

If we happened to give any beads away at the kraals, we were generally assailed with the importunities of a number of women and children, who followed us for several hundred yards entreating us with their most winning graces for "basella," or presents. This annoyance, however, was only met with near the borders of the colony, where the Kaffres have most intercourse with Europeans.

We passed through a very picturesque country, abounding in good pasturage and cattle; and, towards the evening we reached a "kraal" where a number of Kaffres of both sexes were engaged in celebrating the marriage of their petty chieftain, or head man. To judge by the mirth and jollity of the assembly, one would have been led to suppose that they measured the bridegroom's happiness by the number of his wives, which now amounted to four or five.

The men, who were quite naked, were arranged in several lines, like soldiers, with their "asagays" in their hands. At a given signal, they began jumping in the air in succession without quitting their ranks, shouting and humming a

few wild notes in a deep voice. The women were drawn up at a hundred yards distance; they sang, clapped their hands, beat a kind of rude drum made of a calabash, and showed every token of the most extravagant joy. The moment the chieftain saw us he came forward with a smiling countenance and welcomed us most cordially with a hearty shake of the hand. Without our asking for it, a large basket of sour milk was handed up to us as we sat on horseback; and we were invited to dismount and share in the feast which they were preparing from a bullock they had killed for the occasion. We, however, declined their kind invitation, and pushed on to reach Lovedale before dark.

CHAPTER XIII.

Picturesque situation of Lovedale.—Account of the Missionary Station.—A communicative Companion.—Anecdote of a Missionary and a Kaffre Chief.—System of Education.—Performance of Divine Service.—Visit to Kaffre Huts.—Smith's double Bellows described.—Fashion of the Assagays.—Singular Snuffbox.—Journey to the Tchumic Mountains.—Visit to another Missionary Station.—Hospitality of Mr. T——.—Excursion to Tzatzoe's Kraal.—The Chief Gaika.—Friendly Reception at the Kraals.—A happy People.—Delightful Scenery.—Extensive Plain.—Fatiguing Journey.—The Buffalo River.—Bad Soil.—Frequent Hunting Parties.—Barbarous Treatment of the Sick.—Kaffre Customs.

LOVEDALE is situated in a picturesque valley, sprinkled with mimosas and clumps of small trees, and surrounded by high rocky hills. The habitations of the missionaries, which consisted of low wattled huts, were erected in a square, and communicated with each other. They had made tolerable gardens, and appeared to live very comfortably, being well provided

with all the necessaries, and even some of the luxuries of life. They received us with all the cordiality and hospitality which could be expected from Scotchmen meeting their countrymen in this remote situation.

There were two married missionaries, and some young mechanics, who assisted in teaching the Kaffres in their schools. Each family had its separate apartments; but they all met together in the evening in the church, or school-room, where one of the qualified preachers addressed the Kaffres with the aid of an interpreter. At first, we observed nothing particular in their manners, but before dinner an expression of gloom and austerity gradually overspread the countenances of the family, which was followed by a half-mile grace, delivered in a sad and desponding tone of voice, and we sat down to our meal as if we were about to commit some heinous crime, for which we could scarcely hope for forgiveness. This, however, did not prevent any of the party from making a hearty use of the "creature comforts," which Providence, and the kindness of our entertainers, had placed before us; and as

our "sinful bodies" became distended with the "mercies," the cheerfulness of our countenances was gradually restored.

There was no vain mirth; and our conversation never took a general turn, being confined almost exclusively to the subjects most connected with the objects of the mission. Our dinner was followed by excellent Scotch whiskey, and the needful auxiliaries in making punch, or "toddy," as it is called in Scotland.

Our entertainer, Mr. R——, was an exceedingly intelligent and sensible man, and gave us a great deal of interesting information regarding the Kaffres. His reasoning on this important subject, though it was strongly tinged with the narrow and severe tenets of the Presbyterians, showed that the whole powers of his mind had been long and anxiously exerted in his calling. I was much indebted to his kindness and patience, in answering a variety of questions regarding the manners and customs of the Kaffres, many of which had no direct reference to the all-important subject—their conversion to Christianity. He even favoured us with some curious anecdotes,

highly illustrative of the character of this acute and shrewd people.*

I do not exactly remember whether Mr. R—— related the following anecdote, but I trust it will not be considered out of place here: One of the missionaries in Kaffreland had long been exerting his oratorical powers in endeavouring to convert one of the principal chiefs, whom he found very unwilling to believe what he could not understand. On a particular occasion he told the Kaffre, that the Supreme Being was omnipotent, and that there were no bounds to his goodness; but that there was, at the same time, an adverse power, who continually endeavoured to counteract his gracious intentions towards man, by hardening his heart, and filling his mind with evil thoughts; and he concluded by saying, that he believed the difficulty the missionaries experienced in converting the Kaffres was chiefly to be attributed to the influence of the Devil.

The chief listened to what he said with profound attention till he began to speak of the Devil, when he raised his hand to his face to conceal a laugh; but instantly resuming his

gravity, he turned to the missionary, and addressed him in words to the following effect :—
“ You tell me that your God can do what he likes, and that he is good. All this I can readily believe ; but then you say that the Devil prevents us from being converted to your religion. Now, it appears to me, that if you would first pray to God to convert the Devil, you would then have little difficulty in converting us.”

In the evening we accompanied the missionaries to the church, where a number of Kaffres of both sexes were assembled. Nothing can be more laborious than the mode of instruction they are obliged to adopt, in consequence of the great difficulty they experience in acquiring the native language. Not being able to procure interpreters who understand English, the preacher is obliged to deliver his sermons in Cape Dutch, which the interpreter translates sentence by sentence, into the Kaffre language. The worst of it is, that the missionaries have generally a very slight knowledge of Dutch, and the interpreter, besides labouring under a similar disadvantage, has a very imperfect

knowledge of their *meaning*, and often makes sad blunders, which are not likely to escape the notice of the shrewd Kaffres.

After the sermon was finished, a hymn was sung in the Kaffre language, which was succeeded by a prayer of one of the congregation in the same language, and the service was concluded with another hymn. The Kaffres behaved with great propriety, and sat wrapped up in their skins, with their heads resting on their hands, apparently absorbed in thought. Their singing was much inferior to that of the Hottentots, and the men had generally a deep bass voice, in which they differ from the Hottentot men, whose voices are naturally higher pitched. Some of the more promising of the assembly uttered sundry deep groans during the sermon, not always, indeed, in the best places, and many fell asleep, but were jogged by their more attentive neighbours. Before supper my fellow traveller, Mr. S—, was requested to deliver a prayer, which was as devout as it was long.

On the following morning, after a long prayer, a long grace, and a long breakfast, we

visited the Kaffre huts on the establishment. In one of them a native smith was at work, making "assagays," in the manner I have before alluded to, and which merits a particular description. The double bellows was the most curious part of the apparatus. It was formed of two goatskins, which were stripped from the carcasses of the goats in such a manner that they formed leather bags, open at both ends. The neck parts of the two skins were fixed into a common tube, made of a straight bullock's horn. The openings at the opposite ends of the skins were contracted to narrow apertures, and short pieces of sticks sewed to them in such a manner that they may be opened and shut at pleasure by the thumb and fingers of each hand in succession.

A charcoal fire is kindled on one side of an anthill or lump of clay, which is perforated with a horizontal hole. Into this hole the common tube, or horn of the double bellows, is fixed on the opposite side to the fire, and the smith's assistant sits down on the ground between the two skins, or bags. He then slips the thumb and fingers of each hand into small

loops on each side of the aperture at the loose end of each bag, and opening his right hand to allow the air to enter the bag on that side, he again closes it and thrusts his arm forward, which forces the air through the tube. Before the air is all forced out of the bag on his right, he closes the aperture of the left-hand bag, and pushes the other arm forward in the same manner, and thus keeps up a constant blast through the common tube, which communicates with the furnace.

We saw the smith make several assagays in a very short time, with stones of different shapes for hammers. He had several thin bars of iron, which he beat out till they were of the proper thickness, upon his stone anvil, and then formed the point of the assagay in a very dexterous manner with his rude hammer. In forming the groove on each side of the head, or blade of the weapon, he used a flat round-edged shore-stone. The assagays are fashioned in a variety of ways, according to the uses to which they are applied. Most of them were made without shanks, to be used in war, or for killing small animals; others were formed with

long shanks, for killing elephants or buffaloes, and some were barbed and notched in a very curious manner. These iron heads are fixed into long tapering sticks about four feet in length.

By means of the singular bellows I have just described, the Kaffres can smelt out the iron from the ore, which is found in great abundance between Lovedale and the Buffalo river. There is great reason to believe, from the narratives of recent travellers, that this simple bellows is used by most of the native tribes in the interior of Africa, and it is probably of great antiquity among them.

The Kaffres, as well as the neighbouring tribes of the interior, are passionately fond of snuff. Most of them carry snuffboxes, made of small calabashes, suspended round their necks. They have also another kind of snuff-box, made of the scrotum of a calf, which is filled with clay and dried in the sun to harden it. They are exceedingly attached to their cattle, and take great pleasure in twisting their horns into a variety of fantastic shapes. Sometimes they bend one down and the other up.

The horns of others are made to grow straight out in a line with the animal's forehead, like those of the "eland" antelope. I have been informed that this is effected by scraping the horn with a knife on that side to which they wish it to bend.

After spending two days at Lovedale, we proceeded to visit another Scotch missionary station, at the distance of twelve miles, under the Tchumic mountains, and near the river of the same name. The scenery became exceedingly beautiful and romantic as we approached the station, where a small village has been formed in a kind of amphitheatre at the base of the mountain.

The Tchumic mountain, which rises to the height of at least fifteen hundred feet above the village, is covered with a broad belt of wood along the base; but higher up its steep sides it is clothed with verdure to the summit, which terminates in rugged and perpendicular crags. This missionary station, notwithstanding the great beauty of the scenery around it, has been selected with little judgment, the soil being extremely poor and thin, and the extent

of pasturage limited on one side by the mountains.

Most of the habitations of the Kaffres on the establishment were the common bee-hive huts used by the rest of their nation ; but there were a few wattled dwellings of a better description, which they had been persuaded to erect by the missionaries. Mr. T——, the principal missionary and government agent, occupied a neat cottage, constructed with much taste of similar materials. This gentleman was a person of liberal education, excellent abilities, and, in common with the other members of his society, had very unpretending manners. He received us with the most cordial hospitality, and being naturally of a cheerful and lively temper, his conversation embraced a greater variety of topics, and was less tinctured with the peculiarities of his sect and profession than might have been expected.

After spending a day at the Tchumic, we set off early in the morning to visit a station of the London Missionary Society, at Tzatzoe's kraal, near the Buffalo river, which is between forty and fifty miles from Lovedale. We travel-

led along the base of an extensive chain of lofty mountains thickly clothed with fine woods to their summits. The scenery in this part of Kaffreland is more varied if not more romantic than in any part of the colony I had seen. The mountains are more detached from each other, and have less uniformity in their general outline, and the numerous inhabitants in their picturesque attire greatly contribute to the pleasure of the traveller.

We passed the kraal of the chief Gaika, who many years ago was described in very favourable terms by Mr. Barrow, but is now well-known to the colonists as a debased sensualist, who is in the habit of prostituting his wives to his visitors for brandy. Gaika is, or rather was, —for I have heard that he is dead,—a man of great talent and profound cunning. Most of the cattle which have been stolen from the colony have been traced to his kraals; but by his art he has generally managed to throw the blame on some of the neighbouring tribes. He is noted for never giving a direct answer to any question that is put to him.

All the Kaffre chiefs are descended from

one family and they hold a nominal authority in proportion to their relationship to Hinza, who is considered to stand highest among them. Gaika holds the next in point of rank and power, but the inferior chiefs consider themselves quite independent of them, though they acknowledge their superiority in rank.

We were welcomed in the most friendly manner at the different kraals in our way, and supplied with abundance of thick milk. I was much amused at one of them by the device one of the Kaffres hit upon to procure some beads. He selected one of the comeliest of his wives, whose entreaties he thought would be irresistible. She was really a very pretty woman, and possessed a liveliness of expression mixed with a confiding simplicity and native grace which would have softened the heart of a stoic. As soon as the Kaffre saw that the eloquent language of her sparkling eyes had produced the desired effect on my serious companion, he chucked her under the chin in the most endearing manner, and ran forward and kissed Mr. S——'s hands and feet to show his gratitude.

Judging from the cheerful and contented appearance of these people wherever we came, we could not but consider them among the happiest of the human race. The countenance of my companion, who was a truly excellent man, though it could not resist the exhilarating influence of the careless and happy faces around him, frequently assumed a serious and saddening expression when he considered that these honest and kind-hearted people could be happy without any knowledge of the original sinfulness of their nature and of the only way by which they might hope to escape eternal punishment hereafter. They appeared to him like the flies playing round a candle till they were consumed in the flame.

At one of the kraals, we saw a number of youths confined within a small inclosure surrounding a hut, where they were obliged to remain apart from the rest of the people for a certain time until they were considered in the light of men. They were hideously painted with white clay all over the body.

In the course of our journey, we crossed a rapid stream called the Amatoli, which de-

scended from a long valley between the mountains. The romantic and varied beauties of this delightful valley exceeded any scenery of the kind I had ever witnessed in the colony, or in other countries. The steep sides of the mountains on either hand were densely wooded to a great height, and overtopped with perpendicular crags, the summits of which were crowned with beautiful trees and brushwood.

In the back-ground an extensive forest spread itself over the face of the highest part of the mountain range, which was also girt with rocks and precipices. The lovely glen between the mountains was partially wooded or sprinkled with groups of thorn trees, and here and there we observed a few scattered Kaffre huts, and patches of cultivation on the rising grounds near the banks of the Amatoli, which could be traced by the eye for several miles, winding its varied course among the mimosas. I thought I should never be satiated with gazing at this delightful prospect ; and even now, after several years have passed away, I think I see it pictured as vividly before me as when I first beheld it.

We next passed over an extensive plain at the foot of the mountains, where there were fewer habitations than we met with in the first part of our journey. The surface of the plain was everywhere broken with round holes two or three feet in depth, at the bottom of which we observed a hard crust of rich iron ore. It is hard to say whether these holes are natural or artificial. They may possibly have been excavated by the Kaffres to obtain iron for their assagays before they had any intercourse with Europeans; but if this had been the case, the Kaffre guide who rode with us had no knowledge of the fact. It is, perhaps, more probable that the ironstone has formerly lain bare, and that the grass has taken root in the cracks of the stone, and gradually created a soil which in time might produce the present singular appearance.

After a fatiguing journey, we at length reached the Buffalo river, which is a strong and rapid stream, and on fording it, came in sight of the missionary station, where we arrived as the sun was setting. We met with a most kind and hospitable welcome from Mr. B—

and another missionary, Mr. K—, who was a German by birth. We found Mr. B— to be a man of great intelligence, and his manners had little of the sectarian peculiarities. Mr. K— was a worthy, honest, and laborious man, without pretence or affectation. His language, however, was such a sad jumble of German and Dutch, that we had great difficulty in understanding him. He knew a little English also, but it was still more unintelligible. Their mode of instructing the Kaffres was similar to what I have already described at Lovedale.

The soil in the neighbourhood of the station was exceedingly hard and dry, so that the Kaffres on the establishment were obliged to use iron hoes in turning over the ground in their gardens. To remedy this disadvantage, the missionaries had made great exertions to lead out the Buffalo river, to irrigate the land for cultivation; but meeting with rocks in the course of the trench, they were obliged to desist from their undertaking for the present.

Where the soil is sufficiently moist, the Kaffres use wooden spades, resembling paddles, to

dig their gardens. They are exceedingly judicious in selecting those spots for their gardens which are least likely to suffer from drought. I particularly observed that most of them were situated on the shady sides of the hills, and they care little for the steepness of the ground, provided there is sufficient moisture for their crops. Those who live near the forests fell the trees in patches along the margin, where they know the soil is particularly rich, for they never use manure.

The antelopes and other small game have now become exceedingly scarce in Kaffreland, having been almost entirely destroyed in frequent hunting parties. When a chief wishes to have a hunt, he sends to all his people to assemble at a particular spot, when they spread themselves far and wide over the country, forming a large circle, which is gradually contracted till the game are inclosed within a narrow space, where they kill great numbers with their assagays, which they can throw fifty or sixty yards. They also show great dexterity in throwing the "kurie," which is a stick with a large knob on the end of it. In hunting the elephant, they

are obliged to assemble in great numbers, and when they find one by himself, they pierce him with hundreds of assagays until he sinks from loss of blood. On these occasions, two or three of the Kaffres are generally killed by the enraged animal; but the chief who has ordered the hunt considers this a matter of small importance.

The Kaffres have a particular horror of a dead body, and when any one of the inhabitants of a kraal is so ill that they do not expect him to recover, they dig a hole in the ground at some distance from their habitations, and lay the sick person in it with some provisions, and there he remains till his dissolution or the hyenas devour him. Should one of their people die in his hut, the whole kraal is instantly deserted for ever. When a chief dies, however, he is generally buried in the enclosure or kraal where the cattle are kept at night; but when he falls in battle, it is not uncommon to cover the body with a small tumulus or heap of stones to preserve it from the wild animals. This is, no doubt, the origin of the tumuli among the Celtic and Teutonic races, which are so com-

mon in some parts of Europe. The custom of deserting their kraals when any one dies in his hut is now getting into disuse among several of the Kaffre tribes ; but they are extremely careful to avoid touching the corpse with their hands, in dragging it away to be devoured by the hyenas.

On making particular inquiries regarding this custom, I was informed that the Kaffres had formerly always buried their dead ; but that several years ago an infectious disease, or plague, had broken out among them and carried off great numbers, and since that time they had been afraid to touch a dead body.

CHAPTER XIV.

Return to Grahamstown.—Female Doctor.—Costume of the Chief Gaika.—The Kaffre Helen.—Extortions of Gaika.—Cases of Theft.—Kaffre Ceremonies.—Questions put by Mr. S——.—Journey to Lovedale.—System of Conversion pursued by the Missionaries.—Gloom of the People at the Missionary Stations.—Errors of the Missionaries—Their Prejudices.—Education and Civilization.—Introduction of Christianity.—Reasons of Improvement.—Conduct of the Missionaries.—Hints to them.

AFTER spending a day at Tzatzoe's kraal, Mr. S—— and I set out on our return to Grahamstown, and were accompanied a few miles by Mr. B——, the principal missionary. We stopped for half an hour at the hut of the son of the chief Tzatzoe. We found this young man stretched out on his skins on the ground, in the last stage of consumption.

As we entered his hut, he sat up and received us very cheerfully. The clay floor of his tenement was covered with earthen pots,

containing decoctions which had been prepared for him by one of the female doctors, who pretended that she could cure his disease. Finding, however, that her remedies had no effect, to save her credit, she accused one of the young chief's wives of having bewitched him; and the innocent woman had, in consequence, been obliged to seek her safety by fleeing to some of her relations in a distant part of the country.

As we proceeded on our journey, we met the chief Gaika, to whom I have already alluded, on his way to the missionary station we had just left. The old man's appearance was far from prepossessing; for there was an expression of moral debasement and low cunning in his countenance which gave him more the air of a runaway slave than that of an independent and high-spirited chief. He wore an old shabby white hat and a pair of leathern trowsers, after the fashion of the colonial Hottentots; and, to show his rank among his people, he also had a leopard-skin * "carosse," or cloak, thrown over his shoulders, which had no other covering.

* The Kaffre chiefs always wear a leopard's skin, to distinguish them from the rest of the people.

This motley dress, which is often assumed by the Kaffre chiefs, almost completely destroys the native dignity of their appearance, and lowers them in the estimation of the colonists, by assimilating them to the two most degraded classes, the slaves and the Hottentots. Gaika, besides several attendants, was accompanied by his son Makomo, a daring and intriguing young chief, who has lately become well known to the colonists, and by one of his favourite wives. He had some years before carried off this woman from some neighbouring chief, which had occasioned a long and general war among the Kaffre tribes in the neighbourhood of the colony; in which Gaika was victorious, and retained the fair subject of contention.

The appearance of this Kaffre Helen, whose features were of the most homely description, seemed by no means to justify the bloodshed she had occasioned. Beauty, however, is only a comparative term, and the difficulty of attainment of the object generally constitutes a large portion of what is usually termed *love*: so we need not wonder much at King Gaika's taste.

Mr. B—— informed us that Gaika was in the habit of going his rounds occasionally among the Kaffre tribes in the neighbourhood, over whom he had gained considerable influence, and of begging cattle from them. He sometimes succeeded in collecting a considerable number of cattle in this way; for his power was so great, compared to that of the other chiefs, that many of them thought it most prudent to yield to his demands, rather than that their cattle should be stolen by his people.

On the present occasion he had been particularly unsuccessful in levying his "benevolences." He lamented his bad luck to us, and used it as an argument for our giving him some presents. This request we were by no means disposed to comply with; and he proceeded sulkily on his journey, followed by his attendants driving a few miserable-looking cattle, which he had extorted from the unwilling Kaffres.

Horses are very scarce in the Kaffre country, only a few of the chiefs being possessed of them. Gaika had for a long time fixed his heart on a riding-horse belonging to Mr. B——,

and had for several months previously to our visit to Tzatzoe's kraal, paid the missionary occasional visits to induce him to make him a present of the coveted animal. Mr. B—— had every reason to expect that some of Gaika's people would steal his horse; but he was by no means disposed to make a virtue of necessity, and he knew the character of this rapacious Kaffre too well to afford him such a dangerous precedent. The missionaries frequently have their horses and cattle stolen by Gaika's people; but when they are able to trace them to the kraals of that chief, he is generally obliged to restore them, though he always pretends to have no hand in the theft.

Soon after we parted with Gaika and Mr. B——, who returned with him to the Buffalo river, in descending into a beautiful little valley on the banks of a branch of the Keiskamma, we came in sight of a Kaffre kraal, where the people were performing the ceremony of admitting a number of youths into the society of the men of the tribe.

Nothing could be more grotesque and hideous than the appearance of the youths. Their faces

and bodies were bedaubed all over with white and red clay; and they had huge bundles of rushes, or water-flags, suspended round their middles from a girdle hanging half-way down their thighs. Their heads were also ornamented with bundles of stiff flags, which stuck out two or three feet behind them. Each of them carried a long thin wand, with which they belaboured the children whenever they came within their reach, as they slowly waddled about, almost sinking under the weight of their ornaments. They were never allowed to rest for a moment, but followed each other in a long procession, attended by crowds of children, teasing and taunting them continually. The women were collected in a mass at a little distance, beating their drums, clapping their hands, laughing, singing, and yelling.

As soon as we approached the mirthful scene, the chieftain of the kraal came and shook hands with us very cordially, and offered us sour milk to drink. He was a remarkably well-proportioned man, about six feet six inches in height. His countenance was highly expressive of benevolence and good humour. He led his little

granddaughter by the hand, whom he caressed from time to time, and was much delighted when we took notice of her.

From the moment we first beheld the curious ceremony which was acting before us, I observed that the countenance of my companion, Mr. S——, assumed a melancholy expression; and he lamented the ignorant and degraded condition of the Kaffres, whose extravagant and careless mirth seemed only to increase his sadness. I confess that the scene, ridiculous as it was, had a very different effect on myself; and I felt a secret inclination to make myself a Kaffre, and share in the general hilarity around me, in which I could see nothing but innocent enjoyment.

Mr. S—— immediately began to put a number of questions to the old chieftain through our interpreter, which he answered for some time with great candour and good humour. Among other inquiries, Mr. S—— asked him whether he had ever gone to hear the missionaries. The old man replied that he had gone once or twice, but that he could not understand what they said, and that he had therefore dis-

continued his visits, though he believed them to be good kind of people, who did him no harm.

Not satisfied with this answer, Mr. S—— assumed somewhat of a dictatorial strain in the usual style of a master questioning a truant schoolboy. The Kaffre now, for the first time, appeared a little out of humour, and told the interpreter to say to Mr. S—— that he did not want to be bothered, as he had other matters to attend to.

Taking advantage of the pause produced by this reply, I quietly suggested to my companion, “that the present occasion did not seem peculiarly favourable for obtaining a patient hearing.” “That is very true,” replied my zealous friend, “but we are bound to lose no opportunities of instructing.” Shaking hands with the honest chieftain, and the dust from our feet, we left these happy and benighted heathens to the full enjoyment of their sports, and pursued our journey to Lovedale, where we had left our other companion, who had been too much fatigued to accompany us to the Buffalo river.

I had many opportunities in the course of this journey, and during my previous residence within the colony, to make observations on the system pursued by the missionaries, in converting the Hottentots and Kaffres to Christianity.

At all the missionary stations in Kaffreland, I could not help remarking the gloomy and desponding expression which pervaded the countenances of the people; there was no singing—no dancing—and none of that buoyancy of spirits and animation which characterize the Kaffre race in general. We cannot for a moment suppose that this can be the effect of true religion, which by purifying the heart, elevating the sentiments, and providing the highest motives of action, should rather fill the soul with cheerfulness, and promote innocent hilarity.

I soon found, however, that at all the missionary stations those innocent amusements of which the Kaffres are so fond are strictly prohibited as sinful in their nature. The natural effect of this austerity is to sink the mind in

gloom and despondency, and to render the Christian religion unamiable at first sight. From its original constitution, the human mind is incapable of being confined to one only subject of contemplation without producing weariness and disgust; and unless it be refreshed by occasional relaxation and amusements or variety of occupation, it soon loses its vigour and elasticity, and becomes melancholy and torpid.

When this circumstance is duly considered, we need not feel much surprised at the general disinclination evinced by the Kaffres for the Christian religion, which is exhibited in such unattractive colours to a lively people. It appears to me that one of the great errors into which the missionaries have fallen, is their endeavouring to effect too much at once, instead of confining themselves, in the first instance, to the simpler and more comprehensible truths of our religion.

Unfortunately, also, each sect has some peculiar dogma, which they generally inculcate in their followers, too often to the partial exclusion of the more important doctrines which

form the foundation of the creeds of all sects of Christians.

Almost all the missionaries among the Kafres are dissenters, and each sect is ambitious of increasing the numbers of its followers; a spirit of rivalry among them is the necessary consequence of this party zeal, which, joined to that external gloom and austerity which distinguishes them all, naturally creates a further distaste for their instructions. The missionaries, with a very few exceptions, have been chosen, rather on account of their zeal than from possessing the enlarged views and knowledge of human nature which are absolutely necessary in converting barbarians.

Many of them are men of good natural talents, but they are generally uneducated; their minds are overrun with the narrow prejudices and fanatical zeal by which their different sects are distinguished; thus their intellect is obscured, and they are prevented from adopting the only probable means of effecting the important objects for which they have been selected. Their task is, indeed, a very difficult, if

not impossible one, in the present state of the Kaffre tribes, and it would be very unfair to attribute the slow progress of the work of conversion solely to the inefficiency of the missionaries: but as most of them must be fully aware of the total inadequacy of the system hitherto pursued, they should confess the truth, instead of flattering the hopes of their employers by sanguine if not exaggerated statements of their progress.

From all I have observed of the Hottentots and Kaffres, it appears to me that they can only be converted through the medium of civilization; for it seems quite impossible to make them comprehend the doctrines of the Christian religion, or to give due weight to the evidence on which it is founded, without previous education, and long-established habits of reflection and reasoning on abstract subjects.

It is true, that considerable numbers of the Hottentots within the colony have been baptized; but it should be remembered that little persuasion is requisite to induce *them* to adopt the religion of those whom they have been ac-

customed to consider their superiors, and with whom they will be raised to terms of equality on becoming Christians.

This is the simple reason for the great facility experienced in converting the Hottentots, who do not even take the trouble of starting objections to the doctrines inculcated by the missionaries, but adopt them at once without examination, much in the same way as a new fashion in any part of wearing apparel is followed in our own country, without considering whether it is better suited to our ideas of comfort or convenience than the old one.

With the Kaffres, on the contrary, the missionaries have much greater difficulties to contend with. The latter are a reasoning and independent people, who have no prejudices in favour of Christianity, and have no immediate interest to serve by adopting our religion; and it is only by argument that they are to be convinced of its truth. Though there can be little difficulty in showing them the advantages resulting from the observance of the moral duties inculcated by the Christian religion — to which the natural sense of right and wrong, implanted

originally in the human breast, bears ample testimony,—it is a very hard matter to make them believe that an all-powerful and merciful Deity would suffer his own Son to die a cruel death to make atonement for the sins of mankind.

These things are, indeed, so entirely incomprehensible in themselves that no reasonable person can be convinced of their truth but through the medium of human testimony, and our faith will be strong or weak exactly in proportion to the value we attach to historical records. Could the missionaries work miracles, like Christ and the Apostles, they would have little difficulty in converting the most barbarous nations through the medium of their senses; but as matters actually stand, they must be made acquainted with the value of human testimony as it is handed down to us by history, before anything like rational conviction can be produced in their minds. This can only be effected by education and civilization, which enlarge the mind, and enable it to reason on abstract subjects.

It is a very common opinion that the civili-

zation of barbarous races can be effected simply by converting them to Christianity. In a former part of this work, I have endeavoured to show that civilization is the natural effect of the gradual condensation of the population, which takes place in process of time in all countries, and I need not therefore repeat my arguments in this place.

There can be no doubt that Christianity brings a people to a much higher degree of civilization than they could attain without its aid; but I believe no instance can be produced of its raising a nation, or smaller society of men, from barbarous or savage condition to a state of civilization, without the active operation of other causes.

Before Christianity can be understood or received, the mind must be previously opened and enlarged by civilization and education, and we are not to believe that simple acquiescence, as in the case of the Hottentots, without examination, constitutes a genuine conversion to our religion. On the contrary, it is only to be considered as a melancholy proof of the degraded state to which their minds have been

reduced, by their long subjection to European tyranny and oppression.

The progress of the missionaries in the conversion of the Kaffres has been proportionably slow, as these people, from their mental superiority to the Hottentots, admit nothing, as I have already observed, until their minds are convinced by reasoning and reflection. But after all has been done which reasoning can effect, many of the most important truths of Christianity must be taken entirely upon trust; for the Kaffres can form no conception of the value of written testimony. The missionaries are much in the same situation as a merchant, who offers some article of great intrinsic value to a savage, such as gold or silver. If the savage be unacquainted with these articles, his eye may be fascinated with their external beauty; but if he is not made thoroughly acquainted with the uses to which they are applicable, and their exchangeable value, the same quantity of brass or tin, it is probable, would hold as high a place in his estimation. The merchant must not only prove to him that these metals are useful in themselves, but that no

other metals are equally well adapted to the purposes to which they are applied.

If little is to be expected from the exertions of the missionaries in the way of conversion to Christianity, I fear still less can be effected by their means in civilizing the savage races among whom they are placed. They may teach them to read, and tell them to work, and cover their naked bodies by means of the produce of their labour; but this is not sufficient. They must acquire new wants before they will toil for the means of gratifying them. To excite these wants, a common trader can do much more than the most laborious missionary, simply by exhibiting his wares, explaining their uses, and the quantity of labour required to purchase them.

I remember a missionary at Theopolis, in the district of Albany, honestly confessing to me in the course of conversation, that the establishment of a merchant's store or shop in that village, had done more towards civilizing the Hottentots in a few months, than all his exertions and preaching could effect in as many years. I have no wish to detract in the smallest

degree from the merits of the missionaries, who deserve the greatest praise for their zealous and persevering efforts in their calling; but I cannot, consistently with the determination I have formed to speak out my true sentiments on the subjects of which this work treats, pass over the very exaggerated statements which have been sent home regarding their progress in the civilization of the Hottentots within the colony. They have uniformly taken the whole credit of every improvement which has been effected in the condition of these people, which they must well know are chiefly to be attributed to other causes, over which they have no control.

That the Hottentots in the districts of Albany and Uitenhage have of late made considerable advances in civilization, or, in other words, in the acquisition of *wants* and *industry*, is true; but this partial improvement has taken place in consequence of the change effected in these districts by the introduction of several thousands of British settlers in 1820, which created a demand for agricultural produce, and stimulated the industry of the other

inhabitants who had hitherto led a purely pastoral life.

Before that time, the Dutch farmers were nothing but the coarsest description of clothing, and were without many of the luxuries which are now common among them. The Hottentots, at the same period, were half naked, or clothed only in skins. All manufactured goods and groceries were exceedingly dear, as they were either brought by land from Cape Town, or procured at Algoa bay from the store of a merchant who monopolized the trade at the only sea-port near the frontiers of the colony. As soon, however, as the British settlers arrived in Albany in 1820, Algoa bay began to be better known and more frequented by coasters, and imported goods became much cheaper and more generally diffused among all classes of the inhabitants. They, in fact, acquired many wants which they had not before, and consequently they became more *industrious* in order to supply them.

With regard to the improvements effected at the two missionary stations at Theopolis in the Albany district, and at Bethelsdorp in the

Uitenhage district, the most exaggerated accounts have been sent home. Formerly, by the laws of the colony all the Hottentots were liable to punishment if they were found wandering about the country without a pass from a master or from some missionary station.

In consequence of this oppressive system, these people found it to be most to their advantage to attach themselves *nominally* to one of these stations, which they called their home, and visited *occasionally*, when not employed in working for the farmers in the neighbourhood. A very small proportion of the Hottentots attached to these missionary stations were ever actually resident at one time; yet the religious world have been led to believe that the whole number of Hottentots whose names stand in the books kept at the different stations have been constantly receiving instruction from the missionaries.

Great efforts have been made by the missionaries to induce the Hottentots to build substantial brick and stone houses at Theopolis and Bethelsdorp, and several tolerable habitations have been erected under their direc-

tion and superintendence. This is all highly praiseworthy in the missionaries; but at the same time, in common candour they have no right to assume that these improvements, which are in a great measure *compulsatory*, are to be taken as a fair criterion by which we are to judge of the progress of civilization at their villages. If it were in their power to induce the Hottentots who inhabit these houses to labour for themselves, or others, so as to enable them to procure a sufficiency of food and clothing, they would do them a much more essential service, and convince the world that they had wrought an advantageous change in their habits of life.

After allowing the missionaries every credit for their exertions, and the best intentions with regard to the Hottentots, I cannot help thinking that they have been particularly unfortunate in the system they have adopted for the general improvement of this people. It is notorious to all the colonists, that the Hottentots who have resided for any time at the missionary stations are generally the most idle and worthless of their nation.

I have often been surprised to find that some of these people, who bore the very worst character among the farmers, and had conducted themselves very badly in my own service, were considered quite saints at the missionary stations, where they find it their interest to assume the greatest sanctity of demeanour. It must always do much more harm than good to assemble a number of ignorant people together, to live in sloth and idleness, as is generally the case at these stations. No preaching or instruction is able to counteract the vicious habits that are engendered in such circumstances. If the missionaries were obliged to travel about, as they do in some of our other colonies, this evil would be avoided, and they would have an opportunity of preaching to the Dutch farmers at the same time, who require instruction in religious matters every bit as much as the Hottentots.

In another respect the missionaries, with the best intentions possible, have done infinite mischief by fostering a spirit of hatred and insubordination among the Hottentots towards the Dutch and British colonists, by the ready

credence they lend to their complaints against their employers. When we consider the peculiar position of the missionaries, and the little intercourse they hold with the Dutch and English colonists, we need not be surprised at the violent party feeling in which they indulge among themselves, and encourage in their followers. It is quite natural that they should have a strong bias in favour of a nation who are often subjected to oppression and imposition; but nothing can produce more dangerous effects, as society is constituted, than listening too readily to the complaints of servants and espousing their cause against their masters on all occasions, which has the direct effect of encouraging disobedience and discontent.

Nothing is more common than for a Hottentot to leave the service of a master perfectly satisfied with his treatment; and yet, as soon as he reaches one of the missionary stations, a sad story of oppression and injustice is hatched up; for the Hottentots well know that this is the sure mode of ingratiating themselves with the missionary, who generally writes to the nearest magistrate on the subject. An inves-

tigation follows, and in most cases the complaint is found to be entirely groundless.

I believe a great part of this evil arises from the ignorance and prejudices of the missionaries as respects the colonists, and still more from the ignorance and credulity of the Hottentots, who are very easily misled by others, from the great weakness of their memory and judgment. I remember an instance in point, which puts this matter in a pretty strong point of view.

While I resided in the district of Uitenhage, a Hottentot woman, who had been living with a Dutch farmer near the Bosjesman's river, went to Theopolis and told a young missionary, who had recently arrived in the colony, that her master had flogged her cruelly, and exhibited the marks of the stripes on her back. The missionary immediately took a couple of armed Hottentots along with him, and marching into the farmer's house, before his family and servants, without ceremony demanded an explanation of his conduct. The farmer felt extremely hurt at the insult thus offered him, and intended to bring the matter before the

magistrate, but was at last appeased by the missionary, who found it most convenient to make an apology for his conduct. It was proved that the woman had been beaten by her *husband*, and not by her master. She certainly did not expect what followed, or she would not have brought forward so false an accusation, which seemed to have no motive but that of exciting commiseration.

As the courts in the Cape colony are now constituted, the Hottentots require no such advocacy, and the missionaries would do better if they confined themselves to their own particular calling, instead of thrusting themselves forward in matters which are quite out of their province. The love of power is natural to man, and with none does it show itself in a more objectionable shape than with religious sects of all denominations, because their vanity and spiritual pride lead them to fancy that their actions are peculiarly sanctioned by the Deity; and for this reason their motions should be watched with unremitting jealousy, to prevent them from erecting a temporal power on a spiritual basis.

It is thus that those villages which the missionaries have formed for the purpose of instructing the Hottentots and converting them to Christianity, have gradually become petty governments, where, from the influence they have gained by espousing their cause against the other classes, they exercise a kind of despotic authority over them, and foment a feeling of hostility towards the Whites, which has already partially disorganised the frame of society, and occasioned innumerable evils, that militate against the prosperity of the colonists.

It is this love of power and this busy meddling spirit, which intermix themselves with the best meant but injudicious exertions of the missionaries in South Africa, that have principally occasioned the dislike and jealousy with which they are viewed by the greater portion of the settlers. Until the abuses arising from the temporal power acquired by the missionaries over the Hottentots are removed, by the breaking up of their stations, their exertions will be attended with much more harm than good to all classes of the inhabitants of the colony. It should be their endeavour to soothe and heal

the angry feelings between the conflicting classes, which have been occasioned by former cruelties and oppression on the part of the Whites, but which no longer exist to any great extent. They should remember, that "a gentle answer turneth away wrath," and that insolence and insubordination on the part of the Hottentots are most likely to provoke a continuance of severity and tyranny on the part of their masters, who have long been accustomed to exercise a despotic power over their dependants.

All men are liable to err; and I wish it to be clearly understood, that what I have said regarding the missionaries is principally applicable to their *system*, which I believe to be radically bad, and productive of the worst consequences, as respects the interests and improvement of all classes of the community.

CHAPTER XV.

Journey to Grahamstown.—The Schoolmaster and the Dutch Lady.—Education among the Cape Dutch.—The Meester.—The Author takes up his residence in Grahamstown.—Determines to return to Europe.—Population of the Town.—Situation of Mechanics and Artisans.—Danger of suddenly acquired Power.—Rapid increase of Dissenters.—The Market Place.—Dishonesty of the Dutch.—Precaution of the Shopkeepers.—Opportunity of returning to England.—The Author embraces it.—Sails from Port Elizabeth.—Arrival at the Nore.—Parting Words to the Reader.

ON the following morning after our arrival at Lovedale we set off on our return to Grahamstown, where Mr. S— and his companion took leave of me, and continued their journey back to Uitenhage. We were all three exceedingly pleased with our excursion. Mr. S— entertained us during our journey with many amusing anecdotes of the Dutch, whose character and modes of thinking he enjoyed