A SHORT HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA

G. M. THEAL

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SHORT HISTORY

OF

SOUTH AFRICA.

(1486—1826).

FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS.

BY GEORGE McCALL THEAL,

OF THE CAPE COLONIAL CIVIL SERVICE, FORMERLY KEEPER OF THE ARCHIVES OF THE CAPE COLONY.

WITH TEN MAPS AND CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY.

CAPETOWN:
DARTER BROTHERS & WALTON.
1890.

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DEDICATED

TO

SIR LANGHAM DALE, K.C.M.G., M.A., L.L.D.,

UNDER WHOSE SUPERINTENDENCE THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH HAS
MADE SUCH ADVANCES WITHIN THE CAPE COLONY
AS WERE PREVIOUSLY DEEMED IMPOSSIBLE.

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PREFACE.

SEVENTEEN years ago I published a *Compendium of South African History and Geography*, which was very favourably received, and rapidly passed through three editions. Since the appearance of that book, a large portion of my time has been spent either in collecting information from different sections of the Southern Bantu, or in researches in the archives of the Cape Colony, so that I am now able to write with greater accuracy. During the last eleven years I have been working upon a detailed history of South Africa, four volumes of which have been issued in London by Messrs. Swan Sonnenschein & Co, and another is nearly ready for the press. To these volumes I refer all who wish to have full knowledge of occurrences in our country since the arrival of Europeans.

The book now in the reader's hands is only an outline of South African history from 1486 to 1826, but it will be found sufficiently large for school purposes. It has been issued by desire of numerous persons engaged in the work of education, who wish to furnish pupils with a record of events drawn from the most authentic sources. An edition in the Dutch language was published a few months ago.

GEO. M. THEAL.

Capetown, June, 1890.

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The second part of this work, bringing the history down to date, is in preparation and will be duly announced.

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SHORT HISTORY

OF

SOUTH AFRICA.

CHAPTER I.

THE fifteenth century of our era was drawing towards its close, and no one knew the extent of the African continent. The eastern shore from the isthmus of Suez to the southern tropic was frequented by Arab traders, but they were ignorant of all that was beyond. The Portuguese were then the most daring seamen of Europe. For a long time they had been pushing their way down the western coast, trying to find an ocean road to India, and still as each little fleet reached a point farther south than the one preceeding it had attained, the land stretched away beyond without break or turn.

At length, in 1486, when John the second was king of Portugal, a great advance was made towards the end for which they had striven so long and so bravely. In August of that year three tiny vessels, under command of an officer named Bartholomew Dias, sailed towards the south. One was laden with food, and was left with nine men to take care of her at a place on the western coast not far from the equator. The other two kept on their course, and passed the farthest point then known. Sailing along a barren shore, Dias came to an inlet or small gulf with a group of islets at its entrance. There he cast anchor, and for the first time Christian men trod the soil of Africa south of the tropic.

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The inlet was the one known ever since as Angra Pequena or Little Bay. A more desolate country than that on which the weary seamen landed could hardly be, and there was no sign of human life as far as they wandered. Before he left, Dias set up a marble cross some six or seven feet in height, as a token that he had taken possession of the land for his king. For nearly three hundred and fifty years that cross stood there above the dreary waste just as the brave Portuguese explorer planted it. Then some thoughtless persons broke it down to look for treasure beneath it, and now its fragments are in the museum of Lisbon. The place where it stood so long is called Pedestal Point.

From Angra Pequena Dias tried to keep the coast in sight as he sailed southward, but for the first five days the wind was contrary, and he could not make much headway. Then a storm arose, and for thirteen days the little vessels were driven before it, but in the right direction, for the wind was from the north. As soon as the gale abated, the course was changed to the east, with a view of reaching the coast again.

After sailing a long time without seeing land, Dias began to think that he must have passed the end of the continent, and so he turned the prows of his ships northward. He was right in his conjecture, for after a while he came in sight of the coast, and to his great joy found it trending away to the east. The exact spot where he made the land cannot be stated, but it was one of the curves in the seaboard between Cape Agulhas and the Knysna. Large herds of cattle were seen, which the natives drove inland with haste, as they seemed in terror of the ships. It was not found possible to open any intercourse with the wild people.

Sailing again eastward, Dias reached an islet where he found fresh water, and upon which he set up another cross. It was the islet in Algoa Bay that is still called on that account Santa Cruz, or—as it is usually written in the French form—St. Croix. Here the sailors objected to proceed any farther. Their food was getting short, they said, and the store-ship was a great distance behind. They thought

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they had surely done sufficient in one voyage, for none had ever taken such tidings to Portugal as they would carry back. And further it was evident there must be some great headland behind them, and therefore they were of opinion it would be better to turn about and seek for it.

Dias begged of them to continue only two or three days sail farther, and promised that if they should find nothing to encourage them to proceed on an easterly course, he would turn about. The crews consented, but in the time agreed upon they advanced only to the mouth of a river, either the one now known as the Kowie, or the Fish.

From this point Dias turned back, and on his homeward passage discovered the headland to which he gave the name Cape of Storms, afterwards altered by the king to Cape of Good Hope.

During the reign of John the second no further efforts were made to open a passage round Africa to India, but shortly after the accession of Emanuel in 1495 it was resolved to try again if an ocean way could not be found to the rich countries of the East. For this purpose four small vessels were made ready. Vasco da Gama, a man of proved ability, was placed in chief command.

It was not quite five years after Columbus sailed from Palos to discover a new continent in the west, when Da Gama's little fleet put to sea from the Tagus. Five months and a half later he reached a curve in the African coast about one hundred and twenty miles north of the Cape of Good Hope, to which he gave the name St. Helena Bay. Here he landed to seek water and ascertain the latitude. Two wild men were observed gathering herbs, and by a little strategy one of them was made captive. The prisoner was at first greatly terrified, but upon food being offered to him his fears were dispelled. Da Gama gave him some trinkets, and he was then allowed to return to his friends, signs being made that he should bring them to receive like presents.

Next day about forty natives with their families made an appearance. They were well received, and when they left, a soldier named Fernando Veloso went with them in

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order to obtain a better knowledge of the country. But at their first resting place, Veloso, being disgusted with some food which they offered him and probably concluding that they were cannibals, suddenly began to retrace his steps. The natives hereupon followed him, and he, not knowing whether their intentions were friendly or hostile, but fearing the last, made all possible haste to reach the shore, at the same time calling loudly for help.

The Portuguese had gone on board, when Veloso was seen coming over a hill, whereupon Da Gama himself went ashore to bring him off. Springing from the boat to the relief of their countryman whom they believed to be in danger, the Europeans attacked the natives, and a skirmish took place, in which Da Gama and three others were wounded with assagais. Such was the first intercourse between white men and Hottentots.

On the 17th of November 1497 Da Gama set sail from St. Helena Bay, and three days later doubled the Cape of Good Hope in fine weather. Turning eastward, he anchored next at a cape which he named St. Bras, and which is probably the same as the present St. Blaize. There he found a great number of natives, similar in appearance to those he had first seen, but who showed so little symptom of alarm that they crowded on the beach and scrambled for anything that was thrown to them. From these people sheep were obtained in barter, but they would not sell any horned cattle. The intercourse lasted for three days. The ships then put into a bay close by, where the sheep were taken on board, and sail was again set.

Keeping within sight of the shore, a beautiful land was passed by on the 25th of December, to which Da Gama gave the name Natal, in memory of the day when Christian men first saw it.

On the 6th of January 1498 the fleet reached the mouth of a river to which the name Rio dos Reys, or River of the Kings, was given, the day being the festival of the wise men or kings of the Roman calendar. The river is the one now called the Manisa, or sometimes King George's, which enters the sea on the northern side of Delagoa Bay. Here

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the Portuguese landed, and found a friendly people, black in colour, who brought copper, ivory, and provisions for sale. One Martin Alfonso visited a village, and was very well treated by the residents. About two hundred men, dressed in skin mantles, returned with him, and shortly afterwards their chief followed to see the ship and the strangers. During the five days that the fleet remained at this place, nothing occurred to disturb the friendly intercourse between the Portuguese and the tribe of Southern Bantu.

Sailing again, Da Gama next touched at Sofala, where he found people who had dealings with Arabs, and thence he continued his voyage until he reached India.

The highway to the East being now open, every year fleets sailed to and from Portugal. In a short time many of the richest islands and a great extent of the coasts of the Indies fell under Portuguese dominion, and an immense trade with Europe was carried on.

In 1503 three fleets were sent out, the last of which was under command of Antonio de Saldanha, a man whose name is still connected with South Africa. Not knowing where he was, Saldanha entered a deep bay and cast anchor. Before him rose a great mass of rock, over three thousand feet in height, with its top making a level line more than a mile in length on the sky. This grand mountain was flanked at either end with peaks less lofty, supported by buttresses projecting towards the shore. The recess was a capacious valley, down the centre of which flowed a stream of clear sweet water. The valley seemed to be without people, but after a while some Hottentots made their appearance, from whom a cow and two sheep were purchased. The natives were suspicious of the strangers, however, for on another occasion some two hundred of them suddenly assailed a party that had gone ashore, and Saldanha himself received a slight wound.

Before this affray the commander had climbed to the top of the great flat rock, to which he gave the name Table Mountain. From its summit he could see the Cape of Good Hope, and so, having found out where he was, he pursued his voyage with the first fair wind. The bay in which he

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anchored was thenceforth called after him Agoada de Saldanha, the watering place of Saldanha, until a century later it received its present name of Table Bay.

In returning homeward with the fleet which left India at the close of 1509, Francisco d'Almeida, first viceroy of the Portuguese conquests in the East, put into Table Bay for the purpose of obtaining water and refreshing his people. When the ships came to anchor, some natives appeared on the beach, and leave was given to a party of Portuguese to go ashore and endeavour to barter cattle from them. This traffic was successful, bits of iron and pieces of calico being employed in trade, and it was carried on in such a friendly manner that several of the Portuguese sailors did not fear to go with the natives to one of their kraals at no great distance. But on the way some daggers and other small articles were missed, and it was ascertained that they had been pilfered, which so enraged one Gonsalo that he determined upon taking revenge. His violence, however, cost him dear, for in a scuffle with two natives he received some severe wounds. He and another, who had also been badly beaten, made their appearance before the viceroy, who was at the time surrounded by his principal officers. There was at once a clamour for vengeance, and D'Almeida was persuaded to give his consent to an attack upon the natives.

Next morning, 1st of March 1510, the viceroy landed with one hundred and fifty men, the best of all his people, armed with swords and lances. They marched to the kraal and seized some cattle, which they were driving away when the Hottentots, supposed to be about one hundred and seventy in number, attacked them. The weapons of the Portuguese were useless against the fleet-footed natives, who poured upon the invaders a shower of missiles. A panic followed. Most fled towards the boats as the only means of safety; a few, who were too proud to retreat before savages, attempted in vain to defend themselves. The viceroy was struck down with knobbed sticks and stabbed in the throat with an assagai. Sixty-five of the best men in the fleet perished on that disastrous day, and hardly any of those who reached the boats escaped without wounds.

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From this time the Portuguese added but little to the information here given concerning South Africa. Their fleets doubled the continent year after year, but seldom touched at any port south of Sofala. They made a practice of calling for refreshment at the island of St. Helena, which had been discovered in 1502, and then making the run to Mozambique without a break, whenever it was possible to be done. They never attempted to form a station below Delagoa Bay.

Now and again, however, their ships were driven by stress of weather to seek a port, and occasionally a wreck took place. Curiosity also prompted some of them, and orders from the government required others, to inspect the coast and make rough tracings of it. And so it happened that names were given to the principal bights and headlands. Nearly all of these have been replaced by others, Dutch or English, but one or two remain to our day. The extreme southern point of the continent is still called Cape Agulhas (Needles), which was the name given to it by the Portuguese at the beginning of the sixteenth century, on account of the magnetic needle at that time pointing there to the true north.

Nearly a century passed away before the English followed on the track of the Portuguese. In July 1591 three English ships, bound to the Indies, put into Table Bay. The crews, who were suffering from scurvy, obtained good refreshment, as in addition to wildfowl, shellfish, and plants of various kinds, they bartered some oxen and sheep from the Hottentots. In 1601 the first fleet fitted out by the English East India Company touched at Table Bay. Thereafter for several years the fleets of this Company made Table Bay a port of call and refreshment, and their crews usually procured in barter from the natives as many cattle as they needed.

During the closing years of the sixteenth century the people who were destined to form the first European settlement in South Africa were engaged in a gallant struggle for freedom against the powerful Spanish monarchy. The northern Netherland provinces had entered the sisterhood of nations as a free republic which was rapidly becoming the foremost commercial power of the age. While the struggle was being carried on,

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Portugal was annexed to Spain, and the Dutch were then excluded from Lisbon, where they had previously obtained such eastern products as they needed. Some of their adventurous spirits then thought of direct trade with India, but it was not until 1595 that a fleet under the republican flag passed the Cape of Good Hope. It consisted of four vessels, and was under the direction of an officer named Cornelis Houtman. This fleet touched at Mossel Bay, where refreshment was procured, the intercourse between the strangers and the natives being friendly.

After Houtman's return to Europe, several companies were formed in different towns of the Netherlands, for the purpose of trading with the Indies. No fresh discoveries on the African coast were made by any of the fleets which they sent out, but to some of the bays new names were given. Thus Paulus van Caerden, an officer in the service of the New Brabant Company, when returning to Europe in 1601, gave their present names to Mossel, Flesh, and Fish bays, all of which he entered. In 1601 also, Joris van Spilbergen, who was in command of a fleet belonging to a company in Zealand, on his outward passage gave Table Bay its present name, and transferred its former name of Saldanha to the inlet which still bears it.

The fleets sent out by the different small companies gained surprising successes over the Portuguese in India, but as they did not act in concert no permanent conquests could be made. For this reason, as well as to prevent rivalry and to conduct the trade in a manner the most advantageous to the people of the whole republic, the States-General resolved to unite all the weak associations in one great Company with many privileges and large powers. The charter was dated at the Hague on the 20th of March 1602, and gave the Company power to make treaties with Indian governments, to build fortresses, appoint civil and military officers, and enlist troops. The Company was subject to have its transactions reviewed by the States-General, otherwise it had almost sovereign power. The subscribed capital was rather over half a million pounds sterling. Offices for the transaction of business, or chambers as they were termed, were established at Amsterdam, Middelburg, Delft, Rotterdam, Hoorn, and Enkhuizen.

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The general control was confided to an assembly of seventeen directors, whose sessions were held at Amsterdam for six successive years, then at Middelburg for two years, then at Amsterdam again for six years, and so on.

The profits made by the Company during the early years of its existence were enormous. The Portuguese ships, factories, and possessions of all kinds in India, on account of the union of Portugal with Spain had become fair prize of war, and the most valuable were shortly in the hands of the Dutch. Every year fleets of richly laden ships under the flag of the Netherlands passed the Cape of Good Hope outward and homeward bound.

In 1619 the directors of the English East India Company proposed to the Assembly of Seventeen that they should jointly build a fort and establish a place of refreshment somewhere on the South African coast. This proposal did not find favour in Holland, and each Company then resolved to form a station of its own. Instructions were issued to the commanders of the next outward bound fleets of both nations to examine the seaboard and report upon the most suitable places for the purpose. In 1620 two English captains, by name Fitzherbert and Shillinge, inspected Table Bay, and believing that no better place would be found, proclaimed the adjoining country under the sovereignty of King James. They did not leave any force to keep possession, however, and the directors in London having changed their views with regard to a station in South Africa, the proclamation of Fitzherbert and Shillinge was never ratified. English ships still continued occasionally to call for the purpose of taking in fresh water, but henceforth the island of St. Helena became their usual place of refreshment.

The Assembly of Seventeen also allowed its resolution regarding the establishment of a station in South Africa to fall through at this time. Some of the advantages of such a station were already in its possession, and the expense of building a fort and maintaining a garrison might be too high a price to pay for anything additional that could be had. Its fleets usually put into Table Bay for the purpose of taking in fresh water, giving the crews a run on land, catching fish, and getting the latest intelligence from the place they were bound

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to. Letters were buried on shore, and notices of the places where they were deposited were marked on conspicuous stones.

Table Valley was also sometimes occupied for months together by parties of Dutch seal hunters and whale fishers. Among others, in 1611 Isaac le Maire, after whom the Straits of Le Maire are named, left his son with some seamen here for this purpose.

Early in 1648 the *Haarlem*, a ship belonging to the Company, put into Table Bay for refreshment, and in a gale was driven on the Blueberg beach. The crew got safely to land, and succeeded in saving their own effects and the cargo. When everything was secured against stormy weather, they removed to Table Valley, as a better place for an encampment, leaving only a guard with the stores. Beside a stream of fresh water, somewhere near the centre of the present city of Capetown, they made themselves huts, and threw up an earthen bank for shelter around them. The rainy season was setting in, and as they happened to have various seeds with them, they made a garden, and soon had abundance of vegetables. They were fortunate also in being able to procure in barter from the natives more meat than they needed, so that their experience of South Africa led them to believe that it was a fruitful and pleasant land. After a stay here of nearly six months, a fleet returning home put in, and took them on to Europe.

Upon their arrival in the Netherlands, Leendert Janssen and Nicholas Proot, two of the *Haarlem's* officers, drew up and presented to the chamber of Amsterdam a document in which they set forth the advantages that they believed the Company might derive from a station in Table Valley. This document was referred by the chamber of Amsterdam to the directors, who, after calling for the opinions of the other chambers and finding them favourable, on the 30th of August 1650 resolved to establish such a station as was proposed. A committee was instructed to draw up a plan, and when this was discussed and approved of, three vessels, named the *Dromedaris*, the *Reiger*, and the *Goede Hoop*, were made ready to bring the men and the materials to South Africa.

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The post of commander of the station about to be formed was offered to Nicholas Proot, and upon his declining it, a ship's surgeon named Jan van Riebeek, who had been for some time in the Company's service and had visited many countries, was selected for the office. A better selection could hardly have been made. Mr. Van Riebeek was not a man of high education or of refined manners, but he was industrious and possessed of good natural ability. He had been in Table Bay with the fleet in which the *Haarlem's* crew returned home, and upon the document drawn up by Janssen and Proot being submitted to him for an opinion, he endorsed all that was in it concerning the capabilities of the country.

During the hundred and sixty-five years that had passed away since Bartholomew Dias made his memorable voyage, Europeans had learned very little of the geography of South Africa. They had no accurate knowledge of any part of it that could not be seen from the coast. The seaboard itself was laid down very incorrectly on the best of their charts, owing to their want of means for ascertaining longitudes. That the land bordering on the Atlantic was a desert they knew, but they believed that the desert was narrow, that it was bounded by a range of lofty mountains, and that flowing from north to south along the inner base of this range was a great river which in about latitude 29° swept round to the southeast, and finally entered the sea near the Land of Natal. Upon the banks of this ideal river the mapmakers had placed a number of towns, which were supposed to be inhabited by a race of people partly civilised. The nearest of these towns to the Cape of Good Hope was called Vigiti Magna, and Mr. Van Riebeek and the men of his time had hardly less doubt of its existence than they had of the existence of London or Paris. The whole region from the ideal river nearly to the eastern coast, that is the vast interior of South Africa, they termed the Empire of Monomotapa, and on their maps they dotted it thickly with towns.

How the idea of the fabulous river and equally fabulous towns had its origin cannot be ascertained with certainty. The Portuguese placed them on maps soon after the ocean

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route to India was discovered, and other Europeans copied them from the Portuguese. All was conjecture, for no white man had ever been ten miles from the coast. Farther north the continent was almost as well known in those days as in ours. The great lakes of the interior are laid down on the maps of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with the Nile and the Congo flowing from them, just as they are to-day. Portuguese traders crossed from Angola to Mozambique; and ivory, gold, and slaves from the interior were exported from both of those stations. But the south, with all its imaginary towns, had not yet tempted any one to penetrate its mysteries.

CHAPTER II.

ON the 24th of December 1651 the *Dromedaris*, *Reiger*, and *Goede Hoop* set sail from Texel. After a pleasant passage, in the evening of the 6th of April 1652 two of the vessels came to anchor in Table Bay, where they were joined by the other on the 7th.

It was a Sunday morning when Mr. Van Riebeek and his party looked upon the site of their future home. Early in the day one of the skippers landed with a boat's crew, found three letters, and procured a supply of fresh fish with a seine. In the evening Mr. Van Riebeek and some of the principal officers went ashore to examine the valley and look out a good site for the fort. It was towards the close of the dry season, and the land was everywhere parched with drought. The wild flowers of many hues, which at other seasons of the year delighted the eyes of visitors, were now to be sought in vain. The summer heat was past, but no rains had yet fallen to clothe the ground with a mantle of beauty, and make it what Janssen and Proot had seen.

On the 8th a council, consisting of the commander and the three skippers, met on board the *Dromedaris* to arrange

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for commencing the work on shore. It was resolved that they should at once mark out a site for the fortress. Exclusive of officers, there were one hundred and eighty-one men in the three vessels, and of these, one hundred were to be set to work upon the walls. The carpenters were to put up a wooden dwelling house and a large shed for temporary use. The men left on board the ships were to discharge the stores and catch fish.

The site selected for the fort was on the northern side of the present parade ground. On the 9th the outlines were marked out, when the labourers commenced the work without delay. The fort was in the form of a square, and its walls were nothing more than thick and high banks of earth, with a deep ditch outside of them. Within, there were several wooden buildings and a square stone tower. In front, that is on the side facing the sea, a large space beyond the moat was enclosed with a low earthen wall. In this enclosure were the workshops and the hospital. At the back there was a similar enclosure, which was used as a cattle kraal.

The Hottentot tribe which was found in occupation of the Cape peninsula and the adjoining country was composed of three clans. The largest of these consisted of about three thousand souls, and was called by the Europeans the Kaapmans. It was under a chief named Gogosoa, who had attained a very great age, and who was so stout that the Europeans named him " the fat captain." He was titular chief paramount of the tribe. Another clan, consisting of about two thousand souls, received from the white men the name of Tobacco Thieves. These two clans were in possession of a large number of horned cattle and sheep, and moved about the country as far as the most distant mountains visible from Table Valley. The third, consisting of about sixty souls who lived on the seashore, received the name of beachrangers from the Europeans. It was without property of any kind. Its principal man had picked up a smattering of English, having spent some time on board an English ship, in which he had visited Bantam. He was called Harry by the white people.

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As soon as the tents were pitched ashore, the beachrangers brought their families to the encampment, where they afterwards remained pretty constantly. Occasionally they would wander along the beach seeking shellfish, but as far as food was concerned they were now better off than ever they had been before. Harry was engaged as interpreter, and had his meals sent to him from the commander's own table, while the others, by begging or doing any light work such as gathering fuel or carrying water, could always obtain provisions. This wretched clan was found to be at feud with the Kaapmans.

By the 24th of April the work was so far advanced that Mr. Van Riebeek's family left the ship and took up their residence in a wooden building on shore. The dry season still continued, consequently no scurvy-grass, for which the people were longing, was to be had; but abundance of fish was obtained with the seine, a cow and a calf had been procured from the Kaapmans, and a great hippopotamus had been shot.

On the 7th of May two large ships arrived from Holland, with their crews in a dreadful condition from scurvy. A council was held, when it was resolved that fifty of the weakest invalids should be left here, and that as soon as a supply of fresh water could be got on board, the two ships should sail for Batavia. The *Reiger* left in their company, and the *Dromedaris* followed on the 28th. The *Goede Hoop*, which was only a large decked boat, remained behind for the service of the Cape establishment.

By this time the winter rains were beginning to set in, and much discomfort was the immediate result. The tents and wooden buildings were all found to be leaky. With the change of weather came sickness, which the people were too weak to resist, and now almost every day there was a death from dysentery or scurvy. On the 3rd of June, out of one hundred and sixteen men, only sixty were able to perform any labour. Fresh meat and vegetables and proper shelter would have saved them, but these things were not to be had. They were almost as solitary as if they had been frozen up in the Arctic sea. For weeks together

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they saw no natives but Harry's miserable followers, from whom no assistance of any kind was to be obtained.

But the rain, which had brought on the dysentery, in a very short time brought also relief. Grass sprang into existence, and with it appeared various edible plants. They were all correctives of scurvy, and that was mainly what was needed. The sick and feeble went about gathering wild herbs and roots and declaring there was nothing in the world half so palatable. As soon as the first showers fell, a plot of ground was dug over, in which Hendrik Boom, the master gardener, planted seeds; and soon the sick were enjoying such delicacies as radishes, lettuce, and cress. Then they found good reeds for thatch, and when the buildings were covered with these instead of boards and torn sails, they could almost bid defiance to the rains.

The Dutch East India Company provided for the religious wants of its servants in a liberal manner. Its largest ships and its most important possessions were furnished with chaplains paid from its funds. Its smaller vessels and such stations as the Cape were provided with men of lower rank as ministers. They were called comforters of the sick or sick-visitors, and held offices similar to those of catechists in the English church and evangelists in various presbyterian bodies. They instructed the children and conducted religious services, but did not administer the sacraments. A sick-visitor, Willem Wylant by name, came from the Netherlands with Mr. Van Riebeek. His family had quarters within the fort, where on the 6th of June his wife gave birth to a son, the first child of European blood born in South Africa.

By the 3rd of August the fort was so far completed that the whole party managed to get shelter within its walls. A large garden had been laid out, in which different kinds of vegetables were in a thriving condition. Its care was the chief industry at this time, for the people were largely dependent upon what they could produce for their subsistence.

In October the Kaapman clan visited the Cape peninsula for the first time since the arrival of the Europeans. They brought with them great herds of horned cattle and flocks

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of sheep, for the purpose of a change of pasture. They and the Europeans met openly on the most friendly terms, though each party was so suspicious of the other that a constant watch was kept. A supply of copper bars, brass wire, and tobacco had been brought from the Netherlands, and a trade for cattle was now opened. On the European side the commander conducted it in person, assisted only by a clerk and the interpreter Harry. All intercourse between other white people and these Hottentots was forbidden under very severe penalties, with the twofold object of preventing any interference with the trade and any act that might lightly provoke a quarrel. Parties of the Kaapmans remained in the Cape peninsula for nearly three months, during which time Mr. Van Riebeek procured in barter two hundred and thirty head of horned cattle and five hundred and eighty sheep.

Before they left, they proposed that the commander should help them against a tribe with whom they were at war, and offered him the whole of the spoil whatever it might be. Mr. Van Riebeek replied that he had come to trade in friendship with all, and declined to take any part in their quarrels. He was bound by strict orders to conciliate the natives, and as a faithful servant he carried out his instructions in letter and spirit, though personally he was in favour of highhanded measures towards them.

For nearly eight months there had been no vessel but the little yacht in the bay, when in January 1653 a despatch boat from Texel arrived with news that war had commenced between the Netherlands and the Commonwealth of England. She brought instructions for the commander to strengthen the garrison by detaining twenty-five to thirty soldiers from the first ships that should call, and to guard carefully against surprise.

All that was possible was now done to strengthen the fort, so that an attempt might be made to defend it in case of attack. But it was well for the commander that no enemy appeared. His cannon were so light that they could not throw a ball more than half way to the anchorage. The fort was under the flank of the Lion's Rump, so that if an enemy of any strength once landed, it must have surrendered. Several

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of the garrison were disaffected, and a few were ready to commit almost any crime. It is thus evident that Mr. Van Riebeek's means of defence against any force more formidable than a Hottentot horde were not to be depended upon.

On the 2nd of March 1653 the first ships of the return fleet of the year put into Table Bay. That very morning the last ration of bread had been issued to the workmen, but there was no fear of starvation, for fresh meat and vegetables were supplied in abundance to the crews of these and of several other ships which called during the next two months. After the departure of the Kaapmans, another pastoral clan had visited the peninsula, from whom seventy-five head of horned cattle and a few sheep had been obtained. From the ships that called the commander replenished his stores of bread and other necessaries, so that at the end of his first year's residence in South Africa he and his people were in want of nothing.

The second winter was uneventful. There was plenty of food for all, and very little sickness. Some building was carried on, oxen were trained to draw timber from the forests behind the Devil's Peak, and much new ground was broken up. Wild animals gave more trouble than anything else. The lions were so bold that they invaded the cattle kraal by night, though armed men were always watching it, and leopards came down from the mountain in broad daylight and carried away sheep under the very eye of the herdsmen. One morning before daybreak there was a great noise in the poultry pens, and when the guards went to see what was the matter, they found that all the ducks and geese had been killed by wild cats. The country appeared to be swarming with ravenous beasts of different kinds.

In August a squadron of outward bound ships arrived. Up to this time there had been no one at the station of higher rank than a sergeant, to take over the command in case of Mr. Van Riebeek's death or illness. A council, in which the ships' officers took part, therefore resolved to leave here a young man named Jacob Ryniers, who held the rank of junior merchant, to fill the post of secunde, or second in authority. Three months later Mr. Ryniers was

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married to one of the commander's nieces who had come to South Africa with her uncle's family.

In September it was ascertained that a French ship was in Saldanha Bay, where her crew had been engaged more than six months in killing seals. Some messages were conveyed to and from her by parties who travelled overland, but as they kept close along the coast very little knowledge of the country was gained.

On the 18th of October 1653 the second child of European parentage was born in the fort Good Hope. The infant was a son of Commander Van Riebeek, and was destined to become a man of distinction. In 1709, when he was fifty-six years of age, he attained the rank of governor-general of Netherlands India.

On Sunday the 19th of October 1653, while the Europeans were listening to a sermon which Dominie Wylant was reading, Harry and the beachrangers murdered the white boy who was tending the cattle, and ran away with forty-two head out of the forty-four which Mr. Van Riebeek then possessed. As soon as this became known, pursuing parties were sent out, but though the robbers were followed to the head of False Bay, only one cow was recovered. The beachrangers took refuge with the Kaapmans, and their old feud was forgotten for a time.

This event produced a strong ill-feeling towards the Hottentots on the part of the European soldiers and workmen. One of their companions had been murdered, and his blood was unavenged. The loss of their working oxen imposed heavy toil upon them. The fort was being inclosed with palisades cut in the forests behind the Devil's Peak, and these had now to be carried on the shoulders of men. Then for some time after the robbery no cattle were to be had in barter, and the only meat procurable was seals' flesh.

The station was now in working order, and few events occurred out of the routine of mounting guard and cultivating the garden. Some men were placed on Dassen and Robben islands to kill seals for the oil and skins. Rabbits and coneys were turned loose on Robben Island, that they might multiply there. After a few months' absence the beachrangers, excepting

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Harry, learning that they would not be punished for the theft of the cattle, returned to Table Valley, and resumed the occupation of collecting firewood for the Europeans.

The close of the summer of 1653-4 saw the party of occupation again in distress for want of other food than vegetables, as the return fleet of the season had not called, and the commander had been unable to purchase any cattle.

The 6th of April 1654, being the second anniversary of their arrival, was kept as a day of thanksgiving to God for the measure of success which had been attained. Probably the distress in which they were, owing to the scarcity of bread and meat, and the anxiety with which they were looking for the return fleet, caused them to keep this as a sacred day, for they had not so kept the 6th of April 1653. It was impossible for them to have a feast, but they abstained from labour and listened to a sermon, and thus made the most they could of the occasion.

A few days later they received intelligence by a dispatch boat that the homeward-bound fleet had been instructed to assemble at St. Helena and wait for orders. There was then in the stores only sufficient bread to last five or six weeks on a reduced scale, so without delay the dispatch boat was sent to St. Helena for supplies. Fortunately these were procured. Some young fruit trees that had been growing wild were also obtained at the island, and were brought here to commence planting orchards with.

In July a yacht arrived from Batavia with a supply of rice, so that now all fear of want of food was removed. With this vessel came the first Asiatic convict to South Africa. It was customary for the courts of justice in the Indian possessions of the Netherlands to condemn criminals to servitude for a certain number of years, and from this time forward such persons were frequently sent to the Cape. They were nearly all natives of the Indian islands, but among them were a few Chinese. From them are descended many of the people usually called in South Africa Malays.

On the 15th of August a yacht arrived from Texel with tidings hat peace had been concluded between the States and he Protector Cromwell. Hereafter the English were to

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be treated as friends, for one of the articles of peace was that ships of either nation visiting the harbours of the other were to be permitted freely to purchase necessaries. A few months after this, an English ship bound to Bantam put into Table Bay, and was liberally supplied with vegetables.

In the summer of 1654-5 the first grape vines were introduced. They came from the borders of the Rhine.

The Kaapmans had of late visited Table Valley in large parties, and their conduct was decidedly hostile. The Europeans were replacing their frail wooden houses with substantial brick buildings, they had turned about twelve morgen of ground into gardens, and the Hottentots saw that all this industry meant permanent occupation. This was not what they desired. They were willing for Europeans to come and trade with them, even to remain for months as the *Haarlem's* crew had done, but to be excluded for ever from any portion of their pastures was not to their liking. They made their huts on the very margin of the moat, and when they were requested to move a little farther away they replied that the ground was theirs and they would build wherever they chose. Everything that was left unguarded was stolen. They even cut the brass buttons off the clothing of some children who were playing outside the fort. The workmen could only move about in companies and with arms in their hands. So apprehensive was the commander that they would proceed to the length of attacking the fort, that he caused the sentries to be doubled and extraordinary precautions to be observed.

It was evident that as long as the Kaapmans remained near the fort, other clans would not bring cattle for sale, because there were constant feuds between them. Mr. Van Riebeek therefore became desirous of entering into a treaty of friendship with some of the inland people, enemies of those who were giving him so much trouble. Nothing was then known of such people beyond the fact of their existence. The commander had, however, no difficulty in finding men ready to go in quest of the knowledge required, for as soon as he expressed his wishes a party of seven volunteers, headed by a man named Jan Wintervogel, came forward.

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The route taken by this pioneer South African exploring party cannot be accurately laid down, but it appears to have been in the direction of the present village of Malmesbury. They came across a company of Bushmen, of whom nothing more was ascertained than that they had neither cattle nor huts, and that they were enemies of all their neighbours. Several small kraals of Hottentots were visited, at which the Europeans were treated in a friendly manner. One large horde was found in possession of great herds of cattle, and seemed disposed to part with some for copper and tobacco. None of them could be induced to visit the fort while the Kaapmans were in the neighbourhood. The explorers were absent nineteen days. They brought back a slightly increased knowledge of the country, but the most important result of the expedition was in proving that such undertakings could be conducted with safety.

The difficulty with the natives came to an end for the time by the return of Harry to the fort. On the 23rd of June he made his appearance with a party of strangers, who brought forty head of cattle for sale. The commander was so well satisfied with his return that he received him in a friendly manner, and restored him to favour. A brisk cattle trade now sprang up, and continued during the winter. In the spring the pastoral Hottentots withdrew from the neighbourhood, when Harry proposed that he should be sent inland with a trading party; and as this fell in with the commander's views, nine soldiers under the leadership of Corporal Willem Muller were selected to go with him.

The party proceeded along the shore of False Bay, keeping close to the coast, but made no discoveries whatever. When the provisions were nearly exhausted, the Europeans turned homeward, leaving the goods with Harry, who was accompanied by a number of his friends. The interpreter was absent three months. When he returned, he delivered thirteen head of cattle at the fort, but it was afterwards discovered that he had obtained a great number for the goods, but had kept the best for himself.

During the summer a large clan from the neighbourhood of Saldanha Bay visited the peninsula. This clan was a branch

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of a tribe which the Europeans termed the Cochoqua. Its chief was named Gonnema, but owing to his dusky features he was usually called "the black captain" by the Dutch. He was very rich in cattle, and readily parted with three or four hundred oxen and as many sheep for copper bars and tobacco. During Harry's absence, a Kaapman named Doman, who had attached himself to the Europeans, acted as interpreter.

In 1655 the directors resolved to locate a few families on plots of ground about the fort. They believed that burghers would assist to defend the station, so that the garrison could be reduced, and that such persons would grow food for sale at as cheap rates as the Company could raise it with hired servants. With the object of inducing in time some of the most respectable of his people to make South Africa their home, Mr. Van Riebeek now gave them leave to cultivate little gardens for themselves, with the right of selling their produce whenever there were ships in port. Further to encourage individual enterprise, the Company's cows were leased to the wife of Hendrik Boom, the master gardener. In the following year the women and children at the station were struck off rations, and a money payment instead was made to heads of families. In this way a small market was created for garden produce, poultry, butter, &c.

Nearly every garden plant of Europe and India was by this time cultivated at the Cape, though potatoes and maize were not yet introduced. Fruit trees of many varieties were thriving. Young oaks and firs were sent growing in boxes from Europe. Various kinds of vines from the Rhine provinces and from France were sent out in the same way. Even strawberries and blackberries had been brought from the fatherland. The foreign animals that had been introduced were horses from Java, and pigs, sheep, dogs, rabbits, and poultry from Europe.

Every season wheat and barley had been sown, but the crop had always failed. Just as it was getting ripe, the south-east wind came sweeping through the valley, and destroyed it. But it was noticed that even when it was blowing a perfect storm at the fort, there was nothing more than a pleasant breeze back of the Devil's Peak. The

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commander therefore tried if grain could not be raised there. At a place where a round grove of thorn trees was standing, from which it received the name of Rondebosch, a plot of ground was laid under the plough, and some wheat, oats, and barley were sown. The experiment was successful, for the grain throve wonderfully well, and yielded a large return.

The damage caused by wild animals was very great. They destroyed oxen, sheep, and poultry, besides trampling down the beds in the gardens and eating the young sprouts off the vines. It was not safe for people to go out at night. On one occasion two guards at the cattle kraal were badly wounded by a leopard, and on another a fine large stud horse, the only one in the settlement, was torn to pieces and devoured by lions close to the fort. The subject was then discussed in a council, and it was decided to offer premiums for the destruction of these ravenous beasts. Shortly afterwards laws were made for the preservation of antelopes. The Company kept two hunters employed in procuring venison for the use of the garrison, and everyone else was prohibited from shooting other animals than those for which a reward was offered.

CHAPTER III.

FOR more than a year several of the Company's servants had been turning over in their minds the project of setting up as farmers on their own account, and at length nine of them ventured to make a trial. On the 21st of February 1657 these first South African burghers had ground allotted to them along the Liesbeek at Rondebosch. One of them was the ancestor of the Botma family. Owing to a custom of those days of using the father's given name as a surname, it is impossible to say whether any of the other eight have descendants in South Africa now. Stephen Botma is termed in the documents of the time Stephen Jansz, that is Stephen the son of John, but about twenty years later he is found

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with the name which his descendants bear. In the same way, the commander himself was sometimes addressed in writing as Jan Anthoniesz, that is John the son of Anthony, instead of Jan van Riebeek.

The conditions under which servants of the Company were encouraged to become landholders were amended a few weeks later by Mr. Ryklof van Goens, an officer of high rank in the Company's service, who called at the Cape on his way to India. As laid down by him, and subsequently acted upon, they were chiefly to the following effect :—

Each man was to have thirteen and one-third morgen of ground in full possession, free of taxes for twelve years, after which he was to pay tithes of grain. Unallotted ground could be used as pasturage. Men becoming burghers were to agree to remain in South Africa twenty years. Until further instructions, they could purchase cattle from the Hottentots, but were not to pay more than the Company was paying for them. They were to sell cattle only to the Company at prices which were fixed, but could sell to others such produce as the Company might not require. The Company was to furnish them upon credit with farming implements, with food, and with guns, powder, and lead, for which they were to deliver in payment the produce of their ground. None but married men of good character and of Dutch or German birth were to have ground allotted to them. Upon their request, their wives and children were to be sent to them from Europe. Unmarried men could be released from service to work as mechanics, or if they would engage as servants for a term of years to the holders of ground. One of the most respectable burghers was to have a seat and a vote in the court of justice whenever cases affecting colonists or their interests were being tried. He was to hold the office of burgher councillor for a year, when another should be selected to succeed him. To this office Stephen Botma was appointed for the first term.

A commencement having been made, in the course of a few months the number of burghers was increased to forty-seven men. Most of these after a while returned into the Company's service, but a few succeeded in making homes for themselves and their families in the country. Among the

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successful ones were Jacob Cloete, Pieter Visagie, Wouter Mostert, and Hendrik Boom, whose names have ever since been well known in South Africa.

A few weeks after Mr. Van Goens left for India, three of the farmers went upon a trading journey. Travelling in an easterly direction, they reached some kraals in which five or six hundred Hottentots were found. Being already well supplied with copper, the natives were not disposed to part with cattle, and the burghers were obliged to return with only two oxen and three sheep. They understood the natives to say that the district was the choicest portion of the whole country, for which reason they gave it the name of Hottentots-Holland.

The next expedition that penetrated the unknown interior was a trading party under the fiscal Abraham Gabbema, which left the fort in October 1657. It consisted of seven servants of the Company, eight burghers, and four Hottentots. They took pack oxen to carry provisions and the usual articles of merchandise. Their course was first towards a mountain visible from the Cape, which owing to its form had received the name of Klapmuts. Thence proceeding onward, they came to a stream running in a northerly direction along the base of a chain of mountains, and for this reason they gave it the name of the Berg river. The travellers were charmed with the beauty of the valley in which they now found themselves. To the west was a mountain crowned with domes of bare grey granite, which they named the Paarl and the Diamant. Between this mountain and the range on the east the ground was dotted over with trees, and in the month of October it was carpeted with grass and flowers. There were little kraals of Hottentots all along the Berg river, but the people were not disposed to sell cattle. Gabbema and his party moved about among them for more than a week, but only obtained ten oxen and forty-one sheep, with which they returned to the fort.

During the year 1657 several public works of importance were undertaken. A platform was erected upon the highest point of Robben Island, upon which a fire was kept up at

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night whenever ships belonging to the Company were seen off the port. At Rondebosch the erection of a large magazine for grain, afterwards known as the Groote Schuur, was commenced. In Table Valley the lower course of the fresh river was altered. In its ancient channel it was apt to damage the gardens in winter by overflowing its banks. A new and broader channel was therefore cut, so that it should enter the bay some distance to the southeast of the fort.

In February 1658 another trading party, consisting of eighteen men, went inland. The leader was Sergeant Jan van Hawarden, and with him was a land surveyor, Pieter Potter by name, who went for the purpose of observing the features of the country, so that a correct map could be made. From the farthest point reached by Gabbema, this party kept northward along the mountain range until some distance beyond the Little Berg river, when sickness and fatigue compelled them to return. The surveyor Potter and a few others climbed the mountain near the ravine through which the Little Berg river flows, and from its summit looked down into the vale now termed the Tulbagh basin and far along the valley of the Breede river. But in the month of February the scene was desolate, and there was no sign of human life in that direction. Two of the party died of dysentery and one was badly wounded by a lion before the expedition reached the fort again.

Previous to the year 1658 the only slaves in the settlement were ten or twelve individuals brought from Batavia and Madagascar. In March of this year one hundred and seventy Angola negroes were landed at the Cape, having been taken from a Portuguese slave ship captured at sea. A few weeks later another ship brought fifty-six negroes, purchased on the coast of Guinea. Some of these were sold to the burghers on credit, and the others were retained by the government for its own use.

As it was considered a duty to teach these slaves the doctrines of Christianity, a school for their instruction was opened by the commander's brother-in-law, Pieter van der Stael, who in 1656 had succeeded Willem Wylant as sick

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visitor. This school they were required to attend for a short time every day. The slaves were subject to the caprice of their owners, though laws were made to protect them from ill usage. But whether treated well or ill, the natives of Guinea and Angola could not be reconciled to a life of toil, and as soon as they recovered from the effects of the sea voyage they commenced to run away. They knew that their own country was somewhere to the north, and in that direction they set their faces. The Europeans fancied that the Hottentots were inducing the slaves to desert, and thereupon the commander enticed some of the natives into the fort and detained them as hostages for the restoration of the runaways. Among those so detained were the interpreter Harry and Schacher, son of the fat captain Gogosoa.

This proceeding nearly caused a war. The commander soon saw that he had made a mistake, and became anxious to rectify it. As the farmers were in danger of being attacked, measures for their protection were hastily taken, and then a message was sent to old Gogosoa, inviting him to come to a friendly settlement. The chief of the Kaapmans was on his part anxious for peace, so terms were arranged, and Schacher and the other hostages of his clan were set at liberty. The pasturage on the Cape side of the Liesbeek and Salt rivers was given up to the Europeans by one of the clauses of the agreement made on this occasion. Harry and two others of the beachranger clan were sent to Robben Island, and were informed that they would be detained there until the murderers of the white boy in 1653 were given up to punishment.

For some time past Harry's services as an interpreter had not been needed, as there were two persons much more efficient. One of these was a Hottentot girl named Eva, who spoke Dutch fluently, as she had been living in Mr. Van Riebeek's family for six years, with short intervals of absence. The other was Doman, who has been mentioned before. He had gone to Batavia with Mr. Van Goens, but had recently returned to the Cape, and seemed to be attached to the white people and their way of living.

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In 1658 the first vineyard in South Africa was planted. The vines brought from Europe had thriven in the garden in Table Valley so well that cuttings were plentiful, and in this year Mr. Van Riebeek set out twelve hundred on a farm which he had been permitted to cultivate for his private benefit. This farm was about an hour's walk beyond Rondebosch, and was thereafter called the Wynberg.

Maize was brought from the coast of Guinea in the same ship in which the slaves arrived.

In February 1659 a party of seven burghers set out from the Cape with a view of earning a reward offered by the government for any discovery of note that should be made in exploring the country. They followed the Berg river to within a few miles of the sea, when the heat and drought compelled them to return.

The liberty to purchase cattle from the Hottentots, which had been granted to the burghers by Mr. Van Goens, had been withdrawn by the Assembly of Seventeen, and all intercourse between the two races, except when authorised by the government, was now strictly prohibited.

Early in 1659 the two pastoral clans of Gogosoa's tribe visited the Cape peninsula, and finding themselves excluded from the best of the grasslands, they began to drive off the cattle of the farmers, hoping by such means to force the Europeans from the country. One morning Doman was missed from the fort, and the next that was heard of him was that he was at the head of a band of cattle lifters. A burgher who was tending some cows was murdered in open day when trying to protect his charge. Then the beachrangers left their usual residence in Table Valley, and joined the other clans.

The Europeans mustered in arms, some soldiers were landed from ships that called, and efforts were made to chastise the hostile tribe. But it was not an easy matter to do this, for the Hottentots avoided a battle, and the white men were nearly worn out in trying to find them. Only on two occasions were small parties met, when six or seven were killed and a few more were wounded. The pastoral clans then abandoned the peninsula, and the beach-

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rangers, upon begging for peace, were allowed to return to Table Valley.

A strong fence, through which cattle could not be driven, was now made along the outer boundary of the settlement, three watchhouses were built to defend it, and in these were stationed companies of horsemen, whose duty it was to patrol the border. When the disturbances commenced, there were only twenty horses, including foals, at the Cape; but at Mr. Van Riebeek's request sixteen more were sent from Java. At the same time some powerful dogs were received. With this protection the settlement was considered secure, but access to the interior was cut off.

Early in 1660 the Kaapmans sent a message to the commander, proposing a treaty of friendship. They had been persuaded to do this by Doman and Harry, the latter of whom had escaped from Robben Island in a boat. The commander assented to the proposal, and on the 6th of April, Gogosoa, accompanied by Harry, Doman, and forty of the leading men of the Kaapman clan, arrived at the fort and concluded a treaty. The terms were that neither party was to molest the other, that the Kaapmans were to endeavour to induce the inland clans to bring cattle for sale to make up for those they had stolen, that the Europeans were to retain possession of the land occupied by them, that roads were to be pointed out along which the Kaapmans could come to the fort, and that Europeans molesting natives were to be severely punished.

Soon after this, peace was concluded with the other pastoral clan on similar terms.

In a gale in May 1660 a French ship bound to Madagascar was driven ashore near the mouth of Salt River, and became a wreck. Among her passengers were a bishop and three priests of the church of Rome. All on board reached the shore in safety. A place was assigned to them, where they could put up tents and store the cargo saved; but several restrictions were imposed upon their liberty, one being that no meetings should be held for worship according to the ritual of the church of Rome. A proclamation was also issued by Mr. Van Riebeek, prohibiting all religious services in the settlement, except those of the reformed church of Holland.

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Large herds of cattle were at this time frequently brought for sale by the chiefs of inland clans. The natives were very eager to obtain beads, and parted with many hundreds of oxen and sheep to gratify their fondness for these trifles. The quantity of beads given for an ox cost only from eight to ten pence, but there were other and larger expenses connected with the trade. Presents, consisting of flat pieces of copper, wire, iron rods, axes, tobacco, pipes, and other articles, were continually being made to the chiefs to secure their friendship, and all who came to the fort were liberally entertained.

In November 1660 a party of thirteen volunteers, under the leadership of a petty officer named Jan Danckert, left the fort to search for the fabulous empire of Monomotapa. Doman went with them as interpreter. The explorers travelled northward, passed the Berg river, and reached a stream flowing towards the Atlantic, on the banks of which two or three hundred elephants were feeding. Here several who were exhausted remained to rest, while the leader and a few others pushed on a little farther. They named the stream the Elephant river. It was the only discovery of importance that they made.

Upon their return, another expedition was fitted out, under the leadership of Corporal Pieter Cruythof. This party followed the same route as the last, along by a mountain to which they gave the name of Riebeek's Kasteel, and thence northward over the Berg and Elephant rivers. A little beyond the last-named stream they fell in with a kraal of Namaquas, the first of that tribe to have intercourse with Europeans. The travellers were treated in a very friendly manner by these people.

The commander hoped that through the assistance of the Namaquas the town of Vigiti Magna might be reached, and towards the close of the year another expedition was sent out. But in midsummer the country beyond the Elephant river was found to be a parched and desolate wilderness, and the Namaquas had moved far away to the north, so the travellers returned without making any new discoveries.

Mr. Van Riebeek had long been requesting promotion, and in 1660 the directors named Mr. Gerrit van Harn as his successor,

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but that officer died at sea on the way out. The council of India then appointed Mr. Zacharias Wagenaar commander of the Cape station. Mr. Wagenaar arrived from Batavia in April 1662, but did not formally take over the government until the 6th of May.

On the afternoon of that day the burghers were assembled at the fort, where the garrison was drawn up under arms. The method of induction was very simple. The secretary read the commission of the governor-general and council of India, the troops presented arms, the officers of the government engaged to support the authority of the new commander, the burghers repeated a formula promising obedience to his lawful orders, and the whole ceremony was over.

The settlement was then in a fairly prosperous condition. The Javanese horses had increased to over forty, so that a body of eighteen mounted men could be kept patrolling the border. From the Hottentots there was little or no cause to fear trouble. Of horned cattle, sheep, and pigs, there was a good stock on hand. Every farmer had at least twelve working oxen and six cows, every one whose wife had arrived from Europe had at least twelve cows, and as they were permitted to exchange any inferior animals for the best that the Company purchased from the natives, their stock was the choicest in the country. Each had his little farm marked out, and beyond the cultivated land the whole country was common pasturage.

Among the burghers were several whose descendants are now spread over South Africa as far as the Limpopo. The names of some of these have been mentioned; others were Thomas Mulder, Jan Louw, Jan Visser, Willem van der Merwe, Hans Ras, and Pieter van der Westhuizen.

The farmers could not legally purchase cattle from the natives, they could not legally sell a muid of wheat, an ox, or a sheep, except to the Company; but they could dispose of anything else freely, even to the master of a foreign vessel, at the best price which they could obtain.

The native clans that were known in 1662 were those that have been frequently mentioned as roaming about the country in the vicinity of the fort; the Cochoquas, in two divisions

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under the chiefs Oedasoa and Gonnema, and the Little Grigriquas, occupying the country along the coast from the neighbourhood of the Cape to the Elephant river; the Great Grigriquas and the Namaquas, north of the Elephant river; and the Chainouquas, to the east of the Cochoquas. Altogether, these clans were supposed to number from forty-five to fifty thousand souls. Scattered over the whole country, wherever it had been explored, were a few Bushmen living by plunder and the chase. Of their number an estimate cannot be given.

CHAPTER IV.

COMMANDER Wagenaar was an elderly man, with much experience in conducting business, but with very little energy. He was an officer who would carry out instructions to the letter, but by whom no suggestions were likely to be made. The directors had given orders that the natives were to be conciliated. He therefore treated all those who came to the fort with the greatest kindness, and as soon as the dry season set in he paid friendly visits to the kraals of Oedasoa and Gonnema. The first council over which he presided declared that the Cape clans had a perfect right to come and go where and when they chose, the only exception being that within the settlement they must keep to the highways and public places.

In the early part of the summer of 1662-3 some Hottentots of a tribe called by the Europeans Hessequas arrived at the fort with a large herd of cattle for sale. Their country, which was between the present villages of Caledon and Swellendam, had never been visited by white people.

Towards the close of 1662 another expedition was sent to search for the fabulous town of Vigiti Magna. It followed the path of its predecessors, but could get no farther than the nearest Namaqua kraal. Not yet discouraged, in 1663 the government fitted out a party in a better manner than had previously been done. A supply of provisions was

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taken in a waggon to the Elephant river, where a depôt was formed, from which the travellers set out with pack oxen in a straight line for the Vigiti Magna of the maps. Pieter van Meerhof, who had been second in command of every recent exploring party, was with this one also. But the drought of the desert baffled even this experienced traveller, and after enduring intense suffering from thirst, the expedition was obliged to retreat.

Shortly after the establishment of a station in Table Valley, the East India Company had withdrawn from Mauritius, where a garrison had long been kept; but in 1664 that island was occupied again to prevent its being taken possession of by the French, and was henceforth an outpost of the Cape government. A packet was sent yearly from Table Bay with supplies, and brought back ebony logs and a few products of less importance.

In 1664, owing to the hostile attitude of England, the directors bestowed much thought upon their residency at the Cape and its defenceless condition in the event of a sudden attack. The earthen fort was sufficient protection against the largest force that the natives could bring into the field, but it could not be held against a European enemy of any strength. Its walls were frequently falling, especially after heavy rains, and the guns mounted upon it were harmless to a ship at the usual anchorage. The directors therefore resolved to erect in Table Valley a strong stone fortress capable of sustaining heavy guns and sheltering a large garrison. They caused plans to be prepared, and having approved of one, they gave orders to Commander Wagenaar to detain three hundred soldiers from passing ships and employ all the resources of the Cape in getting material for its construction ready.

The selection of a site for the new fortress was entrusted to the commissioner Isbrand Goske. That officer arrived in August 1665, and after eight days inspection of the valley he chose a site two hundred and forty-eight yards farther than the old fort from the Lion's Rump. On the 2nd of January 1666 the foundation stones were laid with appropriate ceremony.

Previous to this date the settlement was considered too small to demand the services of a resident clergyman. A

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sermon and prayers were read every Sunday and on special occasions by the sick-comforter, and the other rites of the church were performed occasionally by ships' chaplains. Marriages were celebrated before the secretary of the council. But when it was decided to replace the earthen fort with a substantial stone castle, it was also decided to provide a resident clergyman. The Rev. Johan van Arckel, who received the appointment, arrived in August 1665.

A few days later a consistory or church council was established, consisting of a lay officer appointed by the government and termed a political commissioner, the clergyman, the elders, and the deacons. The elders were elected by the past and acting church officers, but could perform no duties until the elections were confirmed by the government, and the deacons were selected yearly by the government from a double list of names furnished by the past and acting officers. The consistory had primary control of matters connected with religion and education, but its decisions were subject to the approval of the council of policy, which consisted of the commander and the principal officers of the station.

Since that time the settlement has never been without a clergyman, except during short intervals between the death or removal of one and the appointment of another.

There was a school, in which children were taught to read and write, to cast up accounts in gulden and stivers, to sing the psalms, and to repeat the catechism and sundry prayers.

Owing to an influx of some of the most worthless individuals from the pastoral clans, the number of Hottentots residing in Table Valley was at this time about eighty souls. They had a kraal on the slope under the Lion's Head. The commander never interfered in their quarrels, but he gave notice that if any were caught stealing from Europeans he would have them soundly flogged. They lived by sending their women to collect firewood for sale, placing their little daughters in service, and further by fishing occasionally and begging constantly. The men could seldom be induced to do any other work than tend cattle, and that only in return for spirits and tobacco. They could all understand Dutch so well that an interpreter was no longer needed.

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Commander Wagenaar had not been two years in South Africa when he requested the directors to relieve him, owing to his ill-health. His request was not complied with at once, but after a time a successor was appointed in the person of Mr. Cornelis van Quaelberg, who took over the duties on the 27th of September 1666.

About three months later a French fleet of twelve ships bound to Madagascar put into Table Bay. This fleet had been sent out in rivalry to the Dutch East India Company, and its equipment had been watched with great anxiety in the Netherlands. It put into Table Bay in want not only of refreshments but of sea stores, and one of the ships was so leaky that she could hardly be kept afloat.

Upon the admiral coming to anchor, Mr. Van Quaelberg sent a message of welcome, and in the course of the day went on board himself and tendered his services to supply anything that was to be had in the settlement. The French admiral took advantage of this offer to the fullest extent. He thoroughly refreshed his people, took in a quantity of sea stores from the Company's magazine, and had his leaky ship repaired with the Company's materials. Mr. Van Quaelberg could not have done more for a fleet belonging to his employers than he did for this fleet of their declared rivals.

While receiving this assistance, the admiral sent a party of men to survey Saldanha Bay and take possession of it in the name of Louis XIV. The council of policy protested, but the survey was carried out, and beacons with the French arms upon them were set up.

As soon as his visitors left, Mr. Van Quaelberg took a careful view of the situation. They had eaten nearly everything, so that there was little left for the fleet from Batavia, which might be expected in three or four months. The chief want was slaughter cattle, and without loss of time trading parties were organised and sent to the different clans. Schacher, who had succeeded his father the fat captain Gogosoa as head of the Kaapmans, appears now in the character of a trader. He was entrusted with a good stock of merchandise, with which he went inland bartering cattle on commission for the Honourable Company.

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Corporal Hieronymus Cruse, who was sent out with a trading party, struck away to the eastward, crossed the Hottentots-Holland mountains, and collected some hundreds of oxen and sheep among the kraals of the Hessequas. Pushing still farther on his next journey, he reached a tribe called the Gauriquas, from whom he bartered the finest herds yet seen in the settlement. The kraals of these people were on the banks of the river which has since that time been called from them the Gaurits.

In May 1667 the work at the castle was suspended, owing to the favourable turn for the Dutch which the war in Europe had taken. Only one of the five points had then been worked upon, and that was not completed. In February 1668 intelligence was received that peace had been concluded with England.

When news of the assistance given to the French fleet reached the Netherlands, the directors of the East India Company were not a little incensed. They at once resolved to dismiss Mr. Van Quaelberg from their service, and they instructed one of their officers, Jacob Borghorst by name, to proceed without delay to the Cape and take over the government. Mr. Borghorst arrived in Table Bay in the evening of the 16th of June 1668. Next morning he landed, but as it was Sunday he did not produce his commission. On the 18th the council of policy assembled. There were at this time two burgher councillors, and they were invited to be present. Then the authority of the directors was produced, and without further ceremony Mr. Borghorst assumed control of affairs.

During Mr. Van Quaelberg's term of office four names now well known in South Africa appear for the first time in the records. They are those of Gerrit van der Byl, Theunis van Schalkwyk, Arnoldus Basson, and Gysbert Verwey.

Commander Borghorst was in ill-health when he landed, and he remained an invalid during the whole period of his stay, so that practically the government was for three-fourths of the time carried on by his subordinates. One of his first acts was to cause the beacons which the French had set up round Saldanha Bay to be removed, and posts bearing the

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Company's monogram to be placed where they had stood. Shortly afterwards a small party of soldiers was stationed on the western shore of the bay.

By this time the country along the coast had been thoroughly explored northward to some distance beyond the mouth of the Elephant river, and eastward as far as Mossel Bay. The Berg river had been traced from its source to the sea, and Europeans had been in the Tulbagh basin and the valley of the Breede river. But no white man had yet climbed the mountain range which skirts the Bokkeveld and the Karoo.

In August 1668 an expedition was sent by sea to Mossel Bay, for the purpose of examining the country in that neighbourhood. Corporal Cruse, who was in command, visited for the first time a tribe called the Attaqua, of whom he had heard during his previous journey. He found them very wealthy in cattle, and was able to exchange his merchandise to such advantage that he returned to the fort with some hundreds of oxen and sheep. The Attaquas occupied the country between Mossel Bay and the present village of George, and had as their eastern neighbours a tribe called the Outeniqua.

Corporal Cruse's success induced the commander to send him back without delay at the head of another trading party. On the way he met a horde of Bushmen, having in their possession a great herd of cattle which they had stolen from the Hottentots of those parts. Upon the appearance of the Europeans, the Bushmen, having no conception of firearms and believing the little party of strangers to be at their mercy, attempted to seize their merchandise. Cruse tried to conciliate them by offering presents, but in vain. There was then only one course open to him, and that was to resist, which he did effectually. In a few seconds all of the plunderers who were not stretched on the ground were running in wild dismay, leaving their families and cattle in the hands of the Europeans. No harm whatever was done to the women and children, but the corporal took possession of the whole of the cattle as lawful spoil of war, and with them returned to the fort.

The first commander had a farm, and his successor had also a plot of land which he cultivated for his own benefit. But the Company was at this time anxious to encourage the

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burghers, whose largest gains were derived from the sale of produce to visitors, so, to prevent rivalry, instructions were issued that none of the members of the council of policy were to keep cattle or to cultivate gardens beyond the requirements of their households.

In 1669 a strong party of experienced miners and assayers was sent from Europe to search for metals in the neighbourhood of the Cape. They examined Table Valley carefully, and then proceeded to the Paarl mountain and Riebeek's Kasteel. For several years they were busy making excavations all over the country, sometimes believing they were in a fair way of finding valuable ores, though always disappointed in the end.

At his own request Mr. Borghorst, who wished to return to Europe, was relieved of the management of affairs at the Cape. Pieter Hackius, another of the Company's old servants whose health was shattered by long residence in India, was appointed to succeed him. He was a confirmed invalid when he landed, but on the 25th of March 1670 he took over the government.

In September 1670 the second large fleet fitted out by the French Company put into Table Bay. Admiral De la Haye expected to be able to get whatever fresh provisions and sea stores he needed, but he was soon undeceived. Commander Hackius made no objection to his purchasing vegetables from the farmers, but informed him that the Company could not furnish him with anything from its own gardens or magazines. The admiral was indignant at receiving such treatment, but at the very time he was asking for supplies he was acting towards the Dutch as enemies.

Six of his ships had put into Saldanha Bay. They found, at the place now called the Old Post, a building occupied by a few soldiers under command of Sergeant Hieronymus Cruse. Of this building they took possession, and made prisoners of the soldiers. Some fishermen who were carrying on their employment in the bay were also seized and made prisoners. The Company's flag was taken down, and its beacons were destroyed, the French substituting the flag and arms of their king. The council of policy entered a formal protest against

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these acts of violence, but they had no force with which to resist, and so they prudently did nothing to provoke the French further. After a short detention, Admiral De la Haye was good enough to release his prisoners, and he sailed without leaving any of his people behind. The French flag was not disturbed for four months. Then the garrison at the Cape was reinforced with three hundred men, and the outpost at Saldanha Bay was again occupied.

For ten or a dozen years the directors of the East India Company had been trying to induce gardeners and small farmers to migrate from Europe to South Africa, but with little success. Now and again they were able to send out to their eastern possessions a few families who were attracted by glowing tales of those wondrous isles from whence wealth was being poured into the Netherlands. But the Cape had no charms of this kind, for its inhabitants were savages and it contributed nothing to commerce. Of all the Dutch dependencies it was the one that possessed least attraction. In October 1670, however, the chamber of Amsterdam was able to announce that it had secured a few families who would be sent with the next fleet, and in the following December another party was engaged for the Cape and Mauritius.

Commander Hackius was very seldom able to take part in public matters, and at length he became completely bedridden. On the 30th of November 1671 he died. Next morning the council of policy assembled for the purpose of making arrangements to carry on the government. There were present two military officers of the rank of lieutenant, the issuer of stores, and the secretary. There was no one in the settlement whose rank would warrant the council in placing the direction of affairs temporarily in his hands. It was therefore arranged that each should retain the exact position which he held before the late commander's death, and that there should be no other distinction between the councillors than that reports of unusual events were to be made by the officers at the outposts to Lieutenant Van Breitenbach, who was immediately to lay them before his colleagues. The settlement was thus for a few months governed by a board of officers without any local head or chief.

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There was at this time throughout the United Netherlands a general feeling of impending danger. Hostilities with France were believed to be inevitable at no distant date, and the unfriendly conduct of the English court was giving abundant cause for alarm. The directors therefore considered it advisable to strengthen the defences of their possessions, and the Cape was one of the points which they resolved to secure more firmly. The castle, the building of which had been for some time suspended, was to be completed according to the original design, and the administration of affairs was to be confided to a class of men superior to those hitherto employed. Instructions were received here in February 1672 to utilise all the available force of the settlement in collecting shells, quarrying stone, and conveying these materials to the site of the new fortress. The wood work for the various buildings connected with the castle was being prepared in Amsterdam, and was sent out in the fleets that followed. Large quantities of bricks and tiles were also sent out, and in the same ships came skilled mechanics to do the work.

The officer who was appointed to be head of the Cape government was the same man who had selected the site of the castle, Mr. Isbrand Goske. In rank he was already higher than a commander, and he was therefore entitled governor. Mr. Albert van Breugel, an upright and able man, was appointed secunde, an office which had been for some time vacant.

On the 25th of March 1672 the secunde landed and assumed duty as acting commander. On the same day there arrived in a homeward-bound ship a commissioner of the Cape residency, in the person of Arnout van Overbeke, member of the high court of justice at Batavia and admiral of the return fleet. After investigating the affairs of the settlement, the commissioner Van Overbeke thought it would be expedient, in order to prevent future disputes, to make a formal purchase of the country about the Cape from the Hottentot claimants. A negotiation was accordingly entered into with the chief to whom the Dutch had given the name of Schacher.

When Mr. Van Riebeek arrived in South Africa, Schacher's father, the fat captain Gogosoa, was the principal

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chief of the three clans in occupation of the Cape peninsula and the adjacent country. Since that time some changes in the condition of these clans had taken place. The largest of them had broken up into several little bands. The permanent residents of the peninsula had increased in number, owing to the facility of obtaining food afforded by the presence of the European settlers. But to them all Schacher's position was the same as his father's had been, so that if any one had a right to barter away the country, that one was he.

The Hottentot chief, when applied to, readily consented to the conditions proposed, for they took nothing from him which he had not already lost. In the agreement, the original copy of which is still preserved in the registry of deeds in Capetown, Schacher agreed to sell to the Honourable Company the whole district of the Cape, including Table, Hout, and Saldanha bays, for merchandise of the value of £800, with the understanding that he with his people and cattle should be free to come anywhere near the outermost farms in the district, where neither the Company nor the burghers required the pasture, and should not be driven away by force or without cause.

This document cannot be held to give the Company any claim to the Cape district not possessed before. The seller had no choice in the matter. If he had declined to agree to it, the result so far as the Company's retaining possession of the soil would have been the same. Saldanha Bay is included in the purchase, though the country thereabouts was known to be in the occupation of the Cochoquas. The price paid is stated to be £800; in a despatch to the directors the value of the goods actually transferred to Schacher is put down at £2 16s. 5d. It was not, and under the circumstances could not be, an honest open bargain made by two parties who thoroughly comprehended what they were doing and knew the value given and taken.

An agreement identical with that signed by Schacher was concluded on the 3rd of May between Albert van Breugel and Coenrad van Breitenbach on the part of the Company and the two leading men of the Chainouquas on behalf of

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their minor chief Dhouw, whereby the district of Hottentots-Holland and False Bay were ceded to the Company in return for merchandise amounting in value to £800. The goods actually transferred were worth no more than £6 16s. 4d.

On the 31st of July a ship arrived with intelligence that war had commenced between the United Netherlands on one side, and France, England, and the princes of Cologne and Munster on the other. The council hereupon made the best arrangements which it could for the defence of the settlement in case of attack, and every man that could be spared from other work was sent to assist in building the castle.

On the 2nd of October 1672 Governor Goske arrived from Holland, and took the direction of affairs.

CHAPTER V.

THE Free Netherlands were at this time engaged in the most unequal struggle that modern Europe has witnessed, and the people were defending themselves with undaunted bravery. It was feared that the Cape would be attacked by an English fleet, and Governor Goske's whole attention was directed to preparations for defence. He had authority to land from passing ships as many men as could be spared and he might require. But the troubles in Europe caused a falling off in the number of ships sent out, and further made it so difficult to obtain soldiers and seamen that for some years hardly a vessel sailed with her full complement of hands. Urgent, therefore, as was the necessity for completing the castle, it was not possible at any time to employ more than two hundred and fifty to three hundred men upon it.

In 1670 Mr. Van der Broeck, a commissioner who visited the Cape, had authorised the government to form a farming establishment at Hottentots-Holland, with a view of raising there a large quantity of wheat. Owing, however, to the illness of Commander Hackius and the absence of any one

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of authority after his death, nothing had yet been done in the matter. But besides the original object in view there was now a special reason for forming an outpost in the country, as a place was needed to which the cattle could be sent, and upon which the garrison could fall back if compelled to abandon Table Valley. In October 1672 Sergeant Cruythof and twelve men left to commence putting up the necessary buildings, and thus the first step was taken to extend the settlement towards the interior.

In November 1672 three burghers obtained permission from the governor to shoot hippopotami, and for this purpose they travelled along the banks of the Berg river down to Riebeek's Kasteel. There the Cochoqua chief Gonnema with forty or fifty of his followers came upon them and seized their waggon, oxen, provisions, and whatever else they had, barely permitting them to escape with their lives. It does not seem to have occurred to the governor that Gonnema might object to the destruction of game in his district, and so the act was attributed solely to his enmity to the Company. But there was then no force that could be spared to chastise the offender, and the injury was therefore left unpunished.

In June 1673 eight burghers and a slave went out with the governor's leave to shoot large game. At a place which long afterwards bore the name of Moord Kuil, in the mountains beyond Twenty-four Rivers, they were surrounded by Gonnema's people, who detained them for several days and then murdered them all.

On the 11th of July a rumour reached the fort that the burghers were hemmed in, and the council at once resolved to send an armed party to their relief. The farmers were called upon to furnish a contingent of thirty-six men, who, with a like number of soldiers, were placed under command of Ensign Hieronymus Cruse. Next morning the expedition left the fort, taking food for eight days, and with orders that if they should find violence had been used towards the burghers they were to punish Gonnema and his people severely. On the way they fell in with one of Gonnema's people, whom they compelled under threat of death to act as guide.

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At the Berg river they were overtaken by a party of eighteen horsemen from the fort, who brought word that on the 6th of July some of Gonnema's people under the petty captain Kees appeared at the Company's post at Saldanha Bay with the apparent object of selling sheep. The post was occupied at the time by only a corporal and two soldiers, but there was a fishing boat belonging to a burgher afloat close by, and two of her crew were on shore. Suddenly and without any warning the Hottentots rose upon the Europeans and murdered four of them, only one soldier managing to escape to the boat. The Hottentots then plundered the post. The boat sailed for Table Bay, but owing to contrary winds did not reach her destination until the 14th. Upon receipt of this intelligence the council at once sent the horsemen to Ensign Cruse's assistance, and they brought instructions to attack Gonnema's people and not to let any of the men of his clan escape.

The combined forces marched across the district of Twenty-four Rivers, and on the 18th saw smoke rising at a distance among the mountains. They then halted and sent out scouts, who returned in the evening with information that they had discovered the position of a kraal and had observed a number of women digging bulbs. Next morning before daylight Ensign Cruse marched upon the kraal in hope of surprising its inmates, but upon reaching it he found that they had fled with their cattle. The huts were standing and the fires were still alight, showing that the place had not long been abandoned. In the huts were found the cooking utensils, clothing, and other property of the murdered burghers.

At daybreak the horsemen followed the fugitives and soon overtook them, when the Hottentots abandoned their cattle and fled into the mountains with their women and children. The cattle were then taken possession of, and without any further attempt to reach the enemy the commando began its homeward march. But they had not proceeded far when they discovered that the Hottentots were following them. At their first resting place an attempt was made to recover the cattle, and though it

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failed, the enemy kept hovering about for some time. The casualties during the march were one burgher wounded and two horses killed, while ten or twelve Hottentots were shot. The expedition reached the fort again on the 25th, and delivered to the governor eight hundred head of horned cattle and nine hundred sheep.

The Chainouqua captain Klaas, who was considered the most trustworthy of all the Hottentot chiefs, together with Schacher and another named Kuiper, now offered assistance against Gonnema, and some of their men commenced scouring the country in search of stragglers. On the 20th of August Schacher and Kuiper with more than a hundred of their people appeared again at the fort, bringing four of Gonnema's followers whom they had captured. They delivered these prisoners to the governor, who at once caused them to be tried by a court martial. They were found guilty of having taken part in the murder of the burghers, and were thereupon handed over to their captors, who beat them to death with sticks.

For several months after this event nothing was heard of Gonnema or his people. The farm work at Hottentots-Holland was pushed on, and a guard of twenty-two men was kept there to protect the station. Every man that could be spared from other duties was at work upon the castle walls, or transporting building material to them.

At this time was introduced a system of raising revenue by means of selling certain privileges to the highest bidder, a system which remained in force as long as the East India Company was the governing power in South Africa. In principle it was the same as the lease by public auction of the right to a toll, such as is practised at the present day. But by the East India Company the system was carried to a much greater length than is the case in modern times. It was the simplest plan to raise a revenue, which is all that can be said in its favour.

The colonists did not object to it, for it seemed to them fair and reasonable. It was introduced by the disposal of the privilege to sell spirituous liquors, the price at which all such liquors were to be purchased for cash at the Company's stores as well as the price at which they were to be retailed

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being fixed in the conditions under which the monopoly was put up at public auction. In course of time, the right to sell wine, beer, tobacco, salt, bread, meat, &c., &c., was farmed out in the same manner.

By the beginning of the winter of 1674 the castle was so far advanced as to be more capable of defence than the old earthen fort. The garrison was therefore moved into it, and the walls of the old fort were broken down.

The war with Gonnema had been suspended for some months, when in March 1674 Captain Klaas reported that a large party of the enemy was encamped at the Little Berg river, where it issues from the gorge in the mountains now called the Tulbagh kloof. A combined force of soldiers, burghers, and Hottentots was thereupon sent out under Ensign Cruse. The party took the course now followed by the railway, passing by Klapmuts, down the Paarl valley, and keeping along the base of the mountains to Vogel Vlei. There they rested for a few hours, and planned their next march so as to surround Gonnema's kraal before daylight. But, as on a former occasion, the people who were to be attacked managed to make their escape just in time to avoid the onslaught. They left all they possessed behind them, and the commando seized without resistance eight hundred head of horned cattle and four thousand sheep. The Hottentot contingent stripped the huts of everything that could be of use to them, and then set fire to whatever remained. Upon arriving at the fort, the spoil was divided among the members of the commando.

Many months now passed by without any event worth noting, but at length Gonnema had a turn of good fortune. One night in November 1675 he fell upon the kraals of Schacher and Kuiper at the Tigerberg, and succeeded in killing some of the inmates and carrying off a large number of their cattle. Assistance was at once sent to the Company's allies, but Gonnema retreated so hastily to the mountainous country beyond Twenty-four Rivers that the horsemen could not overtake him. Fifteen stragglers from his party were, however, captured and instantly killed by Schacher's people.

For the protection of the rights of children, an orphan

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chamber was at this time created. The need of such an institution was apparent from the fact that recently several widows had remarried without previously securing to the children their portion of the property of their deceased parent It was enacted that in future no marriage of a widower or widow could take place in the colony without a certificate being first obtained from the orphan chamber that the rights of the children by the previous marriage were secured. The chamber was provided with power to invest money belonging to orphans, and to collect interest therefor at the rate of six per cent per annum. It was constituted guardian of orphans in all cases where none were named by the will of the deceased parent, and was authorised to provide for the maintenance of minors under its care by a reasonable allowance from the property belonging to them.

The orphan chamber thus created consisted of four persons, two of whom were servants of the Company and two burghers. Every year one servant of the Company and one burgher retired, and were succeeded by two new members chosen by the council of policy from a list of four names presented by the chamber itself. The large sums of money which the orphan chamber had charge of were commonly invested on mortgage of landed property, so that it served the purpose of a loan bank.

After the conclusion of peace with England there was no necessity to retain here an officer of Mr. Goske's rank and ability, and in November 1674 the directors appointed Mr. Johan Bax governor of the Cape. Mr. Bax arrived in January 1676, but was not installed until the 14th of March of that year.

In the summer of 1676-7 a large commando left the Cape in hope of being able to surprise Gonnema, and to punish him severely. It marched only at night, and took every care to avoid detection, but by some means the enemy became aware of its approach and escaped in time. Foiled in its principal object, the commando then made a detour to Saldanha Bay, and fell upon Captain Kees, who had destroyed the Company's post there three years before. Several of his followers were killed, and the whole of his stock was seized.

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This was the last armed party sent out during the war with Gonnema, which for four years kept the country in a disturbed condition. On the 8th of June 1677 Kuiper and another petty captain living near by arrived at the castle with some messengers from Gonnema, who reported that their mission was to ascertain if peace could not be made. The council hereupon decided to let the messengers know that the overture was agreeable, and that if the Cochoquas would make due submission to the Honourable Company, the government was prepared to enter into a firm peace, in which, however, the allies of the Europeans must be included.

On the 24th the same messengers returned to the castle, bringing a present of nine head of cattle, and accompanied by three men of position, who stated that they came to ask for peace. They were admitted to the council chamber, the burgher councillors and the chief officer of the militia being present also. There the conditions, which were drawn up in a few short clauses, were interpreted to them, and to these they gave their assent. The conditions were as follows :

In the first place the Cochoquas ask forgiveness for the acts which caused the war, and request that a friendly intercourse may be resumed.

They offer and promise to deliver as tribute thirty head of cattle upon the arrival of the first return fleet in every year.

They promise to punish their people in the same manner as the Honourable Company does.

They promise not to wage war against any of the Honourable Company's allies without the knowledge of the government.

In this peace are included the captains Kuiper and Schacher, also the petty captain Kees, and all who are subject to Gonnema, Schacher, and Kuiper.

The above conditions having been placed on record with the signatures of the officials and the marks of the envoys attached, presents were made to each of the Hottentots, and a good quantity of tobacco, pipes, beads, &c., was sent to Gonnema in return for the nine head of cattle. And so the country was restored to a state of tranquillity again.

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The principles upon which the government dealt with the natives from this time forward were that the European power was supreme, entitled to decide all cases between whites and Hottentots, and to settle all disputes between the clans so as to preserve peace and to secure its own interests; but it rarely interfered in matters affecting natives only. The Hottentot captains accepted without murmur the positions assigned to them, and were usually ready to do whatever the governor wished. A large cattle trade was carried on with them.

In 1676 a matrimonial court was established. It consisted of four commissioners, two being servants of the Company and two burghers. Half the members retired yearly, and their places were supplied by election of the council of policy from a double list furnished by the court itself. Before these commissioners all persons intending to marry were obliged to appear, for the purpose of showing that no legal impediment existed.

There was a little wooden building used as a church within the walls of the castle, but it was now thought necessary to remove it. A site for a new church was therefore chosen. A portion of the lower end of the great garden was taken, large enough for a cemetery, and this plot was enclosed with a strong wall. The foundation stone of a church was laid in the centre of it, but nothing more was done to the building for many years, though the ground was used as a graveyard.

Before 1678 no burghers were living beyond the Cape peninsula. The Company had a large corn farm at Hottentots-Holland and a couple of cattle farms elsewhere, but the burghers had not yet ventured farther than Wynberg. It needed no small amount of courage to hazard a life far from companions and exposed to the caprice of the natives. To men provided only with such weapons as the firelocks and flint muskets of those days, the wild animals with which the country swarmed were also a source of danger as well as of heavy loss. In a single night at one of the Company's outposts not less than a hundred and twenty sheep were destroyed by lions and hyenas.

In January of this year, however, two burghers leased from the government a tract of land at Hottentots-Holland with stock of horned cattle and sheep. They were followed in

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February by two others, who settled as sheep farmers on the adjoining land, and in August by a fifth, who also set up as a sheep farmer.

During the government of Mr. Bax several families of immigrants arrived from the Netherlands. A good many of the Company's servants whose term of office had expired also became burghers, but few of these remained long in the colony. As a rule they were ill adapted to become farmers, and after a short trial they usually returned to be soldiers or sailors. Worthless characters were very quickly disposed of. They were warned once or twice, and if that failed they were forcibly placed on board ship and sent away from the country. Thus there was a constant selection going on, in which only those remained who were qualified to make good colonists.

Governor Bax was in robust health previous to the winter of 1678, when he caught a severe cold which caused his death on the 29th of June. The secunde Hendrik Crudop then became acting commander until the pleasure of the directors should be known.

In August 1679 two burghers obtained leave to cultivate a tract of land on the east side of the Tigerberg, at a place where the Company usually gathered its hay. But to none of the seven burghers who were now residing beyond the isthmus was ground granted in any other manner than on lease for certain specified terms.

Upon intelligence of the death of Governor Bax reaching the Netherlands, the directors resolved not to appoint a successor of higher rank than a commander. The officer whom they selected to fill the vacant post was then living in Amsterdam. His name was Simon van der Stel. He embarked in the ship *Vrye Zee*, which arrived in Table Bay on the 12th of October 1679. The secunde Crudop with the other members of the council went off to welcome him, and amid discharges of cannon and musketry he landed and was received by the garrison and militia under arms. In the council chamber in the castle the commission was read by the secretary, the officials promised lawful obedience, and the new commander assumed the direction of affairs.

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CHAPTER VI.

THE officer who was now at the head of the settlement was destined to exercise a greater influence upon the future of South Africa than any of his predecessors had done. He was a little dark-complexioned man, good humoured, witty, and polite, with a deep fund of common sense, but much too fond of wealth. He was intensely patriotic, believing that whatever was Dutch was of necessity better than what was not.

When he arrived in South Africa the colony comprised only the occupied land around the foot of Table Mountain, the outposts at Saldanha Bay and Hottentots-Holland, a cattle station at Tigerberg, and the ground held on lease beyond the isthmus by the seven burghers who have been mentioned. The interior had been explored eastward about as far as the present village of George and northward forty or fifty miles beyond the mouth of the Elephant river. The boundary between the Hottentot and Bantu races was still unknown. The Orange river had never been heard of.

Soon after his arrival the commander visited Hottentots-Holland, and examined the country towards the mountains. In the afternoon of the 6th or 7th of November—it is not certain which but it was probably the 6th—with his attendants he rode into the most charming valley he had yet seen. The hills around it were of various forms, but all were clothed with rich grass, and in their recesses were patches of dark evergreen forest trees. Through the valley flowed a clear stream of fresh water, which at one point divided into two channels, and uniting again farther down enclosed an island of some size. At this time there were no Hottentots in the valley, though nomad bands must often have brought their cattle to graze upon its pastures. The island was thickly dotted over with fine trees, which suggested to the commander a name that should perpetuate his own memory in connection with the grove. He called it Stellenbosch.

The commander resolved to form a settlement of freeholders there, who would become attached to the soil. The great difficulty was to find men and women to make colonists of,

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for the fatherland could not furnish people in large numbers, and he objected to foreigners. Before the close of the year, however, one farmer had taken up ground, and in May 1680 he was followed by a party of eight families, who removed from Rondebosch together.

The large garden in Table Valley had hitherto been used chiefly to produce vegetables for the garrison and the fleets. Very little had been done to ornament it. But one of the earliest acts of the commander was to prepare a plan which he steadily carried out until the Company's garden at the Cape became something wonderful in the eyes of visitors. He had the ground divided into a great number of small plots separated from each other by live hedges high enough to break the force of the wind. Some of these plots were devoted to the production of fruit, others to the production of vegetables, others again were nurseries of European timber trees. In some of them experiments were made with various foreign trees and shrubs, in others the wild plants of Africa were collected in order that their properties might become known. Twenty years after Simon van der Stel laid out the ground afresh, visitors who had seen the most celebrated gardens of Europe and India agreed that nowhere else in the world was so great a variety of trees and shrubs, of vegetables and flowers, to be met with together. The commander enlarged the garden towards the mountain, but he cut off a narrow strip at the lower end, on which a hospital and a building for the use of the Company's slaves were erected in after years.

In December 1681 a party of Namaquas visited the Cape, and presented to the commander some specimens of very rich copper ore which they had taken out of a mountain in their country. They gave the first vague information concerning the Betshuana tribes and the river which is known to us as the Orange.

At the beginning of the government of Simon van der Stel some English and Danish ships put into Table Bay, but their officers were not permitted to purchase any provisions. Complaints of such treatment speedily reached Europe, and were brought before the Assembly of Seventeen, who

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issued instructions that foreigners were to be treated as of old. Except in very urgent cases they were not to be supplied with sea stores out of the magazines, as such stores were kept solely for the use of the Company's ships. They were to be at liberty to purchase garden produce from the burghers. No wheat or fuel was to be sold to them, as the Company needed all and more than all that was to be had of both. They were to be at liberty to refresh themselves in the lodging houses kept by the town burghers. They were not to be permitted to sell merchandise in bulk.

The restrictions of Commander Van der Stel lasted only until November 1683, after which date foreigners, though not encouraged to visit the Cape, were treated here quite as well as subjects of the Netherlands were treated in the colonies of other European nations. A system was gradually introduced by which they were taxed for the benefit of the Company. This was done in the farming out of the privilege to sell bread, meat, wine, &c. The exclusive right to sell these articles was put up for sale with the condition that a certain fixed price should be charged to burghers, but the purchaser had the right to charge foreigners a higher rate, which was sometimes fixed and sometimes as much as he could obtain.

In 1681 and 1682 the population of Stellenbosch received many accessions. To provide for the settlement of trivial disputes between the burghers of the new district, in 1682 a court of heemraden was established. This court consisted of four of the leading inhabitants, who held office for two years, without receiving any salaries for their services. The powers of the court of heemraden were not at first very accurately defined, but its decisions appear in every instance to have been treated with respect. Two members retired yearly, when the court itself sent to the council of policy a list of four new names from which to select successors.

In 1683 the first school in Stellenbosch was established. The instruction did not extend in secular subjects beyond reading, writing, and the elements of arithmetic, a large portion of the time being occupied with religious teaching. At the age of thirteen years the pupils were supposed to have completed their education. The standard aimed at was the

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ability to pass such an examination before the consistory as would enable the pupils to be admitted as members of the church. It was necessary to be able to read the bible, to repeat the Heidelberg catechism, and to write a little. The pupils were likewise taught to sing psalms in the tunes then commonly used. The teacher, in addition to his school duties, acted as sick-visitor, and conducted divine service every Sunday.

In 1681 the Cape was made a place of confinement for prisoners of state of high rank, who were sent into exile by the Dutch authorities in India. Some Macassar princes with their families and attendants arrived in that year. They were followed in 1694 by a famous teacher and warrior, named the Sheikh Joseph, with his family and servants, numbering not less than forty-seven persons. To this day his tomb, known as the Kramat, is a place of pilgrimage to the Mohamedan population. As long as South Africa was subject to the East India Company, it was thus used as a place of banishment for Indian magnates who offended.

With the growth of the settlement, it was found that too much of the time of the high court of justice was taken up with hearing petty civil cases, and it was therefore decided to establish an inferior court to have jurisdiction within the Cape peninsula. This court was composed of four members, two of whom were servants of the Company and two burghers. It had power to decide cases wherein the amount in dispute was less than £20 16s. 8d. of our money.

In October 1684 the Assembly of Seventeen appointed a commission of three members to examine the affairs of their possessions in Hindostan and Ceylon, and at its head they placed an officer with very extensive powers. His name was Hendrik Adriaan van Reede, but he was commonly known by his title of Lord of Mydrecht.

Before leaving Europe the high commissioner was instructed to rectify anything that he might find amiss at the Cape, where he was to exercise supreme power during his stay. He reached Table Bay on the 19th of April 1685, and remained here until the 16th of July, during which time he put in force a great number of regulations. A few days after

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his arrival he issued a notice calling upon all persons who had any complaints or grievances to make them known, so that he might rectify whatever was felt to be oppressive. He then proceeded to examine the constitution of the various public bodies and to inquire into their efficiency. The result of this was that the board of militia, the consistory or church council, the matrimonial court, the orphan chamber, and the court for the settlement of petty cases were approved of as they existed, and no changes were made in any of them. The burgher councillors—then three in number—were to be continued as before.

The council of policy was enlarged and made to consist of the eight servants of the Company highest in rank in the colony. The high court of justice was made to consist of eight servants of the Company and, when cases affecting burghers were being tried, the two oldest burgher councillors. The fiscal was to perform the duty of public prosecutor. From this date the council of policy underwent no change during the rule of the East India Company, but the high court of justice was enlarged and otherwise altered a century later.

In the court at Stellenbosch great changes were made. An officer was appointed, with the title of landdrost, to preside over it and to represent the Company in the district. The court of landdrost and heemraden had power to decide cases where the amount in dispute did not exceed £10. This court acted also as a district council, in which capacity it saw to the repair of roads, the distribution of water, the destruction of noxious animals, and various other matters. It raised a revenue by erecting a mill to grind corn and leasing it to the highest bidder, by collecting a yearly tax of one shilling and four pence for every hundred sheep or twenty head of horned cattle owned in the district, and by sundry other small imposts. Further, it had power to compel the inhabitants to supply waggons, cattle, slaves, and their own labour for public purposes.

Prior to this date, the laws concerning slaves were somewhat vague. In the early days of the settlement emancipation was very common, and the directors at one time even

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thought of locating a large body of freed slaves at some place where agriculture could be carried on. They despaired of getting a sufficient number of European colonists, and thought in this way to secure a supply of fresh food for their fleets. But the negroes who were set free had in most instances fallen into idle and depraved habits, in the end becoming burdensome as vagrants or paupers, so that in 1682 a law was made that no more heathens were to be manumitted except for very good reasons, and that all freedmen of this class who would not earn an honest living were to be brought again into slavery.

The laws made by the high commissioner regarding this matter were as follow :

Every male halfbreed could claim freedom as a right at the age of twenty-five years, and every female halfbreed at the age of twenty-two years, provided only that he or she professed Christianity and spoke the Dutch language.

Slaves imported from abroad, whether male or female, after thirty years' service, and negro slaves born at the Cape, at the age of forty years, were to have their freedom as a favour, not as a right, upon payment of £8 6s. 8d., provided they professed Christianity and spoke Dutch. Each case was to be considered on its own merits, so that well-conducted slaves might be emancipated and those of bad character be kept under control of a master.

Concerning the Hottentots, the high commissioner laid down some general regulations, but made no definite laws. There was at the time a very friendly feeling between them and the Europeans. The different chiefs and their people came to the castle to trade in perfect security, and without showing any uneasiness at the extension of the settlement. Gonnema had failed to pay his tribute, and it was not thought necessary to irritate him by speaking about it any longer. Thefts were not unusual, but robbery with violence was seldom committed except by Bushmen. The high commissioner directed that nothing should be done to disturb the peaceful and friendly intercourse then existing.

At this time the East India Company allowed its servants the privilege of private trade to a limited extent. As yet

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there was no opportunity at the Cape of doing business, except in a very small way, and the officials had therefore seldom been content to remain here. To go on to the East, where fortunes were to be made, was the aim of their ambition. As a remedy, the high commissioner approved of a grant of land in full property being made to each of them, that they might carry on farming and sell their produce to the Company on the same terms as the burghers. Commander Van der Stel selected for himself a tract of land next to the last farm that was occupied at Wynberg. Most of the burghers who had once been living on that side of the mountain had removed to Stellenbosch, so that there were then only twenty-five families remaining between this ground and the castle. The high commissioner made a formal grant to the commander of the land selected, and caused a title to be issued. Mr. Van der Stel named the farm Constantia.

Several futile attempts had been made from the Cape to reach the place from which specimens of copper ore had been brought by the Namaquas. Commander Van der Stel proposed that he should in person lead an exploring party in that direction, and the high commissioner approved of his doing so. Accordingly, as soon as the lord of Mydrecht left South Africa, preparations for the journey were made. On the 25th of August 1685 the expedition set out. The travelling party consisted of Commander Simon van der Stel, fifty-six Europeans of various callings, and a still larger number of slaves, halfbreeds, and Hottentots. The commander had a coach for his own use, and there was a long train of waggons laden with provisions, a boat for crossing rivers, two small cannon to impress the natives with respect for the power of the Europeans, and whatever else could be of use on the journey.

The expedition followed the old route to the Elephant river, upon reaching which it was found that the season was an exceptionally favourable one for exploration. In the north, after four years of drought, heavy and continuous rains had fallen, so that there was abundance of grass and water. Natives were frequently met, the intercourse with

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whom was very friendly, and guides were obtained without difficulty. The commander's party was thus able to advance with the greatest ease, where previous expeditions had nearly perished from thirst. On the 21st of October the copper mountain was reached. Its distance is three hundred English miles from the castle, and the direction is a very little to the westward of north.

A fortnight was spent in examining the neighbourhood and in collecting specimens of the metal. The next object was to explore the country between the mine and the coast, but this was found to be very difficult. A direct route was sought in vain. The expedition was obliged to return a long way to the southward before a passage could be opened to the sea, and thus much time was lost. Meanwhile the summer heat was increasing, water was daily becoming scarcer, and grass was disappearing. Every one was anxious to get back to the Elephant river, but the commander was resolved to examine the coast. Parties of men were sent out in different directions, one of which succeeded in getting a few miles north of the mouth of the Buffalo river. The cove now called Hondeklip Bay was inspected, but no harbour where ships could lie in safety could be found.

The cattle were beginning to die from thirst when the commander gave the order to return. The journey back to the Elephant river took eighteen days, and they were days of anxiety and great suffering to man and beast. Between this river and the Cape, however, travelling was safe and easy. On the 26th of January 1686, after an absence of five months and one day, the expedition reached the castle.

As to the copper mines, it had been ascertained that ore, rich and easy to be collected, was there in abundance, but that it was in such a situation as to be useless to Europeans. With the means at the Company's disposal, it could not be removed in such quantities as to pay expenses.

The chief result of the expedition was a great increase in geographical knowledge. The commander had obtained information concerning the great river of the north from people whose usual place of residence was on its banks, and

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he had seen quantities of driftwood on the beach, which had recently been brought down by it. He had ascertained that there was no such town as Vigiti Magna. And as the great river which flowed to the west certainly could not cross the Camissa of the old geographers, he erased that fabulous stream from the map.

In the year 1685 the directors renewed the attempt to induce people to migrate from the Netherlands to South Africa. They issued notices, offering to industrious families free passages to the Cape, as much land in full property as each could cultivate, and a supply of farm implements, seed, and cattle, at cost price on credit. The emigrants were to engage to remain in the colony at least fifteen years.

An attempt was also made to induce a number of young women from the homes for orphans to come out to the colony. The orphan guardians of Amsterdam and Rotterdam consented to allow grown-up girls who were so inclined to emigrate to the Cape, but only under conditions which so far as human means can go should serve to screen them from harm. They were not to embark unless with other emigrants, and under the care of a respectable elderly woman. The commander at the Cape was to see that they were comfortably provided for and properly protected until they were married to honourable, sober, and industrious burghers. They were not to be kept in the colony against their will if after five years' residence they or their husbands should wish to return to Europe. Very few young women, however, were found willing to leave the fatherland, and in 1685 only three reached this country. During several years small parties of them continued to arrive, though never more than seven or eight at a time. They were married to the most prosperous of the burghers, generally within a few weeks after landing.

Each outward-bound fleet now brought to South Africa a few families of people accustomed to till the ground for their maintenance. Nearly all were located in the district of Stellenbosch, as were also many of those men who were discharged from the Company's service, but who rarely remained long in the position of burghers.

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CHAPTER VII.

IN 1686 a fair was established at Stellenbosch, and was thereafter held yearly from the 1st to the 14th of October. At this fair every one was free to buy and sell the products of the country without restriction. It was intended also to be a time of general recreation, and it was provided that the drilling of the militia and target shooting should then take place. During the period of the fair, the colonists of the Cape district usually went in their waggons to Stellenbosch, and gave themselves up to the enjoyments of the season. If there were ships in port, as many of their people as could get away generally did the same. It was the pleasure-time of the year, when labour was laid aside for a short space, and friendships were renewed.

When the commander visited Stellenbosch to be present at the fair of 1686 he was accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Overney, who on Sunday the 13th of October conducted divine service in the house of one of the residents. It was the first service held by a clergyman in the new settlement. An arrangement was then made that the clergyman of the Cape should visit the village once every three months, to conduct divine service and administer the sacraments, and that the sick-visitor should continue to read a sermon and prayers on all other sabbaths in the year. In January 1687, when the Rev. Mr. Overney visited Stellenbosch in accordance with this plan, a consistory was established. Shortly afterwards the foundation stone of a church was laid, and the building was opened for use in October of the same year.

A residence for the landdrost and a court-house were erected in 1686, and a mill was built at the expense of the district. The price for grinding corn was fixed, and the mill was then leased by auction to the highest bidder, the rental going to the district funds. The cultivation of the vine was advancing. The commander was getting out different varieties from France, Germany, and Spain, with which he was making experiments himself, and encouraging the burghers of Stellenbosch to do the same. Efforts were also being made to cultivate the olive, but though the tree seemed to thrive, a crop of fruit could never be depended upon.

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The commander was an enthusiastic tree-planter. He observed that the forests of the country were rapidly being destroyed, and that nature was not replacing them. Various kinds of European and Indian timber trees were being produced from seed in the nurseries of the Company's garden, but of them all none seemed to thrive like the oak. The commander therefore endeavoured to get as many oaks planted as possible. He offered young trees to the burghers, and at a date somewhat later he issued a positive order that every farmer was to plant at least one hundred. He set the example at Constantia and on the Company's farms. In the spring of 1687 he had the satisfaction of seeing between four and five thousand oaks already beginning to bear acorns in the Stellenbosch and Cape districts.

In the early months of 1687 the colony was visited by a destructive disease, a kind of fever which carried off many of the inhabitants. The natives suffered very severely from it, so much so that one kraal is mentioned in which half the people were dead while the others were all sick. It did not, however, spread far inland. Schacher, chief of the Kaapmans, was one of those who died of it. The clan was so thoroughly subject to the Company that the appointment of his successor was made by the commander. He chose a nephew of the deceased chief, whom he named Massinissa, and to whom he gave one of the ordinary staffs of office.

In October 1687 a fresh tract of land was given out to settlers. At the close of the fair at Stellenbosch there were twenty-three individuals ready to take possession of farms. The commander therefore resolved to found a new settlement, and for this purpose he selected the beautiful valley first visited by Abraham Gabbema thirty years before, to which he now gave the name Drakenstein, after an estate belonging to the lord of Mydrecht. Each of the twenty-three farms had a frontage of sixty roods to the Berg river, and contained sixty morgen of ground. Like all other landed property in the colony, that now given out was burdened with payment of tithes of grain. The only other charge was the cost of measurement and title deeds.

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In November 1687 False Bay was examined by the commander, when an inlet was found to be capable of sheltering a small fleet. The commander gave it his first name, and as Simon's Bay it has ever since been known.

The colonists were at this time in a fairly prosperous condition. There were no avenues to great wealth open to them, but on the other hand no one was suffering from want of the necessaries of life. There were no beggars in the colony. The thriftless and unstable burghers who had given a good deal of trouble in the earlier days of the settlement had died out or returned into the Company's service, and their places were occupied by a more industrious class. Still, there was one very unsatisfactory circumstance in connection with the colonists. Only about one-third of them were married, and none but these could be considered permanent settlers. Everything that was possible had been done to procure female immigrants, but the number that arrived was very small.

The burghers who lived in Table Valley were chiefly dependent upon the shipping for their means of living. They showed their prosperity by a tendency to display in dress, which the commander deemed so unbecoming that he forbade it. He did not want any spurious grandees here, he said, but honest, industrious people, of whom alone good colonists could be made. His ideas in this respect were those of the cleverest statesmen of his age. When, for instance, he prohibited the wives of mechanics from carrying sunshades, and expressed an opinion that such a practice was too absurd to be allowed, he was but following the example of the most advanced people of Europe.

In February 1686 the East India Company's ship *Stavenisse* was wrecked on the African coast about seventy English miles south of the bay of Natal. Sixty of her crew got safely to land, of whom forty-seven started to try and make their way overland to the Cape. The others proceeded in the opposite direction to the bay of Natal, where five Englishmen were living. These Englishmen had lost their vessel, named the *Good Hope*, nine months before, but had saved abundance of merchandise suitable for trade with the natives.

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After about four months spent in idleness, the Dutch and English together resolved to build a vessel with which to make their escape. There was plenty of timber at hand, and the wrecks of the *Good Hope* and *Stavenisse* furnished the other materials. But it was a difficult task with the limited means at their disposal, so that nearly eight months passed by before their craft was completed.

A supply of provisions was purchased from the natives, consisting of millet, dried meat, goats, fowls, and pumpkins. Some ivory which the Englishmen had obtained in barter was also taken on board. At the last moment five men resolved to remain where they were, but the others embarked in the little vessel, and arrived safely in Table Bay on the 1st of March 1687.

As the forty-seven men who left the wreck of the *Stavenisse* in February 1686 had not since been heard of, the Cape government purchased the *Centaurus*, refitted her, and sent her to search along the coast. On the afternoon of the 8th of February 1688 she was lying becalmed near the mouth of the Buffalo river, when three white men paddled off on a small raft. They stated that nineteen other Europeans were still on shore. Sixteen of these were taken on board during the following day, but three chose to remain where they were, so on the 11th the *Centaurus* set sail for Table Bay.

In October 1688 the galiot *Noord* was sent to examine Delagoa Bay and to search along the coast for the still missing men of the *Stavenisse*. A small Portuguese fort was found at Delagoa Bay, but the natives were quite independent. The *Noord* then ran down to Natal, crossed the bar, and picked up two of the *Stavenisse's* crew who had recently arrived there from the Kosa country. At the mouth of the Buffalo, as she was returning to Table Bay, another of the wrecked seamen was taken on board.

Upon their arrival at the castle, the men who had been wandering among the tribes along the south-eastern coast were carefully questioned as to the country and people, and their replies were taken down in writing. Some of them had lived nearly three years with the natives, and had acquired a knowledge of their language. By all of the Bantu tribes

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they had been well treated, but they had met some Bushmen, who not only robbed them of their clothing, but murdered several of their companions.

The account which they gave of Bantu customs and manner of living is as accurate and almost as complete as any that has been published to the present day. The Kosa tribe was found with an offshoot as far west as the Buffalo river. The country on each side of that occupied by this tribe was infested with Bushmen. Beyond them to the north-eastward were first the Tembus, and next the Pondos. The country around Port Natal was occupied by the Abambo tribe.

Some of the wrecked sailors had wandered a long way inland, and they were able to give a correct description of the features and productions of the country. From their statements the general courses of the mountains and rivers were laid down on charts, and a fairly accurate map of the coast belt from the Tugela to the Buffalo was made, though the longitudes were incorrect by several degrees. Monomotapa was now removed to the distant interior, and many fabulous towns that appeared on the old maps were erased.

At this date the most distant Hottentot tribe known to the eastward was the Outeniqua, who occupied the district beyond the present village of George. Of them even very little more than the name was known, as no European had ever gone beyond the kraals of the Attaquas, who adjoined them to the westward.

In February 1687 there came to the castle a stranger who stated that he had been sent by a very powerful chief living far in the interior to ascertain what kind of people the white men were, of whom rumours had reached him, and what kind of things the wonderful articles were which it was reported they exchanged for cattle. From the account which he gave of the powerful ruler by whom he had been sent, the Europeans were led to believe that this could be no other than the emperor of Monomotapa, the great potentate whom they had so long been searching for in vain. The messenger remained at the castle only two days, during which time he was well entertained.

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During the next two years presents were often sent by the commander through the medium of Captain Klaas to the individual who, from being considered a mighty emperor, soon came to be termed the chief of the Inqua Hottentots. In December 1688 other messengers arrived at the Cape, and announced that the chief was desirous of entering into a friendly agreement with the Europeans, so that they could carry on trade with each other. He sent word that his country was very populous, that it was well stocked with horned cattle and sheep, and that it had never been visited by white men.

The council at once resolved to send a party back with the chief's messengers, and for this purpose an expedition was made ready. It consisted of twenty-two Europeans and a number of Cape Hottentots, under command of Ensign Izaak Schryver. A good supply of food and articles for barter was taken.

The course followed was that of the present high road through the villages of Caledon and Swellendam to Heidelberg. From this place the guides led the expedition to within a few miles of the site of the present village of Oudtshoorn, and then crossing the Zwartberg, kept to the northeast until, on the thirty-ninth day after leaving the castle, the kraals of the Inqua tribe were reached. The place cannot be fixed with precision.

More than five hundred head of large cattle and a good many sheep were obtained in barter from the Inquas, and the intercourse with them was of a most friendly nature. They gave the Europeans information concerning other tribes, which enabled the vacant place on the map between the country of the Outeniquas and that of the Kosas to be filled in. They stated that the people whom they called Kobona, and we call Bantu, were to be reached in a journey of five days to the east. The Inquas were too far away to take part in the feuds between the Hottentot and Bantu tribes, but they were always at war with Bushmen.

When the expedition was returning it fell in with a horde of Bushmen who had just seized a great number of cattle belonging to the Attaquas. The conduct of the Bushmen was

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so provoking that the ensign ordered a volley to be fired among them. Thirty fell, and the rest fled, leaving the cattle, which the Europeans took possession of. When the Attaquas heard what had taken place, they expressed great joy that their enemies had met with such a disaster.

In October 1689 the council of policy resolved to send the galiot *Noord* again along the coast, to rescue the men of the *Stavenisse* who were still missing, and to endeavour to purchase for the Company the bay of Natal and the land around it.

The galiot arrived at Natal on the 9th of December. There three men of the *Stavenisse* were found and taken on board, and the purchase was made as desired. A formal contract was drawn up, to which the chief residing near the bay affixed his mark. In this the East India Company was admitted to be the owner of the inlet and surrounding land, for which merchandise in rings, beads, copper plates, wire, &c., to the value of about £1650, was said to have been paid. In point of fact, £50 would have purchased the whole. Landmarks with the Company's monogram upon them were erected in several prominent positions.

In returning to Table Bay the *Noord* was wrecked on the reef called Klippen Point, about fifteen English miles west of Cape St. Francis. The crew got safely to land, and set out for the Cape, where after long wandering the mate and a few others arrived. They told piteous tales of the misery they had gone through from hunger and fatigue, and the cruel treatment they had received at the hands of Bushmen.

Through these various expeditions and disasters correct knowledge of the whole coast region of South Africa and of its inhabitants was obtained. From this time forward it was believed that the country from Delagoa Bay to the Cape of Good Hope could be travelled over in perfect safety, if it were not for the Bushmen. The hand of the Hottentot and the Kaffir everywhere was against these people, and now the white man was added to the number of their foes. By all alike they were regarded as thieves and murderers, and ere long it came to be considered the duty of honest, law-abiding people, to aid in purging the settled districts of their presence.

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CHAPTER VIII.

ABOUT the year 1670 a steady stream of Huguenot emigrants began to set out of France towards the Netherlands. Numerous Protestant French families had branches long settled there, so that when the refugees arrived, they found men of their own tongue and blood, and very often of their own name, ready to welcome them. The world-wide commerce, which had its centre in the Free Netherlands, had created such a demand for labour of all kinds that many thousands found no difficulty in making new homes. But, owing to this very cause, the republic, though it had vast foreign possessions, could not become a great colonising country.

During the two years that followed the revocation of the edict of Nantes in October 1685, the number of French refugees increased greatly. At the same time the Protestants were migrating from the valleys of Piedmont, so that when the directors of the East India Company met in the autumn of 1687, it seemed possible to obtain some of the fugitive families as colonists. They resolved to make an attempt.

With this view they promised that a clergyman speaking the French language should be engaged to accompany the emigrants, and that any individual or family desiring to return to Europe should be at liberty to do so after five years. They offered a gratuity of from £5 to £8 6s. 8d., according to circumstances, to every head of a family, and from £2 10s. to £4 3s. 4d. to every young unmarried man or woman, to assist in procuring an outfit. The other conditions proposed were the same as those held out to Netherlanders by birth. They were to be provided with free passages and with sufficient land for cultivation in full property without payment. They were to be supplied with all requisite farming implements at cost price on credit. They were to subscribe to the same oaths of allegiance as those taken by persons born in the United Provinces, and were to be in all respects treated in the same manner and to enjoy the same privileges.

Several small parties accepted these terms, and the Rev. Pierre Simond was engaged to proceed to the Cape with them.

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While making these efforts to procure Huguenot emigrants, however, the directors had no intention of founding a French colony at the Cape. Owing to the influx of such numbers of refugees, it was now less difficult than it had hitherto been to obtain emigrants of Dutch blood, of whom more families than of French origin were being sent out at the same time, so that these together with the settlers already in South Africa would absorb the foreign element without undergoing any change. At no time did the French exceed in number one-sixth of the colonists, or one-eighth of the whole European population, the Company's servants included.

Arrangements were made by the different chambers of the East India Company for the passages of the Huguenot emigrants to this colony, as they had been engaged in different provinces and could not all embark at the same port. As much as possible, families and friends were kept together. On the 13th of April 1688 the first party arrived, and between that date and the 6th of May 1689 nearly one hundred and eighty persons of both sexes and all ages landed on the shore of Table Bay. Among them were the ancestors of families bearing the following names, now widely spread over South Africa :

Bruère	Jourdan	du Plessis
le Clercq	Lombard	du Pré
Cordier	le Long	Rétif
Durand	Malan	Rousseau
Fouché	Malherbe	Roux
Fourie	Marais	le Roux
Gaucher	Mesnard	Sénéchal
la Grange	Meyer	Thérond
Hugod	Nel	du Toit
Jacob	Nortier	de Villiers
Joubert	Pinard	Vivier

In many instances the spelling of these names was corrupted within a few years after the arrival of the Huguenots, or they were written in a Dutch form, as De Klerk for Le Clercq, Voessee for Fouché, De Lange for Le Long, Pienaar for Pinard, Russouw for Rousseau, &c.

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Among the Dutch colonists of this date, with whom the French refugees were mixed, the following names are found :

van As	van Eyk	Prinsloo
Basson	Gildenhuis	Ras
Bastiaans	Greef	van Rooyen
Becker	Hatting	van Schalkwyk
de Beer	van Heusden	Scheepers
Bergh	Heyns	Smit
Beyers	Jooste	Smuts
Bezuidenhout	Jurgens	van der Westhuizen
Booysen	Kock	Snyman
Boshof	Kruger	van Staden
Botha	Kruywagen	Steyn
Botma	Loots	Strydom
Bouwman	Loubser	Swart
Brand	Louw	Venter
Brits	Lubbe	Vermeulen
Brouwer	van der Merwe	Verschuur
de Bruyn	Meyer	Verwey
Burgers	Mol	Victor
van der Byl	Morkel	Viljoen
Campher	Mostert	Visagie
Claassen	Mulder	Visser
Cloete	Myburgh	Vlok
Coetsee	van Niekerk	Vogel
van Deventer	Olivier	Vosloo
Diepenaar	Oosthuizen	van Vuuren
van Dyk	Phyffer	Wessels
van Eden	van der Poel	Willemse
Erasmus	Potgieter	van Wyk
Esterhuis	Pretorius	van Zyl

Of many of the names here given there were several families in 1689. Among them are a few, such as Basson, Botha, and Olivier, that seem to be of French origin, but the men who first bore them in South Africa were Dutch. Their ancestors may have been long settled in Holland. The first Viljoen in this country was a Frenchman, but his children in 1688 were regarded as Dutch. Some others in this list are names of persons who came from countries

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now included in the German Empire, but they seem to have been of Nether Teuton blood. Much the greater number of the names are of men who came from one or other of the provinces of the Free Netherlands, and with hardly an exception the wives of all in the list were Dutch. The foreign element, Huguenot included, was so small that the Dutch readily and quickly absorbed it.

The same may be said of the families whose names are found in the records within twenty years after 1689. They are chiefly Dutch, though a few are French, German, and Danish. They are so numerous that all cannot be given, but among them are the following now well known:

Van Aardt	Groenewald	Oelofse
Badenhorst	van Heerden	Pottier
Bakhuizen	Helm	van Reenen
Bek	Heyning	van Rensburg
Barnard	Hoffman	Richter
Beukes	Hubner	Robberts
Blankenberg	Human	Roos
Bloem	van Jaarsveld	Scholtz
de Boer	Kerver	Schryver
Bosman	Kleinveld	Slabbart
Brink	Knoetsen	Steenekamp
Bronkhorst	de Kock	Stols
du Buisson	Kotzé	Swanepoel
Buys	van der Linde	Sweetman
Cilliers or Sellier	Lourens	Tas
Coenradie	Lutters	Terreblanche
Cronjé	Maasdorp	Uys
Delport	Maré	Vlodman
Ditmaar	Maritz	Voogt
Eksteen	Moolman	de Vos
van Emmenes	Mouton	de Vries
Faber	Munnik	van der Walt
Faure	Niemand	de Wet
Fick	Oberholster	Wederhold
Grobbelaar	Odendal	Zaaiman

The three lists here given contain the names of a very large proportion of the Europeans in South Africa at the present day.

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The Huguenots landed without any property in goods or money. The Company allowed them rations of meat, biscuit, and peas for a few months, and supplied them on credit with whatever else they needed. A fund for their benefit was raised in the colony, to which each one gave in cattle, grain, or money, as he could. The amount is not mentioned in the records. The board of deacons of Batavia also sent a sum of money equal to £1,250 to be divided among them according to their needs.

Some of the Huguenots were located in and about Stellenbosch, but the larger number at Drakenstein and French Hoek. Care was taken not to give them ground in one block by themselves, but to mix them with the Dutch colonists who were already here or who were arriving at the same time. Almost from the day of their landing this caused an ill feeling between them and the commander, for they expressed a strong desire not to be parted. Several even refused to accept the ground that was offered to them, and in preference engaged as servants to some of the others.

With regard to church services, it was arranged that the Rev. Mr. Simond should preach in French on alternate Sundays at Stellenbosch and at the house of a burgher at Drakenstein. The sick-comforter Mankadan was to read a sermon and prayers in Dutch at Stellenbosch when the minister was at Drakenstein, and at Drakenstein when the minister was at Stellenbosch. The refugees thus formed a branch of the church of Stellenbosch. That church, though as yet without a resident Dutch clergyman, had a consistory, which before the Rev. Mr. Simond's arrival was presided over by the minister of the Cape acting as consulent. This arrangement did not satisfy the French, who wished to have a church entirely of their own.

In November 1688 a school was opened for the Huguenot children at Drakenstein, with Paul Roux as teacher. The pupils went through the same course of instruction as at Stellenbosch and the Cape. There was not yet a school for Dutch children at Drakenstein.

With most of the Huguenots the first hardships of settling in a new country were quickly overcome; houses were built,

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very small and rough it is true, but still giving shelter from sun and storm; gardens were planted, and, as the crops of the first season were very good, there was no want of food. A few, however, who would not accept farms at Stellenbosch, were very poor.

As the commander and council would not allow them to form a separate church and community, they appealed to the Assembly of Seventeen. That body consented to a French church being formed at Drakenstein, with a consistory similar to that of the Cape; but refused the refugees liberty to be located together. The government was instructed when giving out ground to mix the people of different countries so that they might quickly become one, and care was to be taken that French children in school should be taught the Dutch language as well as their own. These directions reached the Cape in June 1691, from which date the congregations of Drakenstein and Stellenbosch were distinct. At the last named place services were held at stated times by the clergyman of the Cape until April 1700, when the church was provided with a resident minister.

Tracts of land of large extent were at this time being taken in possession for the use of European immigrants, yet the natives were never more friendly. There was room enough, and to spare, for all. The colonists would gladly have employed some hundreds of Hottentots, if they could have been induced to take service; but the men loved their wild, free, idle life too well to exchange it for one of toil. They did not object, however, to do light work at times to earn tobacco and spirits, and in harvesting especially they were found very useful. They were always ready to hire out their daughters, and by this means household servants were obtained and a knowledge of the Dutch language was spread. None of them had yet copied the style of living of the white people so far as to make gardens for themselves, or in any way to till the ground.

The clans could not always be prevented from engaging in war with each other. There were two rival captains of the Chainouquas, and they were often quarrelling. In March 1689 the Namaquas and Grigriquas crossed the Elephant river in

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force. This movement alarmed the colonists, but it soon appeared that the Cochoquas, not the Europeans, were to be fallen upon. The northern tribes attacked a kraal near Saldanha Bay, killed the chief and as many of the men as they could get hold of, and carried off the women, children, and cattle as booty.

The commander did not interfere on this occasion, but when a similar inroad was made at the end of the following year, he sent thirty or forty soldiers to preserve order. The invaders were then attacked, and several thousand head of cattle were captured. The whole of the booty was restored, however, and in addition some presents of tobacco and spirits were made, upon the late disturbers of the peace begging for a renewal of friendship and promising not to repeat the offence.

Now and then it happened that crimes were committed by Hottentots against Europeans, and in such instances the offenders were tried by the colonial courts and punished according to Dutch law. Thefts were not uncommon, but other misdeeds were rare. During a long course of years only one crime more serious than cattle-lifting occurred, a colonist having been murdered by a Hottentot at Drakenstein in April 1689. The offender was tried and punished with death. Natives committing crimes against their own people were left to be dealt with by their captains, the policy of the government being not to interfere with them more than was necessary for the safety and welfare of the Europeans. The Hottentots were generally at full liberty to wander over the open country, provided they did not trespass on ground occupied by settlers. But whenever this liberty interfered with the interests of the farmers, it was suspended.

The Bushmen had retreated from the open country occupied by the Europeans, but parties of them sometimes came down from the Drakenstein mountains and committed robberies in the valley below. They were regarded as outlaws, and if any had been caught they would have received very little mercy. But they were too wary and fleet of foot to be made prisoners by white men. The Hottentots pursued them with greater success.

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So much ground was now under tillage that there was sufficient food grown for the colonists, the garrison, and the people of the fleets during their stay in port. In good seasons there was a surplus of fifteen hundred or two thousand muids of wheat, which was sent to Batavia. Experience had taught the government, however, to keep two years' supply in the storehouses, so as to provide against a season of drought, or the destruction of the crops by locusts or caterpillars. The Company had not yet quite given up growing grain for itself, but it was gradually doing so. It had seven farms, or cattle places as they were called, in different parts of the country, the most distant being at Hottentots-Holland. These were merely stations for breeding cattle and for keeping oxen and sheep purchased from the Hottentots until they were required for the fleets.

The horses brought from Java had increased greatly in number, but had fallen off in size and appearance. To improve them, in 1689 the Company imported some stud horses from Persia. At the same time some Persian asses were introduced.

The growth of wheat was the first object with the farmers, because at this time it brought a greater profit than anything else which they could raise. Next to growing wheat, rearing cattle gave the best returns. The production of wine followed, though of this very little more was made than could be sold to the seamen when they were on shore.

There seemed now to the directors to be a good prospect of attaining the objects which the Company had in view when forming a settlement at the Cape. Hitherto, however, the expense of their establishment had been so great that they looked upon it as the dearest victualling station in the world. The formation of what was for those days an important colony should, they thought, enable them to reduce their outlay, first, by furnishing a body of militia so that a large garrison would not be needed, and secondly, by producing food at cheaper rates than formerly.

In their despatches they pointed out that while wheat was being sold in the Netherlands at six shillings and eight pence the muid, at the Cape they were giving twelve

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shillings and six pence, and sometimes even more. In the Netherlands the farmers had to pay rent as well as tithes and heavy taxes, while at the Cape they had no rent whatever to pay, and hardly any taxes. They were of opinion therefore that the price could gradually be reduced to that of the fatherland, when the farmers would still be in a better position than those in Europe.

They were further of opinion that the colony ought to produce for export a sufficient quantity of wheat, wine, and olive oil, to enable them, after paying a fair price to the farmers, to defray a large portion of the cost of government out of the profits of the sale of such articles. With this view they directed the commander to continue experiments with different kinds of vines until he should ascertain which was best, that the colonists might know what was the right sort to plant. With regard to the olive, they expressed great disappointment that attempts to grow it had apparently not been persevered in, and they directed that it should be carefully attended to.

The commander replied that experiments with vines were being made in the Company's gardens, by several of the farmers, and by himself at Constantia. As for the olive, he had spared no pains with it, and though it had hitherto been a failure, except in occasional seasons, he was still persevering. A few of the Huguenots were making experiments with it also, and were not only trying the cultivated variety, but were grafting upon the wild olive of the country. Generally, however, the burghers could not be induced to take any trouble with it, because not only was its success doubtful, but in any case they would have to wait a long time before enjoying the profit.

Before the close of the seventeenth century corruption in the management of affairs had become widespread throughout the possessions of the East India Company. There were many men of sterling honesty and of great ability in its service, but most of the higher officers were without scruple in their pursuit of wealth. In some places private trading was practised to such an extent as to destroy the whole of the Company's profits. Worse still, many officials

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abused their power and made money in ways that were decidedly criminal.

The directors tried to check the evil by a kind of dual government. In 1688 they appointed officers termed independent fiscals, who were free of all local interference. To them was confided the regulation of justice. They had access to state papers of every kind, and had control over expenditure. Such were the duties of those appointed to the possessions of the Company in India, and the system at the Cape was made uniform with that elsewhere.

It was hoped that with these extensive powers the independent fiscals would be a check upon corrupt governors and officers of every grade. But no care was taken to put them in a position where they would be out of temptation themselves. Their salaries were very small, and they were permitted to charge fees for various services. They had power to decide petty criminal cases without appeal, and were allowed to retain for their own benefit one-third of the fines which they inflicted. This was the system of government in South Africa during the next century.

The directors considered that a colony of such promise as the Cape had now become should have at its head a man of higher rank than a commander, and as Simon van der Stel was regarded as deserving promotion, in December 1690 they raised him to the dignity of governor, with a corresponding increase of salary. Since that date, except during brief intervals caused by death or other circumstances, the colony has always been presided over by an officer with the title of governor.

The plans of Table Valley of this date show the town as covering part of the ground between the Company's garden and the shore of the bay, while private gardens occupied a large portion of the remaining space. There were no private residences beyond the present Plein-street on one side and Burg-street on the other. As far as the buildings extended the streets were regularly laid out, and crossed each other at right angles, but none of them bore the same names that they do now. The town contained from fifty to sixty well-built houses. In 1696 the streets began to be patrolled at night by a burgher watch.

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Wild animals were still giving trouble. In May 1694 a burgher at Drakenstein was killed by a leopard, and another at Stellenbosch was nearly torn to pieces by a lion. On one day in the following month nine cows were killed by lions in sight of the castle. The premium for killing a lion in the Cape peninsula had been raised to £5 4s. 2d. As late as 1702 an elephant was killed just beyond the Cape flats.

In the morning of the 4th of September 1695 the first recorded shock of earthquake was felt at the Cape. The weather was perfectly calm and clear, when suddenly a noise like a clap of thunder was heard, and a trembling of the earth was felt as if something was rolling beneath the foundations of the buildings. In a few seconds it ceased, and was not repeated. No damage was done by the shock. In the afternoon of the 11th of January 1696 another slight trembling was felt in the town, but no noise was heard.

The revenue of the colony was derived chiefly from the sale of privileges to sell wines and spirituous liquors, which at this time amounted to about £2,200 yearly. Other sources yielded about £800 more. The average profits on the sale of goods were about £2,000 a year. The revenue to the Company may be set down at £5,000, and the expenditure at £8,000 a year.

Between the time of Mr. Van Riebeek's arrival in 1652 and the close of the seventeenth century, the average yearly number of ships that put into Table Bay was forty, thirty-three of which belonged to the Dutch East India Company, four were English, and three were under various foreign flags. Each ship carried about one hundred and seventy men, and remained in port from two to three weeks. There were thus every year some six thousand eight hundred strangers needing fresh provisions during their stay and nearly as much more which they took away with them.

Before the year 1692 Simón van der Stel enjoyed the esteem and affection of nearly every European in South Africa except the French immigrants, but about this date a different feeling began slowly to develop. The love of wealth had grown upon him, and his farm Constantia, already beautified with vineyards and avenues of young

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oaks, year by year occupied more of his attention. The strong personal interest which he had taken in the welfare of the colonists seemed to them to be dying out. Still there were no open complaints, and to strangers and others who could not see beneath the surface everything appeared to be working smoothly.

The directors continued to hold a very high opinion of the governor, and when in 1696 he asked leave to resign, so as to spend the evening of his life in comparative freedom from care, they gratified him by naming his eldest son as his successor. The newly appointed governor was then in Amsterdam, and could not leave at once, but in January 1699 he and his family reached South Africa.

After handing over the duties on the 11th of February 1699; Simon van der Stel retired to his farm Constantia, where he had built a large and handsome residence. There until his death thirteen years later strangers of note were always sure of a hearty reception, and the hospitality of the late governor was so great that his house was seldom or never without visitors. The wine from his vineyards was the best in the colony. The burghers believed that he had some secret for making it, and strangers thought that its quality was due to the care which he took in pressing and fermenting, but it is now known that it owed its flavour to the soil.

CHAPTER IX.

WILHEM Adriaan van der Stel had for ten years been filling various offices in the city of Amsterdam when the Assembly of Seventeen appointed him governor of the Cape Colony and its dependency the island of Mauritius. He had once resided here for a short time, and was well acquainted with the condition of the country.

Although great pains had been taken to promote tree planting, there was a scarcity of timber and fuel at the Cape. It was a difficult matter to supply the ships with

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firewood. The governor, therefore, like his father, regarded the increase of trees as a matter of great importance. During the first winter after his arrival twenty thousand young oaks were planted in the kloofs at Stellenbosch and Drakenstein where the original forests had been exhausted, and over ten thousand were set out in the Cape peninsula. In the winter of 1701 a further supply was sent to Stellenbosch from the nursery in Table Valley, and the landdrost was instructed to have them planted along the streets.

In November 1699 the governor set out on a tour of inspection of the settlement. He first visited Stellenbosch, Drakenstein, and the farms about the Tigerberg. The country was inhabited by Europeans, though thinly, nearly as far as the present village of Hermon. Scattered about were small Hottentot kraals, whose occupants were found to be very poor and very lazy.

Keeping down the Berg river, the mountains on the right were reported to be the dwelling place of Obiquas or Bushmen, who were in the habit of coming down from their fastnesses and plundering the burghers and Hottentots below. The range was on this account known as the Obiqua mountains. The governor crossed it at the Roodezand pass, and entered the valley now called the Tulbagh basin.

Though not greatly elevated, this basin is in the second of the steps by which the mainland of South Africa rises from the ocean to the central plain. The visitors were charmed with its appearance. In the recesses of the mountains were forests of some size, and although for want of a road the timber could not be removed to the Cape, it would be of great use to residents. Very few Hottentots were seen.

Immigrants were arriving in every fleet from the Netherlands, so the governor resolved to form a settlement in the valley, where cattle breeding could be carried on. He named the basin the Land of Waveren, in honour of a family of position in Amsterdam. The range of mountains bounding the valley on the inland side, and stretching away as far as the eye could reach, he called the Witsenbergen, after the justly esteemed burgomaster Nicholas Witsen of Amsterdam.

Several graziers were now permitted to keep their cattle

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at Riebeek's Kasteel, and in July 1700 some recent immigrants were located in the Land of Waveren. At the same time a corporal and six soldiers were sent to form a post in the valley for the protection of the colonists from Bushmen. This post was termed the Waveren outstation, and was maintained for forty-three years.

Ever since 1658 trade between the burghers and the Hottentots was strictly forbidden. The chief object was to prevent any act that might bring on a quarrel with the natives. In disregard of the law, however, parties of deserters and other persons of loose character carried on a cattle trade, and were often guilty of conduct that can only be called robbery. Governor Simon van der Stel thought to put an end to this by very severe punishment, but the directors were not of the same mind. They were disposed to allow the colonists to purchase cattle from the Hottentots and fatten them for sale to such persons as would contract to supply the garrison and fleets with beef and mutton, and they therefore issued an order that the trade should be thrown open.

The government at the Cape could only obey. Tenders were called for, and in February 1700 a burgher entered into a contract to supply the garrison, hospital, and Company's fleets with beef and mutton. He was to have as a cattle run the whole of the district of Groenekloof that was not occupied by Hottentots. At the same time trade with the natives was thrown open to the burghers, with a few restrictions intended to prevent its abuse. After this date, it was only when the government wanted draught oxen that bartering parties were sent inland, as had been the custom for nearly half a century.

Cattle breeding now became a source of living to yearly increasing numbers of colonists. There was as much to be made by it as by tilling the ground, and it was attended with less expense and less anxiety. The government gave applicants leave to use land for grazing purposes at some place which was named, but if the pasture failed there, or did not prove as good as was wished, the occupiers did not hesitate to seek other and better somewhere else.

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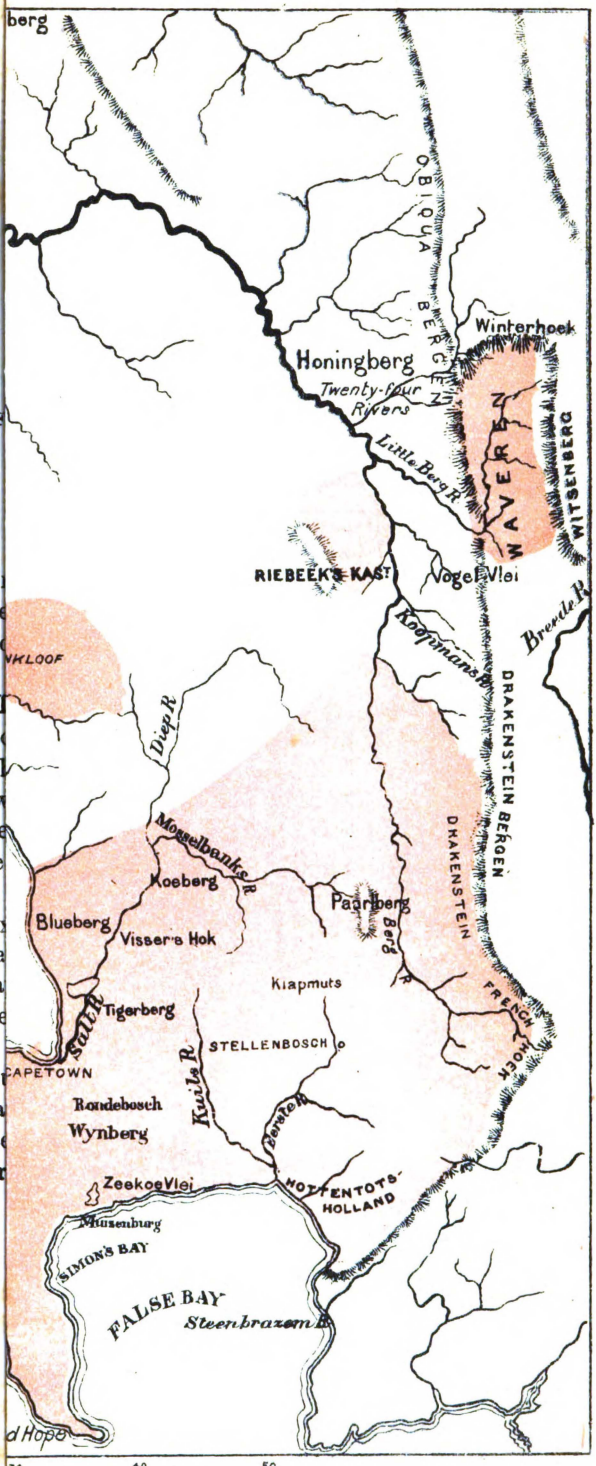

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With the growth of the settlement fresh troubles arose with Bushmen. In 1701 and 1702 there were a great many thefts of cattle, and parties of soldiers, burghers, and Hottentots were almost constantly pursuing the robbers. A military outpost was formed in Groenekloof, or the contractor for meat would not have been able to keep up a supply. So many Bushmen were at length shot that the survivors seem to have been terrified, for they gave hardly any trouble during the next few years.

There is very little on record concerning the Hottentots at this period, except that some of them made complaints of violent conduct by burgher trading parties. The council of policy then put a stop to the free barter, and the governor wrote of it in such terms that in 1703 the Assembly of Seventeen withdrew the privilege. Commercial intercourse between the two races was again made illegal, and remained so as long as the East India Company ruled the colony. Henceforth European graziers were depended upon to provide as many cattle as were needed.

In 1678 the foundation stone of a church in Table Valley had been laid, but with that the work had ceased. For another quarter of a century services were held in a large hall within the castle. But in 1700 the building was again taken in hand, and it was opened for service in January 1704. The tower and end walls still remain, these forming part of the present church.

At Drakenstein service was conducted sometimes in the front room of a farmer's house, sometimes in a large barn, there being as yet no church building. The Rev. Mr. Simond had prepared a new version in metre of the psalms of David, which he was desirous of submitting to a synod of the French churches. He therefore asked leave to return to the Netherlands. The Assembly of Seventeen consented, on condition of his remaining until the arrival of the Rev. Hendrik Bek, whom they appointed to succeed him. Mr. Bek reached the Cape in April 1702, and was installed at Drakenstein a few weeks later.

There was a desire on the part of the directors that in the families of the Huguenot settlers the French language

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should give place to the Dutch as soon as possible. It was only a question of time, for the proportion of French speaking people was too small compared with those of Dutch and German descent for their language to remain long in use in the mixed community. The new clergyman understood French, but by order of the Assembly of Seventeen conducted public worship in Dutch. The sick-comforter, Paul Roux, continued to hold service for the Huguenots in their own language.

This arrangement gave rise to many complaints, though there were then not more than seventy or eighty persons at Drakenstein who did not understand the language of the country. After a time the directors gave leave for service to be held on alternate Sundays in French, but the removal of the clergyman and a long vacancy at Drakenstein followed, and when in 1714 a pastor was stationed there again, the need for any other service than Dutch had ceased.

In March 1702 forty-five white men and the same number of Hottentots left Stellenbosch together, and were away seven months. They travelled eastward until they were close to the Fish river, where at daybreak one morning they were attacked by a band of Kosa warriors who were fugitives from their own country and were living in friendship with the Hottentots. The Kosas were beaten off, followed up, and when they turned and made another stand, were defeated again, losing many men. One European was killed. The party then began a career of robbery, excusing their acts to themselves under the plea that they had been first assailed. They fell upon the Gonaquas and other Hottentot hordes, shot many of them, and drove off their cattle.

These marauders were never brought to justice. In after years, when the governor and the colonists were at variance, and each party was trying to blacken the reputation of the other, the governor stated that they were in league with the colonists and were too numerous to be punished without ruining half the settlement. This was, however, indignantly denied by the burghers, who asserted that the marauding Europeans were miscreants without families or homes, being chiefly fugitives from justice and men of loose character who had been imprudently discharged from the Company's service.

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The burghers held that they ought to have been punished. The names of the forty-five white men who formed the robber band are given. Forty of them are unknown in South Africa at the present day, and the other five are doubtful, so that the assertions of the burghers are strongly borne out.

The directors were desirous of procuring sheep's wool from South Africa, as some samples of good quality had been sent to Europe. But the graziers could not be induced even to make experiments with European sheep, for it was commonly believed that they were more subject to scab than others, and the havoc created by that disease was often very great. Then there was the expense of separate herds, and further the carcase of the woolled sheep was not so valuable as that of the African breed.

From 1698 to 1705 the seasons were very dry, and no wheat could be exported. In 1700 it became necessary to import rice from Java. In 1705 the long drought broke up, and the crops were very good; but as the wheat was being reaped heavy rains set in and destroyed a great deal of it.

The bad seasons tended to produce a spirit of discontent, which was increased by the conduct of the principal officials. The governor was engaged in farming for his own benefit on a very large scale as things were regarded in those days. He could not take ground for himself, but in February 1700 a commissioner visited the Cape, and at his request gave him in freehold four hundred morgen of land at Hottentots-Holland. To this he added by granting a tract of the adjoining ground to a man who was under his authority, and then purchasing it from that person at a very low price. The estate he named Vergelegen.

Upon it he built a large dwelling house, with a flour mill, a leather tannery, wine and grain stores, an overseer's cottage, a slave lodge, and very extensive outbuildings. He often went to live there for ten days or a fortnight at a time, when public business was partly suspended. On the estate were planted nearly half a million vines, or fully one-fourth of the whole number in the colony in 1706. Groves, orchards, and cornlands were laid out to a corresponding extent.

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Beyond the mountains at various places the governor had six or eight hundred large cattle and eight or ten thousand sheep. All this was concealed from the directors.

The secunde, Samuel Elsevier, obtained a grant of the farm Elsenburg, near Klapmuts. The Rev. Petrus Kalden, clergyman of the Cape, in like manner obtained the tract of land named Zandvliet, between Stellenbosch and the head of False Bay. These officials engaged in farming on a much smaller scale than the governor, but they neglected their public duties to attend to their private properties. The governor's brother, Frans van der Stel, was a farmer at Hottentots-Holland. His father was a farmer at Constantia. The market for produce was small, and all of these persons had an entry to it before the burghers could dispose of anything.

There have never been people less inclined to submit to grievances, real or ideal, than the colonists of South Africa. In 1705 some of the farmers sent a complaint to the governor-general and council of India, but at Batavia no action was taken in the matter. While they were awaiting a reply, one of them, Adam Tas by name, drew up a memorial to the directors, in which the governor and the other officials were accused of acting as has been stated, and the governor was further charged with corruption, extortion, and tyranny.

It was affirmed that he employed the Company's servants and slaves at his farm, that he used the Company's materials for building, that he bought wine at very low rates from those who could find no market for it and sold it at very high rates to strangers, and that he would make no grant of land without a bribe. Some other offences also of a less serious nature were complained of. The memorial was signed by sixty-three farmers, and it was intended to send it to the directors with the return fleet in the early months of 1706.

The official records, to which the burghers had no access, prove that some of the charges against the governor were without foundation. But others were certainly true, and the men who signed the memorial in which they were made were among the most respectable in the country.

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With the arrival of the homeward-bound fleet in February 1706 it came to the governor's knowledge that a document in which he was accused of wrong-doing had been sent to Batavia in the previous year. He at once concluded that similar charges would be forwarded to the Netherlands, and that a memorial containing them must be in existence; but he was unable to learn where it was, or who were parties to it. The danger of his position now drove him to acts of extreme folly as well as of tyranny. He caused a certificate to be drawn up, in which he was credited with the highest virtues, and the utmost satisfaction was expressed with his manner of ruling the colony. The residents in the Cape district were invited to the castle, and were then requested to sign this certificate. The landdrost of Stellenbosch, Jan Starrenburg by name, was directed to proceed with an armed party from house to house in the country, and get the residents there to sign it also. By these means two hundred and forty names in all were obtained, including those of a few Asiatics and free blacks. Many, however, refused to affix their signatures, even under the landdrost's threat that they would be marked men if they did not.

The governor suspected that Adam Tas was the writer of the memorial, and the landdrost was directed to have him arrested. Early one morning his house was surrounded by an armed party, he was seized and sent to the castle, his premises were searched, and his writing desk was carried away. There could be no truce after this between the governor and his opponents, for if a burgher could be treated in this manner, upon mere suspicion of having drawn up a memorial to the high authorities, no man's liberty would be safe. Bail was at once offered for the appearance of Tas before a court of justice, but was refused. He was committed to prison, where he was kept nearly fourteen months.

In his desk was found the draft from which the memorial to the directors had been copied. It was unsigned, but papers attached to it indicated several of those who had taken part in the matter. The governor thus became acquainted with the nature and terms of the charges against

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him. Some of these were so overdrawn that he felt sure the directors upon reading them would acquit him of all, and in this belief he did not hesitate to request that a competent person might be sent out to examine matters.

Within the next few days the governor caused seven burghers to be arrested, two of whom were committed to prison, one was ordered to be sent to Batavia, and four were put on board a ship bound to Amsterdam. He hoped to terrify them into signing the certificate in his favour and denying the truth of the charges against him, but not one of them faltered for a moment. Their wives petitioned that the prisoners might be brought to trial at once before a proper court of justice, and when it was hinted that if they would induce their husbands to do what was desired, release would follow, these truehearted women indignantly refused. In the meantime the memorial had been committed to the care of a physician in the return fleet, and after the ships sailed he gave it to one of the burghers who were banished.

Some further arrests were now made, and eight or nine men were placed in detention, but after a short confinement all were released except Adam Tas and another named Jacob Louw.

For a month or two after this matters were quiet, but on the governor coming to learn the names of some more of his opponents, Guillaume du Toit, Hercules du Pré, Cornelis van Niekerk, Jacobus van Brakel, and five others were cited to appear before the court of justice to answer to a charge of sedition. But they thought it prudent not to obey the summons until the decision of the directors should be known, and so they failed to attend. In consequence, they were sentenced by the court to be banished to Mauritius for five years and to pay a heavy fine.

This sentence tended to increase the hostility to the government. In the early morning of the 18th of September the farmers of Waveren, Riebeek's Kasteel, and Drakenstein rode armed into the village of Stellenbosch, and at beat of drum drew up near the landdrost's office. Starrenburg went out to them, and ordered the drummer to be still; but he kept on beating. Some persons, to show their

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contempt for the landdrost, began to dance round the drum. Others inquired why there was to be no fair this year, such as there had always been since 1686. Starrenburg replied that the authorities in India had put a stop to it; but they would not believe him, and laid the blame upon the Cape government. Yet what he said was correct, as with a view to save expense in 1705 the Indian authorities had instructed the council of policy not to contribute longer towards the prizes at shooting matches, or to furnish wine and ale at the cost of the Company. There was thus no fair in 1706 and later.

After this the women expressed their views. The wives of Pieter van der Byl and Wessel Pretorius, speaking for all, informed the landdrost that they had no intention of submitting to tyranny, but were resolved to maintain their rights. Starrenburg thought it best to retire to his house. The burghers remained in the village the whole day, setting him at defiance, but otherwise preserving order.

It was now arranged between the governor and the landdrost that during the night of the 28th of September, after the closing of the castle gate, a party of mounted soldiers should march secretly to the Kuilen. At two o'clock in the morning of the 29th the landdrost was to meet them there, and was then before daylight to arrest those who were believed to be the leaders of the defiant party. But a constable at the Kuilen managed to detain the party for a time, and when they at length left to try and seize Cornelis van Niekerk in his bed, the alarm had been given.

Daylight broke, no one had been captured, and there was nothing left for the landdrost and the soldiers but to retire to the village of Stellenbosch. No one there would sell a particle of food to the troops, and the landdrost was obliged to kill his own goats for their use until provisions could be sent from the Cape. Starrenburg having now soldiers at his back, the burghers sentenced to exile fled to Twenty-four Rivers, where they hid themselves. The landdrost did his best to capture them, and succeeded in arresting Hercules du Pré, Jacobus van Brakel, and Guillaume du Toit, who were sent on board the Mauritius packet. During this time

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the governor dismissed the heemraden and other officers who had been elected in the usual manner, and of his own will appointed others to the vacant places.

At this juncture the homeward-bound fleet arrived from Batavia, and in one of the ships was the exiled burgher, who returned in triumph. The governor-general and council of India had treated him with great kindness, and not only permitted him to return, but gave him a free passage back. And in April 1707 a ship arrived from Texel, bringing from the Assembly of Seventeen a letter that gave the colonists the utmost joy.

Of the four burghers sent to Europe, one died on the passage home. The others, on arriving at Amsterdam, presented to the directors the memorial which Tas had drawn up. With the fleet the directors also received the governor's denial of some of the statements made by the burghers and his explanation of others. In a matter of this kind it was necessary to act with promptitude as well as with justice. The Company had numerous and powerful enemies always watching for a chance to attack it before the States-General, and a charge of oppression of free Netherlanders in one of its colonies would be a weapon of which they would not fail to make good use. A commission was therefore appointed without delay to search into the matter, and the documents were laid before it.

The commission sent in a report condemning the governor and those who acted with him, in consequence of which the letter referred to was written. It announced that the governor Wilhem Adriaan van der Stel, the secunde Samuel Elsevier, the clergyman Petrus Kalden, and the landdrost Jan Starrenburg, were removed from office and ordered to proceed to Europe without delay. The governor's brother, Frans van der Stel, was to betake himself to some place outside of the Company's possessions. The burghers were declared guiltless of crime, the three sent to Europe were restored to their homes at the Company's expense, and orders were given that if any were in prison in the colony they should at once be released. It was announced that Louis van Assenburgh, previously an officer in the army of the German emperor,

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had been appointed governor, and Johan Cornelis d'Ableing secunde. In case neither of these should arrive in the colony at an early date, the charge of affairs was to be assumed by the fiscal and the other members of the council of policy acting as a commission.

The Mauritius packet had not sailed when this letter arrived, and the fiscal, who was directed by the Assembly of Seventeen to carry out their orders, at once set at liberty the five burghers who were in detention.

The newly appointed secunde reached the colony in May 1707, and as Governor Van Assenburgh had not yet arrived, he took over the direction of affairs on the 3rd of June.

From the documents of that period the views of the directors and of the colonists concerning the government of the country and the rights of its people can be gathered with great precision. In the Netherlands the modern system of electing lawmakers was then unknown, yet the people were free in reality as well as in name. There is not a word expressing a wish on the part of the burghers for a change in the form of government, what they desired being merely that the control of affairs should be placed in honest hands, and that their rights should be respected.

The directors desired to have a large body of freemen living in comfort, loyal to the fatherland, ready and willing to assist in the defence of the colony if attacked, enjoying the same rights as their equals in Europe, and not differing much from each other in rank or position.

Orders were given that in future no servant of the Company, from the highest to the lowest, was to own or lease land in the colony, or to trade in any way in corn, wine, or cattle. Those who had landed property could sell it, but if they should not do so within a reasonable period, it would be taken from them. The burghers were to be governed in accordance with law and justice.

On their part, the colonists claimed exactly the same rights as if they were still living in the Netherlands. They held that any restrictions to which the early burghers had agreed were of a temporary nature, and affected only those who consented to them. In their opinion they forfeited

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nothing by removal to South Africa, and the violence displayed by the governor towards Adam Tas and his associates was as outrageous as if it had taken place in the city of Amsterdam. They asserted their undoubted right to personal liberty, to exemption from arrest unless under reasonable suspicion of crime, to admission to bail, to speedy trial before a proper court of justice, to freedom to sell to any one, burgher or foreigner, except under special circumstances when restriction was needed for the good of the community, whatever their land produced, after the tithes had been paid and the Company's needs had been supplied. And these claims, made in as explicit terms as they could be to-day by an Englishman living in a crown colony, were not challenged by the directors or even the partisans of the late governor, but were accepted by every one as unquestioned.

The directors were fully aware that a colony of free Netherlanders was to be ruled in a different manner from a dependency inhabited by Asiatics.

CHAPTER X.

ON the 25th of January 1708 Governor Louis van Assenburgh arrived in Table Bay, after a passage of eight months from Holland. On the 1st of February he was installed in office. He had been a brave and skilful military officer, but in this country he showed himself so fond of the pleasures of the table that he came to be called a winebibber. He carried out the orders of the directors, however, in letter and in spirit, so that he won the regard of the burghers.

The return fleet of 1708 was under command of an officer of high rank, named Cornelis Joan Simons, who was instructed by the governor-general and council of India to act as high commissioner during his stay in South Africa. He put in force in this country the statute of India, that

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no slave of full negro blood should be set free without security being given by the owner that the person liberated should not become a charge upon the poor funds within ten years. This was thereafter the law in South Africa, with one notable exception.

It often happened that ladies returning from India to Europe took slave girls with them as waiting maids, and sometimes gentlemen were in the same way attended by their valets. These slaves were almost always sent back again, as they could be of no service in the Netherlands. The directors issued orders that such persons were to be treated as free people, proof of their having been on the soil of the republic to be all that they needed to secure their liberty.

The island of Mauritius was at this time abandoned by the East India Company. It was of hardly any use as a station for refreshment, and except a little ebony and ambergris it supplied nothing to commerce. The directors came to the conclusion that it was not worth the cost of maintaining a large garrison, and that with a small garrison it was not secure. The colonists had the choice of removal to Java or South Africa, and nine heads of families elected to come to the Cape. After all the colonists had left, in January 1710 the last Dutch commander of the island with the other officials and the troops set sail for Batavia.

In January 1710 the retired governor-general Joan van Hoorn arrived in Table Bay on his passage back to the Netherlands. He remained several weeks in the colony, where he acted as high commissioner, presiding in the council and on all occasions taking precedence of the governor. On the 26th of February the three burgher councillors appeared before him, and on behalf of the whole body of freemen made a request. Instructions had recently been received from the directors to demand tithes of the whole quantity of corn gathered, and not of that portion only which was brought for sale, as had previously been the custom. The burgher councillors requested that the farmers might be relieved from payment of tithes of such grain as they required for their own consumption and for

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seed. The high commissioner thought their request was reasonable, and suspended the levy upon the whole until further instructions.

The directors took another view, and in despatches received here in February 1711 the farmers were required to pay tithes upon all grain harvested, as those in Europe had to pay.

No law ever in force in South Africa had worse effects than this. Once a year every burgher was required to give in a statement of what grain his land produced, and then he could deliver one-tenth of that quantity and get a full receipt, or when he brought wheat for sale to the Company's stores at the Cape, the value of one-tenth the number of muids he had given in was kept back from the payment. The temptation to make false returns was thus very great, and in course of time by many people it came to be looked upon as hardly a crime to give in the quantity grown as much less than it really was. There were always honest godfearing men who told the exact truth, but it is a fact that there were years in which the quantity of wheat sent to Java was greater than the quantity grown according to the returns made by the farmers. This shows how false those returns must have been. It was well known to the government here and in Holland that a full tithe was only being paid by those upright men who regarded their word and honour as of more value than money, and that those who were careless of truth evaded the tax, yet no change was made in the system for three-quarters of a century.

On the 17th of December 1710 a fire broke out in the village of Stellenbosch. There was a high wind, and a slave who was carrying a lighted fagot allowed some sparks to be blown into the thatch with which the landdrost's office was covered. In a minute the roof was in flames. The fire spread to the adjoining buildings, which were all covered with thatch, and in a short time the church, the whole of the Company's property, and twelve dwelling houses were burned down. Fortunately the church books and district records were saved.

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Governor Van Assenburgh did not interfere with the pursuits of the farmers, and he gave the colonists that protection to which they were entitled, so that he stood fairly well in their regard. He did not indeed mix with them and interest himself in their personal affairs, as Simon van der Stel in his earlier years had done, so there was not that affection for him that there had once been for the other.

On new year's day and on his birthday it was the custom for the principal burghers with their wives to call at the castle between ten and eleven in the morning, and present their compliments. They were then invited to remain to dinner, and did not usually leave until nine in the evening. Also on the yearly muster of the militia of the Cape district, when the company of cavalry and two companies of infantry had gone through their exercises, the officers were entertained at the castle. At these receptions the governor was very friendly, and he was at all times easy of access, but he did not court society.

Early in the year 1711 he was taken seriously ill, and after being confined to his room for about eight months, he died on the 27th of December. Next morning the council of policy met, when the secunde Willem Helot was chosen to act as head of the government until the pleasure of the directors could be made known.

Some years before this date the arrival of people from Europe to settle in the colony had almost ceased. At long intervals a family from abroad was added to the burgher population, or a servant of the Company was discharged in South Africa, but the increase of the colonists was now due chiefly to the excess of births over deaths. Cattle farmers were pushing their way from the Land of Waveren down the valley of the Breede river, and from Hottentots-Holland eastward along the course of the Zonderend.

The town in Table Valley was growing also. It had not yet become the custom to call it Capetown, it being usually termed the Cape, or sometimes the town at the Cape. Official letters were addressed from and to the Castle of Good Hope. At the date of Governor Van Assenburgh's death the town

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contained about one hundred and seventy private houses, besides the buildings belonging to the Company.

In 1713 a terrible evil came upon the country. In March of that year the small-pox made its first appearance in South Africa. It was introduced by means of some clothing belonging to ships' people who had been ill on the passage from India, but who had recovered before they reached Table Bay. This clothing was sent to be washed at the Company's slave lodge, and the women who handled it were the first to be smitten. The Company had at the time about five hundred and seventy slaves of both sexes and all ages, nearly two hundred of whom were carried off within the next six months.

From the slaves the disease spread to the Europeans and the natives. In May and June there was hardly a family in the town that had not some one sick or dead. Traffic in the streets was suspended, and even the children ceased to play their usual games in the squares and open places. At last it was impossible to obtain nurses, though slave women were being paid at the rate of four and five shillings a day. All the planks in the stores were used, and in July it became necessary to bury the dead without coffins. During that dreadful winter nearly one fourth of the European inhabitants of the town perished, and only when the hot weather set in did the plague cease.

The disease spread into the country, but there, though the death rate among the white people was very high, the proportion that perished was not so large as in the town. It was easier to keep from contact with sick persons. Some families living in secluded places were quite shut off from the rest of the colony, and the farmers in general avoided moving about.

Among the Hottentots the disease created the greatest havoc. Of the white people who were smitten more recovered than died, but with the Hottentots illness almost always ended in death. The state of filth in which they lived caused the plague to spread among them with fearful speed. Whole kraals entirely perished, leaving not a single person.

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From this date until Bantu tribes were reached by the growth of the settlement, the only trouble with natives was caused by Bushmen. Owing to these people not mixing with others, they escaped the disaster which overtook the higher races.

When the death of Governor Van Assenburgh became known in the Netherlands, the directors appointed as his successor Lieutenant-Colonel Maurits Pasques de Chavonnes, a native of the Hague, who had commanded an infantry regiment in the army of the States, but had been thrown out of employment by the reduction of the troops at the peace of Utrecht. The new governor arrived at the Cape on the 24th of March 1714, and took over the duties on the 28th of the same month.

The first object to which he turned his attention was an attempt to increase the revenue of the colony. The charges to the Company were kept at the lowest possible sum by the payment of very small salaries and allowing privileges of different kinds to the officers of government, by permitting a third of the soldiers in garrison to take service with farmers on condition that they could be called back to duty at any time, and by using slave labour in building and gardening. Still, the outlay was greatly in excess of the revenue, the principal source of which was the money bid at auction for the right to sell wines and spirituous liquors by retail. The only other items of importance were the tithes of grain, transfer dues on sales of ground, and profits on sales of goods.

No revenue had yet been derived from leases of land for cattle runs. A rental of fifty shillings a year was now charged. It was ordered that stamps should be attached to wills, contracts of marriage, powers of attorney, and all papers passing through courts of law. The stamps ranged in value from six pence to twelve shillings and six pence. A tax of four shillings and two pence was also laid upon every legger of wine pressed in the colony, as this article was not subject to the payment of a tithe.

As the high court of justice was desirous of having the laws properly defined, in 1715 the council of policy directed

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that the statutes of India were to be strictly followed, except when they were modified by placaats issued by competent authority at the Cape.

For several years the Bushmen had not been giving much trouble, but in 1715 their thefts were renewed. These people would not change their mode of living, and, as the game was being destroyed, a struggle between them and the farmers could not be avoided. At that time no one questioned the right of civilised men to take possession of land occupied by such a race as the Bushmen, and to the present day no one has devised a plan by which this can be done without violence.

In August 1715 it was reported to the governor that a party of Bushmen had driven off a flock of sheep belonging to a farmer at Drakenstein, after murdering the shepherd. Thereupon, the governor gave leave to the neighbours of the man who had been robbed to follow the plunderers and retake the spoil.

With this permission the first purely colonial commando took the field. It consisted of thirty mounted burghers, who chose as their leader a farmer named Hermanus Potgieter. They did their utmost to trace the robbers, but without success.

The Bushmen then began to plunder the farmers along the Berg river and in the Land of Waveren. They murdered some herdsmen, set fire to several houses, and drove off a large number of cattle. Some of the most exposed farmers thought it best to leave their homes, and a few families were quite ruined. Several commandos in succession were raised and sent to expel the marauders, the government supplying powder and lead. The instructions under which they took the field were emphatic that bloodshed was to be avoided if possible, and women and children were not to be molested. But this was a kind of warfare in which men's hearts were apt to become hardened.

It was easy to resolve to drive the marauders from a stated tract of country, but very difficult to carry the resolution into effect. The keen-sighted Bushman, when he observed the approach of an enemy, concealed himself and

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his family; and as soon as his pursuers retired, worn out in looking for him, his robberies were resumed. None of the commandos sent out in this year effected their object, though some of them believed they had done so until they learned that as soon as they were disbanded the marauders were busy again.

Early in 1716 a party of soldiers and burghers was sent with some arrack, tobacco, and beads to try and make peace. This party succeeded in obtaining a meeting with a company of Bushmen, and returned to the castle with a report that an agreement of friendship had been entered into. And it certainly was the case that robberies ceased for a time.

At this date fugitive slaves began to give a great deal of trouble to the colonists. They formed themselves into bands, and plundered the farmers whenever they had a chance. Though they usually selected a retreat in some place difficult of access, they were much more easily found than Bushmen.

In the Company's possessions in India the demand for wheat was small, and it could be obtained elsewhere at a lower rate than twelve shillings a muid, which was the price paid at the Cape. The governor-general and council of India were of opinion that the Company could be supplied from Bengal and Surat to greater advantage. They were satisfied with the quality of Cape wheat; but it was too dear, and a constant supply could not be depended upon. They proposed therefore to purchase what they needed in the cheapest market, and to allow the Cape farmers to send wheat to any part of India and sell it there at whatever price could be obtained. But to this the burghers objected, as they asserted that they were not in a position to carry on a trade of this kind, and could not afford to wait long after harvest without any return.

The directors decided that it would be better to support the burghers than natives of Hindostan, but the price of wheat at the Cape was reduced to ten shillings and eight pence a muid. To encourage the colonists to grow other produce, they gave directions that their ships returning from India were to be supplied at the Cape with peas, beans, and husked barley sufficient for the passage home.

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In 1716 the directors submitted a series of questions, upon which they required the opinions of the members of the council of policy.

The principal queries were whether the country could maintain a larger number of colonists; whether it would not be better to employ European labourers than slaves; whether coffee, sugar, cotton, indigo, olive oil, tobacco, flax, silk, and hops could not be produced, so as to enable a larger number of people to gain a living; and whether a direct tax could not be imposed on provisions supplied to foreign ships.

In replying, the governor and six other members of the council were in favour of continuing to use slaves, as they held such labour to be cheaper than that of hired white men. Only one member of the council, the chief military officer, looked beyond his own time, and gave it as his opinion that none but white people should be brought into the country.

Whether coffee and the other plants named would thrive at the Cape was regarded as doubtful by all the members.

Some of these plants, such as the olive and indigo, had already been tried without success. In any case, men having special knowledge would be needed to test them, for no one in the colony understood their culture. Whether a larger number of Europeans could exist here without being a burden upon the Company or the poor funds would depend upon the result of such experiments.

All were agreed that it would not be advisable to levy a direct tax upon provisions supplied to foreigners, as it would not amount to much, and might drive away strangers, who brought ready money into the country.

Upon receipt of these reports, the directors resolved that trials should be made with tobacco, silk, indigo, and olives; and that a person having special knowledge of each should be sent out to take charge of the work.

A large quantity of indigo seed was received from Batavia, and for many years experiments were made with it. There was no trouble in getting the plant to grow well in sheltered positions and in rich soil; but it was found that it would not answer as a general crop.

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A man who professed to know all about growing and preparing tobacco was sent from Amsterdam. He selected a plot of ground at Rondebosch, and there and in the Company's garden in Table Valley for three seasons in succession a large number of tobacco plants were set out by slaves under his direction. At first the plants throve well, but after a time some were destroyed by violent winds, and others by the heat of the sun. The seed had been carefully selected, but the leaves which ripened were so bad in flavour that the manager despaired of success. The members of the council of policy also lost hope, and the experiment was given up.

With the olive it was the same as in every previous trial. The trees grew as well as could be wished, but many of them suddenly died without any one being able to find out the cause. From others the fruit dropped when still young, and the few olives that ripened in good seasons were of very inferior quality.

In 1714 horned cattle and sheep were attacked by a disease unknown before, and great numbers died. By 1718 it was so difficult to obtain animals for slaughter that when the contract to supply the Company with meat was offered for sale by auction there was not a single bidder. The price of sheep rose until it reached from eleven to fourteen shillings, taking one with another in a flock. Draught oxen were not to be bought under eighty-three shillings each. The scarcity was increased by the tongue and hoof sickness making its first appearance in 1723.

To these troubles was added the horse sickness, which broke out in a very severe form in 1719. There is no mention of it in the records before that date, and it is then described as a new plague. It has never left South Africa since.

The Portuguese having abandoned Delagoa Bay, the Dutch East India Company resolved to take possession of that port and establish a factory there. The directors intended that it should be a dependency of the Cape government, just as Mauritius had been.

In February 1721 the men selected to form the station sailed from Table Bay in three small vessels, and on the

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29th of March reached their destination. A site was chosen for the fort, but before much building was done fever attacked the party, and within six weeks two-thirds of them died, including the commander and the engineer. At length a small fort was constructed, and then one of the vessels was sent back to the Cape with letters and a little ivory and wax obtained in barter. She returned in August with provisions and eighty soldiers to strengthen the garrison.

Time passed in trading and learning as much as possible of the country, until April 1722, when three ships entered the bay. These proved to be manned by pirates, who attacked Fort Lagoa, took possession of it after a short cannonade, and plundered the store. They did not, however, otherwise illtreat the garrison, eighteen of whom joined them when they left.

In course of time relief came from the Cape, and the exploration of the country around the bay for a few miles inland was completed. A little gold was brought by blacks from the interior to exchange for beads, and though the whole quantity was less than two ounces, it was sufficient to excite hope. Over two tons of ivory and four hundred and ninety pounds of copper were procured also.

A report of an iron mountain some distance inland lured a party of nineteen men to go in search of it. They left Fort Lagoa in August 1723, and at the end of a week were in a charming country. In mountain kloofs were forests of large trees, the soil was rich and covered with long grass, and streams of fresh water were numerous. But as they were crossing a river, the leading division of the exploring party was attacked and destroyed by a band of natives, and as no one capable of giving directions was then left, the survivors returned to the bay.

In 1724 more men had to be sent to take the places of those who died of fever. It was not a station to which people went willingly, for the climate was supposed to be in the summer season one of the most deadly in the world.

In 1717 a commencement was made with the erection of a church at Drakenstein, which was opened for use in 1720. At Stellenbosch also a church was built, in place of the

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one that had been destroyed by fire. As the congregation at the Cape had by this time become very large and scattered, in June 1721 the Rev. Mr. Slicher, who was rector of the school, began to assist in the services, and in February 1723 he was formally inducted as second or assistant clergyman.

Governor De Chavonnes was a man of simple habits, who managed to preserve the good will both of the directors and the colonists. He did his utmost to keep down expense and to preserve concord in the settlement. The directors were so well satisfied that in 1721 they raised him to the rank of ordinary councillor of India, a dignity enjoyed by none of his predecessors.

The governor was suddenly taken ill on the 7th of September 1724, and died early on the following morning. A few hours later the council of policy met and decided that the secunde Jan de la Fontaine should act as head of the settlement until an appointment could be made by the Assembly of Seventeen.

CHAPTER XI.

THE isthmus connecting the Cape peninsula with the continent was at this time a waste of rolling sand. It was difficult to cross with loaded waggons, for there was no road. The directors were led to believe that Table Bay would at no very distant date be filled with the sand which south-east gales swept into it during the summer months. To prevent this, they issued orders that attempts should be made to plant grass and trees, and in the winter of 1724 the work was commenced. A gang of convicts and seventy slaves were employed in planting knot-grass and seeds of the wild olive, and when these failed, in ensuing rainy seasons a trial was made with belts of sods.

It was not then known that one of the commonest wild plants of the country was adapted by nature for binding surface sand, so for eleven years, with one short interval,

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the effort to get grass to grow on the flats was continued, every winter much labour being spent upon it. In 1735 it was given up in despair. The directors, however, were by this time satisfied that Table Bay was in no danger of silting up. A commission of nautical men examined it carefully, and sent in a report that within the preceding half century, so far from its filling up with sand, the water had become deeper.

In 1726 a competent man was sent out by the directors to make a trial in silk culture. Some silkworm eggs were brought from Europe, there were plenty of healthy mulberry trees, and the manager was furnished with whatever slave labour he asked for.

In the first year eight pounds weight of good silk was obtained, which was sent to the Netherlands, and was an object of much interest at Amsterdam and Middelburg. The members of the council of policy at the Cape thought success was now certain. A large building for keeping the worms in was erected close to the Company's garden. The children in the slave lodge close by were all to be employed out of school hours in winding silk. Some thousands of young mulberry trees were planted. Any burghers who had a fancy to join in the industry were supplied with eggs, and were shown the method of working.

Yet in no subsequent year did the production of silk exceed ten pounds in weight. Most of the worms always died before making cocoons, and once they would have become extinct if it had not been that a few were preserved by some burghers. The returns were soon found to be so trifling that people who could make a living in any other way would have nothing to do with silk culture. For eight years, however, the experiment was continued by the government. In 1735 every one admitted that it could not be made to succeed, and by order of the directors it was then given up.

In 1726 a corporal and six men were sent to form an outpost at a place called the Ziekenhuis, on the river Zonderend. The few Hottentots left in that part of the country complained that they were not able to hold their own against

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Bushmen and vagrant Europeans. The outpost was therefore formed, in order that acts of violence might be prevented.

Mr. De la Fontaine was all this time acting as head of the colony. The Assembly of Seventeen had selected as governor an officer of engineers named Pieter Gysbert Noodt, but he did not arrive at the Cape until February 1727. On the 25th of that month he took over the duties. He was a coarse, harsh, ill-tempered man, full of pride and self-conceit, and soon came to be disliked by every one about him. As he did not interfere with the burghers, however, they did not complain of him as they had of the younger Van der Stel. During the time that he was head of affairs no event of lasting interest took place. He died suddenly on the 23rd of April 1729.

A romantic story of his death has come down to our times through a book written by a German who was in South Africa some years after the event. But there is no truth in this story, except that on the same day on which the governor died four soldiers were hanged for the crime of desertion and firing upon a burgher force sent to arrest them.

The council of policy decided that the secunde Jan de la Fontaine, who was an able and well-disposed man, should again act as head of the government until the pleasure of the directors could be known. With the next homeward-bound fleet they sent a request that he should be appointed to the vacant office, and their desire was complied with. On the 8th of March 1730 Mr. De la Fontaine was formally installed as governor.

During these years the Company kept up hope of making a profit from the station at Delagoa Bay. A little ambergris, some aloes, a few slaves, a little copper and ivory, and a few ounces of gold were obtained there in trade. On one occasion two blacks who were known went inland and returned with some gold within fourteen days. This raised a hope that the gold fields might be easily reached, and in June 1725 a party of thirty-three men left Fort Lagoa in search of them. After a toilsome march of twenty days, a band of hostile blacks opposed their advance any farther. In a

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skirmish several of the natives were shot, but as the pack oxen were killed by the enemy and all the baggage was seized, the expedition was obliged to return.

An attempt to search for the copper mines was also a failure. Efforts to explore the country were then made by means of boats pushing their way up the rivers, but nothing of any value to commerce was found. The Dutch officers were never able to ascertain the position or distance of either the copper mines or the gold fields.

Every summer fever attacked the garrison, and on some occasions the death rate was terrible. Desertion and mutiny also increased the troubles of the Company, until it was resolved to break up the station. In December 1730 the officials and troops embarked in vessels sent for them, and set sail for Table Bay.

In 1734 a small military outpost, similar to those at Waveren, Groenekloof, and the Ziekenhuis, was formed at Rietvlei, on the Buffeljagts river, between the present villages of Swellendam and Heidelberg. The objects were to prevent illicit cattle dealing with the natives, and to protect the farmers and Hottentots from Bushmen.

The country at this time must have been explored far inland, for parties of elephant hunters were sometimes absent from the settlement eight or nine months together. But these people did not care to tell much about their routes and hunting grounds, and what they did tell was believed to be so incorrect that the government did not take the trouble to place it on record. There was, however, one notable exception.

In 1736 a party of fifteen elephant hunters, headed by a man named Hermanus Hubner, travelled eastward to Pondoland, where they found three Englishmen, who had been shipwrecked many years before, and who were living in all respects like the natives, having numerous wives and children. From these men they purchased about five tons of ivory, and as they had now sufficient to load ten waggons, they commenced the return journey, intending to hunt by the way. On reaching the kraal of Palo, paramount chief of the Kosa tribe, they resolved to remain a week or two to let their cattle rest.

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So far they had been treated in a friendly manner by the natives with whom they had come in contact, and they had no cause to suspect different conduct at Palo's kraal.

After resting a while, nine of them, with seven waggons, went on ahead, and after a day's journey came to a river which was much swollen. They were waiting on its bank, when two Hottentots whom they had left with their companions appeared and informed them that all the others had been murdered.

The Hottentots stated that Hubner was sitting in front of a tent, in which five other Europeans were lying down, when one of the servants reported that he had observed indications of a hostile design on the part of Palo's people. Hubner took no notice of the warning, replying that the people were friendly and there was no cause for alarm. Shortly afterwards some Kaffirs drove up eight oxen, and presented them on behalf of the chief. While the pretended messengers of Palo were talking, one of them suddenly stabbed Hubner with an assagai. He drew the weapon from his body, and tried to reach his gun, but before he could do so was killed by another stab in the back. At the same time the Kaffirs rushed upon the tent from all sides, and killed the five white men.

The murderers then unloaded the waggons and burnt them, probably to get the iron. Among the stores were three kegs of gunpowder, each containing fifty pounds. The Kaffirs broke these open, and threw the powder on a heap, when suddenly there was a tremendous explosion, and a great number of those who were close by were killed and wounded.

Upon learning the fate of their comrades, the hunters hastened across the river with the waggons. They were soon overtaken by a horde of Kaffirs, upon whom they fired, and struck down eight or ten. This caused the pursuers to fall back, but as the Europeans had very little powder left, they thought it best to abandon the waggons and continue their flight on foot. In this way they escaped, and by good fortune at the Sunday river they fell in with people who relieved them.

In 1736 Governor De la Fontaine applied to the directors

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for permission to retire, as he wished to spend the rest of his life in Europe. They heard of his intention with regret, for he had performed his duties well; but his request could not be refused, and they therefore named the secunde Adriaan van Kervel as his successor. On the 31st of August 1737 he transferred the duties to Mr. Van Kervel. This gentleman held the highest office in the land less than three weeks, for after a short illness he died on the 19th of September.

On the morning after the governor's death the council met for the purpose of electing an acting head. There were six members present, and of these, two put forward claims to the vacant place. The secunde, Mr. Hendrik Swellengrebel, was one. The independent fiscal, Mr Daniel van den Henghel, was the other. The votes of the members were equally divided, so a lot was cast, and the result being in favour of the fiscal, he took the vacant chair.

The Assembly of Seventeen did not approve of the choice of Mr. Van den Henghel, because they considered the secunde the proper person to assume the chief authority during a vacancy. They therefore sent out instructions that he should return to his duty as fiscal, and they appointed Mr. Swellengrebel governor. On the 14th of April 1739 this gentleman took the oath of office.

Governor Swellengrebel was by birth a colonist, and the only one that has ever filled the first position at the Cape. In early life he entered the service of the Company, in which his father held an appointment, and during the twenty-six years that had since passed away he had risen from one situation to another until at last he gained the highest post in South Africa. He was a plain sensible man, without much force of character, but with a desire to do what was right to every one.

His first duty as governor was to deal with a petty rebellion. Some hunters and illicit cattle dealers had recently gone to live along the Elephant river, and had got into a quarrel with a party of Hottentots. The government took the Hottentots under its protection, and summoned the Europeans to answer for their conduct before the landdrost's court at Stellenbosch, which they declined to do. Their

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leader was a deserter from the garrison at the Cape, named Etienne Barbier. In March 1739 a strong body of them, mounted and armed, with Barbier at their head, rode into Drakenstein, and affixed a seditious document to the door of the church.

Just at this time a horde of Bushmen made a raid upon the scattered farmers of Piketberg and the Bokkeveld, murdered two Europeans and several slaves, set fire to some houses, and swept off large herds of cattle. The government then instructed a burgher named Jan Kruywagen to raise a commando and follow up the robbers, and all who had joined Barbier were offered pardon if they would assist and promise to behave properly in future. Fifteen accepted the offer at once, and the others shortly afterwards. Barbier managed to hide for a few months, but was at length arrested, when he was tried, condemned to death, and executed.

The war with the Bushmen lasted through the winter, and before it was brought to a close four white men were killed and a good many were wounded. On the other side about a hundred were killed. Peace was then agreed to, and when a little later the leaders of these Bushmen were induced to visit the castle, they were well treated, and presents were made to them.

In January 1743 one of the ablest and best men the Company ever had in its service, Gustaf Willem van Imhof, governor-general of Netherlands India, called at the Cape on his way to Batavia, and exercised supreme control as long as he remained.

The only churches in the colony at this time were at the Cape, Stellenbosch, and Drakenstein. At each of these places there was a school, but elsewhere the education of children was greatly neglected, being in most instances entrusted to no more competent a teacher than a soldier engaged for a short term as a private tutor. There were over four hundred leasehold farms or cattle runs, some of which were three or four days journey from the nearest church, so that attendance on public worship was often neglected for long periods. The colonists were in number about four thousand souls.

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The governor-general issued instructions that two new churches were to be erected in the outlying districts with as little delay as possible, and at each were to be stationed a clergyman and a comforter of the sick, the latter of whom should also act as schoolmaster. The clergymen were to be detained from the first ships calling at the Cape with chaplains on board. A comforter of the sick was also to be sent without delay to labour among the people beyond the Breede river.

The places selected for the new churches were the sites of the present villages of Tulbagh and Malmesbury. Shortly after the governor-general's instructions were given, a ship put into Table Bay with a chaplain, who was detained for duty at the first of these places. He commenced to hold service there in September 1743. A little village gradually grew up, which until 1804 had no other name than Roodezand's kerk.

In June 1744 a site was selected for the other church, and a sick-comforter was sent there to open a school. In May 1745 the chaplain of a ship that called became the first pastor of the congregation. The church place was known as Zwartland's kerk until 1829, when it received the name of Malmesbury.

No churches but the Dutch Reformed were allowed. There were a good many Lutherans at the Cape, and they were anxious to have a resident clergyman, but could not obtain permission from the government. In 1742 a strong petition of theirs was refused. No objection was raised to Lutheran chaplains of Danish ships holding service in a private house, but this was the utmost liberty that was granted.

Another instance occurred in connection with a Moravian missionary who was sent from Germany in 1737 to attempt the conversion of the Hottentots to Christianity, and who took up his abode at Baviaans' Kloof, now Genadendal. He collected a party of Hottentots, with whom he laboured for five years. All this time he met with nothing but kindness from the government, but when in 1742 he baptized five of his converts, instead of sending them to the clergyman of Stellenbosch, he was at once called to account, and was

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forbidden to baptize again. In consequence, he returned to Europe in 1744.

In the winter season Table Bay was always unsafe, and the Company had often sustained heavy losses by shipwrecks there. Thus, in a terrible gale during the night of the 16th of June 1722, five Dutch and three English ships, besides two small vessels kept for use at the Cape, were driven ashore, and six hundred and sixty men were drowned. On this occasion property valued at nearly £250,000 was destroyed. And on the 21st of May 1737 nine vessels belonging to the Company were wrecked, and two hundred and eight lives were lost. The cost price of the cargo alone which was strewn on the beach was £160,000.

These and many other disasters caused the directors to issue orders in 1741 that their ships should refresh at Simon's Bay from the 15th of May to the 15th of August, the season when gales from the north-west are common. Simon's Bay offered secure shelter during the winter season, but there was a drawback to its use in difficulty of access by land, which made the supplying a ship with fresh provisions very expensive. In 1742 it was first used as a port of call.

In February 1743 a site for a station was selected by the governor-general Van Imhof on the southern shore of the bay. Very little expense was gone to at first, for the directors had resolved to make an experiment with the construction of a mole in Table Bay, and should this be a success, the other port would not be needed.

The mole was commenced in February 1743. As it was held to be a work of importance to the colony as well as to the Company, a tax was levied upon all the white people in the settlement. Those in the Cape district were assessed at the labour of one hundred and fifty-three stout slaves for two months in the year, and those in the country at £293 in money or provisions. All the Company's slaves and all the waggons and cattle that could be spared from other work were employed upon the mole. A strong gang of convicts was sent from Batavia to assist in its construction.

By the close of 1746 it was three hundred and fifty-one feet in length from the shore, but the work was then stopped.

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The convicts from Java had nearly all died from change of climate and excessive fatigue, and the burghers declared that they could not pay their quota any longer. The expense was found to be beyond the means of the Company, though it was believed that if the work could be completed, Table Bay would be a perfectly safe harbour. The base of the mole is still to be seen like a reef running out from the shore, its site having ever since been called on that account Mouille Point.

The colonists were constantly taking possession of new tracts of country and laying them out in cattle runs never less than three thousand morgen in extent, for each of which they paid to the Company a yearly rental of £2 10s. before 1732, and £5 after that date. Upon the slightest fault being found in a cattle run, the occupier left it and moved to another farther in the interior. A vast region lay open for settlement, with but few Hottentots in it since the ravages of the small-pox in 1713.

Over all the wanderers who were pushing their way inland the landdrost and heemraden of Stellenbosch legally had control, but in fact many of them were beyond the reach of law. On this account, in November 1743 four heemraden were appointed to form a court of justice for the residents beyond the lower Breede river. In January 1744 Mr. Jan Rhenius was appointed assistant to the landdrost of Stellenbosch, and was sent to reside on the frontier. But in August 1745 the country beyond a line from Zoetendal's Vlei to the Hex river was cut off from the district of Stellenbosch, and Mr. Rhenius was raised to the full rank of landdrost. The number of heemraden was increased to six, owing to the great size of the new district, the boundaries of which were not otherwise defined than "where the power of the Honourable Company ends." Half of the heemraden retired every year, after sending a list of six names to the council of policy, from which list their successors were chosen by that body.

For a time the court met at the residence of one of the heemraden. But in October 1746 a site for a drostdy was chosen, which in the following year received the name of

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Swellendam. Building lots for the use of persons not in the government service were first surveyed in 1750.

In 1744, owing to the outbreak of war in Europe, the Company resolved to fortify the shore of Table Bay more strongly. Of the defensive works then constructed there remain still Fort Knokke and the Imhof battery.

In 1746 enormous swarms of locusts made their appearance in the settlement, a plague from which the colony had been free since 1695. On the 28th of December they found their way in such vast numbers into Table Valley that the air seemed filled with them, and in a few days there was nothing left that could be eaten, not even leaves on the trees. The council appointed a day of fasting and prayer that God would be pleased to remove the plague. In the country the gardens were completely destroyed, and as there was nothing left for the cattle to eat, so many oxen and sheep died that meat doubled in price. By the end of April 1747, however, the locusts had almost disappeared.

The farmers at this time were not in a position to amass much wealth. For some years cattle had been nearly free of disease, and the price of meat at the Cape, except in 1747 and 1748, was about three farthings a pound. Wheat, after the tithe was paid, was purchased to the extent of its wants by the Company at 10s. 8d. a muid, and the growers were then free to sell the surplus to any one at the best price they could get. In the same way the wine-farmers could sell whatever the Company did not require to any one who would buy, but they had to pay first a tax to the government of 12s. 6d. a legger and next £1 0s. 10d. a legger to the privileged dealer. Nothing could be sold to people on board ship without a fee being paid to the fiscal.

The Company sent a quantity of farm produce to India for the use of the Europeans in their service. The only other market was supplied by the shipping. During the first half of the eighteenth century the average number of ships that called every year was fifty-seven Dutch, fifteen English, and three under other flags.

In 1750 the directors thought of increasing the number of colonists, but the burgher councillors and heemraden

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expressed an opinion that there were already too many white people in the country to get a good living, unless free export of produce to all parts of the world were allowed. No more were therefore added from Europe.

Complaints of the quality of Cape wine were frequently made. The directors sent out skilled persons to instruct the farmers how to improve it, and the government caused every legger that was purchased for the Company to be tested, so that the best should be preferred, but the complaints continued as before.

In 1749 Governor Swellengrebel wrote to the directors for permission to retire. He gave as his reason that he wished to spend the remainder of his life in the Netherlands. The same despatch contained a request from the members of the council that if he were relieved, the secunde Ryk Tulbagh might be appointed in his stead. The directors consented to what was asked, and on the 27th of February 1751 the duties were handed over to Mr. Tulbagh and the late governor embarked for Europe.

CHAPTER XII.

RYK Tulbagh, the man who was now governor, was born in the city of Utrecht on the 21st of May 1699. His parents were honest and worthy people, but they were poor, so when he was sixteen years of age he left school and entered the service of the East India Company. He was sent to South Africa, and in 1716 arrived in this country.

The lad had not been long here when he attracted attention by his exemplary conduct. It was observed that whatever was given him to do, no matter how trivial it might be, was thoroughly well done. Colonel De Chavonnes, who was then governor, in 1718 placed him as an assistant clerk in the office of the secretary of the council of policy. In that employment his first care was to make himself master of his

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work, and thereafter to do it in a masterly manner. Performing his duty in this way, dealing with others as he would have wished to be dealt by, and always strictly speaking the truth, he gradually rose in the service. In 1739 he was promoted to be secunde, and before he was fifty-two years of age he became governor.

The high qualities which he possessed were now shown to great advantage. When not engaged in important duties he was always ready to receive those who wished to see him. The humblest person could state his grievances, if he had any, and be sure of a patient hearing. If his complaints were well grounded, he obtained speedy redress, and in any case he was sure of good counsel. It was this quality that more than any other endeared him to the people. They knew that he studied their interests, that although he was their governor he was still their adviser and friend.

His probity was beyond suspicion. The salaries of officers in the Company's service were small, and it was taken almost as a matter of course that those who could do so would add to their incomes in any way not punishable by law. This system had the effect of causing men to look upon roguery as after all not a very serious crime. He who became rich through dishonest, even fraudulent transactions, was too often admired as a sharp, clever, business man, and not regarded as a swindler should be. Governor Tulbagh set his face firmly against everything of this nature. He neither traded on his own account, nor would he allow any other officer of the government to do so.

Under his rule every man was certain of getting his dues. The shameless system, often previously in vogue, under which farmers were compelled to bribe the Company's officers before they would receive produce, and then bribe them again before proper accounts could be had, was not tolerated. The governor took care that no man was put to needless delay, and that no bribes were received or false accounts rendered, so that the farmers were not exposed to injustice or vexatious treatment.

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No wonder that this earnest, honest, Christian man, whose rule of conduct was that of God's own word, soon came to be known by no other title than that of Father Tulbagh.

In February 1752 a party was sent from the Cape to explore the country to the eastward of the settlement and report upon any changes that had taken place since 1688. It was under command of Ensign August Beutler and was strong enough to defend itself in case of attack by Kaffirs. There were forty-six Europeans and twenty-five coloured servants, with eleven waggons.

A few miles beyond Mossel Bay the last farm occupied by Europeans was reached. Shortly afterwards the travellers came to the foot of a steep and high mountain, at the place now called Montagu Pass. It took three days of severe toil to get the waggons across, and then they found themselves in the long kloof, a narrow valley of great length between two ranges of mountains running nearly parallel to the coast.

Having come to the end of the long kloof, they proceeded to the sea-shore, and at the mouth of the Kabeljauw river set up a beacon with the Company's monogram upon it, as a token of possession. At the mouth of the Zwartkops river another beacon of the same kind was set up.

They kept near the sea until they reached the Keiskama. So far they had met only Hottentots. From the long kloof to the Keiskama these people were found in a condition of great poverty, arising partly from thefts by Bushmen and partly from feuds among themselves. They were very thinly scattered over the country. The Gonaquas, living between the Fish river and the Keiskama, were on good terms with the Kaffirs.

The Keiskama being the boundary between the Bantu and Hottentot tribes, the party was now divided into three watches, one of which was constantly armed and on guard. As the expedition advanced, the country was found to be more thickly peopled. It was the winter season, and there had been a long and severe drought. Gardens were seen, in which millet stalks were still standing, and leaf tobacco was also noticed.

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On the 28th of June the travellers halted at the kraal of Galeka, son of Palo, somewhere near the present village of Komgha. After resting there, they crossed the Kei, and on the following day reached the Toleni river. East of the Kei only Tembus were found. Five days longer they travelled north-eastward, without making any discovery of note. The oxen were now beginning to die from fatigue and scarcity of food, and so the expedition turned towards home.

Palo, head of the Kosa tribe, was then living in the Izeli valley, at the foot of the Amatola mountains. The explorers were desirous of seeing him, but he probably feared to meet a strong party of Europeans, for no one would guide them to him.

Keeping as close as they could to the foot of the mountain chain, after leaving the Kaffir country they passed the Tyumie, Kat, Koonap, Baviaan's, Tarka, and Fish rivers. The only inhabitants of this tract of country were Bushmen, with whom it was impossible to have much intercourse. The drought was so severe that large thorn trees were perishing from want of moisture. After keeping upward along the bank of the Fish river for some distance without discovering anything of importance, the party turned again towards the sea, and on the 6th of November reached the Cape, after an absence of a little over eightmonths.

Saturday, the 8th of April 1752, was observed by the Europeans in South Africa as a day of thanksgiving to Almighty God for the undisturbed possession of the colony by the East India Company for a hundred years. Special services were held in the churches at Capetown, Stellenbosch, Drakenstein, Roodezand, and Zwartland.

The laws of the colony at this time were much harsher than they are in our days. They were, however, seldom enforced in all their severity, the object of their framers being to lay down the heaviest punishment which could be inflicted for offences, rather than the usual penalties. Far greater power was thus placed in the hands of rulers and judges than they now possess. The laws also extended to many matters that are left by us to settle themselves. But this was not peculiar to South Africa, as it was the case all over Europe.

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In the laws concerning slaves, in this colony as well as in the foreign possessions of England, France, and Spain, a great difference between the spirit of those times and of these in which we live can be clearly seen. For many offences slaves could be flogged without any trial, and when convicted of crime they were punished much more severely than freemen. Some of the sentences against them in the records of the high court of justice at the Cape are very painful to read.

In the middle of the eighteenth century there were more slaves than Europeans in South Africa. Some were sent here from Batavia, sentenced to periods of servitude varying in length. Officers of ships and private persons regarded them as the most profitable article in which they could carry on a small trade, and brought so many from India that the government became alarmed, for when excited they were prone to commit appalling crimes. The council of India was therefore earnestly requested to put a stop to the export of Asiatic slaves to this colony, but they continued to arrive until 1767, when the request of the Cape government was complied with, and no more were allowed to come. A few were brought from the east coast of Africa. With Madagascar there was a regular trade in slaves, small vessels being sent frequently from the Cape to procure them. They cost there less than three pounds sterling each, though the rivalry of the English, French, and Portuguese was complained of as increasing the price and making it difficult to obtain cargoes.

Another feature of those times was an attempt that was made in most countries to prevent people from appearing in public in the character of those of higher rank than their own. At the Cape laws had long been in force limiting certain articles of dress to people of certain rank, and in 1755 by order of the governor-general and council of India a strict code of sumptuary laws was introduced. Governor Tulbagh favoured these laws, not only because he was instructed to put them in force, but because he believed them to be adapted to form a simple, honest, manly race of colonists, to preserve the hardy virtues that had made the people of the Netherlands a powerful nation. In this country very

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few persons except the Company's servants felt them as a grievance, for public opinion was almost wholly in their favour.

For forty-two years the colony had been free of small pox when in 1755 that scourge made its appearance again. It was introduced at the beginning of winter by a homeward-bound fleet from Ceylon. At first the disease was supposed to be a kind of fever, but after a few days there were cases that admitted of no doubt. It assumed, however, various forms, and among some of the distant Hottentot tribes differed in appearance so much from what was held to be true small pox that the Europeans termed it gall sickness.

In Capetown hardly a single adult who was attacked recovered. In July the weather was colder than usual, and during that month over eleven hundred persons perished. If that death rate had continued, before the close of the year there would have been no one left, but as soon as the warm weather set in the disease became milder. Two great hospitals were opened: one for poor Europeans, supported by the board of deacons, the other for blacks. To the latter all slaves who were attacked were sent, the expense being borne by their owners. Those who recovered were employed as nurses. In Capetown from the 1st of May to the 31st of October nine hundred and sixty-three Europeans and eleven hundred and nine blacks died.

In the country the white people did not suffer very severely, as they kept so secluded on their farms that for several months hardly a waggon load of produce was taken to the Cape for sale. The government excused the muster of the militia for drill, and even the services in the churches were not attended by people from a distance.

With the Hottentots the disease created great havoc. It is not possible to say exactly how far inland it extended, but its ravages were felt some distance north of the Orange river, and in the east beyond the Kei.

The quality of common Cape wine was frequently complained of, but no improvement was made in it. The result was that in 1755 the council of India declined to take more than a very small quantity for the use

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of the garrisons there. Just at this time also the directors saw fit to make wine a special object of taxation. The colonial revenue and the profits on goods sold now amounted to between £11,000 and 12,000 a year, but the sum paid out of the Company's treasury at the Cape was in round numbers £20,000 more, taking one year with another. To increase the revenue, in 1756 a duty of £1 a legger was laid by the directors upon all wine sold to strangers in bulk. This was in addition to the dues previously levied.

In 1756 and 1757 only twelve foreign ships called, and though three of these were sent from Mauritius to procure provisions for the French troops there, the supply of wine far exceeded the demand. Among the wine-farmers there was much distress. Matters were at their worst when in December 1758 a large fleet of French men-of-war and transports with troops arrived from Mauritius, purposely to refresh and lay in a supply of provisions. At once the price of farm produce doubled or trebled, and all the surplus stock was disposed of.

From this date until the close of the war in India between the English and the French, the farmers were in a prosperous condition. French men-of-war until 1761, and after that date ships of both nations, came here to refresh and take in supplies. The officers of French packets from Mauritius and of English packets from St. Helena bid against each other for cattle and meal and wine. This season of good fortune lasted until March 1763, when tidings were received of the conclusion of peace between France and England.

In 1761 Mr. Joachim Nicholas van Dessin, who had been for nearly a quarter of a century secretary of the orphan chamber, bequeathed to the colony his library of three thousand eight hundred books, and appointed the consistory of the Cape guardians of the bequest. He also left in connection with this trust the sum of £208, the interest of which was to be applied to keeping the books in order and adding to them. They were placed in a building near the church, and the sexton was required to look after them, but in course of time many of the volumes were

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lost. Those which remain are known as the Dessinian collection, and now form part of the South African Public Library. Among them are many works of permanent value.

In 1760 a burgher named Jacobus Coetsee with twelve Hottentots proceeded northward from his farm at Piketberg, and hunted elephants beyond the river known to us as the Orange, which it was believed had never been crossed by a white man before. Some time after his return he informed Captain Hendrik Hop, of the burgher militia, that he had heard of a tribe of black people called Damrocquas living ten days journey beyond the farthest point which he reached, and that they had long hair and wore clothes made of linen cloth. Captain Hop reported this to the government, and offered to lead an exploring party in that direction, which offer was accepted.

The services of thirteen burghers were obtained. It was arranged that they should assemble at a place near the mouth of the Elephant river, and from that point commence the journey. In August 1761 all was ready, and the caravan left for the north. Besides Captain Hop and the thirteen burghers, there was a botanist, a surgeon, and a land surveyor. They had fifteen waggons and sixty-eight Hottentot servants.

They passed by the copper mountain of Little Namaqualand that had been first visited by Europeans in 1685, and, keeping in a direction almost due north, crossed the great river at a ford where the stream was nearly eleven hundred feet broad. The Little Namaquas were found in a wretched condition. They had been robbed by Bushmen of the greater part of their cattle, and it seemed as if they must soon be utterly destroyed. The Great Namaquas had migrated to the north about twenty years before.

Passing the hot spring now known as Nisbett's Bath, the travellers kept along the western base of the Karas mountains. The whole party reached a point about one hundred and eighty miles north of the ford of the Orange river which they had crossed, and two of the burghers pushed on a little farther. But the heat had now become intense, there was such a scarcity of food for the cattle that they

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were dying off rapidly, and though numerous beds of rivers were found, there was no water in any of them except where natives had made deep pits in the sand. Captain Hop called a council, and there was but one opinion expressed, that it was impossible to go farther.

The caravan then turned to the south. At the great river some time was spent in refreshing the worn-out cattle, and in exploring the country around. Copper was discovered, but the conclusion which Captain Hop and his assistants came to was that it would not pay to extract it. The mouth of the river was too distant to be examined.

Very little knowledge was obtained concerning the black people to the north, then called Damrocquas, now Damaras. But the wild stories that Coetsee had heard of their having long hair and wearing linen clothing were found to be incorrect, for the Great Namaquas knew of no people answering that description except Europeans. Some information was obtained concerning the Betshuana living east of the Kalahari. And it was ascertained that the small pox in 1755 had spread into Great Namaqualand and caused the loss of many lives.

In April 1762 the expedition reached the castle, none of its members having died or suffered serious illness during the journey.

In 1767 the small pox was again brought into the colony. On this occasion it was introduced by a Danish ship returning to Europe. From May until November it was prevalent in Capetown, but owing to precautions which were taken, only a few families in the country districts were attacked. In 1713 and 1755 it died out entirely when the hot weather set in; but there were occasional cases throughout the summer of 1767-8, and it was not until April 1769 that it quite disappeared. Altogether between eighteen and nineteen hundred persons were attacked, of whom five hundred and seventy-five died. The ravages of the disease were thus slight when compared with earlier years.

During the period that Governor Tulbagh was at the head of the colony, the town in Table Valley was much enlarged,

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and strangers began to know it by its present name of Capetown, though by the colonists it was still termed the Cape. Several new streets were laid out. The present town-house was built at the expense of the burghers as a watch-house. In 1761 the number of clergymen was increased to three.

At Simonstown expensive works were carried out. A hospital was completed in 1765. Substantial storehouses were then put up, and when these were finished, in 1768 a stone pier was constructed.

The village of Stellenbosch was enlarged and improved in appearance. In October 1762 the drostdy buildings were destroyed by fire, but they were shortly rebuilt in a more handsome style. In May 1768 much damage was done to the village by a flood, which for some hours threatened the total destruction of the place. The same thing had happened once before—in October 1716. To prevent similar disasters in future, the course of the river was changed.

Swellendam remained a mere hamlet. To make access to it easier from the Cape, in 1757 a pontoon was placed on the Breede river, close to the junction of the Zonderend.

The Hottentots were giving no trouble to the colonists. The few clans that still held together within the limits of the European settlement retained their own government, though their chiefs were commonly either appointed or approved by the council of policy. Only when Europeans or slaves were also concerned were they made subject to colonial law. But the greater number of these people had lost their old tribal distinctions, and obeyed no one of their own race. Many were living as dependents of farmers, or wandered about the country, taking service when they felt so disposed.

With Bushmen there were frequent contests. The colonists were now crossing the interior range of mountains, and were beginning to lay out cattle farms along the head waters of various streams that flow towards the north. In all the hilly country Bushmen were found, who tried to stop the advance of the white people by stealing their cattle and murdering their servants. Then parties of burghers took the

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field to punish the robbers. Often the Bushmen made a stout resistance, and on several occasions they appeared far from their usual haunts, and murdered all who fell in their way. But great numbers of them were shot.

In December 1769 a commission consisting of the landdrosts and secretaries of Stellenbosch and Swellendam, with two heemraden from each court, was directed to lay down a boundary between the two districts. The Zwaartberg range was settled upon as a dividing line, the country to the north being allotted to Stellenbosch, and that to the south to Swellendam.

The commission was also required to inspect the most distant farms and ascertain the state of affairs on the frontier. They reported that they found between the Gamtoos and Fish rivers many persons with large herds of cattle who were not paying rent to the Company, and others who were paying for a farm but were moving about with cattle from place to place. They had reason also to believe that a trade with the Kosas was being carried on, for there was a well-beaten waggon-road from Swellendam into Kaffirland.

The council of policy therefore resolved—13th of February 1770—that on the northern side of the Zwartberg and Zuurberg ranges the colonial boundary should be the hills known as Bruintjes Hoogte, that on the southern side it should be the Gamtoos river, and that all persons then beyond these limits should be called upon to return within them.

The exports to India at this time consisted yearly of about twelve thousand muids of grain, three or four hundred muids of beans and peas, three hundred and fifty leggers of wine, and twenty-two thousand pounds of butter. A small quantity of dried fruit and some ivory were also exported to India. To Europe were sent yearly rather over one hundred leggers of common wine and as much Constantia wine as could be obtained, which was usually not more than fourteen or fifteen leggers. In 1761 the first aloes were exported from South Africa.

By the directors Governor Tulbagh was regarded as a model officer. In 1767 he was raised to the dignity of

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ordinary councillor of Netherlands India, a rank which no preceding governor, except Colonel De Chavonnes, had attained. In the winter of 1771 he was prostrated by illness, and after confinement to his bed for more than two months, he died on the 11th of August, at the age of seventy-two years.

On the morning after Mr. Tulbagh's death, the council of policy met to make provision for carrying on the government, when it was decided that Mr. Joachim van Plettenberg, who was acting as secunde, should act also as governor until the directors could fill the vacant post. The funeral of the late governor was kept back till the 17th, to allow time for the country people to attend. On that day the town was filled as it had never been before, and with all the solemnity and state that was possible the remains of the landsfather were laid beneath the pavement of the church.

CHAPTER XIII.

JOACHIM van Plettenberg, who held the office of fiscal, had for some time been acting also as secunde. When tidings of the death of Mr. Tulbagh reached Holland, Mr. Van Reede van Oudtshoorn, an old Cape official then in Europe, was chosen to succeed him, and Mr. Van Plettenberg was confirmed as secunde. The newly-appointed governor embarked for the Cape, but was taken ill and died at sea. Mr. Van Plettenberg was then appointed governor, and on the 18th of May 1774 was installed in office.

The legal eastern boundary of the colony at this time was Bruintjes Hoogte and the Gamtoos river, but Europeans were settled along the high lands as far as the Little Fish river. The first white man who made himself a home on the banks of this stream was an old elephant hunter named Willem Prinsloo, who in June 1771 took possession of the site of the present village of Somerset East. Several others soon followed him. These settlers sent a petition that they might be allowed to remain where they were, and, in

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order to secure the land rents, in July 1775 the council of policy decreed the extension of the district of Stellenbosch eastward to the Fish river, and of that of Swellendam to the Bushman's river.

On the north, the Kamiesberg, the Hantam mountain in the present district of Calvinia, the country about the sources of the Zak river in the Nieuwveld mountains, and the Sneeuwberg had been occupied for several years.

In March 1778 a petition was sent to the council by thirty-four heads of families living near the eastern frontier, praying for the establishment of a landdrost's court and a church in that part of the country. This petition, together with reports of thefts by Bushmen, caused the governor to resolve upon visiting the eastern border and seeing for himself the state of affairs.

In September 1778 he left Capetown, and proceeded to the Little Fish river. There he met the farmers who had petitioned for a landdrost and a clergyman, and made himself acquainted with their condition. They stated that owing to their distance from Stellenbosch, they were quite cut off from a court of justice, and they could not take part in the militia drill in that village without exposing their stock to thefts by Bushmen. For the same reason they were unable to attend the church services, and their children were growing up without proper instruction. They were willing to raise funds for the erection of the buildings that would be needed by the landdrost and the clergyman. The governor promised to forward their request to the directors, and to support it, which he did upon his return to Capetown.

He also had a conference with several chiefs of the Kosa tribe, and arranged with them that the Fish river down to the sea should be the boundary between the Europeans and the Bantu. He then proceeded northward to the Zeekoe river, and on the bank of this stream he caused a beacon to be erected to mark the north-eastern limit of the colony. On his journey homeward he visited the bay into which the Keurboom river falls, and gave his own name to it. A landmark with the Company's monogram upon it, which he caused to be erected as a sign of possession, is still standing.

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In October 1777 Captain R. J. Gordon, the second officer in rank in the garrison, left Capetown in company with Lieutenant William Paterson, an English traveller, to explore the country north of the colony. He proceeded by way of the Sneeuwberg to the great river, but could not find a ford, so was unable to cross.

Two years later the same gentlemen made another journey together, this time to the mouth of the great river. Captain Gordon took a boat with him, which he placed on the stream, so that he was able to examine the immense flow of water better than in 1777 when he saw it nearly six hundred miles nearer its source. On the 17th of August 1779 he hoisted the Dutch colours to a staff in his boat, and while floating in the centre of the stream he named it the Orange, in honour of the stadtholder. He and Lieutenant Paterson examined it from the mouth upwards some thirty or forty miles. Since that date the river has been known by the names Orange, Great, and Gariep.

The arrangement made in 1778 by the governor with the Kosa chiefs was approved by the council in November 1780, when it was resolved that the Fish river along the whole of its lower course should be the colonial boundary, thus adding to the Company's possessions the tract of country then known as the Zuurveld, at present the districts of Albany and Bathurst.

Before this time no other public worship than that of the Dutch Reformed church was allowed in the colony, but the Lutherans of Capetown now obtained leave to employ a clergyman. Their first pastor arrived in November 1780, and in December began to hold service. The church in Strand-street had previously been built and presented to the congregation by a wealthy burgher named Martin Melk.

In 1772 the Company made the experiment of sending a cargo of wheat and other colonial produce to Holland for sale. The prices paid were low, so that the profits were sufficient to satisfy the directors. The export to the Netherlands was therefore continued during the next nine years, that is until the war with England.

This was not, however, a gain to the colonists, because there

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was now a constant demand for all kinds of farm produce at more than double the prices which the Company was giving. In the year 1772 there was a sudden and great increase in the foreign shipping that put into South African ports, and the number of vessels did not fall off again until the war with England. All of them needed fresh provisions. Some of the French vessels, indeed, were sent here from Mauritius expressly to obtain cargoes of grain, meat, and wine ; and now and then an English vessel arrived from St. Helena for the same purpose.

Owing to them, the contract for the supply of meat to the Company could now be taken at less than a halfpenny a pound, for the contractor had the privilege of charging foreigners two pence. And in many ways they increased the revenue. The average production of wine was over three thousand leggers, of which the Company did not need a thousand. The directors were therefore only too glad to know that the surplus could be sold at high rates at the Cape.

With grain it was different. As much of this as could be produced could be sold at a profit in Europe, and it therefore became an object with the Company's servants to get as large a quantity as possible without driving foreigners away. The fiscal, in his control of the trade, studied only the Company's interests. The burghers protested against being compelled to deliver their grain for trading purposes at a lower price than they could obtain from foreigners, but to no purpose.

Instead of keeping a firm hand upon the Company's servants, the governor let them do almost as they chose. The result was that many of the officials were openly carrying on trade.

From the earliest days of the settlement the government had exercised the right of sending out of the country persons of idle and dissolute habits, without a trial before a court of justice. But this right had always been used with prudence. In January 1779 a burgher who was addicted to drunkenness and who was at such times violent in his conduct, but who was then behaving himself properly, was

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seized in his own house in Capetown by order of the fiscal, dragged through the streets by the black scavengers, and placed on board a ship bound to Batavia. His wife and children followed to the beach, crying and imploring help, but there was not time to effect a rescue.

This act brought on a crisis. A number of the most respectable colonists consulted together, and resolved to send delegates to the Netherlands to endeavour to obtain redress of their grievances and guarantees against future misrule. For this purpose they elected four burghers, who drew up a memorial of complaints and proposed remedies, which received general approval. The delegates then proceeded to Holland, taking with them a document to show that they were acting for the persons who signed it, four hundred and four in number.

In the memorial various officers of government, and in particular the fiscal Willem Cornelis Boers, were charged with fraudulent conduct and oppression. Many of the junior officials were accused of trading so openly that shops were kept and accounts made out in their names. The burghers of the town who lived by commerce, it was asserted, could not compete with these traders, and were being ruined.

The chief remedies asked for were that the orders issued in 1706 prohibiting officials from farming or dealing in farm produce should be strictly enforced; that the burghers should be free to dispose of the products of the country to strangers, without first obtaining the consent of the fiscal; that persons banished from the colony should be sent to Holland, not to India; that seven burgher members should have seats in the council of policy; that the high court of justice should consist of equal numbers of officials and burghers; that there should be a right of appeal to the courts of the fatherland, instead of to the court at Batavia; and that the burghers should be allowed to trade with the Netherlands and with India.

In October 1779 the delegates appeared before the Assembly of Seventeen. They made a statement of the unjust acts of the officials, and delivered the memorial with a large number of documents supporting it. In the following

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week the whole of the papers were referred to a committee to examine, collect evidence, and report upon. A copy of the memorial and its annexures was sent to the Cape for the various officers concerned to reply to.

Governor Van Plettenberg replied that he did not think the memorial could be held to represent the views of the whole body of colonists, as there were nearly three thousand burghers, and the delegates had been chosen by only four hundred and four. The country, he said, presented every appearance of prosperity, and the people all showed signs of living in comfort. Numbers of the Company's servants, who had the condition of affairs before their eyes, were yearly taking their discharge and becoming colonists, in preference to returning to Europe. He denied that he had done anything to draw upon himself the enmity of the burghers, and finished by asking to be relieved of his duties.

The reply of Mr. Boers was of great length. He was a man with many good qualities, but his sympathies were all with the ruling classes of society. His defence was little more than an attempt to show that the colonists were rude, unlearned people, who did not know how to act for the good of the country, and had to be guided and governed with a strong hand. They had no political rights, he said, but such as the Company chose to allow them.

The other officials who were accused of wrongdoing also drew up statements, admitting some of the charges, denying some, and trying to explain away others. These papers, however, could not then be sent to the Netherlands, owing to the stoppage of traffic caused by an outbreak of war.

In March 1781 tidings were received that Great Britain had declared war with the United Provinces, and that the republic was in alliance with France.

The colony at this time was almost defenceless. The excess of outlay over revenue had risen to about £25,000 a year, and the East India Company, which was declining in wealth and power, could not afford to maintain a large garrison. It relied chiefly upon the burghers to protect the country, but the South African militia, though nearly three thousand strong on paper, could not furnish a fourth of that number

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of men for the defence of Capetown. The burghers were scattered over an immense area, and along the frontier, east and north, they were obliged to defend themselves against Kosas and Bushmen, who were ever watching a chance to plunder their flocks and herds.

The struggle between the farmers along the northern border and the Bushmen had become almost incessant, for the two races could not live side by side. Though many Bushmen were shot, they seemed to become constantly bolder. Horned cattle, sheep, and goats were driven off in hundreds together, the herdsmen were murdered, and from several places the Europeans were obliged to retire. In May 1774 a commandant was appointed for the whole northern border from Piketberg to Sneeuwberg, and a plan was made to punish the marauders and restore the farmers to the places from which they had been driven.

At the beginning of summer three parties of mixed burghers, halfbreeds, and Hottentots, acting in concert, took the field. The country for more than three hundred miles along the great mountain range was scoured, and all the Bushmen found who would not surrender were shot. According to the reports furnished to the government, five hundred and three were killed and two hundred and thirty-nine taken prisoners. Some of these were afterwards released, and others were bound to the farmers for a term of years.

It was hoped that this punishment would deter the Bushmen from thieving, but it had no such effect. They became even more troublesome than before, and year after year it was necessary to call out commandos against them. The men of the northern border considered their first duty to be the protection of their families against savages, and hardly gave a thought to the Company's interests at the remote seat of government.

On the eastern border matters were in a similar condition. The colonists there had to deal with clans of the Kosa tribe, a people who might be called civilised when compared with Bushmen, but who were almost as expert stock lifters.

In 1779 the Imidange under the chief Mahuta, the Amambala under the chief Langa, and some other clans of less

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note, crossed the Fish river and spread themselves over the present districts of Albany and Bathurst. They said they did not want to quarrel with the Europeans, and to prove the truth of their assertions, they murdered a number of Hottentots and took their cattle, without molesting the colonists. But shortly they began to drive off the herds of the white people also, and in September 1779 the farmers of the invaded districts, together with those along the right bank of the Bushman's river, were obliged to withdraw to a place of greater safety.

Two commandos took the field against the intruders. The Imidange were attacked and defeated on several occasions, but they were not entirely driven to their own side of the Fish river. In the winter those who were supposed to have been subdued crossed again into the colony, together with many others, and it became evident that a grand effort must be made to expel them.

The council of policy then appointed a farmer named Adriaan van Jaarsveld commandant of the eastern frontier. Early in the summer the chief Langa made a kraal on the western bank of the Bushman's river, from which he sent to the nearest European camp a small herd of cattle and a few horses taken from farmers in the Zuurveld, with a request that he might remain for a short time where he was. Commandant Van Jaarsveld offered him the choice of returning to his own country or being attacked. Langa chose to retire, and did so at once. He was therefore not molested, but of all the chiefs who had invaded the colony he was the only one willing to retreat. The others declined to move.

The commandant collected all the European and Hottentot families of the frontier in a couple of lagers or camps formed by drawing up waggons in a circle and filling the spaces between the wheels with thorn trees. Leaving a few men to defend the lagers, with ninety-two burghers and forty Hottentots, all mounted and well armed, he fell upon the Kosas and smote them hip and thigh. The commando was in the field from the 23rd of May to the 19th of July 1781, and was only disbanded when the last of the

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intruders was again beyond the Fish river, and the first Kaffir war was over.

While these events were taking place, the farmers of the eastern frontier could not leave their families and property exposed, and proceed to Capetown, four or five hundred miles distant, to keep watch against a foreign foe.

As soon, however, as tidings were received that the mother country was at war, the burghers within the old settled districts declared their readiness to do all in their power for the defence of the colony. Their disaffection to the government of Mr. Van Plettenberg did not interfere with their loyalty to the Netherlands. After the 2nd of April detachments of the Stellenbosch militia relieved each other at the castle every month.

Meantime several richly laden ships arrived from India, and as it was considered advisable that they should not proceed to Europe until they could be protected by a fleet of war, six of them were sent to Saldanha Bay as a haven where they could wait in security.

As soon as war was proclaimed with the Netherlands, the English government prepared a force to seize the Cape. The French government came to learn this, and with all haste got ready a fleet and army to oppose it. In April 1781 the English expedition, under Commodore George Johnstone, put into Porto Praya to take in a supply of fresh water, and was there attacked by the French fleet under Admiral Suffren. The French were beaten off, but stood away for the Cape, and arrived safely in Simon's Bay.

Commodore Johnstone meanwhile was crowding all sail to reach the Cape before Suffren. But learning from the crew of a prize that the French fleet was in Simon's Bay and a strong French garrison was in Capetown, he gave up the design of attacking the colony, and resolved to seize the Dutch ships in Saldanha Bay. On the 22nd of July all of these fell into his hands, except one which was set on fire by her officers.

The Cape government was at this time sorely pressed for funds, as the treasury was empty. In November 1781 the council of policy resolved to borrow on interest from the

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colonists as much as was urgently needed; but as sufficient money could not be obtained in this way, in April 1782 notes began to be issued. In course of time most of these were paid off, but others were issued, until in 1795 the amount of such paper outstanding, with no security except the promise of the government to pay when it could, was over one hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling. The notes offered great temptation to rogues to defraud the farmers of the interior. They were easily forged, and in this way many persons became the victims of swindlers.

Owing to the war, for more than a year there was no intercourse with Holland, but in April 1782 the replies of the officers of the Cape government to the charges made against them by the burghers were sent away. These documents were referred by the directors to the committee that had the case in hand. The statement of the fiscal attracted special attention, as its tone convinced the directors that Mr. Boers was not an officer that could safely be left in power. He was allowed to resign his duties, but was required to find heavy bail if he should leave the colony before the charges against him were decided.

Towards the close of 1783, four years after the matter had been placed in their hands, the committee sent in a report. They had come to the conclusion that the complainants could not be held to represent the whole body of burghers at the Cape, and that the charges against the officials had not been proved. They advised that the colonists should not be granted liberty to trade on their own account with Europe and India. They objected to allowing an appeal from the high court of justice at the Cape to the supreme court of the Netherlands instead of to the court at Batavia; but they approved of making the high court of justice consist of a president, six servants of the Company, and six burghers, instead of nine servants of the Company and three burghers as formerly. They did not approve of burgher members in the council of policy. They were in favour of allowing the Company's servants to have gardens for their own use, but not to trade in farm produce. They took very little power from the fiscal.

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In December 1783 this report was adopted by the Assembly of Seventeen, and notice was given to the Cape government by the next ships that sailed.

At this time the colonists were thriving, and it was supposed by the directors that they would not make much effort to disturb an order of things in which money was easily made. There had never before been such a demand for produce as that created by the large garrison and the French forces in the East. The Company's needs were very small during the war, so that little was taken at low prices. Many new trading houses had been opened by burghers. In Capetown there was a display of prosperity which astonished strangers. European and Indian wares in the greatest variety were introduced in large quantities by Danish ships, and though the prices asked were very high, they commanded a ready sale.

But the burghers of South Africa, though relishing keenly the pleasure of making money, have at every period of their history shown a firmer attachment to what they hold to be their political rights and liberties. If at times a few men have been found to waver between money and freedom from misrule, the women have never hesitated to reject wealth at the price of submission to wrong. On this occasion neither men nor women were disposed to let the question rest. The government resorted to various petty acts of tyranny, but the party opposed to it grew in strength, and resolved now to appeal to the States-General.

With this object, in December 1784 two documents containing statements of their complaints, signed by ten burghers elected for the purpose, were forwarded to the delegates who were still in Holland.

But the condition of things in the mother country was now very different from what it had been in the time of Wilhem Adriaan van der Stel. The East India Company was tottering to its fall, and instead of a party in the States-General being ready to attack it, every one was anxious to do all that he could to support it and prevent the great crash which its ruin would cause. When, therefore, the directors announced that they intended to replace the principal

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officials at the Cape with other men, and to make a few small changes in the system of government and of carrying on trade, the States-General declined to take up the cause of the burghers until the effect of these changes could be seen.

Peace had been made with England, and the French troops had left the colony. The directors were anxious to put Capetown in such a state for defence that if war should break out again it would not be so liable to seizure as it had been in 1781. They were able to obtain a large loan of money. They therefore resolved to send out as governor a military officer of rank and experience, to station here a strong body of troops as a depôt for India, and to construct necessary works for defence. In concurrence with the States-General, they selected as governor Lieutenant-Colonel Cornelis Jacob van de Graaff, an engineer officer who enjoyed the confidence of the stadtholder. Colonel Van de Graaff with his family arrived in South Africa in January 1785, and on the 14th of February he took over the control of affairs.

CHAPTER XIV.

COLONEL Van de Graaff was ill-qualified for such a situation as that of governor of the Cape Colony. He was violent in temper, and had not been long here when he quarrelled with all the principal officials except the fiscal, to whom he was related by marriage. He seemed to think that as the Company was drifting to ruin it would make no difference if he squandered its property. No one at the Cape had ever before lived in such style. The horses, carriages, and servants at his town and country houses would have sufficed for the stadtholder. There was reckless waste in everything that he took in hand. During the time that he was at the head of affairs the outlay exceeded the revenue by nearly £92,000 a year, and though much of this was used for military purposes, more was utterly thrown away.

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The object of his appointment was chiefly that he might plan and carry out defensive works on the shore of Table Bay. When he arrived, the Amsterdam battery was being built, and in 1787 it was finished. All the other forts constructed or altered under his direction have since been broken down. A strong body of troops, chiefly Swiss or German regiments in the Company's pay, was stationed in Capetown.

One of the reforms which the directors announced that they were willing to make was that the burghers should have a voice in the control of certain matters. The Company would purchase and send to Europe all grain, wine, and other produce of the colony that could not be sold to foreigners, after the wants of the Cape and India had been supplied. The prices were to be fixed yearly by a board to be appointed by the council of policy from the members of the high court of justice, and to consist of three servants of the Company and three burghers. The board was also to propose to the council of policy the method and amount of taxation; it was to have the care of roads, bridges, and other colonial works; it was to farm out the public mills, to employ watchmen for the town, and to perform various other duties.

In March 1786 a board as here described was appointed. But it was a failure from the very first. The officials and burghers could not work in concord, and what was proposed by one party was objected to by the other. As for fixing prices of produce, it had not even a chance to try what it could do. A ship was sent from Amsterdam for a cargo, but owing to a severe drought there was not a muid of grain to be had. The plan was then allowed to drop.

In its stead, in 1789 the directors gave the colonists permission to export wine to Holland on their own account, provided it was sent in the Company's vessels and freight was paid upon it. The foreign trade in wheat they kept in their own hands. To encourage its growth in the district of Swellendam, in 1788 a magazine was built at Mossel Bay, from which it could be brought to Table Bay by sea. In the same year a magazine for storage of timber was built at Plettenberg's Bay.

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The request of the frontier colonists to have a landdrost stationed among them was at this time complied with. In December 1785 the council of policy appointed Mr. Maurits Woeke landdrost, and directed him to select a suitable place for his court. The new district had the name Graaff-Reinet given to it. It was decided that it should be bounded on the west by the Gamka river from its source to the Zwartebergen, that range of mountains to the Gamtoos river, and thence the Gamtoos to the sea; on the east by the Tarka, Baviaan's, and Fish rivers; and on the south by the ocean. On the north the boundary was not defined, the only fixed point being the beacon that had been placed by Governor Van Plettenberg on the bank of the Zeekoe river.

As the best site for the public offices and a village, Mr. Woeke selected two farms near the source of the Sunday river, then in possession of a burgher named Dirk Coetsee, who agreed to sell the buildings on them, and to accept land of equal extent elsewhere. In July 1786 a board of six heemraden was appointed, and in October the landdrost opened his court for the first time. Funds for purely district purposes were raised, as in Stellenbosch and Swellendam, by a yearly tax upon the burghers of one shilling and four pence for every hundred sheep and one penny for every head of horned cattle, besides assessments for special purposes. A school was established at once. The teacher conducted public worship at the drostdy until 1792, when elders and deacons were chosen, and a clergyman was appointed.

In 1790 the Company's funds were exhausted, and as it was not possible to raise more money upon loan, a great reduction of outlay had to be decided upon. Orders were issued that nearly the whole of the troops at the Cape should be sent to Java, and that work upon forts and defences of every kind should be stopped. All the military outposts were to be withdrawn. The country seat used by the governor at Newlands and the horses and vehicles in the Company's stables were at once to be disposed of, and the proceeds to be paid into the treasury.

The directors were desirous of dismissing the governor,

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but the stadtholder, with whom he was a favourite, would only agree to his recall under pretence of his being required at home to give information upon the colony. And as, since 1749, the stadtholder held the office of chief controller of the East India Company, no appointment of importance could be made or withdrawn without his sanction. Colonel Van de Graaff was therefore requested to return home to confer with the directors, and after issuing instructions to the secunde Johan Isaac Rhenius how to act during his absence, on the 24th of June 1791 he embarked for Europe. Though there was no intention that he should ever see South Africa again, he retained the title of governor of the Cape Colony and received his salary as such until 1794.

For several years it had been supposed that gold was to be found in large quantities in the desert region north of the Orange river and bordering on the Atlantic. To try to discover it, in September 1791 a burgher named Willem van Reenen engaged an exploring party, and set out for the north. The country was parched by heat and drought, Bushmen and lions were very troublesome, and the oxen were beginning to die ; but Van Reenen and his companions pushed on, until they reached a mountain at no great distance from Walfish Bay, where copper ore was found.

The mountain had until recently been in possession of the Damaras, but the Namaquas were then masters of it. At this place a camp was formed, while the country around was explored. Pieter Brand, Van Reenen's principal assistant, with a party of Hottentots pushed on fifteen days journey farther, and made himself well acquainted with the condition of the Damaras. He found that they had been conquered by the Namaquas, and had been deprived of nearly all their horned cattle, goats, and sheep. Mr. Brand also met with negroes living like Bushmen on nothing but game and roots, but speaking a dialect of the Hottentot language. This is the earliest notice of the people now commonly called Berg Damaras.

Having laden his waggons with copper ore, Van Reenen turned homeward, and reached his farm again in June 1792, after an absence of nine months.

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In consequence of the helplessness to which the East India Company was reduced, the States-General appointed a commission of four members to examine its affairs and check further abuses. Owing to the reports sent in by this commission, a board with very great powers was created to examine into matters in India and to rectify whatever should be found amiss.

Only two members of this board—Mr. Sebastiaan Cornelis Nederburgh and Captain Simon Hendrik Frykenius—could visit the Cape. Absolute power was given to them by the stadtholder and the directors, acting with the concurrence of the commission appointed by the States-General. They arrived in Simon's Bay in June 1792, and on the 3rd of July assumed supreme control of affairs.

The first matter to which the commissioners turned their attention was the condition of the colonial revenue, which they had been instructed to increase. This was not at all to the liking of the burghers, who held that the revenue was more than sufficient for purely colonial purposes, and would not admit that the colonists ought to pay anything towards the general expenses of the Company. The six burgher councillors appeared before them to represent the views of the colonists, but they declined to receive these gentlemen except as private citizens, and stated that they would only confer on public matters with the mixed board appointed in 1786. But after a little they were obliged to give way on this point, as the colonists not only held aloof from them till they did, but the country people would not send grain to Capetown for sale, and the supply of wheat there was only enough to last a few days.

The colonists, however, could not gain their point of preventing new taxes being imposed. In especial they objected to stamps upon accounts for goods bought at auction sales, and they even resolved to purchase nothing at auctions until this tax was withdrawn; but in the end they were obliged to submit. By increasing some of the old imposts and creating new ones the commissioners raised the revenue to rather over £30,000 a year. The white people in South Africa of all ages at this time were about fifteen thousand

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in number, so that on an average each one paid £2 a year to the government. With this increase of revenue, and by reducing expenses in every way that seemed possible, the balance of loss to the Company was brought down to £27,000 a year.

The commissioners claimed that the benefits which they conferred upon the colonists greatly outweighed the burdens imposed, but this was not admitted by the people in general.

In the first place, they raised the price paid by the Company for wheat to 11s. 4d. a muid, from which, however, the tithe was to be deducted. At this price, the Company retained the right of demanding as much as it needed. The farmers could dispose of the surplus as they pleased, or could export it to India or the Netherlands, provided it was sent in Dutch ships. The tithe was now collected only on grain brought to town, and was checked as the waggons passed the castle. Any other produce of the colony could be sent to the Netherlands or to India for sale. The colonists were allowed to establish whale fisheries, and to export the oil. Trade in slaves with Madagascar and the east coast of Africa was also thrown open to them.

At the same time the commissioners forbade the landing of any goods whatever from foreign vessels. Trade with strangers was restricted to the sale of provisions for money, unless special permission was first obtained from the government.

The residents in Capetown protested that unless they could trade with people of other nationalities they would be ruined. For more than a century the Cape had been a place where persons coming from Europe could buy Indian wares, and those from India European wares, a large proportion of which was obtained from foreigners. Though the trade was illegal, it was conducted openly, and in recent years it had greatly increased. From the middle of the century to 1771 the number of Dutch ships that called yearly was fifty-one, and under other flags nineteen; but after 1772 the foreign ships that called greatly outnumbered the Dutch.

Distress, consequent upon the reduction of the garrison and an almost total cessation of trade, now became general. To

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relieve it, and at the same time to increase the revenue, in March 1793 the commissioners established a loan bank. A quantity of paper was stamped to represent different sums, amounting in all to over £135,000, was declared a legal tender, and was issued through this bank to applicants on mortgage of property. By this means relief from pressure of debt was obtained by many landowners; but the effect of issuing such a quantity of cartoon money, with no gold to redeem it, was greatly to increase the general distress.

The belief in the existence of gold in Great Namaqualand had not yet died out. A burgher named Sebastiaan van Reenen, who was a man of means, proposed to fit out another exploring party to search for it. The commissioners intended to take formal possession of all the bays on the coast of Namaqualand that were likely to be frequented by whalers, and it was therefore planned that a vessel should proceed northward for that purpose, and that Mr. Van Reenen with his party should take passage in her to a bay where a train of waggons which he was to send overland should meet him.

In January 1793 the vessel sailed from Table Bay. She touched at Possession Island and Angra Pequena, at which places stone beacons with the Company's monogram upon them were set up. She anchored next in Walfish Bay. The country inland was explored to some distance by members of Mr. Van Reenen's party, but no gold could be found. A chart of the bay was made, and a beacon of possession was set up. Without waggons nothing more could be done, but the train which had left the Cape a long time before was prevented by intense drought from piercing the country, and so after waiting at Walfish Bay till hope was exhausted, Mr. Van Reenen and his companions returned in the vessel to the Cape.

In 1792 the contest with the Bushmen along the interior mountain range was carried on with unusual vigour on both sides. At one time the colonists were driven from about a hundred farms, but a great many Bushmen were shot by the burgher forces, and the lost ground was after a while regained.

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For several years there had been a quarrel between different sections of the Kosa tribe. Since the first Kaffir war, the chief Rarabe, who exercised control over all the clans west of the Gonubie river, had been killed in battle with a Tembu army. The son who should have succeeded him, Umlawu by name, was then dead, but had left as his heir a lad of tender years. Upon Rarabe's death, the councillors selected his son Ndlambe as regent until Gaika, heir of Umlawu, should grow up; but some of the clans refused to submit to Ndlambe. In March 1789 these clans, headed by the chiefs Langa, Cungwa, and others of less note, suddenly crossed the Fish river, and spread over the Zuurveld. The farmers fled before the invaders, but were unable to save the whole of their cattle. Landdrost Woeke then called out a commando, and despatched an express to Capetown with a request that the council would send a hundred soldiers to aid him.

The council blamed the landdrost for calling out a commando, and came to a decision that war with the Kosas must be avoided at any cost. A commission, consisting of the landdrost and Messrs. Maynier and Wagener, was appointed to arrange matters, and was plainly instructed to purchase the good will of the invaders. In the mean time a burgher force had taken the field, when the Kosa clans, without waiting to be attacked, fell back to the Fish river. They were lying on the western bank, and the burghers were approaching, when the instructions of the council were received by the landdrost. The commando was at once discharged. Not a shot had been fired, nor a single head of cattle recovered, so the burghers were indignant and almost mutinous when they were required to disband.

The commission then sought an interview with the Kosa chiefs, and tried by means of large presents and smooth words to induce them to retire to their own country, but without success. The matter was then left in the hands of Mr. Wagener, who made an arrangement that the Kosas might occupy the land between the Fish river and the Kowie during the pleasure of the government. The intruders now began to steal cattle far and wide. This condition of

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things lasted until May 1793, when a reprisal was made upon a kraal by a party of farmers. A few days later the Kosas spread over the whole of the coast lands as far as the Zwartkops river, burning the houses, driving off the cattle, and murdering all the farmers that fell in their way.

Honoratus Maynier, who had succeeded Mr. Woeke as landdrost, tried to restore order by sending presents and friendly messages to the chiefs, but no good came of this. The Kosa clans, though at variance with each other, were united against the white people, and there were not less than six thousand warriors west of the Fish river. Over sixty-five thousand head of horned cattle, taken from the colonists, had been driven across that stream.

The government now instructed Mr. Anthony Faure, landdrost of Swellendam, to raise a strong force and drive the Kosas back to their own country, but further than doing this and compelling them to restore the farmers' cattle, he was not to punish them. Landdrost Maynier, of Graaff-Reinet, upon learning that the government had decided to employ arms, also called out as large a force as could be got together. The two commandos, mustering in all about five hundred burghers and one hundred Hottentots, joined each other, when Landdrost Maynier assumed the chief command. In September and October a strong patrol entered the Kosa country with the object of recovering the farmers' cattle.

In a skirmish at the Buffalo river a few Kosas were killed, and some cattle were captured ; but through Maynier's mistaken confidence in every black man who professed to be friendly, the patrol narrowly escaped destruction. It returned to the colony nearly empty-handed. There was positive proof that the people under the regent Ndlambe were taking an active part in the war, but Maynier would not believe in that chief's guile, and visited him as a friend.

An attempt was now made to drive the enemy out of the Zuurveld. The Kosas were too wary to risk an encounter in the open field, and did not even make a stand in natural strongholds. When any were met by chance they professed to be friendly, and upon a mere promise to

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go across the Fish river, were left unmolested by order of Maynier. After two or three weeks' marching backward and forward from one forest to another, only to learn that each place was occupied again as soon as they left it, the burghers found themselves with horses and oxen quite worn out, very little food of any kind to be had, and no prospect of better fortune in the future.

It was evident to every one that there were only two methods of bringing the war to a close. One was the plan adopted by Adriaan van Jaarsveld twelve years before : no quarter, let every man of the invaders leave the colony or be shot. The other was for the Europeans to submit to the best terms they could get. A council of war took the latter course. In November 1793 the two landdrosts managed to obtain a meeting with the chiefs of the clans that had invaded the colony, when it was agreed that there should be peace. The chiefs merely promised to surrender any of the colonists' horses and horned cattle that were still alive, as soon as they could collect them. The regent Ndlambe, in the interview which Maynier had with him, admitted the Fish river as the boundary, and this was held to be binding upon the others.

The burghers were indignant at what was taking place. They wanted some one in command in whom they could have confidence, and the war to be carried on until the colony was cleared of invaders. They scouted the assertion of Maynier that Ndlambe's friendship and promise to respect the boundary could be relied upon, and insisted that as his people had taken part in the raid into the colony, and as he was harbouring their cattle, he should be dealt with as a foe. They dispersed in a spirit which needed very little provocation to induce an open revolt against the East India Company and its officers.

So far from really restoring peace was the arrangement, which the government termed bringing the second Kaffir war to an end, that within a month three white people were murdered and another was badly wounded by roving bands of Kosas a long distance from the colonial boundary. No notice was taken of this by the government,

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however, but orders were issued, forbidding Europeans under very severe penalties from crossing the Fish river or carrying on intercourse of any kind with the Kosas. The landdrost was instructed to conciliate the intruders in the Zuurveld by means of presents, and to induce them in a friendly manner to return to their own country.

In the western districts efforts were being made at this time by several colonists to improve the domestic animals of the country. Horses, horned cattle, and woolled sheep of the best breeds were imported in considerable numbers from Europe and North America.

Before 1791 the only churches allowed in the colony were those of the Dutch Reformed and Lutheran communions. In that year the directors gave the Moravians leave to send two or three missionaries to South Africa and to dispense the sacraments to any converts they might make. In November 1792 three missionaries arrived, and selected Baviaans' Kloof—now Genadendal—as a suitable site for a station. The council granted them the use of as much land there as they might require. They succeeded shortly in drawing a number of Hottentots together, and in forming a large village, which still exists as the chief station of the Moravian Society in South Africa.

The people of the Netherlands had for a long time been divided into two parties, one of which was in favour of a pure republic, the other in favour of very large powers being conferred upon the prince of Orange as stadtholder. The former leaned towards France, the latter towards England, with which kingdom the government of the stadtholder had been in close alliance since 1788. France had become a republic. Events had for some time been tending towards a rupture, when on the 1st of February 1793 a declaration of war with Great Britain and the United Netherlands was issued at Paris.

Upon tidings of this reaching the Cape, the commissioners formed all the clerks and junior officers in the civil service into a military company, which they termed the pennist corps, and they raised a company of half-breeds and Hottentots, put them in uniform, and set them to learn to be

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soldiers. This corps was termed the pandours. No other means could be devised of strengthening the colony.

Messrs. Nederburgh and Frykenius now prepared to proceed to Java. Just at this time an old servant of the Company, Abraham Josias Sluysken by name, arrived at the Cape on his way to Europe. The commissioners offered him the appointment of head of the government, with the same power and title that they held themselves, and after a little persuasion he consented to undertake the duty. He had more authority given to him than that held by a governor, for he could act in any matter without consulting the council, if he chose to do so.

Mr. Sluysken was formally installed on the 2nd of September 1793, and as soon as the duties were handed over, Messrs. Nederburgh and Frykenius sailed for Java.

CHAPTER XV.

WHEN Mr. Sluysken took over the government of the Cape Colony, the East India Company was bankrupt, though its offices were still open. There was no gold or silver coin in the colony, and the cartoon money rested on no other security than the promise of the Company to redeem it at some future time. Internal trade, except by means of barter, had almost ceased. Debts could be paid in paper, for it was a legal tender, and therefore no one cared to give credit. The prohibition of trade with foreigners had caused such distress that it had been withdrawn for three years ; but now very few foreigners called. There was hardly any market for the surplus produce. Nothing worth speaking of could be exported to Europe, and the government found it difficult to send to India the wheat, wine, butter, and tallow that could be made use of there. The colonists had not yet been able to organise a foreign trade on their own account.

Mr. Sluysken was obliged to direct his attention at once to means of defence in case of attack by the French. He

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caused two small forts to be built in Simonstown, and some defensive works to be constructed on the shore of Hout Bay, chiefly by means of convict and slave labour.

During 1794 the complaints of the burghers of Graaff-Reinet were unceasing with regard to the paper money, the stagnation of trade, the new taxes, the conduct of the landdrost, the arrangement with the Kosas which the government termed peace, and a few other matters of less importance. The landdrost took no notice of their complaints, and while the colonists were being plundered and harassed, he reported everything as being in a quiet and orderly state. The burghers then sent delegates to Capetown, with a mass of evidence to show how matters stood, and to request that Maynier might be recalled ; but Commissioner Sluysken would not hear what they had to say. By this treatment the patience of the colonists was at length exhausted.

In February 1795 a party of burghers assembled at the village of Graaff-Reinet, and expelled the landdrost and his partisans from the district. As the Company's officers wore orange cockades, the burghers displayed the tricolour, and called themselves "Nationals." They declared that they were not acting against the States-General, but against the corrupt servants of the East India Company.

Mr. Sluysken then sent a commission to try to pacify them. In April this commission met the leaders of the Nationals at Graaff-Reinet, and after a short discussion agreed to relieve the district of Mr. Maynier. Another officer, named Van der Poel, was installed as landdrost. The commission was then requested by the burghers to make a tour along the border of the Zuurveld, in order that a true report of the state of the district might be made. But that was just what the government did not want to know, so the members of the commission declined. The matter was frequently discussed during the next six weeks ; but finding that their wishes would not be complied with, on the 14th of June an armed party compelled the commission to leave the district.

On the 6th of July a meeting of the acting and retired

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heemraden was held, when six burghers, elected by the people, took their seats at a separate table. Several officers were then appointed in accordance with the popular will, but no change was made in the form of government of the district. In the following month Carel David Gerotz became landdrost, and Adriaan van Jaarsveld president of the council of militia.

These proceedings were reported to Mr. Sluysken and the council of policy, as if they were quite in order, and the letters ended by the leaders of the people trusting that their conduct would meet with approval; but it was clear to everyone that the district of Graaff-Reinet was lost to the East India Company.

In Swellendam the people acted in a similar manner. Landdrost Faure was not disliked by the burghers as Maynier was; but he was accused of being a zealous agent of the government, and of having permitted himself to be guided by Maynier in the campaign of 1793. In June 1795 a band of armed burghers under their elected commandant, Pieter Delport, expelled the landdrost and several other officials. Mr. Hermanus Steyn was chosen to take Mr. Faure's place, and a council, termed a National Assembly, was elected. There was a party in the district opposed to these acts, but a majority of the people of Swellendam had thrown off the rule of the East India Company.

In Stellenbosch and in Capetown itself there were many who approved of these movements, though they did not proceed to the length of open rebellion.

The troops in the colony consisted of six hundred and twenty-eight infantry, four hundred and thirty engineers, and two hundred and ten pandours. The head of the whole force was Colonel Robert Jacob Gordon. The infantry regiment was termed the national battalion, though it was composed of soldiers from nearly every country in the north of Europe. It was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel De Lille.

In the evening of the 11th of June 1795 it was reported in Capetown that nine ships of war had anchored in Simon's Bay, but it was not known what nation they belonged to. The commissioner called the council of policy together, and at half past ten the members met in the castle. They resolved

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to cause the signals of alarm to be made, summoning the burghers of the country districts to hasten to Capetown. Colonel De Lille was directed to proceed without delay to Simonstown with two hundred infantry and one hundred engineers, to strengthen the garrison there.

The council broke up a little after midnight, but the members remained at the castle, and at half past two in the morning of the 12th the commissioner called them together again. A gentleman named Ross had just arrived from Simonstown with a letter from the English officers, Admiral Elphinstone and Major-General Craig, for the head of the government, inviting him and Colonel Gordon to visit the admiral's ship for the purpose of receiving important information as well as an order from the stadtholder.

In reply, the council informed the English officers that neither Commissioner Sluysken nor Colonel Gordon could leave Capetown, and requested them to send some one with the information and order. The resident at Simonstown was instructed to permit the English fleet to take in provisions, but not to allow armed men to land.

In the afternoon of the following day three English officers arrived at the castle, and handed to Commissioner Sluysken a mandate from the prince of Orange, ordering him to admit the troops of the king of England into the forts and elsewhere in the colony, likewise to admit British ships of war into the ports, and to consider such troops and ships of war as the forces of a friendly power sent to protect the colony against the French. They also gave the commissioner a letter from Admiral Elphinstone and General Craig, containing an account of the condition of the Netherlands. The winter in Europe had been a very severe one, he was informed, and towards the close of January the rivers were frozen so hard that the French armies crossed into Utrecht and Gelderland, compelling the English forces to retire to Germany, and the Dutch forces to surrender. In a few days the whole country was in possession of the French, and the stadtholder was obliged to retire to England.

Every member of the council wished well to the Orange party, but they could not regard the mandate as of any

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force, for it was written in a foreign country by a fugitive prince. They wrote therefore to Admiral Elphinstone that the fleet would be supplied with provisions, and requested that only small parties of unarmed men might be sent on shore. In case the colony should be attacked by the French, they said, they would ask for assistance, but they were not then in need of it.

An answer was sent that General Craig would proceed to Capetown and give them further information. In the mean time the burgher forces were beginning to arrive from Stellenbosch, and two hundred horsemen were sent to strengthen a post that had been formed at Muizenburg.

On the 18th of June General Craig arrived in Capetown, and on the next day stated to the council of policy the object of his mission and the manner in which he had been instructed to carry it out. The fleet and troops, he said, had been sent by the king of England to protect the colony until the ancient form of government in the Netherlands could be restored. No changes would be made in the laws or the customs of the country without the expressed desire of the inhabitants, nor would any new taxes be imposed. The people would be at liberty to trade with England and the English possessions in India. The government would be carried on in the name of the king of England, but the civil servants would retain their offices until His Majesty's pleasure should be known.

The council replied in writing, declining the proposal, and stating that they would protect the colony with their own forces against any power that should attack it.

The English officers then issued a proclamation in which the government and inhabitants were invited and required to place themselves under the protection of the king of England, to prevent the French obtaining possession of the colony. And three days later they issued an address, inviting a committee of the inhabitants to come to Simonstown to confer with them.

On the 26th the admiral and general wrote a long letter to the government, the keynote of which was that the Netherlands had been absorbed by France, and as the Cape

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Colony if left to itself would be absorbed also, the king of England could not allow it to fall into the hands of his enemies.

The council replied that there was a great difference between offering assistance against an invader and requiring them to surrender the colony to the British government.

At this stage the supply of provisions to the fleet was stopped.

As soon as the design of the British officers was known, those burghers of the Cape and Stellenbosch who had been inclined to rebel ceased opposing the government, and declared themselves ready to assist in the defence of the colony to the utmost of their power. When the commissioner announced that the country would not be surrendered, he was met with loud huzzas in the streets, and was hailed as Father Sluysken.

Yet there was a great difference in the views of the colonists and those of the commissioner and the members of the council of policy. The colonists were eager to defend the country, because they were in strong sympathy with the faction in the Netherlands which was termed the patriot party, and which was opposed to the prince of Orange and his English allies. The members of the government, on the contrary, were attached to the Orange party, and objected to the English chiefly because these came professing to be friends but really intending to be masters of the country. And there can be no doubt that several of them at heart favoured the English, even as masters, because they were fearful that a French force might arrive or that the Nationals might get possession of the whole colony. This was the view taken by Colonel De Lille and most of the officers of the infantry regiment, who never had any desire to prevent the entry of the British troops.

On the 28th of June a vessel arrived in Simon's Bay from Amsterdam, with despatches for the Cape and Batavia. She was at once placed under guard by the English admiral, but a newspaper escaped the vigilance of the sentries, and came into possession of a Cape burgher. It contained a notice by the States-General, absolving all

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persons in the Netherlands and in the Dutch colonies from the oath of allegiance to the prince of Orange. The letters were read by British officers, and portions of many of them were detained. The residue was sent by the admiral to Capetown for delivery. But from the notice in the newspaper and the fragments of the letters it became known that the mother country had its own government, and that the French were regarded as friends.

In order to prevent supplies of provisions reaching the fleet, on the 29th of June orders were issued that the troops and residents should leave Simonstown. That night all the provisions in the place were destroyed, the guns in the batteries were spiked, the powder that could not be carried away was thrown into the sea, and the troops and most of the residents retired. The troops joined the other forces at Muizenburg.

When the signals calling the burghers to the Cape were first made, only seventy men in the district of Swellendam obeyed them. On the 16th of July the National Assembly met in session, and wrote to Commissioner Sluysken that they were willing to treat with him and to render assistance if he would guarantee to them exemption from direct taxation, free trade, the withdrawal of the cartoon money, permission to retain as slaves all Bushmen made prisoners, and several other favours of less importance.

The letter was hardly sent away, however, when many of the burghers began to reflect that their claims would certainly be ignored if the English got possession of the country. They therefore resolved to aid in the defence, and one hundred and sixty-eight mounted men, under Commandant Delport, left for the Cape. On the 26th of July they arrived at the castle.

Some forty to fifty individuals, chiefly discharged soldiers and persons of little standing, then elected a man named Louis Almoro Pisani to be their commandant, and threatened to confiscate the property of those who were aiding the Company. This extreme section of the Nationals was, however, soon broken up, and Pisani himself was arrested and committed to prison, from which he only emerged some months later to go into banishment from the colony for life.

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In all, there were now in the field eleven hundred and forty burgher horsemen. None had come from the district of Graaff-Reinet. About two hundred were constantly at Muizenburg, the others were stationed in Capetown, with pickets along the road to the camp.

On the 9th of July Admiral Elphinstone took possession of three Dutch ships in Simon's Bay, and on the 14th eight hundred soldiers were landed and occupied Simonstown.

On the morning of the 7th of August there were at the camp at Muizenburg two hundred men of the national battalion, one hundred and twenty engineers, two hundred burgher cavalry, and one hundred and fifty pandours. Lieutenant-Colonel De Lille was in command. There was a small guard at Kalk Bay. About an hour after noon another hundred burgher horsemen arrived as a relief. Just as they reached the camp it was observed that some of the English ships were under sail, but very little regard was at first paid to this.

In a few minutes, however, it became evident that the British forces were about to make an attack. For this purpose a column had been formed of soldiers, marines, and sailors, in all sixteen hundred men, under command of Major-General Craig. This column was marching along the road from Simonstown. The sea in False Bay was smooth, but a gentle breeze was blowing from the north-west. Four ships were sailing towards the Muizenburg beach.

Along the margin of False Bay, from Kalk Bay to Muizenburg, a steep mountain rises only a few paces from the water's edge. On the narrow strip of level ground was the road, then as to-day the only passage by which troops could march from Simonstown to Capetown. At Muizenburg the mountain terminates abruptly, and is succeeded by the sandy plain called the Cape flats. The Dutch camp was at the foot of the mountain facing False Bay, and eleven pieces of artillery commanded the road.

The English ships fired a few guns at the outpost at Kalk Bay, which caused the picket there to retire over the mountain. Sailing on until abreast of Muizenburg, they opened their broadsides upon the camp; but the first shot was hardly fired when De Lille with the infantry abandoned the

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post, and fled along the road to Capetown. Some of the engineers followed, leaving a company under Lieutenant Marnitz to work two cannon that could be used towards the sea. With these the English fire was answered, but without much effect. Lieutenant Marnitz was soon convinced that the camp could not be held. He therefore spiked the two cannon, and retired as the English column came charging along the road. Nothing was taken from the camp by the retreating troops but five small field-pieces.

It is no stigma upon the burgher cavalry and the pandours that they were swept round the mountain in confusion by the fire from the ships, and did not wait to meet the advancing column. The English followed with cheers; but at the first point out of range of the ships' guns, the engineers and burghers made a stand. From this they were driven by a charge of the English soldiers. Behind the mountain, however, they again turned upon their pursuers, and with such effect that the English fell back to Muizenburg.

De Lille did not stop until he reached Diep River. Next morning with some of the infantry he marched back towards Muizenburg, but fled upon a column of English seamen and marines advancing to attack him. That evening he formed a camp at or very near the site of the present military buildings at Wynberg, about a mile from the farm where he had passed the previous night.

The burgher officers now drew up a document in which De Lille was charged with treason, and forwarded it to the commissioner. He was thereupon sent to the castle under arrest, and Captain Van Baalen was placed in command of the camp at Wynberg.

On the 9th of August the British forces were increased by the arrival from St. Helena of three hundred and fifty-two soldiers with nine pieces of artillery. Three days later Admiral Elphinstone and General Craig wrote again to Commissioner Sluysken. They stated that they had left England hastily in order to reach the Cape before the French, and had only brought with them such land forces as could be conveyed in the men-of-war. But when they sailed, a number of ships were being made ready to bring out three thousand

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troops, and these were now due. They repeated the offer to take the Cape under British protection upon the same terms as those announced ever since their arrival.

The commissioner laid this letter before the council of policy and the burgher councillors, with a request for an expression of opinion. In the council of policy, seven members voted not to give up the colony while resistance could be offered, and only one was in favour of coming to terms. The burgher councillors with one voice adopted a resolution that the colony ought to be defended to the very last. The burghers were assembled, and the letter was read to them. They were of the same opinion as the councillors, and the militia officers without an exception signed a document to that effect.

But in spite of these brave words, the means of resistance were daily becoming less. There were rumours that the Bushmen in the interior were giving more than usual trouble, and that the Hottentots in the district of Swellendam and the slaves elsewhere were preparing to rise against the white people. Whether these rumours were true or false, many burghers returned home to protect their families. From eleven hundred and forty men, which the burgher cavalry numbered during July and the first fortnight in August, they fell off to about nine hundred at the beginning of September. The burgher infantry, three hundred and fifty strong, which was composed of residents of the town, remained in its full force.

On the 1st of September a mutiny broke out in the Hottentot corps. One hundred and seventy of the pandours marched with their arms to the castle, declaring they would serve no longer. Commissioner Sluysken induced them to return to the camp, but they went back sullen and obstinate, and were thereafter of very little service.

On the 4th of September a fleet of fifteen English ships entered Simon's Bay. They had on board three thousand troops, under command of General Sir Alured Clarke. Many of the burgher cavalry now gave up all hope, and left for their homes, so that ten days later there were only five hundred and twenty-one men of this force in the field.

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At nine o'clock in the morning of the 14th of September an English force, between four and five thousand strong, in two columns, marched from Muizenburg towards Capetown. As soon as the signals were made, all the burgher cavalry, with the exception of one company, were sent to assist the regular troops. Some joined the camp at Wynberg, others attempted to harass the columns on the march, in which they succeeded so far as to kill one sailor and wound seventeen soldiers. But the force to which they were opposed was too strong to be checked by any efforts that they could make.

Van Baalen, who was in command of the camp at Wynberg, drew up his troops as if he meant to make a stand; but as soon as the English were within range of his guns, he retreated with the greater part of the national battalion. The burghers cried out that they were being betrayed and sold. It was a scene of confusion. One company of infantry and most of the engineers made a stand for a few minutes, and then fled towards Capetown, abandoning the camp with everything in it. The burgher cavalry, strongly impressed with the idea that Commissioner Sluysken and Colonel Gordon, as well as the officers of the national battalion, were traitors at heart, and considering that if they fell back to Capetown they would be in a trap and must become prisoners of war, dispersed and returned to their homes.

At six o'clock in the evening of the 14th of September the council of policy met. The position was as follows. A British army, over four thousand strong and in thorough discipline, was encamped at Newlands. The force which still in name was at the disposal of the government consisted of about one thousand seven hundred and twenty men of all classes. Nearly half of these had retreated during the day from the camp at Wynberg, and at dusk were reported to be at Drie Kopjes—now Mowbray. The others were guarding the various forts. Even if all had been loyal and resolute to fight to the last, they could not have held their own for any length of time; but they were without a leader in whom they could have confidence, and many of

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the trained soldiers were not disposed to meet the English in battle.

Further defence was impossible ; but one member of the council—Mr. Van Reede van Oudtshoorn—declared that with his consent the colony would never be given up. The others were of opinion that, to save the town from being taken by storm, they ought to surrender on the best terms they could get. With this view a messenger was sent with a letter to the British officers, requesting a suspension of arms for forty-eight hours, in order to arrange conditions. At midnight General Clarke consented to an armistice for twenty-four hours.

In the morning of the 15th Messrs. J. J. le Sueur and W. S. van Ryneveld were sent with the conditions proposed by the council to confer with General Craig, who had come for that purpose to Rustenburg, the country seat of the early Dutch governors at Rondebosch. Some of the articles proposed were agreed to, but others were modified. Late in the night the commissioner and council signed the terms as finally arranged.

These provided for the surrender of the Dutch troops, but the officers were to be at liberty either to remain in Capetown or to return to Europe, upon giving their word of honour not to serve against England while the war lasted. The colonists were to retain all their rights, including the existing form of religion. No new taxes were to be levied, but the old imposts were to be reduced as much as possible. Everything belonging to the East India Company was to be handed over to the English officers, but all other property was to be respected. The lands and buildings belonging to the East India Company were to be held in pledge for the redemption of that portion of the paper money which was not secured by mortgages on private property.

At three o'clock in the afternoon of Wednesday, the 16th of September 1795, fourteen hundred British soldiers under General Craig arrived at the castle and drew up on the open ground in front. The Dutch troops marched out with colours flying and drums beating, passed by the English, and laid down their arms, surrendering as prisoners of war.

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In the evening General Clarke arrived with two thousand infantry and a train of artillery.

On the 18th a ship brought intelligence that a treaty of alliance between the republics of France and the Netherlands, in which war with Great Britain was one of the specified objects, had been concluded in the preceding month of May. The conquest of the colony was therefore regarded by all parties as a lawful act.

CHAPTER XVI.

AS far as the Dutch East India Company was concerned the colony was now surrendered; but the people of the country districts were not disposed to acknowledge the new authorities. The greater number of the farmers retired to their homes, declaring that they did not consider themselves bound by the acts of the late government.

Under these circumstances every possible effort to soothe the colonists was made by the English commanders. The people of Capetown were treated in such a manner as to dispel their anxiety, and they were assured that they would presently be in the enjoyment of such liberty and good fortune as they had never known before. The government was carried on by Admiral Elphinstone and Generals Clarke and Craig, acting conjointly. Many of the old servants of the East India Company, who were willing to take an oath to be faithful to the king of England as long as he should hold the colony, were retained in employment, and most of the clerks in the different offices were allowed to keep their situations.

The paper money in use amounted to £258,255. On the 1st of October the British commanders fixed the rate of exchange at twelve stivers in paper for an English silver shilling. But it was not possible to keep up the value of the cartoon money by such means, and in common dealings even then three shillings in silver would purchase

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as much as a paper rixdollar. Copper coin that was paid to the troops was eagerly sought by shopkeepers, and penny pieces passed current as equal to two stivers, instead of only one. A few years later this value was put upon them by law, and to this day they are often called dubbeltjes, a name they then acquired. For the time, however, the attempt of the British commanders to place the paper money on a par with metal had the desired effect of doing much towards conciliating the colonists.

Another popular proclamation was issued on the 30th of October, by which purchasers of goods under the value of £20 at an auction sale were relieved of the payment of stamp duty on their accounts.

The committee of the high court of justice was dissolved, and in its stead a board termed the burgher senate was created. This board consisted of six members, the senior of whom was president. Vacancies were filled by the head of the government from a fourfold list of names furnished by the board itself. The duties of the burgher senate were to represent to the government matters affecting the colonists, to keep the roads in order, to provide watchmen for the town, to propose to the head of the government the best means of levying taxes for these purposes, to farm out the public windmills, to regulate the prices of bread and meat, to fix tradesmen's wages, in short to perform all the duties —except judicial—of the burgher councillors and the committee of the high court of justice in former times.

Two days after the capitulation a document signed by General Craig was sent round the country, in which a promise was made that every one might buy from whom he would, sell to whom he would, employ whom he would, and come and go whenever and wherever he chose, by land or by water. The farmers were invited to send their cattle and produce to Capetown, where they could sell whatever they wished in the manner most profitable for themselves. No new taxes would be levied, and such old taxes as were found to be oppressive would be done away with. The paper money should continue to hold its value, but the English would make their payments in hard coin.

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Lastly, the farmers were invited by the English commander, if there was any subject which they wished to have explained, to choose fit persons and depute them to confer with him.

These measures had equally good effects in Stellenbosch as in Capetown, and in this district no opposition was made to the new authorities.

Swellendam also submitted without a struggle. Mr. Faure was sent back as landdrost, and a promise was made that the past acts of the Nationals would be buried in oblivion if they would acknowledge the British authorities. On the 4th of November there was a special meeting of the heemraden and the members of the National Assembly, when they all gave in their submission and took the oath required. Mr. Steyn transferred the drostdy, and thereafter took his seat with the heemraden.

On the 15th of November Admiral Elphinstone and General Clarke sailed for India, leaving General Craig behind with the title of "commandant of the town and settlement of the Cape of Good Hope."

The people of Graaff-Reinet had not yet submitted, but a letter explaining their conduct was written by the leaders of the Nationals to the British commanders, which led to the belief that they were ready to come to terms. General Craig appointed as landdrost a colonist named Bresler, and gave him instructions to conciliate the farmers.

In February 1796 Mr. Bresler arrived at the village of Graaff-Reinet. Mr. Gerotz received him as a guest at the drostdy, but he was not permitted to enter the courtroom, and was informed that the landdrost, the secretary, and the minor officials had been instructed by the representatives of the people to retain their posts and to allow no one else access to the records.

A fortnight later the heemraden, militia officers, and representatives of the people met at the drostdy. Mr. Bresler was invited to inform the assembly for what purpose he had visited Graaff-Reinet. He did so, and, after reading his commission, added that he would convene a meeting of the heemraden that afternoon and preside in it. He was asked

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if the representatives of the people would be admitted, and replied that he could not acknowledge them.

At two in the afternoon Mr. Bresler caused the drostdy bell to be rung and the English flag to be hoisted on the staff. A few minutes later a number of excited people crowded about him, and the flag was hauled down. Amid uproar, Mr. Bresler demanded to know whether they would acknowledge the king of England as their sovereign, General Craig as their governor, and himself as their landdrost, also whether they would take the oath of fidelity. Not one was willing to do so. Mr. Bresler was informed that they had elected Marthinus Prinsloo "protector of the voice of the people," and that he had forbidden all persons from taking the oath of allegiance to the king of England; but that another meeting would be held on the 22nd of March to settle matters finally.

Mr. Bresler remained to learn the result. Meantime a man named Jan Pieter Woyer returned to the village from a tour through the district. Woyer had not been long in South Africa, but had filled the post of district surgeon of Graaff-Reinet since December 1794, and had thus been able to acquire influence. He was a warm upholder of French principles, and at this time was doing all he could to induce the farmers not to submit to the British authorities.

On the 22nd of March there was a large gathering at the drostdy, when Adriaan van Jaarsveld, speaking for all, stated that they meant to retain their own government, but would agree to take to Capetown for sale whatever their land produced, and to observe all reasonable laws, provided the English governor would allow them to purchase powder, lead, clothing, and such other articles as they needed. Another of the popular leaders added that the farmers of Graaff-Reinet would not commence war against the English, and that their only reason for refusing to take the oath required was that when the Netherlands should recover the country they would not be able to justify themselves if they did so. These statements were agreed to by all present as setting forth their views, and the crowd then dispersed.

On hearing of these proceedings from Mr. Bresler on his return to Capetown, General Craig sent three hundred soldiers

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to Stellenbosch, to be in readiness to move forward at short notice. Supplies of ammunition and goods of every kind were cut off from the district of Graaff-Reinet, and a corps of Hottentots was raised for service in the interior.

Meantime dissensions broke out among the people of Graaff-Reinet. The farmers along the coast and at Bruintjes Hoogte remained faithful to the National cause, but the others came to a conclusion that it would be better to submit to the English than to be deprived of a market to buy and sell in. Woyer, for whose arrest the government was striving, suddenly disappeared.

On the 22nd of August there was a public meeting at the drostdy, at which, however, there was no one from Zwartkops River, the Zuurveld, or Bruintjes Hoogte, except Adriaan van Jaarsveld. The landdrost Gerotz and the secretary Oertel exerted themselves to bring about submission to the authorities at the Cape, with the result that all the people of note present—including Van Jaarsveld—signed a document in which they promised to be faithful to the English government.

Two days before this document reached Capetown, a strong military force left Stellenbosch to march to Graaff-Reinet. An express was now sent to order its return, and overtook it at Roodezand. General Craig empowered Mr. Gerotz to act as landdrost and Mr. Oertel as secretary until further instructions, promised that the past should be forgotten, and issued an amnesty from which only Woyer was excluded.

The other party held out until November, when they sent deputies to Capetown to ask for certain concessions. General Craig declined to grant them special terms, and warned them against further opposition. The deputies then declared that they were willing to submit, and with this the matter ended for a time. Mr. Gerotz remained as acting landdrost, and carried out the laws in the name of the king of England, though without any strong hold upon the people. The National party was by no means extinct, but recognised that it was useless then to attempt to set the British authorities at defiance. Many of them hoped that aid from abroad would shortly reach them, for Woyer had made certain that the French would send help as soon as they knew how

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matters stood, and he had gone to Batavia in a Danish ship that put into Algoa Bay.

There were six French frigates at Batavia when he arrived there. The admiral sent one with a supply of powder and lead for the Graaff-Reinet farmers, but when she reached Algoa Bay an English ship-of-war happened to be there, and after a short action the frigate was obliged to retire. The government of Java also sent a vessel laden with munitions of war, clothing, sugar, and coffee for the use of the farmers. It was intended that her cargo should be landed at Algoa Bay, but in a storm the vessel was so much damaged that she put into Delagoa Bay to be repaired, and in that port was seized by a combined force of English and Portuguese.

A fleet of nine ships, sent from Holland under command of Admiral Lucas, also failed in the object of giving aid to the colonists against the English. The admiral entered Saldanha Bay, and was there caught as in a trap between a much stronger British fleet on one side and a large British army on the other. On the 17th of August 1796 he was obliged to surrender his ships and nearly two thousand soldiers and sailors, without even an attempt to resist.

General Craig did his utmost to place English rule before the colonists in as favourable a light as possible, and though as a conqueror he could not be loved, as a man he was highly respected. He was just without being severe, and permitted neither bribery nor oppression. Much of his attention was occupied with strengthening old forts and constructing new ones. Some blockhouses which he built on the slope of the Devil's Peak are still in existence, and a tower near the mouth of Salt River, which was called by his name, remained until 1888.

In one matter only he made a great mistake. When the colony was surrendered there were over thirty-six thousand muids of wheat in the magazines, and the crops which were gathered a few months later were the best known for many years. Against the advice of men of experience in South Africa, General Craig sent a quantity

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of the prize wheat to England, and maintained that the demand created by the troops and naval forces would be met by increased production. But the next harvest was a very poor one, and famine was barely averted by sending in urgent haste to India for wheat and rice and to Europe for flour. It was necessary to adopt very stringent measures to obtain bread for the troops, and a farmer who was at all slow in furnishing grain, if he had any, might make sure of soldiers being quartered upon him.

In 1796 the imperial ministry decided upon the manner in which the Cape Colony should be ruled. A civilian of eminence was to be sent out as governor, and was to be entrusted with all the power and authority held by the governor and council of policy under the Dutch East India Company. A military officer of high rank was to have command of a strong garrison, and in case of the governor's death or absence he was to act as administrator. Otherwise he was to have no civil authority, though he was to be termed lieutenant-governor.

The king's ministers selected as governor the earl of Macartney, and as lieutenant-governor and commander of the forces Major-General Francis Dundas.

Lord Macartney arrived at the Cape on the 4th of May 1797, and on the following morning took the oaths of office. His government was free of the slightest taint of corruption, but was conducted on very strict lines. Those colonists who professed to be attached to Great Britain were treated with favour, while those who preferred a republic to a monarchy were obliged to conceal their opinions, or they were promptly treated as guilty of sedition. There never was a period in the history of the country when there was less freedom of speech than at this time.

A matter that annoyed the colonists very much was that all the important offices were now given to men who could not speak the Dutch language, and who drew from the treasury salaries very much larger than had ever been paid before.

As it had been resolved that the Cape was to be a permanent British possession, a new oath of allegiance to

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the king was required of the burghers. Many objected to this, and a few did not appear when summoned to take it. The governor was firm. Dragoons were quartered upon several of the reluctant ones, and others were banished from the country.

General Craig had promised the colonists free trade, and he kept his word as well as he could. By free trade, must of course be understood what the words implied in those days, not what they imply now. A duty of five per cent of the value was charged upon both imports and exports, as under the East India Company. No merchandise whatever was allowed to be landed from a vessel under a foreign flag, unless by special permission under urgent circumstances, and then double import duties were charged. The only exception to this rule was the case of a Portuguese vessel from Mozambique, which put into Table Bay with three hundred and fifty slaves on board. General Craig was of opinion that slaves were so greatly needed for the extension of agriculture that he allowed this cargo to be landed and sold by auction on payment of the ordinary duty of £2 a head. Any produce required by the government could be demanded at stated prices.

Lord Macartney brought out and put in force the king's instructions concerning trade. Goods imported from Great Britain and Ireland were to be admitted free of duty. This clause appears to be plain, but in practice it gave rise to frequent disputes. In 1801 another order was sent from England that British goods brought from British ports in British ships were to be free of duty, but foreign goods brought from British ports in British ships and British goods brought in foreign ships were to be subject to a duty of five per cent of their value. Subjects of friendly powers were to be permitted to carry on trade in the colony; but all goods that were not the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain and Ireland imported in foreign ships were to be subject to a duty of ten per cent of their value. No goods could be imported from any place to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope except by the English East India Company.

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No changes were made in any of the public institutions except the courts of justice. The high court was now reduced to a president and seven members, five of whom were to form a quorum. In civil cases, when the amount in dispute was over £200, there was an appeal to a court consisting of the governor and lieutenant-governor; and, when the amount in dispute was over £500, there was a final appeal to the king in council. The torture of criminals and infliction of death in any other manner than by hanging had been forbidden by General Craig, and his order upon these subjects was now confirmed. The powers of the minor courts to decide in civil cases were considerably enlarged.

Mr. Bresler was instructed to return to Graaff-Reinet and assume duty as landdrost. With him was sent a guard of twelve dragoons, who were to remain at the drostdy as a garrison and to carry despatches. All arrears of land rents to the 16th of September 1795 were remitted. The former inhabitants of the wards Zuurveld, Tarka, Zwager's Hoek, Sneeuwberg, and Nieuwveld, who had been driven from their homes by Bushmen or Kaffirs, were to hold their farms free of rent for the next six years, provided they would return and resume occupation within four months.

The landdrost was directed to try to induce the Kaffirs in the colony to return to their own country; and he was to see that a few white renegades then living beyond the Fish river should come back to the colonial side, that all Kaffirs in service with colonists should be discharged, and that no one should cross from either side of the Fish river to the other without special permission.

On the 30th of July Mr. Bresler arrived at Graaff-Reinet, and on the following morning Mr. Gerotz transferred the office and records.

After arranging matters at the drostdy, Mr. Bresler proceeded on a tour of inspection of the district. At the Karega river he met parties of Kosas that had taken part in the last war, and farther eastward a clan that had recently come to reside there, under a chief named Jalusa, who was a half-brother of Ndlambe. All of these, on being requested to return to their own country, replied that

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they were willing to do so, but were afraid of Gaika. This chief was the son of Umlawu and grandson of Rarabe in the great line. He had recently come of age, according to Kosa ideas, and had then claimed the position of chief of that section of the tribe over which his grandfather had ruled. A large party, however, was desirous that his uncle —the regent Ndlambe—should remain in power. With the aid of Kawuta, head of the Galekas and paramount chief of the whole tribe, this party had resisted Gaika in arms, but had been beaten, and Ndlambe had been made prisoner. The clans in the Zuurveld, though they had been dependents of Rarabe, would admit neither Gaika nor Ndlambe as their superior, and denied that they were subjects of any one except Kawuta.

Mr. Bresler visited Gaika at his residence on the bank of a little stream flowing into the Keiskama. Between the Fish and Keiskama rivers he found no inhabitants, as those who had formerly lived there had recently crossed over to the Zuurveld. Gaika stated that he would be glad to receive the clans in the colony as friends if they chose to return to their former homes. The captive chief Ndlambe was then residing at Gaika's kraal with his wives and personal attendants, and was well treated, though he was not permitted to move about.

An agreement was made with Gaika that he should send a messenger with an offer of peace and friendship to the chiefs in the colony, and that none of his subjects, on any pretence whatever, should have intercourse with the farmers, or cross the boundary unless expressly directed to do so by him.

Mr. Bresler next sent messengers to Cungwa, who was living on the Bushman's river, to try to persuade him to move across the Kei. But the Kaffirs in the Zuurveld had no intention of leaving it, and all the conferences and messages were useless. In February 1798 the landdrosts of Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet were instructed to renew the attempts to induce them to retire, and to warn them that if they did not leave of their own accord they would be expelled by force; but the warning was as unheeded as the requests.

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In March 1798 a post-office was opened in Capetown. It was intended only for an ocean mail, as there was no thought yet of a post inland.

The northern boundary of the colony had never been defined by the East India Company. In May 1798 Lord Macartney proclaimed a line, beyond which all persons were forbidden to graze cattle or to travel without a pass from the governor. But, in point of fact, colonists were then living and paying rent for farms north of that line, and they were not disturbed. From the description as given it was not clear where the boundary in one place was intended to be, so that it became necessary a few years later to define it afresh.

The wheat crop of 1797 was a good one, but the government permitted no provisions of any kind to be exported without leave; and the prices of cattle and corn, meat and bread, were fixed just as in the olden times. There was an excellent market provided by the shipping and a garrison of five thousand soldiers, and payment for supplies was promptly made; but the farmers had no more liberty of buying and selling than they had under the East India Company.

At this time and until the close of 1802 the average imports of goods of all kinds were in value £253,927, and of slaves £44,950 a year. The average exports amounted only in value to £15,047. There was thus a balance of trade against the colony of £283,830 a year, which was met in coin that came into the country chiefly through the military and naval departments. The revenue rose rapidly after 1796. During the period from 1797 to 1802 it was on an average £73,518 a year.

In June 1798 the district of Swellendam was first provided with a clergyman. A church building was erected in the village, and a consistory was formed in the usual manner.

Lord Macartney was over sixty years of age, and was subject to severe attacks of gout and other diseases. Before leaving England he had arranged that if he should find it necessary for his health, he might at any time return without waiting for a successor. The first summer

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of his residence tried him severely, and as another hot season drew nigh he made up his mind to leave South Africa. On the 20th of November 1798 he embarked in a ship-of-war, and the following morning sailed for England.

On the 21st of November General Dundas assumed duty as acting governor until a successor to Lord Macartney should arrive.

CHAPTER XVII.

IN January 1799 a party of farmers in Graaff-Reinet rose against the government. By a great fire in Capetown nearly all the naval and military stores in the colony were destroyed, and this disaster was so magnified by rumour that people on the frontier believed the army was made almost powerless.

The arrest of Adriaan van Jaarsveld on a charge of forgery and setting a summons of the high court of justice at defiance was the immediate cause of the outbreak. The old commandant was made a prisoner when on a visit to the drostdy, and was being conveyed to Capetown for trial when he was rescued by a band of men headed by Marthinus Prinsloo. The insurgents then formed a camp close to the village. They informed Mr. Bresler that the fear of being made prisoners and sent away secretly was the cause of their taking up arms, and they maintained that the real reason of Van Jaarsveld's arrest was his conduct in former years. The farmers of the northern portion of the district declined to aid the insurgents, who left thirty men at the camp, and proceeded to hold meetings in different places to concert plans of action.

The rescue of Van Jaarsveld was reported to the acting governor on the 16th of February, and next morning General Vandeleur with a squadron of dragoons left Capetown to march overland to Graaff-Reinet. Five hundred European infantry and the Hottentot regiment were sent by sea to Algoa Bay.

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General Vandeleur found the people along the coast east of the Keurbooms river in strong sympathy with the insurgents. He therefore issued orders that every one should remain at home, to avoid being treated as a rebel, and he stationed some dragoons in a position that commanded the high road. Pushing on with the remainder of his detachment, he joined the troops landed at Algoa Bay, and on the 20th of March reached the drostdy of Graaff-Reinet. No insurgents were met, though about a hundred and thirty were encamped at Koega a few days before.

Tidings of the arrival of the Hottentot regiment spread rapidly through the district. The people of that race who were in service with farmers, hearing that Hottentots were united with white soldiers against colonists, rose upon their employers, and seized all the guns, powder, and clothing they could lay their hands upon. About a hundred of the young men enlisted in the Hottentot regiment, and five or six times that number of men, women, and children attached themselves to the British forces. This tended so greatly to discourage the insurgent farmers that they gave up all idea of resistance and sent in a petition for pardon.

General Vandeleur replied in writing that they must lay down their arms before he would have any dealings with them, and those who chose to do so could meet him on the 6th of April at the house of Willem Prinsloo at the Boschberg.

One hundred and thirteen men appeared at the place appointed, and gave up their arms to the troops. There was no promise of any kind in the document sent to them, but they were under the impression that pardon was implied in its terms, and therefore protested when they were made prisoners. Ninety-three were released upon payment of fines, and the remaining twenty were sent to Capetown, where they were placed in confinement in the castle.

Forty-two others afterwards gave themselves up, and were pardoned ; but seven of the most violent—among whom was one of the ringleaders named Coenraad du Buis—fled into Kaffirland. General Vandeleur offered a reward of £200 for each of them, dead or alive ; but they all escaped. In

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Kaffirland they were joined by nine deserters from the English army, and they remained there several years under Gaika's protection.

While these events were taking place, the colony was invaded by a horde of Kosas. In February 1799 Ndlambe made his escape from the kraal of his nephew Gaika, and was joined by a great many people, who crossed the Fish river with him and spread over the Zuurveld. All the clans in that district, except the one under Cungwa, at once allied themselves with the powerful refugee.

Before this invasion some parts of the Zuurveld were occupied by farmers, and the border north and west was in possession of white men. As the horde under Ndlambe advanced, all who were in or near the line of march took to flight, some losing all they had, others who could gather their cattle driving them off and leaving everything else behind.

General Vandeleur had no intention of employing British soldiers against the Kosas, and he was marching towards Algoa Bay, in order to return to Capetown, when at the Sunday river he was attacked by Cungwa's followers, who believed that an attempt was about to be made to drive them over the Fish river. The Gunukwebes were concealed in a thicket through which the troops were passing, and poured in a shower of assagais from the shelter of trees, but did not expose themselves or continue the contest long.

Twenty English soldiers under Lieutenant Chumney were behind on duty, so General Vandeleur fell back to the Bushman's river to enable them to join him. A camp was hardly formed there when an attack was made upon it by Cungwa's people, who on this occasion rushed forward in masses with their assagai shafts broken short so that they could be used as stabbing weapons. These charges were met with volleys of musket balls and grape shot, that covered the ground with bodies, until at length the Gunukwebes turned and fled.

Meantime Lieutenant Chumney's party was surrounded, and, after making a gallant defence, all were killed except four men who escaped in a waggon. When these reached the

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main column, the general resumed his march to Algoa Bay; and after sending the larger portion of his force to Capetown, he formed a camp on the bank of Zwartkops River. He then called out a burgher commando to expel the Kosas.

While the farmers were assembling, General Vandeleur thought it prudent to take from the Hottentots who were under his protection the guns which they had carried off from their employers. This excited their suspicion that he was about to betray them, so they fled and joined the Kosa invaders.

At the beginning of June a burgher commando mustered at the Bushman's river, but instead of attacking the Kosas, General Vandeleur, acting under order of General Dundas, tried to persuade them to retire. Thus the farmers lost heart by being kept waiting, and many dispersed, while the Kosas came to believe that the white men were afraid of them. They and the insurgent Hottentots then overran and pillaged the whole frontier. By the close of July twenty-nine white people had lost their lives, there was hardly a house left standing east of the Gamtoos, and nearly all the cattle were in the hands of the marauders.

In August a large burgher force was got together, and five hundred soldiers were sent to Algoa Bay. General Dundas was very anxious to come to terms with the Kosas and Hottentots, and in order to try if a friendly settlement could not be made, he went to the disturbed district with Mr. Honoratus Maynier, who asserted that his influence with Ndlambe and with the Hottentots of Graaff-Reinet was so great that he felt sure he could induce them to agree to peace. In September Maynier met the leaders of the hordes that had done so much damage. Six or seven hundred soldiers and three strong divisions of burghers were at the time in the field. There was nothing left within reach to plunder. It was therefore an easy matter to persuade the Hottentot and Kosa captains to give their word that they would not trespass beyond the Zuurveld. They were promised that they would not be molested there, and large presents were made to them.

To the condition of things thus created Mr. Maynier gave

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the name of peace, and the government gladly consented to the word being used. On the 16th of October it was announced that the war was at an end. The hearts of the farmers sank within them, but they were obliged to abide by the decision of their rulers; and thus for a short time there was a kind of truce which was observed in an indifferent manner.

On the high ground above the landing place at Algoa Bay a fort was built, which was named Fort Frederick. Here three hundred and fifty soldiers were stationed as a garrison, and in the village of Graaff-Reinet a few dragoons and a number of men of the Hottentot regiment were left. The other troops returned to Capetown.

Mr. Maynier was appointed commissioner, with almost absolute authority over the eastern half of the colony, as General Dundas gave him power to issue such orders and directions as he might deem requisite to secure justice and good government in the districts of Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet.

The northern border also was in a disturbed state. A Hottentot captain, named Afrikaner, had some years before drifted into war with all of his neighbours who had property that could be plundered. To his original clan he had recently added a number of vagabonds who were attracted by the prospect of spoil, and thus he became a terror to the country far and wide. His stronghold was on an island in the Orange river. Bands of his followers made sudden attacks upon places as far distant as two hundred and fifty miles, and swept off everything that was valuable. Whoever resisted, whether white man, half-breed, Hottentot, or slave, paid for the attempt with his life.

With some of the Bushmen on the northern frontier there was at this time a truce of arms. In July 1798 Lord Macartney directed two fieldcornets to try to secure peace on the basis of furnishing the Bushmen with a supply of breeding cattle and making them presents at stated seasons. The fieldcornets thereupon collected a number of cows and sheep by means of gifts from farmers, and they then got together as many Bushmen as they could and submitted the

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proposal to them. The wild people accepted the offer, and were provided with stock to commence breeding on their own account.

But this scheme soon proved a failure. As the Bushmen were without government, none but those who made an agreement and received cattle considered themselves bound by the arrangement, and though for a time it was possible to supply all who could be found, the stock of cows and ewes was at length exhausted. Then there was great waste with the new cattle-breeders, and to complete the destruction of the project, the savages farther inland fell upon those who were not living according to the traditions of their race, and plundered them of everything.

In March 1799 the first agents of the London Missionary Society arrived in South Africa. One of them—the Rev. Dr. Vanderkemp—proceeded to Kaffirland, and tried to form a station close to Gaika's kraal; but the Kosas were not disposed to listen to his teaching. Finding he could do no good there, in the following year he retired to Graaff-Reinet. Two others — Messrs. Kicherer and Edwards — went to the Zak river to instruct the Bushmen. These pioneers were speedily followed by many more. A South African missionary society, which is still in existence, was formed with a view of assisting in the conversion of the heathen. A society at Rotterdam also sent out agents to work with those of the London mission, and soon there were several stations beyond the northern border and quite a number of men instructing the coloured people within the colonial limits.

Upon the retirement of Lord Macartney, the king's ministers selected as governor of the Cape Colony an old official named Sir George Yonge. On the 9th of December 1799 he arrived in Table Bay, and on the following morning took the oaths of office.

In August 1800 nineteen of the prisoners who were sent away from the Boschberg in April 1799 were brought to trial before the high court of justice. The other one had died. Marthinus Prinsloo and Adriaan van Jaarsveld were condemned to death. Eleven were condemned to be banished

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from the colony for life, in addition to other punishment. Four had less severe sentences passed upon them, and two were acquitted. Only one, however,—a man named Cornelis Edeman—underwent the punishment awarded by the court of justice. He was flogged, and then transported to New South Wales. The others were kept in confinement, with their sentences in suspense, until February 1803.

In August 1800 an official *Gazette* began to be published. It was at first termed the *Capetown Gazette and African Advertiser*, and was issued weekly. From that date until the present time the publication has been continuous.

In this year a model farm, designed to show the best method of tilling the ground, was established at Klapmuts by the government. The experiment was made at a bad time, for during several succeeding seasons the colony suffered severely from drought. On the model farm sufficient food could not be raised for the consumption of the large number of people employed. In 1802 the experiment was given up as a failure, but it was the means of bringing English ploughs into use to a limited extent.

No man who has ever been at the head of the Cape government has been more generally disliked than Sir George Yonge. So many complaints of his corruption were sent to England that the ministry resolved to recall him and make an enquiry into his conduct. On the 20th of April 1801 a despatch arrived informing him that Lord Glenbervie had been appointed to succeed him as governor, that he was at once to transfer the duties to General Dundas, and to return to England. General Dundas was directed by another despatch to act as governor until the arrival of Lord Glenbervie. Next morning the principal civil and military officers assembled at the castle, when General Dundas caused his instructions to be read, and he then took the prescribed oaths as acting governor.

A commission was appointed in England to investigate the charges against Sir George Yonge, when a system of corruption without parallel even in the worst days of the rule of the East India Company was brought to light. It was shown that the only way to get a decision from the

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governor was by bribing the favourites about his person. They could procure monopolies, licences to perform illegal acts, protection from punishment for crime, almost anything indeed that one in possession of enormous power could bestow. Yet there was no proof that the governor had received money for his own benefit, and it appeared that his favourites had often deceived him with false statements. He was therefore acquitted of criminal conduct, but was pronounced unfit for high office.

After the arrangement by Mr. Maynier which was called the conclusion of peace, the district of Graaff-Reinet remained in a very wretched condition. The upper part was again occupied by farmers, but the heavy losses of cattle were not made good, and poverty and distress were general. In the neighbourhood of the Kosa and Hottentot kraals neither life nor property was safe. The colonists blamed Maynier for all the misery they were enduring, and certainly laid to his charge a good deal more than they should have done, though it was true that in matters between them and coloured people they could get no justice from him.

In July 1801 the heads of families in the district were called upon to appear at the drostdy and give in the usual census returns. Instead of doing so, on the 20th of the month a large party appeared in arms and demanded the removal of Maynier and the Hottentot soldiers. The dragoons and the pandours were prepared to receive them, and throughout the day some shots were fired on both sides, but without any one being hurt. In the evening Maynier offered pardon to all who would retire, and during the night the insurgents withdrew.

Early in October they appeared before the drostdy again, and invested it, with a view of starving out the garrison. The officer in command of the troops intrenched his force and resolved to hold out until aid should reach him. General Dundas hereupon sent Major Sherlock with three hundred soldiers by sea to Algoa Bay, and instructed him to march to Graaff-Reinet as speedily as possible.

Meantime so many petitions and letters imploring that

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Maynier might be removed were received by the government that General Dundas recalled him, and announced that the charges would be inquired into.

Major Sherlock arrived at Graaff-Reinet on the 29th of November. He found the country between Algoa Bay and the drostdy deserted, and the people of the district to a man under arms. The garrison of the village was holding out, but had then been four days without bread.

The major sent a dragoon to the farmers' camp, offering full pardon to all who would return to their allegiance, with protection of their persons and properties and redress of their real grievances. The farmers, being informed that Maynier was no longer in power, replied that they were in arms solely against him. They began to disperse at once, and before nightfall on the 30th all had retired and the revolt was at an end.

A commission was appointed to investigate the complaints against Maynier. But he was much too clever for unlearned farmers to contend with, so that the commission not only acquitted him, but decided that he had conducted himself on every occasion as an upright and honest man.

The government now saw fit to check the Hottentots who were roaming about the country. An arrangement was made with Dr. Vanderkemp that those who would return to a life of order should have a tract of land assigned for their use, where he could carry on mission work among them. They were to be furnished with seed wheat and implements for tilling the ground, and were to be supplied with provisions until they could maintain themselves from gardens.

A farm on the Zwartkops river was selected as a temporary location, and Dr. Vanderkemp, having collected a large number of Hottentots at Graaff-Reinet, left that village with them to proceed to the place appointed. On the way many of them deserted, but he arrived with several hundred women and children and a few men.

At the same time a burgher force was called out, under Commandant Tjaart van der Walt, to punish the marauders who would not retire to the location. The number of men who obeyed the call was below ninety. On the 13th of

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February 1802 Van der Walt attacked a stronghold of the banditti between the Sunday and Bushman's rivers, and beat the enemy, but his only son was killed in the action. The Hottentots soon rallied in such numbers that the burghers were obliged to retreat, and as no aid came to them, on the 23rd the puny force was disbanded.

The whole colony was now in a state of alarm. It was feared that the pandours would desert and join their countrymen, and any trifling event was sufficient to cause a panic.

On the 1st of October 1801 articles to form a basis of peace between France and England were signed at London, and the restoration of the colony to the Netherlands was one of the conditions. General Dundas was therefore anxious that the country should assume such an appearance of order as would allow of its transfer with credit to the British authorities, and to bring this about, attempts were renewed to induce the Hottentots to settle at the location. They all failed, however, and not only so, but the Kaffirs and marauding Hottentots entered again into close alliance.

The whole of the burghers of the districts of Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet were then called out, and in June 1802, under Commandant Tjaart van der Walt, they attacked the combined Kosa and Hottentot hordes, who were posted in thickets along the Sunday river. During eight weeks there was almost constant skirmishing, in which the burghers suffered some losses, but about two hundred and thirty of the marauders were killed and over thirteen thousand head of horned cattle were recovered.

On the 8th of August, however, the tide of fortune turned. On that day, in an action at the Kouga hills Commandant Tjaart van der Walt was shot dead. Never was the loss of a single man more fatal to the success of an enterprise. Early on the following morning the burghers commenced to retreat, and on the 14th they dispersed and set out for their homes.

Upon tidings of this event reaching General Dundas, he at once repaired to the frontier, taking Mr. Honoratus Maynier with him. Maynier was sent to the Hottentots to try to induce them to lay down their arms, but he succeeded only

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with seven petty captains, who with their people proceeded overland to Capetown. There was no other course than again to call out a burgher commando, and the necessary orders were therefore issued to the farmers throughout the colony.

Meantime the marauders had the country along the coast entirely at their mercy, and they laid waste all the farms as far west as the Kaaiman's river, near the present village of George.

In January 1803 a large burgher force took the field. The Hottentots and the Kosas were quarrelling about the division of the spoil, and each professed a desire to be at peace with the white people. On the 20th of February an arrangement was made between the commandants and the Kosa chiefs that neither should molest the other, that the Kosas should return to their own country as soon as they could, and in the mean time that they should not trespass beyond the Zuurveld. The Hottentot captains promised to abstain from vagrancy and robbery, on condition of not being attacked. As soon as these arrangements were made the burghers were disbanded.

Owing to the devastation of the district of Graaff-Reinet, meat became so scarce that in October 1801 General Dundas sent an expedition, under the joint command of Mr. Pieter Truter and Dr. William Somerville, to ascertain if slaughter cattle could be procured in the Betshuana country.

At the Orange river the travellers were joined by the Rev. Mr. Edwards, who went on with them. A short distance farther they met a colonist named Jan Kock, who was acting as a missionary; and at Rietfontein they found a number of people of the Hottentot race collected together under the guidance of the missionaries Kicherer, Anderson, and Kramer, assisted by two young colonists.

At the Kuruman river the first kraals of the Batlapin tribe of Betshuana were seen. The Rev. Mr. Edwards remained at this place to commence mission work, and within a few days he was joined by Jan Kock. From the Kuruman the travellers went on to Lithako, a large kraal occupied partly by Batlapin and partly by Barolong. Close by were

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extensive gardens, from which the people obtained the greater portion of their food. The travellers estimated that Lithako contained from ten to fifteen thousand inhabitants. They remained here several days, gathering information; but as they were unable to procure any cattle worth speaking of, they went no farther.

Messrs. Truter and Somerville brought back information that the Betshuana were a branch of the same race as the Kosas on the eastern frontier of the colony, but that their language and their habits were in some respects different. The Kosas were more warlike, but less skilful.

Final terms of peace between Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands — then the Batavian Republic — were signed at Amiens on the 27th of March 1802. The sixth article provided that the Cape Colony should be restored to the Batavian Republic, and that ships belonging to the other contracting powers should have the right to put in and purchase such supplies as they might stand in need of, without paying any other duties than those to which Dutch ships should be subject.

The States-General resolved that the executive and legislative authority of the colony should be committed to a governor and a council of four members, of whom one at least should be by birth or long residence a colonist. The governor was to be also commander of the troops. The high court of justice was to be independent of the other branches of the government, and was to consist of a president and six members, all of them versed in law. Trade with the possessions of the Batavian Republic everywhere was to be subject only to a very small duty. With these principles as a basis, the task of drawing up a plan of administration was entrusted to Mr. Jacob Abraham de Mist, an advocate of high standing.

The document prepared by Mr. De Mist gave such satisfaction that he was sent out to receive the colony from the English; instal the Dutch officials, and make such regulations as he might find necessary. A very able military officer and man of high moral worth—Lieutenant-General Jan Willem Janssens—was appointed governor, and councillors and judges

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were selected. Three thousand one hundred and fifty soldiers were provided to form a garrison.

Mr. De Mist reached Capetown on the 23rd of December, and next morning went to reside in the castle. On the 30th General Dundas issued a proclamation absolving the inhabitants of the colony from the oath of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty on and after the 1st of January 1803.

The English troops were nearly all embarked in transports, when at noon on the 31st a packet arrived with a despatch from the secretary of state, instructing the acting governor not to give up the colony until further orders. The soldiers were then hurried into boats on the offshore side of the ships, and a strong force was landed and was within the castle walls before the Dutch officers knew that anything was amiss. Only half the Batavian troops had arrived, and those on shore were not provided with weapons. No attempt was therefore made to insist upon the transfer. It was arranged that the Dutch soldiers should camp out under canvas on a plain near Rondebosch, which from that circumstance has ever since been known as the camp-ground.

Matters remained in suspense until the 19th of February, when General Dundas received orders from England to transfer the colony at once. At sunset in the evening of Sunday the 20th of February 1803 the English guards were relieved by Dutch soldiers, and next morning the Batavian flag was hoisted on the castle.

The British soldiers proceeded to other stations, the civil servants returned to England, and only two officers remained to settle accounts with the new government. The chief item was paper money that had been created by General Craig to the amount of £50,000 to purchase supplies for his troops. After the surrender of the colony in September 1795 the slaves belonging to the Dutch East India Company were claimed by the army and navy as prize property. The claim was admitted, and the slaves were purchased for the public service at £30 a head all round. They were now transferred to the Batavian authorities at the same rate, and the balance of the amount was paid in munitions of war.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

THE 1st of March 1803 was observed as a day of thanksgiving to Almighty God for the restoration of the colony to its ancient owners. In the morning service was held in all the churches, and at noon the commissioner De Mist installed Lieutenant-General Janssens as governor. The other officials also who had arrived from Europe had their duties formally assigned to them. The landdrosts and most of the clerks under the English rule retained their posts.

Mr. De Mist announced that after making himself acquainted with the condition of the country it would be his duty to prepare a charter, which, however, would require to be confirmed by the States-General. An amnesty was granted to all persons confined or banished by the late government for political offences.

The amnesty did not include the Graaff-Reinet farmers who had been nearly four years in prison, as they had been sentenced by a court of law. But they were not left long in doubt concerning their fate. Adriaan van Jaarsveld had died in confinement. The others were set free on the 30th of March.

In April Governor Janssens left Capetown to visit the eastern part of the colony, and ascertain how matters were standing with the white people, the Kosas, and the Hottentots. At Fort Frederick he found Dr. Vanderkemp and the Hottentots under his care, who had abandoned their temporary location some time before. He fully approved of the plan contemplated by General Dundas, of assigning a tract of land for their use, where they could be under the guidance of missionaries; and a piece of waste ground at no great distance from Algoa Bay being selected, he gave the London Society permission to make use of it. Dr. Vanderkemp named it Bethelsdorp, and the mission party moved to it at once.

Two bands of Hottentots were living near the Sunday river. The governor sent friendly messages to their captains, Klaas Stuurman and Boesak, the first of whom visited Fort Frederick, when it was arranged that the past was to be

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forgotten on both sides, or, if it was remembered, the misdeeds of the Hottentots during the war were to be regarded as a set-off against the ill treatment which some of them complained of having received from colonists. The Hottentots were assured of complete protection of person and property, and it was agreed that when any of them went into service a record of the terms should be kept by the landdrost, who should see that strict justice was done.

The governor issued instructions that a suitable tract of land should be selected on the Gamtoos river, and given to Stuurman for the use of his people. Before this could be done, Klaas Stuurman died, and his brother David became captain of the clan. The location was therefore given to him.

Boesak and his followers wandered about for a time, but did not molest any one, and ultimately they also settled down peaceably.

When the colony was transferred, the Hottentot regiment in the British service was transferred with it to the Batavian authorities. The regiment, three hundred and six strong, was then quartered at Rietvlei, on the Cape flats. At the same place were the seven captains who had been induced to remove from the frontier, with six hundred and sixty-four followers of both sexes. These were being fed at the expense of government, and their presence had a bad effect upon the pandours. The governor allotted them locations of ample size at some distance from the frontier, and furnished them with a few cattle to commence stock breeding.

By these arrangements the troubles with the Hottentots were brought to an end.

In May the governor had a conference at the Sunday river with the Kosa chiefs in the Zuurveld. Ndlambe, Cungwa, Jalusa, Tshatshu, and some others of less note, with numerous attendants, were present. The chiefs expressed an earnest wish for peace and friendship with the white people, and there was no difficulty in settling minor matters with them. But the all important question of the removal of the Kosas from the Zuurveld could not be arranged so easily. The chiefs admitted the Fish river as the boundary, but declared that they could not cross it through fear of Gaika.

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Presents were made to the chiefs, who in return sent a couple of oxen to the governor ; and with assurances of friendship on both sides the parties separated. The governor now issued a proclamation prohibiting the colonists from engaging Kaffirs as labourers, and ordering that all of that race who were in service should be at once discharged unless they had been over a year with their employers and expressed a wish to remain.

In June the governor had a conference with Gaika at the Kat river, when the chief engaged that none of his followers should cross the boundary, and promised that if the Kosas in the Zuurveld would return to their own country he would not molest them. He also consented to expel the European renegades who were living with his people.

Shortly after this, Cungwa and Jalusa joined Gaika, and together they attacked Ndlambe, but did not succeed in dislodging him. The belt of land along the coast east of the Bushman's river was thus kept from being reoccupied by farmers, but the remaining portion of the district of Graaff-Reinet was in a fair condition of tranquillity.

On the 12th of May, less than three months after the restoration of the colony, war broke out again between Great Britain and the Batavian Republic. On receiving this intelligence, General Janssens devoted all his attention to putting the Cape peninsula in a condition for defence. But soon instructions were received from Holland that he must send his best regiment to Batavia, as the mother country was unable to furnish more men, and troops were urgently needed in Java. All that the governor could do to make up for its loss was to increase the Hottentot corps to six hundred rank and file.

On the 28th of December 1803 there was a fire in the village of Stellenbosch, by which the mill, the parsonage, twenty-four private dwelling houses, and fourteen warehouses and stores were totally destroyed.

In February 1804 Mr. De Mist issued a proclamation, cutting off from the district of Graaff-Reinet the wards Zwarte Ruggens, Bruintjes Hoogte, Zuurveld, Bushman's River, and Zwartkops River. These wards were formed

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into a separate district, and Captain Alberti, who was in command of the garrison of Fort Frederick, was instructed to act as landdrost. In April General Janssens named the new district Uitenhage, after a title in Mr. De Mist's family.

The landdrosts of Swellendam, Graaff-Reinet, and Uitenhage were directed to confer together and send in a report upon the boundary. They recommended that the ward Winterhoek should be taken from Graaff-Reinet, and the wards Zitzikama, Kromme River, and Baviaans' Kloof from Swellendam, and added to Uitenhage. Each district should then have a landdrost and six heemraden. Mr. De Mist approved of this, and the necessary orders were given.

The site selected for the new drostdy was a farm belonging to the widow Elizabeth Scheepers, which had been laid waste by the Kosas, and had not since been occupied. The farm was purchased, and the drostdy buildings were commenced shortly afterwards, when the site took the same name as the district.

In July 1804 Mr. De Mist issued another proclamation, cutting off from Stellenbosch a tract of country north of a provisional line. To the district between this line, the northern boundary of the colony, and the Gamka river or western boundary of Graaff-Reinet, General Janssens gave the name Tulbagh, in honour of the highly esteemed governor of former days. It was at first intended that the drostdy should be at Jan-Dissel's-Vlei, where the village of Clanwilliam was built a few years afterwards ; but finally a farm adjoining Roodezand's church was selected. This farm belonged to a man named Hercules du Pré, who was willing to sell it. The dividing line between the districts of Stellenbosch and Tulbagh was then defined as the Breede river from its junction with the Hex upwards to the mountains, thence the western chain of mountains to Pikenier's Kloof, and thence a line to Verloren Vlei on the coast of the Atlantic. The church place took the name of the district.

Experiments having for their object the improvement of the system of tilling the land were being made at this time by direction of the government at Groote Post, but

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nothing was gained by them. Efforts to introduce woolled sheep and to improve the quality of Cape wines were also being made. A project of a Dutch gentleman named Van Hogendorp to send out people from Holland to settle on land at Plettenberg's Bay, under which a few immigrants arrived, was brought to an end by the outbreak of war.

In July 1804 an ordinance was published by Mr. De Mist, declaring that all religious societies which worshipped an Almighty Being were to enjoy in this country equal protection from the laws, and that no civil privileges were to be attached to any creed. As yet the whole rural population of European blood adhered to the Dutch Reformed church. In Capetown there were residents professing almost every shade of religious belief, and in the castle itself in October 1805 a room was fitted up as a chapel, in which a Roman Catholic clergyman conducted service for the soldiers of his faith. The Dutch Reformed remained the established church of the country, however, to the extent that its clergymen were appointed by the government and drew their salaries from the public treasury.

The ordinance which granted equal civil rights to persons of every creed also provided for the establishment of schools under control of the government and not belonging to any religious body. This was a measure in advance of the times, and met with such opposition from the farmers that nowhere except in Capetown could such schools be founded.

Another ordinance of Mr. De Mist had reference to marriages. Prior to this date all persons desiring to be married were required to appear before the matrimonial court in Capetown, to show that there were no legal impediments. From this court a license was obtained, and they could then either be married by a clergyman in Capetown, or return to their own district and be married by the clergyman of the congregation of which they were members. The ordinance of Mr. De Mist provided that after the 1st of January 1805 marriages were to take place before the landdrost and two heemraden of the district in which the bride had lived for the previous three months. The necessity for a journey to Capetown was thus done away with.

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In September 1804 Mr. De Mist laid down his authority as commissioner-general, so that the governor might be more free to act with vigour. The great question of the time was how to place the colony in a condition for defence, as no one doubted that sooner or later it would be attacked by the English. Mr. De Mist did not profess to know anything of military matters, and thought that the governor, upon whom the responsibility would fall, should have sole authority, though they had worked together in perfect concord.

In January 1805 a post for the conveyance of letters and the *Government Gazette* was established between Capetown and the various drostdies. A mail bag was conveyed weekly by postriders to Stellenbosch and Tulbagh, and to the other drostdies whenever the government wished to send despatches. In this case farmers along the lines of road contracted to forward the bag from one station to another, and the landdrosts sent the letters and papers to the fieldcornets with the first convenience.

As the northern boundary proclaimed by Lord Macartney was in one place obscure, in February 1805 the council resolved that it should be a line from the Atlantic ocean along the Buffalo river to the copper mountains, thence to the junction of the Zak and Riet rivers, thence the Zak river to its source in the Nieuwveld mountains, thence the chain of mountains as far as the Sneeuwberg, and thence a curved line to Plettenberg's beacon on the Zeekoe river.

In 1805 Mr. Van de Graaff, landdrost of Tulbagh, and Dr. Henry Lichtenstein were sent by the government to inspect the stations of the London Missionary Society beyond the northern border. At Mr. Kicherer's station on the Zak river they found a small community of halfbreeds and Hottentots, but the Bushmen for whom the mission was founded had dispersed. North of the Orange river, in the district that since 1880 has been termed the division of Hay, they found about a thousand people of Hottentot blood settled in six villages under the guidance of the missionaries Anderson and Kramer. The country thereabouts had from time immemorial been occupied only by Koranas and Bushmen, and nearly all the people at the stations were recent immi-

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grants. Along the Kuruman river the Batlapin were living. The principal kraal of the tribe was then close to the source of the river, and contained only about five thousand people, as the Barolong had moved away since the visit of Messrs. Truter and Somerville. Several missionaries had been living with these people, but they had all left, and none but Jan Kock intended to return. The travellers went no farther. They brought back a good deal of information, and were the first to make known the system of slavery which exists among the Betshuana.

In 1805 the European population of the colony, according to the census returns, consisted of twenty-five thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven individuals, exclusive of soldiers. They owned nearly thirty thousand slaves, and had in their service about twenty thousand Hottentots, half-breeds, and Bushmen. It is impossible to say how many Hottentots were living at their own kraals, or Bushmen roaming about, for these people paid no taxes and therefore no notice was taken of them by the census framers. Capetown had a population of rather over six thousand Europeans and nearly eleven thousand persons of colour.

From the time that tidings were received of the renewal of the war, General Janssens made unceasing efforts to prepare for the defence of the colony. The Hottentot regiment was well drilled, and the Asiatics in and about Capetown were enrolled as volunteers in a corps termed the Malay artillery. It was intended to lay up a supply of grain behind the mountains of Hottentots-Holland, so that if Capetown should fall, the army might retreat and cut off supplies from the invader; but the crops year after year were so poor that nothing could be spared. At the close of 1805 the scarcity in Capetown was so great that there was never more than sufficient flour for two days' consumption on hand, and the harvest, from which wheat might soon be expected to come in, had been scantier than usual. The regular European troops of all arms were between fifteen and sixteen hundred in number. They were distributed over the Cape peninsula, except a detachment of eighty men at Fort Frederick.

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For a long time an attack had been expected, and in the last week of 1805 it was known that a large fleet was approaching. This fleet had on board nearly seven thousand soldiers, under command of Major-General David Baird, an officer who was well acquainted with the Cape and its fortifications, having served here in 1798.

In the evening of the 4th of January 1806 the ships—sixty-three in number — came to anchor between Robben Island and the Blueberg shore. It was General Baird's intention to land his army on the coast next morning, and then to march over the flats to Capetown; but during the night a gale set in, and caused such a heavy surf to roll on the beach that landing was impossible.

The general then resolved to disembark his troops at Saldanha Bay, and during the night of the 5th part of the force was sent there. The remainder would have followed next morning, but at daybreak it was observed that the surf had gone down so much that a landing might be effected. That afternoon three Scotch regiments were conveyed on shore, with the loss, however, of thirty-five men who were drowned. On the 7th three other regiments were landed, with some artillery and provisions.

As soon as it was known that the English were landing on the Blueberg beach, General Janssens marched to meet them, leaving in Capetown a considerable burgher force and a few soldiers under Lieutenant-Colonel Von Prophalow to guard the forts. He had an army rather over two thousand strong, but composed of a strange mixture of men. There were two hundred and twenty-four mounted burghers, under Commandants Linde, Human, and Wium. There were two hundred and ninety-eight Dutch soldiers, nine hundred and sixty soldiers of every nation in Europe, two hundred and forty Frenchmen belonging to wrecked ships, and three hundred and thirty-nine Malays, Hottentots, and slaves. He had sixteen field-guns.

At three o'clock in the morning of Wednesday the 8th of January 1806 this motley force was under arms, and was advancing from the dunes beyond Rietvlei, where the night had been spent, when the scouts brought word that the

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English were approaching. At five o'clock the British troops came in sight, descending the Blueberg. General Baird had with him about four thousand infantry, besides artillerymen and five or six hundred sailors armed with pikes and drawing eight field-guns.

As soon as the armies were within cannon range, the artillery on both sides opened fire. A few balls from the English guns fell among some German mercenary troops, who at once began to retreat, and were soon followed by other foreign soldiers. The burghers, the French corps, the remainder of the troops, and the coloured auxiliaries behaved well, receiving and returning a heavy fire of artillery and musketry. But the flight of the main body of regular troops made it impossible for the mixed force left on the field to stand a charge of the Highland regiments, and by order of General Janssens the remnant of the army fell back.

The loss of the English in the battle of Blueberg was one officer and fourteen rank and file killed, nine officers and one hundred and eighty rank and file wounded, and eight rank and file missing. The roll-call of the Dutch forces when the fugitives were rallied shows the killed, wounded, and missing together. When it was made that afternoon three hundred and thirty-seven men did not answer to their names.

At Rietvlei the defeated army was collected together. Most of the foreigners in it were then sent to Capetown, and with the other part of his force General Janssens retired to the mountains of Hottentots-Holland.

The British troops passed the night at Rietvlei, and in the morning of the 9th resumed their march towards Capetown. Near the mouth of Salt River it was easy to communicate with the ships, and preparations were made to land some heavy cannon and a supply of provisions. But Colonel Von Prophalow did not wait to be attacked, for it was not in his power to resist with any prospect of success. He sent a flag of truce to request a suspension of arms for two days, in order to arrange terms of capitulation. General Baird would only grant thirty-six hours, and further required

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possession within six hours of the lines and Fort Knokke. His demand could not be refused, and that evening an English regiment took possession of Fort Knokke. At four o'clock in the afternoon of the 10th the articles of capitulation were signed at Papendorp — now Woodstock — by Lieutenant-Colonel Von Prophalow, Major-General Baird, and Commodore Home Popham.

These articles provided that the castle and other fortifications should be surrendered to his Britannic Majesty's forces. The regular troops and the Frenchmen of the wrecked ships were to become prisoners of war. Colonists in arms were to return to their former occupations. Private property of all kinds was to be respected, but property of every description belonging to the Batavian government was to be delivered up. The burghers and other inhabitants were to preserve all their rights and privileges, and public worship as then existing was to be maintained. The paper money in circulation was to continue current until his Majesty's pleasure could be known, and the public lands and buildings were to remain as security for that portion not lent to individuals. The inhabitants of Capetown were to be exempt from having troops quartered on them.

The force opposed to General Janssens was so great that he could not hope to make a long resistance, but his position in the mountains of Hottentots-Holland was more favourable for obtaining terms than if he had fallen back upon Capetown after the defeat at Blueberg.

Within a few days he learned that two English regiments had taken possession of the village of Stellenbosch and the Roodezand kloof, and that another regiment was about to proceed by sea to Mossel Bay, with a view of securing the Attaqua pass. He ascertained also that the English general had pressed all the saddle horses in the town into service.

On the 13th General Baird proposed that the Dutch army should capitulate on honourable terms, and General Janssens consented to the discussion of conditions. Some delay took place, owing to certain clauses proposed by one party being rejected by the other, but at length a draft

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made by General Janssens and modified by General Baird was agreed to and signed at Hottentots-Holland on the 18th of January.

It provided that the whole colony should at once be surrendered to his Britannic Majesty. That the Batavian troops should retain all private property, and the officers their swords and horses ; but their arms, treasure, and public property of every description should be given up. That the troops should not be considered prisoners of war, but be sent to Holland at the expense of the British government. That the Hottentot soldiers should be allowed to return to their homes, or to enter the British service, as they might think proper. And that the inhabitants of the colony were to enjoy the same rights and privileges as had been granted to those of Capetown according to the capitulation of the 10th, except that the right of quartering troops upon them was reserved, as the country had not the same resources as the town.

Seven transports were prepared, and the troops—ninety four officers and five hundred and seventy-three rank and file—were embarked in them. One of the best was placed at the disposal of General Janssens, who had liberty to select such persons as he wished to accompany him. Thirty-one of the civil servants under the Batavian administration desired to return to Europe, and were allowed passages. Fifty-three women and the same number of children also embarked. All being ready, on the 6th of March 1806 the squadron, bearing the last representative of the dominion of the Netherlands over the Cape Colony, set sail for Holland.

CHAPTER XIX.

GENERAL Baird, who was now acting governor, allowed most of the officials to retain their posts upon taking an oath of allegiance to the king of England. Captain Jacob Cuyler was sent to Algoa Bay to replace Captain

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Alberti as commandant of Fort Frederick and landdrost of Uitenhage, and a few offices in Capetown were filled for a short time by military men. All but two of the judges of the high court of justice resigned, and a new court was constituted, in which the members were dependent upon the governor for their appointments, and were removable at his pleasure.

The scarcity of grain for some time caused great anxiety. In March the government offered thirty-five shillings a muid for wheat, without being able to procure as much as was needed. The bakers were forbidden to sell to families more than one pound of bread a day for each man and half a pound a day for each woman and child. After a few months some vessels which were sent to India returned with wheat and rice, and storeships arrived from England with biscuit and flour for the troops, so that actual famine was averted.

The next crop was a very good one, and as the wheat was ripening General Baird adopted the old plan of the East India Company and established a granary in Capetown, with a view of keeping twenty thousand muids constantly in reserve. Paper money to the nominal value of £16,000 was created for this purpose, the price offered to the farmers being sixteen shillings a muid. This method of raising a capital had now come to be regarded as quite proper, though none of the paper money created of late years had been redeemed.

In April General Baird annulled the marriage ordinance of Mr. De Mist, and issued another by which the landdrost and heemraden of each district were to act as a matrimonial court for the purpose of ascertaining that there were no legal impediments to the union and issuing certificates to that effect, but marriages were to be solemnised only by ordained ministers of the Gospel.

Upon receiving tidings of the conquest of the colony, the British ministry decided that it should be ruled until the conclusion of peace in the same manner as when Lord Macartney was governor. The heads of departments were to be sent out from England, and were to receive the same

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salaries as were paid in 1797. Du Pré Alexander, Earl of Caledon, a man then only twenty-nine years of age, but who possessed abilities of a high order, was selected as governor. As commander of the forces Lieutenant-General Henry George Grey was appointed. General Grey was the first to reach South Africa, and on the 17th of January 1807 he relieved General Baird as acting governor. On the 21st of May the Earl of Caledon arrived, and on the following morning he took the oaths of office.

Henceforth the colony was ruled by a governor who was not restrained by a council, but who acted in all important matters under orders from England. He could fix prices for any produce required by the army, and assess the quantity each farmer was compelled to deliver. He directed and controlled the different departments. His proclamations and notices had the force of law. With the lieutenant-governor he formed a court of appeal in civil cases of over £200 value, and with two assessors he decided appeals in criminal cases. He had also power to mitigate or suspend sentences passed by the inferior courts.

The regulations concerning trade provided that British goods imported in British ships were to be admitted free of duty. Foreign goods imported in British ships, or British goods imported in foreign ships, were subjected to a duty of five per cent, in 1809 raised to ten per cent of their value. On foreign goods imported in foreign ships a duty of fifteen per cent of the value was levied until April 1812, when commerce in foreign ships was prohibited altogether.

In March 1807 the Parliament of Great Britain abolished the slave trade to or from any part of the coast of Africa, to take effect from the 1st of May. Towards the close of the year a vessel arrived in Table Bay from Mozambique with some slaves on board, for whose importation leave had been given by General Baird, so the governor allowed them to be landed. They were the last that were openly imported and sold in the Cape Colony, but it was discovered at a later period that some had been smuggled in.

In July 1807 Lord Caledon proposed to the authorities in England that the slaves belonging to government should be

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sold, and the lodge be converted into public offices. This proposal was agreed to, and respectable people—especially military officers—were permitted to select slaves on payment of £30 for each, the governor's permission in every instance being necessary. In this manner the number was reduced until August 1810, when those who remained were confined to a portion of the lodge, and the space vacated was converted into a hall and chambers for the high court of justice. In March 1811 the surviving inmates—who were mostly infirm—had another building assigned for their use. Some alterations were then made in the rooms, and the old slave lodge became, what it remains to the present day, suites of offices for various departments of government.

For nearly three years the utmost tranquillity prevailed throughout the western part of the colony, but in October 1808 a slight disturbance took place. A party of slaves in the Cape district, encouraged by two white men, made an attempt to gain their freedom. They plundered thirty-four farmhouses, and made prisoners of the owners, but abstained from shedding blood. Three days after the outbreak the insurgents were arrested without resistance by a strong patrol of soldiers. After trial before the high court of justice, five suffered death and seventeen various other kinds of punishment.

By the Earl of Caledon the number of magistrates was increased, as in his view the districts were too large for proper supervision.

In February 1808 a small portion of the district of Stellenbosch was cut off and added to Tulbagh. At Jan-Dissel's-Vlei—which since January 1814 has been called Clanwilliam—a deputy landdrost was stationed to collect revenue and decide petty cases. He was subject to directions from the landdrost of the district.

In April 1811 the portion of Swellendam east of the Gaurits river was proclaimed a separate district, and received the name of George, from the reigning king. The site selected for the drostdy was a government post where a party of woodcutters had been stationed in previous years.

At the same time Swellendam was enlarged in the opposite

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direction by having a portion of the district of Stellenbosch added to it, and a deputy landdrost was stationed at the Zwartberg baths—since December 1813 called Caledon.

In June 1810 the capital of the bank was increased by five hundred thousand paper rixdollars, stamped by the government. Before 1814 the same amount was created in instalments for the purpose of erecting and repairing public buildings.

In the large tract of land called Groenekloof there had been from early days a location reserved for the Hottentots that were found in possession of the Cape district when white men first settled in South Africa. Small-pox and brandy had destroyed most of those people, but still a few remained, with whose blood that of Europeans and of negro slaves had been mixed sufficiently to give them some stamina. Their reserve adjoined a government estate called Kleine Post, upon which there was a good dwelling house and some outbuildings. In December 1807 Lord Caledon offered Kleine Post to the Moravians if they would establish a mission there. The offer was accepted, and in March 1808 the mission was commenced. The new station was named Mamre.

In 1809 Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Collins was sent by Lord Caledon to explore the country northeast of the colony, and to ascertain the condition of the different branches of the Kosa tribe. From the village of Graaff-Reinet he travelled almost due north to the Orange river. He then traced that stream upward, and on the 3rd of February saw a river of considerable size pour its waters into the Orange on the side opposite that on which he stood. He named it the Caledon, in honour of the governor. On the 7th he came to a stream flowing from the south, which he named the Grey river, but it is now known as the Kraai. He then turned towards the Tarka. In the country between the Orange river and the great mountain range there were no inhabitants except a few Bushmen and a little band of Kosas who had wandered away from the rest of their people.

From the Tarka Colonel Collins proceeded to the kraal

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of Hintsa, paramount chief of the Kosa tribe, who was living in sight of the sea, about midway between the Kei and Bashee rivers. He returned to the colony by way of the upper Keiskama, where he had an interview with Gaika, who was found very poor, as his enemies had driven off nearly all his cattle. The country from the Kei to the colonial boundary was without inhabitants, except in the valleys of the upper Keiskama and Kat rivers. In the Zuurveld Colonel Collins visited Ndlambe and his son Umhala, and ascertained that there was not the slightest intention on their part to move away.

Before 1809 the Hottentots were regarded in law as a free people, entitled to govern themselves and to come and go when and where they chose except upon private property, though subject to the colonial courts in cases where the interests of Europeans were affected. They paid no taxes, and were not called out for ordinary public services. Tribal government of the Hottentots, however, had long since ceased to exist within the colonial boundaries. There were still plots of land reserved for their use, and at each reserve there was a captain recognised by the European authorities, but he had really no power over his people. The great majority of the Hottentots were of their own accord living with farmers, and showed greater respect to the poorest white man than to chiefs of their own race.

On the 1st of November 1809 the Earl of Caledon issued a proclamation which removed all vestiges of chieftainship from the Hottentots in the colony, and restrained those people from wandering about at will. It required that every Hottentot should have a fixed place of abode, which should be registered; that no one should remove without leave of the landdrost of the district; that all contracts of service for a month or longer were to be made in writing before the fiscal, a landdrost, or a fieldcornet, and were to be registered; that wages were to be punctually paid, the Hottentot be released upon expiration of the term of service, and not be ill treated; and that every one travelling about the country was to be furnished with a pass from his employer or the landdrost of the district,

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under penalty of being considered and treated as a vagabond. From this date Hottentots in every case were regarded as subject to the colonial courts of law, to taxation, and to be called upon to perform public services.

The locations assigned by General Janssens to people of this race had in no instance answered their purpose. Not a family of those sent from Rietvlei in 1803 remained upon the ground allotted to them, their love of change and of a wandering life having overcome any desire they ever had for a place that could be called home. After 1806, therefore, the ground was not spoken of or regarded as reserves for their use. Stuurman's location on the Gamtoos river was occupied some years longer, but from the first it was a refuge for idlers and bad characters. At length Stuurman entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the Kosa captain Cungwa against the colony, and in 1810 he set the European authorities at defiance. An armed party was then sent against him, and he was captured with some difficulty. He was tried by the high court of justice and sentenced to imprisonment for life, when the location was broken up.

On the 4th of December 1809 several distinct shocks of earthquake were felt in Capetown, and caused considerable damage to many houses. In 1811, on the 2nd and again on the 19th of June, shocks were felt at the same place. On these occasions the walls of some houses were cracked from top to bottom, but no greater injury resulted.

Early in 1811 the Earl of Caledon requested permission to resign the government and return to England, as he was about to be married. His resignation was accepted, and on the 4th of July he sailed from Simon's Bay. General Grey then became acting governor. As successor to the Earl of Caledon, Sir John Francis Cradock was appointed. On the 5th of September 1811 he arrived, and on the following morning took the oaths of office.

Ever since 1806 the district of Uitenhage had been in a disturbed state. The Kosas in the Zuurveld would not remain quiet, and as soon as the white people in their neighbourhood got a few cattle together, robberies were renewed.

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Lord Caledon was about to take active measures against the intruders when he received a despatch permitting him to return to England. General Grey did not feel justified in commencing war, so he allowed the matter to stand over until the arrival of Sir John Cradock. When the new governor reached South Africa, he found reports awaiting him from the landdrost of Uitenhage, in which he was informed that there was only one farm still occupied east of the drostdy, and that no other choice was left than the expulsion of the Kosas by force or the abandonment of the district.

In October 1811 orders were issued by Sir John Cradock to the landdrosts of Swellendam, George, Uitenhage, and Graaff-Reinet to call out the burghers of their districts for the purpose of driving the marauders over the Fish river. Lieutenant-Colonel John Graham, of the Cape regiment, was appointed commandant-general of the force. He was instructed to try to persuade the Kosas to retire peacefully; but if they would not do so he was to take the most effectual measures to repel them within their own boundaries. For this purpose he was to employ the burghers and a Hottentot corps termed the Cape regiment, using other troops that were placed under his command to occupy posts in the rear.

In December the burghers took the field. The farmers of Swellendam, under Commandant Jacobus Linde, those of George, under Commandant Jacobus Botha, and those of Uitenhage, under Commandant Gabriel Stolz, assembled near the mouth of the Sunday river. The farmers of Graaff-Reinet, under Landdrost Stockenstrom and Fieldcornet Pieter Pretorius, occupied Bruintjes Hoogte, so as to cover the country north of the Zuurberg.

On the 28th of December Major Cuyler with twenty-five farmers and a Hottentot interpreter rode to Cungwa's kraal, with the object of inducing him to retire. Close to the kraal a party of Kaffirs was seen, and Major Cuyler tried to speak to them, but the old chief Ndlambe advanced a few paces from the others, and, stamping his foot on the ground, shouted: "This country is mine; I won it in war, and intend to keep it." Then shaking an assagai with one

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hand, with the other he raised a horn to his mouth. Upon blowing it, two or three hundred Kaffirs rushed towards Major Cuyler's party, who owed their escape solely to the fleetness of their horses.

On the 29th Landdrost Stockenstrom and twenty-four men left Bruintjes Hoogte to have an interview with Colonel Graham, who was then near the Addo Heights. When about halfway to their destination, a number of Imidange were met, and against the advice of the farmers Mr. Stockenstrom stopped to talk with them. He wished to induce them to return to their own country without bloodshed, and perhaps he relied for safety upon his reputation as a friend and benefactor of the coloured races. Mr. Stockenstrom talked with them about half an hour, the Kosas appearing to be friendly, while all the time they were gradually surrounding the white men. Then there was a rush in from all sides, and the landdrost, the Hottentot interpreter, and eight farmers were stabbed to death. Four more farmers were wounded, but with the others made their escape, killing five or six of their assailants as they did so.

On the 3rd of January 1812 six parties, each consisting of sixty farmers and twenty men of the Cape regiment, entered the broken forest country south of the Addo Heights, for the purpose of expelling the Kaffirs. They came out on the 7th with two thousand five hundred head of cattle, having killed twelve or fourteen Kosas, among whom was the chief Cungwa. On the side of the Europeans only one man lost his life.

The success of this movement disheartened the chief Ndlambe, and on the 14th and 15th of January his people crossed the Fish river. They were immediately followed by the Gunukwebes under Pato, who succeeded his father Cungwa. Habana and Kasa, of the Imidange, and various petty captains of the Amagwali, remained in the recesses of the mountains. On the 13th of February two divisions of burghers and Hottentot soldiers entered the broken country of the Rietbergen, and scoured it from west to east. In twelve days the kloofs and thickets were cleared of the Kosas, who fled towards their own country. About thirty

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were killed or wounded. Over one hundred women and children were made prisoners, and six hundred head of cattle were captured. On the 24th the burghers returned to camp, when there was hardly a Kaffir left in the colony.

The women and children who had been made prisoners were now restored to their friends. Sufficient corn for seed was forwarded, and even some of the cattle were sent across the Fish river and given back to the captains from whom they had been taken. The Kosas were informed that on their own side of the boundary they would not be molested, but if they returned to the colony they would be shot.

By the beginning of March the fourth Kaffir war was over, and it had ended—as neither the second nor the third had—favourably for the Europeans. At its close there were in the field eight hundred burghers and twelve hundred and fifty-two soldiers, including the Hottentot regiment. The Kosas driven over the Fish river numbered about twenty thousand.

A line of military posts, garrisoned partly by soldiers and partly by burghers, was now formed from the sea to the second chain of mountains, to prevent the return of the people expelled. All rights to former loan farms in the Zuurveld were declared to have ceased, but it was announced that ground would shortly be given out there on quitrent tenure.

The governor resolved to station a couple of magistrates near the eastern frontier, and in July 1812 Ensign Andries Stockenstrom, of the Cape regiment, was appointed deputy landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, and Captain Fraser, of the same corps, deputy landdrost of Uitenhage. Ensign Stockenstrom was stationed at a place which since January 1814 has been called Cradock. Captain Fraser was directed to reside at the head-quarters of the troops on the frontier, to which post in August 1812 the name Grahamstown was given, in honour of the commanding officer.

In 1812 small-pox appeared in Capetown. On the 5th of March a negro who had recently arrived in a Portuguese ship was found to be suffering from it. Soon other cases were discovered in houses where he had been, and the disease spread rapidly. The town was now shunned by the

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country people, and communication with the interior almost ceased. The schools and places of worship were closed, general business was suspended, and unnecessary intercourse was forbidden. As soon as the disease appeared in a house, a white flag was hung out, and every one coming from such a house was required to wear a strip of white calico round his arm. The anxiety of the people was very great; but there were only a few hundred cases, and most of those attacked recovered. By September the disease entirely disappeared.

During recent years several governors had thought of establishing a circuit court, but the various changes which had taken place prevented the completion of the design. Lord Caledon was permitted by the British government to carry it into effect. In May 1811 he issued a proclamation that a commission of two or more members of the high court of justice should from time to time make a circuit through the colony, for the purpose of trying important cases, ascertaining that the landdrosts performed their duties correctly and impartially, inspecting the district chests and buildings, and reporting upon the condition of the people and all matters affecting public interests.

In October 1811 three judges left Capetown on the first circuit. They proceeded to the various drostdies, and tried in all twenty-one criminal cases, of which eight were charges brought by coloured people against colonists. The proceedings were conducted with open doors, and no distinction was made between persons of different races or colour either as accusers, accused, or witnesses. Throughout South Africa satisfaction was expressed with the establishment of a circuit court after this manner, and everywhere the judges were received with the utmost respect.

Unfortunately, however, the Rev. Messrs. Vanderkemp and Read, missionaries of the London Society, had given credence to a number of stories of murder of Hottentots and other outrages said to have been committed by colonists, and their reports—in which these tales appeared as facts—were published in England. By order of the British government, the charges thus made were brought before the second circuit

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court, which held its sessions at Graaff-Reinet, Uitenhage, and George in the last months of 1812.

In this, the black circuit as it has since been called, no fewer than fifty-eight white men and women were put upon their trial for crimes alleged to have been committed against Hottentots or slaves, and over a thousand witnesses—European, black, and Hottentot—were summoned to give evidence. The whole country was in a state of commotion. The serious charges were nearly all proved to be without foundation; but several individuals were found guilty of assault, and were punished. The irritation of the relatives and friends of those who were accused without sufficient cause was excessive; and this event, more than everything that preceded it, caused a lasting unfriendly feeling between the frontier colonists and the missionaries of the London Society.

In August 1813 a proclamation was issued by Sir John Cradock, requiring the occupants of loan places to have their tenure converted into that of perpetual quitrent. The size of farms was limited to three thousand morgen, unless specially sanctioned by the governor in each case. The quitrent was to vary with the situation and quality of the land.

Sir John Cradock took a warm interest in education. The ordinary schools in Capetown and at the various drostdies received encouragement from him, and he was the promoter of free schools in Capetown for the education of poor European children. Schools for coloured children were established in Capetown, Stellenbosch, and Tulbagh, by missionaries of the London and South African societies.

During this period two new congregations of the Dutch Reformed church were formed in the country districts. In February 1811 a clergyman was stationed at Caledon, and in December 1812 another was stationed at George. In October 1811 the congregation of the English episcopal church in Capetown was first provided with a minister other than a military chaplain.

In 1814 the London Society had twenty missionaries in South Africa. In addition to Bethelsdorp, it had stations

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within the colony at Zuurbraak in the district of Swellendam, at Pacaltsdorp in the district of George, and at Theopolis in the Zuurveld.

In 1813 Sir John Cradock applied for leave to return to England, and Lord Charles Henry Somerset was appointed to succeed him. The new governor arrived on the 5th of April 1814, and on the following morning took the oaths of office.

In 1813 the French met with great reverses in Europe, and one of the first results was the establishment of an independent kingdom of the Netherlands. The prince of Orange, who had been an exile in England since 1795, landed at Scheveningen on the 1st of December, and was received by the people as their ruler. To this time the British government regarded the Cape Colony not as a national possession, but as a conquest that might be restored to its original owner on the conclusion of peace. But now an agreement was made with the sovereign prince of the Netherlands that for a sum of six million pounds sterling he should cede to Great Britain the Cape Colony and some Dutch provinces in South America. This agreement was formally embodied in a convention signed at London on the 13th of August 1814, when the claim of the Netherlands to South Africa was extinguished for ever.

CHAPTER XX.

FOR many years after the cession of the colony to Great Britain no change was made in the form of government. Lord Charles Somerset had the same power as his predecessors, that is, he was vested with the highest judicial and sole executive and legislative authority, subject only to the approval of the secretary of state. He was second son of the duke of Beaufort and younger brother of the marquis of Worcester, a lieutenant-general in the army, and a man of ability and energy. But he could not bear the

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slightest opposition, and was relentless towards every one who offended him, though affable to all who conducted themselves to his liking.

Wine was at this time the chief article of export, and the governor did all that was in his power to encourage its production in large quantities; but he tried to foster other industries as well. One of his earliest acts was to found a large agricultural establishment on the site of the present village of Somerset East, for the purpose of making experiments in the cultivation of tobacco, and of supplying the troops on the frontier with provisions. He had a fondness for domestic animals of the best blood, and shortly after his arrival he set about introducing horses, horned cattle, and sheep of the choicest breeds. Some of these were brought out at the expense of the colony, but as there was hardly any public money to spare for such a purpose, most of them came to this country as the governor's private property. The horned cattle and sheep were not of much benefit, but the breed of horses was greatly improved by animals that he imported, and in course of time some hundreds were purchased every year to be sent to Mauritius and India.

During recent years the taxes had been increased, and there was a general complaint that the cost of government was much too great. More than one-fourth of the revenue was required to pay the salaries of the heads of departments who were sent out from England. The governor, who drew £10,000 a year, had a residence in town, a country seat at Newlands, a marine villa at Camp's Bay, and a shooting lodge at Groenekloof, all of which were provided at the public expense. A more serious grievance was the existence of the Hottentot regiment, on account of its irritating tendency as well as its cost being a charge upon the public revenue. It was stationed on the frontier to prevent an inroad of the Kaffirs, but the farmers there believed that it was kept up with the object of ruling them with a high hand. The bitter feeling caused by the black circuit had not yet died out.

Matters were in this state when a charge of ill treatment

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of a coloured servant was made against a man named Frederik Bezuidenhout, who lived on a farm in the valley of the Baviaans' river ; and as he did not appear for trial when summoned, a party of Hottentot soldiers was sent with the messenger of the court to arrest him. On their approach he fired at them, and then took refuge in a cave, where, upon his refusing to surrender and levelling his gun again, he was shot dead.

On the following day his relatives and friends assembled for the funeral, when his brother at the grave side declared that he would never rest until the Hottentot soldiers were driven away and those who had brought such trouble upon his family were punished. The others present expressed warm sympathy with Bezuidenhout. Before they parted it was arranged that they should try to induce the whole of the frontier farmers to take up arms against the government, and that Gaika should be persuaded to assist them.

For this purpose messengers were sent out in various directions, but they met with little or no success. At this juncture a letter containing intelligence of their plans—signed by Hendrik Prinsloo, one of the most active of the insurgents—instead of being conveyed to its address was delivered to the deputy landdrost at Cradock, who at once made its contents known to the civil and military officers in the eastern districts. Prompt measures were then taken to suppress the revolt. A patrol sent out secretly succeeded in surprising and arresting Prinsloo, who was conveyed to a fortified post on the Fish river. The great majority of the burghers, though they could not be supposed to have any affection for the government, were known to have no sympathy with such a course of proceeding as that of the insurgents. A commando was therefore called out, and with a strong body of troops was sent to the scene of the disturbance.

On the 14th of November 1815 about fifty men appeared at Van Aardt's post, where Prinsloo was detained, and demanded his release. The officer in command refused to surrender the prisoner. The insurgents were too weak to attack the post, so they drew up in a circle, and an oath

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of fidelity to their cause was taken by one of the leading men in the name of his companions, after which they retired and sent out several of the most active to renew the effort to obtain assistance. It was arranged that they should assemble again after four days at Slachter's Nek, near the junction of the Baviaans' and Fish rivers.

Having obtained knowledge of their designs, Colonel Cuyler, who had hurried up from Uitenhage and assumed command on the border, appeared at Slachter's Nek on the 18th with thirty burghers and forty dragoons. In the mean time several of the insurgents repented of the step they had taken, and withdrew to a distance from the frontier. Between thirty and forty, however, had assembled in accordance with their arrangement. Colonel Cuyler called upon them to surrender, which they declined to do. The colonel then prepared his force to advance upon their position, when just as an attack was about to be made, several men were seen galloping up from the opposite direction. They came from various parts of the frontier, and all brought intelligence that they had been unable to obtain any help whatever. Most of the insurgents then lost heart. Eighteen of them ran towards the burghers with Colonel Cuyler, laid down their arms, and were made prisoners. The others sprang upon their horses and galloped away, but fifteen of these also shortly afterwards surrendered.

The most desperate fled towards Kaffirland. As soon as it was known in what direction they had gone, they were pursued, and all but one were captured. That one was Jan Bezuidenhout, who refused to surrender, and shot down a Hottentot soldier before he was himself mortally wounded.

The prisoners—thirty-nine in number—were tried at Uitenhage by a special commission of the high court of justice. Six were sentenced to death, and the others to various punishments. It was not supposed, however, that the extreme penalty of the law would be inflicted, and the burghers who had aided the government were shocked when it became known that Lord Charles Somerset would only mitigate one of the death sentences. On the 9th of March 1816 five were executed at Van Aardt's post, in presence of

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their associates. Sixteen were then set free, and the remaining eighteen underwent punishments ranging from banishment for life to imprisonment for one month.

Although there was a line of military posts along the border, bands of Kosas managed to make their way into the colony and plunder the farmers. Shortly before Sir John Cradock left South Africa he sent an armed force into Kaffirland to punish the robbers, but it effected nothing of any consequence. Both this governor and Lord Charles Somerset tried to induce colonists to occupy the Zuurveld in such numbers as to form a barrier against the Kosas, and attempts at settlement were made, but on such a small scale that those who accepted grants of ground there were soon compelled to retire.

Lord Charles Somerset then adopted another plan. In April 1817 he had a conference with Gaika and several other chiefs at the Kat river, when an arrangement was entered into that persons from whom cattle were stolen should be at liberty to follow the spoor into Kaffirland, and upon tracing it to a kraal, the people of that kraal should make good the damage. As regards trade, it was agreed that twice a year Gaika could send a party of his people to Grahamstown with such articles as their country produced, to barter for anything they needed.

Within a month after this arrangement some cattle were stolen from the colony, and a detachment of a hundred soldiers was sent in pursuit. The spoor was traced to the kraal of a captain named Habana, who refused to make compensation, so the officer in command of the troops seized some oxen, and was driving them away when the Kaffirs attempted to rescue them. A skirmish took place, in which five Kaffirs were killed, but the troops kept possession of the cattle, and returned to the colony without loss.

Shortly after this event a regiment of infantry and one of dragoons were withdrawn from South Africa, and it became necessary to weaken the frontier posts. The consequence was a great increase of robberies by Kaffirs. Raids far into the colony became frequent, and Ndlambe refused even to restore stolen cattle seen in his kraals. Major Fraser, with

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a strong commando, on one occasion entered Kaffirland, and took from Ndlambe a sufficient number of cattle to make good the recent robberies; but no sooner was the force disbanded than the thieves were busy again.

Just at this time a change took place in the relative position of the rival chiefs of the house of Rarabe, and Ndlambe became the more powerful of the two. A large clan that had previously aided Gaika went over to him, and a seer named Makana, who possessed enormous influence, favoured his cause. Hintsa, the paramount chief of the tribe, also threw his weight on the side of Ndlambe.

A great battle was fought on the Debe flats between the followers of the rival chiefs, in which Gaika's party was beaten and driven from the field with frightful slaughter. The defeated chief fled to the Winterberg, and sent to the colony to request aid. Lord Charles Somerset thereupon directed Colonel Brereton to assist him with a small force of soldiers and mounted burghers. In December 1818 Colonel Brereton crossed the Fish river, and being joined by Gaika's people, attacked Ndlambe, who was believed to be at the head of eighteen thousand men.

Ndlambe and his followers, however, did not venture to make a stand on open ground, but retired to dense thickets, which afforded them shelter. Their kraals were destroyed, and twenty-three thousand head of cattle were seized. The British commander found it impossible to restrain the savage passions of the Gaikas, who were mad with excitement and joy at being able to take revenge, and were unwilling to show mercy when any of their enemies fell into their hands. He withdrew, therefore, before Ndlambe was thoroughly humbled. On reaching Grahamstown, the burghers were disbanded and permitted to return to their homes.

Ndlambe at once took advantage of the opportunity. Falling upon Gaika, he put that chief to flight, and then he poured his warriors into the colony. The inhabitants of the district between the Fish and Sunday rivers, unless in the neighbourhood of military posts, were compelled hastily to retire to lagers, and lost nearly all their property. Seventeen white people and thirteen Hottentots were murdered.

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A strong burgher force was called out, but before the farmers could take the field, Grahamstown was attacked. In the early morning of the 22nd of April 1819 between nine and ten thousand Kaffirs, led by Makana and Dushane, son of Ndlambe, made a sudden rush upon that post, which had then a garrison of only three hundred and thirty-three men. They were met with a deadly fire of musketry and artillery, and after a short struggle were driven back with heavy loss.

Three months later a strong army of colonists and soldiers crossed the Fish river, drove the Kaffirs that adhered to Ndlambe eastward to the bank of the Kei, killed many of them, seized all their cattle, and burned their kraals. The old chief's power was completely broken. The fifth Kaffir war ended by the surrender of Makana. He was sent a prisoner to Robben Island, and three years afterwards was drowned when trying to make his escape.

Though there was no more fighting, the forces were kept in the field for several months to prevent the fugitives from settling down again. In October the governor met Gaika and as many other chiefs as could be got together, and announced to them that the boundary of the Kaffir country was in future to be the ridge of hills from the Winterberg range to the source of the Gaga rivulet, the Gaga to the Tyumie, the Tyumie to the Keiskama, and the Keiskama to the sea. Gaika gave his consent, and the other chiefs did not venture to express disapproval.

It was the governor's intention to keep the district between the Fish river and the new boundary without other inhabitants than soldiers, who were constantly to patrol it. By this means he hoped to secure the colony against depredations and to prevent future difficulties with the Kosas. A site on the Western bank of the Keiskama river was selected for a fort, which was commenced without delay. It was named Fort Willshire.

Lord Charles Somerset was desirous of visiting England to arrange some family matters, and he therefore requested and obtained leave of absence from the colony. Major-General Sir Rufane Shawe Donkin was directed by the imperial authorities to proceed to the Cape and carry on

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the administration as acting governor during the absence of Lord Charles. On the 13th of January 1820 he took the oaths of office, and in the evening of the same day the governor sailed for England.

Before 1817 the number of British-born subjects who made South Africa their home was not large, and hardly any were to be found beyond the Cape peninsula. In that year about two hundred Scotch mechanics came out and settled in the colony, and six or eight hundred time-expired soldiers were discharged in Capetown. All of them readily found employment. They were not followed by many others, however, until 1820, though for several years after the general peace which followed the fall of Napoleon much distress was felt by the labouring classes in Great Britain, and emigration was commonly spoken of as the only effectual remedy.

In the Cape Colony in 1819, according to the census, there were only forty-two thousand white people, twenty-four thousand Hottentots, and thirty-five thousand negro slaves, Malays, and free persons of colour. It seemed to the imperial government, therefore, that this country invited settlers, and parliament without demur granted £50,000 to defray the cost of sending out a large party.

Heads of families representing nearly ninety thousand persons applied for passages, and from these a selection was made of the number required. The ships in which they left England and Ireland, with one exception, reached South Africa safely, and on the 10th of April 1820 the immigrants commenced to land on the shore of Algoa Bay. A few hundred who arrived a little later were located first at Clanwilliam, but in a short time most of them abandoned that part of the colony and followed the others to the eastern frontier. Several of these immigrants were people of some means, who brought out a number of servants and apprentices. The others were of various callings, a large proportion being artisans, men who had worked in factories in England, clerks, and storemen. There were nearly twice as many male as female adults.

The imperial government defrayed the cost of ocean transit, and each head of a family was promised a plot of ground one

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hundred acres in extent, on condition of occupying it for three years. Those who brought out servants were to have an additional hundred acres for each. Nothing more than this was promised, but means of transport to the land on which they were located were provided by the government, and for more than eighteen months rations of food were supplied to all who needed them. With few exceptions, the settlers were located in the district between the Bushman's and Fish rivers, the Zuurberg and the sea.

At the same time that these people were being sent from Great Britain at the expense of the government, a few came to South Africa without any aid, on the assurance of the secretary of state that they would receive larger grants of land if they paid for their passages. Altogether, nearly five thousand individuals of British birth settled in the colony between March 1820 and May 1821.

For several years the immigrants were subject to much distress. Most of them knew nothing about tilling ground, but they tried to live upon their little farms until they could get title-deeds, in order to be able to sell. Season after season their wheat crops were destroyed by blight. Then there was a great flood, which washed away many cottages and gardens. In addition to other troubles, roving Kaffirs made their way into the district, and robbed the poor people of many of the cattle which they had purchased.

At the end of 1821 the artisans began to disperse. In different villages throughout the colony they obtained plenty of work, at prices that soon placed them in a good position. They were followed from the locations by many others, who were not qualified to make farmers, but who easily found openings in other pursuits. The government then enlarged the farms of those who knew how to make use of them, and better times for all set in. It was about five years after the arrival of the settlers before each one found himself in the sphere for which he was best adapted, and in another five years it began to be questioned whether a similar party had ever succeeded so well in any other country.

Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth owe their importance to the British settlers. In 1820 neither of these places was more

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than a hamlet attached to a military post, but a few years later both were flourishing towns. Port Elizabeth was named in memory of the deceased wife of Sir Rufane Donkin. It continued to form part of the district of Uitenhage, but in 1825 a resident magistrate with limited power was appointed, to have jurisdiction within the town only. In the following year a custom house was established, and direct trade with England was commenced.

Sir Rufane Donkin set aside Lord Charles Somerset's plan of maintaining a tract of vacant country between the Kaffirs and the colonists. In June 1820 he formed a settlement of retired military officers and discharged soldiers between the Beka and Fish rivers, and he purposed to locate a party of Scotch immigrants in the valleys at the sources of the Kat river. In some other matters also he acted in such a way as to give great offence to Lord Charles, who, upon arriving in the colony again on the 30th of November 1821, declined to meet him. Sir Rufane returned to England, and was soon actively engaged in bringing the affairs of the Cape Colony and the faults of the governor to public notice.

CHAPTER XXI.

IN their turn, Sir Rufane Donkin's plans for the settlement of the frontier were reversed. Measures were adopted by Lord Charles Somerset by which the military settlement beyond the Fish river was broken up, and Makoma, son of Gaika, with a large party of Kaffirs was allowed to occupy the valleys of the Kat river. Lord Charles dismissed a landdrost who had been stationed at the new village of Bathurst, and appointed another with directions to open a court in Grahamstown. The British settlers were opposed to these changes, and some of them announced an intention to hold meetings to discuss the condition of affairs ; but the governor issued a proclamation declaring public meetings illegal and threatening severe punishment of all who should attend them. The settlers

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did not venture to set the governor at defiance, but from this date their complaints of his tyranny were long and loud, and attracted much attention in England.

Lord Charles Somerset was in truth a tyrant towards those who annoyed him, but he was not more despotic than Lord Macartney, nor were his most violent measures more highhanded than many of that governor's. He could quote precedents for almost any arbitrary act. Yet in England Lord Macartney in his time was regarded by all men as a model of what a governor of a colony should be, and only a quarter of a century later Lord Charles Somerset was held up to opprobrium by a large section of the press and the leading politicians. The cause was the great advance of liberal ideas, in which the governor had not participated.

At length so many complaints reached England that to prevent an attack in the house of commons the ministry sent out a commission of inquiry. The gentlemen appointed —Major Colebrooke and Mr. Bigge—arrived in July 1823, and for more than three years were engaged in the investigation of matters of different kinds. Acting upon their advice and reports the imperial government subsequently made many and great changes in the system under which the colony was ruled.

The only one of these changes, however, that was effected while Lord Charles Somerset was governor was the creation of a council of advice, consisting of six members, all officials appointed by the secretary of state. The governor was instructed to submit measures of importance to the council for discussion, but if he saw good reason he could act in opposition to the advice of the members, and no subject of debate could be introduced except by him. The first meeting of the council thus constituted took place in May 1825, and it marks a step—though a short one—in the direction from pure despotism to the present form of government.

A great obstacle to the prosperity of the colony during the early years of this century was the existence of paper money without any security that could be made use of for

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its redemption. The value of a cartoon rixdollar was in name four shillings, but its real purchasing power had gradually fallen until in 1825 only eighteen pence could be obtained for it in exchange for treasury bills, or if a merchant wanted to send a draft to England to pay for goods, or in any dealings through a broker. Business transactions were thus in a state of constant confusion, and metallic money passed out of common use. The quantity of paper in circulation was rather over three million rixdollars, but nearly half of it had been created as capital for the bank, and only the balance represented the public debt of the colony.

In 1825 the imperial government resolved to introduce British coinage into British possessions throughout the world, so as to have a uniform currency. An order in council was therefore issued that a tender or payment of one shilling and six pence in silver money should be equivalent to a tender or payment of one paper rixdollar in the Cape Colony, and Lord Charles Somerset was directed to issue an ordinance to that effect.

A measure like this, though most useful to the country at large, was of necessity accompanied by immediate and great distress to many families. All who had money out at interest, those whose property was in the hands of the orphan chamber, and various other classes of people suffered heavy losses. A petition with over two thousand signatures was sent to the king in council, praying that the ordinance might be withdrawn or a higher rate of exchange fixed. But it met with no success. A quantity of silver and copper coin was sent out on loan to redeem a portion of the paper, and the rest remained current at one shilling and six pence for a rixdollar. Since 1825 the public accounts have been kept in pounds, shillings, and pence, and no other metallic money than British has been in use.

Without any formal proclamation the northern boundary of the colony was greatly extended during the government of Lord Charles Somerset. Farmers were permitted to move into the vacant territory beyond the old line, and the government followed them, just as in the days of the Dutch

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East India Company. In 1822 an engineer officer and the landdrost of Graaff-Reinet were directed to ascertain how far the country was occupied, and to define a boundary. They fixed upon the Stormberg spruit on the northeast, thence the Orange river as far down as longitude 20° 20′, thence a straight line to the Pramberg, and thence an irregular curve to the mouth of the Buffalo river.

The division of the colony into districts was also greatly altered while Lord Charles Somerset was governor.

In May 1814 that portion of the Cape peninsula south of a line from Muizenburg to Noord Hoek was formed into a district named Simonstown, and a magistrate was appointed, with the title of resident, but with the full power of a landdrost.

In November 1818 the district of Beaufort was formed out of portions of Graaff-Reinet and Tulbagh, together with a tract of land beyond the boundary of 1805. A village was laid out close to the Nieuwveld mountains, and was named Beaufort West. The head of the new district was entitled deputy landdrost, and in some matters he was subject to the landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, though in most respects he was independent of that officer.

In October 1820 that portion of Uitenhage east of the Bushman's river was proclaimed by Sir Rufane Donkin a separate district, and was named Albany. The deputy landdrost at Grahamstown then retired, and a landdrost was appointed and directed to hold his court at a new village named Bathurst. But upon the return of Lord Charles Somerset in 1821 the seat of magistracy was moved from Bathurst back to Grahamstown.

Early in 1819 a site for a new village in the district of Tulbagh was selected by Lord Charles Somerset, and was by him named Worcester. It was in the centre of the valley of the Breede river, on a plain with just sufficient slope for drainage, and where an abundant supply of good water could be led out of the Hex river. The great road down the valley passed through it, the road up the pass of the Hex river into the Karoo branched off there, and it had then just been discovered that a road through the Drakenstein

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mountains could be made by way of the French Hoek pass, which would be almost a straight line from Capetown. A few months later a deputy landdrost was stationed at the new village, with the same powers and duties as those at Clanwilliam, Caledon, and Cradock. But in October 1822 this officer was withdrawn, and the landdrost of the district was directed to remove his court from the village of Tulbagh to Worcester. In the following year Lord Charles changed the name of the district itself from Tulbagh to Worcester. In March 1824 that portion west of a line from Piketberg to Verloren Vlei was cut off, and added to the district of the Cape.

In October 1822 the deputy landdrost was withdrawn from Caledon.

In March 1825 a new district named Somerset was created. It comprised the territory from the Orange river on the north to the Zuurberg on the south, and from the Sunday and Little Riet rivers on the west to the Koonap, Zwart Kei, and Stormberg Spruit on the east. This included a portion of the land ceded by Gaika in 1819, which was now given out in farms. The deputy landdrost was removed from Cradock, and with full power was stationed at the government farm at the Boschberg, which was now laid out as a village and named Somerset East.

There remain to be related a few events of interest that took place during this period.

In 1815 a mail packet service was commenced between England and India. Small sailing vessels were sent from the Thames monthly, and touched at the Cape and Mauritius on the way. The postage on letters to South Africa was three shillings and six pence the quarter ounce, and on newspapers three pence an ounce. The first of these packets was supposed to be a smart sailer, but owing to calms and head winds she was one hundred and fourteen days on the passage from London to the Cape. Ten years later, in October 1825, the first steamship that plied between England and India put into Table Bay. She was named the *Enterprise*, and made the passage from England in fifty-five days.

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In 1816 it was ascertained that the mouth of the Breede river could be entered by small vessels in fine weather, and a coasting trade with Capetown was commenced. Lord Charles Somerset, who was rapidly covering the map of the colony with the titles of his family, gave the river mouth the name Port Beaufort. At about the same time a coasting trade was opened from the Knysna.

In 1818 the South African Public Library, to which the proceeds of a special tax for guaging casks of wine were applied, was opened in Capetown as a government institution. To it was shortly afterwards added Mr. Van Dessin's collection of books, which had been for fifty-seven years under the control of the consistory of the Dutch Reformed church.

In 1819 the merchants of Capetown combined to establish a commercial exchange, and in August of that year the foundation stone was laid of the large building still in use. The hall was opened in 1821.

In 1820 the commissioners of the admiralty resolved to establish an observatory at the Cape. In August 1821 the Rev. Fearon Fallowes arrived as astronomer royal. The first observatory was a temporary wooden structure in Capetown, but in 1825 the site of the present building was selected, and in 1829 it was completed and opened for use.

In 1820 the erection of the first lighthouse on the South African coast was commenced at Green Point, on the shore of Table Bay. The light was first exhibited in April 1824.

In 1824 a good waggon road was completed through the first range of mountains, at the pass behind French Hoek. It opened a direct route from Capetown to Worcester, and shortened the journey to Graaff-Reinet by about forty miles.

During this period there was a great increase in the number of churches and schools. Clergymen of the Dutch Reformed church were first stationed at Uitenhage and Cradock in 1817, at Beaufort West in 1818, at the little village of Somerset West iu 1822, at Worcester in 1824, and at Somerset East in January 1826. At the beginning of 1826 there were clergymen of the English episcopal church at Capetown, Simonstown, Wynberg, Grahamstown, and Port Elizabeth.

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A Wesleyan clergyman who arrived about the same time as Lord Charles Somerset was not permitted by the governor to hold services for white people, and was compelled to return to England; but others were immediately sent out with the concurrence of the secretary of state. In 1816 they commenced mission work in Capetown, and shortly afterwards founded a station among the Hottentots at Kamiesberg. Many of the British settlers were Wesleyans. They erected several places of worship in the district of Albany, and in 1823 commenced a mission with the sons of Cungwa, from which they proceeded in the course of a few years to form a chain of stations through Kaffirland to the border of Natal.

The London Society had scattered its agents among the tribes on the north and east of the colony. In 1821 the Glasgow Missionary Society commenced its labours among the Kosas. The Moravians extended their work among the Hottentots, by founding in 1816 a station at Enon on a tributary of the Sunday river.

After the conquest of the colony in 1806 Sir David Baird required the Roman Catholic clergyman to cease his ministrations, but in 1819 the secretary of state consented to the re-establishment of public worship by that body of Christians. From early times the Mohamedans had liberty of worship, and no attempt to suppress it was made by the English governors. Without any formal enactment, in 1820 all religious services again became perfectly free, as they had been under the Batavian Republic.

In 1822 well educated teachers were obtained from Scotland, and at each drostdy the government established a high-class school, to which parents were invited to send their children free of charge. In the eastern part of the colony these schools were of the utmost service, but as instruction was given through the medium of the English language only, they were not as useful in the western districts as they might otherwise have been. Many people were offended at a project which they regarded as an attempt to supplant their mother tongue, and in some places such a decided hostility was shown to the schools that after a time the teachers were withdrawn.

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The deepest feelings of the old colonists were stirred by an order of the imperial government that after the 1st of January 1825 all official documents, and after the 1st of January 1828 all proceedings in courts of law should be in English. In Simonstown, Grahamstown, and Port Elizabeth the exclusive use of the English language in the courts of law was not objected to ; but in the other districts, where Dutch was spoken by nearly the whole people, it was regarded as a very serious grievance. Many requests were made to the government to annul the order, but to no purpose, and upon the dates named English became the official language of the country.

The later years of Lord Charles Somerset's government were marked by commercial and agricultural depression, by distress alike among the old colonists and the recent British immigrants, and by anxiety to every one in possession of property. After 1823 the governor occupied a very unpleasant position. The public income could not be made to meet the outlay, and the colony was sinking deeper and deeper into debt. The imperial government was obliged to make advances of money, a matter not at all to the liking of the secretary of state, whose despatches irritated the governor exceedingly. His conduct was frequently brought to the notice of the house of commons by the opponents of the ministry, and the leading London newspapers were very severe in their strictures upon some of his actions.

This was especially the case with regard to a succession of events which took place during the winter of 1824.

The first of these was the prosecution of a man named Bishop Burnett for a libel upon two of the judges. The libel was contained in a memorial to the governor, at whose instigation the prosecution took place. Mr. Burnett was found guilty, and was sentenced to banishment from the colony for five years. He proceeded to London, where he denounced Lord Charles in the newspapers, and petitioned the house of commons for redress. Mr. Brougham, when presenting his petition, observed that if the statements contained in it were proved, he should feel it his duty to impeach Lord Charles Somerset.

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The next was the suppression of a newspaper termed the *South African Commercial Advertiser*, which was the first independent periodical published in South Africa. It was issued weekly from January to May 1824, and was very ably edited by Messrs. Thomas Pringle and John Fairbairn. By the governor's order it was then placed under the censorship of the fiscal, and Mr. Greig—its proprietor—was called upon to furnish security to the amount of £750 that he would exclude personal and political controversy from its columns. The governor's object was to prevent the appearance in print of a report of the trial of a man named William Edwards, who was charged with addressing a malicious and libellous letter to him. Mr. Greig and the editors refused to conduct a newspaper under a censorship, and Mr. Greig announced that he intended to publish an account of the facts connected with its suppression. Thereupon the governor directed the fiscal to put a seal upon the press, and issued a warrant requiring Mr. Greig to leave the colony within a month. Before the month expired, it was intimated by the fiscal that unless he provoked the governor again, his quitting the colony would not be enforced, but he took passage in the first ship that sailed for England.

Meantime a petition to the king in council was numerously signed in Capetown, praying that the press in South Africa might be placed under legal protection. This tended to irritate the governor so much that he threatened to put in force his proclamation against illegal meetings if the members of a newly formed literary and scientific society—chiefly men who signed the petition—should venture to assemble.

Mr. Greig's case excited so much attention in London, and the opponents of the ministry turned it to such account, that the secretary of state for the colonies sent him back at the expense of government, and gave him leave to resume the publication of the *Commercial Advertiser* under a licence from the governor in council. In August 1825 the paper appeared again, with Mr. Fairbairn as its sole editor, as Mr. Pringle returned to England.

There were several other trials besides those of Burnett

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and Edwards in which Lord Charles was believed to be the real prosecutor, and there was a very arbitrary instance of the issue of warrants to search the premises and papers of certain individuals who were obnoxious to him.

Owing to causes such as these, in 1825 there was in London a large party of men from the colony clamouring against the governor, and the opponents of the ministry both in parliament and in the press were denouncing his administration as a scandal to the English name. The ministry, however, managed to ward off an attack in the commons by promising inquiry and reports, and requesting postponement until Lord Charles could appear to defend himself.

The governor had requested leave to visit England, and this was granted. Major-General Richard Bourke was sent out with the title of lieutenant-governor, and was instructed to carry on the administration during the absence of Lord Charles. On the 5th of March 1826 he took over the duties.

A few days after the governor's arrival in England there was a brief discussion of the complaints against him in the house of commons, but owing to the advanced stage of the session the subject was allowed to drop. In April 1827 there was a change of ministry, and Lord Charles at once tendered his resignation as governor of the Cape Colony, which was accepted. Every one had by this time become so weary of the subject that when at last—in June 1827—it came on for discussion, there was no warmth in the debate, and it ended without a vote being taken.

CHAPTER XXII.

AT this period nearly the whole of South Africa beyond the borders of the Cape Colony was in a state of violent disturbance, owing to wars among different Bantu tribes.

About the year 1783, or perhaps a little later, one of the

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wives of the chief of a small tribe living on the banks of the river Umvolosi gave birth to a son, who was named Tshaka. While he was still a youth, Tshaka excited the jealousy of his father, and was obliged to flee for his life. He took refuge with Dingiswayo, head of a powerful tribe, who in his early years had wandered away to the border of the Cape Colony, and had there learned something of the European military system. When Tshaka fled to him, Dingiswayo was carrying on war with his neighbours, and had his followers formed into regiments after the European model. The young refugee became a soldier in one of these regiments, and by his bravery and address rapidly rose to a high position. Time passed on, Dingiswayo died, and the army raised Tshaka, then its favourite general, to supreme command. This was the origin of the terrible Zulu power.

Tshaka was a man of great bodily strength and of unusual vigour of mind, but he was utterly pitiless. He set himself the task not merely of conquering, but of exterminating the tribes as far as he could reach. With this object he greatly improved the discipline of the army, and substituted for the light assagai a short-handled long-bladed spear formed either to cut or to stab. With this weapon in his hand, the highly trained Zulu soldier, proud of his fame and his ornaments, and knowing that death was the penalty of cowardice or disobedience, was really invincible.

Tribe after tribe passed out of sight under the Zulu spear, none of the members remaining but a few of the handsomest girls and some boys reserved to carry burdens. These boys, with only the choice before them of abject slavery or becoming soldiers, always begged to be allowed to enter the army, and were soon known as the fiercest of the warriors.

The territory that is now the colony of Natal was densely peopled before the time of Tshaka. But soon after the commencement of his career, various tribes that were trying to escape from his armies fell upon the inhabitants of that fair land, and drove before them those whom they did not destroy. As far as the Umzimvubu river the

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whole population was in motion, slaughtering and being slaughtered.

One large horde of fugitives made its way as far as the river Umgwali, and in December 1824 was there attacked and beaten by a combined force of Tembus and Kosas. After the battle the horde dispersed, and its fragments settled down in a condition of vassalage among the clans between the Kei and the Umtata. So also at a little later date did other remnants of various tribes from the north, all of the refugees taking the common name of Fingos or wanderers. Between the rivers Tugela and Umzimvubu there were not left more than five or six thousand wretched starvelings, who hid themselves in thickets, and some of whom became cannibals as the only means of sustaining life.

On the other side of the great mountain range known as the Kathlamba or Drakensberg the destruction of human beings was even greater. Before the rise of the Zulu power Bantu tribes peopled densely the northern part of the territory now termed Basutoland, the north-eastern portion of the present Orange Free State, and the whole area of the South African Republic of our days. During the winter of the year 1822 a clan of Hlubis, followed closely by a tribe called the Amangwane, crossed the mountains and fell upon the people residing about the sources of the Caledon. They, in their turn, fell upon others in advance, until the whole of the inhabitants of the country as far as the Vaal in one great horde crossed the river and began to devastate the region beyond. Among their leaders was a woman named Ma Ntatisi, from whom the horde received the name of Mantatis.

After crossing the Vaal, the Mantatis turned to the north-west, and created awful havoc with the tribes in their line of march. As each was overcome, its cattle and grain were devoured, and then the murderous host passed on to the next. Their strength was partly kept up by incorporating captives, but vast numbers of the invaders, especially of women and children, left their bones mingled with those of the people they destroyed. Twenty-eight distinct tribes

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are believed to have disappeared before the Mantatis received a check. Then Makaba, chief of the Bangwaketsi, taking advantage of an opportunity when they were encamped in two divisions at a distance from each other, fell upon them unawares, defeated them, and compelled them to turn to the south. In June 1823 they sustained another defeat from a party of Griqua horsemen, and then the great horde broke into fragments.

One section went northward, destroying the tribes in its course, and years afterwards was found by Dr. Livingstone on a branch of the Zambesi. Another section, under Ma Ntatisi, returned to its old home, and took part in the devastation of the country along the Caledon. And various little bands wandered about destroying until they were themselves destroyed.

Several thousand refugees from the wasted country found their way into the Cape Colony, where they were apprenticed by the government to such persons as were not slaveholders. By the colonists they were commonly known as Makatees, a corruption of the word Mantatis. In all the vast tract of land from the Magalisberg on the north to the Orange river on the south, and from the Kathlamba on the east to the desert on the west, there were left only the Batlapin about the Kuruman river, the Griquas and Koranas farther south, three or four clans of Barolong wandering here and there, a little horde formed of the remnants of various tribes under Ma Ntatisi on the upper Caledon, a similar horde under a young man named Moshesh at and around Thaba Bosigo, a remnant of the Amangwane tribe, and a few little bands of various names in lonely situations with wide spaces utterly waste between them.

But these were too many for Tshaka's satisfaction. He sent an army against the Amangwane, who were compelled to retire. They crossed the Kathlamba again, but much farther south than in 1822 when they were in pursuit of the Hlubis.

For several years a clan of Tembus, about three thousand in number, under a captain named Bawana, had been living on the left bank of the Zwart Kei river, far from the kraals

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of the tribe to which it belonged. In August 1827 this clan was driven across the Zwart Kei into the colony by the Amangwane, who, however, instead of following, directed their march eastward. Bawana's people professed to be seeking protection, but they did almost as much harm as if they had been avowed enemies. The farmers were obliged to fall back before them, and it became necessary to collect a large armed force at the Tarka.

General Bourke proceeded to the frontier, where he learned that the Amangwane, after creating much havoc in the territory between the Bashee and the Umtata, had left the Tembu country. They were then resting for a season on the eastern bank of the Umtata, where they were enjoying the spoil they had acquired. The acting governor had an interview with Bawana, who promised to retire from the colony, but did not keep his word. For more than a year his people remained on the Tarka, and caused much annoyance to the colonists, for the commando that had assembled was disbanded by the acting governor.

In the winter of 1828 a Zulu army penetrated the country as far south as the Bashee. Tshaka himself with a body guard remained at the Umzimkulu, and sent one of his regiments to destroy the Pondos, while another division of his force proceeded to deal in the same manner with the Tembus and Kosas. The Pondos were plundered of everything they possessed, but the chief and most of his people managed to hide themselves until the Zulus retired. The Tembus and Kosas fared better. There was an Englishman named Henry Fynn with Tshaka, and he succeeded in inducing the chief to recall the army before there was much destruction of life or property.

The Tembus and Kosas, however, were greatly alarmed. They sent to beg help from the Europeans, and to prevent them from being driven into the colony as Bawana's people had been, a commando of a thousand men, under Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset, marched to their aid. This commando encountered a large body of fierce warriors, who were believed to be Tshaka's Zulus, and an engagement followed which lasted several hours. Afterwards it was discovered that the men

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whom the Europeans were fighting with were the Amangwane. They were defeated with heavy loss, and as soon as they were scattered, the Kosas and Tembus fell upon them and nearly exterminated them. The remnant of the tribe so recently dreaded then became mixed with the Fingos.

After the retreat of the Zulus and the destruction of the Amangwane, Bawana's people—termed since these events the Emigrant Tembus—were induced to leave the Tarka. Being strengthened by other refugees, they spread themselves thinly over the territory between the Stormberg on the north and the Winterberg on the south, from the Indwe to the Zwart Kei and Klaas Smit's rivers.

In September 1828 Tshaka was murdered by two of his brothers, one of whom—Dingan by name—succeeded as chief of the Zulus. The new ruler was equally as cruel, but not so able as his predecessor. Under his government the military system was kept up, though the only people left within reach that he could exercise his arms upon were the Swazis. War with them was almost constant, but their country contained natural strongholds which enabled them to set Dingan, as they had set Tshaka, at defiance. Various armies, however, that had been put in motion at an earlier date were still moving on, some at a great distance from their starting places.

One of these was under a chief named Moselekatse, whose reputation as a shedder of human blood is second only to that of Tshaka himself. He was in command of a division of the Zulu army, and had acquired the devoted attachment of the soldiers, when a circumstance occurred which left him no choice but flight. After a successful onslaught upon a tribe which he was sent to exterminate, he neglected to forward the whole of the booty to his master, and Tshaka, enraged by such conduct, despatched a great army with orders to put him and all his adherents to death. These, receiving intimation of their danger in time, immediately crossed the mountains and began to lay waste the central zone of the country that is now the South African Republic.

The numerous tribes whose remnants form the Bapedi of our times looked with dismay upon the athletic forms

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of the Matabele, as they termed the invaders. They had never before seen discipline so perfect as that of these naked braves, or weapon so deadly as the Zulu stabbing spear. All who could not make their escape were exterminated, except the comeliest girls and some of the young men who were kept as carriers. These last were led to hope that by faithful service they might attain the position of soldiers, and from them Moselekatse filled up the gaps that occurred in his ranks. The country over which he marched was covered with skeletons, and literally no human beings were left in it, for his object was to place a desert between Tshaka and himself. When he considered himself at a safe distance from his old home he halted, erected military kraals after the Zulu pattern, and from them as a centre commenced to send his regiments out north, south, and west to gather spoil.

It is impossible to give the number of Moselekatse's warriors, but it was probably not greater than ten thousand. Fifty of them were a match for more than five hundred Betshuana. They pursued these wretched creatures even when there was no plunder to be had, and slew many thousands in mere wantonness, in exactly the same spirit and with as little compunction as a sportsman shoots snipe.

While the Matabele were engaged in their career of destruction, other bands were similarly employed farther north, so that by 1828 there was not a single Betshuana tribe left intact between the Magalisberg and the Limpopo. On the margin of the Kalahari desert several were still unbroken, though they had suffered severely. In 1830 Moselekatse moved against these tribes, and dispersed them. They were not exterminated, because they took refuge in the desert, where they found plants capable of sustaining life and water in places to which the Matabele could not pursue them. But they were reduced to a very wretched state.

After this Moselekatse built his military kraals on the banks of the Marikwa, and was lord of the country far and wide.

Only one tribe escaped, and that the weakest and most degraded of all the southern Betshuana. The principal

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Batlapin kraal was then at the source of the Kuruman river, where missionaries resided for a short time at the beginning of the century. The station was soon abandoned, but was occupied again in 1817 by agents of the London Society, and four years later the Rev. Robert Moffat went to live there. Towards the close of 1829 Mr. Moffat visited Moselekatse, whose kraals were then about a hundred miles east of the Marikwa. The chief could not comprehend the character or the work of the missionary, but he was flattered by the friendship of such a man, and conceived a great respect for one who could weld two thick pieces of iron. He believed Mr. Moffat to be lord of the people at the Kuruman, and to show his regard, he abstained from sending his warriors there. Thus the Batlapin, who would have fled from the smallest division of the Matabele army, were saved by the presence among them of a courageous and able European.

Meantime in one corner of the vast waste that had been created, the process of reconstruction was going on. In the territory that is now called Basutoland, Moshesh, who has already been mentioned, was collecting together dispersed people of various tribes, and forming them into a compact political body. He was the son of a man who was only in rank a petty captain, and his father was still living, so that under ordinary circumstances he would have had little chance of raising himself to power. But Moshesh possessed abilities of a very high order as a military strategist, a diplomatist, an organiser of society, and a ruler of men. His seat of government was Thaba Bosigo, an impregnable mountain stronghold. He prevented attacks of the Zulus by professing himself the humblest vassal of Tshaka and Dingan, and by frequently sending tribute of furs and feathers. All who submitted to him were treated alike, no matter to what tribe they originally belonged, and as much assistance as possible was given to those who needed it. Even bands of cannibals were provided with grain and gardens, that they might become agriculturists once more. Men of tribes who had recently been destroying each other were induced to live side by side in friendship and peace. Thus a new

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community was forming under Moshesh, by far the ablest black ruler known in South Africa since the arrival of Europeans in the country.

Moselekatse sent plundering parties against him, but his scouts gave warning in time, so that the raiders were not able to do much harm. In 1831 a Matabele army laid siege to Thaba Bosigo, but could not take the stronghold. When the besiegers were compelled by want of food to retreat, Moshesh provided them with provisions sufficient for their homeward journey, and a friendly message accompanied the gift. He was never again attacked by them.

But now for several years he had to contend with little bands of Griqua and Korana marauders, who were mounted and well armed, and could therefore do great damage in sudden forays. The coldblooded cruelty of these villains was not less than that of the Mantati horde in former days. They seemed to delight in torturing defenceless victims. At length, however, most of them met the fate which they deserved, and those who were not killed adopted more honest modes of living.

In 1829 the Paris Evangelical Society's first agents reached South Africa. In June 1833 three of them went to reside with Moshesh, from whom they received a hearty welcome, as he recognised that their assistance in temporal matters would be of great service.

A few months later a wandering horde of Barolong, with whom missionaries of the Wesleyan Society had been residing for ten years, was induced to settle at Thaba Ntshu, about fifty miles from Thaba Bosigo. At the same time some small parties—Koranas, Griquas, and halfbreeds, who were under the influence of Wesleyan missionaries, were persuaded to settle on the right bank of the Caledon.

In 1834 a vast portion of the territory east and north of the Cape Colony was lying waste. Between the Keiskama and Umzimvubu rivers were the Kosa, Tembu, and Pondo tribes, with the Fingos, and various clans driven down from the north. Missionaries of the London, Glasgow, and Wesleyan societies were endeavouring to christianise and civilise these people. Between the Umzimvubu and Tugela

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rivers there were only five or six thousand inhabitants. North of the Tugela were the Zulus, under the chief Dingan, who had twenty-five or thirty thousand highly trained soldiers at his command.

Within the western border of the present South African Republic, along the Marikwa river, were the Matabele military kraals; but the greater portion of that vast territory was unpeopled, except in the most rugged places, where the broken remnants of former tribes were lurking.

The present Orange Free State contained a few hundred Griquas and Koranas in its western districts, and five or six small clans of Batlokua, Barolong, Bataung, and Batlapin in the neighbourhood of the Caledon. With the Griquas at Philippolis there was a missionary of the London Society, with the Batlapin at Bethulie there was a missionary of the Paris Society, and with the Barolong at Thaba Ntshu, the Batlokua at Imparani, and the Koranas, mixed breeds, and Griquas at Merumetsu, Platberg, and Lishuane there were Wesleyan missionaries.

In the territory now called British Betshuanaland the population consisted of the Batlapin tribe, some roving Koranas, and a few stragglers on the border of the desert. There were missionaries of the London Society at Kuruman, and an agent of the Paris Society at Motito. In the neighbourhood of the Orange river were two or three thousand Griquas and Koranas, dependent upon missionaries of the London Society at Griquatown.

And in Basutoland there were the people collected by Moshesh, with whom missionaries of the Paris Society were residing.

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CHRONOLOGICAL LIST

OF

Principal Events in Early Cape History.

1

The southern coast of Africa was made known to Europeans by an explorer named Bartholomew Dias, who with three little vessels sailed from Portugal in 1486, and reached the mouth of a river a little to the eastward of Algoa Bay.

In 1497 Vasco da Gama, another Portuguese explorer, doubled the Cape of Good Hope. He was the first to reach India by sea from Europe.

From that date Portuguese fleets sailed past our shores every year, but did not often touch at any place below Mozambique. In 1503 Table Bay was discovered by Antonio de Saldanha. Seven years later the first viceroy of Portuguese India, Francisco d'Almeida by name, was killed with sixty-four other white men in a battle with Hottentots in Table Valley. The Portuguese found nothing to attract them to South Africa, and they never attempted to form a settlement below Delagoa Bay.

In 1591 English ships entered Table Bay for the first time, and at a little later date our shores were frequently visited by Englishmen. But England, like Portugal, made no effort to found a colony in the southern part of the continent.

The Dutch were the next to appear. In 1595 the first fleet that sailed from the Netherlands to India put into Mossel Bay, and it was speedily followed by others. In 1602 the Dutch East India Company was formed. Its ships frequently entered Table Bay, and after 1620 made it an ordinary port of call. In 1650 the directors of this Company

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resolved to form a station for refreshment in Table Valley. An expedition for this purpose was made ready at Amsterdam, and at its head was placed an officer named Jan van Riebeek.

Although a century and a half had now elapsed since the coast line had been traced, the interior of the country was quite unknown. No white man had yet been inland ten miles from the shore. The maps of the time were therefore very incorrect, being covered with kingdoms, rivers, and towns which had no existence except in fancy.

2

In April 1652 Mr. Van Riebeek and his party arrived, and at once set about the construction of an earthen fort in Table Valley. As soon as rain fell, a garden was laid out, in which European and Indian vegetables were planted, and found to thrive well. During the first winter there was much sickness and discomfort, but as soon as the people were properly housed and wholesome food became plentiful, the prospect brightened.

Within the next three or four years fruit and forest trees of different sorts, the grape vine, and other plants were introduced. So were various domestic animals.

The Hottentot tribe which was found in occupation of the district around Table Bay was composed of three clans, two of which were in possession of cattle, while the other depended for existence upon roots, shellfish, and the produce of the sea. The clans were at feud with each other, but all were at first friendly towards the Europeans. Some hundreds of oxen and sheep were obtained in barter for tobacco and copper. The poorest of the clans, however, seized a favourable opportunity, murdered a European boy, and ran away with a herd of cattle which he was tending. The others also began to show hostility, on finding that the occupation by the white people was to be permanent. A quarrel would easily have taken place, but by the judicious conduct of Mr. Van Riebeek friendship was restored.

For several seasons the corn crops in Table Valley were

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destroyed by the southeast wind, so an outpost was established at Rondebosch, and an attempt was made to raise grain there, which was successful.

3

In 1657 some discharged servants of the Company had small farms allotted to them at Rondebosch, and became the first South African colonists.

In this year Hottentots-Holland was visited and named, and a trading party discovered and named the Berg river.

In 1658 an exploring expedition saw the Tulbagh basin from the top of a mountain, but did not enter it.

A number of slaves from Angola and Guinea were introduced at this time.

The first vineyard in South Africa was planted by Mr. Van Riebeek, on a farm beyond Rondebosch, which was on that account called the Wynberg.

In 1659 the Berg river was followed to within a few miles of the sea.

The Hottentot clans who claimed the Cape peninsula, finding themselves excluded from the cultivated ground, commenced to plunder the farmers of cattle, and murdered a burgher. War was then made upon them, but the natives avoided a pitched battle, and it was not found possible to inflict much damage on either side. In 1660 the Hottentots asked for peace, when an agreement of friendship was made, in which the right of the Europeans was recognised to the ground they were occupying.

A party of volunteers penetrated the country to the north, and discovered the Elephant river.

A little later another party pushed still farther, and made the acquaintance of a Namaqua clan. Several other Hottentot tribes were also discovered.

Bushmen were found scattered over the country wherever it was explored.

In 1662 Mr. Van Riebeek proceeded to Java, leaving the settlement in a fairly prosperous condition. The commanders henceforth for several years were men of very little mark.

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4

In 1662 and 1663 exploring parties were sent to search for a fabulous town named Vigiti Magna, but found only that in the summer months the country beyond the Elephant river is a desert.

In 1664 the island of Mauritius was occupied by the Dutch East India Company, and made a dependency of the Cape station.

In 1665 the building of the castle of Good Hope was commenced, and the first resident clergyman of the Cape arrived.

By 1668 Europeans had travelled eastward as far as Mossel Bay.

In this year the long struggle with the Bushman race commenced. A Bushman horde that tried to rob a trading party was fired upon, and a number of the men were shot.

In 1670 and 1671 a few families of immigrants from the Netherlands arrived at the Cape.

Owing to the fear of war in Europe, the construction of the castle was pushed on, and an officer of great reputed ability was appointed head of the station.

In 1672 a formal purchase of the country from Saldanha Bay to Hottentots-Holland was made from its native claimants.

In this year Mr. Isbrand Goske, the first who had the title of governor, arrived and assumed the direction of affairs.

5

In 1672 the first extension of the settlement beyond the Cape peninsula was made, by the formation of an outpost for farming at Hottentots-Holland.

In the following year the Cochoqua captain Gonnema caused a party of burghers who were out hunting to be murdered, and the Company's post at Saldanha Bay to be plundered, in consequence of which war was declared against him. The first armed party sent out succeeded in capturing a good many of his cattle. A coalition of the clans near the Cape was then formed against him, and as soon as it was known where he was, he was attacked again, when

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the whole of his cattle were captured. But he, in turn, fell suddenly upon the Hottentot allies of the Europeans, and managed to seize some of their herds. The country was kept in a disturbed condition for four years, when Gonnema asked for peace, and a treaty was made with him.

In 1674 a board of guardians was created for the protection of orphan children, and a little later a matrimonial court was established to prevent improper marriages.

In 1676 Mr. Goske retired, and was succeeded as governor by Johan Bax, during whose tenure of office a few burghers leased land for pastoral purposes at Hottentots-Holland, and several families of immigrants arrived from the Netherlands. Mr. Bax died in June 1678.

The directors then appointed Simon van der Stel head of the Cape settlement, with the rank and title of commander. In October 1679 he arrived from Amsterdam.

6

In November 1679 the Stellenbosch valley was visited and named by the new commander, and shortly afterwards a party of farmers settled there. In 1682 a court of heemraden was appointed for this new district.

The Cape now began to be used as a place of banishment for Indian prisoners of state. Among others who were sent here a little after this time was the Sheikh Joseph, whose tomb is still an object of pilgrimage to Moslems in South Africa.

In April 1685 the colony was visited by a commissioner with very great power. He made many regulations for carrying on the government, appointed a landdrost to Stellenbosch, and issued instructions that slaves of good character should be set free on attaining a certain age.

After the high commissioner left, a large party, under direction of the commander in person, set out for the purpose of exploring the country north of the Elephant river. The copper mountain in Little Namaqualand was inspected, the adjacent coast was examined, and information was gathered concerning the river now called the Orange. The party was absent five months.

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In 1685 a few orphan girls and some families accustomed to tilling the ground arrived in South Africa from the Netherlands. During several succeeding years each outward-bound fleet brought to this country small parties of immigrants such as these.

7

In 1686 a fair, thereafter held yearly until 1706, was established at Stellenbosch. In 1687 a consistory was appointed in that village, and a church was built. The cultivation of the vine was extending. Experiments were being made with the olive tree, and large numbers of oaks were planted in the Stellenbosch and Cape districts.

In October of this year a fresh tract of land, which was named Drakenstein, was given out to European settlers.

In 1685 an English vessel named the *Good Hope* was wrecked at the bay of Natal, and in 1686 a Dutch vessel named the *Stavenisse* was wrecked on the coast seventy miles to the southward. Some of those who reached the shore in safety built a small vessel in which they got away, others tried to travel overland to the Cape. Of these last, several wandered among the coast tribes for nearly three years, and when they were rescued, gave a very good account of the country between the Tugela and Kei rivers and of the people who occupied it. They had been well treated by the Bantu, but had met with some Bushmen who robbed them of their clothing and murdered several of their companions. The information which they gave was so complete that a fairly correct chart of South-Eastern Africa could be made.

In 1689 an exploring party was sent out, which gathered much knowledge concerning the previously unknown Hottentot tribes along the southern coast. An expedition sent by sea purchased from a native chief the bay of Natal and adjacent country.

A feeling of enmity towards the Bushmen was caused by their cruel treatment of wrecked seamen, and henceforth they were regarded as declared foes by the Europeans as well as by the Hottentots and Bantu.

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8

In 1688 and 1689 among other immigrants nearly one hundred and eighty Huguenots of all ages arrived in South Africa. These were people who had fled from France for conscience sake. A few were located at Stellenbosch, but most of them at Drakenstein and French Hoek. They wished to form a separate church and to have a tract of land to themselves, but the commander would not allow them to do so. They then appealed to the directors, who permitted the French pastor to reside at Drakenstein and to form a church there, with its own consistory. The Huguenots were not allowed, however, to live by themselves, instructions being given that they and the Dutch settlers were to be mixed together.

With the various Hottentot tribes the Europeans were on friendly terms. The government did not interfere with them except to keep peace between the clans, or when the interests of white people were affected.

By this time so much ground was being tilled that in good seasons sufficient food was raised for the colonists and visitors, and a small quantity of wheat could be sent to Batavia. Horses of a good breed were introduced from Persia, as the progeny of those brought from Java had fallen off in size.

In 1690 the directors promoted Commander Van der Stel to be governor, and since that date the officer at the head of the colony has always had this rank.

The town in Table Valley now contained between fifty and sixty houses. The residents depended for a living chiefly upon providing for the wants of strangers and dealing in articles brought by visitors from Europe and the East.

In 1699 Simon van der Stel retired, and was succeeded as governor by his son Wilhem Adriaan van der Stel.

9

Shortly after he took over the duties, the new governor made a tour through the settled districts, after which he crossed the first range of mountains, and inspected the valley now called the Tulbagh basin. That part of the country

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seemed to him well suited for rearing cattle, so he resolved to locate a few colonists there. He named the basin the Land of Waveren. In the year 1700 Europeans first went to live in it.

This growth of the colony brought on a war with Bushmen, but the wild people were soon subdued. Small parties of soldiers were stationed at Waveren and Groenekloof to protect the graziers, and were kept there for many years.

By order of the government in Holland the burghers were permitted to purchase cattle from Hottentots, but upon some abuses being brought to light, that trade was forbidden, and it was not again allowed while the East India Company ruled South Africa.

In 1702 the French pastor who came to this country with the Huguenots returned to Europe, and after that date the services in the church at Drakenstein were held in Dutch, the same as in the churches at Stellenbosch and the Cape.

In 1702 a party of marauding white men and Hottentots travelled eastward nearly to the Fish river, and met some refugee Kosas, with whom a battle was fought, the first between Europeans and Kaffirs.

Governor Wilhem Adriaan van der Stel was intent upon making money, and cared nothing for the welfare of the colonists. He had a large farm at Hottentots-Holland, where he spent a great deal of time, and he neglected public duties. Some of the burghers sent complaints concerning him to the government at Batavia, and when he came to learn this it excited him to fury. He caused several of the best men in the colony to be cast into prison, sent others out of the country, and committed various lawless acts. But the colonists, men and women alike, were firm in the defence of their rights, and the result was that in 1707 the governor and some other officers who were guilty of misconduct were removed by the directors.

10

In 1710 the island of Mauritius, that for forty-six years had been subject to the Cape council, was abandoned by the East India Company.

In December 1710 the church, landdrost's office, and most

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of the dwelling houses in the village of Stellenbosch were burned to the ground.

Capetown then contained about one hundred and seventy private houses.

Farmers were settling along the banks of the Breede and Zonderend rivers.

In 1713 the small pox appeared for the first time in the colony. It caused great loss of life among the white people and the slaves, and among the Hottentots it created dreadful havoc. Whole kraals passed out of sight, and when the disease ceased only feeble and dejected remnants of the tribes were left for a long distance inland.

In 1714 a retired colonel in the Dutch army, named Maurits Pasques de Chavonnes, became governor. As the revenue of the colony was much less than its cost to the Company, his first act, by order of the directors, was to impose several new taxes.

In 1715 there was another war with Bushmen, in which for the first time a burgher force took the field without being aided by soldiers. In the following year peace was made.

A good deal of trouble was taken at this time to find out whether tobacco, indigo, and olive oil could be produced in the colony, in quantities and of a quality that would pay; but after many trials without success, all were given up. Diseases unknown before broke out among horned cattle, sheep, and horses, and caused heavy losses to the farmers.

In 1721 the Dutch East India Company took possession of Delagoa Bay, and built a fort on the bank of a river that empties into it. The station was thereafter under the control of the Cape government.

In 1724 Governor De Chavonnes died.

11

At this period a great deal of money and labour was spent in a vain effort to fix the loose sand of the Cape flats by planting grass and trees. Trials were also made during a series of years with silk culture, but it was found that it would not pay.

In 1727 Mr. Pieter Gysbert Noodt became governor. He

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was a conceited and ill-tempered man, whom no one liked, but as he did not oppress the burghers, they did not complain of him. He died suddenly in 1729.

The station at Delagoa Bay was still maintained, though fever caused great loss of life every summer, and the trade with the natives was small. At length the East India Company thought it useless to keep people there longer, and in 1730 the garrison was withdrawn.

In 1736 a party of elephant hunters travelled from the Cape eastward to the district occupied by the Pondo tribe. On their return they stopped at the kraal of the Kosa chief Palo, close to the Kei, where they were fallen upon by the Kaffirs, and six of them were killed. The others made good their escape.

In 1739 Mr. Hendrik Swellengrebel became governor. He was a colonist by birth, and the only one who has ever held the highest office in the land.

In 1743 a clergyman was stationed at the place which is now the village of Tulbagh, and two years later another was stationed at the present village of Malmesbury. No religious body except the Dutch Reformed church was yet allowed to have a building set apart for public worship, though the Lutherans and the Moravians were not prevented from holding services in private houses as long as they did not dispense the sacraments.

Many very disastrous shipwrecks having taken place in Table Bay in the winter months, after 1742 Simon's Bay was used by the Company's fleets as a port of call from the middle of May to the middle of August. At first no great expense was gone to there, because an attempt was being made to form a safe harbour in Table Bay by means of a mole ; but in 1746 it was found that to finish the mole would cost too much, and it was then given up.

As the colonists were spreading inland, in 1745 the country east of a line from Zoetendal's Vlei to Hex River was cut off from Stellenbosch and formed into a district named Swellendam, with a landdrost of its own. In the following year the village of Swellendam was founded.

In 1751 Governor Swellengrebel retired at his own request, and was succeeded by Mr. Ryk Tulbagh

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12

The new governor had been in the Company's service in South Africa ever since 1716. He was a man of very high character as well as of great ability, and did his duty in such a manner as to gain the esteem and love of the colonists.

In 1752 an exploring party travelled eastward to the country beyond the river Kei. On the shore of Algoa Bay they set up a beacon to denote that possession was taken for the East India Company. They found the Keiskama river the boundary between the Hottentot and the Bantu races. When returning, they kept near the foot of the mountains in which the Tyumie, Kat, and Koonap rivers rise, and met no other people than Bushmen there. In 1761 another exploring party pierced the Namaqua country nearly two hundred miles north of the Orange river, and brought back much knowledge of that land and its people.

In 1755 small pox visited South Africa for the second time, and caused great loss of life among all classes of people in Capetown and among the natives for many hundred miles north and east. In 1767 it appeared for the third time, but on this occasion its ravages were not very great.

Capetown was now growing in size as well as in importance. By 1761 there were so many residents that the directors provided three clergymen for the church. Towards the north the farmers had spread beyond the mountains which enclose the central plain. The Hottentots were giving no trouble, but there were frequent wars with Bushmen. In 1770 the eastern boundary was extended inland to the range of hills called Bruintjes Hoogte, and along the coast to the Gamtoos river.

In 1771 Governor Tulbagh died. He was succeeded by Mr. Joachim van Plettenberg.

13

In 1771 farmers began to settle east of Bruintjes Hoogte, and in 1775 the boundary of the colony was extended to the Fish river north of the Zuurberg, and to the Bushman's river along the coast.

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In 1778 Governor Van Plettenberg made a journey as far as the site of the present village of Somerset East. There he met several chiefs of the Kosa tribe, and entered into an agreement with them that the Fish river down to the sea should be the boundary between the white people and the Bantu. He then travelled northward, and set up a beacon on the Zeekoe river to mark the limit of the colony in that direction. When returning to Capetown he inspected the bay into which the Keurboom river falls, and gave it his own name.

In 1779 Captain Gordon, an officer of the garrison, visited the Gariep or Great river near its mouth, and named it the Orange, in honour of the stadtholder.

In 1780 the first Lutheran church in Capetown was opened for public worship.

In 1779 a number of Kosa clans crossed the Fish river and spread over the country on the colonial side. Parties of farmers tried to drive them back, but did not fully succeed. The frontier was kept in a disturbed state until 1781, when a burgher commando fell upon the intruders and expelled them, bringing the first Kaffir war to a close.

In 1780 war was declared between England and Holland. In 1781 an English fleet was despatched to seize the Cape; but the French, who were in alliance with the Dutch, provided a strong opposing force, which reached South Africa first. The English commodore, learning this, did not attack the colony, but seized some richly-laden Dutch ships in Saldanha Bay.

In 1782 the government began to issue paper notes instead of metallic coin.

Governor Van Plettenberg allowed the civil servants to oppress the colonists. The fiscal compelled the farmers to sell produce at very low rates to the Company for purposes of trade, when at the same time they could get much more from foreigners. An act of tyranny towards a burgher brought on a crisis. The colonists sent delegates to Holland to complain to the directors, and to ask for a change in the system of government. The matter was referred to a committee, who merely advised a few petty concessions.

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The burghers then appealed to the States-General of the Netherlands, but that body was trying to support the East India Company, which was tottering to its fall. When therefore the directors promised to change the staff of officials at the Cape and make a few reforms in the system of managing affairs, the States-General declined to give further redress.

In 1785 Governor Van Plettenberg was relieved by Lieutenant-Colonel Cornelis Jacob van de Graaff.

14

Governor Van de Graaff quarrelled with nearly all the officials at the Cape. He wasted a great deal of the Company's money, and did nothing to make the colonists respect him.

In 1785 the eastern parts of Stellenbosch and Swellendam were formed into a new district named Graaff-Reinet. In 1786 a site for a village was chosen near the source of the Sunday river, and a court of landdrost and heemraden was established there. A school was opened at once, and in 1792 a clergyman was appointed to the district.

In 1790 the East India Company was obliged to reduce its outlay very greatly. Nearly all the soldiers were removed from the Cape, and in many other ways expense was cut down.

In 1791 Governor Van de Graaff was recalled to Holland.

In 1792 two commissioners—Messrs. Nederburgh and Frykenius—arrived with power to make any changes they should think fit. After imposing several new taxes, they gave the colonists liberty to send the produce of the country to Holland and to the Indian islands for sale, but only in Dutch ships. And they set up a bank, through which they issued paper money to people who could borrow it on mortgage of property.

In 1791 and later the country called Great Namaqualand, north of the Orange river, was explored by parties who hoped to find gold, but did not succeed. In 1793 the government caused beacons denoting ownership to be set up at Possession Island, Angra Pequena, and Walfish Bay.

In 1789 the second Kaffir war commenced by a number of

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Kosa clans invading the colony. The government would not allow a burgher commando to drive them back, but tried by means of presents to induce the intruders to return to their own country. This did not succeed, and the Kosas remained in the colony and continued to steal cattle until May 1793, when a party of farmers attacked a kraal in reprisal. A few days later the Kosas made a raid as far as the Zwartkops river, swept off many thousands of cattle, and murdered several white people. Burgher forces then took the field against them, but Landdrost Maynier, who was in command, conducted the campaign so feebly that it was a failure. In November 1793 the government made peace with the intruders, without forcing them out of the colony or recovering the cattle that had been driven off. The burghers were indignant at this line of action, and were almost ready to rebel against the East India Company.

In 1792 the Moravians obtained the same freedom of public worship as the Lutherans, and three missionaries of their Society founded the station of Genadendal for the benefit of the Hottentots.

In the winter of 1793 tidings reached South Africa that the French republic had declared war against England and Holland.

15

At this time the East India Company was bankrupt, though its offices were still open. Its collapse caused a great deal of distress in the colony, for its paper money had entirely taken the place of gold and silver coin.

Early in 1795 the burghers of Graaff-Reinet set up a government of their own. They claimed, however, that they were loyal to the mother country. The burghers of Swellendam also drove their landdrost away, and formed themselves into a republic.

While half the colony was thus in rebellion against the East India Company, and the other half was inclined to follow the same course, an English fleet with troops on board arrived in Simon's Bay. The officers in command stated that they had come to protect the Cape from an attack by the French, and they produced an order from the prince of

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Orange in which the government was directed to admit their forces into the forts and harbours. But this order was written in England, for the stadtholder was then in exile. The French armies had entered Holland, and had been welcomed by a strong party opposed to him, so that he had been obliged to leave the country. The republics of France and Holland had then entered into alliance.

The officials in South Africa and a few of the burghers were in favour of the stadtholder's or Orange cause, but most of the colonists were in strong sympathy with the other faction in the mother country. Nearly all the officers of the garrison were such strong partisans of the prince of Orange that they were not disposed to fight against English troops.

The government could not obey the order of a fugitive prince, though the members of the council were strongly attached to his cause. They did not admit the English troops therefore, and they talked bravely about the duty of defending the colony, though the defence which they really made was of the feeblest kind.

After exchanging letters for eight weeks to no purpose, the English forces attacked the Dutch camp at Muizenburg, a strong position on the road between Simonstown and Capetown. Colonel De Lille, who was in command of the camp, fled without any attempt at defence, and the English got possession of the post. Five weeks later a strong English army marched from Muizenburg towards Capetown. The only persons who were in earnest in trying to prevent the surrender of the country were the burghers and the engineers of the garrison, and they were not strong enough to resist with success. In consequence, the colony was given up on the 16th of September 1795, when a government by English officers took the place of that of the Dutch East India Company.

16

The English officers did all they could to gain the favour of the colonists. They made one or two much needed reforms, and promised more. The people living in the districts of the Cape, Stellenbosch, and Swellendam were thus induced to submit quietly.

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After a few weeks General Craig was placed by the other officers at the head of affairs, with a strong body of soldiers to support him. As he was just and honest, he was esteemed by the colonists, though of course they could not love a man who had conquered their country.

The people living in the district of Graaff-Reinet were not at first willing to obey the new rulers, and they would not receive the landdrost whom General Craig appointed; but towards the close of the year 1796 they were obliged to submit, as while they held out they could get nothing whatever to purchase. Efforts were made by the French and the Dutch in India to convey powder, lead, and clothing to them through Algoa Bay; but these efforts failed.

In August 1796 a Dutch fleet of nine ships of war put into Saldanha Bay, and was there captured by a much stronger English fleet.

In 1797 the Earl of Macartney arrived as governor. He was very friendly to all who were attached to the British cause, but he was equally stern with those who were not. He allowed no freedom of speech, and sent out of the country every one who would not swear to be faithful to the King of England. Freedom of trade, which General Craig had promised and allowed, also came to an end at this time, and henceforth the farmers found themselves under the same restraints as when the East India Company was in power. In all other respects the government of the Earl of Macartney was praiseworthy.

A great many soldiers were kept in the country, and numerous ships of war put in for supplies, so that there was a constant demand for farm produce, which was bought at high prices. As far as money was concerned, the people had never been so well off before.

In 1798 the Earl of Macartney retired, when General Dundas became acting governor.

17

Early in 1799 about a hundred and sixty farmers in Graaff-Reinet rose against the government. Troops were at once sent against them, when they were obliged to surrender.

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Most of them were fined and set free, but twenty were sent to Capetown, where they were kept in prison over three years.

The third Kaffir war began in February 1799, when a horde of Kosas under the chief Ndlambe entered the colony. The clans west of the Fish river joined the invaders, whose strength was still further increased by bands of insurgent Hottentots uniting with them. A large part of the district of Graaff-Reinet was overrun and pillaged. A commando of burghers and soldiers was got together ; but instead of attacking the Kosas and Hottentots, the government offered them peace, and allowed them to keep possession of a tract of land along the coast east of the Bushman's river, upon their promising to be quiet. They did not cease to plunder the white people, however, and therefore in 1802 a burgher force was sent against them. A very brave and able man, named Tjaart van der Walt, was in command of this force ; but he was killed in a battle, and then the colonists lost heart and dispersed. They came together again early in 1803, but peace was made without further fighting. The Kosas promised to return to their own country as soon as they could, and they and the Hottentots engaged to abstain from roaming about and plundering.

In 1799 the London Missionary Society first sent agents to South Africa to attempt to convert the native races to the Christian belief.

In the same year Sir George Yonge arrived as governor. He was greatly disliked by people of all classes, and so many complaints of his unjust and corrupt conduct were made that in 1801 he was recalled.

In 1802 terms of peace between Great Britain and France were signed. One of the conditions was that the Cape Colony should be restored to the Netherlands. In consequence, in February 1803 the government was transferred to Dutch officers, and the English soldiers and civil servants left the country.

18

Mr. De Mist and General Janssens were the chief officers of the new government. The former had power to make such

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regulations as he might find necessary; and the latter, who had the title of governor, was directed to carry out the laws.

In May 1803, less than three months after the colony was restored to the Dutch, war broke out again between England and Holland.

In 1804 the colony was divided into six districts, instead of four, in order to have a greater number of magistrates. The two new districts were named Uitenhage and Tulbagh.

In the same year a law was made giving equal rights to people of all religions.

The government made an attempt to establish state schools throughout the country, but did not succeed, as the people preferred schools connected with the church.

In 1805 a post for the conveyance of letters and papers from Capetown to the different villages was first established.

The colony at this time contained nearly twenty-six thousand white people and thirty thousand slaves.

In January 1806 a great English fleet arrived for the purpose of taking possession of the country. Over four thousand soldiers, commanded by General Baird, landed on the beach below Blueberg, to the north of Capetown. General Janssens was obliged to leave some of his troops to guard the forts, and with the burghers he had only two thousand men to oppose to the English. In a battle, which was fought on the plain at the foot of the Blueberg on the 8th of January 1806 the Dutch army was defeated, and Great Britain again became the owner of the Cape Colony.

19

In 1807 it was made illegal for British ships to convey slaves to or from any part of the coast of Africa, and the landing of slaves in British possessions from other ships was forbidden. After that date therefore no negroes were brought into the Cape Colony for sale.

In 1809 a great change was made in the position of the Hottentots. Before that time they were supposed to be under the rule of chiefs or captains of their own race, though in fact the captains had very little power. Now they were all brought under the colonial laws, and chieftainship was done away with.

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In 1811 the district of Swellendam was divided into two, the eastern portion being named George.

In the same year the English church in Capetown was first provided with a resident clergyman.

As the Kosas under Ndlambe had spread westward to the Sunday river, and would neither return to their own country nor desist from stealing cattle, early in 1812 they were driven out of the colony by a strong body of burghers and soldiers. This, the fourth Kaffir war, lasted only a few weeks. At its close a line of fortified posts was formed from the sea to the second range of mountains, and was occupied by parties of colonists and a corps of Hottentots termed the Cape regiment. To the principal post the name Grahamstown was given.

In 1811 judges first went on circuit to try cases at all the drostdies. In 1812 so many false charges against colonists were brought before the court on behalf of coloured people that there was a general feeling of indignation throughout the country, and the sessions became known as the black circuit.

In 1813 the tenure under which land was held by farmers was changed, and yearly leases were converted into perpetual quitrent holdings.

In 1814 a treaty was made between Great Britain and the government of the Netherlands, in which the latter renounced its claim to the Cape Colony and received a sum of money in exchange.

20

Lord Charles Somerset, who became governor in 1814, did his utmost to foster other industries than the production of wine, which was then the principal article of export. He promoted the improvement of the breed of horses so much that in later years these animals were sent in considerable numbers to Mauritius and India.

In 1815 there was an insurrection by about fifty farmers on the eastern border, but it was easily suppressed. It is commonly known as the Slachter's Nek rebellion. Five of the most active of those who took part in it were punished with death, and others were banished from the frontier.

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In 1817 Lord Charles Somerset arranged with the Kaffir chief Gaika that kraals to which stolen cattle were traced should make good the damage. This chief and his uncle Ndlambe had been at feud for many years. Gaika professed to be a firm friend of the white people, and was regarded as an ally of the colony.

In 1818 the fifth Kaffir war commenced. A battle was fought on the Debe flats between the followers of the rival chiefs, when Gaika's adherents were routed with frightful slaughter. Lord Charles Somerset then sent a commando to help him, and Ndlambe in his turn met with serious reverses. But as soon as the European forces were disbanded, Ndlambe's adherents made a rush into the colony, and did a great deal of damage. In April 1819 they attacked Grahamstown, but were repulsed with heavy loss. A strong commando was then sent into Kaffirland, and Ndlambe's power was completely broken, after which the territory between the Fish and Keiskama rivers was ceded by Gaika to the colony.

In 1820 and 1821 nearly five thousand immigrants of British birth settled in South Africa, chiefly in the present districts of Albany and Bathurst. At first they suffered great hardships, but in the course of a few years most of them were in thriving circumstances. They gave a distinctly English character to the eastern part of the colony.

21

In 1823 a commission of inquiry was sent from England to the colony, and in consequence of its reports many changes were made in the government a few years later.

In 1825 a council of six members was created, to advise the governor in matters of importance.

In the same year a quantity of British silver money was sent out, and the paper rixdollars in general use were declared to be worth only one shilling and six pence, instead of four shillings, at which rate they were first issued.

During the government of Lord Charles Somerset the colony was extended on the northeast to the Orange river. New districts were created: Simonstown in 1814, Beaufort in 1818,

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Albany in 1820, and Somerset in 1825. In 1819 the village of Worcester was founded. In 1822 it was made the seat of magistracy for the district, the name of which was changed from Tulbagh to Worcester.

Churches and schools were greatly increased, the South African public library was established, a commercial exchange was founded in Capetown, a lighthouse was built on the shore of Table Bay, and various other improvements were made. In 1825 the first steamship that plied between England and India entered Table Bay.

In 1825 English became the official language of the colony.

The later years of Lord Charles Somerset's government were marked by various troubles. There was distress throughout the country, the revenue was falling off, and complaints of the governor's tyranny were general. Among other acts which caused much clamour in 1824 was his placing a newly established newspaper, termed the *South African Commercial Advertiser*, under censorship.

In 1825 the attitude of the opposition in the house of commons led the governor to ask for leave to return to England, and early in 1826 he left the colony.

22

At this time terribly destructive wars were taking place among the Bantu tribes. Tshaka, chief of the Zulus, had created a great military power, and those of his neighbours whom he had not exterminated were fleeing for their lives. West, north, and south of Zululand, the natives were disappearing just as the game has since disappeared before the rifles of hunters.

Very shortly the only people in the territory between the Tugela and Umzimvubu rivers were a few starvelings who managed to conceal themselves in forests and secluded places.

In 1822 and 1823 nearly the whole of the inhabitants of the present Orange Free State, Basutoland, and the southern zone of the South African Republic were exterminated.

In 1824 a great horde made its way southward as far as the Umgwali river, where it was defeated by the Kosas and Tembus. Its fragments became known as Fingos.

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In 1827 another wandering horde plundered the Tembus, and drove a section of that tribe into the Cape Colony. In 1828 this horde was dispersed near the Umtata river by a colonial commando, and those who escaped the fury of the Kosas and Tembus became Fingos.

The central zone of the present South African Republic and the territory now termed British Betshuanaland were laid waste by a division of the Zulu army termed the Matabele, under a chief named Moselekatse, who rebelled and fled from Tshaka. In 1830 Moselekatse and his people settled on the banks of the river Marikwa.

In all parts of the vast region between the Limpopo on the north and the Orange and Umzimvubu on the south, the original tribes—with only the exceptions of the Swazis and the Batlapin—were either entirely destroyed, broken up, or greatly reduced in number.

In Basutoland, however, a young man named Moshesh, the wisest and ablest native ruler that South Africa has seen since the arrival of Europeans, was engaged in collecting together the scattered refugees, and forming a new nationality.

In 1828 Tshaka was murdered, and was succeeded as chief of the Zulus by his brother Dingan.

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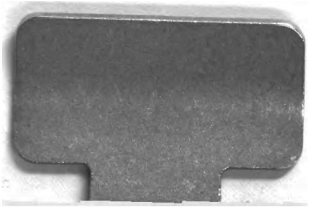

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