

imposed by the Company, until at last the Commissioners had to yield. The Commissioners made an *ad misericordium* appeal to the people to be loyal. But the people declared their loyalty to the Netherlands, and stated that they were determined to oppose the corrupt government of the Company. America had for some time become a free Republic, and France had followed the example of America.

The days of monarchical and aristocratic misrule in Europe were numbered, and the South African colonists, who combined the slow tenacity of the Teutonic nature with the fervour infused by the Huguenot element, had grasped fully the new doctrines of the rights of man. The descendants of the men who had *made* the United Netherlands, and freed themselves from the tyrannies of Alva and the yoke of Philip of Spain, were quickened in their resistance to tyranny by mingling their race with the heroic Frenchmen who had defied the persecuting will of "le grand Monarque."

The Commissioners were powerless and paralyzed. War was declared between France and England, with the Netherlands in alliance. The Netherlands were no more "United Provinces." The Orange party alone favoured the English alliance. The bulk of the Hollanders favoured the French Republic. These facts were the key to subsequent events at the Cape. The Commissioners raised a "Pandour" corps of Hottentots. They also raised a "Pennist" corps from the Company's clerks in the Cape Town offices. They divided Cape Town into twenty-three municipal

wards, and adopted a new system of town police; and then they sailed for Java. Before sailing they devolved the government of the Cape upon an incompetent invalid named Abraham Josias Sluysken, under whose feeble hands the rule of the Dutch East India Company ceased for ever in South Africa.

Mr. Sluysken took office in September 1793. In February 1794 the Dutch East India Company became insolvent. Gold and silver coinage had vanished from South Africa, and now the Company's paper money was worthless. Trade was stagnant. Some influential Burghers openly declined to acknowledge the Government, and Sluysken occupied himself by erecting some petty defences at Simon's Bay against a possible French attack. The Burghers of the district of Graaff Reinet sent down a weighty petition of grievances, which was followed by a deputation earnestly requesting the recall of the detested Landdrost Maynier. Governor Sluysken turned a deaf ear to their appeals. The Burghers determined to act.

On February 4, 1795, forty armed Burghers entered Graaff Reinet and demanded an interview with the Landdrost. They waited two days until the Court of Heemraden assembled, who were the Landdrost's assessors in administering the district. They then expelled Maynier and all the officials who favoured him, hoisted the Dutch tricolour in opposition to the orange cockades worn by the Company's officers, declared themselves adherents of the "National" or French party, and appointed a new set of officials

who administered affairs in absolute independence of the Company's Government in Cape Town.

A few months afterwards the Burghers of Swellendam expelled their Landdrost and set up their own Government. The Swellendam Burghers established a National Assembly for their government, and the authority of the Cape Government was practically confined to the Cape Peninsula. Sluysken could do nothing to reduce these infant Republics to obedience. Many in Cape Town itself sympathized with their action, and he had only one regular regiment of infantry and four hundred artillery that he could depend upon. The infantry, under Colonel de Lille, were mercenaries of various nationalities, who were officered by Orange partisans who did not wish to resist England, the ally of the Stadtholder. The artillery favoured the "National" cause. The whole force was commanded by Colonel Gordon, a Scotchman in the Netherlands army.

Sluysken was left for several months without news from Europe. But on June 11, 1795, news came from Simonstown that several ships of unknown nationality were beating into False Bay. Sluysken hastily summoned his Council, and at half-past two in the morning an Englishman arrived at the Castle from Simonstown. Events had developed rapidly. The Englishman was Mr. Ross, secretary to Major-General Craig, and the despatches he bore were polite orders to the Governor and to Colonel Gordon to visit Admiral Elphinstone's flagship for the purpose of receiving a message from the Stadtholder. The

British fleet had anchored off Simonstown, and effective resistance was impossible. The fleet consisted of three seventy-fours, the *Monarch*, *Arrogant*, and *Victorious*, three sixty-fours, the *America*, *Ruby*, and *Stately*, and a frigate and two war-sloops. The object of the British commander was to obtain peaceable possession of the colony. The Governor and Colonel Gordon declined to visit the flag-ship, so the Colonel of the 78th Highlanders, the captain of the *Echo*, and Mr. Ross arrived at the Castle, with a mandate from the Prince of Orange ordering the Cape authorities to admit the British troops as a protection against French invasion. At the same time the news of the flight of the Stadtholder to England, and the successful invasion of the Netherlands by the armies of the French Republic was communicated to the Cape Government. But the British commander was careful to keep Governor Sluysken in ignorance of the true state of affairs. The Governor and his Council were of the Orange faction, but they did not obey the Stadtholder's mandate, and temporized whilst awaiting further information. They avoided hostilities with the English, but said they could defend the colony against the French without their help. The Swellendam "Nationals" at first declined to aid in the defence of the colony. But in July they sent 168 mounted Burghers to reinforce the garrison. About this time a newspaper from an American vessel had escaped the vigilance of the British blockade and embargo on all letters and despatches from Europe. The Governor and Council at last knew the truth. The Netherlands

were formed into a Republic in sympathy with France, and the Prince of Orange was exiled by the national will. The Council at once decided to resist the British forces. Simonstown was quietly evacuated, and as quickly occupied by the British on July 14. Colonel de Lille commanded the forces at the Pass of Muizenberg, which was a strong position near the sea, commanding the only possible route for troops between Simonstown and Cape Town. He had eleven guns and about 750 men. On August 7 the British war vessels opened fire on the camp at Muizenberg, and General Craig marched from Simonstown with a column of 1600 men, formed of the 78th regiment, marines, and blue-jackets. De Lille and his mercenaries fled at the first fire. The artillery stood their ground, and inflicted some damage on the English ships, but the advance of General Craig's forces caused them to retreat. The Burgher forces were thrown into confusion by De Lille's sudden retreat. The Muizenberg Pass was lost, and Cape Town lay open to the invading force. The Burgher officers accused De Lille of treason, and he was imprisoned until afterwards released by the British, when he entered the English service as barrack-master of Cape Town.

All hope of successful resistance was over. A few desultory and useless skirmishes followed, but the regular troops had no heart for the fight, and the Burghers distrusted Colonel Gordon. General Craig was most anxious to avoid bloodshed. He made no attempt to occupy Cape Town, and on September 4,

twelve Indiamen and three men-of-war, with 3000 fresh troops under General Sir Alured Clarke, landed at Simonstown. On September 14 a force of nearly 5000 British troops advanced from Muizenberg on Cape Town. A handful of Burghers harassed the line of march, and a body of Swellendam "Nationals" showed conspicuous bravery. General Clarke's forces halted at Newlands, about six miles outside Cape Town, and Governor Sluysken called his Council together for the last time to debate the situation. Further resistance was hopeless. A flag of truce was sent to the British commander, and on Tuesday, September 15, the capitulation of the Cape Colony to the British forces was signed at Rondebosch. The capitulation allowed the Dutch troops to surrender with the honours of war. The Dutch Reformed religion was to be maintained by law. No new taxes were to be levied. All private property was to be respected, but the property of the Dutch East India Company was to be held in pledge to redeem their paper money.

On Wednesday afternoon General Craig, with 1200 infantry and 200 artillery, drew up on the Cape Town parade-ground in front of the Castle. The Dutch troops marched out with drums beating and colours flying, and Colonel Gordon ordered them to lay down their arms. Some of them used violent language against Governor Sluysken and Colonel Gordon, and one tried to strike his Colonel.

The Dutch tricolour on the Castle was supplanted by the Union Jack. The Government was administered

by Admiral Elphinstone and Generals Clarke and Craig.

Mr. Rhenius, who had been Acting Governor some years previously, became Treasurer-General to the new Government on October 10, and many Civil servants followed his example. On October 5 the late Commander of the garrison, Colonel Gordon, died by his own hand.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE COMING OF THE ENGLISH.

The Dutch made South Africa, the English occupied it—Causes of the Disunion between English and Dutch—Faults of National Character on both sides—Administration of Lord Macartney—Third Kafir War, 1799—Administration and Dismissal of Sir George Yonge—Trouble at Graaff Reinet—Peace of Amiens, 1802—The Colony restored to the Batavian Republic—General Janssens becomes Governor—Renewal of War between France and England—Recapture of the Cape by General Baird in 1806—Surrender of General Janssens—Administration of the Earl of Caledon and Sir John Cradock—Fourth Kafir War, 1812—The "Black Circuit"—Bezuidenhout's Rebellion, and the Tragedy of Slachter's Nek, 1815—Fifth Kafir War—Battle of Grahamstown—The Prophet Makana—1819—The British Settlers of 1820—Tyranny of Lord Charles Somerset—Commission of Inquiry, 1823—Contest for Freedom of the Press, 1824—Sir Benjamin D'Urban appointed Governor—Sixth Kafir War, 1834—Death of Hintsá—Sir B. D'Urban's Policy upset by Lord Glenelg—Dismissal of Sir B. D'Urban, who is succeeded by Sir G. Napier in 1838—The Stockenstrom Treaties—Sir P. Maitland appointed Governor in 1844—Seventh Kafir War, 1846—Sir H. Pottinger appointed Governor in 1846, who is succeeded by Sir H. Smith in 1847.

WE have traced the making of South Africa to the men sent to form a colony for the use of the Dutch East India Company. We have also traced the gradual ruin of that Company, and the anarchy caused by its misgovernment and tyranny, up to the ignominious ending of its rule on September 16, 1795. It is seldom

that the military occupation of a country by a foreign power meets with the passive acquiescence of its inhabitants. But the rule of the Company was held in such general detestation and contempt by the whole body of the colonists, that active opposition to the British authorities was felt to be useless and impossible. The colonists were men whose loyalty to the Netherlands was a weaker feeling than their disloyalty to the Company. The Netherlands had left them virtually undefended. The British Government at all events was better than the tyranny of "Jan Company," and the Burghers and traders knew that they would benefit by the more generous commercial policy of England. The Dutch and English were kinsmen of the same Teutonic stock. A United South African nationality, based on a fusion of races, such as has taken place in the State of New York (where citizens of Dutch and English descent vie with one another in their American patriotism), may be within a measurable distance in 1895. But it is by no means a nearly accomplished fact. One object of this chapter will be to answer the natural question, What has kept two Teutonic peoples apart for nearly 100 years in South Africa?—and the answer will have to be just this, The political, social, legal, and military blunders of British rule. We shall have to record obstinate blundering in Downing Street, which cost thousands of lives in native wars, and to tell how the *summum jus* of Imperial Parliament in abolishing slavery, became *summa injuria* in South Africa. We shall have to tell of the tyranny of a British Governor who destroyed the freedom of the

Press with a censorship borrowed from Russian despotism. We shall have to tell of the persistent denial of representative government, and of a political and social effacement of the Dutch colonists which lasted for nearly sixty years, and which caused the flower of their manhood to emigrate in 1836, and found the Transvaal and Free State Republics. We shall have to tell of the attempt of the British Government to turn South Africa into a convict station, and its defeat by the united action and stubborn resistance of the people.

But we do not desire to paint the shadows too darkly. The very darkness of the shadows will emphasize the clearness of the lights. The infusion of British energy and capital into South Africa has conferred untold benefits upon the country. The coming of the English will one day be found to be a chief factor in making South Africa one of the great nations of the world.

The colonists had the faults that might be expected to develop in a European community that had been isolated 6000 miles away from Europe for about 150 years. The country people had lost the habits of trim cleanliness and industry which their Netherland ancestors had brought with them to South Africa. They adhered with great tenacity to the narrow Calvinism of the Dutch Reformed Communion; and the frontier farmers, maddened by the depredations of Bushmen and Kafirs, were inclined to view their native enemies as Joshua did the Canaanites. The townspeople had developed a taste for luxury, and although

their slaves were well treated, they were not free from the moral laxity and indolence which characterizes a slave-holding community. The corrupt Government of "Jan Company" and the oppressive taxes levied by its officials corrupted the Burghers, and caused them in self-defence to make a practice of cheating the revenue. They became shrewd and unscrupulous in bargaining. But their faults were counterbalanced by a fortitude in danger founded on a real trust in God, a self-reliant spirit and love of liberty that has made them the best pioneers of civilization the world has yet seen. The Englishman of the beginning of this century was not a faultless person. His hereditary contempt for foreigners was increased by the successes of the British arms against revolutionary France.

The Tories were in power, and their active hatred of the republican spirit that had been developed, first in America, and then in France, led them to bolster up despotism, and to believe that no other nation but England ought to aspire to constitutional freedom. The average Englishman of the day was imbued with these ideas, and his notion of freedom did not rise beyond the ideal of Government by the will of the aristocracy. These notions were naturally prominent in naval and military men and in official circles.

It was from this class of Englishmen that the average Cape colonist formed his conclusions about Englishmen in general.

The English at the Cape held the colonists in contempt. The colonists thought that the English were arrogant and inclined to ride roughshod over the

rights and liberties of other nationalities. But these differences and antagonistic feelings were much minimized in Cape Town and the neighbourhood. The British commanders showed a conciliatory spirit, and a desire to cultivate friendly relations with the colonists. The Swellendam "Nationals" soon submitted. The Graaff Reinet people were more obstinate. General Craig appointed Mr. Bresler, a Dutch officer of De Lille's regiment, as Landdrost of Graaff Reinet. On February 22, 1796, Mr. Bresler hoisted the British flag at the Magistrate's Office at Graaff Reinet. The excited Burghers demurred, and three of them, Gronning, Joubert, and Kruger, hauled it down. The names of the last two men are significant, for their kinsmen or descendants eighty-five years afterwards were the most prominent actors in the Transvaal War of Independence in 1881. President Kruger raised the standard of the Republic, and declared war against the English occupation of the Transvaal, and General Joubert commanded the victorious Boers at the Battle of Majuba Hill. But the Graaff Reinet "Nationals" soon listened to the voice of common sense. General Craig despatched a military force against them, and cut off their supplies of ammunition and goods from Cape Town. They then submitted, and General Craig withdrew Mr. Bresler, and allowed them to retain their own Landdrost, Mr. Gerotz.

A fleet of nine Dutch men-of-war anchored in Saldanha Bay in August 1796 to attempt the recapture of the Cape. Admiral Elphinstone surrounded them, and they surrendered without firing a shot.

General Craig was respected by the colonists for his just administration and determination to put down bribery and corruption. The British Government declared their intention of retaining the colony, and sent Lord Macartney, a distinguished civilian, who had been Ambassador to China, as Governor. He took office in 1797, and he governed well, although upon despotic lines. There was little freedom of speech permitted, and the colonists who accepted the new order of things were treated with marked favour. Those, however, who were suspected of French or republican leanings were brought to order by having soldiers billeted upon them. Very soon the English and Dutch, who mingled in Government House circles, were drawn together by social ties. Sir John Barrow, the Auditor-General, married a Cape Dutch lady, and other officers and civilians followed his example by marrying into colonial families. In 1798 the first post-office of the Cape Government was established, and the boundary of the colony was extended to the Tarka river beyond Graaff Reinet. In the same year Lord Macartney was succeeded by General Dundas as Acting Governor until the appointment of Sir George Yonge in 1799. In March 1799 the Third Kafir War broke out. General Vandeleur had been sent with some troops to pacify the Graaff Reinet district, which had again been disturbed, and on his way back to Algoa Bay the Kafirs attacked his column. Lieutenant Chumney and twenty men of the 81st Regiment were cut off, and only four escaped. The Swellendam and Graaff Reinet Burghers took the

field, and for the first time British troops and Dutch colonists fought side by side against the Kafirs. General Dundas came to the frontier and took over the command. There was a good deal of desultory fighting, and finally a peace was again patched up by Maynier, who had cleverly ingratiated himself with the British authorities. The troops retired, and the frontier colonists knew that they were in a worse position than before. Maynier was put once more into authority on the frontier.

In March 1799 the London Missionary Society began operations in South Africa by sending Dr. van der Kemp and Mr. Kicherer, with two lay workers, as missionaries to Kafirland. No Missionary Society has ever been so unfortunate in its leading agents as this Society has been in South Africa. The predominant religion of the Society was of the Independent or Congregationalist type, and its leading missionaries caused endless political trouble by indiscriminately espousing the cause of the natives as against the colonists, both Dutch and English. Van der Kemp was a man of culture and refinement. But he desired to identify himself with native ways, so he bought a black slave girl, and married her. The murder of his half-caste son by the Kafirs in the war of 1877 recalled a strange link with an almost forgotten past.

In April 1801 Sir George Yonge was summarily dismissed from office, and was succeeded by General Dundas. He was unfit for his post, and was universally detested. He was surrounded by favourites,

who took bribes and reverted to a shameless corruption only paralleled by the worst days of the Dutch East India Company. General Dundas was at once faced by fresh troubles at Graaff Reinet. The Dutch Reformed Church had been destroyed by fire in 1799, and the Burghers, although half ruined by the Kafir War, had built a new church, which the British Government desecrated by using as a barrack for their Hottentot soldiers. The quartering of European troops in the church would have been resented, but the Burghers felt that the presence of the Hottentots was adding insult to injury. General Dundas said that the building was cleaned, and the Hottentots turned out on Sundays before the hours of Divine Service, but the Burghers, who thought that Maynier was at the bottom of the mischief, rose in armed insurrection. Petitions from Burghers in favour of British rule poured in against the rule of Maynier, and he was recalled. Directly this step was taken the Burghers submitted peaceably to the Government. At this juncture England had entered into peace negotiations with the French Republic. Eighty millions had been added in three years to the English National Debt.

On March 27, 1802, the Peace of Amiens was ratified, and one of its conditions was the restoring of the Cape Colony to the Netherlands. The Netherlands had become the Batavian Republic, which was imbued with the ideas of the French Revolution, and was in close alliance with France. The Stadtholder remained in exile, and the Orange party was for the

time being utterly effaced. The Peace of Amiens was an armed truce between exhausted combatants. The Batavian Republic sent Commissary-General de Mist to settle the affairs of the Cape Colony, and General Janssens as Governor.

On February 21, 1803, the Batavian flag supplanted the Union Jack on the Castle flag-staff at Cape Town, but few of those who witnessed the ceremony could have had much belief in the permanence of the change. Some fresh officials came from Holland, but most of the Landdrosts and Civil servants who had held office under the British flag retained their posts. General Janssens was an enlightened man, and the colony progressed under his short rule. In May 1803 England once more renewed hostilities, and declared war with France and with the Batavian Republic. Napoleon was proclaimed Emperor, and prepared to invade England.

In the autumn of 1805 an expedition, under Major-General Baird, consisting of sixty-three war-vessels and transports, with a force of seven infantry regiments, some artillery, and the 20th Light Dragoons (about 6600 men of all arms), was sent to recapture the Cape.

On January 4, 1806, the fleet anchored between Robben Island and the Blaauberg shore of Table Bay. The British force landed, with the loss of thirty-five men, due to the capsizing of a boat in the surf, and General Janssens advanced to meet them with a force of about 2000 men, which included 240 French sailors and marines under command of Colonel Beauchine,

Commandant of Marines of the French war-vessel *Atalante*, then lying in Table Bay. Successful resistance was hopeless, but General Janssens wished to save his military honour by an engagement.

The action began by an artillery duel, and the Waldeck battalion, which was composed of mercenaries of mixed nationalities, at once broke and fled, and their example was followed by a wing of the 22nd Dutch Regulars. The English advance was irresistible. The Burghers, the French, and the Hottentot and Malay auxiliaries fought well, but were hopelessly outnumbered. General Janssens drew off his defeated army to the Hottentot Hollands, and left the road open to Cape Town.<sup>1</sup> On January 10 Cape Town surrendered peaceably, and on the 13th, General Baird wrote to General Janssens, complimenting him on his brave resistance, and at the same time pointing out the futility of continuing it. On the 18th General Janssens surrendered with the honours of war, and on March 6 he embarked with his troops and about thirty

<sup>1</sup> That brilliant and devoted missionary, Henry Martyn, was on board the fleet on his way to India as chaplain to the East India Company. After the battle of Blaauberg he went over the battle-field, ministering to the wounded and dying. In his diary under date January 10, 1806, he writes—"About five, the Commodore fired a gun, which was instantly answered by all the men-of-war. On looking for the cause we saw the British flag flying from the Dutch fort. I prayed that the capture of the Cape might be ordered to the advancement of Christ's Kingdom, and that England, while she sent the thunder of her arms to the distant regions of the globe, might not remain proud and ungodly at home, but might show herself great indeed by sending forth the ministers of her Church to diffuse the Gospel of Peace."

Civil servants and officials for Holland. As his last act in South Africa, General Janssens wrote to General Baird and commended the colonists to his care. "They have their faults," wrote the General, "but they are more than compensated by good qualities. Through lenity, through marks of affection and benevolence they may be conducted to any good."

If the British authorities had acted on this wise counsel, South Africa would have been a very different country from what it is to-day. But it was impossible for the official Englishman of that period, either in Downing Street or at Government House, Cape Town, to understand that South African colonists could easily be *led*, but could never be *driven*. General Baird left Cape Town with the publicly expressed esteem of the colonists in January 1807. He had the reputation of being a harsh, ill-tempered man, but his only arbitrary act was that he summarily banished the solitary Roman Catholic priest of Cape Town. He was a Scotch Presbyterian, and his action would be in consonance with the ideas of his Dutch Reformed co-religionists.<sup>1</sup>

In May the Earl of Caledon took over the government of the colony. Lord Caledon was under thirty,

<sup>1</sup> When General Baird was made prisoner in India in the early days of his military life, some sympathizing friend broke the news to his mother, and informed her that the prisoners were fettered two and two with iron chains. After a moment's silence the old lady remarked—"Eh, sirs, but I pity the puir laddie that is chained to oor Davie." The General must have overcome his youthful moroseness when he captured the Cape.

and was full of kindly determination to do his best for the country he had been selected to govern. He had to administer a despotism, but he was a genial and humane despot of excellent personal character, which was more than could be said of some of his successors. He was popular in Cape Town, and improved the city by laying down an excellent water service by means of iron pipes. He put an end to the tribal tenure of the few remaining Hottentots, and caused them to be merged into the general labouring population of the colony. He encouraged the Moravian missionaries to establish a new station, and realized the vast difference between their excellent industrial methods and the politico-religionism of the London Missionary Society.

In 1811 he was succeeded by General Sir John Cradock. Shortly after his appointment Landdrost Stockenstrom of Graaff Reinet and a party of farmers were treacherously murdered by Kafirs in the Zuurberg mountains, when they were endeavouring to persuade them to avoid hostilities with the colonists. The Fourth Kafir War began, and in January 1812 Colonel Graham commenced active and successful operations to drive the Kafirs out of the colony which they had once more invaded. This war ended successfully for the colonists, and the Kafirs were once more driven across the Fish River which formed the colonial boundary.

In 1811 the Secretary of State for the Colonies sent Sir John Cradock a despatch covering certain monstrous charges against the frontier colonists,

which had been made by Mr. Read, the London Society's missionary at Bethelsdorp. Chief Justice Van Rynefeld, who had been Fiscal under the Dutch East India Company, died in 1812, and two judges only went on circuit to the Eastern district. This famous circuit, known as the "black circuit," lasted about three months. The London missionaries got up a series of cases against the colonists, charging them with the ill-treatment of natives. Most of the charges were conclusively disproved. Mr. Justice Cloete says—"Such prosecutions, in which nearly one hundred of the most respectable families on the frontier were implicated, and more than one thousand witnesses summoned and examined, engendered a bitter feeling of hostility towards the administration of justice in general, and more particularly towards the missionaries" (*Five Lectures, &c.*, by Hon. H. Cloete, LL.D., p. 11).

The colonists began to despair of living peaceably under the British flag. The "black circuit" was a factor in the subsequent emigration of farmers which founded the Transvaal and Free State Republics. The missionary cause was terribly injured by the action of the London Society's agents, and harm was done which is not undone even to-day.

In August 1812 the head-quarters of the troops on the frontier was established on a farm, which became a village called Grahamstown, after Colonel Graham. The village is now a city, and a fine bust of Colonel Graham adorns the cathedral.

In January 1814 the town of Cradock was formed,

and named after the Governor, who was succeeded by Lord Charles Somerset, elder brother of Lord Raglan, in April of the same year. Lord Charles Somerset was an autocrat to his finger-tips. He maintained an expensive establishment, and lived in great state.

In 1815 the bitter feeling engendered by the "black circuit" resulted in open rebellion in the Graaff Reinet district. A farmer named Bezuidenhout declined to appear at the circuit court at Graaff Reinet to answer a charge of ill-treating a coloured servant. A detachment of the Hottentot corps was sent to arrest him, which was unwise, considering that in the present day the authorities avoid using native police to arrest white men. Bezuidenhout retired to a cave near his house with a gun and some ammunition, and declared he would never be taken alive. He was called upon to surrender, but refused, and was shot dead in the mouth of the cave. He had a large circle of friends and relatives, who met at his funeral, and declared that they would not rest until the Hottentot corps was removed from the frontier, and until they had taken vengeance on Landdrost Stockenstrom of Graaff Reinet, and the other actors in the tragedy that had occurred. These men were most of them born subjects of the Netherlands. They had seen their country become British in 1795, Dutch again in 1803, and British again in 1806. The Convention, signed in London, which finally ceded the Cape to England, had only been signed in 1814. It was unreasonable to expect from men whose allegiance had been so

frequently transferred, the same views of high treason that would be held by a British-born subject. They had most of them been connected with the Graaff Reinets Republic, and as they had known none of the blessings of an orderly and strong government, and had been compelled to defend their homes and their property by their own efforts, their sense of loyalty to any Cape Town Government, whether Dutch or English, was weak. Hendrik Prinsloo, son of the old leader of the Graaff Reinets Republicans, joined Bezuidenhout's friends, and about fifty farmers made an armed insurrection against the Government. The more sensible Burghers held aloof, and Commandant Nel, with about thirty armed Burghers, joined the dragoons under Colonel Cuyler, Landdrost of Uitenhage, and marched against the insurgents. Prinsloo was taken prisoner. Most of the insurgents saw that their cause was hopeless, when they found that the Kafirs would not help them to drive the Hottentot corps from the frontier. The loyal Burghers tried to persuade them to surrender, and eventually most of them did so. Jan Bezuidenhout, brother of the farmer who had been shot, and a few desperate men, fled towards Kafirland. The Hottentot soldiers surprised Jan Bezuidenhout's wagon. Like his brother he declined to surrender. His wife was by his side, and loaded his spare gun. She said, "Let us die together," and the Hottentots opened fire. Bezuidenhout fired on his enemies till he was mortally wounded. His wife was disabled and taken prisoner.

The thirty-nine prisoners who surrendered were tried for treason at Uitenhage. Hendrik Prinsloo and five others were condemned to be hanged. The others, after witnessing the execution of their comrades, were condemned to banishment, imprisonment, and fines. The loyal Burghers were horrified at the thought that they had helped Government to put a rope round the necks of their fellow-countrymen. If Lord Charles Somerset had not been a tyrant, he would have seen that the execution of these men was a grave political blunder, and that it would hopelessly alienate the loyal Burghers from the British Government. Colonel Cuyler saved the life of Kruger, one of the condemned, by representing that he had done good service in the last Kafir War.

On March 9, 1816, the execution took place near Slachter's Nek, in the district of Somerset East. A force of 300 soldiers guarded the scaffold. The Rev. Mr. Herold, the Dutch Reformed minister of George, attended the condemned men, who sang a hymn together on the scaffold. Then Stephanus Botma addressed his countrymen, and warned them against rash action against the Government. The drop fell. Four of the ropes broke, and four of the condemned men rose from the ground unharmed. An agonized cry for mercy rose from the assembled crowd. Colonel Cuyler felt himself unable to listen to the appeal. Fresh ropes were procured amidst the silent horror of the crowd, and the four men were led back to the scaffold and hung.

The frontier colonists never forgot this terrible

scene. The words, "We can never forget Slachter's Nek," passed into a proverb amongst them.<sup>1</sup>

The tragedy of Slachter's Nek was one of the moving causes of that great exodus of colonists in 1836, who were determined to escape from British rule.

In 1818 civil war broke out between the adherents of Gaika and Ndlambe, the two most powerful Chiefs of Kafirland. Ndlambe gained the support of the Kafir prophet Makana, who has been strangely called the S. Louis of Kafirland. Makana was a man of keen insight and great knowledge of human nature. Many of his prophecies came true, because they were based on his own shrewdness and superior knowledge. His proverbs and maxims are still treasured by the Kafirs, and he was undoubtedly a great moral reformer. He heard Dr. Van der Kemp preach on the resurrection, and embraced this doctrine, although he never became

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Cuyler was undeservedly held in odium by the Dutch colonists on account of this execution. He got one man respited, and felt bound to carry out his orders with regard to the others, horrible as the circumstances undoubtedly were. The Colonel was an American Loyalist, whose father had been Mayor of New York. He was a friend of the unfortunate Major André, whom Washington executed as a spy in 1780, and who drew portraits of the Colonel's father and mother which are still preserved in his family in South Africa. The present representative of the Cuyler family was once travelling in a remote up-country district. He came to a Boer farm and asked for hospitality. The usual question was put, "What is your name?" When the answer came, the Boer said, "Your grandfather hanged my grandfather at Slachter's Nek; but come in, we will forget all that now," and the usual kindly Boer hospitality was extended to Mr. Cuyler.

a Christian. He taught his people that their dead ancestors would rise. He made the whole nation obey his rule of decently interring their dead, and he put down their licentious and filthy practices, for a time, at least.<sup>1</sup> Makana and Ndlambe drew up their forces near Debe Nek, which is under the Amatolo range of mountains, and which is now within the district of King Williamstown. Gaika and his warriors charged their foes, but were defeated with terrible slaughter. Gaika drew off the remnants of his beaten army, and appealed to Lord Charles Somerset for help. In December 1818 Colonel Brereton went to his aid with a Burgher force, who captured 2,300 cattle from Ndlambe and then retired. Ndlambe then invaded the Zuurfeld and drove the frontier farmers into Grahamstown for refuge. On April 22, 1819, Makana led a large army to attack Grahamstown. The Kafirs tried to storm the town, and actually penetrated the barrack-square in the face of a heavy artillery and musketry fire. They left 102 dead in the square, whilst the British loss was three killed and five wounded. The battle of Grahamstown taught the Kafirs not to attack garrison towns. The 38th and 72nd Regiments and a Burgher force then invaded Kafirland, and Makana surrendered. He was imprisoned on Robben Island, and was drowned in

<sup>1</sup> Makana's grandson is now an ordained clergyman of the Anglican Church, and is known in the Diocese of Grahamstown as the Rev. John William Gawler, having taken the surname of his godfather, Colonel Gawler, formerly one of the frontier officials. His Kafir name is Galada.

attempting to escape. The Kafirs for years after expected him to return as their leader. They would not believe in his death. He became a mystic memory to them, like that of King Arthur, or Frederic Barbarossa. It was not till 1873 that they finally gave up hope, and destroyed his mats and ornaments that had been carefully kept for his use on his return.

The Fifth Kafir War ended with the final overthrow of the power of Ndlambe.

The Zuurfeld, desolated by frequent native inroads, was at this time almost without inhabitants, and it was resolved to plant a British settlement on the frontier.

England was in a state of political transition and commercial depression. The peace after Waterloo had left her with an impoverished and dissatisfied population. The British Parliament wisely deemed emigration a safe outlet, and readily voted £50,000 for the passage of carefully selected emigrants to the eastern districts of the Cape Colony. The number of emigrants was limited to 4000, and 90,000 applied to go. The greatest care and discrimination was exercised in making the selection, and the descendants of the British settlers of 1820 have every reason to be proud of their fathers and grandfathers, who made the Eastern Province one of the most prosperous districts of South Africa. On April 9, 1820, the *Chapman* and *Nautilus* anchored in Algoa Bay, as the vanguard of the emigrant fleet. Sir John Barrow, in 1797, foretold the future commercial importance of Algoa Bay ;

but Port Elizabeth, which is now the chief commercial port in South Africa, was then a mere fishing village, nestling under the guns of Fort Frederic, with a total population of thirty-five souls, including the garrison. Colonel Cuyler, the magistrate of Uitenhage, received the settlers with every kindness and attention, and a town of tents arose among the sandhills on which Port Elizabeth is now built. When the emigrant fleet had discharged its last passengers there were 2639 persons encamped below Fort Frederic. An old parishioner of the author's told him she well remembered being housed under canvas, on the present site of S. Mary's Collegiate Church, close to Main Street, where a few years ago street frontage suitable for stores has been sold at the price of £150 per foot.

Government provided rations and transport for the emigrants, who commenced their inland journey to their various allotments in parties under the leadership of some chosen head. The different bands of emigrants spread themselves over the Albany district, of which Grahamstown was the village capital, under Colonel Cuyler's guidance, and when he left them he said, "Gentlemen, when you go out to plough never leave your guns at home." The blackened ruins of Dutch homesteads which the emigrants must have passed over and over again in their journeyings must have emphasized the Colonel's warning. Soon the relatives and friends of the settlers began to join them, and in a short time a population of 5000 English were settled on the frontier. Sir Rufane Shaw Donkin

was at this time Acting Governor, during Lord Charles Somerset's absence on leave, and he took the deepest interest in the new settlement. He gave Port Elizabeth its name, calling the infant town after his wife, to whose memory he built the pyramid on the hill overlooking the bay, with its quaint and touching inscription commemorating her virtues. He visited the settlements in person, and became very popular with the settlers. But Lord Charles Somerset returned and reversed the policy of the Acting Governor. Blighted crops and Kafir depredations checked the rising hopes of the settlers, and the great floods of 1823 almost ruined them. They memorialized the Governor, but he proscribed the right of public meetings, and treated their representations with contempt. The settlers then addressed the Home Government firmly and temperately, saying, amongst other things—

“We do not complain of the natural disadvantages of the country to which we have been sent, but it is a peculiar hardship being placed in a *remote corner* of the British Dominions, with our interests and prospects committed to the control of one individual. It has long—and from the most distressing proofs—been evident to the settlers that the Colonial Government, *situated at the opposite extremity of the colony*, where every particular, whether of soil or climate, or the constitution, pursuits, and interests of society, is totally different, possesses no adequate means of ascertaining their actual wants.”

At this period England had to wait ten years for

Parliamentary Reform, and this country some thirty years for representative government.

The settlers therefore were fortunate in securing the appointment of Commissioners of Inquiry from the Home Government in the year of grace 1823.

Grahamstown received the Royal Commissioners with rejoicing; the infant town was illuminated, and its streets crowded with loyal Englishmen who felt thankful that England had not forgotten the troubles of her sons and daughters in a strange land. Suddenly the scene changed. Cavalry bugles sounded the charge, and the peaceful streets echoed with the ring of horse-hoofs and the tramp of armed men, as inoffensive citizens were imprisoned by the soldiers who cleared the streets at the bidding of Lord Charles Somerset's officials. But the Commissioners were not to be duped into the belief that a loyal demonstration of welcome was a disloyal act of riot and sedition. The following significant passage in their report amply vindicated the settlers, and grasped in a statesmanlike manner the fact that free Englishmen must be expected to claim the right of free speech—

“The introduction of the English settlers and the right of free discussion which they have claimed and exercised, together with the bold defiance they have given to the suspicions entertained of their disloyalty and disaffection to the Government, have had the effect of exciting, in the Dutch and native population, a spirit of vigilance and attention that never existed before, and which may render *all future exertion of authority objectionable that is not founded upon the law.*”

Encouraged, doubtless, by the visit of the Royal Commissioners, Messrs. Fairbairn and Pringle attempted to establish, in 1824, a Free Press in Cape Town. Such an attempt was deemed hopeless in Grahamstown, for the printing press brought out by Mr. Godlonton, the Nestor of Eastern Province journalists, in 1820, was promptly confiscated by the authorities at Cape Town, who said that to allow it to go forward "*would be equal to scattering firebrands on the frontier.*" Lord Charles Somerset promptly assumed the Censorship of the Press, and the "Fiscal" or Attorney-General was ordered to revise the proof-sheets of the *Commercial Advertiser*. The editors defended the freedom of the press with the true dignity of freeborn Englishmen. With the next issue of their paper they announced its discontinuance as the only loyal method of maintaining their rights and upholding their position pending an appeal to the Home Government against so odious and un-English a measure as an official Censorship of the Press. The coarse personal abuse with which the Governor overwhelmed Mr. Fairbairn only strengthened his resolution, and after a struggle lasting over some years, his courageous persistency won a victory which has never since been disputed. In 1829 the Secretary for the Colonies, Sir G. Murray, definitely proclaimed the freedom of the South African Press.

Meanwhile Lord Charles Somerset had, in 1826, relieved South Africa of his presence after twelve years of autocratic misgovernment. He narrowly escaped

Parliamentary censure, and impeachment for his conduct, which recalled the worst days of the misrule of the Dutch East India Company.

The Royal Commission of Inquiry had recommended, in 1826, that the Civil government of the Eastern and Western Districts should be kept *distinct* and *independent*. This measure need not have involved the complete separation of the two Provinces, but it would have enabled frontier men to deal with frontier affairs on the spot, without perpetual and harassing references to Cape Town. The refusal of the Government to carry out the recommendations of the Commissioners by granting an independent administration to the Eastern Province was a serious blunder. Had this step been taken in 1826, we might have seen all political jealousies between Cape Town and the frontier districts allayed, and a local self-government for frontier affairs established.

Lord Charles Somerset was succeeded by Sir R. Bourke. His frontier policy was weak.

He forbade the farmers to follow their stolen cattle into Kafirland. Formerly a farmer might pursue the thieves, and capture an equivalent of native cattle if he could not recover his own. This mistaken leniency emboldened the Border Kafirs, and affairs were worse than ever. The former arrangement was agreed to by the Chief Gaika in solemn treaty with the Governor, and its abrogation was taken as a sign of weakness. Terrible tribal wars of extermination were then taking place amongst the natives. The Amangwane tribe were defeated by the Zulus, and driven

westward. They then fell upon the Tembu Kafirs, and drove them into the colony. They then marched to Umtata and swooped upon Galeka-land, and Hintsá, the Paramount Chief of Kafirland, applied to the colony for help, which was promptly granted. Colonel Somerset marched to the rescue with some troops and a body of settlers and Dutch Burghers, and literally routed the Amangwane, thereby saving the very tribes from destruction who were so soon to ruin their deliverers, and who even then, with true Kafir gratitude, were plundering their farms in their absence. After the uneventful administrations of Sir Lowry Cole and Colonel Wade, Sir Benjamin D'Urban arrived as Governor in 1834. He was one of the few Englishmen who understood South Africa. One of his first acts, a much-needed Vagrancy Law to protect the farmers against wandering thieves, created a storm in so-called missionary circles. When the Superintendent of the London Missionary Society began to memorialize, his subordinates were unable to keep their Hottentot converts in due bounds. The Kat River L. M. S. settlement was a hotbed of treasonable talk, and the white teacher in charge made matters worse, as might presumably have been expected, as he had degraded himself by marrying a coloured woman. "The language of the Hottentots set us on fire," said the Kafir Chief Tyali after the war.

The British settlement was beginning to conquer its difficulties in the autumn of 1834. The Eastern Province was dotted with the farms and hamlets of the

industrious emigrants. Despite droughts, floods, and Kafir depredations, the labours of fourteen years had begun to tell. The men who at first were compelled to receive Government rations for their sustenance, began to be producers instead of consumers, and Port Elizabeth saw the dawn of its commercial life in the growing exports of the settlers. On the night of December 21, some 12,000 Kafirs burst upon the peaceful farmers without a moment's warning. The patient work of fourteen years was undone in less than fourteen days; the sky was lurid with the light of burning homesteads and villages. Twenty-two farmers and settlers were pitilessly murdered in cold blood, their crops were destroyed, 456 houses were burnt, 5700 horses, 11,400 cattle, 169,000 sheep and goats were driven off as booty into Kafirland. The official value of the property destroyed in the Sixth Kafir War was £300,400. The torrent of invasion was sudden as it was overwhelming. The missionaries in Kafirland knew nothing of the enemy's designs, and could give the ill-fated settlers no warning. A husband would ride in with the dread news of the outbreak, and his savage pursuers close at hand, barely in time to snatch his wife from her kitchen, place her on horseback to ride with him for dear life, leaving his all at the mercy of the foe. Prosperous and successful colonists woke up to find themselves penniless beggars, even if they had not to mourn the cruel murder of a son or a brother. The invasion was so secretly plotted, and so ably carried out by the Kafir chiefs, that the mischief was done before any organized

resistance was possible. The New Year of 1835 saw the whole of the Albany division deserted and devastated, and its surviving inhabitants congregated in Grahamstown and the little village of Salem, which, with the Theopolis Mission Station, were the only places undestroyed by the enemy. Cape Town was startled at the news, and the heroic Sir Harry Smith, then the Colonel appointed to the frontier command, showed an Englishman's resolute endurance by riding from Cape Town to Grahamstown, some 600 miles, in six days. His arrival put heart into the frontier farmers, and Sir Benjamin D'Urban, who speedily followed him, determined on a firm policy with the natives. Colonel Smith pushed rapidly to the front with his hastily organized army, and defeated the marauders in a series of petty engagements. Hintsá, the Paramount Chief, sheltered the marauders, secreted their booty in his fastnesses, and carefully avoided an open rupture with the British forces. The Governor, however, saw through his deception, and ordered an advance into Galeka-land to call him to account. The troops were ordered to abstain from treating his country as hostile under the severest penalties. The Governor determined to give Hintsá no excuse for commencing hostilities. The captured cattle were firmly and courteously demanded, and the wily Chief practised every device to gain time. Some thousands of Fingoes, the remains of eight powerful nations who had suffered defeat and ruin in the exterminating wars that had been waged by the Amangwane tribe and the Zulus under the bloodthirsty tyrant Chaka, who were

now living in a sort of vassalage to the Galekas, threw themselves upon British protection ; but the Governor would not listen to their appeal until every fair means had been tried with the Paramount Chief Hintsä. Some of Hintsä's men at length murdered an officer sent into the colony with despatches, so the Governor's patience was exhausted, and war was declared against the Galekas. A few rapid successes brought the Chief to terms, and he came into camp under safe-conduct with his son Kreli, to enter into a treaty with the Governor. Peace was solemnly concluded, and Hintsä remained at head-quarters as a hostage for the fulfilment of its conditions. Colonel Smith treated Hintsä as an honoured guest, and presents were showered upon him. The first indication of Kafir truce-breaking and perfidy was a cruel massacre of the Fingoes, which took place directly Sir Benjamin D'Urban left head-quarters. Hintsä was promptly called to account by the Governor, and answered with savage insolence, "Well, and what then? Are they not my dogs?" Sir Benjamin acted with decision. He ordered the Chief to send messengers to stay the slaughter, and told Hintsä that unless his people instantly obeyed he would hang him with his brother Buku and son Kreli to the nearest tree. The effect was instantaneous. The massacre was stopped, and the Governor immediately took the remnant of the Fingoe tribes, some 16,000 souls, under his protection. They crossed the Kei river and became British subjects, and have since fought side by side with us in three Kafir wars, and proved themselves loyal, industrious, and peaceful.

They have become sheep-farmers and agriculturists, owners of transport wagons and makers of roads, and have by their progress in civilization and Christianity, under the governance of wise magistrates, shown how capable their race is of a true upward development, and further what a bright future lies before the Kafir race—their superiors in many points—if only we govern them and guide them rightly.

To return to Hintsá. Colonel Smith began to observe further treachery and evasion in his fulfilment of the treaty. He declined to give up the cattle captured from the colonists, and at length attempted to escape. The Chief was a bold horseman and well mounted. He rapidly distanced his pursuers, and shook all of them off except Colonel Smith, who overtook him and closed with him. The Chief had his assegais. The Colonel had flung both his pistols at Hintsá and grappled him unarmed. Hintsá fell to the ground, but the Colonel's horse carried him out of reach, and before he could turn, the active Chief had turned off and fled on foot down a steep mountain side. Mr. G. Southey now rode up and pursued the fugitive. He was climbing a steep bank on foot, when suddenly an assegai struck the rock close to him. He looked up and saw a Kafir with uplifted assegai in the act of hurling. He fired in self-defence, and Hintsá, the Paramount Chief of Kaffraria, fell dead. The occurrence was reported at head-quarters, and the Governor released Kreli, and recognized him as his father's successor.

An attempt was made by certain foolish and ill-

informed persons to make capital out of Hintsá's death, but the fullest investigation was courted by Colonel Smith, and the official inquiry resulted in his triumphant acquittal. After Hintsá's death, Sir Benjamin D'Urban annexed the territory west of the Kei now known as British Kaffraria, under the name of the Province of Queen Adelaide, and this measure, together with his firmness and kindness to the natives, completely restored peace and security to the frontier.

In January 1836 the Governor returned to Cape Town a justly honoured and successful man. But mischief was afloat. A false philanthropy was astir, so baneful in its influence upon the Christianity and civilization of the native races, and so hurtful to the progress of the colony, that we dare not even now fully estimate its evil consequences. Lord Glenelg, the friend of Buxton, Wilberforce, and others who had so nobly fought and won the battle against slavery, now held the seals of the Colonial Office. He was ready to take fire at the least hint of injustice to a black man, and seems to have been utterly incapable of any impartial weighing of the case between Kafir and Colonist. Fortunately for the Kafir, his colour was that of the emancipated slaves, who were just then the cynosure of admiring philanthropic coteries in England.

The Kafir was a black man, and therefore in the right. The unfortunate frontier farmer was of the wrong colour to enlist English sympathy. He was a white man, and therefore in the wrong. Lord Glenelg

proceeded to put his theory into practice. He reversed the policy of Sir Benjamin D'Urban in a despatch that set the colony aflame. The loyalty of the British settlers, who had suffered so grievously, was strained well-nigh to the breaking point. Their Dutch fellow-sufferers, who had no ties to bind them to the British Crown, resolved to emigrate from its territory. A hasty and ill-worked Emancipation measure caused them heavy pecuniary loss in the freeing of their slaves, although they were not advocates of slavery in itself. The old hatred of a settled Government, begotten by former Dutch tyranny and monopoly, rose once more within them, and they prepared to leave their homes and dare the unknown dangers of the interior rather than remain subjects of a Government that betrayed them and encouraged their savage foes. The colonists had indeed just cause of complaint. Said Lord Glenelg in this famous despatch—" *In the conduct which was pursued towards the Kafir nation by the colonists and the public authorities of the colony, through a long series of years, the Kafirs had ample justification of the late war.*" *Ample justification*—for the Christmas of 1834, when, emboldened by years of stock-stealing and murdering unavenged, they swooped upon the frontier in a torrent of desolation and ruin! *Ample justification*—for the colonists and Imperial troops had so far forgotten their duties to the natives as to follow them up into Kafirland, and annex a portion of their territory, in lieu of the thousands of stolen cattle that could not be recovered, to form a barrier of law and order between

Kafir and Colonist. Of course the Kafirs, who had despoiled others of this territory, were not themselves to be deprived of it. Lord Glenelg proceeded to declare, "*that the claim of sovereignty over the New Province bounded by the Keiskama and the Kei, must be renounced. It rests upon a conquest resulting from a war in which, as far as I am at present enabled to judge, the original justice is on the side of the conquered, not of the victorious party.*" Well might the unhappy colonists read the story of future ruin in letters of flame between the lines of this fatal despatch. Its policy was promptly carried out, and Mr. Stockenstrom, formerly Landdrost of Graaff Reinet, a colonist who was carried away with the glamour of Lord Glenelg's favour against his own better knowledge and judgment, was appointed Lieutenant-Governor on the frontier, with full powers to undo Sir Benjamin D'Urban's work. He restored the province of Queen Adelaide to savage rule after it had settled down in a peaceable and orderly fashion under the administration of Colonel Smith. He framed treaties with the Kafir chiefs, which put a premium on cattle-lifting. He insulted and offended Pieter Retief, one of the leading Dutch farmers in the Eastern Province. Sir Benjamin D'Urban reluctantly ratified these rash treaties, but recorded his solemn protest against them to Lord Glenelg. Lord Glenelg replied by dismissing him, and wrote, "*You announce to me the abandonment of the Province of Adelaide, and cast on me the responsibility of all the consequent disasters you predict. I am perfectly ready to take upon myself the sole and*

*exclusive responsibility on this occasion.*" The jaunty readiness of this pious and amiable minister to assume responsibilities and decide questions with a sublime indifference to facts and an utter ignorance of their bearings would be ludicrous if its consequences had not proved so terrible. To begin with, as a first consequence of the new policy, some 6000 Dutch farmers, headed by Pieter Retief, who had in vain remonstrated with the Lieutenant-Governor, left the colony to escape from the sway of the British Government. We shall revert, later on, to the story of their wanderings and sufferings. It is enough to say that the English settlers of Grahamstown presented a large Bible, as a mark of respect, to Mr. Jacobus Uys, the leader of the emigrant farmers from the Uitenhage district.

Dutch and English were fast learning to understand one another in 1835, but the severe sufferings of the emigrant farmers in their adventurous march to find new homes—sufferings which they bore with a heroism of sturdy resistance worthy of their brave ancestors—caused them to hate the British flag, and made them ready to take up arms against the Government which drove them into the wilderness. We may hope for better things, but at the present time, some fifty-six years after the event, the mischief wrought by Lord Glenelg is almost as fresh as ever in its working. Historical issues frequently hinge upon events little thought of at the time. The twenty ships sent by Athens to aid the revolted Ionians against Persia, were, as Herodotus quaintly tells us, the beginning of that mighty contest between Asiatic despotism and

European freedom, which formed a turning-point in the world's history (*Herod. v. 97*). Lord Glenelg's despatch was just such a turning-point in South African history, and therefore its bearings deserve grave consideration.

We have seen how he severed the slender links between English and Dutch—links forged by a common danger, which caused Boer and Settler to fight shoulder to shoulder in defence of the frontier. The emigrants were the flower of the Dutch farmers, and those left behind were filled with sympathy for their adventurous kinsmen, and hated the Government all the more because they lacked the energy to share the fortunes of the pioneers who went forward to found new Republics free from British control.

The English settlers felt the wound more keenly. An Englishman's loyalty to the Throne is measured in intensity by his distance from the motherland, and it was indeed bitter to be told by the Home Government that the cruel aggressors who had ruined him, and perchance murdered those nearest and dearest to him, were justified in their acts of violence and pillage. Under the wise system of Sir Benjamin D'Urban, the Kafirs would, humanly speaking, have been kept in due bounds, and we should have been spared the bitter warfare of 1846, 1852, and 1878. The colonists felt that since the Home Government treated them unjustly, they must defend themselves. The severe strain on the loyalty of the settlers did not cause them to forget their duty as Englishmen, but it made them lose sight in a measure of the duties devolving upon

them as Englishmen in South Africa. They lost their grasp of the grand mission of British rule. They did not realize that as English citizens it was theirs to spread the Christianity and civilization of the mother country wherever her flag waved as the symbol of her Government. They began to view the Kafirs as irreclaimable savages, and to look upon missionary effort as worse than useless. They were wrong, but they were not without excuse, and it becomes us to remember their wrongs and their provocations before we harshly condemn them. Lord Glenelg's sole excuse was that he was misled by the reports of the London missionaries.<sup>1</sup> His despatch was predicted by the wire-pullers at the London Mission House at

<sup>1</sup> The leader of the London Missionary Society in South Africa was Dr. Philip. He was a good man, but full of unreasoning prejudices. He published a book on the Native Question, entitled *Researches in South Africa*. In it he most unjustly aspersed the English and Dutch colonists; and Mr. Mackay, a magistrate in the Government service, prosecuted Dr. Philip for libel on account of his allegations against him of unjust treatment of natives. Mr. Mackay won his case, and Dr. Philip soon after attacked the Wesleyan missionaries on the frontier, because they refused to adopt his views of the native question. Lord Glenelg took Dr. Philip's vague statements as positive facts, and acted accordingly.

Dr. Philip went to England with a petty Kafir Chief named Jan Tshatshu, and a Hottentot named Stoffels. These men were lionized by a certain section of the religious world, and much capital was made of Jan Tshatshu's piety. On his return to South Africa, Jan Tshatshu apostatized, and became a rebel in the war of 1846. Dr. Philip was crushed by the defection of his favourite convert, and retired from public affairs too late to undo the mischief he had done.

Cape Town, whose misleading efforts were furthered by one who ought to have known better, Mr. Fairbairn, fresh from his well-fought victory for the liberty of the Press. A hasty judgment, following upon a visit to the frontier in company with a leading missionary, prejudiced him against the settlers, and caused bitter memories in the Eastern Province, which his distinguished services have never been able entirely to efface. The London missionaries worked hard and did much good, but their extreme views on the native question tinged their whole action, and caused the average colonist to condemn missionary effort wholesale. The Wesleyan missionaries took a different line, and Lord Glenelg thought fit to take them to task pretty severely. Their influence on the natives was wholesome, and their working in most instances judicious, but the colonial mind traced so much evil policy to missionary intermeddling, that the innocent suffered with the guilty. The English Church had no missions at all in South Africa, to her shame be it spoken, for if she had been as strong in 1835 in Kaffraria as she now is, her clergy would assuredly have counteracted misrepresentation, and held a fair balance between Kafir and Colonist to the ultimate good of both.<sup>1</sup> It is vain indeed to build castles on

<sup>1</sup> The admirable defence of the colonists in the war of 1877 and 1878, which came from the pen of Dr. Callaway, the first Missionary Bishop of S. John's, Kaffraria, and the sensible article on the native question contributed to the *Contemporary Review* at the same time by the present Bishop of S. John's, then Mr. Key, a missionary of great experience, are not forgotten in South Africa.

what might have been, but had Bishop Gray been at Cape Town in 1835, with his statesmanlike breadth of view, lofty aims, and thorough manliness of character, one would hardly deem it possible that the Colonial Office would have erred so gravely.

Sir Benjamin D'Urban was dismissed from his post with the deep regret of the whole colony. He was succeeded by Sir George Napier in 1838. On his first visit to the frontier, the new Governor received an address from the people of Port Elizabeth, praying him to modify the Glenelg system of dealing with the natives. He firmly declined to accede to their wishes, and as firmly declared his adherence to the Glenelg policy, a declaration which he afterwards saw reason virtually to retract. The misrepresented colonists at length found a champion in the Imperial Parliament. The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone is not a man likely to stand up for a superior race in oppressing an inferior one, so the fact that he called the attention of the House to a petition of settlers from the Grahamstown district in July 1838, is in itself significant. He moved for a Commission of Inquiry into our past and present relations with the Border Tribes. He spoke of the perilous and unsafe state of the frontier, the abandonment of colonial territory to the Kafirs, and manfully advocated the claims of the settlers for consideration. But he was opposed by Sir G. C. Grey, who was evidently primed by the Exeter Hall clique, and who told the British House of Commons that he considered himself "justified in asserting that there had been *a series*

*of continual aggressions by the British settlers on the Kafirs which were disgraceful to the British name, and that the application came from persons who had placed themselves in trouble and peril by their aggressions."* Such cruel and reckless ignorance of the true facts of the case was bitter enough to the handful of slandered Englishmen who had suffered so heavily from Kafir aggression, and the more so because his misstatements did their work ; for the House rejected Mr. Gladstone's motion by a majority of nine, quite oblivious of the fact that by another vote in 1820 they had sent these Englishmen, as colonists, into a strange land, and were therefore bound to protect them. Then and since the cry has risen in the hearts of frontier colonists, "Let the mother country protect us, or, at least, suffer us to protect ourselves. We claim protection, as peaceful citizens, that we may eat the labours of our hands. We have as much right to protection from our savage foes as other Englishmen claim elsewhere. But if Imperial Government declines to compel peace on our frontier, let us defend ourselves by such a wise, firm, and vigorous frontier policy as Sir Benjamin D'Urban sketched out." But the Imperial Government adopted neither course. They played fast and loose with Kafir and Colonist until they earned the hearty contempt of the one and the deep-seated distrust of the other. When the tardy boon of Representative Government was granted to the Cape Colony things began to mend. Gradually the colonists were allowed some voice in their native policy, and the burden of defence was

gladly accepted by them. At the present moment there is not a single Imperial soldier in the Cape Colony except for Imperial purposes. The colonists defend their own frontier. Sir George Napier soon saw cause to modify the Glenelg-Stockenstrom policy, and his efforts in this direction were materially aided by the resignation of Lord Glenelg early in 1839, and the consequent fall of Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom. His dismissal was smoothed over with a baronetcy and pension, but it was none the less a peremptory closing of the way to any retracement of the false steps he had taken, whereby his undoubted talent, administrative ability, and thorough knowledge of the Native Question might have become profitable to his country. The usual record of frontier murders and robberies was swelled to an intolerable degree in 1840. The Governor was obliged to take a special journey to the Border, and his eyes were opened to the prompt necessity of undoing Sir A. Stockenstrom's work. He met the Kafir Chiefs, and caused them to sign modified treaties bearing a little less hardly upon the colonists. Some slight improvement was traceable to his action, but things were soon as unendurable as ever to the frontier farmers. The Kafir despised a Government that did not rule him firmly, and he practised his heathen abominations with impunity under the very noses of the authorities. The Glenelg System was thus made a shelter for the diabolical cruelties practised by the Kafir "witch-finders," whereby obnoxious persons were suddenly pounced upon, their goods confiscated to the Chief,

and their lives taken with the most fiendish ingenuity of torture that human nature could conceive.<sup>1</sup> Sutú, the wife of the powerful Chief Gaika, and mother of Sandilli, who saved a trader's life at the risk of her own in 1834, was only rescued from such an awful fate by the personal interference of the Lieutenant-Governor.<sup>2</sup> On his return from the frontier, Sir G. Napier said in reply to an address, "that the farmers had just cause of complaint, and that he must firmly declare that no one act of oppression or injustice by a colonist against the Kafirs had occurred since the treaties were made, a fact to the truth of which the Chiefs gave their united testimony." This frank admission from a Governor who came out imbued with strong prejudices against the colonists is worth much. For four years had the unfortunate settlers

<sup>1</sup> See testimony of Mr. Boyce, Wesleyan Missionary, and the horrible account of the death of Quala, a Kafir of Macomo's tribe, attested by Mr. Stretch, the Diplomatic Agent, in p. 177, House of Commons *Blue Book on Kafir Tribes*, ordered to be printed in June 1851.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Benjamin D'Urban forbade the atrocities connected with Kafir "witchcraft." Clause VI. of Lord Glenelg's Treaty abrogated this humane restriction, and allowed the Kafirs "to enjoy the full and entire rights of the Kafir laws, or any others they may see fit to substitute." Under the plea of justice to the natives, Lord Glenelg, in his ignorance, allowed the most diabolical cruelties and the foulest moral abominations to be perpetrated. The Cape Government has recently legislated against obscene and immoral native rites and customs, and has officially discouraged the *slavery of women*, which is the real meaning of native polygamy. The open purchase of women for cattle finds no recognition now under the laws of the Cape Colony. It is still permitted in Natal.

suffered at the hands of the Government and the Kafirs, until, as Mr. Hudson, the Civil Commissioner of Albany, admitted, the alarm was "*so great as to cause the suspension of all farming pursuits.*" And yet they were patient, and acted as law-abiding and loyal Englishmen. In May 1843 the late Sir Walter Currie<sup>1</sup> and others formed a deputation to the Commandant of Fort Beaufort, and said in their address that "*no man can venture to move from his farm unarmed, no cattle be sent to graze but under double guards, no family can retire to rest but under set watches for the whole night, and yet, with all these precautions, constant and daring robberies take place, some of them accompanied with murder.*" Such a state of things certainly formed some excuse for murmurings against missionaries, and a growing disbelief in the capacity of the Kafir to assimilate Christianity and civilization. The tone of the colonial mind on these subjects was undoubtedly biassed, and based on erroneous conclusions, but men so sorely tried are only too apt to form hasty convictions, and we must not forget the errors of many of the missionaries when we sit in judgment upon the colonial estimate of their influence upon the natives. On the whole the forbearance of the colonists was a conspicuous feature throughout this trying period, and had mission work been uniformly conducted upon the principles of Scripture and common sense it would have appealed to their

<sup>1</sup> Sir Walter Currie was afterwards Commandant of the Frontier Armed and Mounted Police, and rendered great services to the country.

sympathies instead of rousing their prejudices. In 1841 the colony made a strong move to obtain representative government, which Sir George Napier cordially, though unsuccessfully, supported. Meanwhile his tenure of office drew to a close, and in 1844 he was succeeded by General Sir Peregrine Maitland.<sup>1</sup> Sir George Napier learnt much as Governor of the colony, and did what he could to ameliorate the condition of the frontier colonists, when he fairly understood their case. Had he not been hampered by the mistakes of others he might have done more, but he deserves respect as a man gifted with the moral courage to change his policy and express his altered convictions before Imperial Parliament freely and fearlessly. Coming amongst us with a predisposition against the D'Urban policy, "*My own experience,*" he says, "*and what I saw with my own eyes, have confirmed me that I was wrong, and Sir Benjamin D'Urban was perfectly right.*" This is his evidence before the House of Commons, and when asked his opinion on the Glenelg-Stockenstrom treaties, he unhesitatingly stated that "*many articles of the treaties were most unjust to the colonists. Those treaties were never once infringed by the colonists, but by the Kafirs over and over again.*" His successor in office was a fine old soldier, who came armed with powers to modify existing treaties and thoroughly settle the frontier. But the dragon's teeth had been sown, and he soon found his soldiery put to the

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. Brownlow Maitland came to South Africa as private secretary to the Governor.

test by a harassing and costly border warfare. In 1844 the Lieutenant-Governor, Colonel Hare, was compelled to report to the new Governor that he had discovered "a system among the Chiefs and their subjects, all united, to plunder and to evade everything like justice," and further that he was "wearied with the depredations and outrages committed on the colony by the people of the Gaika tribes." Sir Peregrine Maitland at once proceeded to the frontier and tried his hand at treaty-making, coupled with subsidies to the Kafir Chiefs. Shortly afterwards Sandilli, Chief of the Gaikas, proposed that the authorities should plant a military post at Block Drift, ostensibly to aid him in keeping his people quiet. But no sooner did the authorities act upon his suggestion than he began to oppose them, and, at a subsequent meeting with Colonel Hare, he appeared with 5000 armed men, 2000 of them carrying muskets, and evidently prepared for war.

The train was ready laid, only awaiting the striking of the match to light up the frontier once more with the flames of invasion. The pretext was soon afforded and promptly seized. A Kafir stole an axe at Fort Beaufort, and was on his apprehension sent, under escort, to Grahamstown for trial. The escort was too small, and the Kafirs suddenly swooped upon it and rescued the prisoner. They found him handcuffed to a Hottentot, whose hand they cut off at the wrist, being unable to sever the fastenings. Not content with this barbarity, they murdered him, and fled with the rescued prisoner to Sandilli. Thus