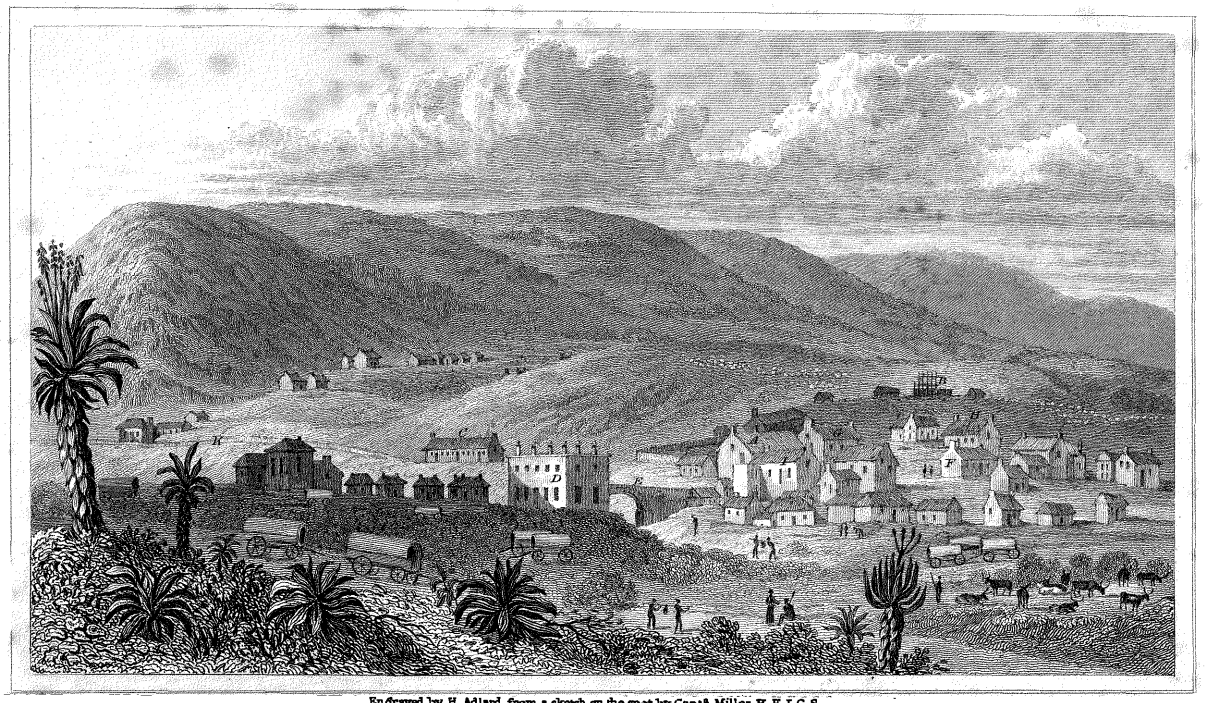

Engraved by H. Adlard, from a sketch on the spot, by Capt.n Miller, H.E.I.C.S.

A. Old Church.
B. New Church (lately founded.)
C. Alms-Houses.
D. Smiths Shop.

VILLAGE OF BETHELSDORP.

E. Bridge.
F. School.
G.H.I. Houses of the Missionaries.
K. Road to the Gardens & Ravine.

Published by J. Duncan Paternoster Row, April 1828.

RESEARCHES

IN

SOUTH AFRICA;

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE

CIVIL, MORAL, AND RELIGIOUS CONDITION

OF

THE NATIVE TRIBES:

INCLUDING

JOURNALS OF THE AUTHOR'S TRAVELS IN THE INTERIOR;

TOGETHER WITH

DETAILED ACCOUNTS OF THE PROGRESS OF THE CHRISTIAN MISSIONS, EXHIBITING THE INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY IN PROMOTING CIVILIZATION.

BY

THE REV. JOHN PHILIP, D.D.

Superintendent of the Missions of the London Missionary Society at the Cape of Good Hope, &c. &c.

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preface to the life of Mrs. Savage, written by Mr. Jay, discovers an intimate acquaintance with human nature, it sheds a ray of light upon the state of society among the Hottentots at the period we are considering, and shows the nature of some of those trials which a missionary has to lay his account with, either when his own labours are successful, or where he may have been called to reap where others have bestowed labour.

"Coarseness and freedom of manners," says this author, "are too often the result of former viciousness, of which the individuals themselves are not aware, but which expose them to temptation in their social, especially female, intercourse."—"Moral and virtuous habits produce delicacy, and impose restraint. Former scenes of guilt will often revive in the imagination; and though they are not entertained there, yet by passing through the mind they defile it, and distress it. I have heard more than one pious character confess the pain and injury he has suffered from this quarter, even in his public and private devotions, and who would have given the world to be free from the shocks he received from the hauntings of the ghosts of his old iniquities."—"I never knew a professor of religion, or a preacher of the word, who fell by certain temptations, but had been, previously to his connexion with the Christian world, the victim of vice."

An individual of a superior order of mind may be found amongst an uneducated people; a few specimens of good workmanship may be produced where no trade is followed; a few patriots may be seen struggling against the corruptions of a country sinking into ruin; a few individuals may be selected from a savage tribe, and cultivated, while the tribe itself is left in a state of

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PREFACE.

If there be any truth in the remark of Dean Swift, that the man who makes three blades of grass grow where only two grew before deserves well of his country, the faithful and able missionary may be allowed to occupy a chief seat among the friends and benefactors of the human race. His labours smooth the way for the triumph of science; increase the produce of the earth, by multiplying the hands employed in its cultivation; and create new demands for the manufactures of his own country, while he is lessening the miseries of his fellow-creatures, elevating savages and barbarians to a state of civilization, and cheering them with the hope of a life to come.

Man, in his individual and collective capacity, is so constituted, that no improvement can take place in any part of the one or the other without diffusing its influence over the whole man, and over the whole frame of society. The thorough knowledge of one science requires a general acquaintance with many others. With the improvements of science, the arts and manufactures of a country may be expected to keep pace. The late discoveries in chemistry, for instance, have diffused their influence and their energies over every depart-

ment of science, from its general principles to its most minute details, from the lofty speculations of the philosopher to the humble operations of the mechanic.

It is the same as it respects the progress of genuine religion. With the Reformation arose a thirst for knowledge in general; and to the strength of that desire may be traced the extension of printing, the resurrection of genius, the establishment of schools, the multiplication of books, and the brightest period in the annals of Europe. Without a motive, a thirst for knowledge could not have existed; without printing, that desire could not have been gratified; without schools, education could have never become common; and without a capacity to read, printing would have been a useless discovery, and genius would have languished for want of encouragement, or perished for want of bread. Thus the extension of printing, the establishment of schools, the general diffusion of knowledge, the revival of literature, and the late discoveries in science, may all be viewed as springing from the Reformation.

The effects of missions are not to be confined to what constitutes their principal object. The exertions made to accomplish that object bring innumerable advantages, connected with the improvement of the world, in their train. The great extension of literature in India,—the rapid multiplication of books in that interesting portion of the globe,—the translations going on in the various languages of that country,—the vast increase of schools for the instruction of the natives,—

the erection of a religious establishment,—the spirit of inquiry amongst the natives,—the easy access now afforded us to the literature of the East,—have all sprung from the labours of missionaries.

With the translation of the Scriptures into the languages and dialects of a kingdom, come translators, grammars, lexicons, type-founders, and printers, with all their literary and scientific apparatus. The literature of a country is brought into requisition; criticism and knowledge begin to circulate; and the collision of mind, which arises from opposition of sentiment, calls the slumbering energies of a nation into exercise. Every new translation of the Scriptures into a modern language provokes comparison; the original languages are cultivated to dissipate the doubts which may be excited by the discrepancies of translators; the student of sacred literature, who, perhaps, in the commencement of his pursuits, thought of nothing but correcting a false translation, or making a new one, finds that there is no species of knowledge, whether in science or literature, in the history of men or manners, which may not be useful to him in his great object. Knowledge always desires increase; it is like fire, which must first be kindled by some external agent, but which will afterwards propagate itself in every direction.

While our missionaries, beyond the borders of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, are everywhere scattering the seeds of civilization, social order, and happiness, they are, by the most unexceptionable

means, extending British interests, British influence, and the British empire.

Wherever the missionary places his standard among a savage tribe, their prejudices against the colonial government give way; their dependence upon the colony is increased by the creation of artificial wants; confidence is restored; intercourse with the colony is established; industry, trade, and agriculture spring up; and every genuine convert from among them made to the Christian religion becomes the ally and friend of the colonial government. The materials of our conquests, made in this way, will bear examination. Triumphs gained by such weapons occasion no tears, and present no disgusting details: they are the triumphs of reason over ignorance, of civilization over barbarism, and of benevolence over cruelty and oppression.

It may be an easy thing for a theoretical European, looking at one of our missionary institutions, to imagine and assert that the work might have been accomplished by other means. Philosophers and projectors had a hundred and fifty years to try their skill upon the Hottentots before our missions commenced, and what was done?—nothing! When the missions began in South Africa, we found the poor natives as far from a state of civilization, as they were at the first introduction of Europeans among them. They were deprived of their country; from a state of independence they were reduced to the miseries of slavery; their herds of cattle followed their lands and passed over into the hands of their intrusive neighbours; and all they had gained in

return for these sacrifices, were a few beads, tobacco, and spirits, and a number of vices unknown to them in their former ignorance.

Dr. Colquhoun says, the Hottentots are a poor dejected harmless race, evidently deficient in memory. Of the Bushmen, the same respectable writer remarks, that they are so extremely savage and ferocious, that they are incapable of being civilized. Gibbon, speaking of the same people, says that they seem to be the connecting link between the rational and the irrational creation. On the ground of such statements, an able and distinguished writer of the present age remarks, in reference to attempts said to have been made to civilize the natives of South Africa, "That the experiment has been tried with the Hottentots, whom we might reasonably expect to be disgusted with their domestic misery, both by the East India Company and by individuals, but they have never been persuaded to buy comfort at the expense of independence, which has endeared to them the coarse manner of life to which they have been accustomed *".

It is acknowledged that attempts had been made by the East India Company, and by individuals, to civilize the Hottentots, and that these attempts had completely failed. From this failure, the conclusion has been drawn, that the Hottentots are weak in intellect, almost devoid of memory, and that the Bushmen are incapable of civilization. How far these conclusions are just, will be seen in the perusal of these volumes.

* Sumner on the *Records of the Creation*.

The object proposed in this work will, I hope, be deemed a sufficient apology for not having taken more notice of the useful labours of the Moravian, the Glasgow, and the Wesleyan Missionary Societies in South Africa. In laying before the public the oppressions of the native tribes, with a view to obtain for them the protection of the British Government, for reasons which must be satisfactory to the friends of the different missionary societies in this country, and to their worthy agents in Africa, I have found it necessary to confine the proofs of my allegations to facts and documents in my own possession, and to what has come under my own observation. If any blame is to be incurred by the manner in which I have prosecuted my labours in this holy cause, I have resolved that that blame shall attach to no one but myself; and if it shall please Providence to crown them with success, the labourers of other societies, in common with those of that society to which I belong, will have the same cause for thankfulness.

I view the different missionary societies, now engaged in this great work, as so many divisions of the same army; and however we may be distinguished by a difference in our uniforms, and by the names of our respective bodies, it is the standard of the cross under which we fight, and the success of one is the success of all. The Christian missionary should be of no sect; and it should not be known by his spirit among the heathen, nor among those engaged with him in the same service, to what denomination he belongs. He labours for the

conversion of the heathen to a common christianity, not to the peculiarities of any particular party, and to bring them into the fellowship of the Christian church, without caring to what division of it they may belong. Having brought them into the fold of Christ, he leaves to pastors and teachers to say in what pens or partitions they shall be inclosed, within the common pale or fence, intent to collect those of whom the great shepherd says, "other sheep have I which are not of this fold, them also I must bring in."

My object in the composition of these pages has not been to expose men, but measures; and in preparing them for the press, I have studied, as much as possible, to divest myself of all personal feelings. My motto, in all my labours in this cause, has uniformly been, I shall "nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice." The necessity of bringing forward the names of so many individuals in connexion with the disclosures made in these volumes, has been to me the most painful part of the task imposed upon me in the present undertaking. "Surely, to every good and peaceable man, it must, in nature, needs be a hateful thing to be a displeaser and molester of thousands; much rather would it like him, doubtless, to be the messenger of gladness and contentment, which is his chief intended business to all mankind; but that they resist and oppose their own happiness *."

We shall perhaps be told, that such evils should

* Milton.

be left to be corrected by the progress of society; but long and painful experience has taught us, that the liberties we ask for an oppressed people do not fall into their lap like fruit from a tree when it is ripe, and never can be obtained from the privileged classes, except by the interference of a stronger power than that employed to keep them in a state of subjugation. Present gain is always preferred to that which is remote and contingent only, and the voice of humanity has little chance of being heard amidst the clamour of passion and selfishness.

The present lieutenant-governor of the Cape has displayed a liberal spirit towards the missions; but while things remain in their present state, no permanent relief is to be hoped for, in opposition to the tide of prejudice and interest which the highest authority in the colony will have to oppose in endeavouring to defend the natives. The governor of such a colony as the Cape of Good Hope, must always be dependent, for the information he receives respecting the Aborigines, upon those in official situations, and immediately about his person; and his informers being interested persons, or connected with such, it is extremely difficult for him to get at the truth of their situation, or to resist the tendency of the conversation of their enemies, to prejudice his mind against them, and against all plans proposed for their improvement. The greatest humanity and even talents in a governor are not always proof against unjust insinuations, caricatures, and calumnies invented to disparage the natives. While he remains in Cape Town, he has no means of obtaining correct information re-

specting them; and, if he travels over the country himself, the liability he is under to be imposed upon, is not lessened. In the first instance he is deceived by the representations of others only; in the second, he becomes himself a party in the deceit.

A governor leaves Cape Town to visit the interior. Preparations are made for weeks previous to this journey. His intentions are announced in the Gazette; notices are sent to the local magistrates to have relays of horses ready on different parts of the road for his service; he spends a day or two at the seats of the chief magistrates of the districts through which he passes; he sees the local authorities and the farmers, converses with them, receives their petitions, and hears their complaints. The opgaaf (taxes), and the want of labourers, form the largest items in the list of grievances. The landdrosts, and clerks, and farmers, have all the same views respecting the Hottentots and other Aborigines; they consider them as the absolute property of the colonists, and as much made for their use as their cattle and sheep; thus, while the governor hears nothing but what is prejudicial to the Aborigines, and to every scheme devised for their benefit, he enters into all the measures recommended to him the more readily, because, ignorant of the arts which have been practised upon him, he does it under the false impression that he has seen everything with his own eyes, and heard everything with his own ears.

The subject of the present volumes, renders it necessary that something should be said in this place of the

circumstances in which they originated, and of the object proposed by their publication. The sufferings of the natives under the Dutch government, have been fully depicted by Mr. Barrow, but it did not begin to be suspected in England, till lately, how little their condition has been improved by the change of masters they experienced when the English took possession of the Cape. It seems to have been too easily taken for granted, that because we could declaim against Dutch inhumanity, and because the natives in the first instance viewed our conquest of the colony as a deliverance, that all their early expectations had been realized, and that their oppressions had passed away with the power of their former masters. Such were the impressions, at least, under which I arrived at the Cape of Good Hope in 1819, and such were the feelings I endeavoured to cherish, till I could no longer retain them.

During my first journey into the interior of the country, in 1819, many facts came under my observation at variance with the favourable opinion I had formed of the condition of the natives; but the explanations I received from the local authorities of the districts, where inquiries were made, led me to suppose that they arose out of the old habits of the people which our government had not been able to correct; but that, nevertheless, the work of amelioration was going forward, and that in a few more years there would be no grounds for further complaint.

When I had occasion to submit the grievances of the people at our institutions, to the colonial government, the

facts were denied by the local authorities, against whom the complaints were made. I was presented with government proclamations, declaring the Hottentots to be a free people, and declaring at the same time that their improvement and happiness had always been a favourite object with the colonial government. And there was so much address displayed in the management of the whole system, that it might have continued to operate for an unlimited time, had it not been for the collision occasioned by its coming in contact with our missionary institutions, and for the obstinacy which refused to lessen the friction till the sparks burst into flames.

To account for the manner in which the oppressions of the natives have been increased of late years, it will be necessary to take into consideration the change which has taken place in their relative value as labourers, by the abolition of the slave-trade in 1807. While slaves could be got for a trifle, by the vessels engaged in this trade touching at the Cape, the natives were not of much importance to the colonists, and many of them in those districts in which slaves were numerous, were allowed to live after their ancient manner. In the more remote and thinly-inhabited districts of the colony, in which there were few slaves, and in which the restraints of law and government were scarcely felt, the natives were more dreaded, and, therefore, more hated and oppressed. Unable longer to endure their sufferings, they at last took up arms against their oppressors, and drove them before them

till they were met by the English troops in the district of George.

The natives looking upon the English as their friends, and the colonists in those districts being then very much disaffected to the new government, this much injured race obtained some share of favour and protection. It was among the people that had been engaged in this insurrection against the farmers, that Dr. Vanderkemp began his labours; and the other missionary stations of the London Missionary Society within the colony, sprang out of Bethelsdorp, or were composed of the small remnants of the Hottentots who had been still left in their native state.

The missions were never popular among the colonists in general; but while the colonists could obtain a sufficient supply of labourers at a low price, the missionaries were allowed to proceed in their efforts to improve the people. If the missionaries were scowled upon by many of the white population, and they were called "Hottentot predicants" (ministers), by way of contempt; and if some of the local authorities oppressed them, others afforded them countenance, and they had some favour shown them by the colonial government. But as the scarcity of servants began gradually to be more felt, and the local authorities of the districts began to feel the importance of the patronage which the power they had assumed over the labour of the natives afforded them, the people collected and improved at our missionary stations began to be regarded with a rapacious eye; and the final

destruction of these institutions became a favourite object with an influential part of the community. Colonel Collins, who visited the interior of the colony, and the native tribes on its frontiers, as a civil commissioner, in the report he drew up for the use of the government, in 1809, recommended to the government, at the suggestion of certain individuals, to abolish Bethelsdorp, and to disperse the people among the farmers. The Earl of Caledon and Sir John Cradock (now Lord Howden) had too much integrity of character, and too much benevolence, to allow them to listen to such a proposition; but the design was not to be abandoned, and the defeat of its abettors, without producing any alteration in their purpose, only led them to change the method by which they endeavoured to gain their object.

Some of the worst abuses which had obtained in the colony before it came under the English dominion, and which were merely connived at by the old government, were now confirmed by goverment proclamations, accompanied with all the authority and the sanction of colonial law; and while the privileges of the missions within the colony were gradually curtailed, the missions beyond its limits were not left undisturbed.

Two of our missionary stations among the Bushmen were put down, and the missionaries recalled. Our missionary station at Griqua Town, beyond the Orange river, was subjected to a colonial interference, which threatened its destruction. Zuurbrak (or Caledon institution) was alienated from us, and the people op-

pressed and dispersed among the farmers. A plan was formed to deprive us of Pacaltsdorp, and to dispose of the people among the neighbouring colonists: and so oppressive had the conduct of the landdrosts of Albany and Uitenhage become to the missionary institutions of Bethelsdorp and Theopolis, that they must have been speedily ruined, but for the measures which were adopted to save them. So late as the years 1820, 1821, and 1822, the people were unable longer to sustain the oppressions imposed upon them by the local authorities of the districts; and such was the system of annoyance carried on at the same time against the missionaries, that nothing but the hope of succeeding by a last effort could reconcile them to remain in their situations.

In 1821, the result of an investigation at Bethelsdorp, in the presence of the acting governor, brought things to a crisis. Eight charges, preferred against the landdrost of Uitenhage, were declared to be false, and the missionaries were accused of having entered into a foul conspiracy against that magistrate. A few months after this investigation I visited this station, when I discovered official documents in the hand-writing of that functionary, which proved all the charges brought against him, one only excepted, and that charge was afterwards established by another species of evidence. A document, composed of letters and notes in the hand-writing of the accused, was laid before government early in the year 1822, accompanied with a petition praying for a relaxation of the system, and that the

people might not be any longer oppressed in the way they had been. The following extract of the letter which was transmitted to the colonial office with the above document, addressed to the Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, will show the spirit in which that article was drawn up, and the objects proposed in laying it before government.

"In presenting the statement now laid before your Excellency, I beg it to be understood, that the individuals concerned in drawing it up have no resentments to gratify, that they have no wish for redress for past wrongs, and that they have no object on the present occasion beyond relief from the unnecessary burdens the institution of Bethelsdorp is now lying under."

To the document in question, and to the letter which accompanied it, I received no official answer; and I had the mortification to discover that every application for a mitigation of the people's sufferings was followed by fresh injuries and oppressions.

During three years, without sending home a single complaint, I had done every thing in my power to conciliate the colonial government, and to induce it to allow us to pursue our labours in peace. I stated again and again to the leading members of the government, that if they forced me to make an appeal home, the case of the Hottentots would bring all the affairs of the colony under review; but all my attempts to prevent the necessity of being forced upon this last resource proved in vain.

After his Majesty's commissioners had finished their

inquiries into the state of the natives, and after they had visited the missionary institutions, I found them favourable, in their conversation, to my views; but they had no power to make any alterations in the system, and were even uncertain what influence their opinion might have on ministers at home. Being unable to obtain any satisfactory information respecting the mind of the government at home upon the subject, I solicited and obtained leave, from the Directors of the London Missionary Society, to visit England, in the prosecution of an object in which I had risked both health and character, and which was dearer to me than life itself.

My arrival in London, in April 1826, was intimated to Earl Bathurst by the Directors of the London Missionary Society. To this notice a reply was returned by his Lordship, stating that he would be glad to receive from me any communications I might have to make to him in writing. Many memorials had already been sent from the missionary rooms to the colonial office in Downing Street, detailing the oppressions and sufferings of the natives, under particular circumstances, or proclamations; but, in compliance with his Lordship's request, I drew up an abridgement of all my papers, presenting in one view the whole case of the natives and of the missions.

While I consider myself as personally responsible for all the statements contained in these volumes, I may notice, in this place, that those exhibited in the above document were compared with my original papers, by a committee of the Board of Directors, and

approved of by them, before it was transmitted to Earl Bathurst's office. In reply to this communication, the Board of Directors were honoured by an official letter from his Lordship, stating that he could not give an opinion on the subject till he saw the Reports of the Commissioners of Inquiry.

In April, 1824, Mr. Buxton had moved an address to the Honourable the House of Commons for copies of extracts of all correspondence relative to the condition and treatment of the Hottentots, &c. If Earl Bathurst's manner of treating the subject was discouraging, the return to the address, which was printed in March, 1827, was still more so. This extraordinary document, instead of furnishing copies of *all correspondence*, contained nothing but an ex-parte statement by the Governor, without a single reference to the Commissioners' reports. The reports of the Commissioners of Inquiry on the Government and Finances of the colony were printed only a month later than the return made to Mr. Buxton's motion. It was some time in November or December last that I had them put into my hands; but they contain so little in reference to the coloured population that I laid them aside, expecting the full report on this subject: and I should not again have adverted to them, had I not been recently told, by a member of the House of Commons, that he believed that they contained all that it was then the intention of ministers to print on this subject.

After having established, before two of his Majesty's

Commissioners of Inquiry, my allegations respecting the oppressed state of the natives, and the hostility manifested against the missionary institutions, I was willing to have given up all my proofs and documents to the colonial government, had pledges been granted me that the natives should have their freedom secured to them. Since my return to this country, I would, at any time before these volumes went to the press, have committed the papers they contain to the flames, had his Majesty's ministers met me with the assurance that they would do justice to the oppressed and deeply-injured native inhabitants of South Africa. But the reserve which government has so long maintained on this point;—the official coldness of Earl Bathurst's reply to the memorial of the Directors of the London Missionary Society, and to my report;—the meagre and extraordinary character of the return to Mr. Buxton's motion;—the unsatisfactory nature of what has been published in the reports of the Commissioners on the Government and Finances of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope in relation to the natives;—the manner in which their special reports on this subject have been withheld from parliament;—and the simple fact that the system laid open in the following pages was still carried on in the colony so late as the date of the last letter I received from it,—have left me no alternative but to lay this subject before the public in all its length and breadth, or to run the risk of losing the fruit of all my exertions for the natives, and the advantage of all the documents I have collected in their favour; and thus

of leaving them where I found them,—in the most oppressed condition of any people under any civilized government known to us upon earth.

In the brief notice which has been taken of the state of the Hottentots, and of the causes which have given rise to the increase of their sufferings within the last twenty years, while relating the circumstances in which the present volumes originated, I must have been anticipated by the reader in what remains to be said respecting the object of their publication. The most strenuous advocates for the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, will scarcely carry their principles so far as to plead for indifference to their own civil rights, and the natural rights of their fellow-creatures. There are questions affecting the highest interests of society, on which it is criminal to be silent. There are crimes and conspiracies against man, in his collective and individual capacity, which strip the guilty of all the respect due to the adventitious circumstances connected with rank and station; and to know that such combinations exist, and not to denounce them, is treason against the throne of Heaven, and the immutable principles of Truth and Justice.

No question can be more simple and less incumbered with difficulties than the one before us. We ask for nothing unreasonable, nothing illegal, nothing new. We have nothing to say to politics. The question under discussion is a mere question of civil rights. We have advanced no suggestions about the new charter of justice. We are the advocates of no particular

form of civil government for the colony. We have offered no particular directions about the machinery of government desirable in such a country. We have recommended no checks but such as are necessary to prevent one class of British subjects from oppressing and destroying another. In what we propose we suspend no weight upon the wheels of government. We ask nothing for the poor natives more than this, that they should have the protection the law affords to the colonists. There is nothing surely in these claims, against which the shadow of an objection can be urged.

Independent of printed statutes, there are certain rights which human beings possess, and of which they cannot be deprived but by manifest injustice. The wanderer in the desert has a right to his life, to his liberty, his wife, his children, and his property. The Hottentot has a right to a fair price for his labour; to an exemption from cruelty and oppression; to choose the place of his abode, and to enjoy the society of his children; and no one can deprive him of those rights without violating the laws of nature and of nations. If the perpetration of such outrages against the laws of nature and of nations is a crime, that crime is greatly aggravated when it is committed against the *lex loci*, against the written law of the land. The Hottentots, in addition to the unalienable rights conferred upon them by their Creator, have prescriptive rights in their favour; they are regarded by the British government as a free people; and the colonial law says, that they are to be treated in their persons, in their properties,

and in their possessions, the same as other free people.

We have shown, in the following pages, that the natives of South Africa have been deprived of these rights, and we now come forward with the law in our hand—which acknowledges them a free people, and grants to them the rights which have been specified—and we ask the British government, and the British public, whether the system of cruelty and injustice which is now brought to light is to have their sanction? or, whether the people who have been so long oppressed by its operations, are to have the enjoyment of those rights restored to them?

Considering the beneficial effects which have attended the labours of the missionaries, it may be matter of surprise to some of my readers, that in the means recommended to the government for the improvement of the natives, I should have dwelt so little upon this point. In reply to this objection, it is only necessary to remark, that in asking protection for the people, from colonial rapacity and cruelty, we ask all the efficient aid which government can afford us in the prosecution of our labours. Government may support an ecclesiastical establishment among a people professing Christianity; but a missionary society, possessing the efficiency necessary to bring savages or barbarians into a state to call for such a provision, is an apparatus, which human government can neither fabricate nor conduct with success.

As an apology for having brought forward, in the following pages, two cases of oppression which had been redressed by orders from the government at home, it is necessary only to state, that my object, in these pages, is to shew the system as it now works, with a view to have it altered. The cases I have brought forward are now become matter of history; and it must appear evident to such as pay attention to this subject, that we shall gain nothing for the missions or for the people, unless we secure for both a protection which will render such struggles, on the part of the missionaries, no longer necessary. If the local magistrates of the colony are still to have it in their power to oppress the people, and to harass the missionary institutions, as has been the practice, even should every case in appeal be declared in their favour in England, decisions of such a nature, under such circumstances, would neither save the missions from ruin, nor the people from slavery. When the delay and cost on the one side, and the impunity afforded on the other, are placed in contrast, we might say, on reviewing such decisions—as an ancient general did on being congratulated on having gained a victory over the Romans, to obtain which the flower of his army had been sacrificed—"Such another victory, and I am undone."

While the fruits of civilization, including civil liberty, &c., are to be viewed as earthly and perishing in their nature, and as secondary blessings which "christianity scatters in its march to immortality," it ought

not to be forgotten that they furnish its triumphal car, facilitate its progress, send forth its heralds, consolidate its empire, and extend its conquests. What could men of the most apostolic spirit now do for the propagation of religion in Turkey or in Spain? If it is the duty of Englishmen to claim the protection of the laws of their country; if the Apostle Paul was in the exercise of his duty when he claimed the privileges of a Roman citizen, and appealed from the judgment of Festus to the tribunal of Cæsar,—it is to be hoped that the friends of humanity and of religion in England, will see it to be their duty to petition the British throne and the British parliament, that the natives of South Africa may have those rights secured to them, which have become necessary to the preservation and extension of religion among them; and I may add, as it regards the native tribes, beyond the colony, to their existence as a people.

Let the advocates of religion and humanity use their efforts to put a period to the slavery of the Aborigines within the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and they will, by that single act, do more for the promulgation of the gospel in South Africa, than all the funds of the London Missionary Society could effect while things continue in that colony as they now are. Under the present system, the labours of the missionaries must be limited to the missionary institutions, and their efforts, even at them, are like the attempts which may be made to rescue from the ocean a small portion of the beach,

which is liable to be swallowed up by the next spring tide. But if we can procure for the people their civil rights, we may gradually withdraw the funds now employed in supporting our missionary institutions, and employ them in diffusing the gospel on a more extensive scale. Excepting a few missionaries at the principle drostdys or towns who may be employed among the coloured population of every class on the sabbath, and in preaching at the farm houses in the neighbourhood on week evenings, the natives may then be left to the provision made for the religious instruction of the colonists.

By adopting the liberal plan recommended towards the Hottentots, an objection which has been brought against our missionary institutions, that we train up the Hottentots as a separate people, will be removed, together with the necessity for such institutions themselves.

The missionary stations in South Africa are the only places where the natives of the country have a shadow of protection, and where they can claim an exemption from the most humiliating and degrading sufferings; but when the British government shall afford them the protection of equal laws, our missionary institutions will be no longer necessary as houses of refuge, and the aboriginal inhabitants, now living as a separate people, will become amalgamated with the other parts of the colonial population. It is the cruel oppression under which they labour, which makes such asylums necessary. Do away with those oppressions; allow the people to have a fair price for their labour;

to settle as free labourers in any part of the colony they may choose for their abode, and the natives themselves will prefer the advantage of a residence among the inhabitants as a free people, to their present straitened condition at our missionary settlements, where they must always find it difficult to obtain the means of subsistence *.

It was once remarked by Mr. Wilberforce in the House of Commons, that it was to be hoped that in proportion as we receded from the coast where the effects of the slave trade were less felt, we should find the people more civilized; but recent discoveries have satisfied us that there is no point of that vast continent free from the baneful effects of this traffic. Great Britain has lifted up her voice against this traffic in flesh and blood; she has declared it to be felony for any of her subjects to be found seizing the Aborigines of Africa, and carrying them off in chains from their native shores; and she is now called upon to show her sincerity, by putting an end to it in one of its most odious forms in the colony of the Cape of Good Hope.

* The Baron de Richemont, after returning from visiting the interior of the colony, remarked to the writer:—"Till I visited your missionary institutions, I had no idea of their nature and importance. I considered them as schools of instruction merely; but they combine, in themselves, all the claims of all the religious and benevolent societies in Europe. They are the only asylums the poor wretched Aborigines have from the most cruel oppressions."

Much has been said respecting the compensations conquered nations have received for the injuries inflicted upon them, when they have chanced to fall under the sway of empires in a higher state of civilization than themselves; but whatever reparation the natives of Europe may have made to other countries for the evils which have been occasioned by their thirst of dominion, the wrongs of Africa are still unredressed. It is painful to reflect that the history of South Africa, a country which has been so long colonized from Europe, and by men professing that faith which teaches us that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth," should furnish no points of relief to the dark shades of a picture which exhibits the inhabitants of the eastern and western shores of this continent, as the wretched victims of European avarice and cruelty.

If any one finds fault with me for my exertions in the cause of this oppressed people, I would ask that man to place himself in imagination with his family in the situation of the Hottentots and Bushmen; and I would then require of him to say whether in that case he would blame me. Let such persons remember that the law of God is to do to others as we would be done by.

Under what different aspects the same object may appear to different persons! While the Christian missionary looks at a savage tribe, and regards them in the light of divine truth, he feels that he can

relinquish every earthly comfort, and even life itself, if he may be the means of raising them to the enjoyment of the Christian hope; while the man who may be standing beside him, and who, perhaps, bears a striking resemblance to him in his physical qualities and social habits, is all the time thinking how he may enrich himself, by getting possession of their children and cattle. This difference in their principles gives rise to the difference which marks their conduct. The good shepherd is ready to sacrifice his life for the flock—the wolf never comes into the fold, but to kill or to steal. In Africa, the contrast which has been thus instituted is to be seen every day.

The sentiments of every heart imbued with divine truth, must respond to the Christian philosophy expressed in the following extract from the writings of Dr. Chalmers. "What the man of liberal philosophy is in sentiment, the missionary is in practice. He sees in every man a partaker of his own nature, and a brother of his own species. He contemplates the human mind in the generality of its great elements. He enters upon the wide field of benevolence, and disdains the geographical barriers by which little men would shut out one half of the species from the kind offices of the other. His business is with man, and let his localities be what they may, enough for his large and noble heart, that he is bone of the same bone. To get at him, he will shun no dangers; he will spare himself no fatigue; he will brave every element of heaven; he will hazard

the extremities of every clime; he will cross seas, and work his persevering way through the briars and thickets of the wilderness. In perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by the heathen, in weariness and painfulness, he seeks after him. The caste and the colour are nothing to the comprehensive eye of a missionary. His is the broad principle of good will to the children of men. His doings are with the species; and overlooking all the accidents of climate or of country, enough for him, if the individual he is in quest of be a man—a brother of the same nature—with a body which a few years will bring to the grave, and a spirit that must return to God who gave it."

In an age so much distinguished for benevolence, it is remarkable that the condition of the Aborigines of South Africa should excite so little interest. When their numbers, their circumstances, and their sufferings are considered, they exhibit the strongest claims upon our sympathy. What a reproach to civilized nations, that their neighbourhood to savage tribes has hitherto proved more fatal to their numbers and their comforts, than famine, pestilence, or the wild beasts of the wilderness.

It was a happy thought of Mr. Wilberforce to present Africa in chains at the bar of the House of the British Commons pleading for her rights. Could we embody but a fractional portion of the miseries of her tribes to the eye of the British public, it would stir up a spirit that would immortalize the British name, and

hand it down to posterity with associations more captivating than have ever been connected with Roman or Grecian fame. The cause of these poor natives is not the cause of a sect, or of a party. It is the cause of humanity as well as the cause of our common Christianity, and presents the strongest claims upon our sympathy and active benevolence. Among a people where national honour stands so high, and where the claims of every form of misery are recognised, it is to be hoped, that eloquent advocates will be found whose labours in this untrodden path will wipe away the reproach of civilized nations, and show the world how we may make the countries adjoining our colonial possessions quiet, without converting them into deserts.

LONDON, *April* 5, 1828.

WHAT mankind has lost and gained by European conquests, it would be long to compare, and very difficult to estimate. Much knowledge has been acquired, and much cruelty committed: the belief of religion has been very little propagated, and its laws have been outrageously and enormously violated. The Europeans have scarcely visited any coast, but to gratify avarice and extend corruption; to arrogate dominion without right, and practice cruelty without incentive. Happy had it then been for the oppressed, if the designs of the original invader had slept in his bosom; and, surely, more happy for the oppressors! But there is reason to hope, that out of much evil, good may be sometimes produced, and that the light of the gospel will, at last, illuminate the sands of Africa and the deserts of America; though its progress cannot but be slow, when it is so much obstructed by the lives of men calling themselves Christians.

DR. JOHNSON.