

very trifling encouragement would draw into the colony as many Chinese as it might be thought prudent to admit. Were ten thousand of this industrious race of men distributed over the Cape district, and those divisions of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein which lie on the Cape side of the mountains, the face of the country would exhibit a very different appearance from that it now wears, in the course of a few years ; the markets would be better and more reasonably supplied, and an abundance of surplus produce acquired for exportation. It is not here meant that these Chinese should be placed under the farmers ; a situation in which they might probably become, like the poor Hottentots, rather a load and an encumbrance on the colony, than a benefit to it. The poorest peasant in China, if a free man, acquires notions of property. After paying a certain proportion of his produce to the State, which is limited and defined, the rest is entirely his own ; and though the Emperor is considered as the sole proprietary of the soil, the land is never taken from him so long as he continues to pay his proportion of produce to Government.

I should propose then, that all the pieces of ground intervening between the large loan farms, which in many places are equal in extent to the farms themselves, and other unoccupied lands, should be granted to these Chinese on payment of a moderate rent after the first seven years, during which period they should hold them free. The British Government would find no difficulty in prevailing upon that, or a greater, number of these people to leave China ; nor is the Government of that country so very strict or solicitous in preventing its subjects from leaving their native land as is usually sup-

posed. The maxims of the State forbid it at a time when it was more politic to prevent emigrations than now, when an abundant population, occasionally above the level of the means of subsistence, subjects thousands to perish at home for want of the necessaries of life. Emigrations take place every year to Manilla, Batavia, Prince of Wales's Island, and to other parts of the eastern world.

In the more distant parts of the colony, where the land is not only better, but large tracts occur that are wholly unoccupied, it would be adviseable to hold out the same sort of encouragement to the Hottentots as they have met with from the Hernhüters at Bavian's Kloof; a measure that would be equally beneficial to the boor and the Hottentot, and put a stop to the many atrocious murders and horrid cruelties which are a disgrace to humanity.

The next step to improvement would be to oblige all the Dutch landholders to enclose their estates, agreeably to the original plans which are deposited in the Secretary's Office. By planting hedge rows and trees, the grounds would not only be better sheltered, but the additional quantity of moisture that would be attracted from the air, would prevent the surface from being so much scorched in the summer months. The almond, as I have observed, grows rapidly in the driest and poorest soils, and so does the pomegranate, both of which would serve for hedges. The lemon-tree, planted thick, makes a profitable as well as an extremely beautiful and excellent hedge, but it requires to be planted on ground that is rather moist. The *keurboom* or *sophora capensis* grows in

hard dry soils, as will also two or three of the larger kind of proteas. The planting of trees and hedge rows would furnish a supply of wood for fuel, and other useful purposes, which is at present extremely scarce and exorbitantly dear. Avenues of oak trees, plantations of the white poplar, and of the stone pine, are to be seen near most of the country houses not very distant from the Cape, and have been found to thrive most rapidly. It is true, the timber they produce is generally shaken and unsound ; but the oak which has been introduced into the colony appears to be that variety of the *Quercus Robur* known in England by the name of *Durmast* oak, much of which grows in the New Forest, and is but of little estimation among ship-builders. It is distinguished by the acorns growing in clusters, and each having a long foot stalk. The larch, whose growth in Europe is rapid, and yet the timber as good or better than any of the pine tribe, would be an acquisition and an ornament to the present naked hills of the Cape ; and the beech would no doubt thrive in those places where the poplar does so well.

There can be little doubt but a great variety of exotic plants might be introduced with success into the colony. The tea-shrub, for instance, is already in the colony, and seems to thrive equally well as in China ; it is a hardy plant, and easily propagated, and the soil, the climate, and general face of Southern Africa, bear a strong analogy to those provinces of China to which it is indigenous. Three years ago a small coffee plant was brought from the island of Bourbon, and is now in full berry, and promises to succeed remarkably well ; the sugar cane equally so. The dwarf mulberry seems to

thrive here quite as well as in China; but the common silkworm is not in the colony. Several species of wild moths, however, spin their cocoons among the shrubby plants of Africa. Among these there is one species, nearly as large as the Atlas, which answers to the description of the *Paphia* of Fabricius, whose food is the leaves of the *Protea Argentea*, the witteboom or silver tree of the Dutch; this worm might probably by cultivation be turned to some account. Dr. Roxburgh is of opinion that it is precisely the same insect which spins the strong silk known in India by the name of Tussach. The palma christi, from the seed of which is expressed the castor oil, and the aloe, whose juice produces the well known drug of that name, are natives of the country, and are met with of spontaneous growth in the greatest plenty in every part of the colony; which is also the case with the cape olive, so like in habit and appearance to the cultivated plant of Europe, that there can be little doubt as to the success of the latter if once introduced. It is the more surprizing that the cultivated olive has not found its way hither, since no vegetable oil, fit for culinary uses, is produced in the colony. The *Sesamum Orientale*, to which I gave a fair trial, promised to do well on moist soils, but could not be cultivated with success as an article of general produce. As green food for cattle, I had an opportunity of trying four species of millet of the genus *Holcus*, namely, the *Sorghum*, the *Saccharatus*, the *Spicatus*, and *Bicolor*. All of these, except the *spicatus*, were cut down several times in the same season, afterwards grew to the height of six to ten feet, bore a plentiful crop of seed, sprung up afresh from the old stumps in the winter, furnishing most excellent food for cows and horses throughout the whole year. A species of Indian Lucerne, the *Medicago esculenta*, I culti-

vated with equal success, giving, after being twice cut down, a plentiful crop of seed. A small kidney bean, the *Phaseolus lobatus*, grew very rapidly, producing two crops in one season; this is an excellent species of food for cattle, whether given to them green or dried into hay, which is the case also with the lucerne. A strong tall dog's-tail-grass, the *Cynosurus coracanus* of India, affording a wholesome food for man and beast, after being cut down twice, produced a crop of seed. Of this species of grass horses are extravagantly fond, and it will remain green nearly through the winter. The culture of all these would be of the greatest importance to the welfare of the colony. Nothing is so much wanted as green food for the cattle in the summer months when every kind of herbage is burnt up and disappears. The Cape might also be rendered valuable to the state on which it may be dependent, by the cultivation of the different kinds of hemp for cordage and canvass, and which might be carried on to an unlimited extent. The *Cannabis sativa*, or common hemp, has been long planted here as a substitute for tobacco, but its cultivation was never attempted for other purposes. It grows in the shape of a branching shrub, losing entirely that habit of springing up in a single stem as it always appears in Europe; which is no doubt owing to its being planted singly. When sown thick on the ground as in Europe, it is said to shoot up exactly in the same manner, ascending to about the height of eight feet, and giving to all appearance a fibre of equal strength and tenacity to that where it is usually cultivated; and it requires very little trouble in keeping clean on the ground. The different plants of India, cultivated there for the purposes of hemp, have been found to grow at the Cape fully as well as in their native soil. Of these the most com-

mon are the *Robinia cannabina*, affording a fibre that is durable under water, and on that account used in the east for fishing-nets and tackle. The Jute of India, *Corchorus olitorius*, thrives very well, as does also the *Hibiscus cannabinus*, whose leaves, of a delicate subacid taste, serve as a sallad for the table, and the fibres of the stem as a flax fit for the manufacture of cordage. A native species of hibiscus which I brought from the vicinity of Plettenberg's bay yields a hemp of an excellent quality, perhaps little inferior to that of the cannabis, or common hemp, which is most unquestionably the best material yet discovered for the manufacture of strong cordage. The *Janap* of India, *Crotularia juncea*, from which a strong coarse stuff is manufactured under the name of *Gunney*, seems to thrive very well in the climate of the Cape in sheltered situations ; but its slender stem is unequal to the violence of the south-easterly gales of wind. Cotton and indigo may both be produced in any quantity in this colony ; but the labor necessary in the preparation of the latter, and the enormous price of slaves, or the hire of free workmen, would scarcely be repaid to the cultivator. That species of cotton plant called the *hirsutum* seems to sustain the south-east blasts of wind with the least degree of injury ; but the Bourbon cotton, originally from the West Indies, has been found to thrive just as well in the interior parts of the country, where the south-easters extend not with that degree of strength so as to cause any injury to vegetation, as on the island from whence it takes its name. Many of the India and China fruits are produced in the colony, and others introduced since it came into our hands, seem to bid fair success. But the article of produce, which is best suited for the soil and the climate of the Cape,

is unquestionably the vine, the culture and management of which are however very little understood.

The vineyards, instead of being pruned down to the ground, so that the bunches of grapes frequently rest upon it, should be led up props or espaliers, or traile'd, as in Madeira, along the surface of lattice work. The strong Spanish reed that grows abundantly in the colony is well suited for this purpose, which would not only free the grapes from the peculiar earthy taste that is always communicated to the wine, but would cause the same extent of vineyard to produce more than double the quantity of grapes. A family or two from the island of Madeira, to instruct them in the process of making wine, would be of essential use to the colony.

A better system of the tillage of corn lands could not fail to be productive of a considerable increase in the returns of grain. The breed of horses has so much improved since the capture by the English, that these may soon be substituted for oxen in all the purposes of husbandry, and small English ploughs made to supersede their present unwieldy machines, requiring each from ten to sixteen oxen.

With respect to the country boors, it will require a long time before any effectual steps can be adopted for the improvement of their condition. Content with the possession of the mere necessaries of life, they seek for none of its comforts, which, however, are sufficiently within their reach. Their cattle alone, if any care were bestowed upon them, would procure for their families every convenience, and enable

them to live with decency. One great step towards the bettering of the condition of these people, would be the establishment of fairs or markets at Algoa Bay, Plettenberg's Bay, Mossel Bay, and Saldanha Bay; to which, at certain fixed periods, once a month or quarter for instance, they might drive down their cattle, and bring their other articles of produce for sale.

This might immediately be effected by prohibiting the butchers from sending round their servants to collect cattle at the boors' houses; and by giving public notice of the times at which the markets would be held at the different places. At Algoa Bay a great variety of produce, besides sheep and horned cattle, might be exhibited together, not only from the boors, but also from the Kaffers and the Hottentots. These people would, no doubt, be very glad to give their ivory and skins of leopards and antelopes in exchange for iron, beads, and tobacco, and perhaps coarse cloths, provided they were allowed to take the advantage of a fair and open market. The honey that abounds in all the forests would be collected by the Hottentots and brought to the market at Plettenberg's Bay, where the great plenty of timber might also lead to a very extensive commerce, and furnish employment for numbers of this race of natives, who require only proper encouragement to become valuable members of society. An establishment of Moravian missionaries at this bay would prove of infinite benefit to the colony. It would be difficult to persuade the boor of this, and nothing would convince him of the truth of it, but the circumstance of his being able to procure as good a waggon for 150 or 200 rix dollars as he must now purchase at the rate of 400 dollars in Cape Town. There

is not any part of this extensive settlement that is capable of such improvement as the country which is contiguous to Plettenberg's Bay, and I should hope that the British Government, when the colony is once permanently annexed to the Empire, as I am confident, sooner or later, must be the case, will adopt a plan similar to that which a single individual in Holland had in contemplation, and had actually taken measures to carry into execution, when the war breaking out, unfortunately put an end to the laudable undertaking. He obtained from the Dutch Government a grant of the whole district of Plettenberg's Bay, on condition of paying a certain annual rent. This district he meant to divide into one hundred portions, on each of which was to be placed an industrious family to be sent out from Europe, either Dutch or Germans, to be furnished with stock, utensils, implements of husbandry, and every article that was requisite for carrying on the useful trades, and to cultivate the soil ; but they were not to be allowed to purchase or to employ a single slave. Every kind of labor was to be performed by themselves and by Hottentots, whom they were directed to encourage. How easily might a hundred industrious families be found in the United Kingdom, ready to embrace so favorable an opportunity of exercising their capital, their skill and activity, in so fine a climate, and so fertile a tract of country.

It would be no small advantage to the boors, who dwell some hundred miles from the sea-coast, to carry back in their waggons a quantity of salted fish, which might be prepared to any extent at all the bays ; this article would not only furnish them with an agreeable variety to their present unremitting consumption of flesh meat three times a day, but would serve

also, according to their own ideas, as a corrective to the superabundance of bile which the exclusive use of butchers' meat is supposed to engender. To cultivate the fisheries on the coast of Africa would afford the means of employment and an ample source of provision for a great number of Hottentot families.

At Mossel Bay, besides the fisheries, there are two articles, the natural produce of the country, in the collection and preparation of which the Hottentots might very advantageously be employed, both to themselves and to the community. These are aloes and barilla, the plant that produces the first growing in every part of the district that surrounds the bay, and that from the ashes of which the other is procured being equally abundant in the plain through which the Olifant River flows at no great distance from the bay. Here too the cultivation of grain and pulse might be greatly extended:

If the introduction of Chinese were effected, the markets of Cape Town and Saldanha Bay could not fail to be most abundantly supplied with wine, grain, pulse, fruit, and vegetables; probably to such a degree as not to be excelled in the world, either for price, quality, or quantity.

The consequence of such a system of establishing markets would be the immediate erection of villages at these places. To each village might be allowed a church, with a clergyman, who might act at the same time as village schoolmaster. The farmers' children put out to board would contribute to the speedy enlargement of the villages. The farmers would thus be excited to a sort of emulation, by seeing the produce of

each other compared together, and prices offered for them proportionate to their quality, instead of their being delivered to the butcher, as they now are, good and bad together, at so much per head. The good effects produced by occasionally meeting in society would speedily be felt. The languor, the listlessness, and the heavy and vacant stare, that characterize the African peasant, would gradually wear off. The meeting together of the young people would promote the dance, the song, and gambols on the village green, now totally unknown; and cheerfulness and conversation would succeed to the present stupid lounging about the house, sullen silence, and torpid apathy. The acquaintance with new objects would beget new ideas, rousing the dormant powers of the mind to energy, and of the body to action. By degrees, as he became more civilized by social intercourse, humanity as well as his interest would teach him to give encouragement to the Hottentots in his employ to engage in useful labor, and to feel, like himself, the benefits arising from honest industry.

The establishment of villages in an extensive country thinly peopled, may be considered as the first step to a higher state of civilization. A town or a village, like the heart in the animal frame, collects, receives, and disperses the most valuable products of the country of which it is the centre, giving life and energy and activity by the constant circulation which it promotes. Whereas while men continue to be thinly scattered over a country, although they may have within their reach all the necessaries of life in a superfluity, they will have very few of its comforts or even of its most ordinary conveniences. Without a mutual intercourse and assistance among

men, life would be a constant succession of make-shifts and substitutions.

The good effects resulting from such measures are not to be expected as the work of a day, but they are such as might, in time, be brought about. It would not, however, be attended with much difficulty to bring the people closer together, and to furnish them with the means of suitable education for their children; to open them new markets for their produce, and, by frequent intercourse with one another, to make them feel the comforts and the conveniencies of social life. Whether the Dutch will be able to succeed in doing this, or whether they will give themselves the trouble of making the experiment, is doubtful, but when it shall again become a British settlement, these, or similar regulations, would be well deserving the attention of Government.

But, above all, the establishment of a proper public school in the capital, with masters from Europe qualified to undertake the different departments of literature, demands the first attention of the Government, whether it be Dutch or English. For as long as the fountain-head is suffered to remain troubled and muddy, the attempt would be vain to purify the streams that issue from it. It is painful to see so great a number of promising young men as are to be found in Cape Town, entirely ruined for want of a suitable education. The mind of a boy of fourteen cannot be supposed to remain in a state of inactivity, and if not employed in laying up a stock of useful knowledge, the chances are it will imbibe a taste for all the vices with which it is surrounded, and of which the catalogue in this colony is by no means deficient.

CHAP. II.

Importance of the Cape of Good Hope considered as a Military Station.

WHEN the Prince of Orange had departed from Holland, and the subsequent affairs of that nation had rendered it sufficiently obvious that the majority of the inhabitants of the United Provinces were inclined to adopt the revolutionary principles of France, it became a measure of precaution, in our government, to take immediate possession of the Dutch colonies. Among these the Cape of Good Hope claimed the earliest attention, being considered as a settlement of too great importance to be trusted in the hands of the Dutch colonists, although it was well known that the principal as well as the majority of the civil and military officers were indebted to their Prince for the situations they enjoyed in that colonial government.

An expedition was accordingly sent out to take possession of the Cape, not however in a hostile manner, but to hold it in security for, and in the name of, the Prince of Orange, who had furnished letters dated from London to that effect. But the misguided people of the colony, having received only imperfect accounts of affairs in Holland, and being led to expect a French force at the Cape, had already embraced the principles of Jacobinism, whose effects were the more to be

dreaded on account of the consummate ignorance of the bulk of the settlers. Some French emissaries, those assiduous disturbers of the peace of mankind, who, snake-like, have crept into every society and corner of the world, poisoning the springs of harmony and good order, found little difficulty in urging a people, already so well disposed, to carry their new principles into practice. The few officers of government who were supposed to be attached to the cause of the Stadtholder, and friends to the old system, were completely subdued; and the weakness of the governor favored the views of the disorderly citizens. They became clamorous to declare themselves, by some public act, a free and independent republic; they prepared to plant the tree of liberty; and established a convention, whose first object was to make out proscribed lists of those who were either to suffer death by the new-fashioned mode of the guillotine, which they had taken care to provide for the purpose, or to be banished out of the colony. It is almost needless to state that the persons, so marked out to be the victims of an unruly rabble, were the only worthy people in the settlement, and most of them members of government.

The slaves, whose numbers of grown men, as I have before observed, are about five to one of male whites who have arrived at the age of maturity, had also *their* meetings to decide upon the fate of the free and independent burghers, when the happy days of their own emancipation should arrive, which, from the conversations of their masters on the blessings of liberty and equality, and the unalienable rights of

man, they were encouraged to hope could not be very distant.

In this state of things the British fleet appeared before the bay. The governor called an extraordinary council to deliberate upon the steps to be taken in this critical juncture. Some were inclined to throw the settlement under the protection of the British flag, but the governor and the greater number, influenced, and perhaps intimidated, by the citizens, listened to the absurd proposals of resisting the English force and, if successful, as they doubted not they would be, of setting up immediately a free and independent republic of their own. They talked of the thousands and ten thousands of courageous boors who, on the signal of alarm being given, would flock to the Batavian standard; so ignorant were they of the nature and the number of their valiant countrymen. The *burgher cavalry*, a militia of country boors, who were then in the vicinity of the town, were immediately called out, and a few hundreds reluctantly obeyed the summons. The conduct and the cowardice of this undisciplined rabble, whose martial spirit had hitherto been tried only in their expeditions against the native Hottentots, might easily have been foreseen. A few shot from the America ship of war, striking the rocks of Muisenberg, soon cleared that important pass, and caused the regular troops to retreat to Wynberg, which is a tongue of land projecting from the east side of the Table Mountain, and about eight miles from Cape Town: the Hottentot corps still loitered about the rocks and did some mischief but, being speedily dislodged, fell back also upon

Wynberg ; after which the brave burgher cavalry scampered away to their respective homes without once stopping to look behind them.

The British troops, led on by General Sir James Craig, under the orders of Sir Alured Clarke, marched to attack the enemy on their elevated post ; and having, by the assistance of the sailors, brought his guns and artillery to bear upon them, a few shot caused them to retreat within their lines. The English encamped on the spot from which they had dislodged the enemy ; who, finding it in vain any longer to oppose a feeble resistance, sent, in the middle of the night, a flag of truce to propose a capitulation, which was acceded to and, the next day, concluded between the two parties. Most of the members of the government that were well disposed to the Prince of Orange, and had conducted themselves with propriety, were continued in office ; and thus the plans of the Jacobin party were, for the present, completely defeated.

When the news of this event first reached England, the acquisition of so valuable a settlement was considered of the utmost importance to the British empire, and particularly to the East India Company, as being the grand out-work and a complete barrier to their vast possessions in India. So forcibly was the public mind impressed with an opinion of the great advantages that would result to the nation at large from the possession of the Cape, that the question was immediately started and discussed among persons entrusted with

the management of the first political and commercial interests of the empire—Under what tenure it should be held? Whether the Cape should be considered as a foreign dependency of the crown, and subject to the same regulations as all the other colonies are; or, as a post to be annexed to the possessions which are under the administration of the East India Company? Those who held the latter opinion as a matter of right quoted the charter granted by Queen Elizabeth, by which the Company are allowed the privilege of a free and sole trade into the countries of Asia, Africa, and America, or any of them beyond the Cape of Buona Esperanza, to the Streights of Magellan. Those, who were inclined to think that the charters of the East India Company gave them no claim to the Cape, brought forward the charter they received from Charles the Second, in which no mention whatever is made of Africa.

While these questions were in agitation, two general plans floated in the mind of Mr. Dundas (now Lord Melville); both of which were so conceived as to combine the interests of the public with those of the East India Company. One of these plans supposed the Cape to be a foreign dependency of the Crown, and included such provisions and regulations as were compatible with the interests and the chartered privileges of the East India Company: the other invested the territorial possession in the East India Company, but proposed such regulations as were calculated to promote the general commercial prosperity of the British empire. And, in the mean time, until one or other of these plans should be

adopted, the settlement was to be considered as dependent on the Crown, and to be administered by the executive power, as constitutionally responsible to Parliament.

Every precaution was also taken that the rights and privileges of the East India Company should suffer no infringement. The exclusive advantage of supplying the Cape with India and China goods was immediately and unconditionally granted to them. And the regulations adopted in consequence by the Earl of Macartney, and the vigilance that was constantly employed under his government, prevented and defeated every attempt to undermine their interests, and were productive of a source of considerable profit to the Company.

It was, in fact, the well known integrity of his Lordship's character, and the able and decided measures employed by him, on various trying occasions, for promoting and combining the interests of the East India Company with the honor of the Crown, and the commercial prosperity of the British empire, that determined the minister in his choice of him as governor for this important acquisition: and his Lordship was accordingly nominated, without his knowledge, whilst absent on public service in Italy.

As little doubt was entertained, at that time, either by his Majesty's ministers or the public, that the Cape would become, at a general peace, a settlement in perpetuity to England, great pains were employed in drawing up instructions

and in framing such regulations as appeared to be best calculated for promoting the prosperity of the colony, securing the interests of the East India Company, and extending the commerce and navigation of Britain. Its importance, in fact, was deemed of such magnitude, that it was a resolution of the minister from which he never meant to recede, "That no foreign power, directly or indirectly, should obtain possession of the Cape of Good Hope, for, that it was the *physical guarantee* of the *British territories* in India." Its political importance, indeed, could be doubted by none; its commercial advantages were believed by all.

Yet, after every precaution that had been employed for securing the privileges, increasing the conveniency, and promoting the interests, of the East India Company in this settlement, it was but too apparent that an inclination prevailed in some of the Directors to disparage or undervalue it. What their motives may have been, I do not pretend to determine; nor will I suppose that a body of men, who have always been remarkable for acting upon the broad basis of national prosperity, could, in the present instance, so far deviate from their usual line of conduct, as to bend to the influence of any little jealousy about patronage or prerogative, when the welfare of the public was so nearly concerned. The opinions of men, it is true, when grounded on moral events, are sometimes fugitive, and yield to circumstances: it were difficult, however, to assign any event or circumstance that could have operated so as to produce any reasonable grounds for a change in the opinion of the Directors of

the East India Company, in the course of the last twenty years, with regard to the value of the Cape of Good Hope : many have occurred to enhance its importance.

That they did consider it of the utmost consequence, towards the end of the American war, is sufficiently evident from the conduct they adopted at that time. The moment that a Dutch war was found to be inevitable, towards the close of the year 1780, Lord North, whose sentiments on this point were in perfect agreement with those of the Directors, lost no time in communicating to the secret committee of the East India Company the information of it ; in order, that they might take or suggest such measures, without delay, as the event might render most conducive to their interests. The chairman and deputy chairman, who, if I mistake not, at that time, were Mr. Devaynes and Mr. Sullivan, lost not a moment in consulting with such of their officers as happened to be then in London, and were supposed to be qualified to give good information. The result of their deliberations was a proposal, in the event of a Dutch war, to take possession of the Cape of Good Hope, as a measure of the utmost importance to the East India Company's concerns ; and as this proposal met the concurrence of the minister, a squadron was immediately dispatched under the command of Commodore Johnston, who carried under his convoy their outward-bound fleet. Having anchored for refreshments in Porta Praya Bay, he was overtaken by Suffrein, with whom he fought an indecisive battle, which enabled the French to reach the Cape of Good Hope, and to place it in such a state of security that

the Commodore did not think it prudent to make the attack, but contented himself with the capture of a few Dutch Indiamen in Saldanha Bay; whilst the French Admiral, having refitted and refreshed his squadron at the Cape, proceeded to Mauritius, and from thence to the Indian Seas with his ships and men in the highest order; a circumstance that was attended with no small degree of detriment and annoyance to the trade and possessions of the East India Company, as well as of expence and inconvenience to the Crown. For the failure, in the grand object of this expedition, not only gave the enemy the vast advantage of landing and refreshing their seamen and troops, who were soon recruited by the invigorating effects of a temperate climate and abundance of fresh provisions, fruits, and vegetables, but it likewise enabled him to keep a fleet almost constantly at sea, by the provisions and naval stores it received from the Cape through Mauritius by agents residing at the former place. Their own islands of Mauritius and Bourbon furnish no such supply, their productions not being adequate to the consumption of the inhabitants and the garrisons.

The French, in fact, have always contrived to refit and provision their ships, and to send their armaments supplied with stores to the Indian Seas from the Cape of Good Hope. Had it not been for the supplies furnished from this settlement, together with the possession of the harbour of Trincomalée, it would have been utterly impossible for Suffrein to have supported his fleet, or maintained the contest with us in the manner he did.

It was not, indeed, without a full conviction of its great utility to England, as well as of encumbrance to the Dutch, by the enormous expence it occasioned, that Mr. Dundas was induced, in the considerations on the treaty between Great Britain and Holland, transmitted to the British ambassador at the Hague in 1787, to propose to them the cession of certain stations in India, which were to them of little weight, either in a political or commercial point of view. The reasoning employed on this occasion was, “ That the
“ Cape was invaluable in the hands of a maritime power, be-
“ ing really and truly the key to India, which no hostile fleet
“ could pass or repass, as the length of the previous voyage,
“ either from India or Europe, must have disabled such a
“ fleet, in a certain degree, before it could reach the Cape—
“ that it was the interest of Holland itself that the Cape and
“ Trincomalée should belong to Great Britain; because Hol-
“ land must either be the ally of Britain or of France in
“ India; and because Great Britain only can be an useful
“ ally of Holland in the East—that the Dutch were not able
“ to protect their settlements in that quarter, and Britain
“ fully competent to their protection—that the Cape and
“ Trincomalée were not commercial establishments, and that
“ the maintenance of them was burthensome and expensive
“ to the Dutch—but that the force required to protect the
“ British Indian possessions would render the defence of the
“ Dutch settlements much less so to Britain.”

The Earl of Macartney was not less convinced of the policy, nor less persuaded of the readiness, of the Dutch to leave the Cape in our hands, provided they were allowed to

have a choice of their own. In his letter to Mr. Dundas, dated October 1797, he observes, “ The power and influence
“ of Holland appear to me so ir retrievable, that it is impos-
“ sible she can ever again hold an independent possession of
“ the Cape. Indeed, before the war, she was neither rich
“ enough to maintain its establishments, nor strong enough
“ to govern its people, and, I believe, had it not been for our
“ conquest of the country, it would soon have attempted to
“ become independent. As Holland is likely to be in future
“ less powerful at home, and consequently less respectable
“ abroad, and as the Cape would be a burthen to her, not
“ easy to bear, it would not be against her interest to leave it
“ in our hands, for in such case she might derive, without any
“ expence, all the advantages of its original intention, which
“ was that of a place of refreshment for her commerce to
“ the eastward ; and there are other circumstances which,
“ were she now in a situation dispassionately to consider, I
“ have reason to imagine, would lead her to adopt this sen-
“ timent. The French (who, to speak of them in the lan-
“ guage of truth and experience, and not in the jargon of
“ pretended Cosmopolites, are, and ever must be, our natural
“ enemies) can only wish to have the Cape either in their
“ own hands, or in those of a weak power, that they may use
“ it as an instrument towards our destruction ; as a channel
“ for pouring through it an irresistible deluge upon our
“ Indian possessions to the southward of the Guadavery. Of
“ this I am so perfectly convinced, that if it shall be found
“ impracticable for us to retain the sovereignty of the Cape,
“ and the French are to become the masters of it, either
“ *per se, aut per alium*, then we must totally alter our present

“ system, and adopt such measures as will shut them out of
“ India entirely, and render the possession of the Cape and
“ of the isles of France and Bourbon of as little use to them
“ as possible.”

Whatever might have been the feelings of the Dutch with regard to the Cape, under the old government, I have high authority in saying that Holland never did expect, and indeed had scarcely a wish for, the restoration of this colony at a peace; well knowing that they would be allowed by the English to enjoy the advantages of refreshing and provisioning their ships, without the expence of maintaining it. In fact they are utterly unable to support a garrison sufficient for its defence; and so conscious were they of it that a proposition was made, on the part of Schimmelpenninck, to declare the Cape a *free port*, to be placed under any flag except their own. But the only power that Holland possessed, in framing the treaty of peace, was a mere name; and all the territories that were nominally restored to the Batavian Republic were virtually given up to France. As a proof of the superior light in which the Dutch consider their settlements in the East, from which they draw their coffee, pepper, and other spices, it may be observed that they have completely stripped the Cape of every ship of war, which, with seven or eight hundred troops, have proceeded for the defence of Java and the Molucca Islands; from these they draw a considerable revenue, but the Cape is a burden which their finances are little able to support.

I have stated thus much with regard to the opinions that have hitherto been held of the importance of the Cape of Good Hope to the British trade and settlements in India, at a time when we were made to feel the inconvenience of its being in the possession of an enemy, or even of a neutral power, because a very sensible change of opinion appears to have taken place from the very moment it became a dependency on the British Crown. For it is very certain that the Directors of the East India Company did not only assume an affected indifference, with regard to this settlement, but employed agents to depreciate its value in the House of Commons, and endeavoured to discourage the retention of it in the most effectual manner they possibly could have thought of, by shewing and proving to the world, as they imagined they had done, that the possession of the Cape was of no use whatsoever to their commerce, or their concerns in India. With this view the commanders of all the ships in their employ were forbidden, in the most positive terms, to touch at the Cape, either in their outward or their homeward bound passage, except such, on the return voyage, as were destined to supply the settlement with Indian goods.

But this ill-judged and absurd order defeated itself. Though the strength and constitution of English seamen, corroborated by wholesome food, may support them on a passage from India to England, shortened as it now is by the modern improvements in the art of navigation, without the necessity of touching at any intermediate port, yet this is not the case with regard to the Lascars, or natives of India who,

in time of war, constitute frequently more than two-thirds of the crew. These poor creatures, whose chief sustenance is rice, oil, and vegetables, are ill calculated to suffer a long privation of their usual diet, and still less so to bear the cold of the southern ocean, especially in the winter season. By them the Cape was looked up to as a half-way house, where a stock of fresh supplies was to be had, and where the delay of a few days had a wonderful effect in recruiting their health and spirits. And the event very soon shewed that such a half-way house, to such people, was indispensably necessary; for the Directors were obliged to countermand their order as far as it regarded those ships that were navigated by the black natives of India.

Whenever it has happened that government was under the necessity of sending out troops in ships navigated by Lascars, a greater degree of sickness and mortality has prevailed than in ships entirely manned by Europeans; and under such circumstances it would be highly criminal to attempt to run from Europe to India without stopping at some intermediate port, not only to procure refreshments for the troops and Lascars, but to clean and fumigate the ships in order to prevent contagious diseases. The two Boy regiments, as they are usually called, the 22d and 34th, which it was necessary to send to the Cape as a reinforcement of the garrison, after the able and effective men had been sent away to Madras, who soon after so materially assisted in the conquest of Seringapatam, arrived in a dreadful state at the Cape; the disease had gained such a height, that if the Cape had not at that time been in our possession it was universally be-

lieved not an officer nor a man could possibly have survived the voyage to India. Yet the same ships, after being properly washed, scoured, and fumigated, and the crews completely refreshed, carried on other troops to their destination without the loss of a single man.

How far the conduct of the Directors was compatible with the interests of the East India Proprietors, who have consigned them to their management, I shall endeavour to point out in the subsequent pages, and to state some of those advantages that would have resulted to the British nation in general, and to the East India Company in particular, by annexing the Cape to the foreign possessions of England; and the serious consequences that must infallibly ensue from its being in the possession of an enemy. Opinions on this subject, it would seem, are widely different; on which account a fair and impartial statement of such circumstances as may tend to elucidate a doubtful point, may not be deemed impertinent, and may ultimately be productive of good, by assisting those, to whose care the best interests of the country are committed, to form their judgment on facts locally collected, and brought in some order together under one point of view. It is not unimportant to premise that such facts were either taken from authentic and official documents, or fell immediately under my own observation.

I proceed then, in the first place, to consider the Cape of Good Hope in the view of a military station; by which term I do not mean to confine myself to the mere garrison that may be considered necessary for the defence of the settle-

ment, but to extend the acceptation of the word to that of a military depôt, or place suitable for collecting and forming, so as always to have in readiness, a body of troops, either belonging to his Majesty's regular regiments, or to the armies of the East India Company, fitted and prepared for foreign service, and seasoned for the climates either of the East or the West Indies.

A very general notion seems to have been entertained in this country in all our former wars, by people who consider only the outlines or superficialities of things, and such, by the way, constitute by far the largest portion of mankind, that if the minister can contrive to furnish money, the money will supply men, and these men will form an army. It is true they will so ; just as a collection of oak timber brought to a dock-yard will form a ship. But a great deal of labor is necessary in the seasoning, hewing, and shaping of such timber, and a great deal of judgment and practice still required to arrange and adapt the several parts to each other, so that they may act in concert together, and form a complete whole that shall be capable of performing all the effects that were intended to be produced. Thus is it also in the formation of an army. It is not enough to collect together a body of men and to put arms into their hands. They must be classed and arranged, seasoned and inured to a certain way of life ; exercised in certain motions and positions of the body, until long practice has rendered them habitual and easy ; they must be taught to act in an uniform and simultaneous movement, and in such a manner that the separate action of the individuals shall form one united impulse, producing the greatest

possible effect of aggregated strength. They must also be taught to preserve their health and strength by habits of temperance and cleanliness, and to take care of themselves in the various circumstances that may occur of situation and climate.

Such a body of men, so formed and prepared, may properly be called soldiers. And no small degree of attention and judgment is required to bring a body of men to such a state of discipline. Yet it is highly important that all troops, intended to be sent on foreign service, should at least be partly formed, and instructed in the art of taking proper care of themselves, previous to their embarkation. Being once accustomed to habits of cleanliness and regularity, they are less liable to fall a sacrifice to the close confinement and want of room in a ship ; and the inconveniencies of a long sea voyage will always be less felt by persons thus prepared than by raw undisciplined recruits, who are apt to be heedless, slovenly, and irregular.

But even old seasoned troops, after a long sea-voyage, are generally found to be disqualified, during a considerable time, for any great exertion. The tone or elasticity of the mind has become relaxed as well as the habit of body. Let any one recollect how he felt after a long sea-voyage, and ask himself if he were capable of the same exertion, and of undergoing the same fatigue, immediately after landing as before his embarkation. The answer, I fancy, will be in the negative. The limbs, in fact, require to be exercised in order to regain their usual motions, and the lungs must have

practice before they will play with their usual freedom in the chest. And these effects, adverse to prompt and energetic action, will generally be proportioned to the length of the voyage, and the privations to which men must necessarily submit.

The very able and intelligent writer of the *Précis des évènements militaires*, or *Epitome of military events*, seems to ascribe the defeat of the Russian column, commanded by General Hermann, in the affair at Bergen where it was almost cut to pieces, to their marching against the enemy immediately after landing from a sea-voyage, although it had not been very long. He observes that, “by being crowded on board transports, and other inconveniencies experienced at sea, not only a considerable number of individuals are weakened to such a degree that they are incapable of any service, but whole corps sometimes present the same disadvantages—the extreme inequality of strength that, in such cases, prevails between the individuals or constituent parts of corps, is, at once, destructive of their aggregated and combined impulse.”

If then such be the effects produced on seasoned troops, on a sea-voyage of a moderate length only, they must be doubly felt by young recruits unaccustomed to the necessary precautions for preserving their health. In fact, a raw recruit, put on board a ship in England, totally unformed and undisciplined, will be much farther from being a soldier, when he arrives in India, than when he first stepped on board. The odds are great that he dies upon the passage, or that he

arrives under incurable disease. I think I have heard that not more than three out of five are calculated upon as able to enter the lists on their arrival in India; and that of those who may chance to arrive in tolerable health, a great proportion may be expected to die in the seasoning, from the debilitating effects of a hot climate. India is, perhaps, the worst place in the whole world for forming an European recruit into a soldier. Unable to bear the fatigue of being exercised, his spirits are moreover depressed by observing how little exertion men of the same rank and condition as himself are accustomed to make. It cannot, therefore, be denied that, as long as it shall be found necessary to recruit our large armies in India with European troops, it would be a most desirable object to be in possession of some middle station to break the length of the sea-voyage; a station which at the same time enjoys a middle temperature of climate, between the extremes of heat and cold, to season the body and adapt it to sustain an increased quantity of the one or the other.

The Cape of Good Hope eminently points out such a station. Its geographical position on the globe is so commanding a feature, that the bare inspection of a map, without any other information, must at once obtrude its importance and value in this respect. Its distance from the coast of Brazil is the voyage of a month; from the Dutch colonies of Surinam, Demarara, Berbice, and Essiquebo, with the West India islands, six weeks; the same to the Red Sea; and two months to the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel. With the east and the west coasts of Africa and

the adjacent islands, it commands a ready communication at all seasons of the year. A place so situated, just half way between England and India, in a temperate and wholesome climate, and productive of refreshments of every description, would naturally be supposed to hold out such irresistible advantages to the East India Company, not only by its happy position and local ascendancy, but also by the means it affords of opening a new market and intermediate depository for their trade and commodities, that they would have been glad to purchase, at any price, an acquisition of such immense importance; and that such great advantages as it possessed, however they might be blinked by some or unknown to others, would speedily have forced a general conviction of their value, in spite of real ignorance or affected indifference.

One might also have supposed that the possession of the Cape of Good Hope would have suggested itself to the East India Company as a place which would have removed many, if not all, of the difficulties that occurred to them, on the renewal of their privileges in 1793, when a depôt for their recruits in Britain was in contemplation. The principal regulations proposed for such depository of troops, as contained in "*Historic View of Plans for British India*," were the following:—"That the age of the Company's recruits should
" be from twelve to fifteen or twenty, because, at this period
" of life, the constitution was found to accommodate itself
" most easily to the different variations of climate—that the
" officers of the police should be empowered to transfer to
" the depôt all such helpless and indigent youths as might

“ be found guilty of misdemeanors and irregularities ap-
 “ proaching to crimes—that the said officers of police and others
 “ should be authorized to engage destitute and helpless young
 “ men in a service, where they would have a comfortable sub-
 “ sistence, and an honourable employment—that the young
 “ men so procured should be retained in Great Britain, at the
 “ depôt, for a certain time, in order to be instructed in such
 “ branches of education as would qualify for the duty of a non-
 “ commissioned officer, and in those military exercises which
 “ form them for immediate service in the regiments in India.”

Now of all the places on the surface of the globe, for the establishment of such a depôt, the Cape of Good Hope is pre-eminently distinguished. In the first place, there would be no difficulty in conveying them thither. At all seasons of the year, the outward bound ships of the Company, private traders, or whalers, sail from England, and the more they were distributed among the ships the greater the probability would be that none of them died on the passage. There is not, perhaps, any place on the face of the earth which in every respect is so suitable as the Cape for forming them into soldiers. It possesses, among other good qualities, three advantages that are invaluable—healthiness of climate—cheapness of subsistence—and a favourable situation for speedy intercourse with most parts of the world, and particularly with India. I shall make a few remarks on each of these points.

To establish the fact of the healthiness of its climate, I do not consider it as necessary to produce copies of the regular returns

of deaths in the several regiments that, for seven years, have been stationed at the Cape of Good Hope. Such dry details furnish very little of the useful and less of the agreeable. They might, indeed, serve to shew, on a comparison with other returns sent in from different foreign stations, how very trifling was the mortality of troops in this settlement. It will be sufficient, however, for my purpose to observe, that Lord Macartney, in order to save a vast and an unnecessary expence to the public, found it expedient to break up the hospital staff, which, in fact, was become perfectly useless, there being at that time no sick whatsoever in the general hospital, and so few as scarcely worth the noticing in the regimental hospitals; and the surgeons of the regiments acknowledged that those few under their care were the victims of intemperance and irregularity. At this time the strength of the garrison consisted of more than five thousand men.

Shortly after the capture, it is true, a considerable sickness prevailed among the British troops, and great numbers died, a circumstance that was noticed, and at the same time fully explained, by General Sir James Craig in his letter to Mr. Dundas, about three months after the cession of the colony. He observes that the soldiers of the Dutch East India Company were obliged to furnish their own bedding and blankets, as well as the necessary garrison and camp furniture; so that, when the Dutch entered into the capitulation, not a single article of garrison furniture could be claimed; and as the shops, at that time, furnished no such materials, the men were obliged to sleep on the bare flag-stones in the great barrack,

until a supply of blankets and camp utensils of every kind could be sent out from England.

Invalids from India recover very quickly at the Cape. The servants of the East India Company are allowed to proceed thus far on leave of absence without prejudice to their rank ; and here they generally experience a speedy recovery. The two Boy regiments, whom I have already mentioned to have suffered severely on the passage from England in ships navigated by Lascars, and who landed in fact at the height of a malignant and contagious disease, rapidly recovered ; and, in the course of two years, from being a parcel of weakly boys, unable to carry their musquets, became two very fine regiments, fit for service in any part of the world. When the orders, indeed, for the final evacuation of the Cape were countermanded, the 34th regiment, which two years before had excited the pity of every one who saw them, enfeebled as they were by disease, and unfit, from their tender years, for the fatigues of soldiers, was now a very essential part of the strength of the garrison.

It may, therefore, I think, be safely concluded, that the climate of the Cape is not only salubrious, but that it is particularly favourable for forming young and raw recruits into soldiers. And it would appear, moreover, that the salutary effects of this climate are not merely local, but that their seasoning efficacy is extended beyond the hemisphere of Southern Africa, and qualifies, in a very remarkable manner, the raw recruit and the seasoned soldier for the climate of

India, and the still more trying situation of the voyage thither. The constitution would seem to acquire, by a few years residence at the Cape, a strength and vigour which not only enable it to surmount the inconveniencies of the sea, but, contrary to what usually happens, to sustain the fatigue of long and continued marches in a hot climate, immediately after disembarkation.

The truth of this observation was made evident by a number of instances which occurred during the seven years that the Cape remained in our possession; but in none more strongly than that, in the government of Lord Macartney, when three almost complete regiments of infantry, the 84th, the 86th, and the Scotch brigade, were embarked and sent off, at a few days' notice, under the command of Major-General Baird, to join the army of India against Tippoo Sultaun. This reinforcement, consisting of upwards of two thousand men in their shoes, arrived to a man, and in the highest state of health; took the field the day after their landing; marched into the Mysore country; co-operated with the Indian army, and contributed very materially towards the conquest of Seringapatam. The very man (Major-General Baird), under whose command they sailed from the Cape but a few months before, led them on to storm this celebrated capital of the Mysore kingdom.

One might have supposed that the facility and success of throwing reinforcements into India, exemplified in this remarkable instance, would have stamped on the minds of the Directors of the East India Company an indelible value on

the Cape. "By possessing and improving the advantages of seasoning and preparing our troops at the Cape," observes Lord Macartney in his letter to Lord Melville on the importance of the settlement, dated April the 25th, 1801, "I had it in my power, almost at a moment's notice, to send to Madras, under the command of Major-General Baird, about two thousand effective men in the highest health, vigor, and discipline, who eminently contributed to the capture of Srirangapatam, and the total subversion of the power of Tippoo."

It did not seem, however, to have made any such impression on the East India Company; at least their conduct and opinions did not indicate any change in consequence of it. Nor could their inflexible indifference be roused by the multiplied instances which occurred of the solid advantages, every one of which clearly demonstrated the importance, of having a suitable station for the seasoning and training of young troops to act, on any emergency and at a short notice, in their service, and for the protection of their vast possessions in India. Had not the very striking instance above recited been considered as sufficient to stamp the value of the Cape, the reinforcement of troops that was sent from thence, to accompany the expedition of Sir Home Popham to the Red Sea, it might be supposed, would have forced conviction of the importance of such a station. On this occasion were embarked, at almost a moment's warning, twelve hundred effective men, composed of detachments of artillery, cavalry, and infantry, who all arrived to a man, at Cossir, a port in the Red Sea, from whence they were found capable of immediately sustaining

long and fatiguing marches, notwithstanding the heat of the climate, the heaviness of the ground, and the scarcity of water. The 61st Regiment, Sir Robert Wilson observes, landed at Cossir after having been near sixteen weeks on board, without having one sick man, though the strength of the regiment exceeded nine hundred men.

A thousand difficulties, it appears, were started in England with regard to the sailing of this expedition, by people who derive their information only from defective books, and not from local knowledge. The season of the Monsoon was stated to be unfavorable for the navigation of the Red Sea, and the deserts by which it was bordered were held to be totally impassable. But to vigorous and determined minds few things are insurmountable. "The man (Lord Melville) who projected, and persevered in, the expedition to Egypt," saw very clearly that the expedition to the Red Sea could not fail under proper caution and management, and the event proved that he was right.

Having thus sufficiently shewn, as I conceive, the importance of the Cape as a military station, or depositary of troops, as far as regards the healthiness of the climate, and the effects produced on the constitution of soldiers, by being seasoned and exercised a short time there, I shall now proceed to state the comparatively small expence at which the soldier can be subsisted on this station, and the saving that must necessarily ensue both to Government and the East India Company, by sending their recruits to the Cape to be trained for service either in the East or the West Indies. And as some of his

Majesty's late ministers, in discussing its merits on the question of the peace of Amiens, justified the surrender on the ground of its being an expensive settlement, I shall be more particular on this head, in order to prove to them, what indeed I imagine they are now sufficiently convinced of, how much they had mistaken the subject; and that the cant of economy was but a poor justification for the sacrifice of a place of such importance.

The Cape of Good Hope is the only military station that we ever possessed, and perhaps the only garrison that exists, where the soldier can be subsisted for the sum of money which is deducted out of his pay in consideration of his being furnished with a daily ration or fixed proportion of victuals. In other places, government, by feeding the soldier in this manner, sustains a very considerable loss; that is to say, the ration costs more money than that which is deducted from his pay; but it is a necessary loss, as the soldier could not possibly subsist himself out of his pay in any part of the world, unless in those places where provisions are as cheap as at the Cape of Good Hope. Here each ration costs the government something less than sixpence, which was the amount of the stoppage deducted in lieu of it. But each individual soldier could not have supplied his own ration for eightpence or ninepence at the very least, so that the gain made by government, in furnishing the rations, was also a saving, as well as a great accommodation, to the soldiers. At home, and in different parts abroad, as I have been informed, the ration stands the government in different sums from tenpence to half-a-crown.

At the Cape of Good Hope, some twenty years ago, two pound of butchers' meat cost one penny; at the capture by the English the price had advanced to one pound for twopence; yet, notwithstanding the increased demand, occasioned by the addition of five thousand troops and near three thousand seamen, frequently more than this number, with all the various attempts and combinations that were practised (and, on a certain occasion in the year 1800, very unwisely countenanced by high authority) to raise the price of this article, the contract for supplying the garrison was never higher than at the rate of two and five-eighths pounds for sixpence. Two pounds of good wholesome bread might be generally purchased for twopence. Even in the midst of a scarcity, which threatened a famine, bread rose no higher than twopence the pound; and all kinds of fruit and vegetables are so abundant, and so cheap, as to be within the reach of the poorest person. A pint of good sound wine may be procured at the retail price of threepence; and were it not for the circumstance of the licence for selling wine by retail being farmed out as one source of the colonial revenue, a pint of the same wine would cost little more than three-halfpence.

The farming out of the wine licence was a subject of grievance to the soldier, as it compelled him to buy his wine in small quantities at the licensed houses, when the civilians and housekeepers were allowed to purchase it in casks of twenty gallons, at the rate of five or six rixdollars the cask, which is just about half the retail price he was obliged to pay for it. Yet, vexatious as such a regulation appeared to be, it was

still sufficiently cheap to enable the soldier to purchase fully as much as was useful to him. Numbers of the soldiers, indeed, contrived to save money out of their pay. The 91st regiment of Highlanders, in particular, was known to have remitted a good deal of money to their families in Scotland; and many of the serjeants of the different regiments, at the evacuation of the colony, had saved from one to two hundred pounds in hard money.

In the year 1800 the government, in order to bring a little more money into the treasury by the wine licence, directed, by proclamation, that the retail sellers should demand from the soldier the increased price of eightpence the bottle, instead of sixpence, which, however, they had prudence enough to decline. The sum brought into the government treasury by tolerating this monopoly, averaged about seventy thousand rixdollars annually. But in the event of the Cape falling again into our hands, which sooner or later must happen, if it be an object to secure our Indian possessions, it would be wise to supply this part of the revenue by some other means.

Government likewise derived other profits besides those which accrued from the cheapness of the rations. The Deputy-Paymaster-General drew bills on his Majesty's Paymasters-General in England, in exchange for the paper currency of the colony, in which all the contingent and extraordinary expences of the garrison were paid. There was not, in fact, any other circulating medium than this colonial currency which was sanctioned by the English at the capitula-

tion. The hard money that was brought into the colony from time to time, for the purpose of paying the troops, always found its way to India and China, which made it extremely difficult for the Paymaster to collect the necessary sums. But so tenacious was Lord Macartney in adhering to the principle of paying the soldiers in specie, that, notwithstanding the difficulties and the delay which sometimes occurred in procuring it, he chose rather to let the troops go in arrear, than pay them in paper with the highest premium added to it, to prevent the possibility of a suspicion entering a soldier's mind, that he might be cheated. The premium which Government bills bore in exchange for paper currency fluctuated from five to thirty per cent., but was fixed, for the greater part of the time, at twenty per cent. They would, indeed, have advanced to a much higher rate; for the merchant, unable to make his remittances to any great extent in colonial produce, or in India goods, which, if permitted, might have been injurious to the interests of the East India Company, was under the necessity of purchasing these bills. Lord Macartney, however, considered it expedient to fix the premium at twenty per cent., deeming it right that government bills should bear the highest premium of bills that might be in the market, but, at the same time, not to proceed to such a height as to become oppressive either to the merchant or the public. The drawing of these bills was therefore a source of profit to government. Being an article of merchandize among the English traders who had their remittances to make, and the demand for them exceeding the amount that was necessary to be drawn for the extraordinaries of the army, the premium would have risen in proportion to

their scarcity. To have issued them at par with the paper currency to be trafficked with for the benefit of individuals, when that profit could fairly and honorably be applied to the public service, would be a criminal neglect in those who were entrusted with the government. The merchant, no doubt, took care to cover the *per centage* paid on his remittances by a proportionate advance on his goods; and thus the exchange might operate as a trifling indirect tax on the general consumer of foreign articles, which the increased prosperity of the colony very well enabled them to pay.

The amount of bills thus drawn for the contingent and extraordinary expences of the army, from the 1st of October 1795, when the colony was taken, to the 28th of July 1802, the time it should have been evacuated, as appears from the Deputy Paymaster's books, is 1,045,814*l.* 14*s.* 1*d.* upon part of which (for part was drawn at par for specie) the profit derived to his Majesty's government amounts to the sum of 115,719*l.* 3*s.* 1*d.*

Another source of profit, which might have been very considerable, was derived from the importation of specie. The pay of the soldiers, as I have observed above, was invariably made in hard money, and not in paper currency. The Spanish dollar was issued in payment to the troops at the rate of five shillings sterling, which was always its nominal value at the Cape; and, I imagine, it might have been purchased and sent out at four shillings and fourpence, making thus a profit of more than fifteen per cent. on the pay, as well as on the extraordinaries, of the army. The sum that was

thus imported amounted to 103,426*l.* 18*s.* 3*d.* Upon which, supposing the whole sent out by government, which I understand was not exactly the case, though nearly so, the profits must have been 15,514*l.* at home, besides an additional profit of 710*l.* 13*s.* 3*d.* arising from a small quantity of specie bought in the Cape. As government, however, did not send out a sufficient supply from home, the Paymaster was sometimes under the necessity of purchasing hard money at a higher rate than five shillings the dollar, and consequently suffered a loss, as this was the invariable rate at which it was issued to the troops. About four thousand pounds of copper money were sent out, in penny pieces, which were circulated at twopence, from which there was consequently another profit derived of 4000*l.* This was done by the advice of the police magistrates, who were confident that unless this nominal and current value should be put upon it, the foreigners trading to India would carry it as well as the silver out of the colony.

Shortly after the capture of the Cape, General Craig, finding it impossible to raise, upon bills, a sufficient sum of paper currency to defray the extraordinaries of the army, was reduced to the bold measure of stamping a new paper issue, on the credit of the British government, to the amount of fifty thousand pounds; a sum that was never redeemed from circulation, nor brought to any account, until the final restoration of the colony. So that the interest of this sum for seven years produced a further saving to government of 17,500*l.*

TRAVELS IN

By taking these sums together, namely,

Profit on bills drawn	-	L. 115,719	3	1
— on specie imported	-	16,224	13	3
— on copper money	-	4,000	0	0
— on paper money circulated		17,500	0	0
		<hr/>		
We have		L. 153,443	16	
		<hr/>		

which may be considered as a clear gain to the government, (independent of the saving on each ration,) and, consequently, a lessening of the expenditure that was occasioned at the Cape of Good Hope.

As this expenditure has publicly been declared of such enormous magnitude as to overbalance all the advantages resulting from the possession of the settlement, and we have already seen how important these advantages are, when considered only in one point of view, it may not be amiss to point out, in as correct a manner as the nature of the subject will admit, the exact sum expended in any one year, in the military department, at the Cape of Good Hope. The year I shall take is from May 1797 to May 1798, when the garrison was strongest; consisting of

The 3th	}	Light Dragoons.
28th		
The 84th	}	Infantry
86th		
91st		
Scotch Brigade		

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In that year the estimate was made up according to the following extract :

1. Subsistence of the non-commissioned officers and privates of the two regiments of dragoons and four regiments of infantry, for one year, according to the new rate of payment, deducting for rations and hospital charges, - - -	55,729	2	6
2. Clothing and contingent expences for ditto, - - - - -	28,133	13	2
3. Full pay of the commissioned officers of two regiments of dragoons, and four regiments of infantry for one year, according to the latest regulations, - -	43,667	14	8
4. Staff officers and hospital establishment of one inspector, two physicians, one purveyor, four surgeons, two apothecaries, and nine hospital mates, - -	11,178	2	6
5. Commissary-General's department, including engineers, which alone amounts to 17,225 <i>l.</i> 16 <i>s.</i> 5 <i>d.</i> - - -	107,794	10	11
6. Ordnance department, including artillery expences, - - - - -	18,536	14	4
7. Deputy Quarter-Master General's department, including lodging money to officers, which amounts to about 4000 <i>l.</i> and bat and forage for 200 days about 6000 <i>l.</i> in the whole - - -	25,000	0	0
Total amount of one year's expence	<i>L.</i> 290,039	18	1

Or, we may, perhaps, be able to come still nearer the truth, by taking the total expenditure of the whole seven years, thus :

Amount of bills drawn by the Deputy Paymaster General for paper and specie, for the pay and subsistence of the non-commissioned officers and privates, and for the extraordinaries of the army for seven years, - - - -	1,045,814	14	1
Specie imported and bought (about) -	111,000	0	0
Clothing and contingent expences at the rate as above specified per year, -	196,935	12	2
Full pay of the commissioned officers of six regiments, as above, for seven years,	305,674	2	8
Ordnance department for seven years,	129,757	0	4
Total amount	<u>L. 1,789,181</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>3</u>

which total amount, divided by seven, gives 255,597*l.* 7*s.* for the annual average expence incurred in the military department at the Cape of Good Hope. But it would be the height of absurdity to say, that even this sum, moderate as it is, was an additional expence to Government in consequence of the capture of this settlement ; since it is not only composed of the expences of maintaining the garrison, and the contingencies and extraordinaries of the army, but it includes, likewise, the pay, the subsistence, and the clothing of an army of five thousand men. Now as these troops must have been fed, clothed, and paid in any other place, as well

as at the Cape of Good Hope, and, as I have shewn, at a much greater expence, it is certainly not fair to charge this sum to the account of the garrison of the Cape. Even in peace the commissioned officers would have received their half pay, which alone would amount to a sum from 100,000*l.* to 150,000*l.*

There are not, therefore, any grounds for considering the Cape in the light of an expensive settlement. In fact, the sums of money, which have been expended there, dwindle into nothing upon a comparison with those in some of the West India islands, whose importance is a feather when weighed against that of the Cape of Good Hope. Viewing it only as a point of security to our Indian possessions, and as a nursery for maturing raw recruits into complete soldiers, the question of expence must fall to the ground. Of the several millions that are annually raised for the support of government at home, and its dependencies abroad, a small fraction of one of these millions may surely be allowed for the maintenance of a station whose advantages are incalculable. One single fact will sufficiently prove the fallacy of holding out the Cape as an expensive garrison. The price of good bread was one penny a pound, of good mutton and fresh beef twopence, of good sound wine little more than one shilling the gallon, of fruit and vegetables of every description a mere trifle. If in such a country the maintenance of the garrison be attended with great expence, the fault must rest with the government, and cannot be attributable to any unfavorable circumstances in the place itself. If full powers are en-

trusted to weak and corrupt governors, and numerous and unnecessary appointments are created, every station, whatever the local advantages may be, will become expensive.

But the expenditure necessary for the support of the garrison of the Cape, trifling even in war, could be no object whatsoever in time of peace. The fortifications, which were in the most ruinous condition when the place was taken, being finished in a complete manner, would require no further expence than that of merely keeping the works in repair, which might amount, perhaps, to an annual sum of five thousand pounds. The contingencies and extraordinaries of the army could not, at the utmost, amount to twenty thousand pounds; so that twenty-five or thirty thousand pounds would be the extent of the contingent and extraordinary expences of the Cape in time of peace; a sum that, by proper management, and a prudent application of the revenues of the colony, might easily be defrayed out of the public treasury, and leave a surplus adequate to all the demands of the civil department, together with the necessary repairs of public works and buildings.

It may be necessary that I should give the grounds upon which I calculate. From a review of the colonial revenues, I find that the average in the Dutch Government in ten years, from 1784 to 1794, was little more than 100,000 rixdollars yearly, but that by the regulations and new imposts made by the Dutch Commissaries General in 1793, the amount in the following year was 211,568 rixdollars. They

afterwards experienced a considerable increase, and from the first year of Lord Macartney's administration they rose gradually as follows :

From the 1st Oct. 1797 to the 30th Sept. 1798,		
they were	- - -	R. d. 322,512 7 5
1st ditto 1798 to ditto 1799	-	360,312 0 0
1st ditto 1799 to ditto 1800	-	369,596 0 0
1st ditto 1800 to ditto 1801	-	450,713 2 4

And it is here not unworthy of notice, that from the moment of the preliminaries of peace being known they fell, the last year's produce being only

From 1st Oct. 1801 to 30th Sept. 1802	-	389,901 6 0
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And in the following year, as far of it as was expired, they were still less productive.

In their state of progressive improvement under the British Government, without a single additional tax being laid but, on the contrary, some taken off and others modified, arrears of land-rent remitted and again accumulating, I think that under the British flag we might, without any danger of exaggeration, reckon upon a net annual revenue of half a million rixdollars, or one hundred thousand pounds currency. The annual average expenditure, including salaries and contingencies of departments, with the necessary repairs of public works and buildings, were, under the administrations of Lord Macartney and Lieutenant-General Dundas, at the most