brilliant flowers and heaths, called forth by the late rains. We crossed on our way the dry bed of the Hantam River, near the spot where it joins the Oliphant's River, and in an hour afterwards, reached Friedensdal, the place of the Veld-Cornet Van Zyl, upon the banks of the latter stream.

I was here informed that the Oliphant's River overflows its banks in certain places generally before seed-time, and that the land so overflowed, being immediately ploughed and sown, while saturated with moisture, produces very abundant crops without further irrigation. I conceive it possible that the banks of the Gariep might be cultivated successfully in some places on the same principle.

27.—This evening I arrived at the drostdy of Clan William, after a tedious journey, without any occurrence worthy of remark, through a country already sufficiently known from the descriptions of Barrow and Lichtenstein.

28.—Clan William is a division of the *ci-devant* district of Tulbagh, now Worcester. The drostdy is situated on a stream formerly called Jan-Distel's River. Besides the Deputy Landdrost's house, and offices, the village consists of only about half-

a-dozen houses. The present magistrate is a Captain Synnot, one of the Irish party of settlers who were originally located in this vicinity.

Accompanied by my hospitable friend Mr. Bergh, who resides at this place, I rode out this morning to see the location of the Irish settlers. It was about half-an-hour's ride from the village, and occupied a little dale called Kleine-Vallei. We passed through the entire location, and found only one settler of the name of Shaw remaining, out of the whole original party of 350 souls; the rest have been partly removed to Albany, and partly scattered in various other parts of the Colony. It is indeed a most extraordinary circumstance, that such a number of people should have been set down in this place, which is barely sufficient for the competent subsistence of two boor's families. There did not appear to me to be above forty acres of land fit for cultivation in the whole place. The foundation of a house begun by the eccentric and speculative Mr. Parker, the original head of the Irish emigrants, was a melancholy memorial of the entire failure and dispersion of this party.

Having heard of an industrious Hottentot, who possessed a small location in this vicinity, I prevailed on Mr. Bergh to accompany me thither. We reached it after an arduous ascent into the Cedar mountains, in a nook of which it is situate. The proprietor (Abraham Zwarts) showed us his whole premises with pride and pleasure. His farm consists of about fifty-four acres, three of which are sown with wheat. Besides this he raises annually about 100lb. of tobacco, and has upwards of 200 fruit trees in bearing, the produce of which he dries and sells at the drostdy. His live-stock amounted to sixteen head of cattle, twenty goats, and forty sheep. His family consisted of a little colony of more than twenty-four children, and grandchildren,—all of whom, so far as their years admit, assist in the cultivation of the little farm, and are supported and clothed by its produce.

This is, perhaps, the only instance of a Hottentot having obtained a grant of land in the Colony; and the circumstances are curious and worthy of being commemorated, to evince what might be anticipated from Hottentot industry, if that

long oppressed race received due encouragement to exert themselves. Zwarts had been permitted by the deputy landdrost Bergh, to occupy this wild place, which no boor then considered worth the asking for, and had made considerable improvement upon it, when, upon the arrival of the settlers, he was warned to evacuate it, in order that it might be added to their location; and he would have been then unceremoniously dispossessed, except for the laudable humanity of Mr. Parker and Captain Synnot, who represented the hardship of the case to the Colonial Government, and obtained for the poor man a full grant of the place, on perpetual quit-rent. The respectable appearance of Zwarts and his family, and the evidences of their industry every where apparent, prove how well the favour of Government has been in this instance bestowed, and leads us to regret the more, that it should be a singular and solitary instance of such favour shown to the Aborigines of the country. How can industry or improvement be expected from a class of people long degraded into bondsmen, and systematically prevented from emerging from that condition?

I spent the forenoon at the drostdy. Its situation is very warm, under the skirts of the Cedarberg. Oranges and many other fruits are raised here in great perfection, but the general capabilities of the place, and the resources of the neighbouring country, are but limited. The Oliphant's River, which is the principal one in the district, is not capable, on account of the bar at its mouth, of being entered, even by small craft; and Lambert's Bay, the nearest place to the drostdy where goods can be landed, is very open, and exposed to the north-west gales. Should it ever become, however, the seat of government for an independent district, this village may in time probably acquire some population, and become, like similar places, a mart of mechanical labour and provincial traffic. It is distant about 200 miles from Cape Town.

30.—The country between Clan William and Cape Town is so well known from the descriptions of former travellers, that I shall not detain the reader by any observations upon it, nor with the trifling incidents of a journey over beaten ground. In order to visit the Bays of St. Helena

and Saldanha, I made a considerable deviation from the direct route, and reached the former in the course of the 30th. I found here Lieutenant Pedder, of the navy, who conducts a whale fishery for some merchants in Cape Town. His success had this season been very indifferent. Seven fish only had been killed, which would not defray the expenses of the establishment. It is the black whale which frequents this coast, producing each, from ten to fifteen leagers (a measure of 152 gallons) of oil. The whales are all females, who seek the unfrequented bays to calve, and since the fishery has been actively prosecuted at the Cape, they have been gradually deserting its shores. Mr. Pedder mentioned to me a singular circumstance which had occurred in this bay a few months before. A prodigious shoal of sharks and other fish ran on shore and died on the beach, which they covered for an extent of about four miles. Mr. Pedder obtained eighteen leagers of sharks' oil, and, had he had hands sufficient, might have had fifty times as much. A similar occurrence took place in Table Bay many years ago, and on both occasions the sea had previously ap-

peared from the beach of a blood red colour. Whether this phenomenon, and the consequent rushing of the fish upon the beach, might be occasioned by the existence of any poisonous matter in the sea, I leave to naturalists to determine.

St. Helena Bay is well sheltered from the south and west, but exposed to the north. It has good anchorage, and a small creek on its southern side may, I conceive, be safely resorted to as a harbour for small coasting vessels; but the unproductive nature of the adjoining country (except for grazing) renders this bay of far less importance than it would be on the south-eastern coast of the Colony. The Berg River, which falls into it, though a considerable stream, admits only boats over the bar.

31.—At an early hour this morning, I reached Saldanha Bay, and coasted it from the northern to the southern extremity, where the government has a small establishment. Any particular description of this bay, after what has been written upon the subject by such a competent judge as Mr. Barrow, would be more than superfluous. Saldanha Bay is known to be far the best, or

rather the only good *harbour* in South Africa. It is, in fact, one of the safest and most capacious havens in the world. Had nature placed it where Table Bay is, or poured the Berg River into it, in place of St. Helena Bay, it would have enhanced beyond calculation the value of the whole Colony. As it now is, with scarcely fresh water on its shores sufficient for a single family, its other advantages are completely neutralized. All projects for obtaining water, either by boring, or by digging a canal from the Berg River, have hitherto been considered impracticable. Whether these obstacles may not yet be surmounted by some achievement of modern science, remains to be proved. Want of water is the great defect of the whole of this part of the coast, and will for ever doom it to a scanty and scattered population.

In the afternoon I arrived at Groote-Post, a farm established by Government, for the encouragement of agriculture, and where much attention has been paid, and, as I understand, with considerable success, to the improvement of the breed of live stock in the Colony. There is a

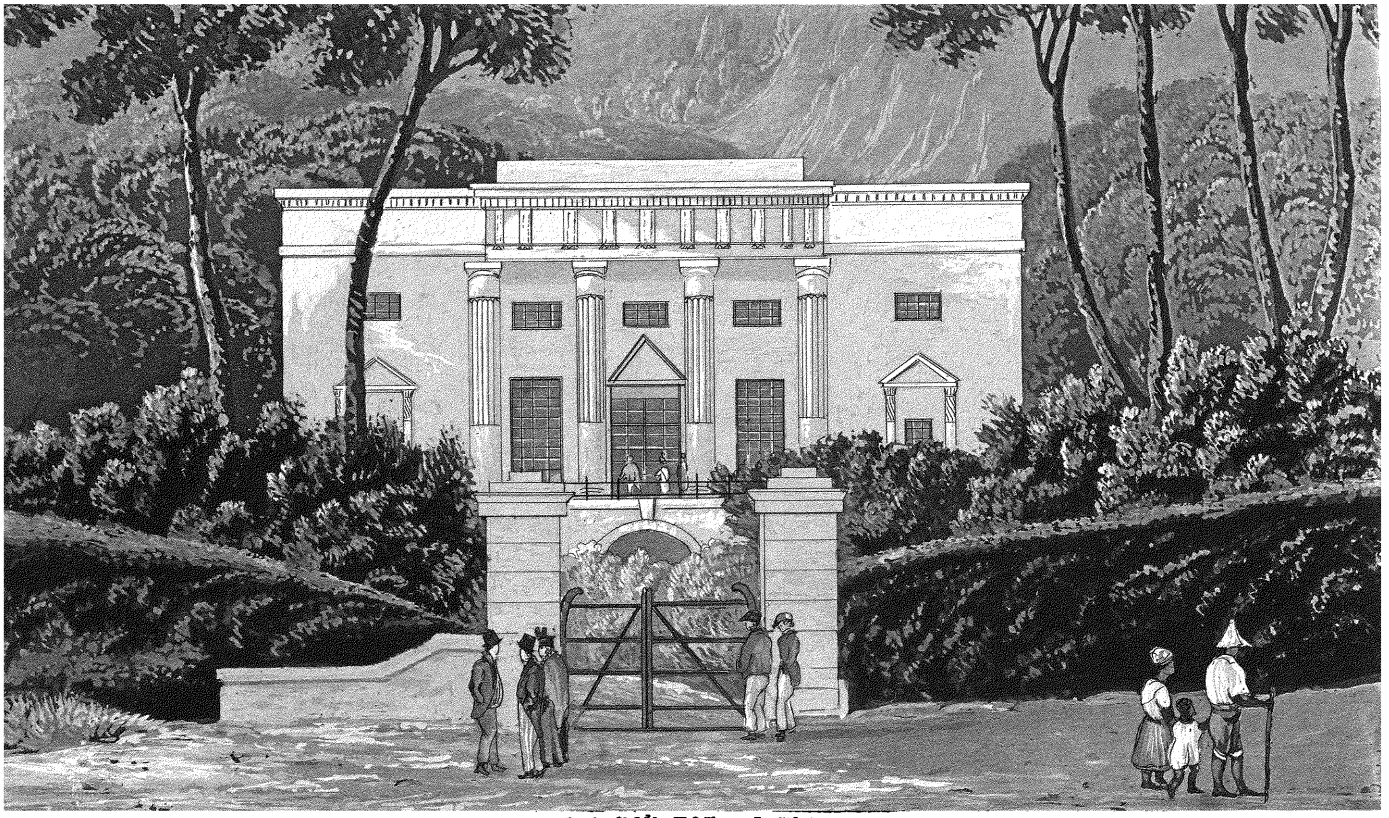
pretty comfortable house on this farm, which the Governor usually occupies as a hunting-lodge in the sporting season.

I spent the night at Klaiver-Vallei, the residence of Mr. Duckett, an enterprising agriculturist, where I found every thing in the arrangement of his large establishment so much in the style of a substantial English farmer, that, except for the predominance of black servants, I could almost have conceived myself among the scenes of my childhood. Mr. Duckett had, however, found it expedient to adapt the system of English farming to the circumstances of the country and climate, by various modifications suggested by the experience of the elder colonists.

SEPT. 1.—Called at the Moravian Institution of Groene-Kloof, and examined the establishment, with which I was, on the whole, much gratified; though its external appearance is by no means so pleasing as that of Gnadenthal; nor is there, seemingly, that degree of enterprize and excitement among the Hottentots, which have recently been developed among their countrymen at most of the missionary establishments in the eastern

districts of the Colony. Groene-Kloof is, nevertheless, a very praiseworthy establishment, and has proved, by the amelioration it has gradually introduced in both the character and circumstances of the natives under its superintendence, a great blessing to that part of the Colony.

At mid-day I reached Mr. Van Reenen's, at Brak-Fonteyn, where finding two gentlemen of my acquaintance on a visit from Cape Town, I accepted with pleasure a seat in their carriage, and arrived in the evening at my own house, after a brief but arduous excursion of about five weeks.



G. Thompson, Esq.r del.t

London, Publ.d by H. Colburn, Jan.y 1827.

VIEW OF THE MANSION OF D. VAN REENEN ESQ.r

# PART III.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE DUTCH AND ENGLISH INHABITANTS; ON THE ADAPTATION OF THE COUNTRY FOR FARTHER COLONIZATION; AND ON ITS AGRICULTURAL AND COMMERCIAL CAPABILITIES.

## CHAPTER I.

Estimate of the Dutch-African Character.—Vendue Meeting.—Wedding Party.—Apathy and Avarice.—The several Classes of Farmers.—Dutch Law of Succession.—Extension of the Colonial Boundaries.—Contrast between the poor and affluent Graziers.

THIRTY years ago, Mr. Barrow drew a powerful, but somewhat overcharged picture of the Cape-Dutch boors. The facts that he adduced were, no doubt, correct,—the features that he pourtrayed were real;—but the delineation was, nevertheless, an unfair representation of the colonists, because the traveller had only seen them under an unfavourable aspect. Their character has many redeeming points, which a writer in Mr. Barrow's circumstances could have no opportunity of observing; while, on the other hand, the unhappy situation of affairs, and the feelings

of mutual hostility between the victors and the vanquished, rendered at that time every unfavourable quality of the latter more prominent and provoking.

These circumstances, together with the generous indignation inspired by the cruel oppressions inflicted upon the Hottentots and Bushmen, in behalf of whom Mr. Barrow has so powerfully pleaded, are sufficient, in my opinion, to account for his too great severity towards the Dutch colonists, without ascribing to that distinguished writer any intentional injustice.

Dr. Lichtenstein, on the other hand, appears to have been led by political opposition, and other causes, to contradict Mr. Barrow's account, on many occasions, without just cause; and to represent the farmers as a much more polished and praiseworthy race of men than they could at that time, or even now, be fairly alleged to be.

The truth seems to lie between these conflicting accounts. The Cape-Dutch colonists, judging from my own observation, which has been pretty extensive, are neither generally so brutal as they appear in the pages of Barrow, nor so

refined as represented by Lichtenstein. In fact, these intelligent writers seem rather to have taken the two extremes, than the average character. That the back-country boors of former times were many of them as savage, indolent, and unprincipled as Mr. Barrow has described, cannot be questioned; and the facts I have stated, and those I shall yet state, will prove that to this day *some* of them are in no respect improved. But even the *Vee-Boors* in general have many good and pleasing qualities, and their worst are, in my apprehension, clearly to be ascribed to the many disadvantageous circumstances under which they are placed: to their being thinly scattered over an immense territory, out of the reach of religious instruction, or moral restraint; to the vicious and corrupt character of the old Dutch government, by which the interests of the community were constantly sacrificed for those of the company and its servants; to the inefficient police, which not only allowed but encouraged and abetted a system of unrighteous aggression against the native tribes; and last, not least, to the influence of slavery, which, wherever it

prevails, inevitably deteriorates and pollutes the whole mass of society. Yet, with all these disadvantages, the very rudest class of the Cape boors seem to be in many respects superior to the half-savage back settlers, in almost every quarter of the Spanish or Anglo-American colonies. I shall now illustrate these remarks by facts of recent date, in which I shall "nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice."

On my visit to Struys Bay, near Cape Agulhas, in 1822, I had occasion to pass a night at a boor's house, where a party of farmers, some of them from a considerable distance, had come to attend the sale of the wreck of the Grace. A public sale of any importance usually collects a number of the inhabitants together, as much with the view of meeting company, as of making a bargain; for in the country districts it is only on such occasions that they have an opportunity of meeting in parties, and of indulging those social propensities which are common to all men, rustic or refined. On the present occasion the festivity was indeed rustic and even barbarous to a degree I never witnessed among the colonists in the re-

moter districts. An ox was killed, and the carcase, mangled in a most disgusting manner, was cut up, and part, yet warm from the blood, thrown into a pot and boiled to rags: this was heaped upon the table in huge pewter plates; and at the same time about one hundred pounds of boiled rice was served up to the company, who consisted of about thirty men, with their wives and daughters. The men seated themselves round the table, and with their hunting-knives fell voraciously upon the victuals, each helping himself as he could, without either offering a seat to the females, or inviting them to partake, till their own hunger was satiated. After dinner the boors drank raw brandy until they were half tipsy, and then commenced dancing, which they carried on amidst loud talking, vulgar jesting, and obstreperous laughter, the whole night long.

Such scenes are, I believe, not unfrequent among the ruder class of boors; but they do not usually lead to scenes of any great disorder, nor are they, perhaps, more discreditable or immoral than the vulgar festivity of the peasantry in Holland or Germany. Habitual drunkenness is

not a vice so prevalent among the African farmers, as it was even among English gentlemen less than 100 years ago; and although the birthday festivals, even of the richest and most polished class of the Cape-Dutch gentry, are still but too frequently disgraced by hard drinking and riotous mirth,—and the *pokaalie* cup, like the "blessed bear of Bradwardine," too often drowns both reason and refinement; yet we, who have ourselves been so recently reclaimed from the remains of the old German taste for gross debauchery, have little right to view these remote colonists, on that account, as brutal barbarians. To evince, however, that I have no intention of cloaking their faults, or concealing their worst excesses, but rather, by their exposure, to shame them out of them, I shall mention another scene of riotous merriment which I myself witnessed.

On my return from the Cango, in 1822, I arrived at the house of a rich corn and wine boor, not 100 miles from Cape Town, who had been recently married, and who, in honour of the happy occasion, had that day given a grand ball and entertainment to a numerous party of

his friends and neighbours. It was evening when I reached the house; and being known to the host, and travelling in company, indeed, with one of his neighbours, I was most hospitably welcomed. The dancing, which had commenced before our arrival, was continued till past midnight, and the female part of the company conducted themselves with great propriety and decorum; but the gentlemen had evidently been indulging far too freely in the bottle, and were much more noisy and riotous, than pleasant or entertaining. About one o'clock in the morning the company sat down to a splendid and luxurious supper; after which the wine again circulated profusely among the male guests, and those who were disposed to sobriety were absolutely compelled to drink by the more boisterous of the party, who also began to play off rude practical jokes, such as exploding squibs and crackers among the dancers, &c. Wearied out by a long ride the preceding day, and with a surfeit of this rough horse-play, I stole off, with one or two of my fellow-travellers, about five o'clock in the morning, and took refuge in an outhouse, in hopes

of there getting a little repose before we continued our journey. But we reckoned "without our host;" for, as soon as our absence was discovered, a numerous party of the Bacchanals sallied forth in search of us, and dragged us by main force back to the hall. A second time we made our escape—but in vain. Our resistance only provoked these riotous fellows to more mischievous persecution. They got hold of an old cannon which happened to be about the place, loaded it with powder, and stuffed it to the muzzle with wet straw, and then fired it into the room where we were just sinking into sleep, —breaking with the concussion all the windows to shivers, and very nearly shaking down the roof about our ears. Finding it useless to contend with madmen, we returned to the party, who continued their *vrolykheid* (as they call it) without intermission till morning, when we were allowed to depart, glad to escape from such boisterous hospitality.

In both these instances, little as I was disposed to admire the taste of African joviality, I could not but allow, that, with all its riotous extrava-

gance, there was less disposition to brawling or quarrelling, than would probably have been witnessed among our own countrymen in similar circumstances,—and that good breeding, far more than right feeling, was wanting.

The fact is, travellers, for the most part, are too apt to generalize hastily, and to give their readers erroneous impressions, by selecting a few striking scenes or characters as illustrations of the general state of manners and morals among the people whom they visit; and the picture is favourable or otherwise, according to the temper, talents, taste, or extent of observation of the traveller. I might easily have been led myself, by the scenes I have just described, or by a few instances of unprincipled or unfeeling conduct, to form a much less favourable estimate than I have done of the Dutch colonists, had my experience been confined to one or two brief excursions among them. But after having visited every district of the Colony, and mingled familiarly with all classes of the population, and with the rudest and remotest of the back settlers, I do not hesitate to characterize them generally as a shrewd,

prudent, persevering, good-humoured, hospitable, and respectable class of men. That there are among them individuals undeserving of all or any of these epithets, is no more discreditable to them as a body, than the existence of a few swindlers and ruffians among English farmers, to the body of our respectable yeomanry. The African boors have, indeed, some general defects, from which our yeomanry are free; but these, as I have already observed, may justly be ascribed to the political and moral disadvantages under which they labour.

It is somewhat remarkable, that the poorer class of corn boors near Cape Agulhas, and other parts of the Caledon district, are many of them more rude in their manners, and more knavish and immoral in their general character, than even the wandering graziers of the northern frontier. The following incident will exemplify this, and at the same time serve to show how unjust it may often be for travellers to act upon the maxim "From one judge of the rest."

Mr. P., a friend of mine, travelling into the interior, was riding past a farm-house, near the

Zonderend River, when he was furiously assaulted by about a score of dogs belonging to the place, in consequence of which he was thrown from his horse, and had his thigh-bone broken. The boor, a young man of the name of Vanderwalt, came to the door, and seeing the accident, stood gazing at a distance, without offering to assist the gentleman who was lying on the ground, until he was called forward, and requested by him to help him into the house. Mr. P. then asked him to send off a messenger instantly for the district surgeon at the village of Caledon, about three hours distant. Vanderwalt replied that he had no one who could be spared, except a slave, who was at work in the field, and whom, with some hesitation, he agreed to send for. After waiting, however, about an hour, no slave appeared; the young fellow sitting all the while, quietly smoking his pipe, beside the agonized traveller. At length the latter demanded whether he meant to send any one or not, or, if his slave was not at hand, why he did not ride off for the doctor himself? To this the farmer, taking the pipe from his mouth, replied with great *sang-froid*, "Jaa,

Mynheer, ik kan zelvers ryden—als Mynheer zal my daarom ordentelyk betalen." " Yes, Sir, I can ride myself, if you will pay me handsomely." Finding himself at the fellow's mercy, Mr. P. suppressed his indignation at his unfeeling avarice, paid him what he demanded, (about four times the hire of a man and horse for the distance,) and Vanderwalt rode off for the doctor.

" Now," said the gentleman to whom this incident occurred, " had I been a traveller passing hastily through the country, I should most probably have taken this as a fair average specimen of the colonial character; but having previously travelled through a great part of the interior, and been in habits of almost daily intercourse with the inhabitants, I am bound in candour to say, that I do not believe there are a dozen individuals in the Colony, who, in similar circumstances, would have acted like this fellow Vanderwalt, or who would not regard with scorn and indignation any person so acting."

My own experience certainly does not contradict this favourable testimony. I am satisfied that there is a great deal of hearty kindness, and

substantial worth, in the character of the Cape-Dutch colonists. Notwithstanding the evil influence of slavery, and of their rancorous hostilities with the Bushmen and Caffers, they are not *generally* a depraved or inhuman race of men. Neither are they so indolent as they have generally been represented. Many of the farms that have been for any length of time occupied upon a secure tenure, exhibit proofs of a prudent, persevering industry, not unworthy of their Batavian progenitors. In the interior districts, where less agricultural enterprise is visible, it is to be considered that the great, I might say, the only source of profit, hitherto, has been the breeding of sheep and cattle, which necessarily induces habits somewhat unsettled and averse to steady labour; and, besides this, on the Caffer frontier, the colonists have been so frequently driven from their dwellings, that it is only since the Keiskamma became the boundary, that they have really begun to consider themselves as secure and permanent occupants of their farms. But wherever they have been settled for any considerable time, in favourable situations, their industry is, generally speak-

ing, not less apparent than in the Sneeuwberg,—which pleased Mr. Barrow so much, that he was led to regard the inhabitants of that district as a class of colonists superior to the rest of their countrymen.

Having said this much upon the character of the Dutch colonists, I shall add a few observations on their present circumstances, which have undergone, within the last twenty years, an alteration, I apprehend, much more remarkable than their manners.

Twenty years ago the vine-growers were considered the most thriving class of agriculturists; next to them the corn farmers; and the graziers were placed lowest in the scale. Various causes have, within these few years, combined to modify, if not to reverse this gradation.

The abolition of the Slave Trade, which enhanced so greatly the price of slave labour, by which the vine is exclusively cultivated; the depreciation of the colonial currency, which fell most severely upon the old capitalists; the increase of taxes, both general and provincial; the fluctuation of the demand for Cape wines in the Eu-

ropean market; and the unsteady measures (I regret to add) of the Home Government in that point,—which, after holding out such encouragement for the production of Cape wines, as led to a large investment of capital in increasing the cultivation, has ultimately left it to compete with foreign wines in the English market, under great disadvantages;—these, and various other circumstances, have contributed to weigh heavily on the wine farmers, and greatly to impair their general prosperity.

Of these various disadvantages, one of the most severe, though, perhaps, not the most obvious, is the necessity of employing slave labour. Now, although a particular slave, from some superior qualifications, may be productive to his owner, (and it is impossible, so long as free servants are scarce, and consequently little under the control of their employers, to carry on any agricultural establishment to advantage, without vesting a capital in that description of labour,) yet it is an unquestionable fact, that the colonists are suffering more or less, in proportion as they are possessed of slaves; or, in other words, are receiving a

smaller return from their capital, than if it were otherwise invested: and there are few slave-owners, beyond the lines which surround Cape Town, who, after estimating the cost of their agricultural property, can say that they receive an adequate return from their capital. On the other hand, Hottentot labour is, generally speaking, hired at a rate much below its comparative value; a consequence of the very injurious restrictions which that race have to contend with. This circumstance, along with the higher rate of profit derived from the breeding of stock, accounts for the superior success of the graziers, in spite of a limited market, the impolitic restrictions on the internal commerce of the Colony, and the monopolizing regulations of the Burgher Senate.

The vine-growers have (either belonging to themselves, or upon loan,) large capitals invested in slaves, buildings, vineyards, fustage, draught-cattle, and pasture lands; and are consequently enabled to live at a rate, which might be considered by a stranger, who does not perceive their minute economy, to be extravagant. But if a very few, who have peculiar advantages, or make

a superior description of wine, are excepted, they do not receive the average rate of profit on their capital, nor anything like it. Their early habits, and the impossibility of finding purchasers for their estates, are the principal causes of their perseverance at the present low prices of their produce. They can, by means of a very large capital, pay their taxes and live, but that is all. If they do not encroach on their capital, it is only owing to an economy, and an attention to petty gains, which no English family, with half their means, would pretend for a moment to cope with them in.

The profits of the corn farmers, within a moderate distance of the Cape market, where they have not been affected by the late years of blight, are probably somewhat higher; but the difference cannot be very great, as there is nothing of moment, except the transfer duty, (which, to be sure, is a serious obstacle of itself,) to prevent the flux and reflux of capital between these two employments.

The stock farmers, or graziers, on the frontier, having acquired few wants, and consequently being less exposed to indirect taxation, and having

almost an unlimited range of pasturage, are accumulating capital rapidly.

The inhabitants of the middle districts, prevented by the distance from the Cape market, by old habits, and by the prohibition of direct exportation from the ports nearest to them, from turning their attention to the production of grain, depend either on the sale of the produce of their cattle, or on their labour, and that of their slaves and Hottentots, in cutting wood, tapping aloes, &c. for sale at Cape Town,—or on supplying the stock farmers with waggons, wines, spirits, fruits, and imported articles; and many of them, therefore, may be more properly designated as carriers than farmers.

There are other two circumstances that have hitherto tended greatly to prevent the accumulation of capital, and to retard the general prosperity of the Colony. These are, first the Dutch law of succession, by which all the children are entitled to an equal share of the family property; and, secondly, the progressive extension of the colonial boundaries.

The first of these causes operates in the fol-

lowing manner. Suppose a farmer leaves, at his decease, an estate well-stocked, and in a course of improvement, under judicious management, with a sufficient capital. We will suppose that he has also realized two or three thousand rix-dollars of surplus cash, which is placed in the bank, or lent out at interest,—a supposition, however, too favourable to happen in the generality of cases. If he leaves only one or two children, who are out of their minority, the property is easily divided, and the estate may remain in the possession of one of them without any great incumbrance, or injurious retrenchment. But if, as is very frequently the case, there is a large family of children, and several of them still minors, the whole property must be exposed to public sale, in order that it may be realized in money to effect its division into, perhaps, eight or ten equal shares. By these means the family farm either falls into new hands, or if purchased back by one of the heirs, it is now reoccupied, either with funds inadequate to its full cultivation, or upon capital borrowed at the rate of six, or perhaps eight, per cent. interest; which presses as a

dead weight upon the new possessor, probably, for half his lifetime. The rest of the sons either purchase farms upon credit, and enter upon them in the same embarrassed state; or, if they cannot effect this, they migrate to the frontier districts, and become graziers.

The effect of this system is, that in the great majority of cases, whatever capital a man may acquire during his lifetime, is again entirely dispersed at his death. The means of improvement, and the progress of society, are thus continually kept in check. There is little or no gradation of ranks among the white population. Every man is a burgher by rank, and a farmer by occupation; and there is none so poor that he would not consider himself degraded by becoming the dependent of another. If a boor has a dozen sons, (no uncommon case in the Colony,) they must all be farmers. Instead of their youth being occupied in learning some useful trade or profession, they hang about their father's house, often half idle, until the family patrimony be divided, and then they disperse to establish themselves as they severally can. The few that do learn mecha-

nical or other trades, generally abandon them as soon as they have acquired the means of stocking a farm.

The English law of primogeniture would not, however, form an effectual remedy for the evil effects of this system, so long as the boundaries of the Colony are not definitively fixed. So long as this is the case, the population will continue to extend itself, as it does at present, much beyond its real means of profitable occupation; for the wandering, half-savage life of a back-country boor, will always have charms for the idle and adventurous, much beyond those of the more comfortable, but more laborious mechanic. I cannot help considering, therefore, that the policy of the Colonial Government, in extending continually the limits of the Colony, and allowing the population to expand itself unprofitably, has been equally erroneous and unfortunate.

Let us follow a little farther the career of one of these young colonists, who has learned no trade but farming, and whose portion is insufficient either to purchase or stock a farm in any of the older districts. His usual course, we have ob-

served, is to migrate to the frontier. A very limited capital will enable a man to begin the world as a *vee boor*. He purchases, say

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| An old waggon for about - - | 350 | rix-dollars. |
| A spann of ten oxen - - | 150 | |
| A horse and two mares - - | 200 | |
| Fifty cows and young cattle - | 500 | |
| Five hundred sheep and goats - | 1000 | |
| Rix-dollars | 2200 | (165*l.*) |

The above, with a large gun, an axe, adze, and hammer, a couple of waggon-chests, a churn, a large iron pot for boiling soap, and one or two smaller ones for cooking, are all that is absolutely requisite to establish a stock farmer in South Africa.

With this property, he marries a wife, hires a family of Hottentots, and drives forth into the wilderness. Water and pasturage are his first objects. He encamps near some unoccupied fountain, pool, or river, changing his station according as necessity or inclination may require, until he at length finds some eligible spot, where he thinks

he can advantageously fix himself. This spot is probably beyond the nominal boundary of the Colony, and belongs of right to the Bushman. No matter for that; the boundary can be extended,—and as for the rights of savage Bushmen, he considers that a mere jest; for Bushmen neither plant, nor sow, nor breed cattle; and now that the guns of the colonists have destroyed, or frightened away the game, and the natives are often distressed for food, their best course, in his opinion, is to become quiet servants to the white men, like their Hottentot brethren.

Reasoning thus, he takes possession of a river side, or some permanent *vley*, or fountain; or agrees with some other adventurer, like himself, to live together for the sake of greater security, and to divide, like Lot and Abraham, the country between them. He makes interest with the local magistrate, in the meanwhile, to be allowed to occupy the tract he has fixed upon, and this being complied with, he sends in a memorial to the governor, soliciting the permanent grant of it. His application is remitted to the landdrost to be reported upon; and if the report is favourable,

the land is surveyed, and granted to him and his heirs upon perpetual quit rent. Thus he is established; and if no disaster occurs, and he is not very idle or drunken, the progressive increase of his stock, beyond the consumption of his family and servants, will probably render him, eventually, a *vee-boor* of respectable property. I have met with many boors who had begun the world in this way, in the possession of numerous herds and flocks. The soap and butter, made by the females, is sent to market once or twice a year at the drostdy; and two or three hundred rix-dollars, made in this way, suffices to purchase clothes for the family, and to pay the taxes. Corn is seldom raised, or bread eaten, by them; but brandy (the only luxury besides tobacco in which the poorer boors indulge) is purchased from *smouses*, or hawkers, who traverse the remotest skirts of the Colony with waggon-loads of this detestable beverage.

It may be said that the white population increases more rapidly, by thus spreading itself extensively over the country, than if confined within narrower limits. This is no doubt true; but the

population is far less valuable,—less orderly, intelligent, and industrious, than it would be, if the enterprize of the poorer classes were otherwise directed. If the limits of the Colony had not been so injudiciously enlarged, the population, in the older districts, would have, ere now, assumed a much more compact and effective shape. It would have devolved into various classes and gradations, all supporting each other, and accelerating the general prosperity. A greater division of labour would have taken place, to the vast benefit of the community,—in place of one man being at once farmer, waggon-maker, blacksmith, carpenter, and so forth, as is still, to a great extent, the case; competition would have sharpened industry; the spendthrift and the idle would have sunk to indigence, but indigence would have forced them to labour, and thus to become useful members of society; the larger farms, near the coast, would have been broken down, and cultivated to more advantage; the country towns would have become more populous and thriving, and other villages would have been built; education would have been more easily attainable, and religious

instruction and general knowledge far more effectually disseminated; free labour would have been found cheaper and more efficient than that of slaves, and would have led to the gradual disuse and final annihilation of that fertile source of misery and crime.

Such, in my apprehension, are a few of the advantages that have been unfortunately lost to the present generation, by permitting the colonial population to disperse itself, as fast as it increased, into the wilderness; and for which, the partial advantages resulting to the migrating class, but very slightly compensate. I say nothing, at present, of the oppression and injury inflicted by this system upon the native tribes. Many facts and observations in the preceding part of the work, render this point sufficiently obvious.

Even among the graziers, however, though recently far the most prosperous class of the community, great wealth is seldom acquired, without the aid of commensurate capital to begin with; while such adventurers, as I have described, are struggling half their lives in comparative indigence, living in their waggons, or in miserable

reed huts, without furniture, without bread,—destitute of almost everything that an Englishman considers comforts; hunting the wild game, to save the consumption of their flocks, and feeding their Hottentot or Bushmen servants, with the flesh of the Quagha, or wild ass; while the poorer class of Vee-boors live in this rude and roving manner, the substantial graziers in the old and settled districts, such as the Sneeuwberg, Tarka, Bruintjes-hoogte, &c., have many of them excellent houses, commodiously furnished in the African fashion, with well-stocked gardens and vineyards, and are probably the most prosperous and independent class of farmers at present in the Colony; and some of them, especially such as reside near the drostdies, are by no means deficient either in general information or good manners. As a contrast to the preceding account of the mode of life among the more indigent sort, I subjoin the description of a family of this latter class, from the unpublished notes of my friend Mr. P., (a gentleman already alluded to in this chapter,) who travelled through the part of the Colony referred to, in 1822. I visited the same

house the following year, in passing through the Sneeuwberg, and can bear testimony that the description is correct, and the praise well merited.

"Travelling through the mountains, we reached the place of a rich vee-boor, or grazier, a little after sunset. We found the house full of guests; but were, nevertheless, very cordially welcomed; and the night being piercingly cold, I requested permission to bring our bedding from the waggon, and to spread it in the *voor-huis*, or hall, on account of the delicate health of part of my family. But the *huis-vrouw* smiled at this proposal, and told me that we should have a bed-room to ourselves, and as many feather beds as we chose to make use of.

"After eating a hearty supper, we retired to rest, and found that a spacious bed-room, containing three very handsome curtained beds, was appropriated for us. Where the rest of the company were disposed of I could not well guess. There were eight-and-twenty guests besides ourselves, all respectable-looking African farmers, or travellers, chiefly with their wives and families. I don't think there were more than two bed-rooms,

besides the one we occupied, though the house was otherwise a good and substantial one. I conclude that the women slept in these, and the men, (in the common way of the country,) in shake-downs in the hall, which was large enough, certainly, to serve as dormitory for a hundred persons in that fashion. We were accommodated (as being strangers, and English,) with the best bed-room, and had for our share four or five feather-beds, besides a profusion of blankets and quilted coverlets. These Sneeuwberg farmers seem to be in no danger of *starving*, (as a Scotchman would say,) either for hunger or cold.

" Next morning at daybreak we had coffee, which the others drank without admixture or addition; but sugar, cream, bread, butter, and bill tongue, were set down to us English. How they came to understand our tastes so well, I don't know; for I should imagine few of our countrymen have yet passed that way.

" About ten o'clock, some more company arrived, whom I found to be neighbours and relatives, come to spend the day (it being Sunday) with our patriarchal host. We were soon after-

wards invited to attend their religious service in the hall, round which the whole company were decently seated; and I was glad to see that the slaves and Hottentots belonging to the household, were also freely admitted. After singing some hymns, and reading some portions of scripture, our landlord addressed the company in an exhortation, apparently extempore, of about half an hour's length. It appeared to me very sensible and appropriate, and, in fact, much superior to the ordinary run of common-place sermons, either in Europe or Africa. It was listened to with every appearance of serious and devout attention.

"After this very becoming service, all the company sat down to a plentiful and cheerful repast, consisting chiefly of stewed meats, according to the Dutch fashion, but very well cooked, and varied with baked fruits, pastry, pickles, and salads, in abundance. The spoons, and some of the other articles, were silver, the capacious tureens of well-burnished pewter, the plates china and English delf, with napkins, &c. There was wine, but glasses were only placed for the men, who drank of it very moderately,—the women not at all.

" The conversation turned chiefly on their domestic concerns,—the late severe rains, and the damage occasioned by them,—the news of the Drostdy, (Graaff Reinet,)—the praises of their landdrost, Mr. Stockenstrom, and the respective merits of their late Dutch, and their new Scotch clergyman. On the latter point some anxious references were made to me; for, although I had not seen their new pastor, they conceived that, coming from Scotland, I ought necessarily to know his talents and reputation.

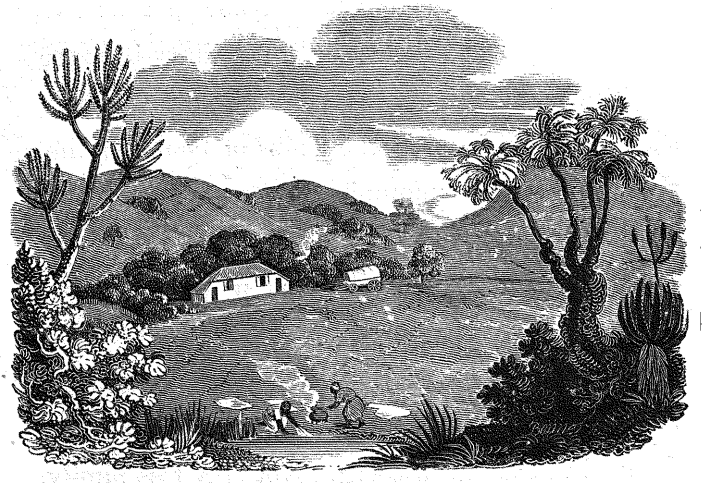
" I left them in the afternoon, much pleased with the good-humour and good sense that seemed to prevail among these rustic inhabitants of the mountains. There was nothing very *Arcadian*, certainly, about their manners. All was plain, common prudence, and every-day life—nothing *poetical* to elevate or refine—nothing *political* to stimulate or excite. But they seemed to live a respectable, quiet life, in the bosom of peace and plenty, without being oppressed by any very engrossing cares of the present, or any deep anxiety for the future. There was nothing slovenly, harsh, or unbecoming about them—such as former tra-

vellers have described, and such as may still be found among some of the more indigent and less instructed back-country boors. Their appearance was decent and comfortable; their manners frank, hospitable, and courteous. Notwithstanding the damages occasioned throughout the district by the blight and the rains, rustic plenty was apparent everywhere: even the numerous slaves and Hottentots of the establishment looked plump and void of care. And well they might; for their master (as I afterwards learned) is not only one of the wealthiest, but also one of the worthiest men, and best masters in the Sneeuwberg. His 'substance' might almost rival that of Job and Jacob in their prosperous days. He had 13,000 sheep, and about 2000 horned cattle, besides horses, corn, &c. He has only one son, and, notwithstanding his liberal hospitality, has saved much money; and this I am told he generally lends out to his poorer neighbours *without interest*, it being a maxim with him, that it is *more profitable* to assist one's friends, than to hoard money by usury.

"Men like this are not numerous in any coun-

try, and every wealthy vee-boor does not act like Schalk Burger. But he is not a solitary instance of this character in Southern Africa; and where such men are found in the walks of common life, the mass of the community, we may feel assured, cannot be altogether so brutal and degraded, as some English writers have too unqualifiedly represented them.

"The hospitality for which the African farmers have always been celebrated, still exists undecayed in the Sneeuwberg. Not only this family, but every other I visited in that quarter, positively refused any remuneration for lodging or provisions; and many of them made us presents of loaves of fine bread, dried fruit, comfits, &c., though they had never seen nor heard of us before, and knew neither our name nor residence."



## CHAPTER II.

**Causes of the partial Failure of the Albany Settlers.—Erroneous Notions respecting the Climate.—Inadequate Extent of the Locations.—Mistakes and Misunderstandings.—Condition of the Settlers in 1823.—Subscriptions for their Relief.—Measures of Government.—Revival of the Settlement, and its Prospects in 1826.**

THE origin of the British emigration to Southern Africa, and the progress of the settlement down to the close of its second year, have been amply detailed by the "Civil Servant;" and a particular description of the territory in which the emigrants were located, and of the severe distresses to which many of them were subjected,

owing to the destruction of their crops and gardens by a calamitous succession of blights and hurricanes, has been given to the public in Mr. Pringle's little tract, published in 1824.*

It is not my purpose to retrace the ground already trodden by these authors,—still less to involve myself in the maze of provincial politics, by entering minutely into the complicated disputes of the settlers with the local magistracy and the Colonial Government. But having visited the new settlement at two different periods, (first in January 1821, and again in May 1823,) and attended with much interest to its subsequent progress, I shall briefly throw together in this chapter the result of my inquiries and observations on this interesting topic.†

* "Some Account of the Present State of the English Settlers in Albany, South Africa. London: Underwood."

† The vignette prefixed to this chapter will give the reader some clearer idea of the scenery of Albany, and of the picturesque cottages with which the superior class of settlers have now, in many places, embellished it. This little sketch is copied from a drawing of *Glendour*, on the Riet-Fonteyn, a few miles from the mouth of the Kowie, the residence of Thomas Philipps, Esq.,—a gentleman whose intelligence, urbanity, and kindly spirit, add the charm of English sociality and refinement to the pastoral seclusion of an African farm.

The general policy of this emigration, and the conduct of the British Government in regard to it, appear to me to have been animadverted on by the "Civil Servant," and others, with an undue degree of severity. That the scheme Government adopted was in some respects defective, cannot now be doubted; and it is not denied, that the class of emigrants sent out were, in many cases, ill selected. But the propriety of the measure, as a matter of national policy, is equally unquestionable, as that its more immediate purposes were liberal and beneficent; nor can its partial failure, with any justice, be exclusively ascribed either to its original projectors, to the character of the emigrants, or to the unfitness of the country for colonization. A variety of causes combined to produce this unfortunate result. The plan of allotting only 100 acres of land for each family, or each adult male carried out by the heads of parties, was found upon trial to be incompatible with the character of the soil and climate. The emigrants being selected in a great measure from the class of distressed artisans, and the indigent and unruly population of the great towns and manu-

facturing districts, were in general but ill adapted for the occupation of a new country. The plan of the large joint-stock parties was ill devised, and proved a fertile source of disunion. The heads or leaders were in many instances merely nominal, and neither in property nor intelligence superior to their followers. There were among them also, a few presumptuous, litigious, and unprincipled individuals; and almost all had imbibed, in a greater or less degree, far too sanguine notions of the general fertility of the country. All these were circumstances, no doubt, sufficiently prolific of failure and disappointment, and such as the ablest and most experienced magistracy would have found it no easy matter to obviate or overcome. But when to these predisposing causes of dissension and discontent were added the total and repeated destruction of the crops by blight, and the general dissatisfaction of the people with their provincial rulers,—it can scarcely excite surprise, that the progress of the new settlement has been but little satisfactory to all parties. The marvel is, indeed, all things considered, that matters have not been tenfold worse than they actually are.

About the close of 1823, when in addition to the total failure of the wheat crops, for three successive seasons, was superadded the destruction of the houses and gardens of the colonists to a great extent, by an excessive deluge of rain, many of the principal settlers, exasperated at the same time by what they considered political grievances, began altogether to despair of success, and were only prevented from abandoning the country, by the expected visit of His Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry, which the majority calculated (somewhat too sanguinely) would lead to an immediate amelioration of their circumstances.

That there was ample room for improvement, both in the original scheme of their location, and in the system which the provincial functionaries had hitherto pursued towards them, was indeed sufficiently obvious. The opinions which the majority of the settlers themselves entertained on the former of these points, and in which intelligent men acquainted with the Colony now generally concur, were very distinctly stated at the time, in a paper drawn up by a gentleman of talent and experience, residing in the district, and which,

before I offer any farther remarks of my own, I shall here introduce to the notice of the reader,—without professing, however, absolutely to coincide with the writer's opinions in every particular point.

"A very erroneous and injurious impression has been of late years conveyed to Europe with regard to the capabilities of this Colony. This has been, in some degree, the natural reaction of the too sanguine expectations excited in the public mind, when its attention was first turned in this direction; but it has, in a much greater degree, arisen from a common mistake, in considering as natural and insurmountable, obstacles which were in a great measure accidental or artificial. We have suffered three years of unprecedented scarcity; yet as corn never was, nor ever can be our sole, or even our main dependance, the stock and capital of such of the inhabitants as were enabled to employ, in sufficient quantity, the natural resources of the soil, have continued rapidly to encrease. And even in the district occupied by the emigrants of 1820, where the population has been unnaturally condensed, where many ar-

tificial barriers to the attainment of competence have been superadded to the scarcity of food, the price of labour is still as high as in any part of the Colony.

"The travellers who have given accounts of the country, have generally, perhaps, overrated its value; but it is essential to observe, that they have not so much over-rated, as mistaken it. The advantages it possesses are of an order totally distinct from those of other colonies; and however accurate the descriptions and general statements of the writers have been, it is too evident to a resident, that the theories founded upon them have proceeded upon prejudices, which nothing but local experience could eradicate. They have applied the theories of English agriculture to a country, where it might be shown, from their own facts, to be altogether inapplicable. Mr. Barrow may be truly said to have left little room for future description, as far as his personal observation extended; yet no one of local experience could join with him in recommending any compulsory mode of condensing the population, of altering the system of farming, or of inclosing farms, in a

country, where, in the present stage of advancement, land, in less quantity than 4000 acres, is scarcely considered as worth holding, and where its value, according to the usual mode of occupation, little exceeds the actual costs of the improvements which the farmer is forced, upon his own account, to make upon it.

"It is a general observation, that in all new countries where labour is scarce, and pasturage abundant, the most natural, because the most profitable employment of the occupant is grazing. This even holds where produce may be raised with facility and certainty, and where the demand for it is unlimited. In the eastern part of this Colony, not only is pasturage abundant, and labour and water, and spots fit for cultivation scarce, but the difficulty and uncertainty of raising crops are very considerable, and the means of disposing of them in any considerable quantity, totally wanting. On the other hand, the same circumstances of soil and climate which oppose agriculture, are so favourable to stock farming, that 4000 head of cattle may be here maintained with less labour and expense than would be required in North Ame-

rica, where winter fodder is necessary, for the support of ten.

"The writers who have described the Colony have chiefly resided at Cape Town, and have only cursorily visited the other parts of it. Hence arises the general mistake of confounding the climate of the eastern with that of the western districts. In the latter, the high chains of mountains ensure some certainty of periodical rains; whereas in the eastern parts, although the aggregate quantity of moisture may preserve a more constant verdure, yet the rains are so capricious in the period of their return, and in their duration, that the climates should always have been considered as totally distinct. Nature seems to have marked out at least this part of the Colony as a pastoral country; and when the drought of the climate, and our limited means of transport are considered, it becomes apparent, that any material change in the mode of occupying land, must rather be the result of the gradual increase of population and capital, than of any forcible interference on the part of Government.

"The situation of the settlers in Albany fur-

nishes an instance too striking to be omitted, of the effects of directing emigration into new channels, and attempting to confine it within arbitrary bounds, in a country where the usual extent of colonial grants was not sufficient to contain it. The information conveyed to the British Government was, perhaps, the best that could be procured; and, supposing it to be correct, the idea of at once providing for a numerous body of British subjects, and establishing a new Colony, was in every respect magnificent and laudable. But it was altogether impossible for Government previously to acquaint itself with the complicated detail of local circumstances, which could not adapt themselves to any general plan, and which could not fail to have the most serious influence upon the fate of the settlement. A great deal was necessarily left with the Colonial Government; and it was here, that the first and greatest of the misfortunes of the settlement was felt,—a misfortune which may at once account for many others, —the great distance of the seat of Government. Had there been an adequate authority upon the spot, it is probable that such of the settlers as

possessed the means of occupying land, would have been placed on equal terms with the Dutch boors; and that no part of them would have been long restricted to but one-sixtieth part of the extent daily and necessarily granted to the other inhabitants. A governor upon the spot would have seen and felt the necessity of departing from such of the stipulations laid down in England, as could only tend to depress and embarrass the settlers, without providing any security for their continuance in the district.

"It is evident that the success of the settlers has hitherto been very unequal to that of the boors. If the cause were asked in Cape Town, it would be probably answered, that the difference arises from the dissimilarity of their habits; that the settlers sent out were of the wrong description; and that instead of people likely to establish themselves on farms, they appeared to consist of all the discontented artisans of the kingdom. Without examining the truth of this statement, it must be evident that no just comparison can be drawn between the success of the Dutch and English, until it is seen how they are respec-

tively situated. A boor, upon discovering water on a sufficient quantity of unoccupied land, forwards, through the secretary of his district, what he terms a "request" for a place,—that is, a memorial, asking for a grant of 6000 acres; and he will hardly pay the expense of measurement for less than 4000 acres. His memorial is referred for report to the Landdrost; and if there exists no real local objection, and the applicant prevents competition by securing the favour of that powerful officer, the land is granted as a matter of course. It is inspected and measured at an expense of from 300 to 600 rix-dollars. The annual quit-rent is fixed at the inspection, and is generally from thirty to fifty rix-dollars, perhaps about one per cent. upon the estimated value. If it happens to afford water sufficient for his own use, and a small spot for cultivation, he perhaps resides on it with two or three slaves or Hottentots; but although his tenure requires residence and cultivation, he is not in reality obliged to conform to it. The occupation is considered sufficient for all the purposes of Government, if he pays his quit-rent, and is enabled, by removing his cattle to it

for part of the year, to keep a greater stock, and pay a larger *opgaaf*.

"To become entitled to an equal extent, an English settler must have brought out (at the expense of Government, it is true,) fifty-nine servants; he must have paid for each of them a deposit of 10*l*., amounting to the full value of his land; he must employ and maintain them for three years, unless assisted by Government, at an expense of at least six times the value of his land; and he must have gone to all this expense before he knows upon what terms he is to possess it at last. He is only certain that his quit-rent shall not exceed 120*l*., twenty-five per cent. upon the value of his land, or about twenty-five times the sum paid by the neighbouring boors; and the sole advantage which the settler possesses over the boor, in the mode of his location, is, that the expense of measurement is defrayed by Government.

"It is, probably, needless to say, that no one has actually gone to all this expense; consequently, no one of the emigrants in question possesses nearly the quantity of land which the uni-

form practice of this part of the Colony admits to be necessary to the other inhabitants. But, from the working man who has paid his 10*l.* deposit, and expended his three years' labour upon his 100 acres, to the settler of a higher class, who has paid 300*l.* or 400*l.* deposit, and maintained his servants for the same period, every individual must have purchased his land at this disproportionate rate,—except for the support which the misdirected generosity of the Colonial Government has afforded to a state of things unable to stand alone.

"In the first published scheme of the settlement, it appeared to be the intention of Government that the land should only be granted in large quantities to the heads of parties; but an unfortunate deviation soon occurred. Large parties were formed under nominal heads; some consisting of a number of minute subdivisions, and others totally of paupers, independent of the head of the party, and of each other. The sole pecuniary dependence of these parties was upon the repayment of the deposits which had been wisely exacted from them in England, under a promise

of repayment at different periods. But as the country was quite unprepared for such a sudden addition to its population, Government was (it is said) under the necessity of retaining two-thirds of this sum to meet the expense of their support. This not only deprived the lower orders of the means of purchasing their first necessaries, but it at once assimilated them to persons obtaining parochial relief:—and they too generally evinced the same indolence, the same discontent, and the same unreasonable ideas of right to its indefinite continuance. As the issue of rations relieved so many from the necessity of exertion, it had, of course, the effect of increasing the demand for labour; and the indentured servants of the real heads of parties, finding they could better themselves by breaking their engagements, very generally ceased working. And here another evil consequence of this indiscriminate provisioning displayed itself. The rations were declared by the military magistrates to be issued for *all*,—and the masters were ordered to supply them to their servants, whether they worked or not; consequently, the issue of rations not only did not support the

effective settlers, but it forced many of them, after either discharging their servants, or retaining them without advantage, to encourage them in idleness, by furnishing them with provisions, for which they had themselves paid.

"The deposits returned were hardly exhausted, when the first general failure of wheat crops occurred. But Government had already placed itself *in loco parentis* to the settlers, and many of them were not disposed to lose sight of the relationship. The scarcity which ensued was not more unfortunate in any respect, than in continuing an apparent necessity for this ruinous bounty, which created and supported indolence at the expense of industry, which deprived the master of his servant, and released the servant from the necessity of hiring himself elsewhere. The gratuitous issue of rations, besides its vitiating effect upon the habits of the receiver, has been injurious to the community, by supporting a class, which could not, without such assistance, have maintained themselves; and who have, now that it has ceased, almost totally disappeared from the locations. That class consists of nearly all the labouring

people who had been placed upon 100 acres each. And this disappearance is easily accounted for. One hundred acres may possibly afford a garden, and a little tillage-ground in the winter season, but if it supports a span of oxen to cultivate it, and ten cows, it supports double the number usually calculated upon; and where a day labourer may earn from two to four shillings per diem, ten cows of the value of one pound each, forming the full stock of ten pounds' worth of land, must soon appear too insignificant to fix his attention. And although it were ascertained that this extent of land would afford a livelihood, this denomination of settlers could never be considered as likely to remain on their locations, while they could employ their labour to greater advantage elsewhere.

"If any thing could have tended to give a healthy and natural support to such a class, it was the establishment of villages in such situations as would have furnished an increased demand for the small produce of such spots; and on this account the relinquishment of Bathurst is most to be lamented. The future increase of population,

at once creating and supplying the demand for produce, will, of course, operate a material change in the circumstances of the country, and in time naturally produce this class of farmers. But from what has been stated, I trust it is evident, that the course of improvement has not as yet produced that change; and that, consequently, if the attempt, at this time, to fix a dense population in one part of this Colony should fail, the failure ought not to be ascribed to the unfitness of the country alone, but also to the scale and prematurity of the experiment, and the injudicious measures intended for its support.

" One circumstance should not be overlooked in enumerating the particulars in which the situation of the settlers differs from that of the boors,—the stipulation of three years' residence previous to receiving the title to land. This regulation has, apparently, a salutary tendency, and may have such in reality, in other cases, but it has certainly had the most pernicious effects here. It has prevented a just estimation of the value of land as possessed in small quantities, consequently confining the settler to what might be unprofit-

able to himself and the community; and it has prevented the acquisition by purchase of sufficient extent to render farming really profitable. It was the intention of Government to ensure a *bonâ fide* residence; but experience has proved that the occupation would have been more effectual, and better adapted to the circumstances of the country, if the transfer of land had been facilitated, instead of being prevented. It is remarked by the Duc de Rochefoucault, that it is seldom that the first or second, or even the third or fourth occupier of land in America is the most effectual; but that the more frequent the transfer, the sooner the land is likely to fall into hands able to turn it to advantage. The same traveller states, that in Canada, a regulation, similar to the one enforced here, has frequently the effect of inducing settlers, otherwise inclined to remain, to remove to the United States, and there purchase land, rather than receive it gratis under such restrictions. It is, at present, the general subject of regret among the settlers in Albany, who were formerly possessed of capital, that instead of placing themselves

under the patronage and restrictions of Government, they had not, with one half of the money which they have been led to expend upon what can never repay them, paid their own passage from England, and purchased land of sufficient extent, where, unincumbered by regulation, or restraint, or assistance, they might have been free to follow whatever system might suggest itself to their own interest or inclination.

"The power of distributing land is, perhaps, as far as regards the advancement of a new settlement, the most important prerogative that can be vested in a governor; because, if the public have no security for the impartiality of the distribution, the success of each individual, or class, must depend on the means they possess of securing favour. It would, therefore, be hardly fair to infer, that any particular class is less calculated for success than another, until it is seen whether they are equally allowed the means of attaining it; and before it can be justly concluded that discontent is peculiar to the British settlers, it should be considered how far the other inhabitants of the Co-

lony would appear satisfied, if placed on the opposite side of the strong and invidious line of distinction at present drawn in their favour.

" The possession of the adequate means, seems to be the fairest qualification that can be required to entitle individuals to grants of public land; and perhaps nine-tenths of the original number of the emigrants could neither upon that standard, nor upon any ground of public expediency, claim more than 500 acres. That portion possess, in their labour, a stock which would be employed more profitably to themselves and the community in any other way, than in a residence upon a less extent. But the true cause of the dissatisfaction of that portion of the settlers who were possessed of the means of becoming effective occupants, is, that the scheme of the emigration has, in fact, made no real provision for an effective settlement, and that the local Government has not as yet amended the unavoidable defects of that scheme; that after having expended upon their confined allotments many times more than their value, they discover that, perhaps, all they possess has been wasted in vain; and they observe, that in as far as property

can confer consideration, their descendants, if not themselves, are likely to be depressed, not only below the rank they have hitherto held, but below the common level of the boors,—of that class of the community to whom Government continues to grant the means of competency."

Arguments so cogent in themselves, and so ably urged as the preceding, could not fail to make a due impression upon the Commissioners of Inquiry, during their investigation into the state and prospects of the emigrants; and doubtless contributed to obtain their weighty recommendation for some modification of the system. Soon after the return of the Commissioners from the interior, Mr. Hayward, an officer of the Commissariat, was appointed by the Colonial Government to proceed to Albany, in order to inquire into and report upon all claims or disputes relative to lands either in the occupation or expectancy of the British colonists. The powers of this local commissioner were, however, too limited to admit of his doing more than arrange the division and final possession of the several locations among the respective claimants. Those who had

been the chief sufferers by the result of the emigration, remained still, in great measure, without redress: and indeed their situation in general was now such, that it was difficult to see by what means they could be saved from absolute ruin.

The injudicious issue of rations, equally to the idle and industrious, and the injurious facility with which the local magistracy had cancelled agreements made in England, had operated, in little more than twelve months, in leaving the masters generally destitute of the servants and apprentices whom they brought out with them. Many of them were, in consequence, incapacitated from continuing agricultural operations to any extent, and those who persisted in doing so, were forced to hire labourers at very exorbitant wages.

The continued failure of the crops, for three successive seasons, had at length exhausted the funds of the great majority. Their capital, with the exception of such part as had been invested in buildings and live stock, had entirely melted away. Instead of having been able to bring any surplus produce to market, they had been obliged to purchase bread corn for the subsistence of their

families. Even those who possessed the best resources began to be subjected to great privations, and many were already reduced to absolute destitution.

These were the agriculturists:—they had all suffered more or less, but their condition was almost as various as had been their former pursuits. There were among them a considerable number of gentlemen who had served in the army and navy,—some of whom still retained their half-pay, while others had sold their commissions in order to realize funds to commence farming. This class (with a very few exceptions) consisted of men of education, intelligence, and good character. There were besides these a considerable number of highly respectable families, some of whom had in England moved in circles superior even to middle life, but who had now exhausted their entire resources in this enterprise. Below these were farmers, shopkeepers, manufacturers, &c. who, apprehending the entire loss of their property from the pressure of evil times at home, had embarked it in the emigration, only to see it wrecked in Africa. Such were

the classes of emigrants who had been by far the severest, if not the exclusive sufferers, by the failure of the scheme and the destruction of the crops.

The lower ranks, consisting of common mechanics and labourers, were spoiled, from the time of the very first location, by the indiscriminate issue of rations without the control of the masters; and most of them, as has been already remarked, soon found means to obtain their discharge. The great demand for labour, and the high wages given by the Government contractors, and others, who were erecting buildings at Graham's Town, attracted thither great numbers of this class; and all of them who were industrious earned a competent livelihood, and many saved money and built houses for themselves; so that that village, a mere hamlet in 1820, rose rapidly in importance. It now contains about one half of the emigrants originally located in the district, and is (in population at least) the second town in the Colony.

From this hasty retrospect it will be seen that it was almost exclusively upon the upper and mid-

dling classes that the severe pressure fell; and while the majority of the labourers and mechanics had improved their situation, and were receiving high wages, and rising to independence, their former masters were generally involved in difficulties, and rapidly sinking to indigence. Many families were, in fact, long before the period I now refer to, reduced to great distress; and there existed little or no prospect of any effectual relief for them. They naturally clung to their locations; for, unimportant and unproductive as these were, they were all that remained to them of property. Many, too, were willing to labour, and did labour most assiduously on their own premises, whose former stations and habits of life prevented them from working for hire, or becoming the dependants of others. There were doubtless *some* individuals who clamoured loudly, and even exaggerated their privations, in order to raise contributions, by exciting the commiseration of the public:—there were individuals at once prodigal and mean, idle and importunate:—but the great majority of the classes I refer to, evinced a different spirit. Great privation was

patiently endured by a numerous and highly respectable body of people, who concealed in the retirement of their cottages the destitution they were reduced to,—who were "unable to dig, and to beg were ashamed." Some distressing cases of this kind have been made known, but many more and perhaps the most severe, have been carefully hidden even from the eye of philanthropy. In a country where butcher's meat is so cheap, that even during a scarcity it has seldom exceeded three half-pence per pound, and where, though the crops were totally destroyed, milk and vegetables have seldom been altogether wanting, very great distress for absolute want of food could not well prevail long or extensively. But to those who had all their lives been accustomed to English comfort, there existed many wants besides the want of food, and there might be much suffering short of actual famine.

A society had been instituted at Cape Town on the first arrival of the settlers, which was patronized by all the chief authorities, and liberally subscribed to by the benevolent,—of which the object was to relieve such cases of distress among

the emigrants, arising from sickness or other causes, as there existed no other provision for. The funds thus appropriated had been of great benefit; but after the second failure of the crops, and when the issue of rations had ceased, and the clothing brought out by the middling class of emigrants had been generally worn out, it was found that penury and distress were increasing at a rate which no exertions of public philanthropy within the Colony could possibly meet. Another crop failed; and to crown the calamities of the unfortunate settlers, a tremendous deluge of rain in October 1823 swept away nearly half of their huts and gardens.

Such was the situation of affairs with the settlers, when, at a general meeting of the society for their relief in Cape Town, it was unanimously agreed to set on foot subscriptions in India and England in their behalf. The printed reports of the society were extensively circulated, and the tract mentioned at page 333 was published in London, with the view of interesting the public in the subject. This appeal was not made in vain: about 7000*l.* was obtained, and remitted to

the Cape in the course of 1824, besides a considerable quantity of clothing.

A sub-committee of a few of the most respectable heads of parties and others had been for some time established in Albany, at whose recommendation, and through whose hands, the funds of the society had been hitherto applied to relieve only the most urgent cases; and in this manner the sums collected in the Colony (amounting from its first formation in 1820 to not much less than 3000*l.*) had been distributed. From this sub-committee a general report of the state of the settlers, including every party and family in Albany, was obtained. It was drawn up with great care and judgment, forming a most complete and valuable statistical summary,—and upon the data thus furnished, a scheme was framed for the distribution of the large funds now collected.

The distribution took place in January 1825; and about the same period, or a little before, loans to a considerable amount were issued to many of the settlers, by the Colonial Government. The full rights and title-deeds of the locations were also now made over to the different parties,

without fee or expense. The mortgages on account of the rations were cancelled, and the whole expense incurred on that account was defrayed by the Home Government. The Governor, and the Colonial Secretary, visited in person the Eastern districts, and made a circuit through the locations; and on this occasion various grievances were redressed,—claims for additional lands were considered, and in many instances allowed,—an officer of high reputation for talents and integrity was appointed Landdrost of Albany,—some of the settlers most distinguished for ability and independence, were solicited to accept appointments in the local magistracy,—and every thing, in short, was done to retrieve the settlement, and to soothe and conciliate the feelings of the people, soured by suffering, and exasperated by neglect. Had this visit of the chief authorities taken place two or three years sooner, much of the mutual misunderstanding and recrimination between the settlers and the magistracy might certainly have been avoided. But all this is now happily over—and it is far from my purpose to keep alive unpleasant recollections.

Since that period,—the beginning of 1825,—the situation of the Settlement has gradually improved. The distribution of the subscription funds took place at a most critical period, and restored comfort, credit, and confidence to a numerous and respectable class of people, who were depressed and degraded by debt and destitution; and the other favourable circumstances I have enumerated, conspired to renew the spirit of industry and enterprise which had almost given place to despair.

The *rust*, indeed, has not yet ceased to ravage the wheat crops;* but barley, maize, potatoes,

* The nature and causes of the vegetable disease called the *rust*, which has been recently so calamitous to the Cape, I do not profess sufficient agricultural or scientific skill satisfactorily to explain Its prevalence is not altogether unprecedented in South Africa; for there are records of its existence in 1708-9-10, to such an extent that there was scarcely sufficient seed-corn left in the Colony,—and again about fifty years ago, though not in a shape so virulent. But though a grievous scourge, there is no reason to apprehend its being a perpetual one. As it has heretofore been but a temporary visitation, its ravages are probably nearly over for the present; and its departure may possibly be accelerated by change of seed and other means, in which the Government may be able to aid the colonists. The following extract, from Mr. Mier's Travels, shows that the Cape is not the only country exposed to this

pumpkins, and other vegetables, are now plentiful in the district; and the funds put into their hands have enabled most of the settlers who now occupy the lands, to place large herds of cattle on their pastures.

calamity; and the singular coincidence of Chile (which lies in the same latitude as the Cape, and bears a remarkable correspondence with it in climate, soil, and productions) being visited by the same distemper during the very same period, will not fail to strike the reader, and perhaps lead to some clearer understanding of its real cause and probable cure:—

"Wheat is subject to a general blight in certain seasons. I have never seen the smut in Chile, but the *rust* has of late years been more than usually prevalent. For *the three years preceding* 1824, there was a general failure in the harvests, probably owing to the lateness of the period at which rain fell. In former seasons it was usual for the rains to commence in April. So constant was this, that it was a proverbial saying throughout the country,—"11 mes de Abril traë aguas mil;" but during the last twenty years, the rain has not commenced till the end of May, or the beginning of June. In the three years alluded to, the rains set in even later than usual, so as not to fall till July, August, and the beginning of September; the consequence was, that for want of rain the soil could not be broken for sowing till July or August, whereas it was formerly tilled in April or May.

"The foggy weather, which usually follows the rainy season, formerly happened in the early growth of the corn; a long subsequent time of warm bright weather produced a dry period, which ripened the crops without blight or mildew; the farmers were certain of abundant crops of full-grained wheat,

The distribution of some hundreds of the refugee Mantatees among the most respectable families, as servants and herdsmen, has also been a great advantage; while the raising of supplies for the troops and the population of Graham's Town, (formerly confined to the Somerset farm,) has opened a ready market for almost every kind of surplus produce which their fields or gardens can furnish.

The inexperience of the settlers, which was on their first arrival so great an obstacle to their success, no longer exists. Seven years of trials and privations have rendered them hardy and expert colonists. And though many of them have

and hence the harvests of Chile became proverbial for productiveness.

"Owing, however, to the causes mentioned in the three years alluded to, damp foggy weather by day, and heavy dews by night, prevailed at the season when the farinaceous matter recently secreted was in the milky state; hence the rust, or blight, *showed itself first upon the stem in a red powder, which gradually fixed itself upon the ear, the corn shrivelled up, and bad crops followed all over the country.* There was barely sufficient produced for the consumption of Chile; scarcity raised the price so high as to place bread wholly beyond the reach of a vast number of the people."—*Mier's Travels in Chile and La Plata.*

still deficiencies to endure, and difficulties to overcome, it may now be safely affirmed that the worst crisis of the emigration is fairly over,—and that in spite of all drawbacks, the British settlement has struck fast root into the country, and will maintain its hold, and gradually extend its influence far beyond the limits of its first location. The recent appointment of a Lieutenant-governor for the eastern districts,—the extension of the privileges of regular ports to Algoa Bay and Port Frances,—and other advantages and immunities conferred by the immediate favour of the Home Government, evince the zealous anxiety which exists at the head of affairs, to afford every reasonable encouragement and support to the prosperity of our countrymen, who have introduced the language, the manners, and the enterprise of England into the wilds of Southern Africa. How far, or in what mode, it may be proper or politic to encourage farther emigration to the Colony, will be considered in the following Chapter.

## CHAPTER III.

Resources of the Country for farther Colonization.—Description of the Ceded Territory.—Other unlocated Districts.—Hints and Estimates for different Classes of Emigrants.—Encouragement for Mechanics and Labourers.—Opinion of the Commissioners of Inquiry.—Comparison of the Cape with other British Colonies.

THE various circumstances detailed, or alluded to, in the preceding Chapter, will sufficiently account for the partial failure of the emigrants of 1820, without impeaching the adaptation of the Colony for the reception of European settlers. It remains to be considered what are its actual resources for farther colonization, when weighed without prejudice, and with the aid of the additional lights which the experience of the recent emigration has furnished.

It is acknowledged by every person who is well acquainted with the circumstances and resources

of the Cape Colony, that it possesses, within its boundaries, ample means of furnishing a secure and plentiful subsistence to at least five times its present population. It is, no doubt, true, that nearly two-thirds of its entire surface consists of vast ranges of sterile mountains and dreary wastes, which no efforts of human industry can render available for the wants of civilized man, and which refuse even drink and pasturage for the herds of the wandering grazier: it is, therefore, obvious, and admitted by every one, that, throughout a great part of the interior, a dense population can never exist. But the Cape is a country both of very wide extent and of very great diversity of soil and climate; its fertility, in some parts, is not less remarkable than its barrenness in others; and while a large proportion of its available territory is peculiarly adapted for stock-farming, the remainder is equally well suited for agriculture.

It is, moreover, a circumstance of no slight importance for the future prosperity of this settlement, that the tracts adapted by nature for the extensive prosecution of corn husbandry, lie all

contiguous to the sea coast; nor is that coast (as I shall afterwards show) either of such dangerous navigation, or so ill supplied with harbours and roadsteads, as is generally imagined. Yet of this valuable territory, comprising a belt of land stretching from Hottentot's Holland to the river Keiskamma, scarcely a hundredth part has yet been subjected to the ploughshare. The districts of Swellendam, George, and Uitenhage, were originally parcelled out in cattle-farms of the usual extent of 6000 acres; and on the profits of their live-stock the proprietors still almost exclusively depend; for, except in the vicinity of Cape Town and Algoa Bay, there has been hitherto but little encouragement for the cultivation of corn beyond the immediate wants of the farmers themselves.* This, however, is a state of things which cannot long continue. Within these few years a considerable coasting trade has been established, and which is daily increasing. Within these few months Algoa Bay and the Kowie

* The causes of this want of encouragement,—and the foreign markets, which the Colony *might* constantly supply, will be noticed in a subsequent Chapter.

have been admitted to the advantages of general commerce. There are other bays and inlets along the southern coast not less accessible, and which, ere long, may possess equal claims to like privileges: but my business is now with the *land* alone, and to that I shall for the present confine my remarks.

Of this valuable belt of sea coast, exceeding 600 miles in length, it is true that but a small proportion now remains at the disposal of Government,—but it is not, on that account, inaccessible to British capital and enterprise. Many of the present proprietors, preferring the ease and independence of stock-farming, would willingly part with their paternal fields to new comers who brought ready money in their pockets, and would migrate with their herds and flocks to seek settlements in the interior. Others, enlightened and excited by witnessing the results of British industry, would subdivide their too extensive domains, and devote their attention to corn husbandry. And, in this manner, the large tracts, now only partially or unprofitably employed by the Dutch-African boors, would be progressively occupied

and improved, and the population of that part of the Colony rapidly increased. English capital would carry along with it, or speedily attract, English free labour, which would be found more pleasant and profitable than the employment of slaves. Fishing towns and villages would spring up by degrees at every bay and embouchure along the coast,—where mechanics and artisans would fix their residence,—where coasting vessels would come to carry off the surplus produce,—and the graziers of the inner country resort for their supplies, in place of encountering (as at present) a tedious journey to Algoa Bay, or Cape Town. Such important improvements will not be the work of a day, even under favourable circumstances,—though they *must* take place in the course of time in spite of the most discouraging, —but it is obvious that they may be vastly accelerated by the influx of British capital and labour.

I have been now sketching the probable results of a considerable influx of British emigrants into the districts along the southern coast, possessed of sufficient capital to establish themselves without any aid or interference on the part of Govern-

ment. The success of this important class of settlers, as well as the general interests of the Colony, might, however, be very materially promoted by the patronage and aid of Government being bestowed in furtherance of some well-devised scheme for directing to South Africa a large, though progressive emigration of labourers, mechanics, and small farmers. Of the encouragement that exists in the Colony for these several classes of emigrants, I shall speak separately. The assistance required from Government would be,—for labourers and mechanics merely a passage out, either entirely free, or to be repaid from their surplus wages within a specified time,—for the small farmers, some facilities to reduce the expense of the passage, and the free allotment of competent locations, in proportion to their funds.

The resources of the Colony, for the establishment of this last mentioned class of emigrants, though not unlimited, are still considerable. Albany, indeed, may be now considered as entirely occupied;—for what of it remains unappropriated, is either of too inferior quality to be worthy of attention, or will fall to be distributed among the

present inhabitants. Nor is there elsewhere, within the *old* limits of the Colony, any large extent of useful land in the hands of Government. Almost all that was worth occupation (at least in the opinion of the Dutch colonists) has been already granted away; and, assuredly, it is not my design to recommend the thorny jungle, or the sterile waste, to the acceptance of English farmers. But, eastward of the Great Fish River, there still remains, for those who cannot purchase, the valuable and extensive district ceded by the Caffers in 1819,—and which is understood to be held in reserve, by Government, for this express purpose.

This is one of the most beautiful and fertile tracts of country in Southern Africa. It is bounded on the west by the Great Fish River, and on the east by the Keiskamma and Chumi. Its upper or northern division is intersected by the Kat, the Kounap, the Gola, and other subsidiary streams, which, issuing from the skirts of the cold and cloudy Winterberg, pour upon the grassy plains below an unfailing supply of excellent water. The mountains, which cross the country in an irregular chain from the Caha to the Chumi,

are clothed, in many places, with forests of fine timber, fit for every purpose of building, husbandry, or household furniture. The Kat and Kounap Rivers, where they first issue from the mountains, are capable of being led out for irrigation, over a considerable extent of rich alluvial soil,—presenting several choice positions for future towns and hamlets, with their gardens, orchards, and corn-fields, upon the same plan as those of Graaff-Reinet, Somerset, and Uitenhage. The mountain glens, up to the very bottom of the Winterberg, are covered with luxuriant pasturage, are well wooded, and sparkling with rivulets, and competent to support a much denser population than the prosperous district of Zwagershoek, described in a preceding part of this work. The plains, extending from the mountains to within twenty miles of the sea, present, indeed, a more arid and uninviting aspect; yet they are, in many places, extremely suitable for the rearing of sheep, and are interspersed with permanent *vleys* and fountains. The verdant and diversified country near the coast, though, perhaps, not quite so favourable for sheep, is covered with abundant herb-

age, salubrious for cattle and horses; while its loose friable soil, and moister atmosphere, peculiarly adapt it for the cultivation of grain without irrigation.

This Ceded Territory contains altogether, at a very moderate estimate, upwards of a million of acres, available either for the purposes of agriculture, or for the raising of stock. Nor are its advantages unappreciated by the Colonial Government, or by the older inhabitants. Mr. Barrow states, that even in the time of the old Dutch Government, the frontier boors were with difficulty prevented from taking forcible possession of this tract of country, then occupied by the Caffers and Gonaquas.

In 1820, the acting Governor, Sir Rufane Donkin, obtained, by a special convention, the consent of the Caffer King, Gaika, that this territory (previously evacuated by the Caffers) should be allotted to British settlers; and, in virtue of this agreement, a considerable portion of it was surveyed, and the site selected of a projected town on the Kat River, to be called New Edinburgh; with a view to the immediate location of some

large parties of emigrants, expected out from the West of Scotland and the Highlands. But the Highlanders were, by some unlucky accident, diverted from this enterprise; and the destruction of the Abeona Transport by fire at sea, interposed a more disastrous prohibition to the attempt of the others. This desirable country remains, therefore, still entirely unoccupied; for his Majesty's Government has interdicted, by a positive proviso, its distribution among the frontier boors, and has ordered some, who had been allowed to occupy farms in it, to be recalled across the Fish River.

Should Government not resume its former intention of locating in this district a numerous body of Scotch Highlanders, (a description of people certainly extremely well adapted for its occupation,) it will probably be, ere long, apportioned out to some other class of British emigrants. The selection will, I trust, be made with due care and discrimination. People collected from large towns, or manufacturing districts, however useful in other parts of the Colony, would prove very unsuitable settlers for the Ceded Territory. A hardy, ac-

tive, and industrious class of men,—accustomed to a country life, and acquainted with the management of cattle,—patient of privations,—persevering under difficulties,—should, if possible, be fixed here; and, with the superintendence of a judicious magistracy, they could not fail to prosper, in spite of the vicinity of the marauding Caffers.

Those tribes are, no doubt, like all barbarians, fickle and fierce, and fond of plunder. But they are, nevertheless, a very different race of men from the ferocious natives of North America. Even in their wars with us, (in which I fear they have been often as much "sinned against as sinning,") they have never evinced a bloodthirsty or vindictive spirit; and in their occasional depredations they have almost always spared the herdsmen, when they were not in danger of pursuit. Their aversion to the wanton shedding of blood may be well appreciated from the fact, that during the seven years in which the Albany district has been possessed by the English settlers, although there has been frequent skirmishing between the Caffers and the military, and though the thickets of the Zuurveld have often been swarming with their

predatory bands, not more than five individuals, out of a population of four thousand, have fallen victims to Caffer hostility. Farther up the frontier, the Scotch party at Bavian's River, though close upon the boundary, have not lost, during the same period, a single hoof by Caffer rapacity: and on the Zwart-Key River, beyond the Winterberg, where the boors and the Tambookie tribe pasture their herds on the same plains, a quarrel has never yet occurred between the Christian and the heathen,—nor has the former ever had occasion to complain of the violence or dishonesty of the latter. On the whole, I see no reason to doubt, that with an orderly and active British population, in possession of the Ceded Territory, organized for defence under discreet officers, and our frontier policy directed by systematic regulations, at once firm and beneficent, our relations with the Caffer tribes might be hereafter maintained on a footing equally satisfactory to the colonists, and advantageous to them. The pleasing progress of the various Missionaries now occupied in the instruction of these tribes, and the increasing demand for European commodities, excited

by the regular markets now established for barter with them, cannot fail to assist in promoting this desirable result, and of rendering, perhaps ere long, the eastern frontier as secure as the district of Uitenhage is now,—which only eight years ago was exposed to continual apprehension and damage from Caffer rapacity.

Exclusive of this frontier territory, there are still some smaller tracts of useful country in possession of Government, which might, perhaps, be advantageously parcelled out to British emigrants with scanty funds. I allude more particularly to some tracts of waste forest land lying along the Zitzikamma coast, which I have not myself visited, but which, as I have been informed by an officer employed in the survey of that part of the Colony, are very abundantly supplied with water, and exceedingly well adapted for corn husbandry, and for horticulture of every description. A certain number of small farmers might be located here,—or little townships planted, which might probably form the *nuclei* of future villages. Here, at least, the settler would have neither the wild tribes nor (except the cowardly hyæna) beasts of

prey to molest him; and with abundance of moisture, and a prolific soil, every one able to wield a spade, might easily rear vegetables sufficient (whatever were his other resources) to set famine at defiance.

Mr. Burchell, in a pamphlet published in 1819,* has pointed out a far more remote and very different tract of country to the attention of British emigrants, namely, the territory adjoining to the Cradock and Yellow Rivers, which I traversed in 1823. But although I have little doubt that the boundary of the Colony will one day embrace that remote region, I must confess I am far from considering my own countrymen the fittest class of men to colonize it. The immense distance from the coast, and the consequent difficulty and expense of travelling thither,—the want of any accessible market, either for the purchase of necessaries, or the disposal of produce,—the continual annoyances to be apprehended from ravenous wild beasts (especially lions), and from wandering sa-

* "Hints on Emigration to the Cape of Good Hope. London: Hatchard."

vages (especially Bushmen),—above all, the excessive drought of the climate, and the general impracticability of irrigation,—form altogether a combination of obstacles, such as scarcely any class of European settlers could be expected successfully to contend with. In my apprehension, the back-country *vee-boors*, or the semi-civilized Griquas are the only fit colonists for the banks of the Gariep.

The disposable lands within the present boundaries of the Cape Colony fit for European farmers, are, it is obvious, limited,—and its capacity for the reception of emigrants is, of course, not indefinite. Space must be allowed, too, for the progressive increase of its present population; and I am far from advocating any farther extension of our eastern frontier. Yet, with all these restrictions, I have no hesitation in asserting that the Cape still affords ample room for the reception of at least ten thousand additional settlers. I do not mean to affirm that such a considerable number could be advantageously, or even safely, sent out to the Cape in a single season,—or that any

extensive scheme of emigration upon principles similar to that of 1820, would be advisable; but I mean to say, that I consider the Colony quite capable of absorbing a progressive influx of five or six hundred emigrants annually for a dozen or fifteen years to come; and that it not only possesses abundant means for their prosperous establishment, but that their enterprise and industry, if properly directed, could not fail to develope much more rapidly than can be otherwise anticipated, the latent resources of this important settlement.

I have mentioned that the Cape Colony possesses, in my opinion, considerable claims to the attention of *three* different classes of emigrants. I now proceed to specify these several classes more distinctly, and to detail with some minuteness the course which I consider it advisable for them generally to pursue, in order to avoid disappointment, and save much valuable time and money. The facts and calculations which I shall submit for their consideration, whatever may be their practical importance, are at

least not dependent upon vague theories, but upon correct data, derived from the experience of sensible farmers, and other intelligent persons long resident in the country.

And first, in addressing my remarks to persons possessed of sufficient capital to become landholders at the Cape on an independent footing, without any aid from Government, I beg to premise that I am far from *recommending* emigration to any who possess the means of realizing a competent subsistence at home. In all new Colonies there are many discomforts, disquietudes, and grievances, of which Englishmen in their own country can have little idea. The Cape, even in its best settled provinces, is not without its share of these; and emigrants, however well provided with funds, will have, especially on their first arrival, a plentiful lot of privations and petty annoyances to encounter. They will find among "the orange and the almond bowers" of Southern Africa, no Elysian retreat from the every-day troubles of life; and, if they ever indulged golden dreams of there realizing sudden affluence, they

will soon find themselves unpleasantly wakened from the absurd delusion.

But to those who, without entertaining such romantic expectations, are desirous of removing themselves and families from the depressing anxieties of unprosperous circumstances, and who are able to carry out with them funds sufficient to purchase and stock a farm in one of the more settled districts, I can conscientiously recommend the Cape as a country where rustic competence may be securely attained without very severe exertion for the present, or harassing anxiety for the future,—where they will enjoy a mild and salubrious climate, with perfect security of life and property,—and where they may comfortably establish themselves by means of a capital more moderate, I apprehend, than would suffice for the same purpose in any other British Colony.—To persons thus circumstanced and predisposed, the following hints are offered:—

Unless the emigrant has a capital exceeding 2000*l.* sterling, (and not very many who have that

amount, will probably think of leaving Britain,) I would not advise him to expend any *considerable* sum in the purchase of stores and utensils. Until he has acquired some practical knowledge of the country, he cannot judge clearly what may be in every respect essential; and such is the diversity of local circumstances, that even an experienced resident, unless he were acquainted with the precise spot where he may ultimately settle, could scarcely furnish him with useful directions. Many of the emigrants of 1820 have had cause deeply to regret the expenditure of large sums upon machinery and implements which they have never been able to use. At the residence of one gentleman in Albany, I saw property of this description stowed up in an out-house, which had cost upwards of 600*l.* in England, and which he could neither employ profitably, nor yet dispose of without immense loss. Had the sum thus uselessly sunk been expended upon live stock, in 1820, (Merino sheep for instance,) it would by this time have more than quadrupled its value.

A few articles for immediate use will, however, be expedient. Among these ought to be a couple of strong iron ploughs, a winnowing machine, a selection of wire sieves for corn and flour, a small hand corn-mill, iron teeth or harrows, a dozen or two of spades and pickaxes, an assortment of carpenter's tools for rough work, three or four strong bridles and saddles, (the latter adapted for horses of secondary size,) a couple of fowling-pieces, and a few common muskets, &c. &c. These, with a stock of wearing apparel sufficient to last the family for three years, comprise all the luggage with which I would advise emigrants, even of the first class, to incumber themselves; and 100*l.* or 150*l.* thus expended, will, I conceive, be quite sufficient provision for the first three years: additional supplies can always be obtained, either in the Colony, or ordered from England, as they may be required.

A couple of steady farm-servants, engaged for a term of three years upon clear and well-defined contracts, and two or three boys about twelve years of age, (obtained perhaps from a poor-house,)