

Bathurst, and on that occasion his lady laid the foundation of the new drostdy house.

“ On the 13th November, Mr. U. returned home in a hopeless condition.

“ On the 24th November, he received the above letter, summoning him to Graham’s Town, to answer for his conduct.

“ A certificate was written by Dr. O’Flinn, stating the inability of Mr. U. to proceed, according to the order of Captain Somerset ; and he forwarded to him, also, a statement of his own of the reasons why he did not attend. In reply to the statement of Mr. Ulbricht, made by himself, and the certificate of Dr. O’Flinn, the following letter was received. It is to be regretted that no copy of Mr. Ulbricht’s answer has been preserved.

‘ *Graham’s Town, 26th Nov. 1820.*

‘ SIR,

‘ Your letter, addressed to Captain Somerset, the deputy landdrost, has been duly received, and he has handed it to me, to reply to it.

‘ Your letter was accompanied by *one*, and not *two*, Hottentots, as you stated in your letter. The landdrost has requested me to communicate to you, that we need, for the present, seven Hottentots, in behalf of government service, to be employed at the aqueduct, and that, without their assistance, the work cannot go forward, by which means government will suffer material injury. To conclude, Captain S. requests that you will immediately forward six more men ; and, in case they might manifest any reluctance, send them bound. Captain S. further requested me to communicate to you, that it is his earnest request that you

will, without any hesitation, always comply with his orders, whenever he writes for some Hottentots, as they will always be employed in government service.

‘ I remain, your obedient Servant,

(Signed)

‘ M. J. ONKRUYDT,

‘ To Mr. Ulbricht.’

‘ Secretary.’

“ On the 4th January, 1821, Mr. Ulbricht died.

“ On the 18th January, 1821, I arrived at Theopolis. In the interim between the late Mr. Ulbricht’s death and my coming to reside here, I found the annexed letter at the station, and the people in much confusion how to supply the demand.

‘ Sunday, 14th Jan. 1821.

‘ The bearer has permission to go to Theopolis, to return with six men ; when those now here will be released.

(Signed)

‘ H. SOMERSET,

‘ Deputy Landdrost.’

“ The requisitions on the station for men had been so great, that many had left it in consequence, and there were not efficient men enough to supply the demand. After much deliberation with the corporals, the names of those who had been longest free from supplying the government demands were forwarded to the deputy landdrost, stating where those men were to be found. In answer to which the following was received.

‘ Friday, 18th Jan. 1821.

‘ SIR,

‘ In acknowledging the receipt of your letter, I have to inform you, that none of the Hottentots you

mentioned are arrived* ; I shall, therefore, be under the necessity of detaining those men mentioned until their arrival. I beg to say, that the Hottentots employed here are well paid, and ought to be released every month ; but in consequence of the extreme irregular state of the institution at Theopolis, the men ordered to come here, to release their comrades, constantly refuse. I request, Sir, you will take some measures, to see that they attend to your orders.

‘ I am, &c.,

(Signed)

‘ H. SOMERSET,

‘ To Mr. Barker.’

‘ Deputy Landdrost.’

“ To this letter the following reply was returned :—

‘ Theopolis, 20th Jan. 1821.

‘ SIR,

‘ I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of yours, dated the 18th ; in answer to which I beg leave to state, that on my arrival here I found the people endeavouring to supply your requisition, difficult as it was ; and I have used persuasive measures to induce the people to comply with your demand, and I believe they will do it. David Jantjes says he has undertaken a work at Bathurst ; to do which, Mr. Bailey tells him, men will be commanded from the station, if he does not perform it, and he excuses himself this way. Some others state inability to perform the portion of work required of them ; but there are no others who can be sent.

‘ As to the irregular state of the institution, it

* “ It is stated that none of the men mentioned are arrived, yet one of the men mentioned in that letter delivered Captain Somerset’s letter into my hands.—G. B.”

strikes me this arises from too great a requisition on the station for men. There are now eight men at Graham's Town, six at Fort Wiltshire, and three at Bathurst*. I find orders for men from yourself and from Colonel Willshire; and am told that Captain Trappes also makes demands on the institution, but have not yet found any official letters from him on the subject. The Hottentots are thus no sooner returned from one place than they are demanded for another; and I doubt whether the one person acquaints the other with the demands he makes on the station for men.

'The adoption of measures for the performance of the orders of the missionary, (or rather the demands of the magistrate upon him,) I conceive is the sole prerogative of him who bears the staff of civil power in the district. A missionary is not invested with such power, either by the society which patronizes him or the government which makes the demands on him; at least I am in possession of no such instructions.

'I trust when my affairs are settled, (I have now the charge, in a measure, of the two stations, Bethelsdorp and this,) and I am established at Theopolis, I shall be able, with your assistance, to set the affairs of the station on a more regular footing; but your concurrence in the present state of things will be necessary.

'I have, &c.,

(Signed)

'G. BARKER.'

'To Captain Somerset.'

* "At this time there were men, also, with Messrs. Hope and Pellingal, government surveyors, and who are not mentioned in this letter, making a total of twenty-five men, absent from the institution and their families, and commanded to the government employ.—G. B."

“ The district of Albany being at that time divided, the following letter was sent with the foregoing one.

‘ *Theopolis, 20th Jan. 1821.*

‘ SIR,

‘ I take the liberty of entreating you to inform me to which division of the district the institution of Theopolis belongs, whether Graham’s Town or Bathurst; and who the missionary stationed here is to address, as its civil head, Captain Trappes or yourself.

‘ I have, &c.,

(Signed)

‘ G. BARKER.’

‘ *To Captain Somerset.*’

“ To the above two letters the following answer was returned.

‘ *Graham’s Town, 22nd Jan. 1821.*

‘ SIR,

‘ I am directed by the deputy landdrost to acquaint you that your attendance before him is wanted by Wednesday morning, in order to give you a verbal answer to your letters addressed to him.

‘ I am, &c.,

(Signed)

‘ M. J. ONKRUYDT.

‘ *To Mr. Barker, Theopolis.*’

‘ Secretary.’

“ After riding the greater part of the night,” says Mr. Barker, “ to Graham’s Town, the distance thirty-five miles, I attended at the landdrost’s office, at nine o’clock on the morning of Wednesday, the 24th; was told by Mr. Onkruydt that Captain Somerset was not at home; at eleven o’clock attended again; not yet at home: at twelve o’clock attended the third time, and

was told that Captain S. would not be at home to-day. On leaving the town, and passing Captain Somerset's house, I asked the orderly in attendance (a Hottentot soldier) if Captain S. was at home, who replied, 'Yes, he has not been out, except for a morning's ride with his lady.'

“GEORGE BARKER.”

The case of William Bruintjes, a Hottentot of Bethelsdorp, compelled by the landdrost Cuyler to become a soldier, and to enter into the Cape corps, will afford another appropriate illustration of the spirit of the colonial functionaries. It was first brought under my notice by a letter from the Rev. J. Kitchingman, dated Feb. 11, 1822, of which the following is an extract:—

“I must here inform you of the case of a young man who has been in my service. His name is William Bruintjes; he was formerly in the service of Captain Andrews. His last master was Walter Bentinck, Esq., of the court of justice, with whom he has lived four years, and who had given him an excellent character, and a pass to come to this district, with a design to see his father, who is a member of this institution. On his arrival, he showed his pass to the landdrost, whom he requested to permit him to become a resident of this place, which was denied, but a pass was given him to remain any where else in the district. He came and wished me to engage him, which I promised to do, and was only waiting an opportunity to ride to the field-cornet for that purpose, when I received orders from the landdrost to inquire where he was, to which I replied that he was in my service. The next day I was

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ordered to forward him, which accordingly was done. When he came to the landdrost's office, he was asked where he had been; to which he replied, that since his return from Graham's Town and Somerset, he had been in the service of Mr. Kitchingman. The landdrost's observation was, 'I enlist you for a soldier.' The lad then asked permission to fetch his clothes; to which the landdrost replied, 'No! — O'Donnell, give him his rations, and see that he does not go away.'

"I wrote to the landdrost, requesting him to accept a substitute, but no answer has been received. Wm. Bruintjes is a remarkably steady, industrious, and well-behaved young man; and I feel very much grieved at losing him in such a manner, especially as he has much aversion to being a soldier. If you are acquainted with Mr. Bentinck, I wish you would mention this circumstance, as William desired me to inform his old master of his case,"

A more full and explicit account of this case was soon after laid before me, in the following letter from John Thomas, Esq., of the East India Company's civil service, a gentleman whose high character for talent, integrity, and benevolence is sufficiently well known, both at the Cape and in India, to give his testimony and opinions due weight on a subject like the present.*

* Mr. Thomas spent upwards of two years at the Cape, during a great part of which he resided with his family at Bethelsdorp and Uitenhage, and consequently knew the condition of this institution thoroughly. He is now in England, and has authorised me to add his testimony to the other respectable ones already given in support of the general statements I have brought forward.

“ Cape Town, 22d July, 1822.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ The case of Wm. Brintjes having come immediately under my observation, I am enabled to state to you with certainty several facts relating to it; and in doing so, I hope that the statement will prove of some use, not only as demonstrating the nature of the hardships the Hottentots are doomed to suffer, without the means of redress, but I trust that, in his case, you will be able to devise some means of relieving him from his present situation.

“ The man's account of himself, prior to the time when his case came under my notice, and which I believe to be substantially correct, is as follows:—That he was some time in the service of Mr. Bentinck, of the Cape, and that he only quitted that gentleman's employ in order to proceed into the interior to see his relatives. He has with him, I know, a good character from Mr. Bentinck, given to him at the time of quitting. After leaving the Cape, he went, I believe, to Graaff-Reinet and Somerset, and remained a few months at each place; then to Graham's Town, where he also remained some short time. From this last place he came to Uitenhage, and there requested permission from the landdrost to join himself to the institution at Bethelsdorp, where his relatives resided. This was denied to him, and he states that he was informed that he must find himself a master. After receiving this intimation, before he went to seek employ he came for a short time to visit his relatives, and remained a few days with them at Bethelsdorp.

“ The further facts that I shall now detail concerning him, are those which came under my personal observa-

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tion. After he had remained but a short time with his relations, our friend Mr. Kitchingman, being at that time in want of a servant, engaged William Bruintjes, and found him a most useful and respectable servant. He had remained with him about three weeks, when an order came from the landdrost, directing Mr. K. to send William to the drostdy. He accordingly sent him; and on his arrival there, after an inquiry as to where he had been residing, and after William had in answer informed him that he had been in Mr. Kitchingman's service at Bethelsdorp, he was told by the landdrost that he was enlisted as a soldier for the Cape regiment. Upon this he stated to the landdrost, (as he informed me, within half an hour of the occurrence,) that he was not willing to become a soldier; but no regard was paid to this, and the under-sheriff was directed to serve out to him rations. This was not all; for he was not only thus arbitrarily and unwillingly enlisted at a moment's notice, but he was positively forbidden to return to Bethelsdorp; and although he then made the request, he was not even allowed to return for one hour, to go and take leave of his relations, and collect together his clothes, &c.; and it was only by the favour of the sheriff that he was permitted to come to the house where I lodged in Uitenhage, to request me to allow a servant of mine to go and seek his horse, and also to place under my charge a saddle and bridle belonging to Mr. Kitchingman, which he had borrowed. He pressed me also, at the same time, to use some exertions to relieve him from the necessity of entering the army; but, after making inquiry, I found that the mode of enlistment pursued in the Hottentot corps was different from that in other of the king's corps. I was,

therefore, obliged to tell him that it was out of my power to assist him at that time, but that I would make known the harsh treatment he had been subjected to, and would endeavour to interest others in his favour. To fulfil this promise is my motive for laying these facts before you; and I hope that you will make known his case to his former master, which he much wished, and procure, if practicable, his discharge from the army, and leave for him to reside with his relations at Bethelsdorp.

“ I am, &c,
(Signed) “ J. J. THOMAS.”

After receiving these statements, I sent them to Mr. Bentinck, the former master of Bruintjes, and who was then one of the members of the court of justice, and auditor-general of the colony, with the following note;

“ *Cape Town, 26th July, 1822.*

“ SIR,

“ At the request of the Rev. J. Kitchingman, I have taken the liberty of transmitting to you the inclosed papers respecting a Hottentot of the name of William Bruintjes, formerly in your service. The case of Bruintjes appears to be a very hard one.

“ In the most arbitrary manner, he is refused by the landdrost permission to join the institution at Bethelsdorp. In answer to his application to the landdrost on this subject, he meets with a peremptory refusal, and is commanded to find a master. Denied access to the institution, he offers himself as a servant to Mr. Kitchingman, and, before Mr. Kitchingman could command leisure to go with him to the field-cornet, Bruintjes is commanded by the landdrost to appear at

Uitenhage, where he is violently seized by the landdrost, and enlisted into the Cape corps. It is unnecessary for me to make any remarks on the power exercised by the landdrost on this occasion, or on the manner in which the young man was treated when he expressed a wish to return to Bethelsdorp, to return Mr. Kitchingman's saddle and fetch his clothes. The facts speak for themselves, and require no commentary. The gentleman who writes the inclosed letter, addressed to me, is John Thomas, Esq., of the Madras civil service. Mr. Thomas was residing at Uitenhage at the time this transaction took place, and every part of the account of this business, furnished by him, corroborates the statement of Mr. Kitchingman. From what I know of your character, I am convinced that the bare representation given in the papers now communicated to you, is sufficient to interest you in the case of Bruintjes, and to plead my apology with you for the present interference.

“ I have the honour, &c.

“ JOHN PHILIP.”

“ P. S. When Bruintjes was denied access to the institution, and commanded to seek a master, I cannot conceive on what principle Mr. Kitchingman was disqualified for engaging him as a servant.”

To this communication I received the following reply :—

“ *Audit Office, 30th July, 1822.*

“ SIR,

“ I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th inst., with two inclosures. I am so situated, that I must refrain from entering into the

rity of the landdrost, for which they received no adequate compensation in the shape of wages. The following is a statement of the grievances of this nature which was laid before the colonial government, as communicated to me from this institution in 1821.

1. Twelve men were, last December, ordered from Bethelsdorp to Somerset Farm. At the time this demand was made, there were two men there of a former party. These men have been absent three months, and their families are in a state of starvation.

2. When the Hottentots are allowed to choose their own masters, they can earn, at Port Elizabeth and other places, one dollar and a half and two dollars per day, beside their food. For work which they are constrained to perform by the local authorities of the district, they are allowed barely two skillings (five-pence sterling) per day. Two or three skillings per day was the sum allowed the Hottentots by government, when the price of labour in general was low, and the necessaries of life at less than one-third of their present price.

3. A water-fiscal has lately been appointed at Uitenhage. This man, who is a boor, has contracted with the local authorities of the place to keep the water-channels of the drostdy clear, for a specific sum of money. To enable this water-fiscal to live upon his contract, Hottentots are commanded from Bethelsdorp to serve him at two or three skillings per day. This man, in addition to what he compels the Hottentots to do for him in the line of his trade, has lately built the walls of a substantial and commodious house for himself, at which the poor Hottentots were compelled to work on the same low wages that they are com-

pelled to serve him for, in his official character as a water-fiscal.

4. In the end of February, there were four men from Bethelsdorp, who were compelled to serve as constables. One of these men, labouring under a pulmonary complaint, and unable longer to work, after having served the local authorities of the district on terms on which he could make no provision against future casualties, is discharged and abandoned, and must either starve or become a burden on the institution.

5. At the time this statement was drawn up, there were seven boys belonging to Bethelsdorp employed in the service of the post-office. This is a very heavy oppression upon Bethelsdorp; more than half the missionary's time is taken up with secular business belonging to the local authorities of the district, for which no indemnification is made, while he is continually pestered with messages, which he is obliged to find people to carry to the different places to which they are addressed. The poor Hottentots, who are compelled to bear those messages, are often occupied a whole day with them, and for which they have neither food nor wages allowed.

Bethelsdorp is the only institution which suffers from this cause; this kind of oppression is confined to Bethelsdorp. Seidenfaden, at Caledon institution, has six hundred dollars a-year, as post-master, and he has not half the trouble that the missionary at Bethelsdorp is obliged to take, without remuneration.

6. During the late Caffer war, above seventy men were more than six months from their homes, without receiving one farthing of wages; the greater part of these

men were all this time employed about Uitenhage ; and while they were doing duty as soldiers, watching by night, and digging by day, their families were starving at the institution. During this period they were forced to contract debts with the farmers, which still keeps them in misery and bondage.

8. About eighteen months ago, twenty-four of the finest young men in the institution were forced to enter into the Cape corps.

These facts are not stated for the purpose of obtaining remuneration for the past, but in hopes that the sufferings of the people will obtain some mitigation. If the Hottentots must be soldiers, let the different institutions be called upon to furnish their respective proportions, that the burden may not wholly fall upon one or two institutions ; and if fathers are called from home in the service of government, reason and humanity say, that the poor families should have something allowed them. But whatever may be said in defence of this system, so far as it regards the army, no reason can be assigned why the poor Hottentots at those institutions should be liable to be called upon by any local authority in the country to serve *himself* or his friends at two or three skillings a day, when they can earn almost as many dollars, when allowed to hire themselves to masters with whom they can enter into mutual agreements.

In February last, one Hottentot in the possession of three waggons, earned in ten days by them two hundred and seventy rix-dollars. It is a hard case that such a man should be taken from his family and compelled to work for two skillings a day, while his wagon and his oxen are unemployed.

One individual at Bethelsdorp, who has a waggon and oxen, was lately compelled to drive the waggon of a boor to Graham Town. Had he had his own waggon with him he would have received for this journey seventy-six rix-dollars, whilst all he received for this compulsory service was seven rix-dollars.

The condition of the Hottentots among the farmers is agreeable in comparison of their situation in the hands of the local authorities. While a Hottentot is serving a farmer, his wife and children are fed; but while they are engaged in this compulsory service, their poor miserable families are thrown entirely destitute.

9. Colonel Cuyler applied some time ago for some additional Hottentots to labour on his farms. The missionary could not send him as many as he wanted. But none can join the institution without permission from the landdrost. Shortly after the colonel met with this disappointment, some Hottentots applied for permission to go to reside at the institution. The application was refused. When the missionary, Barker, requested to be informed of the colonel's reason for this arbitrary conduct, he was told that no more should be allowed to join the institution till they appeared to be better taught in it.

Immediately before the departure of Sir Rufane Donkin, the acting governor, from Cape Town, on his last journey into the interior, his attention was called to the state of Bethelsdorp, and the substance of the above complaints was put into his hands, to assist him in his inquiries. A few days after his arrival at Uitenhage, he visited Bethelsdorp, in company with Lieutenant-Colonel Cuyler, when the missionaries were called upon to produce their evidence in support of

the complaints contained in the list of grievances presented to the acting governor. Sir Rufane Donkin (whose intentions, doubtless, were always good, and to whom I still feel grateful for the kindness he always showed to the missionaries, and the personal attentions which I always received from him) was not satisfied with the proofs adduced by the missionaries in support of their complaints; and his decision, on this occasion, did not give the satisfaction which could have been wished. This unexpected and painful result obliged me to take a journey to Bethelsdorp. In the first instance, I waited on Colonel Cuyler, to endeavour to heal the breach; but, finding he refused to see me, I found it necessary to search for other proofs than those which had been adduced in support of the charges which had been represented as affording evidence of *conspiracy* against that magistrate; and I found all that I wanted in the Mission Office of the institution, in the handwriting of the landdrost himself. As the mass of writing discovered on this occasion, from which my proofs are taken, was too great to be embodied in one document, I confined my selection chiefly to the years 1820 and 1821. The article thus furnished, containing a statement of great oppressions, as established by the autograph of the accused himself, was transmitted to the colonial-office; but it procured for us no relaxation of the system, and it lay there undisturbed till it was called for by his Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry*.

* See APPENDIX—"Statement of the Hardships to which the Hottentots of Bethelsdorp are exposed," &c.

CHAPTER XVI.

Plan of removing the Institution of Bethelsdorp.—Cause of its abandonment.—Purchase of a place on the Chamtoos River.—Wood Case.—Game Case.—Visit of the Commissioners of Inquiry at Bethelsdorp.—Application to Government for additional Lands.—Its rejection, and attempt to curtail the boundaries of the Institution.—Appeal to Earl Bathurst, and his decision.—Attempt to make the Missionaries responsible for the taxes of the Hottentots.

IN the preceding pages of this work, enough has been said to show the unfitness of the site of Bethelsdorp for a missionary institution, and to vindicate the character of Dr. Vanderkemp against the abuse with which his memory has been loaded, in relation to the situation of the place. It is evident, from Vanderkemp's own statements, that he had no election in this case; that he saw the disadvantages of the situation; and that he accepted it merely as a temporary accommodation for himself and the people with him, till a more suitable place, which had been promised to him by the colonial government, should be pointed out to him. He always continued to regret that the institution had been placed in a situation which presented so few favourable circumstances to facilitate the improvement of the people; and continued, to the latter period of his life, to urge upon the colonial government the obligations it was under to furnish a more suitable place for the institution.

On the arrival of the deputations of the London

Missionary Society, the disadvantages of the place induced them, with the advice of the government and local authorities of the district, to resolve on disposing of the ground and buildings by sale, and purchasing another place which was recommended to them.

The place proposed, as eligible to form an institution, was in a remote part of the country, inclosed by a range of lofty mountains ; but, having an abundance of water, it had this advantage over Bethelsdorp, that it would furnish the Hottentots with the means of raising corn. On visiting Bethelsdorp, in 1821, I intended to purchase the above place, and to see the people removed to it. On my arrival at Uitenhage, I found the colonists expressing more satisfaction at the proposed removal of the institution than I considered consistent with the loss they would sustain, in being deprived of so many useful labourers in the district ; and the surprise excited in my mind by this circumstance led to inquiries which obliged me to change my plans. The joy expressed on this occasion appears to have arisen from an impression, that I was to be allowed to sell the place ; to remove the institution ; and to take with us the sick, and aged, and infirm people ; but that the great body of them were to be detained in the district, and not to be permitted to accompany us. Whether such a plan was deliberately formed by the local authorities of the district, or whether it was communicated to the colonial government, I cannot say ; but the opinion was so general, and the patronage which the landdrost would have gained by it was so great, as to give it an air of plausibility ; and the consequences which would have arisen from its execution were of such a character, that

it would have been madness, under these circumstances, to have hesitated a moment as to the only safe course left me to pursue.

The plan of removing the place being abandoned, my anxiety now was, to procure if possible additional lands, to supply the deficiencies of Bethelsdorp, and provide for an increasing population. The farm of Mr. Korsten, on the Chamtoos river, was then for sale, and between five and six thousand rix-dollars were instantly subscribed by the people, to assist in paying the purchase-money. The first instalment was to be paid in March, 1822; and Mr. Korsten, who had always been friendly to the institution, in order to assist them in a time of general and great scarcity in the colony, and to enable them to meet the first payment of the farm, in March, gave them an order for a large quantity of cask-staves, which he required for his whale and seal fishery at Algoa-bay, amounting in value to seven thousand five hundred rix-dollars. On the 1st of February, as the people were preparing to fulfil their contract to Mr. Korsten, an order was sent to Bethelsdorp from the landdrost, prohibiting them from cutting timber, excepting in one place, where there was none of the wood they had agreed to deliver to Mr. Korsten to be found.

On receiving this communication, I wrote to Mr. Korsten, proposing to him a few questions, to which he was so good as to furnish the following reply, by return of post, dated Feb. 8, 1822:—

“ I contracted, a few weeks previous to my departure from Algoa-bay, with some of the members of the institution of Bethelsdorp, (whose industry and honesty I had, during eight or nine years in

which I had employed them, always experienced,) for the delivery of good ash staves, for my whale and seal fisheries, at the rate of twelve stivers per stave, amounting together to a sum of seven thousand five hundred rix-dollars, to be paid partly by flour and rice, and partly in money. This was done, not so much in hopes of deriving any benefit from the bargain, since I might have provided myself from other quarters fully as cheap, as to assist them in getting some support for their families; for they were complaining that they were almost starving, on account of the failure of their harvest; and also to enable them to pay the purchase-money of the farm of the Chamtoos river, which you bought from me on their account. To the question, where this timber is to be had, I beg to say, that none of those trees are to be found in Landman's-bush, (the name of the place where they are still permitted to cut wood,) but that the staves which I contracted for with them must be cut in the immense forest of Zitze-Kamma, distant upwards of an hundred miles from Algoa-bay; and out of which forest I have been provided, for many years, to the amount of many thousand staves, by the same Hottentots and farmers, without ever having heard that, on the part of government or the landdrost, any obstacle has been thrown in the way to prevent it."

After a correspondence of eight months with the colonial government, the landdrost was ordered to allow the Hottentots, as formerly, to cut wood in the prohibited forests; but, by the time this victory had been gained, the people had suffered all the evils arising from this arbitrary interference; they had lost their contract, and were unable to pay the first instalment

for the farm ; many of them had also been thrown out of employment in a season of great scarcity, and obliged to suffer many privations : but though they had suffered so much, no remuneration was ordered them by this decision, and many of them had by this time turned their attention to other means of subsistence. It may also be added, that so little regard was paid to the directions of the colonial government, on this subject, by the landdrost, that they remained for many months afterwards little better than a dead letter to those who wished to avail themselves of the indulgence.

The next illustration I shall adduce is the Game Case of the Kooga, which will afford an appropriate specimen both of the mode in which malicious accusations against the Hottentots of our institutions are too frequently investigated by the provincial magistracy, and also of the spirit in which such inquiries are too often reported upon in official communications to government.

During the progress of the recent improvements at Bethelsdorp, a quantity of thatch was wanted for the roofs of several new buildings ; and materials fit for the purpose not being to be had in the immediate vicinity, Mr. Kitchingman sent a party of six Hottentots to the Kooga River, about thirty miles distant, for the purpose of cutting rushes on the lands of a farmer named Vermaak, from whom he had previously obtained permission. The spot to which this party were sent is surrounded on all sides by immense forests of brushwood and jungle, frequented by elephants, buffaloes, tigers, hyænas, and other wild animals ; and the men having to lie in the open fields, at a distance from any inhabited place, it was requisite for them to take

fire-arms for their personal defence; but that they might not waste their time in shooting game, (the Hottentots, like the other inhabitants, being generally fond of hunting,) they were not supplied with any ammunition by the missionaries, excepting four shots of gunpowder presented to them by Mr. Read on their departure. This was in the month of May, 1822.

After this party had been absent some weeks on this business, one of them returned to inform the missionaries that they had been deprived of their guns by a party of boors sent to disarm them by order of Colonel Cuyler. Upon this Mr. Kitchingman wrote to Colonel Cuyler, respectfully requesting to be informed of the cause why the guns of the Hottentots had been seized. In reply, the landdrost stated that several outrageous acts of killing cattle had recently occurred in the vicinity of the Kooga, and that a report having also reached him of a horse having been wounded in that neighbourhood, he had sent a field-cornet to seize the guns of any Hottentots he might find there. He added, that when he had leisure, he would make further inquiry into the case, and in the meanwhile requested Mr. K. to inform him of the quantity of ammunition with which he had supplied the party, and how much they still had in their possession.

Mr. Kitchingman stated in his answer that he had not furnished the Hottentots with any ammunition, (not being then aware of the four shots they had received from Mr. Read,) and that he believed the quantity in their possession, when they left Bethelsdorp, must have been very trifling. He expressed, at the same time, his regret that they had been deprived of their fire-arms, as it did not appear that there had been anything

in their conduct to warrant such a mode of procedure ; adding, that from the quantity of thatch which had been cut, it was pretty evident that the people had been working and not spending their time in idleness, as had been reported to the landdrost. The magistrate's brief reply to this remonstrance was an intimation, through the district secretary, that he would investigate the affair on a certain day, with a summons for Mr. Kitchingman to attend with the whole of the party at his office for that purpose.

Upon the appearance of the party before the landdrost at Uitenhage, Mr. Kitchingman corrected his former statement respecting the ammunition of the Hottentots, by mentioning that he had since ascertained that they had been supplied with four shots by Mr. Read. The Hottentots were then examined and cross-examined by Colonel Cuyler ; and upon this investigation a report was drawn up by him and forwarded to the government at Cape Town.

Proceedings of this kind were so common at Bethelsdorp, that I had received no intelligence of this particular case, when I was summoned to the colonial office to hear the result of the investigation. Having had the subject explained to me, the colonial secretary remarked, that it was evident from this and other cases of daily occurrence, that the magistrates of the districts of the colony had much to bear from our missionaries, and had much trouble with the people of our institutions. Holding up Colonel Cuyler's communication in his hand, he said, " It is not our intention to institute severe proceedings against the missionaries in this case ; but your candour must allow, from the facts contained in the statement, that we have *provocation* ; and that

we have grounds enough to justify us, were we to make an example of some of the parties concerned. While, however, his Excellency is willing to pass over the present offence, he hopes and expects that you will caution the missionaries against taking part with the Hottentots against the local authorities, as they have evidently done in this case." At the same time I was reminded, that it appeared evident from the inquiry that the missionaries on the trial had been convicted of falsehood with respect to the gunpowder given to Klaas Klaas, (the leader of the party of thatch-cutters,) by the evidence of Klaas himself. For Mr. Kitchingman had affirmed that they had not received more than four shots from the missionaries, whereas it appeared in evidence, that Klaas had received *a pound* of powder from Mr. Read.

This case appeared to the colonial government so very strong, that, contrary to their former practice, a copy of it was granted to me at my request. This was immediately transmitted to Bethelsdorp; and the sequel will show what ground the government had for the confidence they had placed in the impartiality and veracity of the functionary who had ventured, on the strength of it, to institute a complaint against the missionaries.

This curious document is entitled an "Inquiry made by Lieutenant-Colonel Cuyler," &c., &c. The landdrost not apprehending that the missionaries would have his "Inquiry" put into their hands, had drawn it up, it is presumed, in the usual style in which he was accustomed to write communications of this kind; and the result showed how necessary it is, for the ends of substantial justice, and for the interests of

a community, that parties on both sides of a question should obtain a candid hearing. It appeared on scrutinizing the "Inquiry," that the landdrost had taken down but a small part of the evidence given on that occasion; that he had selected those parts of it only which served the purpose he had in view—the crimination of the missionaries and the Hottentots;—that some of his questions were indirectly intended to ensnare the parties before him, by attempting to draw from them such answers as he could twist to his purpose; and that, by confounding times and places, and by mixing up occurrences which had taken place at different periods, and making it appear as if they related to one event,—he had succeeded in this instance in lodging upon the minds of the heads of the colonial government, a firm conviction that the Hottentots merited punishment, and that the missionaries had been guilty of a shameful dereliction of principle in attempting to screen them. Having fully ascertained that this was the true state of the case, I addressed the following letter to the colonial secretary, on the 8th of August, 1822:—

“ When Colonel Cuyler’s inquiry respecting the killing of game was read to me in the Colonial Office, I declined giving any opinion on the subject till I should hear Mr. Kitchingman’s account of the business. Having obtained the information requested, I beg leave to submit the inclosed correspondence*, with the remarks which follow, to the consideration of his Excellency the governor.

* The correspondence between Colonel Cuyler and Mr. Kitchingman, already referred to.

“ In making a few remarks on this business, I shall begin with Colonel Cuyler’s communication to the Colonial Office, dated 10th June. This paper is entitled an ‘ Inquiry made by Lieutenant-Colonel Cuyler in a case of several guns having been taken from Hottentots belonging to the institution at Bethelsdorp, in the field-cornetcy of Kooga.’ In Colonel Cuyler’s letter of 5th June, it appears, that the guns of the Hottentots were seized on suspicion of their having killed some cattle, and wounded a horse ; and in a letter, dated 8th June, from the secretary of the district of Uitenhage, addressed to Mr. Kitchingman, that missionary, with the accused Hottentots, is requested to attend on the 10th of June at Uitenhage, to be examined on these charges. On Mr. Kitchingman’s appearance at Uitenhage on the 10th, not a single question is asked him respecting the charges against the Hottentots on which he was summoned ; not a syllable is said in the landdrost’s inquiry about the slaughtered cattle and the wounded horse, the ostensible reasons for which the Hottentots were deprived of their guns, and for which they were now called to Uitenhage. The original charge, and that on which they were called to appear before the landdrost, is entirely abandoned ; the question of killing cattle and wounding a horse is altogether laid aside, and a new question of destroying game substituted.

“ Finding the original charge wholly untenable, and without the smallest foundation, the landdrost wanted a defence for his own conduct, in the manner in which he had treated the Hottentots in this instance ; and the inquiry in which the business ended seems to have been an expedient to which he had recourse for this purpose.

“ There is something in the very commencement of this inquiry which his Excellency will not fail to remark, and which requires no comment. In Mr. Kitchingman's letter, dated 5th June, he says,—‘ the Hottentots received no ammunition from me ; and, from all I can learn, the quantity in their possession when they left this place must have been very trifling indeed.’ But, being interrogated on the 10th, before the landdrost, whether he knew where the Hottentots had been provided with gunpowder, he is said to have stated, on information obtained since his letter dated the 5th, that he had been told the corporal Klaas Klaas got four shots of powder from Mr. Read, at Bethelsdorp.

“ The examination of Mr. Kitchingman is followed by the examination of the corporal Klaas Klaas. The landdrost having asked this man where and what quantity of powder he got, Klaas states that he got a pound of powder from Mr. Read, when he was sent with some oxen to lie on the road towards Graaff-Reinet, to meet the waggons of Mr. Read going to the Briquas. The design of this statement is too obvious to require any remark. I cannot conceive any object the landdrost could have in bringing Mr. Kitchingman's statement, and the corporal Klaas's statement, forward in this way, if he did not mean to connect the two circumstances together. Mr. Kitchingman states, in his letter of the 7th June, that the Hottentots who were employed on this occasion to cut thatch on Mr. Vermaak's ground received no ammunition ; and, at Uitenhage, on the 10th, he admits he had been told that the corporal Klaas Klaas got four shots of powder from Mr. Read, at Bethelsdorp. Immediately after Mr.

Kitchingman has emitted his declaration, that he was told that the corporal Klaas Klaas had received four shots of powder from Mr. Read, at Bethelsdorp, Col. Cuyler instantly turns to the corporal Klaas Klaas, and asks him, where and what quantity of powder he got. In reply to this question Klaas states, that he got a pound of powder from Mr. Read.

“ On hearing the landdrost’s inquiry read in the Colonial Office, and afterwards reading it over at my own desk, I was very much shocked at an apparent attempt, on the part of Mr. Read, to lessen the quantity of powder he had given to Klaas, and at the opposition of testimony which appeared to be between them ; for it is impossible for any one to read the declaration of Mr. Kitchingman, in which he states the quantity to be four shots, and to read the *where* and the *what* of the landdrost, which immediately follows, with Klaas’s answer, and not feel persuaded that it was the intention of the landdrost it should be believed that the two circumstances of the four shots and the pound of powder were connected ; and not to feel, at the same time, that Kitchingman and Read must suffer in their reputation by the evidence of Klaas Klaas, who appears to have swelled the four shots of Mr. Kitchingman into a pound. Notwithstanding what is added about the oxen and the Briquas, which was evidently never intended to be noticed, I never for a moment dreamed but that the four shots and the pound of powder referred to the same thing, till I received Mr. Kitchingman’s letter, dated 22d July, when I was certainly not a little surprised to find that this pound of powder, so artfully connected with the four shots, was given to Klaas Klaas *above six years ago!* The landdrost ap-

pears to have felt that this subject would not bear handling, and our attention is suddenly called from the powder to the hair of a grysbock, which we are left to infer, from the way in which it is brought in, was shot with part of this pound of powder. Enough has been said on the subject of this extraordinary inquiry. From this sample, his Excellency will see what credit is to be attached to Colonel Cuyler's complaints against the Hottentots, and to the reasons he has employed to justify his conduct towards them.

“ The shooting of buffaloes does not appear to be prohibited in the proclamation of the 23d March ; and the Hottentots declare that the game, which occupied the attention of the landdrost in this inquiry, was killed before the publication of the proclamation. The only part of the above proclamation in which the landdrost can be justified in taking the guns from the Hottentots on this occasion, is article 10th ; and it does not appear, when their guns were seized, that they had either powder or lead of any description about them.

“ It is also obvious to remark, in the communication forwarded to government by Colonel Cuyler, purporting to be a *bonâ fide* statement of evidence declared before him, in his capacity of magistrate, that but one question is mentioned as having been put to Mr. Kitchingman, and answered by him. It will, perhaps, occasion not a little surprise, when his Excellency is made acquainted with the fact, that other questions were put to Mr. Kitchingman, which we do not find in the proceedings forwarded to government. In proof of this assertion, it is only necessary to refer to the following quotation from Mr. Kitchingman's letter, dated 22d July :— ‘ I am surprised to perceive,’ he says,

(referring to the Inquiry, a copy of which was forwarded to him,) ' that nothing is mentioned respecting the questions proposed to me when called to appear in court, except about the gunpowder. I cannot help inquiring whether, under these circumstances, I am not justified in considering the account of this inquiry sent to the Colonial Office as a garbled statement ?'

“ Here I need scarcely remark, to those acquainted with the laws of evidence, that if a magistrate have the means of furnishing garbled statements of the inquiries held before him, he has the power of representing the character and conduct of the persons examined by him in any light that suits his purposes. If Colonel Cuyler's conduct appears to you, on this occasion, in the same light in which it appears to me, you will not only see his conduct, as it respects the powder, as inconsistent with the dignity and purity of a magistrate, but also as an attempt to impose upon the colonial government.

“ So long as I occupy the station I fill, I hope I shall ever inculcate upon the Hottentots obedience to all lawful authority, and to every colonial regulation ; but I should be unfaithful to the trust committed to me, and to the duties I owe to God, were I to do less than I now do in the case of Colonel Cuyler. While his Excellency feels it his duty to support every magistrate in the exercise of his duty, I am convinced that he will feel, also, that he has a duty of no less importance to discharge, when magistrates become the oppressors of a people whom it is their duty to protect.”

In pursuance of our present design, we shall here introduce another specimen of hostility aimed against

the very existence of our principal missionary establishment in South Africa.

In 1823 the missionaries and the Hottentots at Bethelsdorp were highly gratified by the visit of his Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry to that station. This event had been long looked forward to as one likely to produce a new era in the history of the Hottentots, and it is to be hoped that our expectations will not be disappointed by the ultimate results. The open and generous manner in which they declared the satisfaction their inquiries into the state of the Hottentots, at this missionary station, had afforded them, will be long remembered by the missionaries, the people themselves, and the strangers present on this interesting occasion, and did as much credit to the Commissioners themselves as it did to the labours of the missionaries. During the previous intercourse I had had with his Majesty's commissioners, while on their journey into the interior, among other things suggested for the improvement of the country, was the formation of several new missionary stations in different parts. In proposing a number of institutions scattered over the country, in preference to a few very large ones situated at remote distances from each other, I had the comfort of the colonists at present at a great distance from the missionary stations in view*, and for that reason I thought I had a right to calcu-

* As an undoubted example of the prevalence of similar sentiments throughout the colony, I may notice, that when the estate of the late Lieut.-Colonel Fraser was advertised for sale, in the Cape Gazette, by his principal executor, Colonel Cuyler, its vicinity to the missionary station of Theopolis was stated as one of the peculiar advantages of the place.

late upon the concurrence of the colonial government to aid us in carrying such a measure into effect. From the attempts which had been made to prejudice the minds of the commissioners against our missions, before their departure from Cape Town, and from the nature of their commission itself, I had no room to expect that they would speak decidedly upon the important points submitted to their consideration, till they should have finished their inquiries at our missionary stations ; and the following letter, addressed to Mr. Kitchingman, after their visit to Bethelsdorp, shows that they had not then lost the favourable impressions made upon their minds on that occasion, nor forgotten the suggestions to which they had previously listened respecting the future conveniency of the farmers, and the improvement of the Hottentots.

“ Uitenhage, 1st Jan., 1824.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ As we are very desirous of knowing whether any augmentation of land can be made with advantage, to the portion now occupied by the institution of Bethelsdorp, more especially as we anticipate a considerable augmentation of their numbers when the present restrictions on their admission are removed, we shall be very glad to receive from you any information respecting contiguous and vacant allotments, that you or the Hottentots may think desirable. I am induced to make this suggestion more from a wish to complete the accommodation of the present members, and to improve their condition by the accession of good or convenient pieces of land, than to advise the accumulation of great numbers of Hottentots on the same spot, agreeing, as

I do, with Dr. Philip, that, generally, it will be found to be more advantageous to multiply the number of institutions in the country, than to multiply the number of Hottentots in each place.

“ I beg to offer, &c. &c.

(Signed)

“ J. T. BIGGE.”

“ *The Rev. James Kitchingman.*”

In consequence of this communication I visited, in company with the missionaries residing at Bethelsdorp, two pieces of unoccupied land, which were pointed out to us by our Hottentot guides, and having satisfied myself that they were at the disposal of government, and that the situations were favourable for all the purposes contemplated in the plan which had been approved by his Majesty's commissioners, a memorial upon the subject, signed by Mr. Kitchingman, the head missionary at Bethelsdorp, was addressed to his Excellency the governor. In addition to the two places intended for small institutions, the prayer of the memorial embraced some grounds not included in the diagram of Bethelsdorp, lying between the lands of the institution and some of the neighbouring farms, and which had been always considered as belonging to the institution, though not within the original diagram. The reason given for requesting a right to the small portions of land in question, was the injury which the institution would sustain should they, on any future occasion, be separated from it. The first notice taken of this memorial by his Excellency the governor was in a letter from Lieut.-Colonel Cuyler, dated 26th April, 1824, requesting particular information respecting the two separate places, and the lands connected with Bethels-

dorp, craved in the memorial. Nothing further was heard of the application till the 21st May, when Mr. Kitchingman received a letter from the colonial office, intimating that the two unoccupied places requested in the memorial could not be granted; and on the 9th of June Mr. Kitchingman received another letter, informing him that Bethelsdorp was to be deprived of all the lands connected with the missionary institution not included in the diagram, and that they were to be given to the neighbouring farmers.

Saying nothing of the character of his lordship's decision in this case, in relation to the interesting population at Bethelsdorp, and the contempt it showed of public opinion, or the want of courtesy (to say the least of it) which it manifested to his Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry, it carried in it such an air of defiance to the British government, by the manner in which the recommendations of his Majesty's commissioners were, in this instance, treated, that I flattered myself, when his lordship came to reflect coolly upon the matter, he would be sorry for what he had done; and for that reason I resolved, before I took any other step, to try what effect time and expostulation would have upon his mind. Had I wished to take advantage of his lordship, I would have instantly appealed to Earl Bathurst, because the letter of his Majesty's Commissioners of the 1st of January was in my possession. I knew in what light the subject would be viewed in the colonial office in Downing-street; but as I had no unfriendly feelings towards his lordship, I wished to give him an opportunity of retracing his steps, should he feel so inclined; and, under the influence of that principle, instantly on receiving the communication in question, I waited on

the gentleman who was then one of his Excellency's chief advisers, and I found him preparing to accompany his Excellency next day on a shooting excursion. I had hoped that a reconsideration of the subject, during his Excellency's retirement in the country, particularly as his temporary residence was to be in the neighbourhood of the Moravian missionary station of Groene Kloof, where he might every day have the poor Hottentots belonging to that institution under his eye; together with the influence of his adviser, who professed to me to see the subject in the same light that I did, and who, it appeared, had not been consulted in the measure now deprecated, would operate a change upon his lordship's mind in favour of the Hottentots at Bethelsdorp; but that nothing might be omitted on my part to gain an object so desirable, I wrote a letter to his lordship on the subject, which will be found in the Appendix.

After waiting fifteen days without having received any answer to the above letter, I drew up a memorial to Earl Bathurst, which was submitted to his lordship, accompanied with all the documents required to establish the superior claims of the institution to the lands prayed for in the memorial, and to furnish his lordship with the means of clearly comprehending the case.

After the matter had proceeded so far, the results could not for a moment remain doubtful. In the communications of his Majesty's principal secretary of state to the colonial government, it does not appear that any notice was taken of the application made for the two places on which we proposed beginning two new institutions with a view chiefly to relieve Bethelsdorp, and to benefit the farmers in the immediate neighbour-

hood of the new stations ; but the orders were peremptory, that the lands attempted to be alienated from the institution should be granted to it in perpetuity, and included within its diagram.

Among other attempts lately made, which discover the feelings of the colonial government then existing against our missions, we cannot omit noticing one of a singular character made in 1825, to compel the missionary at Bethelsdorp to collect the opgaaf tax paid by the people belonging to this institution. Mr. Kitchingman was at this time called upon to make out " name-lists" of all the Hottentots liable to pay this tax ; to issue notices requiring such as were residing among the farmers to attend and pay the same ; to collect the tax himself ; to appear before the landdrost of Uitenhage in person, with all the people ; to bring with him those documents the landdrost deemed necessary ; and in addition to all this, he was called upon to pay, out of his own pocket, the tax for absentees and defaulters.

Mr. Kitchingman, in his correspondence with the colonial government, in objecting to the plan attempted to be forced upon him in this instance, stated, that in addition to the other burdens of a secular nature which had been already imposed upon him, he could not afford the time that this new office would require ; that it was a service which the field-cornets and other local authorities of the district had never been called upon to perform, they never having been called upon to collect the taxes of the colonists ; that when the boors were absent on the days appointed for them to pay their opgaaf, the inferior magistrates of the district in which the absentees resided were not made responsible

for their appearance, nor compelled to make up the deficiency in the taxes occasioned by their absence; that he had no magisterial authority to compel the attendance of the people, or to oblige them to repay to him what he might pay out for them; that a great proportion of the Hottentots belonging to Bethelsdorp were in the service of the boors, widely scattered over a thinly-peopled country; that circumstances might frequently occur to induce their masters to prevent their attendance on the day appointed on which the taxes were to be paid; and that if nothing else interfered to prevent their attendance, they might be kept back on account of the master not being able to pay their wages.

In reply, Mr. Kitchingman received an official communication, dated 26th February, 1825, taking no notice of his objections, and briefly requiring him to attend at the Court-house at Uitenhage, on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, the 5th, 6th, and 7th of April, from nine o'clock in the morning, that the local magistrate might receive from himself, in person, the opgaaf of the people composing the establishment at Bethelsdorp. That Mr. Kitchingman might be under no mistake as to the extent of the services required of him, the clause in the latter part of the preceding sentences, in which it is intimated that the object of his being required to appear himself in person, was that the landdrost and heemraaden might receive from himself the opgaaf of the people, is further explained in the following sentence:—

“ I am also desired to acquaint you by the landdrost and heemraaden, that *you will not only* be prepared, on the days fixed, with the opgaaf, *but also to pay*

for the people, which mode will strongly operate against all the difficulties experienced at the last opgaaf!" In Mr. Kitchingman's reply to this communication, 1st March, he recapitulates some of the objections urged in the former part of his correspondence, and having appealed to his Excellency the Governor, requests that the matter should not be further pressed till his Excellency's decision on the subject should be received.

On the 9th of March Mr. Kitchingman received another letter on the subject from the landdrost, stating that, as the governor had given no decision on the point in question, his compliance with the regulations previously laid down to him was expected.

From the middle of January down to the 'middle of March, during the time this correspondence was going on, Mr. Kitchingman and Mr. Read had been wholly occupied in preparing the "name lists" required by the landdrost; and it appears from the correspondence between them and the landdrost on this subject, as if the sole object had been, in imposing this task upon them, to annoy and weary them out. No man could have been more willing than Mr. Kitchingman had shown himself to be, to oblige the government and the local authorities in any way within the limits of his power; but the thing required of him, in this present instance, was impracticable; and should it still continue to be pressed upon him, he had no alternative left but to resign his situation.

This was not like the contests described by Barrow between the boors and the Hottentots; it was a contest in which we had opposed to us the whole power of the colonial government; and had this attempt succeeded, had the missionary, in addition to the other burdens

imposed by the new regulations, been compelled to pay the taxes of the Hottentots, our principal missionary station in South Africa could have been no longer maintained, and the people must have again fallen into the hands of the local authorities of the district, and their condition in that case would have been worse than if they had never enjoyed the privileges of a missionary station. "There is no tyranny so cruel, (says Montesquieu,) as that which is exercised under the pretext of law, and under the colour of justice; when wretches are, so to speak, drowned on the very plank to which they had clung for safety."

While things were in this state, and while it appeared to be the intention of the colonial government to push Mr. Kitchingman on the only alternative now left him, namely, that of resigning his situation at Bethelsdorp, I wrote to him, at his own request, a letter, giving him my opinion on the subject, of which the following is a copy:

"Cape Town, 17th March, 1825.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I am sorry to find, by a letter now before me, that you have not yet received any written communication from Sir R. Plasket, respecting the affair of the opgaaf, and that Colonel Cuyler has demanded of you 'Whether you will comply with this requisition.' Taking it for granted that you have not yet complied with the landdrost's request; in addition to the reasons which you have already urged for declining it, and which are, in my opinion, perfectly satisfactory, I beg leave to suggest the following:—

"1st. The object of a missionary is to instruct the

people, and to promote their moral and spiritual culture ; and it is his duty to attend to whatever has a direct or indirect tendency to promote these ends. The same principle which binds a missionary to attend to what may promote the great object of his labours, makes it an imperious duty upon him to avoid whatever has a contrary tendency ; and it requires very little consideration to discover that the present proposal is fraught with this objectionable tendency. The people will come to the missionary on the day of payment with their excuses ; they will tell him that they cannot pay their opgaaf ; they will probably make out a long and a distressing case, and they will expect that the missionary should either advance the money as a loan, or make an apology for them. He can do neither ; and he has not only the pain arising from the necessity he is under to deny this request, but he is obliged to turn informer against them, and to send a list of their names to the landdrost. To suppose that such occurrences have not a tendency to defeat the end of a missionary's labours, by injuring his character in the estimation of the people, is to contradict universal experience, and to betray an entire ignorance of human nature. By devolving such concerns into the hands of a missionary, he becomes a kind of political agent ; he is viewed at first with suspicion, and he may ultimately be considered as a tool of government, and an instrument of oppression. The government must have excise-men and tax-gatherers ; but we know that, even among the most enlightened nations, there is a certain odium attached to such professions, which no wise government would choose to have attached to the character of its public and authorized teachers.

We know how unpopular the clergy in Ireland are on account of the means they are often obliged to use in collecting their own tithes ; and to destroy entirely their influence, it would be necessary only to make each clergyman collect, in addition to his own tithes, the government taxes of his parish.

“ 2nd. That, however the matter may be explained in the commencement, we know that in every concern of this nature a certain degree of responsibility is involved ; and if the practice were once established, that responsibility would be certainly increasing, and would ultimately involve the missionary in every complaint, and lead to distressing consequences, both with the local authorities and the people.

“ 3rd. The secular business already imposed upon the missionaries at Bethelsdorp has long been felt as an intolerable burden ; and it certainly would not be advisable for the missionary at that institution to take upon himself any additional burdens at the moment when we are calling for relief from oppressions of a similar nature, under which the institution is now groaning.

“ 4th. If you take upon yourself this additional burden, it may be pleaded as a precedent to justify the same measure at other institutions ; and if you or your successor should afterwards find it necessary to discontinue this service, that discontinuance may be urged as matter of complaint against you.

“ 5th. On this plan, which constitutes the missionary the collector of the *opgaaf*, the usual produce of this tax will not be forthcoming. This tax presses with an enormous and unequal weight upon many of the Hottentots. At some missionary institutions in this colony, and in most cases when the people among the

farmers are obliged to pay this tax, it amounts to one-fourth and one-third of their wages, during the whole year. In most cases, where the disproportion between the price of labour and the taxes is so great, it must be squeezed out of the people by the terror of an appearance at the drostdy before the landdrost; but the substitution of the missionary in place of the landdrost would have quite a different effect. The hope that a full statement of these grievances would work upon the feelings of the missionary, so as to induce him to advance the money required, or to apologize for those who may be without the means to pay, would destroy the sinews of exertion, and perhaps half the amount of the products of the tax.

“ 6th. It is the duty of a landdrost to collect the taxes in his own district, or to employ those that are paid for it, to do it. The local authorities are paid by government for their services. The missionaries at Bethelsdorp have always had more secular work to do for government than any field-cornet in the district has upon his hands, and they have never had any remuneration for their trouble. The government has no more claim upon your time than it has upon your property; and it has no more right to command you to collect the opgaaf from the Hottentots than it has to command the Rev. Alex. Smith, the Dutch colonial minister of Uitenhage, to collect the opgaaf from the farmers and other colonists.

“ 7th, and lastly. There are other reasons, which weigh as much with me in the present question as any of those already mentioned. The practice, if it is once submitted to, will furnish the landdrost with the means of annoying the missionary to a degree

beyond all Christian endurance. From the spirit Colonel Cuyler has manifested towards Bethelsdorp, I am strongly inclined to suspect that that weighed more with him, on urging the measure, than the trouble he would save to himself by having it carried into execution. If there is any doubt with any one on this point, that doubt will be removed, by looking over the correspondence between the landdrost and the missionaries. In the wood case, the game case, the case of William Brintjes, and particularly in the manner in which he has been in the habit of annoying the missionaries respecting the passes demanded for the Hottentots, it will be seen what a mischievous instrument this power might be in the hands of such a man as Colonel Cuyler.

“ I am, &c.

“ JOHN PHILIP.”

As the period fixed for paying the opgaaf was now drawing near, and there was no time to lose in the business, when the above communication was made to Mr. Kitchingman, copies of it were addressed to the colonial government in Cape Town, and to Colonel Cuyler.

The correspondence had hitherto been carried on between Mr. Kitchingman and the government, but I had now become a party in the business, and shortly after I had notice sent me by the government, requesting my attendance at the colonial-office. The subject was now viewed by the colonial government in a different light from what it had been: the idea of compelling Mr. Kitchingman to collect the opgaaf, and of making him responsible for the tax, was now aban-

done; and this formidable attempt, which threatened the ruin of our missions, was now softened down to a request that I would solicit Mr. Kitchingman, in compliance with the wishes of the government, to continue, as he had begun, to collect the tax for the current year. To this proposition I readily consented, on the following conditions:—That it should be considered entirely as a voluntary thing on the part of the missionary; that his collecting the tax for this year was not to be pleaded as a precedent in future to compel him, or any other of our missionaries, to collect the opgaaf, and that he was not to be annoyed by the landdrost while engaged in the performance of this service.

CHAPTER XVII.

Interest of the Colonial Functionaries in the Oppression of the Aborigines.—Colonel Cuyler's Requisitions for Hottentot Servants.—Reasons assigned by him for refusing Hottentots Permission to join the Missionary Institutions.—Occasion in which this Assumption of Authority originated.—Appeal of Mr. Read to Sir John Cradock.—Case of Hottentots ordered from Bethelsdorp to labour on the Somerset Farm.—Case of Hottentots placed under Contract by the Lauddrost of that District.—Fruitless remonstrances to the Colonial Government.—System of the Romans in the Administration of their conquered Provinces, and of the Dutch in former days, compared with that of England.

IN the preceding pages of this volume, we laid before our readers a long list of enormous oppressions, under which the natives of South Africa have been groaning for many years, and we are now called upon, in the way of explanation, to another painful part of our duty, which is, to show the personal interest those that should afford them protection have in endeavouring to perpetuate their miserable bondage and prevent their improvement.

It has been remarked by Lord Bacon, that religion, justice, counsel, and treasure, are the pillars of government; and we may add, that the fall of one of these pillars is generally accompanied by the subversion of the whole. There can be no religion where justice is wanting, and wealth can never accumulate in the treasury of a nation, or in the cottages of the poor, when counsel and talent are employed in building up

private fortunes at the expense of the public. It has been justly remarked, "When men are in the possession of uncontrolled and undefined power, they cannot fail, like other men, to have a greater care for what is advantageous to themselves, than what is advantageous to other men. They pursue, therefore, their own advantage in preference to that of the rest of the community. That is enough : where there is nothing to check that propensity, all the evils of misgovernment, that is, in one word, all the worst evils by which human nature is cursed, are the inevitable consequence*."

A slight attention bestowed on the reasoning contained in the above quotation, will show that it is not more sound in its principles than it is applicable to the present condition of the natives of South Africa.

It has been shown that the Hottentots are entirely at the disposal of the local authorities of the country, and the following cases will sufficiently account for the opposition we have had to encounter, in our attempts to discharge our duty to that oppressed people, and will at the same time demonstrate their hopeless condition, while the power now exercised over their persons, and families, and labour, is allowed to remain.

The landed proprietors of South Africa, being obliged to keep their grounds in their own hands, and not being able to let them on leases as in Europe, their value to them must depend upon the price of labour, and the number of hands they can command ; and it is obvious, while things remain in this state, while the magistrates are under such strong temptations to op-

* Encyclopædia Britannica, Supplement, vol. v. "On the liberty of the Press," page 265.

press the people by enslaving them, and keeping down the price of labour, the latter have nothing to look for without the interference of the British government, but an increase of suffering.

On the 12th October, 1820, Mr. Barker, then at the head of the Missionary Institution of Bethelsdorp, received a letter from Colonel Cuyler, requesting him to send him six or eight able-bodied men, to work at his farm of Doorn Kraal*. Owing to the state of the institution, almost all the men belonging to it being already employed in public work, or engaged in other kind of service, the missionary could not send him the number he required. On the 19th of the same month the landdrost addressed another letter to the missionary on the same subject, stating, in the way of complaint, that two Hottentots had appeared before him, to hire to a farmer of the name of Botha, and that, on asking them whether he (the missionary) had requested them to serve him (the landdrost), they replied, that he had not. In this letter the landdrost adds, " I am much in want of a few men, and offer to pay them more wages than these people hire for ; I must, therefore, once more repeat my request in the same way I did before." On the part of Mr. Barker, there was every disposition to serve the landdrost, in this, as in every other instance ; but, in the exhausted state in which the institution then was, it was impossible, unless the landdrost had sent an order to press the men he wanted, as was usual when they were demanded for what was called government work, a thing he was not willing to do, on the present occasion.

* From the year 1809 to the year 1827, Colonel Cuyler, the landdrost of Uitenhage, obtained seven grants of lands from the Colonial government, extending to 33,964 acres. To this we may add 12,000 acres obtained by purchase or barter.

On the 6th of November, Mr. Barker had an application from a Hottentot, not belonging to the institution, for permission to join it, which, according to the custom which had been established for some preceding years, he referred to the landdrost for his approval. To this reference Mr. Barker received the following reply:—"Sir, you must excuse my giving any more Hottentots permission to join your institution before I find those you have already can be made *more useful to the community.*"

Mr. Barker, shortly after this period, removed to Theopolis, and was succeeded by Mr. Kitchingman. To a written application from Kitchingman, February 21, 1821, praying that the bearer of it (another Hottentot) might be permitted to join the institution, the following answer was returned by the landdrost, written upon the back of his pass.—"This Hottentot, named in the written paper, must find a master within three days, or else come to the landdrost to hire." Yet the Hottentot for whom the application was made had his discharge with him, stating that he had honestly and faithfully served in the Cape regiment, from 8th July, 1807, to 24th September, 1817; and that his service being no longer required, he was honourably discharged.

To another application of a similar nature, on the 22d February, the landdrost replied in a letter dated 23d February, referring Mr. Kitchingman to his note to Mr. Barker, of 7th November, 1820, in which he excused himself for not giving more Hottentots permission to join the institution till he should find "that they can be made *more useful to the community.*"

It has been justly remarked that by far the greater portion of injuries inflicted by human beings on their

miserable fellow-mortals have been committed on account of property. The cases here related, with others under consideration, sufficiently show that there are no other limits to the encroachment of power, when that power, stimulated by interest, can be exercised with impunity, than despotism, on the one hand, and the most abject slavery on the other. The rise of our missionary institutions has already been described, and the manner in which the people at them acquired their privileges has been pointed out, so as to supersede the necessity of any further details on this subject here. By the privilege enjoyed by the institutions of Bethelsdorp and Theopolis, of admitting such Hottentots as were not under contracts, in the first instance the magistrates lost no patronage; but when the proclamations of 1809 and 1812 placed the Hottentots and their families not at the missionary institutions entirely at their disposal, they were, from that moment, placed in circumstances of strong temptation to oppose the efforts of the missionaries, and to prevent the people from joining the institutions. Some attempts to deprive the institutions of the power of receiving Hottentots not in service, without the permission of the landdrost, appear to have been made during the life-time of Dr. Vanderkemp, which were afterwards abandoned in consequence of the strong representations made by him; but he had been dead a few months only when his successor at Bethelsdorp received the prohibition contained in the preceding pages, that he was to receive no more Hottentots into the institution without the landdrost's written permission. The circumstances which led to this assumption of power, and the manner in which it was confirmed by the colonial government, entitle it