

“ I found a considerable extent of cultivated land outside the wall, which the Hottentots plough and sow with wheat every year, though a portion of it is destroyed annually by their cattle getting into it while the herd-boys are fast asleep, and from which no punishment could altogether deter them. An officer of the Hottentot regiment told me that, had they shot all the Hottentot soldiers who were found asleep upon guard, they must have shot the whole regiment, and what would have been the use of officers *then* ? said he.

“ The Hottentots were, at the recommendation of the missionary, about to surround their fields with a wall, like that which inclosed their houses and gardens ; but whether this has been effected I have not yet learned.

“ Indolence, and procrastination of labour from indolence, is almost universal among Hottentots. At all our stations they endeavour to put off digging their gardens, and ploughing their fields, as long as possible, with this apology—‘ IT IS TIME ENOUGH YET !’

“ Mr. Pacalt had much of this temper to contend with ; but his fervent zeal, his persevering application, his affectionate counsels, and his personal example, so powerfully counteracted this prevailing disposition, that they actually performed wonders.

“ All the Hottentots are still on a level with each other. There are yet no distinctions of rank amongst them. Some dress better than others ; some have a waggon and more oxen than others, and, it may be, a better house ; but these things produce no elevation of rank. They will as readily comply with the advice or injunction of the poorest as the richest. The operation of this state of things was severely experienced during the period that elapsed between the death of Mr. Pacalt

and the arrival of his successor, which I think was about four months. The Hottentots were like an army without a commander ; every improvement ceased. Some of the Hottentots were for going on with the improvements which were included in the plan of their deceased teacher and friend ; but the rest of the people would not attend to their advice, but desired that every thing should remain in the same state until the arrival of another missionary. They then began to labour with the same activity as before.

“ Thus, Sir, have I given you, as well as I could, chiefly from memory, a circumstantial account of that Hottentot town, in both its states of barbarism and civilization, the latter effected by the introduction of Christian doctrines and duties, of both which they were as ignorant as brutes, only six years before. The facts I have stated were seen and heard by myself when present with them while in both conditions. I remember my worthy colleague Dr. Philip, who was with me on this visit to the kraal, while we were viewing the improvements, more than once whispered into my ear, ‘ What exquisite pleasure this sight must give you, having seen them in their barbarous state ! ’ ”

A commission of two members of the Court of Justice was appointed, a year or two ago, by the colonial government, to visit the missionary stations within the colony ; and although I have not a copy of their official report, I am authorized by Mr. Neethling, one of the commissioners, to state, that they were not merely pleased but astonished and delighted in the very highest degree with what had been effected at Pacaltsdorp.

The late colonial secretary, Lieut.-Colonel Bird, who visited this station in 1819, expressed his opinion of it

to myself, in the following terms :—“ I never saw, in any place,” he observed, “ more industry than at Pacaltsdorp : the men were all at work—I saw no appearance of idleness ; the women were busy ; the gardens were laid out in the most regular order, and full of vegetables and other produce ; the houses were regular, clean, and neat ; and, in short, in my whole journey into the interior, neither at Genadendal, nor anywhere else, did I see anything that delighted me so much as the missionary station at Pacaltsdorp.”

To the testimony of the colonial secretary we may here add that of the venerable Van Kerval, the chief magistrate of the district of George, as related to the author by Sir Jahleel Brenton, his Majesty’s naval commissioner at the Cape of Good Hope :—“ When we approached this station,” said Sir Jahleel, “ Mr. Van Kerval addressed me in the following words :—‘ You see these houses, Sir Jahleel, these beautiful gardens and corn-fields ; when Mr. Pacalt came to this place, the whole grounds on which you see those marks of rising industry and civilization *were as bare as the palm of my hand.*’”

* Yet it is in reference to this very place, Pacaltsdorp, and of men such as Pacalt and Vanderkemp, (whom he ignorantly calls *Methodists*,) that a writer in the Quarterly Review, when reviewing Mr. Latrobe’s “ Visit to South Africa,” has the hardihood to speak in the following terms :—

“ These enthusiastic ranters have spread themselves over the colony, and gone beyond its limits, encouraging idleness, by instructing the natives in their own peculiar doctrines, and in nothing else, as is but too apparent in their filthy and wretched establishments, swarming with Hottentots still in a state of nakedness, or in their ancient sheep-skin clothing. Instead of expressing their gratitude to their Creator in hymns and songs, the methodist Hottentots do nothing but whimper, whine, and groan.”

CHAPTER XIII.

Theopolis.—Attempts to people the Zuurveld.—Irruption of the Caffers.—Brave Defence of Theopolis.—The Hottentots assist the English in defending Graham's Town.—Ill Treatment of the Hottentots.—Hostility of the Governor.—Attempt to alienate the Lands of the Institution.—Late Improvements.

OF Theopolis, now the second missionary station in South Africa, the following account will, I hope, be read with interest, as it serves not only to illustrate the true character of the Hottentots and the utility of our institutions, but tends, also, to unveil that spirit of aggression which has been uniformly manifested towards them by the colonists and the colonial government.

From the establishment of the British power in South Africa, the attention of the local government was directed to the security of the eastern frontier; and, as a preparatory measure, the expulsion of the Caffers from the tract of country termed the Zuurveld (now the district of Albany) was proposed. Accordingly, in 1809, Colonel Collins was sent by the governor, Lord Caledon, to inspect that part of the colony, and to collect such information as might facilitate the accomplishment of the desired object, and guard the colony against future aggressions. Colonel Collins suggested to the government to increase the population along the eastern frontier; and, with this view, to offer grants of one hundred and twenty acres each to such persons as might be disposed to settle there. But it was not

before the year 1812 that the plan of expelling the Caffers from the Zuurveld was successfully carried into effect. The force employed on this service was partly composed of Hottentots belonging to the institution of Bethelsdorp, who, from their knowledge of the country, contributed much to the success of the enterprise, and acquitted themselves to the satisfaction of the governor. Military posts were afterwards established, to prevent the return of the Caffers, and the boors and Hottentots were put under requisition, with a view to this object.

After the Zuurveld had been cleared of the Caffers, the government turned its attention, as proposed, to the measure of augmenting the population along the frontier, in order to keep them in check. Accordingly, in June, 1812, a proclamation was issued, by which all claims of the former possessors of loan places in the Zuurveld were annulled, and inhabitants from all parts of the colony were invited to settle on that frontier. Not fewer than four families were to be located in one spot; to *each* of these was to be granted, in perpetual quit-rent, a tract of land of two thousand morgen (or about four thousand acres), under the name of a Quit-rent Place. Several of the boors, who had formerly resided in the Zuurveld, as well as some others, were induced by these offers to fix on particular spots; but the few who made the experiment quickly dispersed.

This plan, from various causes, having failed, and the Caffers, who contrived to elude the military posts, committing continual depredations in the Zuurveld, the government recalled its proclamation of June, 1812, which located four families on one spot, and proposed that any boor who was desirous to obtain the two thou-

sand morgen, might go and fix on a place, in order to establish himself there.

Among the difficulties to which the boors who attempted to settle in the Zuurveld were subjected, was the following: they were unable to provide herdsmen for the protection of their cattle from the attacks of the Caffers, being too poor to purchase slaves, and there being in the country no Hottentots except those of Bethelsdorp, whose circumstances were better than they would have been in the service of those indigent boors. To remove, in part, this difficulty, the government gave orders that soldiers should be employed to protect the cattle of such boors as resided in the vicinity of military posts.

In 1813, the inhabitants of Bethelsdorp, being straitened for ground for their cattle, it was proposed to form another missionary institution, and the governor, Sir John Cradock, (the present Lord Howden,) being at that time on a visit to the frontier, the site of Theopolis was fixed upon for that purpose, it being at the entrance of the Carrega Kloof, and therefore favourable for keeping the Caffers in check in that quarter.

The grant of land made by Sir John Cradock for the use of the institution of Theopolis is supposed to have contained about six thousand acres; and the Hottentots who removed from Bethelsdorp to settle there, found themselves put in possession of extensive pasturage; while, by the opportunity of fishing at the mouth of the Kasouga river, and by the burning of lime from shells collected on the sea-beach, they were enabled to carry on a trade in those articles, and thus at once to benefit themselves and the other inhabitants,

and promote the general welfare of the district. The government was also compensated in this manner for the lands granted to the institution.

The Caffers soon became aware of the check which Theopolis presented to their incursions, and seemed to single it out for their vengeance. They found themselves, however, unable to stand against the Hottentots, whenever the latter were apprized of their designs; but, nevertheless, they frequently succeeded in committing depredations on the cattle of the institution. The Hottentots, notwithstanding the losses and inconveniences to which they were thus subjected, endured them with fortitude, and continued to advance in industry and civilization, and contributed much to the security of the district.

The government, having failed in its previous attempts to people the Zuurveld, on the 28th January, 1814, issued another proclamation with this view, offering further favourable conditions; and, to hasten its effect, confined the offer to the first fifty applicants. The boors, however, objected to the grants of two thousand morgen, (or four thousand acres,) as being too small; and little progress was, consequently, made in the peopling and cultivation of the Zuurveld.

In 1817, Lord Charles Somerset made a fresh attempt to effect this object; and by advertisement, under date of the 29th of March, (his Excellency being himself upon the spot,) confirmed the advantages offered in the preceding proclamations, with other favourable conditions.

The attacks of the Caffers at length assumed a more formidable character, there being reason to believe that they were made under the sanction of one of the

leading Caffer chiefs, named T'Slambie (or T'Lhambi). A commando, by direction of the government, was ordered against him, which succeeded in taking from the Caffers upwards of two thousand head of cattle.

It was hoped that this check would have operated as a preventive against future aggressions; but, nevertheless, the Caffers, from time to time, repeated their depredations; from which the people of Theopolis appear to have suffered in a proportion much greater than the colonists, though they were not afterwards proportionably compensated by the government. Being objects of peculiar resentment to the Caffers, they have had to sustain their most violent assaults. The fruits of their industry have been lost, their harvests destroyed, and their cattle stolen; but, notwithstanding all this, their spirit never gave way.

In the latter part of the year 1818, Lieutenant-Colonel Brereton was sent into Cafferland with a strong commando, to support Gaika against the insurgent chiefs; and, having attacked the kraals of T'Slambie and Phoonah, he captured sixteen thousand head of cattle. The same gazette in which the above circumstances are stated says—"It is to be expected that this blow will put a final stop to the attempts to renew the former aggressions on the colony; and that henceforward, by means of the friendly chief who is in our interest (Gaika), an intercourse mutually advantageous may be established with the tribes under his influence; thus not only replacing the present settlers of the fertile border in a most enviable attitude, but *holding out the strongest motives to further settlers* to establish themselves in a country unrivalled for fertility and beauty."

From the conclusion of the above paragraph, it ap-
s

pears, that the colonial government were still desirous of encouraging more inhabitants to settle in the Zuurveld. This district was still but thinly peopled; for the greater part of the former settlers, after its re-occupation in 1812, had abandoned their locations, and the few who were scattered over the country were not in a condition to offer any resistance to an attack from the Caffers, of which many at that time were apprehensive; and the event proved their fears to have been too well founded.

In the short space of *one month* after the above paragraph appeared in the Cape Gazette, the Caffers entered the colony in large bodies. The boors were not able to resist them, and most of them fled, abandoning their farms, and some their cattle and other property. The few who remained were in succession attacked, plundered of their cattle, had their houses burnt, and were compelled to fly. All the smaller military posts were abandoned*; and the greatest panic spread, not only through the whole Zuurveld, but also through part of the adjoining districts. The Caffers proceeded as far as the village of Uitenhage, and took even some cattle from the place of Barkhuisen, which is situated twelve miles in the rear of that drosdy.

Theopolis was now left to sustain the unchecked fury of the enemy. The Caffers surrounded the place in the midst of the rainy season, and kept it in a state resembling that of a siege, between two and three months. During this period, they repeatedly assailed

* Captain Gethin, of the 72d regiment, with a small detachment, was, after a brave resistance, surrounded and massacred, with several of his men. Another detachment, commanded by Lieut. Hunt, shared a fate nearly similar. See Cape Gazette, 20th Feb. 1819,

the village, but were as often defeated by the Hottentots, whose intrepid and successful resistance was such as to merit and to receive the approbation of the government, in the Cape Gazette of the 20th of March, 1819. Besides defending themselves, in the course of the same year a party of Hottentots from Theopolis were, by their courage and promptitude, greatly instrumental in saving Graham's Town from being captured by a very numerous and determined body of Caffers*.

It was not till after the lapse of eight months that the Caffers were finally driven out of the colony; and, during this time, the inhabitants of the Zuurveld, and those of Theopolis in particular, were exposed to continual suffering and alarm. When tranquillity was, in some measure, re-established, the cattle which had been taken from the Caffers, and not restored, were distributed among the boors, while to the Hottentots were either given none at all, or such as were not worth receiving. The Hottentots of Theopolis had, moreover, the mortification to see many of their own cattle, which they had assisted to retake from the Caffers, awarded, among others, to the colonists! They also suffered much loss from being inadequately compensated for their labours in assisting to raise fortifications on the frontiers †.

In consequence of the losses and sufferings they had sustained, during the repeated attacks of the Caffers on their village, the Hottentots of Theopolis were reduced to the most deplorable condition; but, notwithstanding these distresses and injuries, their spirit still remained unbroken; and expectations were indulged that they

* See APPENDIX.

† See APPENDIX.

would, at length, surmount their numerous and complicated troubles.

It is extremely painful to state, that these hopes were, in a great measure, frustrated by the proceedings of some of the local authorities, from whom the Hottentots might reasonably have expected to receive countenance and encouragement. But, so far from being rewarded for their past services, or receiving due compensation for their losses, these afflicted people had now to endure, from the quarters alluded to, treatment more blighting and desolating in its effects than all that they had already sustained from the attacks of the hostile savages*.

In 1820, the emigrants from Great Britain arrived in Albany, and the allotment of a hundred acres of land to each family produced an application to Sir Rufane Donkin, the acting governor, for such an augmentation of the lands of the institution as might confirm to the people of Theopolis what they had been hitherto permitted to occupy, as well as what appeared requisite for securing to them a continuance of the means of subsistence, and freedom from annoyance. A part only of the land prayed for was granted by the acting governor, but their communication with the seashore was still left open ; and the people of the institution had the satisfaction of seeing the settlers provided for in other places, while they themselves were left in undisturbed possession of those portions which they had cultivated, in pursuance of the privilege given by the proclamation of March, 1817.

In October, 1823, by the effect of excessive rains,

* See APPENDIX.

and consequent inundations, the settlement was nearly destroyed, including the church, school-house, and about a hundred thousand bricks in an unburnt state, which had been prepared by the Hottentots, for carrying on the buildings of an intended new village, in a more eligible situation.

In 1824, Commissioner Hayward was sent into Albany, to receive the representations of the British settlers, and to adjust their claims for land. As the Bethelsdorp memorial, for redress in favour of that institution, had met with much opposition, it was determined to wait his arrival, and to present a memorial in behalf of the institution of Theopolis, through the medium of the commissioner. To the memorial, however, now presented through Commissioner Hayward, no answer was received, but its fate at length became apparent, from a letter written by a settler in Albany to his friend in Cape Town, stating that the Hottentots of Theopolis were to lose all the land not included in their diagram, and that he himself (the writer of the letter) had been promised a share of it.

This distressing information was corroborated by a letter to me from the Rev. J. Brownlee, government missionary in Cafferland, who appears to have been accidentally at the institution, after the first intelligence of this event had reached the ears of the people. Of this communication, which is dated the 28th of March, 1825, the following is an extract :—

“ I was lately on a visit to Theopolis, and was not a little gratified in beholding the greatly improved state of the Hottentots there, compared to what I have witnessed at former periods. I refer, not to the outward improvement on the institution, of which you are well

aware, but to the decent and orderly manner of the people in general; their appearance and earnest attendance on the means of grace; the appropriate and scriptural expressions used in prayer; the cordiality and affection manifested to their teachers, as esteeming them highly for their work's sake; at the same time exhibiting no signs of low servility, forced respect, or assumed courtesy; but, from what I could see and judge, an improved diligence in their outward callings, and an independence in appearance becoming and manly.

“I was delighted at the progress made by the children, and the particular earnestness of the adults, in the Sunday schools. From such appearances, we have reason to hope that the Hottentots will yet rise in the scale of society, and be capable of enjoying all the liberty of British subjects. In beholding these signs, as prognosticating the future happiness and prosperity of the aborigines of the colony, I was not a little grieved to hear that the most valuable part of the lands possessed by the Hottentots of this institution had been given away to persons whose claims for such allotments are nowise great; and, I am sorry to mention what I believe to be true, that some of the British settlers appear to have been the principal agents in effecting this momentary triumph over the temporal interests of the institution,—or what they call its ‘ruin.’

“The ground given away includes all the best land, and the two fountains of water, namely, Long Fountain and that at the mouth of the river. All the good ground towards the coast, and to the eastward of the institution, and what is now under cultivation, is thus lost; and, if the original grant for the institution is

to be confirmed, the allotment, to make up its full extent, must include the ground still unoccupied on the west side of the institution, which is less adapted for agricultural purposes than that at present occupied; and this tract labours under the great additional disadvantage of a want of water. Another great inconvenience to the institution, resulting from this curtailment, is its depriving the people of a free communication with the coast, where many of them have formerly found the means of supporting their families, by burning lime, and by having it in their power to establish a fishery, which, with very little capital, might be successfully prosecuted, so as to prove a source of wealth to the institution, and give a number of hands an honest and independent employment. Had the people in this institution the power to establish a fishing station, they would have a ready market at Graham's Town for fish, which, when cured, would likewise fetch a very high price in the interior of the colony, where colonial produce would be given in exchange, so that double profit would be obtained."

On this subject a letter was also addressed to me, about the same period, by Mr. Pringle, one of the heads of the British emigrants, a gentleman whose high respectability is well known in South Africa, and also to many of my readers in England. It was written at Theopolis, and came to hand shortly after the receipt of Mr. Brownlee's letter. The following are extracts:—

"Four years have elapsed since my former visit to Theopolis, and at that time it had not recovered from the injury and severe harassment the people had suffered in the war with the Caffers. The village is now

removed to a more favourable situation: commodious houses for the missionaries, excellent school-rooms, both for children and adults, and some very superior houses, belonging to Hottentot families, have been erected. Some good gardens, and a considerable extent of cultivation, embellish the prospect, which is also, as you are aware, naturally of a much more rich and pleasing character than that of Bethelsdorp.

“But the improvement in the whole aspect, manners, and conduct of the Hottentots is what chiefly struck me. There is far more appearance of intelligence, activity, and enterprise among them than formerly. The general remarks I offered respecting the people of Bethelsdorp will apply with equal force to this place; the people are evidently anxious to improve, and they really have improved, and are improving, rapidly.

“The Sunday-school is a sight equally animated and interesting here as at Bethelsdorp. Old men with spectacles, an emaciated Bushman or two just reclaimed from savage life, native teachers, (one the son of a Caffer chief, another a Hottentot, who delivered an animated address to his countrymen in their native language,) were a few of the interesting features of the picture. But the general eagerness to learn, and the deep and devout attention with which they listened to their teachers, were still more gratifying.

“Mr. Brownlee, (whom I had the pleasure of accidentally meeting here,) in an evening address, informed them of the progress of the missions among the Caffers, and urged them to a pious emulation. All appeared to listen to him with profound and solemn reverence, and seemed cordially to rejoice in the commencing reclamation of their ancient enemies.

“The day-school for children appeared to be conducted with ability and success, and was very numerous attended. The restrictions in regard to clothing, enforced by Mr. Munro, have not yet been introduced here; and as a consequence partly of this, and partly, perhaps, of greater poverty among the people, the children were generally much worse clothed than at Bethelsdorp: but in this respect, also, they are gradually improving.

“The governor and colonial secretary visited this institution very recently. I have not heard what opinion they expressed, but their visit was very short, as Lord Charles appeared in a hurry to get off. Since that time I hear his lordship has deprived the inhabitants of access to the sea, by granting away the land hitherto occupied by them at the mouth of the Kasouga. Their boundaries have also, it is understood, been curtailed on every side by grants to the settlers. The deprivation of the land between the institution and the sea is the most injurious measure that could be aimed at the place, as it cuts off their best pasture and corn land, and debars them of access to the sea-beach, for the purpose of burning shell-lime, which was one considerable source of profitable employment. This land has, moreover, been given to a Mr. B——, who has no claims whatever on it: he belongs to a party of settlers located at a distance, and, indeed, since his arrival in the colony, has never resided permanently on any location, but has been generally ranging about for his amusement with the surveying officers on the frontier. He has been recommended for the present grant, merely from personal favour, by Captain Hope, a military heemraad of Albany.”

About the time of the visit of Lord Charles Somerset and the secretary to Theopolis, to which allusion is made in the preceding letter, promises had been made to numerous applicants of the lands which were to be alienated from the institution ; but having received no official communication from government on the subject, I was left without accurate information respecting the extent of the threatened infliction.

In the month of August following I visited Theopolis, and on that occasion I found Mr. Hope, the government surveyor, on the grounds, and he had then nearly finished his labours. On an examination of the survey made by this gentleman, I discovered that his instructions had gone even farther than had been reported to me. Not only the land not included in the original diagram, but one third of what was embraced by the diagram itself, was to be cut off from the institution. Whatever the motives of the planners of this partition might be, had it been contrived with a view to ruin and disperse the people, they could not have fallen on more effectual means to effect their purpose. The pasture land, on which the people depended for the support of their cattle, their fountains, and their corn-lands, which they had cultivated from the year 1815, were now to be taken from them. On the real character of this measure there was but one opinion among the friends and enemies of the institution. The friends of the oppressed Hottentots saw in it the meditated ruin of the institution, and their enemies saw it under the same aspect, and they did not conceal the joy it afforded them. Every thing had been done by the local authorities to prevent the improvement of the people, and those who regarded that improvement with jealousy scrupled not to tell our

missionaries, "That they would not be long at Theopolis! That it would not be long before they should have the Hottentots in their own power!"

It may be noticed in this place, that the colonial government was under no necessity to distress the Hottentots and the missionary institution, in order to provide for the persons among whom the lands of Theopolis were to be shared; and it may be proper to add, that if the claims of the settlers, who were to be accommodated at the expense of this missionary station, had rendered necessary such additional portions of land to their original grants, there was abundance of land, at this very time, in the same district, at the disposal of government, out of which they might have had competent allotments assigned them.

When we take into account the circumstances of the people to whom these lands have been given, the ease with which they might have been provided for, in a manner quite as much to their own satisfaction, from the lands of the Somerset Farm, or in the new district containing about two millions of acres, which the governor, at this very time, was distributing among the frontier boors; considering the circumstances which led to the first settlement of this institution, the losses the inhabitants had sustained by their neighbourhood to the Caffers, the important services which they had rendered to the colony, and the prosperous and progressive condition of the institution at the period of their visit, the conduct of the governor must, in this instance, appear altogether inexplicable, upon any principles either of common justice or rational policy.

This institution has, from its establishment on the frontier of the colony in 1813, proved equivalent to a

military post of one hundred men, and has thereby produced a saving to government more than equal to the whole value of all the lands originally belonging to the institution, multiplied by twenty-five or thirty. In addition to the security this institution has afforded to the colony, and the severe losses sustained by its inhabitants in bravely maintaining their ground against the Caffers, in advocating its claims I might further adduce the direct and indirect taxes which the inhabitants pay to the government, and the useful services they have rendered to the district in burning lime and felling and sawing timber ; the number of the Hottentots who have been constantly employed in the government service, for which they never received any adequate remuneration ; the large quota of young recruits it has supplied to the Cape regiment, and the asylum which it affords to discharged soldiers ; the patient and amiable temper with which the people have borne their severe oppressions, and the confiding spirit with which they now look to the British government for relief ; the rapid advances which they have made within these few years in knowledge, in piety, in industry, in wealth, and in all the branches of civilization ; the consideration, that the people on this institution, amounting to eight hundred, notwithstanding their number, their services, and their sufferings, have not one fifth of the land allowed them which has been granted by government to individual families, who can show no claims to merit such favours ; and to the claims we have thus enumerated we must not forget to add the claims arising from the cultivation of land, according to the proclamation of 1817, and the diagram previously granted to the institution by the colonial government. Does such a treatment comport

with the title of "*free people*," bestowed on the Hottentots? or will any one assert, in the teeth of such facts, that they are recognized as a people, or that they are viewed as having any rights in common with the colonial population?

Such were the feelings of the colonial government, in 1825, to the Hottentot population, and such the jealousy with which their rapid improvement in civilization and industry at our institutions was then viewed, that the best parts of the lands occupied by the people of the institution were promised to settlers, on the express condition that the receivers of the said lands were not even to presume to sell or transfer one inch of the ground thus obtained to the Hottentots or to the institution!

Satisfied that his Majesty's government in England could have no sympathy in common with the colonists, nor with the colonial government, on this subject, I drew up a full statement of the case, and transmitted it to the directors of the London Missionary Society, to be presented in the shape of a memorial to Earl Bathurst, his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Colonies.

In their memorial to his lordship, the directors embodied most of my statement, exhibiting the claims of Theopolis; the injury which the institution must inevitably sustain by the projected alienation of its lands; giving, at the same time, the names and the merits of the different applicants, together with a plan of the lands occupied by the institution, showing the divisions of the land contemplated, and the original diagram,* with

* A copy of this diagram, with a correct delineation and description of the lands thus alienated, will be found in the APPENDIX.

a line marking the section to be taken from it. The first intimation I received of the fate of the above memorial was communicated to me by Mr. Roger Edwards, of Theopolis, in the following extract of a letter, dated the 5th May, 1826 :—

“ Some weeks ago, I received a letter from Sir Richard Plasket, inclosing a copy of a communication from Earl Bathurst to his Excellency Lord Charles, proposing a grant of land to Theopolis, upon condition that the missionaries should not, after that, extend their possession, by purchase or otherwise, without the consent of his Excellency’s government. The affair being of considerable importance, and I not feeling at liberty to take upon myself the responsibility of accepting or rejecting the offer; and as Mr. Foster had arrived at Bethelsdorp, I wrote to him for advice as to what reply might be returned. Mr. F. considered, with myself, that the offer was only a snare, and should be rejected. From the poverty of the offered land, it could be no equivalent for that of which we had been deprived, especially as a claim was put in for land between the institution and the sea, of a far more valuable soil, and which would secure to Theopolis the facility of procuring lime-shells. Earl Bathurst’s communication, Sir Richard’s letter, and the reply, are sent, or will be sent, home to the directors.”

Another correspondent, who was well acquainted with the ground offered as a substitute, on the condition with which the offer is clogged, thus writes :—
“ The piece of ground offered is worth nothing; it is neither fit for cultivation nor for grazing.”

When I was at Theopolis in 1825, an English settler had obtained leave from the local authorities to erect a public-house on this very spot of ground now offered to the institution in lieu of the valuable land of which it had been deprived. On the arrival of the English settlers in South Africa in 1820, I found that by reading the descriptions of Barrow, many of their minds were filled with indignation against the old colonists for their treatment of the Hottentots. They were then, in general, in the habit of expressing themselves in the strongest terms of reprobation against all the atrocities said to have been committed by the Dutch against this oppressed people. But, alas! poor human nature! Many of them had not been three years in Africa, when they imbibed all the feelings of the people whom they had so loudly condemned, and went beyond them in the worst part of their conduct. Like Hazael, who, on being told by the weeping prophet the cruelties he should commit upon the children of Israel, men can detest a crime in the abstract, to which it will require less than the temptation of a crown to reconcile them.

In the midst of this lamentable degeneracy, I am happy, for the honour of my country and human nature, to notice some respectable exceptions. Mrs. General Campbell, Thomas Philipps, Esq., Major Pigot, and several others, treated their Hottentots well; and I have been informed by these respectable individuals, that they could always get, from the institution at Theopolis, as many Hottentot servants as they wanted. While they who treated them with equity and kindness could readily obtain servants, those of another description, whom the people refused to serve, began

to think of the erection of a public-house, as a means by which they might inveigle the Hottentots. When the people and the missionaries complained to me on this occasion, and asked my advice, I informed them that the only remedy I could devise was in their own power. Having pointed out to the people the certain consequences which would result to the institution, and to the Hottentots at large, from this public-house meeting with any encouragement among them, I recommended them to pay particular attention to the persons who might visit it, and to have their names given up to be prayed for in public twice a week. A propensity to indulge in spirituous liquors has ever been the bane of the Hottentots, as, indeed, it is generally of all uncivilized tribes; and the result of the experiment under consideration may be adduced as an answer to all the calumnies heaped upon the Hottentots at this institution, and as an unanswerable argument in favour of the utility of our labours among this class of people. In a letter dated May, 1826, Mr. Barker, the missionary at Theopolis, states the following facts:—"I am happy to inform you that they are, this day, removing the materials of the public-house which was erected to ruin the institution. It has stood eight months, and not a single Hottentot, to our knowledge, has entered it since its erection."

While Colonel Frazer was deputy landdrost at Graham's Town, and Mr. Ulbricht (the late missionary superintending the institution) was able to attend to the affairs of the station, Theopolis enjoyed superior advantages to Bethelsdorp; but the Caffer war, in 1819, and the system of oppression which was intro-

duced after the departure of Colonel Fraser, together with the protracted illness of Mr. Ulbricht, and the want of a suitable person to take the charge of the station, retarded for a considerable time the progress of the institution. When I visited Theopolis, in 1821, the village which the deputation had seen in 1819, and which the Caffers had in vain attempted to destroy, had lost two-thirds of its inhabitants. The people were scattered over the lands in small parties, living in the bushes, and returning rapidly to the savage state out of which they had emerged. There was no school on the station; the people very seldom attended public worship on the sabbath; the young people were without clothing; and the clothes formerly worn by those more advanced in years were either gone, or reduced to a few tattered rags. In many instances, they had no clothing but the ancient sheep-skin caross.

The means adopted for the improvement of Bethelsdorp, which have already been detailed, were introduced at Theopolis, and they have been followed by similar results. The school now commands the admiration of every visiter. The place of worship is, on Sabbath, crowded with attentive and devout worshippers. The Sabbath schools and prayer meetings are as encouraging and animating as those at Bethelsdorp. Exhilarated by the influence of hope, and kind treatment on the part of the missionaries, the people have become industrious. A new village, which is an honour to the society, has been created, by their individual and united exertions. Clothed in British manufactures, the grown up people, and even the children, come to the

house of God with delight exhibited in their countenances. A standard of morals has been established among them, which condemns drunkenness, idleness, and licentiousness; the people find that they have characters to sustain; and the savage habits, formerly visible among them, have given place to decency, kindly affections, social duties, and reverence and love to their teachers.

On my late visits to those institutions, they met me, in companies, one hundred and fifty miles before I reached Bethelsdorp; and relays of oxen from the two institutions were kept in readiness along the road for three hundred miles, for which they refused remuneration, professing themselves happy to show this testimony of their love to myself and to the society.

On reaching Theopolis, on my last journey into the interior, a suspicion (absurd enough, no doubt,) had got abroad, that I was in danger of being assassinated. Under this impression, ten of the people, with Captain Boezak* at their head, volunteered their service to accompany me, as an escort. I tried in vain to persuade them, that I had nothing of that nature to fear; their minds were too fully engrossed with the apprehension, to be reasoned out of it, and they determined to accompany me, even if I left them to depend on the chase for the means of subsistence.

I cannot here resist introducing an example of piety and elevation of mind displayed by one of the persons who met me on this occasion, which I am sure will be read with peculiar interest. He was seized, the first

* The same individual who assisted so bravely and effectually in defending Graham's Town, when assaulted by the Caffers, in 1819.

night he joined us, with an inflammation of the lungs. As soon as this circumstance became known to us, we unyoked our oxen, and had recourse to the usual remedy in such cases. My Hottentot driver could bleed, and always carried a lancet with him. We made a bed for our suffering companion under a bush ; and the night being serene, and the moon at the full, and shining on his countenance, we had a good opportunity of observing so much of the expression of his mind as could be seen in his face. During the whole time of the operation, and while his countenance exhibited every mark of internal tranquillity and joy, he continued discoursing in the most rational and elevated strain of piety. “What a mercy,” said he, “that I have not now a Saviour to seek ! How awful must my state have been, had I deferred making religion my concern till now ! I know in whom I have believed, and he is able to keep that which I have committed into his hands until that day !”

When we had bound up his arm, he turned his head to me, and, with a smile upon his countenance, remarked,—“You are on the King’s business, and it requires haste ; you must not wait for me ! Leave me here, under this bush ; my heavenly Father, who careth for the young ravens, will take care of me !”

It is unnecessary to inform my readers, that we did not leave this interesting man behind us. I have known him ever since my first arrival in South Africa, and I can safely say, I never knew a more amiable and excellent man ; and I am happy to add, that he ultimately recovered, and still lives a most exemplary and truly christian life. Shortly after his recovery, I received

an excellent letter from him, which I have unfortunately lost, giving an account of the state of his mind ; and entering very fully into the nature of the exertions I was then making for the improvement of the natives of South Africa.

CHAPTER XIV.

Hottentots prevented from possessing Land.—Zuurbrak, or Caledon Institution.—Conduct of Seidenfaden, and of the Colonial Government.—Ruin of the Institution, and dispersion of the Inhabitants.

It is not a little remarkable that the British government should make such a difference between the natives of India and those of South Africa. In India, the natives are the landed proprietors, and Europeans are not allowed to hold land in the country. In South Africa, the country is wholly in the hands of the colonists, and the natives are practically incapacitated from holding lands.

In 1822, when one of the British settlers at Clan William applied for additional lands, he was directed by the deputy landdrost of the district to take possession of a spot called Varkens-Fonteyn, a valley at the distance of some hours' ride from the place where he resided. On visiting the place, this gentleman, to his surprise, found the land promised him cultivated by some industrious Hottentots, whose ancestors had probably possessed the same spot before any Europeans set their feet on the shores of South Africa. He was pleased with the land and with the state of cultivation in which he found it; but he was so struck with the injustice which would have been done to the Hottentots in dispossessing them, that he refused to accept of it on the terms on which it had been offered to him. On stating to the local authority the reasons for which he declined accepting the grant, the man in office could

not have expressed more contempt than he did at his scruples, had they been made in behalf of its ancient inhabitants, the baboons.

Another illustration of this subject will be found in the conduct of the colonial government towards Caledon Institution. This ancient Hottentot kraal, situated in the district of Swellendam, is about fourteen miles distant from the principal town, which bears the name of the district, and it may be about one hundred and fifty miles from Cape Town.

When Lord Caledon visited the interior of the country in 1808, the lands belonging to this institution, with a small portion of land on the Slange River, were the only places in the district then in the possession of the Hottentots; and his lordship was so much struck with the appearance of the people, and so well pleased with the favourable accounts he had heard of them, that he is reported to have said, standing in the midst of this aboriginal tribe, "I shall take care that the colonists shall not take the land from you;" and he ordered it, accordingly, to be given to them in the name of Captain Moses, the chief of the kraal, for the benefit of the people.

On the visit of the deputation of the London Missionary Society to this institution in 1819, we found that the people had been oppressed and impoverished by a person named Seidenfaden, under the character of a missionary*. After an investigation of eleven days, in the course of which we obtained the fullest proofs of the unfitness of this man to be missionary, we en-

*Mr. Seidenfaden is a native of Germany. He was first sent out as a missionary by a society in Holland; and was, at the time of our visit, in the service of the London Missionary Society.

deavoured to induce him to remove in a peaceable manner. With this view, we offered him a fair remuneration for the personal property he might have in the institution; and we at the same time apprized him, that should he continue to refuse the terms proposed to him, we should apply to the government to procure his removal. Instead of showing any signs of contrition for the unworthy conduct of which he had been convicted, while the deputation was yet with him, he wrote a letter to the colonial government, complaining of us; and requesting the government to cede to himself and his family, as private property, the whole of the lands belonging to the institution. To this application Mr. Seidenfaden received from the colonial office an answer, of which the following is a copy:—

“ Colonial Office, 6th July, 1819.

“ SIR,

“ Having laid before H. E. the Governor your letter of the 12th of last month, in which you allude to certain differences which appear to exist between the gentlemen appointed to the superintendence of the London Missionary Society’s missions in this part of South Africa and yourself, and request, in consequence, to be confirmed and secured in your residence at the Zuurbrak upon the same terms upon which you were originally placed there, I am directed to inform you, and to recal to your recollection, that, previous to your going into the district of Swellendam, the ancient Hottentot kraal, of which Captain Moses was then the head, was established between the lands now called Zuurbrak and those in the occupation of Mr. Eksteen. This interesting remnant of the Hottentot tribe, whose industry and good conduct were represented to the go-

vernor at that time, (the Earl of Caledon,) excited his lordship's anxiety to be essentially serviceable to them, insomuch that, upon his return from having visited them, he directed the landdrost of the district to appropriate to their use the adjoining lands, now called the Zuurbrak; and he recommended that another kraal, which was situated at the Slange River, should be invited to join them. Shortly after his lordship's return to Cape Town you withdrew from Tulbagh, in consequence of a dispute you had had with the magistrate of that district; and you represented to me that you should like to have leave to reside in the Swellendam district, for the purpose of instructing the heathen; and in consequence thereof, I wrote to the landdrost, recommending him to permit you to reside at Captain Moses' kraal for that purpose. Certainly no right to any of the lands there was ceded, or intended to be ceded, either to you or to any other persons; they were lands solely appropriated to the use of the two kraals above-mentioned; and H. E. the Governor will not now disturb, or permit them to be disturbed, in their legal possession. He cannot admit of any other persons having any claims whatsoever upon these lands; and thus he cannot confirm to you what he is sensible never was alienated from the Hottentots.

“ His Excellency laments that there should be any dispute between you and the gentlemen who act here for the directors of the Missionary Society; but H. E. having nothing to do with that circumstance, and not being aware what it has to do with the question of an occupation of these lands, can in no shape enter into the subject, or give an opinion upon it.

“ I am, &c. &c.

(Signed)

“ C. BIRD.”

In the month of July, 1820, and more than a twelve-month after this application was made, above twenty of the men on the station came to Cape Town, to throw themselves before the acting governor, to pray that the application made for the removal of Mr. Seidenfaden might be heard. I communicated this circumstance to the acting governor. His Excellency declined seeing them; but he authorized me to assure them that their suit should be attended to, and that immediate steps should be taken to afford them relief.

On reviewing the subject in the colonial office, Sir Rufane met with difficulties. It was alleged that the government could not act in the expulsion of Mr. Seidenfaden, on the investigation of the deputation of the London Missionary Society; that the complaints brought against this man should be investigated by the colonial magistrates; and if, upon their examination, he should be found guilty, it would then be time to dismiss him. In reply to my objections, his Excellency the acting governor assured me that I should be associated with the landdrost in this inquiry; that a few days would terminate it; that the leading features of the subject only were required; and that the case should not be remitted into the hands of the court of justice, but should be decided by himself. On these terms I took a journey to Swellendam.

On my arrival there, instead of finding the landdrost prepared to enter into the investigation, he amused me with frivolous excuses for delaying it. After waiting some days, and using all the means in my power to secure the object of my journey, to no purpose, I returned to Cape Town; and, immediately on my

return, the landdrost was commanded to proceed in the investigation without me.

It was, by this time, evident that the colonial government was determined to defend and support Mr. Seidenfaden*. Contrary to the promise made to me, that the investigation should take place at the Hottentot kraal, and last a few days only, the whole of the Hottentots were brought from their homes to Swellendam, and kept there *two months*. On the manner in which this trial was conducted I shall not now enlarge; but shall dismiss it by remarking, that I was called upon to pay, out of the funds of the Missionary Society, for the victuals consumed by all the people, not excepting the servants of Mr. Seidenfaden.

Instead of having the decision I was promised, the investigation of the landdrost was deposited in the colonial office, and I heard no more of it till the arrival of his Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry, in 1823, when it was called for by them, at my request, previous to their tour into the interior of the colony.

On the arrival of the Commissioners at Zuurbrak, or Caledon institution, they entered into an investigation of some of the charges brought against Mr. Seidenfaden, when the following facts were proved:—The arable land belonging to this institution lies in a narrow valley, divided by a stream of water. On one side of the stream the slip of ground is narrow, but it

* I could not return to Swellendam to attend the trial myself, and my eyes were by this time so far enlightened as to abate my expectations respecting the result; but my own safety now made it necessary that I should have a person employed in the court, to furnish me with an account of the proceedings.

admits of irrigation, and here the Hottentots had their gardens. Scarcely had Mr. Seidenfaden settled on the institution, when he coveted this ground, and persuaded the people to remove their gardens to the other side of the river. The new gardens were laid out and cultivated; but, having no means of leading water over them, the produce was scanty, and even the little that did grow was destroyed by the cattle of this missionary. To defend themselves against the cattle, they inclosed their houses and gardens by a common wall; and Mr. Seidenfaden persuaded them to dig a trench, for the purpose of irrigating their gardens, and he promised to assist them in bringing a stream of water into it, across an intermediate valley, by an aqueduct. After much labour and toil, this work was completed, and the labour of the people no longer required in it; but the water had not run more than a few weeks in the ditch, when they were ordered to quit their houses and gardens, and to erect for themselves other huts, outside of the wall of the inclosure, which they had raised by their own industry, and on a barren part of the hill, to which they could lead no water, and where they could not have the semblance of gardens. The grounds inclosed in this manner, and on the pretence that they were to be sacred to the people, were soon to be converted into a corn-field, for the missionary.

During the time this investigation was going on, a poor woman on the station lodged the following complaint. Her son, a little boy, was a herdsman to Mr. Seidenfaden: one night, he slept on the ground, and the wolf came, and destroyed some of his master's colts. The loss was estimated by Mr. Seidenfaden at

one hundred and twenty rix-dollars. The mother was a widow, and not able to pay this demand; and Mr. Seidenfaden, who acted as judge in his own case, gave away the boy to a farmer, on an indenture of five years, for one hundred and twenty rix-dollars; sixty of which the farmer paid when he apprenticed the boy, and the other sixty Seidenfaden was to receive at the expiration of the term agreed upon.

These are but specimens of this man's conduct towards the Hottentots; and they are stated here, not because they exhibit greater atrocity than other instances which might be mentioned, but because they came out during the investigation of the Commissioners of Inquiry at this station. In 1823, these gentlemen declared, after investigation of the charges against him on the spot, that he was the most unfit man in the world for being a missionary. This furnishes an instance of the regard which the colonial government pays to the rights of Hottentots.

In 1819, all the people at this institution, the servants of Mr. Seidenfaden excepted, prayed for his removal. About one year after this circumstance, above twenty of the men came to Cape Town, (a journey of three hundred miles, including going and returning,) to pray the governor to have him removed. During all this time, and for nearly six years, the agent of the London Missionary Society was trying every means, and incurring a considerable expense, to obtain the same end. In February, 1824, Lord Charles Somerset informed me that he had received a letter from Mr. Bigge, one of his Majesty's commissioners, saying that "this Seidenfaden was the most unfit man imaginable for being a missionary;" and yet

it was not till March, 1825, that I received a note from the colonial office, informing me, (after the people had been dispersed, and the institution ruined,) that his lordship had seen it to be expedient to remove Mr. Seidenfaden, and inquiring, at the same time, whether the London Missionary Society had any claims on the institution, or on Mr. Seidenfaden.

To this communication, I stated in reply, that it was now nearly six years since the deputation of the London Missionary Society had prayed the colonial government for the removal of Mr. Seidenfaden from that institution, and had discharged him from all connexion with the society, whose affairs they were sent to the colony to regulate. That the London Missionary Society had no claims upon the soil of the institution; nor could they exhibit any other claims to send a teacher to succeed Mr. Seidenfaden than such as might arise from previous occupation, and from the manner in which they had discharged their duty to the people belonging to Zuurbrak. If the agents of the London Missionary Society had not discharged their duty to the Hottentots at Zuurbrak, occupation was not sufficient to establish any claim, and the government had a right to say to us,—“ You have made void your claims to this station, by having neglected to fulfil your duties to the people.” But if, on the other hand, his Excellency should find we had done our duty to the Hottentots, his Excellency must admit, that, in the selection of another teacher to this institution, the London Missionary Society was entitled to the preference, and should not be refused it. That when the colonial government gives to a farmer a piece of waste land, and promises that it shall never be taken from him, so long

as he keeps it in a state of cultivation, it would be allowed that, while the farmer fulfils the condition on which he received this land from the government, he has a claim upon the land; but, contrariwise, if the cultivation of the land be neglected, the government may justly resume its grant. That, in like manner, if the London Missionary Society had fulfilled the conditions, expressed or implied, on which they were allowed to occupy as a missionary station the lands of Zuurbrak, their claims to appoint a missionary to succeed Mr. Seidenfaden could not be disputed; but if the contrary could be shown, the claims of the society were forfeited, and the government had a right to say to us, "You have not done your duty, and we have no further occasion for your services." That Zuurbrak and Pa-caltsdorp are both old Hottentot kraals; and that, as I consider the right of the London Missionary Society to the occupation of those stations as resting upon the same foundation, for a further exposition of my views on this subject, I begged leave to refer his Excellency to my correspondence with the colonial government on the appointment of Mr. Anderson to the latter station.

In answer to this letter, I was informed, by an official note dated 6th April, 1825, that "with regard to the nomination of a successor to Mr. Seidenfaden, his Excellency could never allow any right whatever to such nomination to exist in the heads or representatives of any societies in this colony; this being a question which must rest entirely in the discretion of his Majesty's government; and in the exercise of that discretion, which, until his Majesty's pleasure be known, devolves upon his Excellency, he would be guided alone by an anxious desire to promote the hap-

piness, and to secure the gradual improvement, of the Hottentots of this kraal; that, whatever his decision might be on this subject, he desired it might be clearly understood, that he disclaimed the most remote intention of imputing the slightest degree of blame to the society, of which Mr. Seidenfaden was formerly a member."

Before the close of this correspondence with the colonial government, I received the following intelligence from a gentleman of the best information in the district of Swellendam, whose name I am not, at present, at liberty to disclose. The letter from which the extract is taken, containing the intelligence in question, is dated the 27th May, 1825. "Some one," he states, "has been applying for the Hottentot lands of Zuurbrak, on the score of there being no Hottentots or stock to occupy them; and they, or part of them, are about to be given away."

On the 2d of the following June, I left Cape Town with a view to visit the missionary stations, and I arrived at Zuurbrak on the 10th. On my arrival on the site of the institution, I found that Mr. Seidenfaden had been removed, by an order from his Excellency the governor, two months previous to that period. On riding over the grounds with the Hottentot captain, (Smith,) I found that two farmers, on the encouragement which had been given to their applications, had come and taken possession; and that another farmer in the neighbourhood was in the habit of sending his cattle and sheep to graze over the pasture lands. Joachim Matts had built a house on the grounds of the institution, in which he then resided with his family; and he was now ploughing and sowing, and keeping

his herds of cattle, &c., upon the lands formerly grazed by the cattle of the Hottentots. Jacobus Dirik, formerly a boor of the Bosjesveld, had taken possession of a house erected by the Hottentots for catching wolves; and in this place, with a small addition he had made to it, he resided with his family. On the Hottentot captain asking the field-cornet on what authority this man came to reside on the institution with his family and cattle, he was informed, by the local authority, that Jacobus Dirik had got a promise that he should have half the lands of the institution, and that he must allow his cattle to graze over them unmolested. The third person alluded to, who was in the habit of sending his cattle, &c. to graze on these lands, was the field-cornet himself. This person is a petty magistrate of the district, immediately under the landdrost, and he stated to the Hottentot (Smith) that he had had the promise of part of the lands, as soon as his Excellency the governor should receive authority from home to make the intended partition.

The Hottentot huts on the site of the institution were reduced to nine in number. The huts still inhabited were all in a ruinous condition: some of them had their turf walls propped by buttresses, to keep them from falling; two were without gables; two or three of them were half covered only, the other parts of the roofs having fallen in. On the site of the institution I found fifteen men: seven of these were advanced in years, and unable to work; one of them was blind; and these eight people were entirely dependent upon the little assistance given them by their neighbours, and the wild roots they might gather. Two were in bad health: so that all the effective men on the institution

were five only. Scattered over the lands of the institution, I found in temporary habitations, besides those already mentioned as living at the village, thirteen men; and two of these were old and decrepit, and wholly dependent.

Among the farmers, within one day's ride of the institution, I found seventy-seven men formerly belonging to the institution. In addition to these seventy-seven men, now among the farmers, and within one day's ride of Zuurbrak, there were sixty-three men, originally from this institution, in the Cape regiment, who have enlisted, or been drafted off, within these three years; and there were, at the village of Zuurbrak, and on the lands of the institution, at a distance from the village, twenty-eight men; making, in the whole, one hundred and sixty-eight. The abodes of all these men we accurately ascertained. Including wives and children, mothers and sisters, and allowing upon an average, on a very moderate calculation, one woman and child to each man, this gives us a population of five hundred and twenty-four souls.

The greater part of these people had been driven from the institution by the cruel oppressions exercised upon them, and would return to it as soon as the present question should be decided in their favour; and all of them devoutly wished that their right to it might not be lost; that they might have it as a home, to which they could bring their wives, their children, and their aged parents; and to which they might ultimately come themselves, when their terms of servitude in the Cape regiment, or among the boors, would permit them.

From the inquiries I have made among the people

themselves, I am warranted in giving it as my opinion, that there is not an individual among them who does not wish these lands to be continued as formerly. It would be quite unnatural to suppose the case should be otherwise ; and the question, whether these lands are still to belong to the Hottentots, involves much more serious consequences than can be apprehended in England without explanation.

Many other facts relating to this case, of a similar character to those already enumerated, might be detailed ; but, as many of them will be found in other parts of this work, I shall at present confine my remarks to a grievance which the people residing on the site of this institution have laboured under for years, and which now threatens to drive away the few who still remain upon it. When they had no missionary they were not called to perform any compulsory services to government ; but one of the first things required of them after Mr. Seidenfaden came among them, was, that they should once a week carry the mail over the mountains to the residence of Dolf van Kolder. This farmer lives about eight hours journey from the institution, and this service requires a man two days every week. Mr. Seidenfaden was post-master of the district, and received from government, for sending the mail even a shorter distance on the main road, six hundred rix-dollars per annum ; and he was not more favoured in this particular than other colonists, the persons in the same office on the main road having a similar allowance ; but the question naturally occurs, why should the Hottentots be called to perform for nothing that for which a boor receives six hundred rix-dollars per annum ? As the people are obliged to perform this compulsory service,

each in his turn, its oppression was not formerly so much felt as it is at this moment, when there are not more than five men on the institution able to undertake the journey. Owing to this circumstance, it frequently comes round to the same individual once in three weeks, and sometimes once in a fortnight. The burden has now become so heavy on those on whom it falls, that they express it as their opinion, that if they are not relieved, they must also leave the institution; and should this take place, there are nine aged and infirm persons on the place, who will, in all probability, be left to starve, for want of the necessaries of life. This burden has been considerably increased by the removal of Mr. Seidenfaden from the institution. That individual has taken a farm an hour and a half or two hours' journey from the institution, and he is still continued by government as post-master. In consequence of this circumstance, in addition to the journey already mentioned, the people have to travel from the institution to Mr. Seidenfaden, for the mail-bags, which they have to carry over the mountains; thus adding to their burden, already too heavy, an additional journey of three or four hours,—in short, nearly another day in the week.

Leaving the reader to his own reflections on the plain statement of facts exhibited in this case, I shall conclude my remarks upon it by a brief reference to the right of the Hottentots to the lands of the Zuurbrak, and to the regard which has been paid to those rights by the colonial government.

It is admitted by the letter of Colonel Bird, the secretary to government, that the lands of Zuurbrak had never been alienated from the tribe whose rights

have been so wantonly violated in this instance ; and that on the circumstances of that tribe being made known to the governor (the Earl of Caledon), his Excellency, after having visited them, gave directions to the landdrost to apportion to their use the lands of Zuurbrak, afterwards denominated Caledon Institution. The following circumstances, in the same letter, show the views entertained by Lord Charles Somerset and Colonel Bird, in 1819, of this transaction of the Earl of Caledon, and of the nature of the right of the Hottentots to this land. On the alleged principle that the lands had been granted to Captain Moses and his people, an application from Mr. Seidenfaden for those lands, in 1819, was rejected with becoming firmness. "Certainly," said the colonial secretary, Colonel Bird, in answer to this unprincipled request ; "Certainly, no rights to any of the lands there were ceded to you, or to any other person ;" and he assigns, as a reason for this opinion, that those lands "were solely appropriated to the use of the two kraals ; viz. that residing on the lands of Zuurbrak, and a kraal of Hottentots on the Slange river, who had been induced to join the kraal of Zuurbrak, for greater security." The secretary, moreover, assures the applicant, that "his Excellency will neither disturb, nor permit to be disturbed, in *their legal possession*, this interesting remnant of the Hottentot tribe." And he goes on further to state, that "his Excellency (Lord Charles Somerset) cannot admit of any other persons having any claims whatsoever upon these lands ; and thus he cannot confirm to you what he is sensible never was alienated from the Hottentots."

The rights of these people to the lands at Zuurbrak,

being thus repeatedly recognized by government, seem to me to be in no respect more questionable than those by which other persons hold lands on any other property in the colony. Indeed this seems to be admitted on the grounds alleged to justify the alienation, namely, that "there are no Hottentots or stock to occupy them."

While I am willing to give credit to the colonial government, for having rejected the request of Seidenfaden, might not that government have found enough in the request itself to have justified it in complying with the prayer of the deputation of the London Missionary Society, to have him removed? Is it not a misdemeanor, according to the law of England, to offer a bribe to an officer of his majesty's government, or even to the king himself, for a situation in the service of government? What, then, shall we say of the conduct of a missionary, who makes such a request as that which he prefers in this instance? Could the colonial government suppose for a moment that a man preferring a request, which was an outrage on all the principles of religion and morals, was a fit person to teach the very people the principles of religion and morality, on whom he proposed to commit this deliberate robbery! Had the charges preferred against him been less aggravated in their character, and had the proof been less clear than it was, this request was alone sufficient to have justified his expulsion.

I trust I have said enough, in answer to the plea which is used to justify the proposed partition of the lands of this institution. There are twenty-eight men upon these lands; there are seventy-seven within one day's ride of the institution, who anxiously wish to

return to it, or at least to send their wives and children to it ; and it cannot be denied but that it would be cruel indeed to deprive the sixty-three men in the Cape regiment of such an asylum for themselves and their families, after they are no longer able to serve the government. And for whom are all these people to be sacrificed ? For the accommodation of two or three boors, not superior in civilization, and perhaps not equal in morals, to several, I may add to many, of those people, who are to be deprived of the land of their fathers—of land, which had been confirmed to them by the benevolence of Lord Caledon. What right, what claims have those boors upon the possessions of these poor people ? What claims have they upon government ? None.

Here we have a complete case. We see its beginning, its progress, and its consummation. Here is a man, “the most unfit person in the world for being a missionary,” flogging, plundering, and demoralizing the people under him for six years together, under the very eye of government ; supported against the prayers, and petitions, and complaints of the sufferers and their friends ; permitted to appropriate their labour and property to his own advantage ; driving them, by his own authority, from one fertile spot after another, till they find themselves on the bare mountain, without water, or the necessaries of life ; and only dismissed when no more remains for him to perpetrate ; when his work is done ; the rising community being crushed and dispersed, and the lands ripe for alienation, “there being no Hottentots or stock to occupy them.” What security has any other similar institution against the like fate ?

In what, may we now ask, consist the rights of the

aboriginal inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope to possess any land in the colony? Do they claim it by inheritance from their fathers? That plea has been long since exploded. Does it consist in prior occupation? When lands are to be granted, can they rely on this presumption, as the other free colonists do? Look at the lands of Zuurbrak and Theopolis for an answer. But surely promises, grants, and recognitions by the colonial government itself, backed by long occupancy, give them a solid and secure, as well as a *legal* right? The people at Zuurbrak had all these, and yet they are entirely overthrown.

The system, of which these proceedings are the legitimate fruit, is, I hope, drawing towards a close. His Majesty's government can have no interest in supporting it for a moment, after they are convinced of its nature and effects; nor do I suppose that any earthly interest can induce them to sanction open violence and injustice, or authorize the systematic degradation of so large a portion of their fellow-subjects*.

* After a struggle for the rights of the Hottentots of this station, which, indeed, involves the rights of all the aboriginal population of South Africa, I have heard, since this chapter was put into the hands of the printer, that his Majesty's Government has decided this case in favour of the Hottentots. I hope this act of justice in behalf of a long-oppressed people may be viewed as a pledge of the beneficent intentions of government towards them in future. It must be obvious to every reader of these pages, that the efforts of the missionaries cannot be longer sustained, unless the people and the institutions have parliamentary enactments to protect them.

CHAPTER XIV.

Oppressions of the Colonial Government increase with the Improvement of the Institutions.—Treatment of the Missionaries and Hottentots of Theopolis by the Authorities of Albany.—Case of William Brintjes.—Compulsory labours of the Hottentots.

THE reasons hitherto assigned by the colonists and the colonial government, for the opposition made to our missions, were,—that we did not civilise the people; that we taught them nothing but religious doctrines, which they could not comprehend; that, after they came to reside at our missionary stations, they were left to remain in their native love of indolence and filth; and that, in short, their characters were *deteriorated* by our labours. And these calumnies had been repeated, and were published in the literary journals of England, till they were beginning to gain a certain degree of credit with many who were not unfriendly to the object of missionary societies. While such remarks were made by travellers merely, they had but little influence on my mind; but when I heard them brought forward by the colonial government and the local authorities of the country, as grave criminations against our missionaries, and as reasons for the measures adopted against the missions, not then knowing all the various reasons the local authorities of the country had to connive at the oppressions of the people, I flattered myself that, to gain their approbation, and the approbation of the colonial government, it was

necessary only to elevate our missionary stations by removing all the existing grounds for charges of this nature. By the experiment which has been made, the sincerity of the parties making those objections, and alleging the excuses which have been assigned for continuing the oppression of the people, has been brought to the test; and the sequel will show the reader how it has endured this trial.

So far from meeting with encouragement in our attempts to improve the people, with very few exceptions, the attempts made to injure our institutions were multiplied in proportion as our success became more and more apparent. While the low state of our missions was employed as a pretext for keeping them in that very condition, it has been fully shown, that nothing was so much dreaded, so much opposed, and so offensive, as the growing prosperity of the people at our missionary stations.

For further corroboration of this allegation, it is necessary only to glance at the following cases. Attempts were made, at different times, by the local magistrates of the district, to make Dr. Vanderkemp a tool to oppress the people under him, without effect*: but when the same attempts were made upon those who succeeded him, they were more successful; and it is difficult to say, while that system continued, which were more to be pitied, the missionaries or the Hottentots. Two examples, on this point, will suffice; and I should feel that I did injustice to the subject did I not give them in the words of the local authorities themselves, and with the official stamp which I found upon them.

I shall commence with a correspondence between

* See p. 121.

the authorities of Albany and the missionaries at Theopolis. It is here printed precisely in the shape in which it was transmitted to me by Mr. Barker, the missionary who succeeded Mr. Ulbricht at Theopolis.

“ *Graham's Town, Nov. 13, 1820.* ”

“ SIR,

“ Captain Somerset has ordered me to request of you to forward to this place five other Hottentots, to exchange with the five sent on a former occasion.

“ I remain, &c.

(Signed) “ M. J. ONKRUYDT.” *

“ *To Mr. Ulbricht.* ”

“ SIR,

“ The deputy landdrost has ordered me to address a letter to you, in order to inquire into the reasons why you have not complied with my last letter, which had been written in his name. He has likewise requested me to inform you, that it is his *demand* that the solicited Hottentots should be sent; and, in case of non-compliance, that you will appear in person to answer for your conduct. I am, &c.

(Signed) “ M. J. ONKRUYDT.”

“ *To Mr. Ulbricht, Theopolis.* ”

“ In the late Mr. Ulbricht's memoranda, (says Mr. Barker,) of the 24th November, 1820, I find the following entry, on the receipt of the second of these letters :—

‘ To day I received a letter from Capt. Somerset, that

* Mr. Onkruydt was, at that time, district secretary, and one of the heemraden of Albany. A small part only of the official correspondence between Mr. Ulbricht and the Albany authorities is here given; more will be found in the APPENDIX.

I must come to Graham's Town, to answer for my conduct, in not executing his order, which I, nevertheless, have executed, but the Hottentots remained behind without my knowledge, and I must bear the blame.'

"This entry was made but one month and ten days before his death, and the manner in which it was written proves his weak state of body at the time. He wrote a very neat hand, but this entry is made in an almost unintelligible handwriting.

"On the 28th December, 1820, (continues Mr. Barker,) I arrived at Theopolis, on a visit from Bethelsdorp, and found Mr. Ulbricht in the last stage of a consumption. After taking some refreshment, I repaired to the bedside of my dying brother; on a table by the side of which lay the letter above alluded to. He said to me, 'Look at that letter;' and as I took it into my hand, he exclaimed, '*Barker, that letter has done me more harm than all my long indisposition.*' The letter itself was then wet with his tears, which had fallen upon it, and it bore evident marks of having been more than once so bedewed.

"I cannot pass over the following facts, as closely connected with these remarks:—As early as February, 1820, Captain Somerset must have been fully aware of Mr. Ulbricht's state of health; for that officer, with his lady, and a party, spent some days at the institution in the beginning of that month, and Mr. U. was much with him during that visit. He complains (in his memoranda) of his *fatigue* in attending the party on a *fishing excursion*.

"On the 26th October, Mr. U. left home, and went a second time to Bathurst, to be near Dr. O'Flinn.

"On the 9th November, Captain Somerset was at