

or year to the farmers; others make mats and brooms for sale; and some breed poultry.

They attend regularly at church, where it is their ambition to appear in neat and clean attire. Persuasion and example had convinced them that cleanliness in their persons not only adds to the comforts of life, but is one of the greatest preservatives of health; and that the little trifle of money they had to spare was much better applied in procuring decent covering for the body, than in the purchase of spirits and tobacco. Their deportment during divine service was truly devout, and I never heard a discourse, delivered by one of the fathers, more suited to his audience, more replete with good sense and admonition; at the same time so truly pathetic, that tears flowed abundantly from the female part of the congregation. The singing of these was plaintive and affecting, and in general their voices were sweet and harmonious. About fifty, I understood, had been admitted as members of the Christian faith by the ceremony of baptism.

It will scarcely be credited, and yet it appears to be too true, that the brutality and gross depravity of the boors, even so near to the capital, had led about thirty of them to enter into a confederacy to murder the three teachers, seize all the young Hottentots, and force them into their service. On a Saturday evening, they had assembled to carry the villainous intention into effect on the following day. The teachers had some days before been made acquainted with their plan through a Hottentot, who had deserted from the service of one of the confederates, and they sent instantly to acquaint Sir James Craig, who immediately took steps to dissolve the confederacy, and threatened vengeance on their

heads if he heard anything more of it. The overseer of the valley received the letter, and the very day they had assembled for their infamous purpose read it to them, on which the poltroons sneaked off each to his own home.

On the 17th I reached and descended the Hottentots' Hollands' Kloof, a difficult and almost impracticable pass at that time over the mountains into the Cape district; but which now, I am told, has been made a fine turnpike road. Its distance from Cape Town is about thirty-six miles, an easy day's journey, which I made on the 18th of January; not sorry to have brought to an end a seven months' tour, in the course of which many personal inconveniences and difficulties had occurred, to be borne and surmounted only, by a determination to perform a duty, as well as to gratify curiosity at the expense of comfort.

SECTION VI.

Journey into the Country of the Namaquas.

I HAD the great satisfaction to find that Lord Macartney was much pleased with the brief account I had been able to give him, occasionally by letter, and on my return in person, of my travels; of which I told him he should have a detailed account fairly drawn out in writing, but that I had yet another journey to make, in order to complete the examination of the outline of the colony, by proceeding to its farthest northern boundary on the western or Atlantic side, and through that part of it which is inhabited by certain tribes of the Hottentot race called the Namaquas. Lord Macartney said,

“I cannot, in conscience, send you forth again immediately; and, besides, I shall have occasion for you here: however, if you think it advisable now to finish your labours, it is better, perhaps, that you should go at once, and what I wish to communicate to you can be done on your return.” I said, “It certainly was my wish to complete what I had nearly finished, and I shall start forthwith, with your permission, and avail myself of the privilege of taking *voorspan* oxen or cattle, supplied by the farmers, from station to station, for the service of Government free from charge.”

I knew that April was the worst time of the year to commence a journey of this kind, on account of the drought and the approach of winter; nevertheless, I left Cape Town and its fascinations with a covered waggon and twelve stout oxen in good condition, a single horse, a negro slave, a waggoner and leader—my old companions—and an additional Hottentot to attend the oxen as relays. These are afforded for the convenience of those who travel on public service, and are a tax on farmers, which obliges them to furnish these *voorspans* or *forwarding* teams of oxen, free of expense, in consideration of the powder and ball formerly supplied to them by the Dutch Government for their expeditions against the Bosjesmans. I was authorised in both journeys to avail myself of this privilege, which was never once refused, but complied with without a murmur, and, I may add, very rarely exacted from them.

I was alone, and none of my Hottentots knew a step of the way; but I could go, as the Dutch used to send their letters, *van huis tot huis* (from house to house). Eighteen miles the first day brought me to Koe-berg,

twenty miles on the second to *Greene-kloof*. Here I found plenty of water and good pasturage for cattle and horses, and plenty of antelopes and smaller game to shoot. The family of *Slabert*, of *Tea-fonteyn*, is well known to all travellers; it was my next stage, and they amused me with the romances told by M. Vaillant, whom they lodged for some time. The next stage was Saldanha Bay, a much superior anchorage for shipping of all sizes than Table Bay, but surrounded by a deep sandy country and without fresh water.

Saint Helena Bay is the next stage, but exposed to the northward like Table Bay; the Berg River, a great mass of water, flows into it, but the entrance is so sanded up that boats only can cross the bar, and that but occasionally. As it was necessary I should cross this river, I travelled fifteen miles from its mouth to arrive at a ford to get the waggon over, and the deep sand on the opposite side made our progress so very slow that it became dark and required three hours' dragging backwards and forwards before I found the intended halting-place—a wretched hovel of rushes in the midst of a sandy plain; the night cold, and neither food nor shelter for the horses nor water for the cattle. I therefore pushed on at the risk of losing my way a second time, having about four miles yet to proceed through deep sand before I should reach the next station, which, when reached, turned out to be a hovel, very little better than that I had left, where every thing wore evident marks of poverty.

It was on these miserable plains that the Abbé de la Caille undertook and terminated the measurement of his base, for ascertaining the length of a degree of the meridian of the southern hemisphere. In this horrible

tract of sand and bushes he actually measured a base line of 38,802 feet, and repeated it three times over. The British Government, desirous of following up what the French had commenced, established first an observatory near to Cape Town, and having supplied it with all the instruments necessary for astronomical purposes, the astronomer was directed to procure such assistance as should be requisite, and to remeasure the same line; and I have understood that it very closely approximated that of M. de la Caille.

At the end of my next journey the oxen for relays having followed the waggon alone without the Hottentot, his companions grew uneasy about him. Having complained of head-ache on the previous evening, I gave him an emetic, and, naturally enough, they kept repeating in my hearing that he must have died on the road, insinuating that the emetic had killed him. In the morning, however, he made his appearance, having it would seem fallen asleep. Though dark and without knowing a step of the way, he discovered us by the track of the waggon. A Hottentot is wonderfully clever *op het spoor*, that is, tracking foot-marks; he knows the print of every wild animal that he has ever seen, but the great variations in the feet of domesticated animals will sometimes puzzle him; as the wolf, for instance, he easily distinguishes from the tame dog, but he is perplexed by the marks of such dogs as he has not had any acquaintance with: of the numerous species of antelope he will point out the *spoor* of each.

At the eastern extremity of the vast sandy plain, I passed the *Picquet-berg*, a clump of hills that stand in front of a range of mountains, at the foot of which the Elephants' River flows to the northward before it turns

westerly to enter the Atlantic. I found, however, that I had only got rid of the sandy plains to encounter a series of most extraordinary sand-hills. Out of the coarse crystallized sand and fragments of sandstone arose a multitude of pyramidal columns, some several hundred feet in diameter and as many in height; they were of sandstone, bound together by veins of a firmer texture, containing iron. Their cavernous appearance, and the coarse sand in which their bases were buried, left little doubt in my mind, that these pyramids had once been united, making one connected mountain similar to the great northern range. Streamlets of water among these masses had formed a lake called the *Verlooren Lake* (the forsaken or lost lake); but it was not forsaken, being belted by good ground and tolerably well inhabited. I here met with an ardent spirit distilled from water-melons of an immense size.

On the 21st, I turned to the eastward and, with sixteen fresh oxen in the waggon, crossed the Elephants' River, and also the Black Mountain, to which it runs parallel; the latter took me eight hours. On the broad summit, the same kind of pyramids occur, some of which I reckoned to be not less than a thousand feet high; they form the ridge of the great chain, which is about five miles in width. But what strange people the peasantry of the Cape are! On the very summit of this mountain, close to a little spring of water and a patch of ground around it, a boor had erected his cottage, which wretched hovel, in the midst of a violent storm, I found crowded with both sexes in the height of gaiety. The owner had just returned from the Cape, and brought with him a supply

of brandy, with which they were making merry. A cask of *sopie* is purchased by the poorest boor on his annual visit to the Cape, and it has little rest day or night till it is exhausted. Friends and strangers are equally welcome to it as long as it will run.

This range of mountains on the eastern side descended gradually to the commencement of a Karroo plain, where I was visited by a party of Bosjesmans, headed by a captain or chief. This man, I found, was well known, had been prevailed on to quit his marauding way of life with his whole herd, and he and his family had now, for the last fifteen years, lived here peaceably and industriously. He said he had no doubt that many other of his countrymen might be induced to live quietly in the service of the farmers, for nothing could be so miserable as their present mode of life. My Hottentot guide learned from him that water was to be had at the *Lieww Kuyl*, or Lion's Den, on the other side of the Karroo.

On the 28th, proceeding through a pass of the hills, we entered upon what is called the Namaqua country, consisting of hill and dale, with little vegetation except the enormous aloe known by the specific name of *dichotoma*. We proceeded to the Hartebeest River, which promised well, but was perfectly dry; its bed being pebbly, I had the curiosity to dig about five feet, and came to a stream of pure water trickling through the gravelly bed; and I profited by the experiment on my return in more than one dry river; an experiment which I hope will not be neglected by future travellers.

Near this place was a kraal of Namaqua Hottentots, or, as they are here pleased to call them, Bosjes-

mans, but I could find no difference. I passed the night with them, and saw their sheep, which might amount to three thousand, brought home in the evening; they had also a few cattle and a herd of small spotted handsome goats. The sheep had long, not broad, tails. The next day I came to the hovel of a Dutch boor, amidst the ruins of the *Khamiesberg* mountains; he was a tall old man, with a dingy face almost covered with black hair. In one corner of the chimney sat an old Hottentot woman, over whose head must have passed a century of years. A female slave next made her appearance, of a piece with the two former. Hospitality, however, was found even here. The faggot presently crackled on the hearth, a quarter of a sheep was laid on the coals, and the repast speedily served up on the lid of an old chest, covered with a remnant of cloth apparently of the same piece as that of the female slave's petticoat. A brother and sister of this old gentleman lived each unmarried and separately in these mountains, and, like him, entirely in the society of Hottentots. I was told that they were nearly related to one of the wealthiest families in Cape Town.

I must say that he appeared to conduct himself like one that had, in his earlier days, lived in a different sphere; was exceedingly obliging and gave an excellent *voorspan* for the northward; and I was also further indebted to him for the assistance he afforded me, on my return, by another *voorspan*, which he had sent forward to fall in with the waggon in the midst of the Karroo. I found, however, that with the very best cattle it was utterly impracticable to get the waggon over the last chain of the *Khamiesberg*. I attempted to cross them on horseback, but a thick

fog coming on, followed by heavy rain, I was glad to make my retreat, and to think of bending my way to the southward. Besides, I had now got the last span of oxen I could hope for, on this side of the Orange River, or anywhere beyond the Khamiesberg, had I succeeded in passing it; the only regret I felt was the disappointment of not obtaining a view of the Orange River at or near to its mouth.

There is something very remarkable in these Khamies, or cluster-mountains: they consist of large rounded masses of granite; each mountain being, in fact, one naked undivided rock, and each of these masses bearing a striking resemblance to the two granite blocks in or near to Drakenstein, known by the names of the Paarl and the Diamond, which, however, are mere dwarfs to those of the Khamiesberg.

Close to these mountains are beds of stratified rock, curiously coloured red and yellow; they are taken up in large flags, and therefore called by the boors *plank-stone*; it cuts easily with a knife. Another species of stone is here found, of a greenish colour, indicating the presence of copper. The hills hereabouts, indeed, are called the Copper Mountains, from the quantity of malachite strewed over the surface. That species of stone is also found here, of an apple-green colour, to which has been given the name of *prehnite*, and which the Dutch convert into tobacco-pipes: not the most lasting or suitable material, as the heat destroys its colour.

The poor Namaqua Hottentots were once an independent race; but the influx of the Dutch boors, bad as the country is, has, to a great degree, reduced them to a dependent state; but still in a better condition than their countrymen on the eastern side of the colony:

their huts are extremely neat and cleanly, they are perfect hemispheres, covered with matting, made of sedges, and ten or twelve feet in diameter. The Hottentot considers the lion his most formidable enemy, and is quite certain that he will single him out to be devoured in preference of an European, which I thought not improbable: for the strong smell of his *bucca* (diosma), and the grease with which he smears his body, are sure to give notice to the lion that he is a morsel ready basted for eating.

I now began to think of making the best of my way home, skirting the boundary-line to the westward, through the Under, the Middle, and the Little Roggevelds, and the Hantam Mountains; the last is famous for its breed of horses, of which, however, many perish every season, being poisoned, it is supposed, by a kind of grass, or some other herbage. The *Kom*, or Cup Mountain, is the loftiest of the Roggevelds, being, by Colonel Gordon's measurement, fifteen hundred feet higher than the Table Mountain, or five thousand feet above the Karroo plains. Beyond these plains, and on the northern side of the Orange River, are a numerous tribe of Bosjesmen, or Hottentots, called the *Koranas*, similar to the Namaaquas, who are represented as a formidable people, especially to the Kaffirs dwelling to the eastward of them.

Arriving at the warm Bokkeveld, I was not far from my former track through Roodesand, on my way to Graaff Reynet. Here every thing wears the appearance of comfort: springs that never fail, good grass for cattle, and abundant harvests for the grain farmer; and thus it continues through the district called the Four-and-

Twenty Rivers, which extends to the bank of the Berg River, and is most fertile in corn, grass, and fruits. There seems to be nothing wanting but a certain degree of labour and intelligence in the mode of culture, with enclosed plantations for shelter, warmth, and moisture, to render that part of the Cape district, lying within the great range of mountains, alone fully adequate for the supply of all the necessaries and comforts of life, not only for the town and garrison of the Cape, but for all the shipping that will probably ever enter its ports for trade or refreshment.

I now directed my route across the Tyger Berg, mounted my horse, and arrived in Cape Town on the 2nd of June, without having experienced any of those inconveniences which the worst season of the year and the difficult nature of the country seemed at starting to threaten.

Thus, between the 1st of July, 1796, and the 18th of January, 1797, I had traversed every part of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and visited the several countries of the Kaffirs, the Hottentots, and the Bosjesmen; performing a journey exceeding three thousand miles, on horseback, on foot, and very rarely in a covered waggon; and full one-half of the distance as a pedestrian. During the whole time (with the exception of a few nights passed at the Drosdy House of Graaff Reynet) I never slept under a roof, but always in my waggon, and in the cot that I brought with me in the good ship 'Trusty' from England.

SECTION VII.

Residence on the Cape Peninsula—Departure of Lord Macartney—Appointment of General Francis Dundas—Superseded by Sir George Young, and speedily reinstated—Sent on a Military Mission to the Eastern part of the Colony.

MY first visit on my return was, of course, to the Governor, who gave me a most cordial and welcome reception; he now hoped that my travels were at an end, and that the recollection of my intercourse and negotiations with the rebel boors, the Kaffirs, and the Hottentots, would contribute to the relish of a more civilized society; “but,” he added, “have you seen your friend Maxwell?” “I have seen nobody, my Lord; I considered it my first duty to wait on your Lordship, to report my arrival and proceedings.” “Then you will not be sorry to hear,” he said, “that your colleague is no longer my secretary. Authorised by my instructions, I have appointed him to the situation of *Comptroller of the Customs*, which gives him an advance of five hundred pounds a-year: that is to say, a salary of one thousand pounds; and be assured you were not forgotten in your absence, and that it affords me real pleasure to be able to do the same thing by you, in conferring on you the appointment of *Auditor-General of Public Accounts Civil and Military*, and here (handing me a paper) is your commission.”

I was so overwhelmed with gratitude to my ever-kind benefactor, that such a piece of unexpected good-fortune, coming suddenly upon me, literally took away my speech; I made a low bow, and turned aside in

silence. His Lordship saw my embarrassment, said "Give me your hand," and with a hearty squeeze, "I cordially congratulate you; to-morrow I shall have a new commission to give you of a domestic nature."

I judged what it was to be, for he hinted at it when I proposed to proceed to the Namaaquas. He then said, "I can assure you that Mr. Dundas will not be the last person to be pleased with the report of your several missions." He added, "I shall return you what remaining papers I have concerning your journeys; and if you could spare time to make a fair and complete copy for me to take home and deliver to Mr. Henry Dundas, I am sure you will very much gratify him and oblige me." Nothing, I said, would be more agreeable to me than this. In fact, my narratives only required to be filled up, corrected, arranged, and written out fair, to be fit to put into the hands of the Secretary of State. I placed the complete copy, when finished, in Lord Macartney's possession, and heard no more of it till it came back to me at the Cape, in print, and in the shape of a portly quarto volume.

In justice to my excellent and never-failing friend Sir George Staunton, I cannot omit stating how much I am indebted to him, while in my absence, for the most cheerful and effectual manner in which he had undertaken the management of this volume. He detailed to me the whole of his proceedings. Mr. Dundas told Lord Macartney he must have it published; and his Lordship carried the MS. to Sir George Staunton, who offered it to Cadell and Davies, and asked 1000*l.* for the copyright. They said it was a large sum for the work of an author new in the world; that, before they made their offer, they must refer it, as usual, to a

gentleman conversant with works of this kind, and that in the present instance it would be sent to Dr. Gillies. "Send it to whom you please," was the answer. Dr. Gillies, they reported, gave a favourable account of it, but they hesitated at the price demanded. "Name your own," said Sir George, and they mentioned 800*l.* "Aye, now, I see," he says, "we shall come to an agreement after the true tradesman-like manner, by splitting the difference; say 900*l.*, and I will close with you." It was given; and as a proof of the great attention bestowed on my labours by Sir George Staunton—that kindest and best of friends—the work passed through the press, was sent out by his direction, and arrived at the Cape, together with a favourable review of it, about half-a-year before the evacuation of the colony; but, alas! my friend and benefactor was no more. In a letter of the 2nd of January, 1801—the last, it is thought, Sir George wrote, having died on the 14th of that month—he was not forgetful of me or of my concerns, the concluding paragraph of that letter being, "Mr. Barrow's book is at length finished; it will be published in a few days." His son observes that "even when in the last stage of bodily infirmity, and while labouring under a disease—a paralytic affection—which almost invariably impairs the intellect,—neither the powers of his father's mind nor the affections of his heart suffered any abatement." The same arrival brought me a letter to announce my father's death, after a short illness.

But to return to my narrative. The preparation of my journal of travels did not interfere with the examination I proposed to make of the Cape Peninsula, of which I had yet literally seen nothing, not even more than the outline of the Table Mountain. However, I

was one day in conversation with Lady Anne Barnard, when she asked if I had nerve enough to take her with me to the top of the Table Mountain? I said that if she thought *her* nerves or her strength would not fail her, I should be most happy to do my best to escort her. She only bargained that her maid, a strapping Scotch lass, should attend her. We set out; but on reaching a spot, about midway of the ravine, across which a deep rugged stratum stretches, and must be clambered over, Lady Anne, by perseverance and a little help, got over it; the Scotch lassie, however, became frightened and gave in, and was assisted in getting down to the plain by a man-servant that attended us, and we heard nothing more of her.

I took Lady Anne to the very edge of the precipice, from whence the flat-roofed houses of Cape Town had the appearance of those little card houses made by children, and the shubberies on the sandy isthmus were reduced to black spots like dots on a sheet of white paper. On the weather-worn summit we found growing various shrubs: among others, the *Penæa mucronata*, a tall, elegant, frutescent plant, said to be peculiar to this situation; as is also that species of heather called *Erica physodes*, which, with its white, glazed, gelatinous flowers, exhibits in the sunshine a very beautiful appearance. Lady Anne amused herself by collecting some specimens, and got safe down, delighted with her adventure.

This, however, brought another expedition of a different kind upon a small party of us. Lord Macartney, not displeased to have an opportunity of putting a person on his mettle, said to his aide-de-camp at dinner one day, "Colyear, Sir James Craig's aide-de-camp rode

up to the top of Table Mountain, which was considered a great and singular feat." "I suppose," says Colyear, "others can do it as well as he:" and, addressing himself to Maxwell and me, "Let us take our horses," he said, "to-morrow morning and perform this great feat: but who knows the way?" I mentioned that, in going to Constantia, I rode along the foot of the southern side of Table Mountain, which descends by a succession of strata, like a flight of gigantic steps; and it was up these, as I was informed, that persons have been known to ascend to the top.

We made a party the following morning—we three alone; but when, with great difficulty on the part of the horses, we had reached about two-thirds of the way up, Colyear, standing by his horse, called out for assistance, said he was helpless, his sight was gone, and he felt sick. We made him sit down, and in the course of an hour he partially recovered; but nothing could induce him to remount his horse, which I was obliged to take care of, as well as of my own; and we slowly scrambled down the mountain, two of us leading the three horses. Colyear was as brave a soldier as any in the whole garrison, but on the present occasion his nerves wholly gave way.

On the lower part of the front or north face of the Table Mountain there gushes out of a crevice made by two strata a permanent stream of pure water, gliding over a granite slab, on the face of which are embedded large pieces of tourmaline. Part of this stream was conducted to a fountain at the lower part of the town, where many hundred slaves, in the course of the day, were accustomed to assemble, wrangling, fighting, and rioting for their turn of getting water for domestic pur-

poses. The fiscal had constantly two of his men stationed there to preserve the peace. He said to me one day, "How do you contrive in London to get a supply of water into the houses?—here there are not fewer than a thousand slaves occupied entirely in fetching water into the dwelling-houses." I told him that, without a single slave, the Table Mountain afforded the means of supplying every house in the town with abundance of water, even up to the highest story; and I promised to get a proper plan made out, on my arrival in England, and send it to him.

On the re-capture of the place, Lord Caledon took out the plan, and carried it into execution; and now every house in Cape Town has, or may have, as much water as they choose, to the very top, at a trifling expense, without the necessity of employing a single slave.

Between the town and the base of the mountain are several pleasant residences, with good gardens; the principal of these is the government-house, standing in the midst of a garden of about forty acres; a public walk, of one thousand yards in length, runs up the middle of the garden, well shaded by an avenue of oak-trees, and enclosed on each side by a hedge of cut myrtles. Lord Macartney, whose inclination was to blend the *utile dulci* where it could be done, appropriated a portion of this public garden for the reception, not only of scarce and curious native plants, but also for the trial of such Asiatic and European productions as might seem likely to be cultivated with benefit to the colony.

Most of the useful European plants were already successfully cultivated in the Cape district, and most of the fruits, both European and Asiatic. Of the native

plants, those of the greatest use and beauty are to be found on the sides and at the base of the Table Mountain. On the western side may be seen whole woods of the *Protea argentea*, planted solely for fuel; also the *conacarpa*, *grandiflora*, *speciosa*, and *mellifera*, for the same purpose; and, moreover, the larger species of *Ericas*, *phylicas*, *brunias*, *polygalas*, the *Olea Capensis*, *Euclea racemosa*, *sophora*, and many other arboreous plants, that grow abundantly both on the peninsula and the isthmus.

In the month of September, at the close of the rainy season, the plain stretching along the shore of Table Bay, and known by the name of the Green Point, exhibits a beautiful appearance, the whole surface being enlivened by the large *Othonna* (so like our daisy as to deceive many), springing out of the low creeping *Trifolium melilotos*; various species of the *Oxalis*, in every tint of colour, from brilliant red, purple, violet, yellow, down to snowy white; then the *Hypoxis*, or star-flower, with its radiated corolla of golden yellow, others of unsullied white, and others again containing in each flower white, violet, and deep green, equally numerous and more beautiful.

A walk by the foot of the Table Mountain will delight the admirer of the bulbous-rooted and liliaceous tribes of plants, flourishing in their native soil—the various species of *amaryllis*, the *gladiolus*, *antholiza*, *iris*, and *moræa*—the numerous and elegant tribe of *ixias*—the *albuca*, *ornithogalum*, *anthericum*, or *asphodel*—the beautiful *lachenalia*, of various and lively colours, perhaps peculiar to the Cape—the *Hæmanthus coccineus*, with its pair of broad stemless leaves and deep blood-coloured flower, conspicuously enlivening

the level and nearly naked plain on which it is generally found. But, above all, must be noticed a beautiful little humble ixia, which the Dutch call the *avond-bloom* (the evening flower); it is the modest *Ixia cinnamomea*, which, having concealed itself during the day within its brown calyx, now expands its small white blossoms, and perfumes the air, throughout the night, with its fragrant odour. Nor will the family of the geranium be overlooked, which scents the sides of the hills with its variety of foliage, imitating that of almost every genus of the vegetable part of the creation.

These are fair weather objects; and the climate is generally delightful; but when a storm does come, at certain seasons of the year, it rages most furiously. About the beginning of the spring, that is in September, Table Bay is considered to be safe for shipping, the wind then blowing with its fleecy cloud down the mountain towards the sea; and that safety is calculated to continue through the summer; yet, on the 5th of November, 1799, towards the middle of summer, H.M.S. 'Sceptre,' with seven others, were driven on shore by a north-westerly wind, and the first of them was totally wrecked. The house I inhabited looked directly over the Bay, and the apparent loss of the whole—for all were driven on shore—was one of the most melancholy sights I ever beheld. At one o'clock the 'Sceptre' fired a *feu-de-joie* in commemoration of the Gunpowder Plot; at ten the same evening not a vestige of the ship was seen, but the fragments of a wreck scattered on the strand in myriads of pieces, not a single plank remaining whole. Captain Edwards and his son, with ten other officers, and nearly three hundred seamen and marines, perished, and were

mangled among the remnants of the ship and the sharp rocks. Young Edwards, the son of the captain, was found with a pocket Bible in his bosom. It was necessary to bury many of the men in holes dug on the beach; all that could be taken up were placed on wag-gons and carried to the usual burying-ground. The 'Oldenburg,' a Danish 64-gun ship, was also driven on shore, but at a point where the beach was of sand.

Lord Macartney was spared the witnessing of this sad catastrophe, having left the Cape the previous year. An event, however, had occurred, to call for all that decision of character which his Lordship possessed in an eminent degree. The mutiny in the fleet at home produced a mutiny in the squadron at the Cape, when at anchor in Simon's Bay, in October, 1797. The flag-ship took the lead, and the rest followed; officers were deprived of their commands, delegates appointed, and all the rebellious formalities of the mutineers in England imitated. The firm conduct, however, of Admiral Pringle, after a few days of riot and anarchy, succeeded in establishing order and discipline, and the royal standard was hoisted in the 'Tremendous.' On the return of the squadron to Table Bay, on being joined by some King's ships from St. Helena, fresh disturbances broke out, and the mutineers in the flag-ship again took the lead, while lying at anchor off the Amsterdam battery, within point-blank shot. Lord Macartney determined at once to bring it to an issue; he repaired, with his aides-de-camp, to the Amsterdam battery, ordered the guns to be loaded, and the shot to be heated in the ovens; and, taking out his watch, he dispatched a message to the 'Tremendous,' that if the mutineers did not make an

unconditional submission within half an hour of that time, and hoist the royal standard as a signal of their having done so, he would blow the ship out of the water. The signal of submission was made: had it not been done within the period assigned, no one doubted that Lord Macartney would have played the whole battery upon her, until she was either burnt, sunk, or destroyed.

In a private letter to Mr. Dundas he says, "It appears solely to have proceeded from mere wantonness in the sailors, and a vanity of aping their fraternity in England." And he adds, "This spirit of sea mutiny seems like the sweating sickness in the reign of Edward IV.—a national malady, which, as we are assured by historians of the day, not content with its devastations in England, visited at the same time every Englishman in foreign countries, at the most distant parts of the globe.

‘ The general air,
From pole to pole, from Atlas to the East,
Was then at enmity with *English* blood.’

That which must *now* be shed will, I trust, be the last that shall be necessary to sacrifice, on such an account, in this squadron."

After this, Lord Macartney remained about a twelve-month to conduct the administration of affairs at the Cape of Good Hope, a period that was distinguished by the same system of public economy, by the same integrity and disinterestedness, which had marked his career in every former public situation of his life; and the same good effects were experienced here, as elsewhere, in spite of the national prejudice of the inhabitants. The colony, indeed, advanced rapidly to a

degree of prosperity which it had never known under its ancient masters; the public revenue was nearly doubled, without the addition of a single tax, and the value of every kind of property was increased in proportion.

Lord Macartney, in accepting the government of the Cape, made it a condition that, should his health so far give way as to make it expedient for him to return to England, he should be authorised to transfer the duties to the next in command. He found that event to have arrived, and he wrote to Mr. Dundas to say that, from the experience and the knowledge of the country possessed by the Lieutenant-Governor, Major-General Dundas, he did not hesitate to transfer the government to him, adding, "I am happy on this occasion to express the perfect satisfaction I have received from his co-operation with me, in every instance during my residence here, and it would be great injustice to him were I not thus to acknowledge it."

On the 20th of November, 1798, his Lordship embarked on board the 'Stately,' leaving the Major-General vested with the powers of Governor and Commander-in-Chief, and in the enjoyment of the full salary of 10,000*l.* a-year, his Lordship having directed that his own salary should cease from the day of his embarkation. It was a gloomy day at the Cape when Lord Macartney took his leave, for he had made himself beloved and respected by the best part of the inhabitants; but no sooner was his departure made known to the ignorant and misguided boors in the distant districts, than those of Graaff Reynet, anxious to be let loose upon the Kaffirs, held a select meeting, at which they came to a resolution that "Now that the

old Lord was gone away, they would prove themselves true patriots."

And so they did in their sense of the word. Their first act was to rescue by violence, out of the hands of justice, a criminal whom the landrost had forwarded, under the escort of a dragoon, towards the Cape to take his trial. Being a "true patriot," and too valuable a member to be taken off by a regular course of justice, fourteen fellow-patriots followed the dragoon to the Karroo to rescue the culprit. The dragoon, however, demurred, and told them that sooner than suffer his prisoner to be taken out of his hands he would blow out his brains. The landrost's secretary had accompanied the prisoner, and fearing that bloodshed was likely to result, prevailed on the dragoon to let the culprit be taken back to the landrost, to which he reluctantly assented, and the fourteen patriotic poltroons followed back the waggon to the Drosdy, keeping at a proper distance.

These fellows, with a number of boors, whom they had collected near the Great Fish River, set about organizing their forces, with the view of attacking and plundering the Kaffirs, who had remained quiet; but they were anticipated by the vigilance of the new Governor, who directed a detachment of dragoons, a few companies of infantry, and part of the Hottentot corps, under the command of General Vandeleur, to proceed to that district. The moment the marauding party were apprised of this they broke up their camp and dispersed, leaving in the hands of a neutral person a humble petition acknowledging their error and imploring forgiveness. The General returned a verbal answer that until they had voluntarily surrendered

themselves, and laid their arms at his feet, he could hold no communication with rebels; that he should name a certain place and day, and all who should not attend would be considered as rebels and traitors to His Majesty's Government, and would be treated accordingly.

Most of them made their appearance; and such a motley group was quite enough to disturb the gravity of the General, good-humoured as he always was. However, he selected nine of the ringleaders, and sent them under an escort on board His Majesty's ship 'Rattlesnake,' then at anchor in Algoa Bay; and on the rest levied a fine towards defraying the expense of the expedition which their absurd and rebellious conduct had occasioned.

General Dundas was not a little disconcerted by this disastrous turn of affairs happening so speedily after his assumption of the reins of government; and one day, at a large dinner party, he said he had just received a dispatch from General Vandeleur that had made him very uneasy, and the more so as the General was at a loss whom to trust, or from whom to take advice; moreover, as he was ignorant of the language of the Dutch boors, of the Kaffirs, and of the Hottentots, who were all quarrelling and fighting with one another, "who I am to send," he said, "I know not. Barrow (addressing himself to me), can you advise me?" I said, "General, I know nothing of military matters, but have had tolerably good experience of the squabbles and conduct of the three parties you mention, and if you think I can be of the least possible use, I will most willingly proceed to the General's head-quarters." He said it was the very thing that he wished, but he could

not venture to ask it after the fatiguing journeys I had already had. "But," he added, "if you are really not indisposed for the journey, I know of no other so fit, or who would set me so much at ease; but I cannot at least suffer you to go alone; you shall have a serjeant's party of the 8th dragoons, and Lieutenant Smyth, my aide-de-camp, shall accompany you."

Accordingly, without delay, I joined the Lieutenant, with twenty-five mounted dragoons, at the pass called Hottentots' Holland's Kloof, with an excellent horse and a black servant on another, without encumbrance of any kind, determined to proceed rapidly, to partake of the farmers' fare, and to sleep at their habitations for the first time. My route was to be the direct line towards Algoa Bay, where I expected to find the General. I had so recently passed over the same route that no guides were required. My only instruction was to place myself in communication with the General, and to afford him the benefit of my experience and assistance.

I had, however, a separate instruction to take into custody, and to send up to the Cape, a certain boor who was known to be in communication with the rebels of Graaff Reynet, and who had assisted them with gunpowder. Lieutenant Smyth, with a party of the 8th light dragoons, arrested and escorted him to the land-roast; on his return a violent thunder-storm arose, and the rain descended in such torrents as to fill to the brim the channel of a river that, the day before, had not a drop of water in it. The Hottentot, unable to withstand the rapidity of the current, let go the rope; the oxen turned their heads with the direction of the stream; the waggon was upset; and two of the young

men, who could not swim, were seen no more ; and my companion, Smyth, with the rest, had a very narrow escape.

The 9th of March was the hottest and most oppressive day I ever remember to have experienced in South Africa. The horse I rode was so overcome with the heat, that he literally dropped down under me, and was unable to carry me any farther. And now, for the first time, I experienced the sort of comfort of taking up a night's lodging with one of the African boors. We reached at length the hovel of a shoemaker. Unfortunately, it happened to be Sunday, and the shoemaker being known to all his nearest neighbours, within three or four miles, to be a jolly good fellow, who generally had a glass of wine and a strong *sopie* to regale his friends, the house was crowded with people. There were but two apartments; one filled with the company, the other occupied by Smyth and myself. The heat of the weather, and the closeness of the room, with only one small aperture to admit the light, filled with such "a congregation of foul and pestilential vapours," would have nauseated stomachs much less squeamish than ours. How often, in the course of this night, did I bless my good fortune in having the comfortable lodging which my waggon and my cot never failed to supply!

Unluckily the wine-cask and the brandy-bottle were stowed in our room, and the applications to them were so frequent that we resolved to barricade the door; failing to force the door, they attacked the window; but this small pigeon-hole being much too narrow to admit the carcase of an African boor, they had recourse to the expedient of thrusting through a thin

Hottentot girl: but from the peculiar shape of the females of this tribe the lower part refused to follow where the head had passed, and she stuck fast in the window; the girl, however, after a great deal of squeezing and pushing, effected the purpose, and procured for the tumultuous boors a supply of their favourite liquors. To prevent a return we barred in the window. After most vociferous imprecations and thundering assaults, sometimes at the door and then at the window, they thought fit about midnight to leave the house, in search, probably, of another jovial neighbour at the distance, perhaps, of ten or twelve miles.

The farther we advanced the more numerous were the accounts we received of the atrocious conduct of the boors towards the Kaffirs and Hottentots, of which they made no secret. On reaching the Lange Kloof, or Long Valley, this part of the country, with its orchards, vineyards, gardens, and comfortable farm-houses occurring at the regulated distance of three miles, displayed a cheerful and delightfully pleasant aspect. Coming opposite to Plettenberg Bay, I crossed the mountains and assembled the wood-cutters in the vicinity of the bay, the Admiral having wished me to get some information of the quantity and price at which timber could be sent to the Cape. Industrious as the inhabitants might be, the felling of large trees and the dragging of them out of deep glens required so much labour, which they alone were obliged to perform, not having the means of providing slaves, it appeared to me that, in the present state of the colony, no dependence of a supply from this quarter could be entertained.

The boors' horses are never shod; but on returning

to Lange Kloof I found that the shoes of all our horses had either been removed or new ones put on; and what was my astonishment on learning, that both the one and the other had been the work of a young man, born deaf and dumb, who had never seen a horseshoe before, and that both were executed with as much care and neatness as if he had been brought up to the trade of a farrier!—nay more, this sagacious young man, I was told, supported by his ingenuity and industry a worthless, drunken father, and a number of brothers and sisters.

On arriving at the Camtoos River an express from the General summoned us to Algoa Bay. This most beautiful part of the country, less than half a century before this time, had been entirely in possession of the Kaffirs and the Hottentots, amounting to many thousand families, the latter subsisting chiefly on wild animals, roots, bulbs, and berries of various plants; the Kaffirs on their cattle, the milk of which constitutes their principal food.

On our road to Algoa Bay we were met by a party of Hottentots, so disguised and dressed in such a whimsical manner, that I asked one who appeared to be the leader if they had not been committing depredations on the boors: they readily admitted it, for, among other good qualities which a Hottentot possesses, is that of a rigid adherence to truth—he has no deceit—if accused of a crime of which he has been guilty, with native simplicity he will state the fact just as it happened. In the whole course of my travels, and in the midst of the numerous attendants by whom I was constantly surrounded, I can with safety declare that I never was robbed or deceived by any of them.

The leader of the present party, Klaas Steurman, humbly entreating to be heard, began a long oration containing a history of their calamities and sufferings from the boors; the injustice that deprived them of their country, forced their children to become slaves, and robbed them of their cattle; that they therefore resolved to make application for redress before the English troops should leave the country; that the boors, in order to prevent it, confined some to the house, threatened to shoot others if they attempted to escape, and to punish their wives and children in their absence. He then produced a young Hottentot whose thigh was pierced through by a large musket-ball, shot by his employer because he was attempting to leave his service. "This act," said the spokesman, "and many similar ones, resolved us to collect a sufficient force to deprive the boors of their arms, and to take their clothing in lieu of the wages due for our services, but we have stripped none, nor injured the persons of any, though" (added he, shaking his head) "we have yet a great deal of our blood to avenge."

The farther we advanced the more seriously alarming was the state of the country; and it was clear that the connection between the boors and the Hottentots, kept up by violence and oppression on one side, and by want of energy and patient suffering on the other, was on the point of being completely dissolved. Indeed, from the barbarous and inhuman treatment of the boors, of which we ourselves had witnessed so many instances too revolting to be described, it would have been an act of the greatest inhumanity to have attempted to force these poor creatures back again upon their merciless masters; yet a serious difficulty arose

how to dispose of them. There was no difficulty with regard to the able-bodied men; having received so favourable an account of the condition of their countrymen in the Hottentot corps, named the Cape Regiment, they were all ready to join it; but what was to be done with the old people, the women, and the children? Klaas Steurman had an answer ready: "Restore to us our country, of which we have been robbed by the Dutch, and we require nothing more." I endeavoured to convince him that land alone, without other means, would not suffice for subsistence. His reply was, "We lived happily before these Dutch plunderers molested us, and we should do so again. Has not the *Groot Baas* (the Great Master) given plenty of grass-roots, and berries, and locusts for our use?" This clever Hottentot, I could not but admit, had the best of the argument, and my endeavour was, in which I succeeded, to prevail on the party to deliver up their arms, and in the meantime to follow the troops, until some arrangement could be made for their future welfare.

Proceeding on our march along the banks of the Sunday River, we fell in with a vast number of Kaffirs, with their cattle, belonging, they told us, to a powerful chief named Congo, who was at the head of the emigrant chiefs that had fled from Kaffir-land on account of some enmity subsisting between them and their King Gaika, with whom and them I had in vain attempted two years before to bring about a reconciliation. I sent a messenger to Congo to request he would give us a meeting; his answer was, he did not care to come alone, but must be accompanied by a certain number of his people; to this it was replied, any number not

exceeding thirty. With that number he made his appearance, each man being armed with an assagai.

He conducted himself with great firmness, said the ground on which he then stood was his own by inheritance; that, however, being desirous of remaining in friendship with the English, he would remove to the eastward in three days, but that it was impossible for him to cross the Great Fish River, as "there was blood between Gaika and himself," and that Gaika was then much too strong for him. The decided tone in which he spoke, at the head of his small party, when surrounded by British troops, his prepossessing countenance, and tall muscular figure, could not fail to excite a strong interest in his favour. Though extremely good-humoured, benevolent, and hospitable, the Kaffirs are neither so pliant nor so passive as the Hottentots. The consent of Congo to withdraw from the banks of the Sunday River was not given without apparent reluctance.

The forces being collected, and on their return to Algoa Bay, and finding that Congo had made no preparations for departing, it was thought advisable to renew a message to him, but the messenger returned without being able to see the chief. Whatever reluctance he had shown to quit the colony, it never entered into our calculation that he would be rash enough to commence an attack upon a large body of regular troops. Such, however, was the step he chose to take; instigated, as we afterwards found, by the rebel boors. Kaffirs now began to appear on all the heights, with a view to attack us; numbers were observed close upon us, lurking in the bushes; our force being in a narrow defile, nearly choked with brushwood and surrounded

by Kaffirs, two or three rounds of grape were discharged from two field-pieces in order to clear the thickets.

The persecuted Hottentots were everywhere flying from the cruel treatment of their masters; to get them down to the plains near Algoa Bay was deemed most advisable: and, therefore, accompanied by a few dragoons, I took charge of the Hottentots and their cattle on our journey to the southward; whilst the General marched back into the Zuure Veldt, to pick up a party of infantry employed in cutting off the retreat of the boors into the Kaffir country.

I proceeded to a plain contiguous to Algoa Bay, where, to my great astonishment, I found the whole of the boors and their families assembled, who had been plundered by the Hottentots, with their waggons and cattle, and the remains of their property, awaiting our arrival, in order, they said, to claim protection against the heathen. To be thus placed between two parties—each claiming protection, and each vowing vengeance—was by no means a pleasant situation. My whole strength was about a dozen dragoons; the Hottentots, great and small, were upwards of five hundred; and the boors and their families about one hundred and fifty. Fortunately, the ‘Rattlesnake’ was still in the bay, and I obtained from Captain Gooch twenty armed seamen; and caused a swivel gun to be mounted on a post immediately between the boors and the Hottentots.

After some days of anxiety, I received a letter from General Vandeleur, informing me that the Kaffirs, instigated by the rebel boors, had been led to the bold measure of attacking his camp near Bosjesman’s River, for the sake, he supposed, of obtaining a supply of gun-powder; that the latter had kept up a pretty brisk fire

from behind the bushes; but that the Kaffirs, finding their assagais useless against musketry, rushed forward upon the open plain with the iron part only of the assagai in their hands; that, however, after several rounds of grape and volleys from the infantry, by which numbers were killed, they retreated into the thickets.

The same letter gave the account of an unfortunate affair that happened to Lieut. Chumney and twenty men of the 81st Regiment. Returning from the sea-coast to the camp at Bosjesman's River, his party were surprised among the thickets by a large body of Kaffirs, who attacked them hand to hand with the iron part of their assagais, the wooden shaft having been previously broken off. This young officer bravely defended himself till sixteen of his party were killed; the remaining four got into the waggon, and arrived safe at the camp. Poor Chumney was on horseback, with three assagais sticking in his body; he made a sign for the waggon to set off, and, finding himself mortally wounded, he turned his horse in a contrary direction to that of the waggon, and was pursued by the whole body of Kaffirs; affording thus an opportunity for the small remains of his party to save their lives by flight.

However desirable it might have been to apprehend and punish the rebel boors, who had shown themselves a disgrace to humanity, yet it was not deemed advisable, in order to obtain that point, to wage, in impenetrable thickets, an unequal war with savages, whose destruction would have added little lustre to the British arms, and been advantageous only to the rebels who had urged them on. General Vandeleur, therefore, very prudently withdrew his forces, and marched them down to Algoa Bay, where part were

embarked on board the 'Rattlesnake,' and the rest were to proceed to the Cape by easy marches. Subsequent events, however, delayed their departure, and rendered the presence of troops necessary at Algoa Bay until the evacuation of the colony.

Having delivered over the remaining part of the Hottentots, on the return of the General, and finding I could be of no further use, I set out for the Cape; where, after a journey of sixteen days, performed with two horses, I arrived on the 8th of June, 1799.

SECTION VIII.

*Two new Governors; one Dutch and one English—
The Cape surrendered to the former and evacuated.*

My exploring journeys thus finished by this less agreeable military mission, and having given satisfaction to my superiors, I resolved now to relinquish the good-natured plan of volunteering for further active service, and to sit down quietly to audit with diligence and regularity the public accounts, which was an important part of my duty; to marry a wife, and, that being accomplished, to look out for a small comfortable house near the town, and to become a country gentleman of South Africa. Accordingly, at Stellenbosch, by the Rector Mr. Borchards, related to the family, in August, 1799, I was united in marriage to Miss Anna Maria Trüter, the only daughter of Peter-John Trüter, Esq., Member of the Court of Justice, and the cousin of Sir John Trüter, the Chief Justice of that Court; a lady whose acquaintance I had made the first week of our

arrival at the Cape. In the early part of 1800 I purchased a house, with a paddock, garden, and vineyard attached, named the Liesbeck Cottage, from the river of that name which flowed past the foot of the grounds. My house looked on the west side of the Table Mountain, which sloped down almost close to the gate, and presented a picturesque mass of varied rock and native plants, among which the ericas and proteas were conspicuous; and of the latter the argentea, or silver-tree, prevailed. My family consisted of myself, my wife and child, an old nurse, and four other servants.

My stud was limited to two stout carriage horses for drawing a curricule, and two saddle horses: the one a most lively, playful, and intelligent creature as I ever met with. If I mentioned but his name, *Trim* was with me in an instant; if he saw me, it was not easy to prevent his bounding up to me; and how was this brought about? By kind treatment, by showing him and convincing him that he was my pet, by giving him part of my food, bread, biscuit, grapes, and other fruit; and in this way I have always found that the most surly and wild animals may be tamed. My other horse was a grey Spanish pony, a very lively creature, but not so docile as *Trim*. I had an Indian groom and a helper.

Speaking of food: a scarcity of bread-corn was at this time felt, owing partly to a bad harvest, partly to the supplies necessary to be sent to the eastern frontier for the use of the troops, the number of which the rebellious boors, united with the Kaffirs, made it necessary to increase. General Dundas, in this emergency, consulted the Burgher Senate as to what, in their opinion, was best to be done to prevent a famine among the large popula-

tion of Cape Town, a great portion of it being slaves. The Senate advised importation of corn and rice, and without delay. The General then called a meeting of all the English who held official situations; the result was, that with the assistance of the Commissary-General, —who was responsible for the food of the troops, and had correspondence in various quarters, and also the command of money and credit—Mr. Pringle, the Commissary, most readily undertook to write for cargoes of wheat, maize, and rice from India and the Brazils. A corn committee was formed, of which the General was president, and I was named secretary; grain of different kinds speedily began to come in, regulations were made for its distribution at fixed prices a little higher than its cost: and in the third year, when all had come right again, I presented my account, leaving a small balance of profit on hand, after discharging all debts, advances, and expenses.

General Dundas had left England, under an engagement to a lady, a daughter of General Cumming, for the purpose of being united to her in marriage, as soon as he saw himself likely to be fixed here. He was now Governor and Commander-in-chief, and in possession of the Government house fitted up for the reception of his lady; who arrived safe and proved a most agreeable addition to the society of the Cape. But how uncertain is the tenure, generally, of a public appointment—more especially so, on the change of the patron! In the present instance, the Right Hon. Hiley Addington had become Prime Minister in the room of the Right Hon. William Pitt; and Lord Hobart, Secretary of State for the Colonial and War Department; and a new Governor of the Cape one day suddenly made his ap-

pearance, in the person of Sir George Young. I confess I had my misgivings; yet, all things considered, I was a good deal surprised, and immediately waited on the General. He said, good-humouredly, "They have left me at least a plank to float upon; our new chief having brought with him a commission appointing me Commander-in-chief and Lieutenant-Governor of the Cape of Good Hope; and a few lines, from one you know, tells me to remain quiet and wait events."

Sir George Young brought out with him a stupid Irish Secretary and his wife, and a pert young officer as aide-de-camp, and they all lived together in the Government-house. He took an early opportunity—or his Secretary and his wife for him—to give out that the friends of Lord Macartney would meet with no countenance from him; and it was whispered, that as all the civil appointments had been filled up, some vacancies might be anticipated. The friends, however, of Lord Macartney looked upon the manœuvres of the whole party with the utmost contempt. Among other ridiculous freaks, which the weak old Governor took into his head, was that of raising a volunteer corps among the English part of the inhabitants, and just at the time that Mr. Addington was negotiating with Buonaparte the treaty of peace, or that more generally known as the *Truce*, of Amiens. The civil officers of the Cape Government were required to hold commissions in the corps of volunteers, and it was notified to me that I was appointed captain of artillery. I simply declined to take up my commission, as did most of the others; except three or four, who were in the habit of playing fantastic tricks, and who looked for the favourable countenance of Sir George Young.

Sir George brought out with him a Mr. Duckett, a noted agriculturist in England, who was to astonish the Cape farmers by teaching them how to raise two bushels of corn where one only grew before. He had an estate given to work upon, and Government slaves to assist. I think he put in seed, and reaped three crops, the worst and most scanty that had ever been produced; and, of course, was laughed at by the Cape boors; and he left the colony a disappointed man.

Sir George Young, concluding that all Lord Macartney's protégés were blockheads, had brought out with him a German gentleman—one Count Lichtenstein, who was to develop all the mineral treasures of the colony: the silver, copper, lead ores, and coal to smelt them—all of which he knew were to be found, whether from observation or instinct I know not. But this gentleman, previous to his setting out, called on me to ask for information, and I gave him what little I had gathered on the subject. I also gave him some little trifling specimens I had picked up; and, among other matters, a piece of meteoric iron I had cut off from a mass found near Algoa Bay, after very great labour, with a hammer and chisel. This piece of iron was the cause, some time afterwards, of bringing the Count into rather an awkward predicament. One Sunday evening, on entering the room of Sir Joseph Banks, I observed a number of persons crowding round the table, and handing from one to another a piece of iron—Sir Joseph explaining that it was found and cut by Count Lichtenstein from a large *ærolite* he had discovered in Southern Africa. Taking it into my hand, and examining it closely, I said, "Ah! this is an old friend of mine, Sir Joseph: there must be some mistake. This piece

of iron was cut off by me from a large mass found near Algoa Bay, after several hours of hard labour with a hammer and chisel, and was given by me to Count Lichtenstein." On this, a gentleman stepped out of the crowd, and said, "I beg your pardon, Mr. Barrow: what you say is quite true, and I beg your pardon—" But I stopped him, and hoped he would not say another word about it; had I known of his being present, I should have been silent to all except to himself.

Great discontent, among both English and Dutch inhabitants, prevailed against Sir George Young's administration; and many complaints are supposed to have reached England. Be that as it may, he was suddenly and unexpectedly recalled. One day, in coming from the Corn Committee, I met General Dundas, who appeared a good deal fluttered. He hurried me into a house, said he was looking for me, and that he had just received a most important dispatch from home, about which he was anxious to consult me. "The King has been pleased to appoint me Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, and Commander-in-Chief of the forces, and I have got my commissions. What am I to do?—What communication shall I make to the present Governor?" I told him that, in my humble opinion, he had but one line to take—to cause a proclamation to be issued forthwith, announcing the fact, and that "it is your intention to be sworn in, and to assume the government, to-morrow; and instantly to let Sir George Young know your intention. He, no doubt, has corresponding orders to resign the government into your hands; but he may take his own time, if you do not act forthwith. It will be proper you also immediately communicate with Mr. Secretary Barnard."

He did so act accordingly ; and the short-lived administration ceased, with very general satisfaction.

This second government of General Dundas was soon discovered as likely to be of short duration. The treaty of peace, signed at Amiens on the 25th March, 1802, having, among other cessions, decreed " that the port of the Cape of Good Hope shall remain to the Batavian republic in full sovereignty," was some time ere it was officially received here ; and thus gave us sufficient notice to be prepared for our departure. Accordingly, in the month of March, 1803, a large force made its appearance to take possession of the ceded colony. The British troops were removed into the Castle, till the whole of them could be embarked for England on board the ships of war and transports at anchor in Table Bay, and the Dutch troops were simultaneously quartered in the large barrack close to the town.

General Jansen, the new Governor, and the civil Commissioner De Mist, were received in the most friendly manner by General Dundas, who immediately resigned to them the Governor's house within the Castle, retaining the Garden-house till all was ready for embarkation. As a large quantity of stores, of various descriptions, were agreed upon to be taken by the Dutch at a fair valuation, commissioners were named, on both sides, to settle this point, and the General asked me to be one of them. This being concluded, and the whole of the troops embarked, a day was named for all being on board, when a frigate arrived in the bay. The Captain landed, sent off the boat back to the ship, looked very mysterious, answered no questions, but desired to be brought immediately to General Dundas to deliver his dispatches. It was in

the afternoon, when the General and the Admiral were in consultation, shortly after which it was observed that Sir Roger Curtis hastened on board.

I was summoned by the General to the Garden-house, where I found Mr. Secretary Barnard and the Captain of the frigate. The General told me that what he had received was an order on no account to give up possession of the Cape till further orders. "And now," says he, "what are we to do? The Dutch have five thousand men, with all their accoutrements, in our barrack, and we have about the same number embarked on board the ships in the bay. The Admiral is just gone on board, and he says that he can very quietly get the men into the boats on the off-side of the ships, and row them rapidly to be landed in the Castle-yard. Once there," observed the General, "we should be in a state to negotiate. Nothing more can be done in this critical conjuncture than to wait patiently a further dispatch from home."

I told the General I had received and accepted an invitation to an early dinner in the Castle, from General Jansen, with whom I had contracted an intimacy from his first landing, he having brought me a letter of introduction from Baron Fagel. "Shall I keep my engagement?" "By all means," said the General; "I shall see him myself the moment the troops are landed." No suspicion of the counter-orders, it was evident, had been received by the new Governor. All went off pleasantly and cheerfully at the Castle; and the two young ladies, daughters of Jansen and De Mist, were lively and agreeable, when, about the middle of dinner, a bustle was heard in the court-yard, the grounding of arms, &c., on which the General, starting up, called out, "Mr. Barrow,

what is the meaning of all this?" To free myself from the dilemma of an answer, I got up and said, "I will go out and see." At that moment General Dundas was in the Castle, and had sent to General Jansen to ask an interview. The Admiral was with him; and these two, with General Jansen and Mr. Commissioner De Mist, came very cordially to the following agreement:—

That in order to prevent any collision between the Dutch troops and the English, the former should remove some three or four miles into cantonments on the pleasant plains of Wynberg, and the English be held in readiness to embark immediately on counter-orders being received from home, for which purpose a part were to be kept in the Castle, and the rest in the barracks—an arrangement that was at once agreed to, and carried into effect. It was certainly a painful suspense; and some of the Radical party, in the town, did their best to cause a rupture, hoping they would meet encouragement from Mr. De Mist, who was supposed to be a friend of Talleyrand; but they were deceived in him: he was an able, agreeable, and, I believe, an honest man.

It was near the end of the year before counter-orders were received from home, to deliver up the Cape to the officers of the Batavian republic. The British troops were immediately put in preparation for embarking, and the Admiral was busily engaged in allotting ships and berths for the civilians. He placed me in a ship of war crowded to excess, and in a dark hole on the lower deck, which I told him at once I should not accept. "But you must," he said: "my orders are to provide for every one, and you must take what I can give you." "I doubt your authority, Sir Roger; and shall appeal

to Lieut.-General Francis Dundas, who alone is my master here."

I saw the General: he immediately said, "I can suit you exactly; I have an Ordnance transport of 350 tons, which I will allot for your exclusive use; and, as you will find abundance of room, you may, if you please, name any one you will to go along with you." I named my friend and companion Mr. Maxwell; a young man, Mr. Pickering, the storekeeper of Ordnance; his lady and child; and a son of Mr. Duckett, the agriculturist. We had comfortable apartments and abundance of room for myself, my wife, our little girl of three years old, and a servant maid. The rest were all well accommodated. Our transport kept good way with the ships of war on the whole voyage; and we arrived with them, after a moderate passage, at Portsmouth in the month of June, 1803.

Note, applicable to the Year 1846.

It is now nearly fifty years since the occurrences related in the preceding narrative took place; and it would appear that in the course of that long interval the affairs of the interior districts of the Cape of Good Hope, as regards the Boors, the Kaffirs, and the Hottentots, instead of improving, have retrograded from bad to worse; and that our troops, and the respectable part of the colonists of the southernmost districts, have been involved, and had greatly suffered in their persons and property. The poor Hottentot, however, can hardly be included; this docile creature may be moulded into

any shape that his superiors think fit, and have the humanity to give him. The Hottentot corps, established by General Sir James Craig, has supported the best of characters, under every succeeding officer, for good conduct, discipline, and fidelity; and both officers and men are spoken of with similar commendations as those bestowed on the Sepoys of India.

But the Kaffirs are a race of men very differently constituted in body and mind. Bold, brave, and resolute, they are not easily persuaded or forced to yield to what they deem an invasion of their rights; this they consider to be their case, on the part of the neighbouring boors, who, they say, were the *first* to transgress the boundary line, for the sake of plundering them of their cattle; that, not satisfied with appropriating the rich country, they have crossed the boundary agreed upon by the colonists and themselves; some driving off their cattle to their own country, and others feeding theirs in the Kaffir country; and that this practice had increased to such an extent that they were compelled to retaliate.

It is not improbable that the Kaffirs are right; for it is but a very short period since the Dutch first set foot on the soil of Southern Africa, and no record exists of the original establishment of the Kaffir nation in the place, where the Dutch found them, and where they then unquestionably had long been settled.

But the question now is, what is to be done to put an end to the murderous warfare that has been and is going on, by the Kaffirs on the one side, and the British troops and the colonists on the other. The Kaffirs have become a most formidable enemy; they are a fine race of men—powerful and vigorous in body, resolute and

undaunted in mind, and fearless in danger. They are well practised in the advantage which the numerous thickets of the country give them, and from which they are enabled to pick off hundreds of boors with their muskets, and with those very arms that the latter themselves have supplied; nor do our own troops escape this concealed enemy.

But the courage and the skill of the Kaffir are not confined to skirmishing under cover of a thicket. When occasion offers he will rush from his cover, break off the iron blade of his *hassagai* from its shaft, and fight with it hand to hand, singly or in a party; in this way he will attack a whole body of troops; and such an enemy is not to be despised.

It might be supposed that some means had been hit upon, ere this, to put an end to this destructive warfare. A plan was adopted by one of the governors (Sir Benjamin D'Urban, I think), to establish the belt of land, between the Great Fish River and the Keiskamma, as neutral territory, with a small fort about the centre and one at each extremity: the Kaffirs agreeing to keep themselves and their cattle to the north of the Keiskamma, and the boors themselves and their cattle to the southward of the Great Fish River. This sensible, and it was said successful, experiment, by some change in the Colonial Office or in the governor, was then given up, and the old system of mutual plunder recommenced.

There is just now a Governor, in the midst of the contending parties, striving, and not unsuccessfully, to restore peace, in whom the suffering inhabitants have great confidence. The following extract is from the clergyman of Bathurst:—

“ I consider it to be a subject of sincere congratulation at the present moment—the most eventful, apparently, that ever occurred in the history of South Africa—that we have at the head of affairs a man like Sir Peregrine Maitland, respecting whom perhaps there are few who will not unite in the opinion, that the interests of justice and humanity could not have been entrusted to a more upright and watchful guardian. What renders this of such practical importance, at this present time, is the prevalence of an opinion among the most intelligent classes in the colony, that no safeguard can be found that will be so effectual for the maintenance of peace, as that of placing such a number of European settlers in Kaffirland as may be able to exert a controlling, governing influence in the heart of the country. Every other course of proceeding hitherto tried has failed.

“ *Bathurst, July 20, 1846.*”

At the moment I was copying the above extract, I read in the Gazette, that this excellent officer, while in the midst of the hostile Kaffirs and labouring for the establishment of peace, was superseded by “The Right Hon. Sir Henry Pottinger, Bart., K.G.C.B., Governor and Commander-in-Chief, to be Her Majesty’s High Commissioner for the settling and adjusting of the affairs of the territories, &c. of the Cape of Good Hope,” together with a splendid staff.

What may be the issue of this *contre-temps*, if General Maitland should have arranged matters before Sir Henry Pottinger’s arrival in Kaffirland, I pretend not to augur; but I will venture to observe, that his success in China is no voucher for success in Kaffirland.

In the former, the gates of negotiation were widely thrown open by victory—one of the best admirals and one of the best generals paved his way to the subdued powers, and by means of able interpreters he could propose and receive terms. If General Maitland has been able to accomplish in Kaffirland what Sir William Parker and Sir Hugh Gough did in China, Sir Henry may not have a very difficult task; but he must probably be content with a Hottentot interpreter, as I was served before King Gaika and the emigrant Kaffir chiefs.

But, supposing the peace to be made, what ought the terms to be, in order to preserve it? The first step, in my opinion, should be to create a Christian population, spread over an extent of country capable of supporting many hundred families, possessing, as it does, an exuberant soil, and as healthy a climate as any in the world. I speak practically, having traversed the worst as well as the best parts of it, summer and winter, sleeping at nights without a roof over my head, except the canvas covering over my waggon; and having never suffered a day's sickness. How many thousand families from the United Kingdom would rejoice to be set down in such a country and in such a climate, if facilities were afforded to them—and what a relief to many parts of the kingdom would their emigration be! But something is first to be done; the Zuure-veld and a great way beyond it must be marked out into parochial districts, and surveyors appointed to settle the limits. The boors must not be allowed unbounded liberty to ramble over what extent of country they please; and they should be compelled to till the ground to a certain extent. I should propose to extend the colony along

the eastern coast as far as Natal, where a part of the refractory Graaff Reynet boors thought fit first to migrate, to free themselves from all control, and then to quarrel among themselves, and separate; and now we have the Natal boors and the refugees joined to some mongrel natives farther to the westward; an union not likely to last long.

But it may be asked, what do you propose to do with the Kaffirs—they are too important a people to be overlooked? They certainly are; for I do not hesitate to say that a finer race of men does not exist, and they require nothing but kind treatment and instruction, with a fair portion of their own land, to make them a respectable and happy people. I should say, therefore, give them undisturbed possession of the western part of the country, commencing from their old boundary along the Keiskamma River and as far to the west and the north as they may find it expedient to go—perhaps till they fall in with the emigrant boors from Natal; reserving to ourselves a western frontier at a prescribed distance from the sea coast, of which the Kaffirs make no use: and while the latter are completing their settlement, let them have from our colonists every possible friendly assistance that can be afforded to them.

But in the first place mark out the limits of what is to constitute our—that is the north-west—colony; divide it into districts or parishes; and assign limits to the portions of the several colonists; ample let them be, but put an end to the rambling and pastoral system; and, to make amends, encourage cultivation of the land, and at the same time the cultivation of their minds.

But I am aware that, in thus establishing or extending a colony in a part of the Cape of Good Hope territory where none has yet existed, I am forgetting that the Colonial Department has an inveterate dislike to the *name* of colony. I had practical experience of this when in the Admiralty: I had made a minute for certain regulations to be observed at the *colony* of Port Essington, on the north coast of Australia. A gentleman from the Colonial Office called on me to request that I would substitute some other word for *colony*, which had become obnoxious in certain quarters. I said, “*establishment* or naval station will do quite as well.” The Cape of Good Hope is already a colony; and it is proposed only to extend its limits. By stationing a small ship of war at Point Natal, one at Algoa Bay, and another at Plettenberg Bay, or one moving about might do for all, to keep up communication, the interior would require only district officers. Something must be done, and that promptly and vigorously; and I see no difficulty with regard to our own people; nor indeed, if proper care be taken to secure to the Kaffirs the quiet possession of a sufficient territory—which they have an unquestionable right to expect—do I see any in that quarter; and the Hottentots are sufficiently tractable and peaceable to be made generally useful to themselves and the colonists.

Taking it for granted, that there is but one opinion among sensible and right-minded men with regard to the advantages of emigration, more particularly where thousands are periodically liable to perish from want of food, I know of no country that affords so large a surface, with so exuberant a soil and so healthy and agreeable a climate, as that portion of the Cape of Good

Hope territory now proposed to be added in extension of the present colony. The emigrants would have the great and immediate advantage of the assistance of the Hottentots—a quiet, intelligent, and industrious race, too happy at the idea of serving English families, from whom they know they will receive kind treatment. The whole of the eastern coast of South Africa might be made a fruitful and flourishing country, as far up as De la Goa Bay, where the miserable country of the more miserable Portuguese nation commences; and which, at the conclusion of the war, I used all the efforts in my power with the then Colonial Secretary to make the northern limit of our possessions, and to pension off the old serjeant who held it as governor.
