

hundred pounds of gunpowder, and twelve hundred pounds of lead." They had ordered a commando to be ready in case government complied with this demand.

In 1787 the landdrost and military court of Graaff-Reinet sent out a very strong commando, divided into five parties, with orders to march to different parts of the country, "*and destroy at once that pernicious nation.*" Intelligence of this was sent to Stellenbosch to the landdrost and district court there, with a request that they would co-operate efficiently with them. What was the result of this irruption into the Bushman country there are no reports extant to declare; but as the Stellenbosch district then included the whole of Tulbagh or Worcester, and consequently reached the limits of the Graaff-Reinet district, the frontiers of the two districts extended the whole length of the territory belonging to the Bushmen, and their entire destruction seemed almost inevitable.

On Tuesday, the 7th of June, 1791, a report was forwarded to government by the commandant Nel, signed by the inhabitants of the Hantam district, stating that, on account of the continued plundering by the Bushmen, many had been obliged to quit their places, and to retire to other spots. In consequence of this communication, it was resolved to write to the field-cornets of the Elephants' River and Kamiesberg in Namaqualand, Frans Lubbe, J. A. Van den Herer, and T. Nieuwhout, to collect as great a number of men as possible, especially Bastaards and Hottentots, to form a strong commando, in conjunction with the commandant Nel, to attack with united efforts the Bushmen in their concealments, and, if possible, entirely to de-

stroy and extirpate them. In giving these instructions, the government expressed the hope that he would be able to give a good account of his success.

In 1792 an expedition was undertaken against the Bushmen occupying that district of the country which lies between the Tulbagh district and the Zak River, under the command of Van der Walt. The following is a copy of the Report to Government of his success.

*“27th of September.* Attacked the first kraal, Kou-rassie, killed seventy-five Bushmen, took twenty-one prisoners. Found one hundred and fifty wethers, thirteen head of cattle, and one musket.”

*“15th of October.* Discovered another kraal ; killed eighty-five Bushmen, took twenty-three prisoners ; one hundred and twenty-four wethers.”

*20th.* Discovered a third kraal ; killed eleven ; three prisoners.”

*“24th.* Discovered a fourth kraal ; killed seven ; four prisoners.”

Towards the latter end of the year 1793, complaints were made against this Van der Walt to government, that he arrogated too much power to himself ; that he was continually commanding people from the districts of Stellenbosch, Swellendam, and Graaff-Reinet to destroy the Bushmen ; and that he said that government had delegated that power to him, of the truth of which they wished to be informed. To which government answered, that it was not their meaning that Van der Walt should raise strong commandoes without their consent ; but it being the intention of Van der Walt to go and live in the Nieuweveld, and amongst other things, especially for the purpose of being enabled, with the assistance of his family, entirely to root out and

destroy the plundering Bushmen,—Government had thought fit to authorize him, whenever he saw any of these Bushmen, to order out armed men, that he might immediately attack and destroy them, without its being necessary first to write to the landdrost and await his orders.

It appears that Van der Walt undertook the destruction of the Bushmen in that district on the principle understood between himself and the colonial government, that he was to have the Nieuweveld as a reward for his services ; and it was granted to him by government on that ground in 1793, and on the condition that he was to continue his exertions to extirpate the Bushmen.

On the twenty-fifth of November, 1793, the field cornet, William Burger, writes that he had killed thirty-two Bushmen and taken eleven prisoners; that more would have been killed, but his party, being too few in number, durst not pursue them. He goes on to state the names of those who were unwilling to accompany him. These were immediately ordered to appear, and hear sentence pronounced against them.

On the second of June, 1795, government increased the quantity of ammunition granted to the field cornet, Jasper Cloete. In 1794, it was fifty pounds of gunpowder and one hundred pounds of lead; in this year it was increased to two hundred pounds of gunpowder and four hundred pounds of lead. In the same year the government of the Cape fell into the hands of the English.

It is not to be imagined that, from what has been stated in this chapter, any adequate idea is intended to be conveyed of the extent of the massacres committed upon the Bushmen. Hostilities never ceased for a

day between them and their implacable enemies, who considered the murder of a free Bushman, wherever found and under whatever circumstances, as a duty or a meritorious act; while, by the capture of their women and children, the murderers increased their stock of slaves and dependents. In their hunting parties, or when travelling across the country for pleasure or on business, the boors massacred these natives as game or as noxious animals; and it is not improbable, that the numbers killed by the regular commandoes fall short of those murdered by private individuals. "A farmer," says Barrow in 1797, "thinks he cannot proclaim a more meritorious action than the murder of one of these people. A boor from Graaff-Reinet, being asked in the Secretary's office a few days before we left town, if the savages were numerous or troublesome on the road, replied, 'he had only shot four,' with as much composure and indifference as if he had been speaking of four partridges. I myself have heard one of the humane colonists boast of having destroyed, with his own hands, near three hundred of these unfortunate wretches."

The backwardness which began to manifest itself about this period among the farmers to go on commandoes against the Bushmen, was shown chiefly by those who resided at a distance from the frontier, and arose partly from the fatigue and loss of time they occasioned, and partly from their no longer feeling any interest in the division of the captives; those already obtained, with the addition of their slaves and Hottentot bondmen, being sufficient for all their wants. They thought it hard to be dragged from their families, for whose protection against their newly tamed domestics their presence might be necessary, to encounter long night

marches through a parched and barren country, together with the poisoned arrows of the Bushmen, merely to conquer a farm for such heroes as Van der Walt. To this cause, and not to any deficiency of courage, much less to any feelings of humanity, no trace of which is to be found in Bushman warfare, candour compels us to ascribe the defection of the boors on this occasion; for though the condition of those who were made prisoners was, in fact, worse than that of slavery, yet, not being transferable property, they were considered as of less value than slaves. Accordingly, an attempt was made at Graaff-Reinet to induce the government to grant them leave to sell such Bushmen as should be taken prisoners, on condition of ten rix-dollars being paid into the treasury for every such slave sold. This proposal, "made" as it is stated in the records, "for the purpose of rousing the military ardour of the farmers, which of late was observed to have abated," was unanimously carried in the council, but it did not receive the sanction of the government at the Cape\*.

The effect of this system upon the Bushmen was to transform them from peaceable, contented, and useful neighbours and visitors, into ferocious and vindictive enemies, till they rivalled, in some measure, the colonists themselves in cruelty and rapacity. Stripped of their plains and fountains, deprived of their flocks and herds, and finally, robbed of their wives and children, and, followed with the rifle, even to their hiding places among the caverns and holes of the rocks, they had few resources besides plunder, no gratification but revenge. "One of them," says Mr. Barrow, "repre-

\* Barrow's Travels, vol. i., p. 191.

sented to us the condition of his countrymen as truly deplorable. That for several months in the year, when the frost and snow prevented them from making their excursions against the farmers, their sufferings from cold and want of food were indescribable; that they frequently beheld their wives and children perishing with hunger, without being able to give them any relief. The good season even brought little alleviation to their misery. They knew themselves to be hated by all mankind, and that every nation around them was an enemy planning their destruction. Not a breath of wind rustled through the leaves, not a bird screamed, that were not supposed to announce danger. Hunted thus like beasts of prey, and ill treated in the service of the farmers, he said that they considered themselves driven to desperation. The burden of their song was vengeance against the Dutch!"

When the Cape fell into the hands of the English in 1795, the condition of the Aborigines formed a strong contrast with that peaceful and independent state in which they had been found by the Dutch. In the course of about a century and a half, the Hottentots had been despoiled of their lands, robbed or cajoled out of their flocks and herds, and, with a few exceptions reduced to personal servitude, under circumstances which rendered them more wretched and more helpless than the slaves with whom they were now associated. The numerous free villages with which the country had abounded, had almost entirely disappeared, and the few paltry and miserable hordes who had established themselves in some of the districts, had no longer the power of choosing their own chiefs. To this office none were now appointed but by the governor of the new settlement, who was never personally

acquainted with the character or merits of those on whom his choice fell. The farmer nearest the horde generally solicited the nomination for one of his creatures, whom he could trust, and who would, on this account, be always ready with all his vassals for his service. "From that moment," says Vaillant, "the melancholy horde, which for a long time has lost its national name, assumes that of its new chief, who has been set over it. They will then say, the horde of Captain Kees, who becomes to the governor a new creature, a new spy, and a new slave, and to his own countrymen a new tyrant."

Those dispersed among the farmers as servants were still more miserable. Having no protector, and his master no superior at hand to check his excesses, the unfortunate bondman was urged to incessant toil by the infliction of the most cruel and revolting punishments. Though nominally a free man, blows and stripes could be heaped upon him as on a slave, at the caprice of his master; and as the latter lost nothing by his mutilation or death, these were not unfrequently the result of his hasty or deliberate vengeance. Nor were they at liberty to choose their employment or their masters. Government had directed that any Dutch peasant should be allowed to claim as his property, till the age of five-and-twenty, all the children of the Hottentots in his service, to whom he had given in their infancy a morsel of bread. Should a Hottentot, therefore, who had engaged himself for a year, attempt to remove at the expiration of his term, he would be permitted, or perhaps driven away, but his children, who had been encouraged to enter the house of the boor, and to receive a morsel of food, were detained\*.

\* See Barrow's Travels, *passim*.

this means, in general, the whole family were eventually bound as with a chain.

The degradation of the Hottentot character was the necessary result of such treatment. A deep and habitual gloom and depression of spirits took place of that hilarity which had formerly distinguished them. Their indolence increased to a degree hardly credible, and they became more and more addicted to gluttony and drunkenness. For this last vice they were indebted entirely to their new masters. Their numbers began greatly to decline, the very structure of their bodies was said to have shrunk, and to have lost its force and agility, and the whole race seemed rapidly hastening to annihilation.

On the outskirts of the colony, and on some tracts of land of inferior quality, which the boors had not yet thought fit to appropriate, a few hordes under their respective captains still enjoyed a sort of permitted independence. But they were too sensible of their weakness to resist the encroachments of the meanest colonist. "For want of strength and power," said one of these captains to Sparrman, "the Hottentots are now no longer in a condition to withstand the encroachments of the colonists; almost every day some Hottentot or other being obliged to remove with his cattle, whenever the pasture he was in possession of happened to suit a colonist. The Hottentot captains had, indeed, formerly been left undisturbed in their possessions; but now they had likewise elbowed him (though a captain appointed to that office by government) out of a more eligible situation; and even began to grudge him the meagre and parched fields he was in possession of nearer the sea-shore, notwithstanding that they were



extremely dangerous for sheep and cattle, both on account of the unhealthiness of the situation, and its being exposed to the incursions of wild beasts \*."

Yet this oppressed and persecuted people were daily rendering the most essential services to the colonists. The protection of their numerous herds and flocks was entirely committed to their care. In deserts infested by wild beasts, and on plains where not a tree or shrub could be found to protect him from the vertical rays of the sun, or to shield him against the frosts and snows of winter, the faithful Hottentot wandered with his charge in search of food or water, a task which, but for him, must have devolved on his ungrateful master, and his slothful children. But the Cape farmer had already got a taste for slaves, which, once being excited, speedily stifles every idea of natural justice †.

No attempts had been made to improve their moral condition, to restrain their passions, or to refine their appetites. In this respect they had evidently degenerated since their intercourse with Europeans. But they still retained their characteristic and apparently unconscious adherence to truth, which is generally the first of the virtues that disappears before the frown of an absolute master; and that generosity which is never satisfied so long as a morsel of food remains undivided among his companions, still distinguished the simple and improvident Hottentot. As for religion, it was considered a serious crime to mention the subject to a native. They were not admitted within the walls of the churches. By a notice stuck above the doors of one of the churches, "Hottentots and *dogs*" were forbidden to enter.

\* Sparman, vol. i., p. 241.

† Barrow's Travels, passim.

Such was the state of the natives within the settled districts of the colony. It was surrounded on the north and east by tribes of savages, driven to subsist on plunder by the predatory excursions of the boors, or exasperated to the highest pitch of ferocity by their repeated attacks and massacres. The Namaqua Hottentots, formerly inhabiting the Nieuweveld, the Bokkeveld, and the Roggeveld, worn out by the repeated robberies committed upon them by the colonists, retired into the immense deserts stretching from the Kamiesberg to the bay of Angra Pequina, on the south-west coast of Africa. There they might have expected to have been allowed to remain, with the few cattle left them, unmolested, but the cupidity and violence which drove them from their springs of water, followed them occasionally into these waste regions, and they speak with horror of the scenes which usually took place when the white men surprised their kraals to capture their women, their children, and their cattle. The Corannas and Bushmen were in similar circumstances, plundering the frontier boors to-day, hunted down and shot by the boors to-morrow. On the east, the Caffers and the colonists were constantly coming into hostile collision, and inflicting on each other mutual injuries.

Such was the wretched condition of the natives within and around the borders of the colony; and as it was said to have arisen in a great measure from the weakness of the Dutch government, which found itself unable to check the fierce spirit of the frontier boors, now confident in their numbers and remote situation, so as to be ready on any occasion to assert their independence, it was to be expected the new government, whose fault certainly was not its weakness, would speedily restore

order, and assert the violated rights of humanity. If the natives were not deemed entirely incapable of being civilized, it was clearly for the benefit of all parties to adopt or to patronise every rational scheme for reclaiming them from their savage state, in which they were not only useless, but hurtful to the community. Powder and ball, the only means hitherto adopted for reducing them to peace, had only rendered them more ferocious, as far as regarded the tribes on the frontier; and the poor dejected Hottentots, who had been reduced to servitude, were decreasing every day in numbers and usefulness; and not to mention the light which had been thrown on the subject by various writers worthy of the highest respect, the records existing in the government offices were alone sufficient to excite the immediate attention of the new possessors of the Cape.

So early as the beginning of the eighteenth century, the wrongs sustained by the natives in their intercourse with the colonists had become so great, as to excite the interference of the Dutch government. On the representation of the governor, Van der Stell, to the East India Company, respecting the injurious conduct of the barterers, as they were called, the trade with the natives had been made a monopoly of government itself, and the colonists were entirely excluded from the market\*. This measure, originating in a narrow policy, at variance with the more enlightened general principles on which it had acted in legislating for its other colonial possessions in other parts of the globe, was not so successful as it was well intended. Competition being now excluded, every article had its price fixed

\* Sparrman, vol. i. p. 213.

upon it by the purchaser, and the only result which in the end flowed from this new regulation, was to put into the hands of the agents of government advantages formerly shared by the colonists in general. In 1775 a law existed in the colony, prohibiting all Christians, under the pain of being whipped and branded, to buy, or otherwise to acquire the possession of any animal belonging to a Hottentot. The orders for the murderous commandoes, and the shocking reports containing the numbers killed or taken prisoners by the different commandants, were also subjects of record; and Mr. Barrow, who held a high colonial appointment under the English government in the year 1797, laid fully open this system of oppression so far as the Dutch colonists were concerned.

Some time previous to this period, also, the Moravian Brethren had formed a small establishment in the district of Swellendam, with a view to reclaim the people from their wandering habits, and to instruct them in the arts of civilized life and the principles of Christianity; and their success, though limited, had already demonstrated that the thing was practicable.

General Dundas was the first English governor who seems to have been impressed with the necessity of interfering between the natives and their oppressors. The rebellious conduct of some of the boors, and their defiance of the constituted authorities, made him less ready to listen to their representations respecting the degraded and mischievous character ascribed to the Hottentots, although it does not appear that he ever had leisure to mature any effective scheme for the amelioration and eventual emancipation of this people. He gave, however, a favourable reception to the mis-

sionaries sent to the Cape by the London Missionary Society, who came to labour in the same field with the Moravians, but with greater force ; and their united efforts in behalf of the aborigines from this period form the principal feature in the history of the latter.

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## CHAPTER IV.

**Missions.**—Dr. Vanderkemp undertakes a mission to the Caffers.—Disturbances in the Colony.—He visits Gaika.—Returns to Graaff-Reinet.—Insurrection of the Boors.—Vanderkemp's Letter to General Dundas.—He proceeds towards Algoa Bay to form a Station.—Klaas Stuurman.—Missionary Settlement near Algoa Bay.—Stuurman leaves the disaffected chiefs and flies to Conga.—Van der Walt attacks the Hottentots.—Interference of Government.—Good conduct of Klaas Stuurman.—Barrow's account of him.—Successes of the Hottentots.—Hatred of the Boors.

It was about the commencement of the year 1798, that the attention of the directors of the London Missionary Society was called to South Africa as a promising sphere for missionary labours, and suitable instruments seem to have been provided in Doctor Vanderkemp and his coadjutors. The circumstances, the talents, and the character of this remarkable individual, naturally pointed him out as the fittest person for being placed at the head of this Mission. His reputation for literary attainments stood high; he had studied at the Universities of Leyden and Edinburgh, and having in his youth chosen the army as a profession, he had attained the rank of captain of horse. After being sixteen years in the service of the Prince of Orange, and with the highest promotion within his reach, a personal misunderstanding with the Prince, with whom he was intimate, induced him to resign his commission, and to make choice of another profession.

Having taken the degree of Doctor of Medicine at the University of Edinburgh, he returned to his native country, and established himself at Middleburgh as a physician.

While at Edinburgh, his talents attracted the particular notice and procured him the friendship of Doctors Monro and Gregory; and his thesis, when he stood for his diploma, was remembered, and spoken of with high commendation by several of the medical professors, when the circumstance of his offering himself as a missionary made him the subject of general conversation. His talents and high reputation as a physician procured for him an extensive practice. He was made a colonel of militia, and afterwards appointed surgeon-general of the forces at the breaking out of the French Revolution. The writings he has left, show him to have been an accomplished scholar, and his attainments in science appear to have been equal to his acquirements in literature. Judging from the notes he has left on Bayle's Dictionary, and a few treatises on metaphysical subjects, he appears to have possessed considerable talents for such inquiries; but with a taste for the German school he imbibed all the infidel errors of that philosophy; and, while he was blaspheming the name of the Saviour, and writing against the divine authority of the Scriptures, (we have it under his own hand) he fully believed that he was pleasing God.

With the infidel notions then fashionable on the continent, Doctor Vanderkemp did not imbibe the sentiments respecting civil government with which they were generally associated. He was a warm admirer of monarchy, and was shocked by the French Revolution. It was not till he embraced Christianity, that he saw

the share that his favourite philosophy had in producing the crimes connected with that event.

From the errors of scepticism, into which he had been drawn by the delusions of a false philosophy, he was awakened by a dreadful domestic calamity, namely, the upsetting of a boat, by which his own life was placed in the greatest jeopardy, and his wife and child were drowned \*. Under such circumstances, the consolations of infidelity have often been tried, but they have always been found unavailing ; the need of some remedy, in the hour of affliction, is confessed by all, but infidelity offers none. It subverts other systems, but it substitutes nothing satisfactory in their place.

The melancholy bereavement to which he had been subjected, together with singular circumstances relating to his own escape, produced an entire change in his sentiments and conduct, and a desire to be useful to his fellow-creatures took full possession of his mind. An address published by the directors of the London Missionary Society was the means of leading him to offer himself as a missionary. The zeal and disinterestedness of this offer are the more remarkable, when we consider that Dr. Vanderkemp was, at this time, advanced in years, had retired from the duties of his profession, and was employing his leisure in literary pursuits, and possessed a good property. After the directors of the London Missionary Society had made the necessary inquiries respecting his character, and received the most unexceptionable testimonials, they accepted his offer, and he sailed for Africa in the beginning of December, 1798.

\* See *Missionary Register*, vol. i., p. 356.



Dr. Vanderkemp was accompanied to Africa by Mr. Kicherer, an ordained clergyman of the Dutch church, and by Messrs. Edwards and Edmonds. The mind of Vanderkemp had been particularly directed to Cafferland, as a scene of missionary labours ; and it was the intention of all the missionaries to proceed thither on their arrival in Africa : but the destination of Messrs. Kicherer and Edwards was changed in consequence of the request of some Bushmen, who, a few weeks before the arrival of the missionaries, had come to Cape Town to solicit teachers to instruct them in the Christian religion.

The missionaries received much kindness from General Dundas, the lieutenant-governor of the colony, who assured them of his countenance and protection ; and also from many of the colonists, who furnished them with waggons, oxen, and provision for their journey.

The state of things in that part of the colony through which Dr. Vanderkemp had to pass on his journey to Cafferland was at that time very critical. The colonists of the interior were, in general, dissatisfied with the English government ; whilst the Hottentots, who had been much oppressed by them, had generally attached themselves to it for protection. In consequence of this attachment the farmers had treated them with increased cruelty ; and the uncertainty of the English government keeping possession of the Cape appears to have prevented, for some time, any effectual means being taken either to protect them or to subdue the insurrections of the farmers. Many Hottentots, therefore, fled into Cafferland, leaving their families and cattle behind them ; but having no means of support,

they combined with the Caffers to attack the colonists, and to rescue their own families and cattle, expecting in this way to obtain the redress of their grievances. General Vandeleur, with a considerable number of English troops, and a large body of farmers, was sent into the Zuurveld (now Albany) to subdue the Hottentots and Caffers, but effected nothing. A lieutenant, with a strong party of soldiers, was cut off by them. The landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, finding the inefficiency of commandoes to restore peace to the disturbed districts, entreated Dr. Vanderkemp, on his arrival at that place, to settle in the Zuurveld to instruct the Hottentots ; but his mind was so much bent on visiting Cafferland, and his desire of benefiting that nation was so great, that he could not be prevailed on to relinquish, without first making an experiment, his long-cherished and favourite object. He accordingly proceeded through this troubled district, but finding that he could not, at this period, carry his plan into execution, he abandoned it till he should find a more favourable opportunity.

The difficulties, however, by which his first efforts were rendered abortive, occasioned no abatement of his zeal ; and he seized the first opportunity of renewing his attempt. He applied to Gaika (the Caffer chief acknowledged by the English government) for liberty to remain in his country, who, after some hesitation and delay, acceded to his application. The cautious and suspicious conduct manifested in this instance by Gaika, arose from the insinuations of some of the colonists, who did every thing in their power to obstruct the success of the missionaries.

Having obtained from Gaika the possession of a piece of ground, he erected a temporary habitation upon it,

planted a garden, prepared some corn land, and commenced his instructions among the people.

Although little impression appears to have been made on the minds of the Caffers by his labours while he resided with them, yet that his residence among them was not in vain will be seen by the subsequent narrative. He continued his exertions about eighteen months, under many difficulties, and constantly exposed to danger from the disaffected colonists and Caffers. The only comfort which he enjoyed during this period was in witnessing a favourable change which took place in several Hottentots then residing in that country.

The anxiety he felt for the progress of these people in religion induced him to accompany them when they left Cafferland; and after wandering about with them for some time in the Bushman country, constantly exposed to the attacks of that exasperated race, he returned to Graaff-Reinet. On his arrival at that place he found two additional missionaries, come from England to assist him. They had already commenced instructing the slaves and Hottentots in the church which Mr. Maynier, the Commissioner of the district, had allowed them to make use of for that purpose. In this good work Dr. Vanderkemp joined them, and great multitudes of Hottentots flocked to Graaff-Reinet to receive instruction, and seek a refuge from the enmity of the boors. Their labours were attended with success; but while they thus advanced the degraded people to whom they ministered, a fresh cause of offence was given to the colonists.

During the residence of Dr. Vanderkemp in Cafferland, the disaffection which had manifested itself among the colonists had increased, and they now seized on the

pretext of the Commissioner having allowed the slaves and Hottentots to be taught in the church, to take up arms. They complained that government protected the Hottentots and Caffers, and encouraged them to rob and murder the colonists; that they were instructed in reading and writing, and thereby put on a level with Christians; and they particularly complained, that they were permitted to hold their meetings in the church of Graaff-Reinet. On the approach of the rebels to the village, the Commissioner sent to hear their demands, which were, that the slaves and Hottentots should be excluded from the church, which should be purified by having the seats washed, and the pavement broken up, and that those Hottentots who had murdered their relatives should be given up to them. To satisfy them, the Commissioner consented to their demands respecting the church, and that those Hottentots whom they should accuse of murder should be tried according to the laws of the colony, but not be delivered into their hands without any proof of their guilt. These concessions did not satisfy the rebels, and they prepared to attack the place; but, finding the troops ready for their reception, they, after some hesitation, withdrew, threatening to return on the fourth day, to see if the Commissioner had fulfilled his promises. In the mean time Dr. Vanderkemp used his influence to bring them to the terms proposed, by writing to one of their leaders with whom he was acquainted; but not having received any answer, and information arriving on the following Monday that they were again approaching the village, he rode out alone to meet them. They received him in a friendly manner, notwithstanding

their opposition to his plans ; and agreed to the first proposals, provided they could depend on Mr. Maynier's promise that their former steps should be forgiven. Dr. Vanderkemp succeeded in removing their fears, and brought the leaders of the party to Graaff-Reinet, where the affair was amicably settled.

Soon after this Dr. Vanderkemp paid another visit to Cafferland ; but there appeared so little prospect of success, that he speedily returned to Graaff-Reinet, to resume his exertions among the Hottentots. Thus ended, for the present, the mission to Cafferland ; an interesting account of the history, manners, and customs of which country, with a considerably extensive vocabulary of the language, was sent home by him, and published in the *Missionary Transactions*. His residence among the Caffers, though not attended by any visible effects at the time, impressed them with a high respect for his character, and prepared them to give a favourable reception to such missionaries as should visit them in future.

The boers, ready to seize upon every pretext for showing their enmity to the missionaries, now represented the late journey of Vanderkemp into Cafferland as intended to stir up Gaika against them ; and again appeared in arms. In a short time they completely surrounded the village of Graaff-Reinet, in which he then was, and took possession of some of the houses, firing upon the inhabitants and the soldiers. Many balls were aimed at Dr. Vanderkemp's person, but he escaped unhurt. While things were in this state at Graaff-Reinet, the Doctor received a communication from the governor, General Dundas, in which he expressed his desire that he should form a missionary in-

stitution for the Hottentots, then dispersed in the neighbourhood of Graaff-Reinet, and on the borders of the colony; promising him, at the same time, any piece of ground in the disposal of government, which he might think suitable for the purpose. In reply to this communication, and to a request made by his Excellency, that the Doctor would furnish him with his views of the principles on which such an institution should be established, a letter, dated Feb. 11, 1801, of which the following is an extract, was written and forwarded to government.

“ We were witnesses (he says) of the deplorable and wretched condition into which the Hottentot nation is sunk, for want of food, instruction, liberty, useful employment, and a spot which they, under the superintendence of government, might in some measure call their own home.

“ I am speaking of their condition at Graaff-Reinet, the very place to which numbers of them, by the present circumstances, are compelled to repair as to an asylum, where they may be nourished at the expense of government; while a still greater number prefer to seek refuge among the Caffers on this side the Great Fish River, against the barbarities of the colonists. Among this number are found the hordes of Klaas Stuurman and Ourson, who repeatedly requested me to come to them to instruct them, but constantly refused to settle themselves at Graaff-Reinet or in its vicinity. The consequences of such a condition can be no other than idleness, poverty, or enormous expenses to entertain them—an aversion and actual separation from civilized society, vices of every kind, which may end in plundering, murders, and irregu-

larities of a different nature, but all tending to subvert the happiness and usefulness of that nation, and to endanger the safety of the colony.

“ These reflections have induced us to suspend, for awhile, our missionary attempts among the Caffers and Bushmen, and to devote ourselves to the instruction of the Hottentots in this village ; that we might be made instrumental to afford them spiritual blessings, till it should please the Lord, by sending us a sufficient number of missionary brethren for our help, to enable us to re-establish the Caffer mission, and form an establishment near the Great River for the benefit of the Bushmen. And, though it was not in our power to alleviate the temporal calamities of the Hottentots, we hoped and trusted that the Lord would, in his time, open a way to answer also, in this respect, our ardent wishes.

“ This seems, in the way of Providence, to have been reserved for you, sir ; and it is with thanksgiving to God, and acknowledgment of my obligations to your Excellency, that I proceed to submit my ideas, and those of my brother, Read, (Vander Lingen being absent,) after having consulted Mr. Maynier on this subject, to your Excellency’s decision.

“ 1. It appears to us desirable that our missionary settlement should be formed between the Bushman River and Algoa Bay, at a moderate distance from Fort Frederick ; and, if a proper supply of water may be procured there, which at present is doubtful, on the banks of the Sunday River. . .

“ 2. The chief object and aim of the missionaries, under whose direction this settlement shall be established, ought to be to promote the knowledge of

Christ, and the practice of real piety, both by instruction and example, among the Hottentots and other heathen, who shall be admitted and formed into a regular society ; and, in the second place, the temporal happiness and usefulness of this society, with respect to the country at large.

“ 3. Into this society only those ought to be admitted who will engage themselves to live according to the rules of the institution.

“ 4. The actual admission and expulsion from this society shall entirely depend upon the judgment of the missionaries ; but it seems necessary, that of those who shall have lived in the families of colonists, none shall be considered admissible but such as shall produce a written declaration of their admissibility, signed by the landdrost of the district in which they have lived.

“ 5. As we by no means wish to counteract, but, on the contrary, to promote, as much as possible, the labours of our Moravian brethren, we are resolved not to admit any individual belonging to their institution, unless it be with their express permission, and at their request. We hope to be equally cautious in respect to other missionary institutions, which may in future times be formed within this colony.

“ 6. As we are of opinion that the rule laid down by Paul, ‘that if any would not work, neither should he eat,’ ought to be strictly observed in every Christian society, our intention is to discourage idleness and laziness ; and to have the individuals of our institution, as much as circumstances shall admit, employed in different useful occupations, for the cultivation of their rational faculties, or exercise of the body, as means of subsistence, and of promoting the welfare of this society, and the colony at large.



“ These occupations may be referred either to agriculture and farming, the management of cattle, or mechanical arts, and little manufactures, such as soap-boiling, candle-making, spinning of thread, manufacturing of paper, tanning, pot-making, brickmaking, turnery, &c.

“ 7. As the introduction of these employments will involve the European missionary societies in considerable expenses, the workmen should be considered as journeymen in the service of the society, and be paid weekly for their labour; but the products of their labours should be the property of the society, and sold for its benefit. The fund, however, arising from the sale of these articles shall be entirely devoted for charitable institutions of a missionary nature among the heathen, such as the erection of other missionary settlements, an orphan-house, in which forsaken and fatherless children may be educated, or for the subsistence of the sick, old, and poor.

“ By these measures we intend not to preclude any one who, by his industry and diligence, shall be enabled to elevate himself above the class of journeymen, from becoming a master and proprietor of his own business.

“ 8. Should this settlement, which is to be put under the direction of two missionaries and a schoolmaster, increase to a greater number than can be directed by three missionaries and two schoolmasters, it appears better to divide it into two distinct settlements, to be placed in different parts of the country, than to extend it beyond the limits mentioned.

“ 9. Good order and domestic discipline shall be maintained by the missionaries themselves. The settlers are to be divided as Christians, catechumens, and

hearers. By the last, we understand heathens who will flock to us to hear the word of God. By catechumens, heathens who are more particularly under our inspection and care, instructed in the doctrines of the Gospel, and who submit to ecclesiastical discipline. Christians are those who shall bring forth fruits of conversion, and be by baptism initiated as members of the church.

“ 10. We have no severer punishment than excommunication from the church and expulsion from the Society. If we shall be compelled to proceed to this last step, we shall think it our duty to inform the landdrost of the fact, that justice may be administered by the court to whose cognizance the crime belongs, *and no malefactor find a shelter within our walls.*

“ 11. As your Excellency cannot be indifferent with respect to the state and progress of the institution, we suppose it will please your excellency to accept, at least once a-year, a report of its state in detail, by a list pointing out the number, names, qualities, occupations, and other circumstances of the members, according to a model which shall be approved by your Excellency.

“ 12. Our ideas respecting the polygamy of the heathen exactly correspond with those of the Moravian Brethren.

“ 13. As to the protection which we may expect from your Excellency, we entirely trust to your Excellency's declared resolution to favour our missionary exertions, and request that we may enjoy the same protection and privileges which are granted to the (Moravian) Brethren at the Bavian's Kloof.

“ The state of our congregation, formed out of Hottentots and a few of other nations at Graaff-Reinet, is

such that it will be necessary to leave an individual missionary in that village, for the instruction of those who shall, by their circumstances, be constrained to reside at this place. The number of children in our reading-school amounts to one hundred and twelve, of whom, however, seldom more than seventy are present. We have been obliged to print a spelling-book for their use, and we hope that your Excellency will permit us to print and to sell little school-books, for the benefit of the future establishment, and to educate some of our young men in the art of printing, as a peculiar branch of their employments.

“The Commissioner Maynier favours our undertakings here with all his power ; and has given us a place to build a hall upon, which may serve for a meeting-house, school-room, and a dwelling-place for the missionary.”

In reply to this communication, which so clearly establishes the solid and practical views of Dr. Vanderkemp, he received a favourable answer from General Dundas, of which the following is a copy :—

“*Cape Town, Nov. 26, 1801.*”

“SIR,

“I have only time, by the present opportunity, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated November 11th, containing some heads of a plan for a Hottentot establishment, which I am desirous to encourage, seeing the necessity of endeavouring to ameliorate the spiritual and temporal condition of those unhappy people, whom, upon every principle of humanity and justice, government is bound to protect.

“I have only to add, that, in my opinion, the banks

of the Loerie or Van Stades River is the preferable situation for their establishment, thinking it by no means advisable to place them in the neighbourhood of the Caffers.

“The Secretary of the colony has this day received my directions to acquaint the landdrost with my wishes upon this subject, being extremely anxious that this plan should be carried into effect as soon as possible, and the Hottentots moved towards their proposed establishment without delay, where every reasonable assistance at the outset, to enable them hereafter to provide themselves with provision and other necessaries, it is my intention to afford them at the expense of the colony.

“In the expectation of hearing again from you upon the subject of this praiseworthy and benevolent undertaking, together with such particulars relative to it as you may think it necessary to give,

“I have, &c. &c

(Signed)

“FRANCIS DUNDAS.”

In reference to the above letter and another communication of a similar nature which appears to have been received, Dr. Vanderkemp has made the following entry in his journal:—“His Excellency had anticipated my proposals, having already sent off a ship laden with rice and other articles, which he thought that we should stand in need of, to Algoa Bay.”

Encouraged by the enlightened views and efficient co-operation of the lieutenant-governor, the missionaries left Graaff-Reinet with a hundred and nine Hottentots; which number, in the course of a few days, by

the stragglers who joined them on the road, was augmented to two hundred and twenty-one.

When they had proceeded half-way towards Algoa Bay, the Hottentot captain, Widdeman, and forty of his people, left them, probably from some fear instilled into their minds by interested and designing men. This loss was shortly after made up by the accession of sixteen wandering Hottentots, whom they found in the mountains ; but, on their arrival at the Zwartkops river, a hundred of the people were induced to leave them, by the influence of Klaas Stuurman, a Hottentot chief, who was at that place in arms, with his people, and who assured them that there was a large assemblage of Boors, at a farm-house, at a small distance, waiting to intercept and to destroy them. This was the only farm-house between the Camtoos and Zwartkops rivers, which had not been destroyed by this intrepid Hottentot chief ; and it was natural for him to endeavour to strengthen himself, by making the Hottentots, along with the missionaries, believe, that the assembled Boors were as inimical to them as they were to himself and his people. In reply to the arguments employed by the missionaries on this occasion, to persuade him to lay down his arms, and submit to the colonial government, he answered as follows : “ We are blind heathens, we know nothing, and in this state the Boors wish to keep us ; I wish to live a peaceable life, but I am determined to revenge the barbarous conduct of the Boors to my people, till the government shall do us justice, and permit us to hear the word of God.”

“ On the 7th March, 1802,” the journal of the missionaries states, “ at the recommendation of the officer

commanding at Fort Frederick, we took possession of Botha's Place. Whether we shall stay here, or have another place given us, is quite uncertain, though the former seems to me the most probable. We have requested it, as its vicinity to the Bay is the only objection we have; but this has its advantages. Want of water seemed, at first, a great obstacle, but, by digging wells, we find this want amply supplied. The number of our people, with those who have joined us at the bay, amounts to about one hundred and sixty; but we have every reason to expect an increase. The governor has engaged to supply us with provisions for the first year, after which he hopes the people will be able, by industry, to provide for themselves."

During the period they were at this place, the troubled state of the country, and the neutrality their principles compelled them to maintain between the contending parties, exposed them to many hardships, and frequently placed their lives in imminent danger; but, in opposition to the views and remonstrances of their friends, and even of the governor himself, who wished them to retire to a place of greater security, and who even requested them, with that view, to accompany him to Cape Town, they remained at this place; and while they were diligent in their labours among the Hottentots, their exertions to make themselves useful to the soldiers in Fort Frederick were attended with beneficial effects.

The respect entertained by the Hottentots for the character of Dr. Vanderkemp made him a proper person to be employed by the government, as a mediator; and, at the request of the governor, he suc-

ceeded in detaching Klaas Stuurman from the Hottentots then in a state of hostility.

The circumstances which followed the secession of Klaas Stuurman show that we are to look further than the popularity or ambitious views of a single chief, for the origin of the war which then desolated the frontier districts of the colony, and we shall state them in Dr. Vanderkemp's own words :—“ This displeased some other chiefs of the marauding Hottentots so much, that they not only attacked Klaas, took away his people, cattle, and arms, but also threatened to treat us in the same manner, looking upon us as the cause of the resolution which he had taken. Captain Stuurman, to save his life, fled to Conga, chief of a troop of Caffers, on this side the Great Fish River, who caused us to be informed that he approved of the behaviour of Klaas, and had taken him under his protection. In the meanwhile, the governor had caused a strong detachment of colonists, commanded by the famous Tjaard Van der Walt, to be marched into this region, against the marauding Caffers and Hottentots; after he had issued a proclamation, that those who would leave the plundering tribes, and go to Graaff-Reinet, Fort Frederick, or into our institution, should have freedom and protection. This detachment, however, attacked promiscuously the Caffers and Hottentots on this side the Great Fish River. Looking upon this as pernicious to the rest of the colony, I gave my sentiments upon it with boldness; and wrote, as well to the Governor Dundas, as to the Fiscal Van Ryneveld, that, according to our opinion, if the detachment proceeded in this manner, and

were not recalled in time, it would occasion its own destruction, and that of all the colony. I urged, also, that Klaas Stuurman and his people should be protected, and that the promises made to him in the name of government should be fulfilled. But it appeared, from the answers which I received, that the governor was prejudiced against Klaas Stuurman by his enemies, and suspected him of falsehood and fraud.

“ Our institution making us an object of the hatred of the colonists, we also were described by them as men who stood, with the plundering Hottentots and Caffers, in a connexion which was dangerous to the good inhabitants, and that we caused our institution to be a place of refuge for robbers and murderers.

“ The truth was, that we never had had a connexion with any of the plundering hordes, but that we took into our institution those who separated themselves from those hordes, and who, from aversion to their former behaviour, came daily to us, to hear the word of God, and to conduct themselves peaceably, according to our rules.

“ The consequence of this, however, was, that we received, on the 3d of August, from government, an order, whereby we were prohibited from receiving more Hottentots, or entering into any connexion with the tribes at the Sunday River. By this order we were, to our great sorrow, forced to reject many of those unfortunate people, principally women and children, who, nevertheless, rather chose to maintain themselves in the woods, amongst the brutes, than to return to their tribes.

“ We admonished Klaas Stuurman not to take any part in the hostilities between the farmers and Hot-



tentots, and to convince the governor and his own enemies of the sincerity of his subordination, by such a behaviour: he declared this to be his intention, and that he would suffer injustice rather than break his word. His behaviour, together with that of Conga, has been irreprehensible up to this present hour."

While the country was in this troubled state, it was visited by Mr. Barrow, who gives the following account of a rencontre with this Hottentot chief and his followers.—On making inquiry into the hostile appearance of this band of Hottentots, Mr. Barrow relates, that "one of them, named Klaas Stuurman, or Nicholas the Helmsman, whom they had selected for their chief, stepped forward, and, after humbly entreating us to hear him out without interruption, began a long oration, which contained a history of their calamities and sufferings under the yoke of the Boors; their injustice, in first depriving them of their country, and then forcing their offspring into a state of slavery; their cruel treatment on every slight occasion, which it became impossible for them to bear any longer; and the resolution they had, therefore, taken, to apply for redress before the English troops should leave the country; that their employers, suspecting their intention, had endeavoured to prevent such application, by confining some to the house, threatening to shoot others if they attempted to escape, or to punish their wives and children in their absence. And, in proof of what he advanced, he called out a young Hottentot, whose thigh had been pierced through with a large musket ball but two days before, which had been fired at him by his master, for having attempted to leave his service. 'This act,' continued he, 'among

many others, equally cruel, resolved us at once to collect a sufficient force to deprive the Boors of their arms, in which we have succeeded at every house which fell in our way. We have taken their superfluous clothing in lieu of the wages due for our services; but we have stripped none, nor injured the persons of any, though,' added he, shaking his head, '*we have yet a great deal of our blood to avenge.*'"

Mr. Barrow, on proposing that Stuurman and his people should enter into the British service, stated a difficulty respecting the manner in which provision must be made for the aged, the women, and the children; which the Chief speedily obviated, by the following address:—" *Restore (said he) the country of which our fathers have been despoiled by the Dutch, and we have nothing more to ask.*"

"I endeavoured," says Mr. Barrow, "to convince him how little advantage they were likely to derive from the possession of a country, without any other property, or the means of deriving a subsistence from it: but he had the better of the argument. 'We lived very contentedly,' said he, 'before these Dutch plunderers molested us; and why should we not do so again, if left to ourselves? Has not the *Groot Baas* (the Great Master) given plenty of grass, roots, and berries, and grasshoppers, for our use; and, till the Dutch destroyed them, abundance of wild animals to hunt? And will they not return and multiply, when these destroyers are gone?' We prevailed, however, upon Klaas to deliver up their arms, and, in the mean time, to follow the troops, until some arrangement could be made for their future welfare."

On the arrival of Mr. Barrow and his military escort

at Algoa Bay, he found, at that place, the Boors and the Hottentots collected in considerable numbers. The Boors, including their families, amounted to one hundred and fifty, and the Hottentots, including young and old of both sexes, to five hundred. The Boors had the protection of the fort at Algoa Bay; the Hottentots were encamped in the open plain.

Mr. Barrow's attempt to effect a reconciliation between the parties was defeated by the rebel Boors, who contrived to circulate a report among the Hottentots at Algoa Bay, that it was the intention of the English to put them on board ship, and to send them to Cape Town.

To this malicious report Mr. Barrow ascribes all the subsequent misfortunes which befell themselves and their countrymen. Many of the Hottentots, under the alarm created by this manœuvre of the Boors, fled to the Caffers under night; and this measure, by which they hoped to rid themselves of their enemies, increased their numbers and their animosity.

A considerable body of Caffers, who had previously declined the authority of Gaika, and who had also been on bad terms with the neighbouring Colonists, availed themselves of this circumstance to avenge the injuries of which they complained. Uniting their forces with those of the Hottentots, they soon spread terror over the whole district of Graaff-Reinet; and, in a few weeks, almost all the country between the Bushmans' river and the Fish river was in their hands. A great number of cattle became their prey: all the houses of the colonists were burnt, and many fell in the unequal struggle to preserve their property.

The Colonists had no reason to despise the Hottentots

as an inferior race of beings, from any superiority they manifested over them in this contest. When a comparative view of the advantages and disadvantages of the combatants on both sides is taken into consideration, the address, the capacity, and the courage will be found on the side of the oppressed aborigines.

If the Hottentots failed to establish their independence at this time, the failure did not arise from the superiority of the Boors, but from their connexion with Europe. While the colonists are supplied from England with iron, and steel, and gunpowder ; while they have the wealth of the colony in their hands, and are protected by the troops of a great nation, they have no reason to swell on a comparison of themselves with the impoverished and oppressed natives of the country. If the colonists of the Cape were to be cut off from all communication with Europe for a single century, it would be difficult to say, what class of the inhabitants might have the ascendancy at the end of that period.

The Hottentots, who were then united with the Caffers, having defeated the Boors in the district of Uitenhage, and chased them to the Chamtoos river, were met at Lochenberg's place by Van der Walt, where a contest ensued, in which the commandant was killed.

Van der Walt was in himself a host ; he was a man of capacity and courage ; his memory was respected by all classes of people ; he was spoken of with great respect by General Dundas, notwithstanding his strong partiality to the old government of the colony, and the interest he took in the cause of the Boors ; " and with him," says Lichtenstein, " the colonists lost all their hope as well as their courage, and, instead of resistance, thought no longer of any thing but flight."

After having proceeded above half way to Cape Town, driving the affrighted colonists before them, the progress of the Hottentots was stopped at the Kayman's river, not far from Mossel Bay, by a body of English troops, conjoined with the colonists of the Swellendam district. By this event, the western part of the colony was delivered from their presence ; but, being forced back upon Algoa Bay, it afforded no relief to the missionaries, and the Hottentots under their instructions.

If the protection afforded to the Hottentots, and the encouragement given to the labours of the missionaries among them, were not the sole causes of the rebellion of the Boors, they furnished the pretexts employed to justify it ; and the missionaries, and the Hottentots who were settled with them, were exposed to much suffering and many imminent dangers, during its continuance. The spirit of the Boors was exasperated by the successes of the Hottentots in proportion to the contempt in which they formerly held them ; and their hatred was indiscriminate, and knew no bounds. Their object was to keep them in a state of ignorance and slavery ; and their love of uncontrolled authority, one of the strongest passions in the human breast, shut their minds against every consideration which could be urged in favour of any attempt to improve them.

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## CHAPTER V.

**The Cape restored to the Dutch.—Dangerous situation of the Missionaries.—They retire into Fort Frederick.—Cruel proposal of the Boors to the Dutch Governor.—Bethelsdorp founded.—De Mist and Lichtenstein visit the Institution.—Misrepresentations of Vanderkemp's character.—Proclamation of 1805.—Two Caffer Chiefs visit Dr. Vanderkemp.—The Missionaries ordered to Cape Town, to answer the Charges of the Boors.—The English take the Cape.—Mrs. Smith's labours at Bethelsdorp.**

By the peace of Amiens, in 1802, it was stipulated that the colony of the Cape of Good Hope should be restored to the Dutch; and the interval between the departure of the English garrison from Algoa Bay, in the end of September 1802, and the arrival of the Dutch in 1803, was to the missionaries a time of great trial and anxiety. General Dundas, who had shown so much zeal for the establishment and prosperity of this mission, was so much impressed with a sense of the dangers to which the missionaries would now be exposed, that he used every argument to persuade them to suspend their labours, and accompany him to Cape Town, to remain there till such time as order should be re-established in the country; and, when he could not prevail upon them, "he considered us," said Dr. Vanderkemp, "as dead men." The solicitude evinced on this occasion by General Dundas for the safety of the missionaries was as creditable to his heart, as the encouragement he had afforded them in

their labours was to his understanding and his piety; but the missionaries are, nevertheless, to be commended for the firmness they displayed in resisting his importunities. Could they have suspended their exertions on this occasion, with a certain hope of renewing them, the people must have been left without protection; and the care of their own safety was absorbed in something more generous and noble—a concern for the preservation of the interesting and growing family which Providence had committed to their charge.

General Dundas, finding the resolution of the missionaries to abide with the people immoveably fixed, under the apprehensions he entertained for their safety, invested Dr. Vanderkemp, before his departure from the bay, with authority to retreat to Fort Frederick with his Hottentots till the arrival of the Dutch authorities, should such a precaution be found necessary for their protection.

During the few months they had been at Botha's place, they had been kept in a state of constant alarm: they were under the necessity of being constantly prepared to repel force by force; several furious attacks had been made upon them, in which their preservation was singular; and finding, at last, that those attacks were becoming more frequent, and their situation every day more threatening, they resolved to avail themselves of the asylum which the kindness of General Dundas had reserved for them. This last step was taken with great reluctance, and their apprehensions as to the result were but too soon verified.

The Boors in the fort now flattered themselves that Vanderkemp and his people would make common cause with them against their enemies, and, under this

impression, they rendered every facility to aid their removal ; but, when they discovered their mistake on this point, and that nothing would induce the missionaries to aid, or even sanction, their conduct towards the Hottentots, every thing was done to render them uncomfortable, and to defeat the ends of their mission. The manner in which they were huddled together gave the Boors the fullest opportunities of exerting a certain degree of influence over the Hottentots ; and, finding they could not gain the missionaries to their views, the opportunities afforded by the immediate contact in which they were placed with the people, were improved to counteract the labours of the missionaries, by endeavouring to engraft upon the barbarous stock the grossest vices which debase men in a state of civilization.

Doctor Vanderkemp was strongly attached to the English government, and he regretted that the Cape was again to revert to the Dutch, although Holland was his native country ; but he had an instinctive abhorrence of anarchy, and he had suffered so much from the Boors around him, that he hailed the arrival of the Dutch authorities as a desirable event. With the new governor, General Janssens, he had been intimate in his younger years : they had been school-fellows together ; and, although there might be a great dissimilarity in their religious opinions, the Doctor had no reason to suppose that all the advantages which might be expected from their former intimacy would be lost. The new governor arrived at Algoa Bay on the 2d of May, 1803. By a man in the station of General Janssens, Vanderkemp had no reason to apprehend that he would be treated with that superciliousness of manner, too common with underlings in office, who judge of



men by their external circumstances, and show their own importance by their rudeness to those whom they think they can insult with impunity. On the contrary, he prevented the first expression of respect that the missionary was prepared to yield to his elevated station ; and, laying aside the governor and the general, he was glad to waive all ceremony, and renew the intimacy, and recount the scenes of their youthful days. But notwithstanding the respect and personal esteem General Janssens had for Dr. Vanderkemp, it was soon discovered, when they entered into the affairs of the institution, that the mind of the general had been pre-occupied by the false representations of the enemies of the missions.

On the arrival of General Janssens, the frontier Boors proposed that all the Hottentots should be seized; that every individual among them should have a chain put upon his legs ; and that they should be distributed among them as slaves. The state of public opinion in Europe would not have admitted, had the General been so inclined, a method of enslaving the people, of so direct a nature ; and the proposal was rejected with becoming spirit. Not at all discouraged by their defeat, a fresh objection was found against the missionary institution, in the change which had taken place in the colonial government, in having passed from the hands of the English to those of the Dutch. It was insinuated that a mission to evangelize the Hottentots, conducted by Englishmen, was pregnant with danger to the Dutch government of the colony. This objection, which was too subtle to have originated with the Boors, had been suggested to them by some of their friends at head-quarters ; and it was amusing enough

to hear men, who could not read their own language, endeavouring to alarm the mind of the governor with an enumeration of the evils to be dreaded from the old threadbare story of "*imperium in imperio*."

In a letter to the directors of the London Missionary Society, on this subject, Dr. Vanderkemp alludes to it in the following terms :—

"It was an easy matter to convince the brave and philanthropic Governor Janssens of the futility of the objection, and to show that our undertaking was entirely separated from all national views and concerns ; and that your direction, being entirely restricted to spiritual purposes, did not, even in the least degree, affect, much less relax the authority which government has a right to exercise over all its subjects, any more than the filial obedience due to a father, or tutor, infringes the rights of a sovereign over a son, or pupil, residing in his dominions. But it was not so easy to eradicate the inveterate prejudices against our work among the heathen out of the stony hearts of more barbarous inhabitants ; and it was evident, that our relation to English benefactors was only a pretext to give vent to a deeper rooted enmity against God, his Christ, and the extension of his kingdom of love and grace among the heathen."

The governor was satisfied with the reasonings of Doctor Vanderkemp, and saw through the interested clamours of his enemies ; but as the colonists were opposed to the object of his mission, in order in some measure to obviate this opposition, it was proposed by his excellency, and agreed to by the missionary, that he should correspond with the London Missionary Society through the medium of the Dutch Missionary Society.

It had become necessary and desirable that the institution should be removed as soon as possible from Fort Frederick ; and, at the request of Dr. Vanderkemp, General Janssens had agreed to grant him another place for his establishment.

The unsuitableness of the present site of the institution has been remarked by almost every visiter ; but no blame attaches to the missionaries on this account. The place was selected by the colonists, who were subsequently in the habit of boasting, that they selected that spot, and recommended it to General Janssens as the most suitable place in the neighbourhood for the object in view ; and this for a purpose distinctly stated by them, “ *that the Hottentots might not find any means of subsistence in the vicinity, excepting in the service of the farmers.*” In this particular instance the missionaries had no alternative ; and, to obviate their objections against accepting it, they were informed that it was not intended that they should remain any longer there than the time requisite for providing a more suitable place for them.

After the site of the institution had been fixed upon, the governor requested Dr. Vanderkemp to give it a name ; observing, at the same time, that he exceedingly disliked scriptural names, and that he hoped he would not give it a name from the Bible. Pausing a moment, and recollecting that he had preached on the preceding sabbath, from Genesis xxxv. 2, 3, the missionary named it “ Bethelsdorp.” The governor’s knowledge of the scriptures was not sufficient to enable him at the time to detect the irony conveyed in this circumstance ; and, next day, when he came to know it, and when he found the laugh turned against him, he acknowledged that it was perfectly fair.

This transaction is noticed in a letter, dated 30th May 1803; and the writer states that they were then about to enter immediately upon the possession of the new place.

In the month of January 1804, the institution was visited by the Commissary-General De Mist. This gentleman had been bred to the law, and was sent out to South Africa by the States-General, to draw up some regulations for the future government of the colony. He was accompanied by Dr. Lichtenstein, who officiated in his family as tutor to one of his sons, and who has given the following account, in his travels, of his interesting interview with Dr. Vanderkemp:—

“On the day of our arrival at Algoa Bay,” he writes, “the commissary-general received a visit from Vanderkemp. In the very hottest part of the morning we saw a waggon, such as is used in husbandry, drawn by four meagre oxen, coming slowly along the sandy downs. Vanderkemp sat upon a plank laid across it, without a hat, his venerable bald head exposed to the burning rays of the sun. He was dressed in a threadbare black coat, waistcoat, and breeches, without shirt, neckcloth, or stockings, and leather sandals bound upon his feet, the same as are worn by the Hottentots.

“The commissary-general hastened to meet and receive him with the utmost kindness; he descended from his car, and approached with slow and measured steps, presenting to our view a tall, meagre, yet venerable figure. In his serene countenance might be traced remains of former beauty; and in his eye, still full of fire, were plainly to be discerned the powers of mind which had distinguished his early years. Instead of the usual salutations, he uttered a short prayer, in which he

begged a blessing upon our chief and his company, and the protection of heaven during the remainder of our journey. He then accompanied us into the house, when he entered into conversation freely upon many subjects, without any superciliousness or affected solemnity.

“ The commissary-general reminded him that they had known each other, thirty-six years before, at Leyden ; he was then himself studying the law, and Vanderkemp was in garrison, as a lieutenant of dragoons. He named to him the coffee-house where they had often met, and talked over many occurrences that had happened jointly to them. The missionary remembered these things very distinctly, observing that he led then a very dissolute life, but he hoped it was expiated by his subsequent conversion and present course. He related many things worthy of remark during the time that he lived among the Caffers, and elucidated several circumstances that happened in the late unfortunate war with them.”

Dr. Lichtenstein describes Bethelsdorp as composed of forty or fifty wretched huts, in the form of hemispheres ; as placed upon a naked plain, without a single bush to relieve the sight ; and as presenting nothing in the shape of human beings, but lean, ragged, or naked figures, with indolent sleepy countenances. He describes Vanderkemp as a man of learning ; but he represents him as of little value as a missionary, “ partly,” he adds, “ because he is a mere enthusiast, and too much absorbed in the idea of *conversion* ; and, partly, because he is too learned, that is to say, too little acquainted with the common concerns of life, to turn the attention even of a raw Hottentot to them.”

He accuses him, also, of a total neglect of husbandry, and all mechanical employments. \*

Having described Vanderkemp as appearing, at the time he saw him, to be near seventy years of age, he adds—"If ardour in religion, amounting almost to bigotry, if self-denial, and a renunciation of social comforts, even of all earthly enjoyments, supported by a high degree of enthusiasm, and by very extensive learning; if these properties can render a missionary worthy of respect and esteem, then is Vanderkemp most truly so."

\* It is impossible to look at the false reports and the inaccuracies of many travellers, and not sympathize with the continental philosopher, who, provoked by the ignorance and false statements which abound in books of travels, brought the following charge against writers of this description in general:—"One may lay down as a maxim, that out of one hundred there are sixty who are liars, not through interest, but ignorance; thirty through interest, or the pleasure of imposing on the public; and about ten who are honest, and aim at truth."

From what has been stated, the reader will be able to judge for himself, what importance he ought to attach to the reports and opinions of Dr. Lichtenstein, connected with the subject of missions; and the following passage may be taken as a specimen of his accuracy: "When the Cape was taken by the English, he" (Vanderkemp) "resolved, though then sixty years of age, to go out as a missionary to the Caffers, and being ordained at Oxford, he came hither in 1797. After two years spent among these people, in which he says himself he had not accomplished much towards the spreading of Christianity, the war broke out. He went for a while to Cape Town, but at his return to the Caffers was not favourably received, and was obliged again to quit their territories." In the passage quoted as above, which does not occupy seven lines in a quarto edition, we have *five* mistakes. Dr. Vanderkemp was not more than fifty years of age, when he offered himself to go out as a missionary; he was not ordained at Oxford; he did not visit Cape Town after his return from Cafferland; he was not unfavourably received on his second visit to the Caffers, nor was he obliged to quit their territories.

Here I may be permitted to remark a little on the want of candour and the rashness of most writers who have spoken incidentally of missionary labours. When the intellectual culture of man is the subject under consideration, the preceptor has credit given him for what he effects, without having his unsuccessful labours imputed to himself, or to his system; but missionaries are tried by another criterion, and meet with a very different treatment from the world. While the objects of their mission have been declared impracticable and treated with ridicule, they have been regarded as having done nothing, and calumniated, simply because they have not wrought miracles, and changed their converts into angels. But this is not all:—besides the want of efficiency with which their labours have been charged, they have been made amenable for the evil passions they have not subdued—for every vice they have not extirpated; and thus the evils which have been too obstinate to admit of a cure have had their origin imputed to the methods which have been employed to remove them. If multitudes have been reclaimed from savage life, from barbarism, from habits of idleness and licentiousness, and rendered sober and industrious, the imperfections still adhering to them are ascribed to the missionaries; and individuals among them, on whom their labours may have been wholly lost, are frequently pointed at, with an air of triumph, as affording conclusive arguments against all missionary efforts.

The labours of missionaries are services which the world has neither the ability nor the inclination to appreciate or reward. It would be absurd to expect that a statue or painting should be perfect at once, or to find

fault with the work of an artist before he has had time to complete it. The husbandman does not expect a crop when he sows his seed ; he must wait for it. The father does not expect that his son will be a scholar when he first goes to school ; nor does he, when he has finished the term of his education, allege that he has acquired nothing, because he has not attained the greatest heights in literature, or because he may not be able to solve the most difficult problems in science.

The generality of travellers, when they look at our missionary stations, never think of the difficulties the missionaries have had to encounter ; nor do they estimate what has been effected, by comparing the present with the former condition of the Hottentots ; but, comparing their present state with a higher standard of civilization, without bestowing one grain of praise, they find fault only on account of what has not yet been done.

As a striking illustration of the preceding observations, it is necessary only to read the description of Bethelsdorp given by Dr. Lichtenstein, and to recollect how this writer's remarks on Dr. Vanderkemp and this institution have been copied and circulated by the literary journals of the day.

It is painful to see a man like Dr. Lichtenstein, with some pretensions to science and literature, adopting all the vulgar prejudices and false representations of the colonists. The sentiments he ascribes to Vanderkemp, in his interview with the Commissary-general De Mist, when he represents him as stating, that he hoped to *atone* for the dissolute life he had led when they were first acquainted, by his present course, is a sentiment in perfect contrast with all the theological opinions he then held. He states, in the account published of his con-



version, that when he was an infidel he believed in a future state, and in the efficiency of the sufferings of this present life to procure for us, and to fit us for, its felicity; and the circumstance by which his transition from a state of scepticism to a belief of the Gospel was most strongly marked, was his renunciation of all dependence on human merit, and his entire reliance on the atonement of Christ, as the *sole* ground of his acceptance with God. The inaccuracies of Lichtenstein respecting the age of Dr. Vanderkemp, the place of his ordination, his journey to Cape Town after leaving Graaff-Reinet, the circumstances under which he left Cafferland, are trifles; but his misstatements assume a more grave character when he informs us, that the Hottentots under Vanderkemp's instructions were people he had picked up at the end of the war; that the Doctor was opposed to any attempts to civilize the people; and that no attention was paid to give them any occupation.

Whatever Dr. Vanderkemp's qualifications may have been, as a suitable instrument to carry on a work of civilization among the Hottentots, he is unjustly dealt with when he is represented as encouraging them in idleness, and as attaching no importance to their civilization. In the letter drawn up by him at the request of General Dundas, furnishing that distinguished individual with an exposition of his views respecting the manner in which an institution, such as he proposed for the Hottentots, should be conducted, he expressly states that the rule laid down by St. Paul should be adhered to—that if any would not work, neither should he eat; and that it was his intention to discourage idleness and laziness, and to have the individuals of the institution employed

in different useful occupations\*. In promoting among the people habits of industry, and in stimulating them to exertions to provide for themselves and their families the means of subsistence, Vanderkemp conceived that he was using the most efficient plan to cultivate their rational faculties, to promote their individual welfare, and to add to the prosperity of the colony.

The difficulty of imparting industrious habits to a people emerging from savage life, cannot be fully estimated, excepting by those who have made the experiment; and much time, and patience, and prudence, and command of temper, are requisite to the individuals who have such a process to conduct, before we are to expect perfect results. In a letter, written in the month of April, nearly four months after Dr. Lichtenstein's visit to Bethelsdorp, our missionary laments the difficulties he had experienced in rousing the people to industry, and the loss he was at to find employment for them. "Laziness," he observes, "is the most prevalent evil among our people, which exposes them to the greatest distresses. Some, however, are willing to work, if we could employ them: this we cannot do, not having been able for more than a year to get any money from the Cape, so that we cannot pay them for their labour, which circumstance subjects both them and us to many inconveniences." It is obvious, from Dr. Lichtenstein's own volumes, that he was acquainted with Dr. Vanderkemp's connexion with the Hottentots at Graaff-Reinet, at the commencement of the war. He was perfectly acquainted with their sufferings at Botha's Place; he knew the

\* See page 73.