencer mentions that by 1857 John Ogle was living in Nomansland with an African following and was threatening to go to war with another mixed-blood chief.
22. Mpande kaSenzangakhona (1810–72), who became king in 1840, had his principal homestead at Nodwengu which lay between the White and Black Mfolozi Rivers. Hogg had met him for the first time in 1848 and had had an interview lasting about three hours (pp. 25 and 26–7). Hogg was always scrupulous in requesting permission to hunt and in informing the Zulu king of his movements (see also p. 29). In a Note on p. 41 he describes the formalities and postures to be assumed when approaching Zulu royalty. A much underrated king, Mpande has recently been the subject of some re-assessment. See P. Colenbrander 'The Zulu kingdom, 1828–79' in A. Duminy and W. Guest (eds) *Natal and Zululand from earliest times to 1910*, (Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1989), pp. 93–107 and J. Wright and R. Edgecombe 'Mpande kaSenzangakhona c.1798–1872' in C. Saunders (ed.) *Black leaders in Southern African history* London, Heinemann, 1979.
 23. In a Note on p. 40, Hogg says: 'In addition to the tusk of ivory weighing 95lbs., King Mpanda presented me, at the same time, with five head of cattle.'
 24. According to Shelagh Spencer, *Waterbosch* was owned by James Archbell (title issued 1/12/1852) so Hogg probably merely leased it. Either his memory was defective or he was embellishing the truth. The Nonoti River lies between the Mvoti and Thukela Rivers.
 25. Hans De Lange (Johannes Hendrikus de Lange, called popularly Hans Dons) visited Natal with the first wave of Voortrekkers in 1834. He was a well-known scout and elephant hunter. Delegorgue claimed that De Lange would sprinkle his ivory with sea-salt and water to increase its weight! See A. Delegorgue *Travels in southern Africa* v. 1, (Durban, Killie Campbell Africana Library, 1990), pp. 82, 268, 278, and 340, and H. F. Fynn *Diary* (Pietermaritzburg, Shuter and Shooter, 1969), p. 230.
 26. David Divana or Veanna was a coloured man who was born in Stellenbosch. Earlier Hogg mentions having rescued Divana, his wife and child from a flooded Mngeni River in April 1848 (see pp. 24–5). Further on Hogg incorrectly refers to Divana's death by a bull buffalo in 1857; in fact, Divana died on 7 September 1858, leaving his wife Lena Plaatjies and three children (Source: S. O'B. Spencer). It is interesting that Hogg makes no reference to Divana's colour, that he refers to him as 'Mr', and that they appear to have been equal companions.
 27. This may be the P. du Pre/Paul Dupre who signed a traders' memorial in December 1856 claiming loss of cattle in the Battle of Ndondakusuka between Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi, and who surfaces again in official documents regarding an incident in 1865 when he shot a fleeing Zulu refugee; he was then living on the Zulu side of the Thukela River (Source: S. O'B. Spencer). See also C. Ballard 'The role of trade and hunter-traders in the political economy of Natal and Zululand, 1824–1880' *African economic history* 10, 1981, p. 9.
 28. William Adams (c. 1820–1916), trader and farmer, arrived in Natal in 1842. He also married a Strydom daughter, and in 1854 (the year they married) the couple went on a hunting and trading trip to the Zulu kingdom with the Hoggs and others; they were based in the Ngoye forest. See S. O'B. Spencer *British settlers in Natal* v. 1, p. 11. Adams and his wife are recorded as making articles for trade from animal hides. In the late 1850s Adams moved to the Thukela River and then to a farm near Helpmekaar — not far from his wife's sister Mrs James Rorke (see n. 20 above).
 29. This may have been the son of Benjamin and Rose Marion Phillips (née Whitecomb) who died in 1855, not 1853.
 30. The Reverend H. P. S. Schreuder (1817–1882) of the Lutheran Church established a mission station near the Mpangeni and Mhlatuze rivers in 1851.
 31. See n. 4 above.
 32. See the Introduction for sceptical comments on all these statistics.
 33. In September 1855 Francisco Salles Machado became governor at Delagoa Bay. It is not known if he was still in residence by 1858.
 34. During Shaka's rise to power a number of northern Nguni groups were pushed northwards. One of these was led by Soshangane (or Manukosi) in the early 1820s. He established a vast empire in southern Mozambique of Gaza Nguni (also called Shangane). According to Harries, Manukosi died in 1858, the same year that Hogg records hearing about him, and in what happened subsequently Hogg continues to refer to Manukosi/Soshangane although the latter was succeeded by Mawewe. See P. Harries 'Labour migration from Mozambique to South Africa, with special reference to the Delagoa Bay hinterland, c. 1862–1897' Ph.D thesis, SOAS, London, 1983, pp. 168–9.
 35. Probably James Augustus Ross who arrived in Natal in 1849 with his wife and a servant. He owned the farm *Bellair*. Source: S. O'B. Spencer; see also *British settlers in Natal* v. 6 pp. 15, 181.

36. This may have been another member of the numerous Strydom family. In a Note on p.40 Hogg says that Johannes Strydom lived and hunted with him from 1852 to 1859, although this is the first mention of this individual. Johannes assisted Hogg in his trading activities when the latter fell ill in 1860 while living in the Biggarsberg, went to Greytown with the Hoggs, and finally died of fever while hunting in the St. Lucia Bay area.
37. Mswati waSobhuza's mother was Tsandzile (Kuthandile) Ndwandwe (ca 1806–ca 1875), also known as Nompethu. She has been called one of the most outstanding individuals in a long line of exceptional Swazi queen mothers. Mswati was only 14 years old when he inherited the kingship; Tsandzile emerged as the dominant regent who ensured Mswati's survival. She had a very powerful personality and was a shrewd and capable administrator who earned enormous respect. Her principal homestead was Ludzidzini adjacent to the Mdzimba Range in central Swaziland. By 1852 Mswati had moved to the north and this may explain why Hogg approached the queen mother for assistance. See P. Bonner *Kings, commoners and concessionaires: the evolution and dissolution of the nineteenth century Swazi state* (Johannesburg, Ravan, 1983), p. 105 and H.M. Jones *A biographical register of Swaziland to 1902* (Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1993), pp. 446–7.
38. In a Note on p.40, Hogg says the following about this man: 'When leaving to hunt in 1859, I engaged an old country Portuguese named Vennûne [?], as clerk, who was one of those killed by order of King *Ushushangana*'.
39. These anti-slavery sentiments may be considered specious given the active involvement of Soshangane's Gaza in the slave trade with the Portuguese through Delagoa Bay from the 1820s, and later with the Transvaal Boers. Harries has estimated that at the peak of the trade in humans in the late 1820s and early 30s over 1 000 slaves were exported annually through Delagoa Bay. In 1829 the Portuguese had been trade and tribute allies with the Gaza but relations between them fluctuated; in 1856 for instance the Gaza attacked Lourenço Marques but signed a peace treaty the next year. In 1858 when Soshangane/Manukosi died (see n. 34 above) civil war broke out: Mawewe succeeded him but was challenged by Mzila, who gained the support of the Portuguese. The situation was greatly complicated by the presence of Swazi and Transvaal Boers and the large number of chiefdoms in the Delagoa Bay hinterland. The messengers who came to Hogg appear to have been on a mission to try and involve the British to intervene in the civil war on the side of Mawewe. If this was so, they were shrewd to use the anti-slavery plea for the British and international anti-slavery movement had been active since the 1830s. By the 1850s this had caused a drop in slave prices and a decline in the export trade from southern Mozambique. It was in fact this situation which seems to have encouraged Soshangane to shift his slave trade activities to the Transvaal Boers. See P. Harries 'Slavery, social incorporation and surplus extraction: the nature of free and unfree labour in south-east Africa' in *Jnl of African history*, 22 (1981), pp. 312–8; and P. Harries 'Labour migration from Mozambique to South Africa' pp. 158–172.
40. Enmity between the Zulu and Gaza dated back to the 1820s (see n. 34 above). The Zulu considered Soshangane a threat not only to their political authority (as the Gaza chief managed to lure disaffected Zulu men and women northwards), but also to their control of trade with Delagoa Bay. Both Shaka and Dingane had sent military expeditions to attack the Gaza (in 1828 and 1833), and even though Mpande and Cetshwayo were circumscribed by the presence of the British, the Boers and the Swazi, as late as 1856 Mpande was interfering in a succession dispute in the Delagoa Bay hinterland and threatening to attack Lourenço Marques. So presumably this rumour of Hogg being in league with the Zulu was not improbable, particularly in view of the turbulent politics amongst the Gaza at that time (see n. 39).