

rency of the Colony, is too remarkable an event to be passed over in silence, though I am far from intending to tax the patience of my readers by entering into any lengthened discussion.*

It may be desirable to inform those who are not familiar with this subject, that the colonial paper rix-dollar of the Cape, first issued by the Dutch East India Company in 1781, was declared to be equal to forty-eight full weighed pennies of Holland, (about 4*s.* sterling,) and which, under all its fluctuations, has generally been considered to be its *nominal* value.

At the period of the first British capture in 1795, the amount in circulation was

Rix-dollars 611,276—The balance of the issues and repayments of various sums issued for the public service.

Rix-dollars 680,000—Which has been issued as a capital to the Lombard Bank, and by it lent to the public on mortgage.

Together 1,291,276 Rix-dollars.

Whatever may have been the fitness of this sum for the circulation of the Colony under the Dutch Government, the sudden and large increase of the business it had to perform, in consequence of the influx of so large an additional population as the British forces, appears to have suggested to Sir James Craig the expediency of increasing the nominal amount, rather than incur the loss of issuing treasury bills at a discount;—and consequently a further issue of

Rix-dollars 25,000 took place for the public service ;

8,000 for purchase of rice during a season of scarcity ;

165,000 additional capital to the Lombard Bank :—

* Those who wish to see this matter minutely discussed, cannot do better than consult a pamphlet written by Lieut. P. Warden Grant, of the Hon. East India Company's Revenue Survey department, published at Cape Town—a work highly creditable to the colonial press.

In all, 495,000 rix-dollars issued by the British Government during their occupation of the Colony. This large increased issue, though perhaps required for a temporary purpose, appears to have exceeded the demand for a permanency, and had the effect of depreciating the currency to the extent of twenty or thirty per cent. when Lord Macartney checked any farther fall, by granting Treasury Bills at twenty per cent. premium; and when the Colony was restored to the Dutch at the peace of Amiens in 1803, a full equivalent for such part of the currency as had been issued for the purposes of the British Government, was paid in military and naval stores.

No reduction, however, appears to have been effected by the Dutch Government, but in 1804 the whole currency was entirely recalled, and a new paper issued, which is said to have amounted, at the capture by the British forces in 1806, to about 2,000,000 rix-dollars, of which 845,000 was bank capital. That this was a far greater nominal amount than was required for the diminished circulation of the Colony, after the retirement of the British garrison, is evident from the rate of exchange and the price of bullion during the period of the Dutch re-occupation,—bills on Holland being sometimes at a premium of 160, reducing the rix-dollar to little more than 1*s.* 6*d.* sterling, and it being no uncommon circumstance for those who wished to take away bullion from the Colony, to give ten and twelve rix-dollars for an English guinea, or two and a half and three rix-dollars for one Spanish dollar.

That a conquering government should intend to bind itself to redeem at 4*s.* sterling, a currency so depreciated as this, seems very improbable; and any pledge to "uphold its value" would seem to imply little more than a promise not to depreciate it by farther issues. The assertion of the rix-dollar having risen nearly to par, *upon the faith* of the British proclamation, in 1806, seems hardly well founded; the expenditure caused by the presence of so large a military and naval force as that which captured the Cape, together

with the increased freedom of trade, would have been sufficient to produce this effect upon a currency whose nominal amount continued stationary ; and its subsequent depreciation, without any alteration with respect to the "pledge," is a proof that its quantity, and not the public confidence, was the criterion of its value.

Between 1810 and 1814, another 1,000,000 was issued through the Lombard Bank. The evil consequences of thus adding 50 per cent. to the nominal amount in circulation, though sufficiently apparent in the following years, were materially checked by the very high value to which the wine of the Colony was raised, by its admission at low duties into the British market, as well as by the great impulse which was given to the trade and agriculture of the Colony, by the detention of Buonaparte at Saint Helena; and it was not till his death, and the departure of the garrison from thence, and till the operation of peace-prices upon every article of European import as well as of colonial produce, was fully established, that the evil effects of this measure were entirely developed. The value of the rix-dollar gradually sunk in exchange, till in the year 1825 it appears to have reached its lowest point of depression, viz. below 1s. 5d.

On the 6th of June, 1825, an ordinance was published by the Governor in council, stating that "His Majesty's Government had determined to establish the British currency as the circulating medium of all the colonial possessions of the crown ; and had farther been pleased to order and direct, that the British silver money shall be a legal tender in this Colony in discharge of all debts due to individuals and to the public, at the rate of ONE SHILLING AND SIXPENCE for each rix-dollar, and so in proportion for any greater or less sum ;" and ordering in consequence, that tables should be printed, stating the relative value of the paper rix-dollar, and the lesser proportions thereof, with British money ; and that all public accounts should

be kept, and all contracts made for the public service, in pounds, shillings, and pence, from the 1st of January, 1826.

In the same Gazette it was announced by the Commissary, that Treasury Bills would be granted at the rate of one hundred pounds for each one hundred and three pounds, paid in at the rate of one shilling and sixpence per rix-dollar. The promulgation of these measures caused, as may be supposed, no small sensation in the Colony, both amongst those who had been speculating upon the matter as a question of political economy, and those whose speculations were of a less disinterested nature.

Entirely to justify, upon any sound *theory*, either the excessive issue of this currency, or the neglect of recalling it gradually, when its evil consequences had long been so apparent, is impossible; the former may, perhaps, be *palliated* by the consideration, that during the same period, the sanction of the greatest names and the highest authority was given in England to the false system of *her* depreciated currency; and it is too much to expect that the Governors of a Colony should have been "wiser in their generation" than the ruling powers at home. The continuance of the system can only be defended by the same kind of rhetoric, that was opposed in Parliament by an honourable member (to whom, singularly enough, the Cape dissentients in 1825 have entrusted the advocacy of their cause,) to the sound logic of Mr. Huskisson, in his speech on the Bullion Report, in 1811, when he so ably illustrated those unchangeable principles of honesty and common sense, which, through evil report and good report, he has at last had the satisfaction of seeing triumphantly carried into practice,—and brought to the support of his own arguments the opinions of some of the most acute reasoners of former days. "The country," said the honourable member, "is in such a fictitious state, as to every part of its political economy, that she cannot go on with a circulation adapted to legitimate purposes: to talk, in such a situation, of the theories

of Locke and Newton, is not less absurd than the reasoning of an honourable gentleman, last night, who carried the house back to the days of *Moses*."

I shall therefore merely advert to the *practical* effects of this measure, and endeavour to show that if an immediate settlement of the currency, as a part of a general colonial measure, had become necessary, the *mode* fixed on is less objectionable, than at first it appears to be.

This arrangement has been compared to a composition of seven and sixpence in the pound with the creditors of the Government: I cannot see it in this extreme point of view. The value of the Dutch 2,000,000 rix-dollars, for so I cannot help calling them, was depreciated to a metallic value of from two shillings and three-pence to two shillings and sixpence, before the British 1,000,000 rix-dollars was issued, (certainly no good reason for making bad worse,) the premium on Treasury bills being twenty-five per cent., reducing the *nominal* value of the rix-dollar to three shillings. These Treasury Bills were paid in the currency of Great Britain, then depreciated twenty-five per cent. more; a circumstance which appears to have been generally overlooked in discussing the value of the rix-dollar; and I believe that a comparison of its price with the Spanish dollar will not show a very different result. I cannot, therefore, see why it is imperative upon the Colonial Government to pay four shillings in the *reformed* sterling coin of Great Britain, for what, when issued, was not worth half-a-crown,—and to call upon all debtors either to individuals or to itself, (and the Government, through the medium of the Lombard Bank, is creditor for nearly two-thirds of the whole currency,) immediately to pay their debts at this extravagant rate. This would be so striking a hardship, that in the quarters from whence the greatest opposition has arisen, it has been suggested, (totally abandoning the *principle*,) that an immediate calling in of the whole of the currency, at two shillings or two shillings and sixpence, would have been a very *satisfactory* arrangement;—doubtless it would have been so, to those long-sighted per-

sons, who had been laying up rix-dollars in store, or selling goods at unusually long credits, at low prices, in the expectation that the Government, whose attention, they expected, had been called to the subject by His Majesty's Commissioners, would take some such step as this before the day of payment came round. But what was to become of the unfortunate debtors upon recent contracts, forming *by far the greatest bulk of the Community*, when called on to pay one-third more than they had bargained for, without any increase in the value of the commodity they had purchased? and how would it have saved the credit of the Government with the theorist, to whom the payment of a dividend of fifteen shillings would have been as great a scandal as a payment of five shillings in the pound? In fact, no measure, the operation of which, in raising the value of the currency, would not have been as gradual as the depreciation, could have been resorted to, without causing as much mischief in the rise, as had been created in the fall.

It appears to me that the entire change in the denomination in which accounts were to be kept, and contracts made in future, afforded an opportunity for the *gradual* redemption of the rix-dollar; and I regret, as well for the sake of individuals, as of the Government, on whom so much odium has been attempted to be cast, that nothing of this kind was resorted to. The Government might have issued an entirely new British currency, either in silver or paper, upholding its value, as it now does, by the issue of Treasury Bills, at a premium to cover the expenses of transporting bullion; all previous contracts might have been ordered to be paid in rix-dollars; the final redemption of the rix-dollar, at four shillings, fixed for a distant period; and a *gradually increasing* scale might have been calculated of the prices at which government would, at all times, previous to that period, either receive or issue the rix-dollar against the new currency,—taking care to calculate these rates so as to form an inducement rather for the early bringing in of the rix-dollar, than for its being kept back. I am inclined to think that this would even have

been preferable to the issuing of debentures, bearing interest, in exchange for the paper currency, as has been suggested, both by the intelligent editor of "The State of the Cape in 1822," and by a commercial gentleman in his proposals to Government; as it would have enabled those holders of rix-dollars, who cannot, or will not understand that any thing short of receiving four silver shillings for one paper rix-dollar is a fraud upon them, to realize at some period their notion of a rix-dollar; and at the same time it would have enabled those who know the value of compound interest, to take advantage of the present payment. It is true, that by these means eighteen or twenty years might have elapsed before the rix-dollar was finally disposed of; but most of the hardships that a more sudden rise might have caused would have been avoided, and the good faith of the Government would have been esteemed by the most prejudiced as untarnished. The settlement of this question at the time it took place, prevented, I have little doubt, a still farther decline in the value of the rix-dollar, which would have been caused by the announcement at the same time, of the unfavourable change of duties on wines in England; and though some cases of very great individual hardship can no doubt be shown, I am satisfied on the whole, that *if an immediate settlement was necessary*, the price at which the rix-dollar was fixed, was *practically* the least injurious to the community at large.*

In arguing this question between debtor and creditor, it is painful to me to differ from so highly respectable a body as the "Capitalists" of the Cape, or to appear as an opponent to those who enter the lists as the champions of the "widow and orphan;" but I cannot help suggesting that the hard-working man of little or no capital, who was trading upon a stock of goods, or had purchased a farm or a house upon the strength of his credit and indus-

* Since the above was written, I have seen the report of the Commissioners of Inquiry, published by order of the House of Commons, 26th May, 1826, which, I am happy to observe, coincides in a great measure with the view I have taken of the subject.

try, was as much entitled to protection against an increase of the value of the rix-dollar, as the Capitalist was against its decrease ; and I can see no reason why the widows and orphans of the past generation should be benefited at the expense of those who are now bringing up children, and may possibly leave *them* orphans, with a property diminished by the effects of another sudden fluctuation. In what I have stated on this subject, and which I really do with the greatest diffidence, after the able way in which the question has been handled on both sides, I have at least the satisfaction of having given a disinterested opinion. From the nature of the business in which my house is engaged, we scarcely ever owe money in the Colony ; and it would have been very pleasant to me to have collected many thousand pounds of book debts at so great an advance on the rix-dollar as has been talked of, if it could have been done without the ruin of our debtors ; but I fear, like most other selfish schemes, it would only have proved to be another illustration of the fable of the Goose and the Golden Eggs.

Before the decision of Government became publicly known, a plan was matured in London, by a gentleman of great experience in the mercantile affairs of the Colony, for the establishment of a bank at Cape Town, one of the operations of which was to have been to facilitate a redemption of the colonial currency ; but His Majesty's Government not having found this co-operation necessary to their arrangements, this part of the plan fell to the ground, and it was afterwards confined to the formation of a corporate bank, upon the solid basis of a metallic currency. The capital was proposed to be raised in shares in England, and at the Cape ; and it is to be lamented that such an accession of capital as would have flowed into the Colony by this means, has been withheld from it by the want of success in England, where the scheme was scarcely developed before those events took place which gave people full employment for their money nearer home ; and at the Cape it seems not to have met with that encouragement which was anticipated by its

projector, either from the Government or the public. The utility of some such establishment is, however, so apparent, that another project has emanated from an association in the Colony itself, founded upon principles equally sound, and which has the public opinion greatly in its favour. The minor details would be uninteresting to general readers, and the following abstract of the prospectus will be sufficient to explain its principles:—

“It is proposed to raise by subscription the capital sum of 50,000*l.*, in 500 shares of 100*l.* each, and to give an additional support to the credit of the bank, by unexceptionable security in the title-deeds or mortgages on estates, or fixed property, to the full amount of each and every share,—such securities to be deposited, at the time of payment of the first instalment, in the custody of trustees to be elected by the proprietors, whereby every share will be composed of 100*l.* in money, and the like amount in landed security;”—“no person to hold more than twenty shares of the stock. The bank is not to engage in any kind of trade, or be connected in any kind of agency for the buying and selling of merchandize, or fixed or moveable property; but its business is to be confined to the discounting, at the discretion of the Board of Directors, if approved, promissory notes and acceptances at a date not exceeding three months;

“The discounting the acceptances of the Vendue department;

“The giving credit on cash accounts, under unexceptionable security, for a period not exceeding three months, on the Scotch banking principle; and—

“The issuing and circulating notes to a prescribed and limited amount; payable on demand in the legal currency of the Colony.

“The bank paper issues shall not exceed the sum of 100,000*l.* sterling; or the amount of the capital and security to be issued in notes of not less than one pound for the present, payable on demand in the legal currency of the Colony.

“ As security to the public, there will exist at all times, *besides the responsibility of the proprietors,*

“ The capital stock of 50,000*l.* ;

“ The securities in the custody of trustees, equivalent to 50,000*l.* ; and further,

“ The promissory notes, vendue acceptances, and other available securities and choses in action, received in lieu of the paper issues, constituting a value which, under a direction subject to the half-yearly inspection of every proprietor, must be considered ample and undeniable security.”

Whether the capital required can be conveniently abstracted from other profitable employment of stock by the monied inhabitants, and whether in a country where so great a proportion of the real property is already under mortgage to the Government, landed security can readily be found in the same hands to give the required additional security, seem to be the only reasons why its success need be doubted ; and it is satisfactory to know that half the sum has already been subscribed by substantial people.

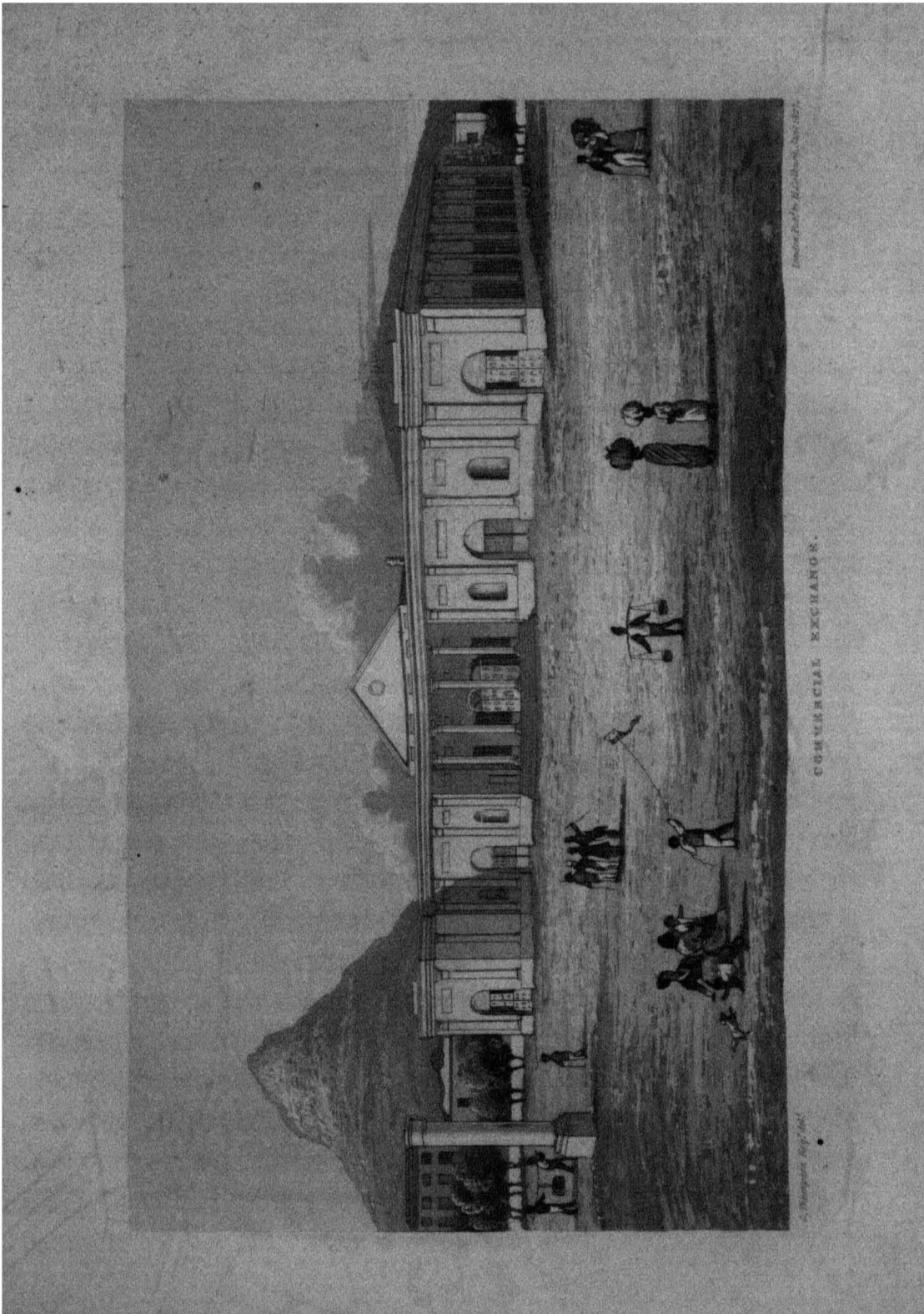
Independent of the benefits which would be derived by the owners of moderate sums of money, who would have an opportunity which they now want, of *securely* placing out their money at interest, where they could receive it back at pleasure, and of the facilities offered to the trading part of the community by cash accounts, an establishment of this kind would contribute more than any thing else to a regularity in the payment of bills and notes of hand, the non-payment of which, when passing through the hands of a board of directors, would be felt by a tradesman as a dishonour, and if he had an account with the bank, as destructive to his credit,—which, at present, is looked upon as no more compromised by a *faux-pas* of this kind, than by the temporary delay of the payment of an open or unadjusted account. We need not, I believe, in *any* Colony look for that high tone of commercial feeling for which London and our large commercial cities are celebrated, but any approximation to it is highly to be desired.

CHAPTER VI.

COMMERCIAL IMPORTANCE OF THE COLONY.—NATURAL ADVANTAGES AND OBSTRUCTIONS.—WINE DISTRICTS.—CORN DISTRICTS.—NATIVE FREE LABOURERS.—EXPORTABLE PRODUCE.—WHALE AND SEAL FISHERIES.—TRADE WITH THE CAFFER TRIBES.—NOTICES RESPECTING RAW SILK, SALTED PROVISIONS, &c. &c.

THE importance, and even the absolute necessity, in a military point of view, of the Cape of Good Hope being held by Great Britain as an outwork of her Eastern possessions, has been so clearly pointed out by a gentleman eminently qualified to appreciate its value, as well as to impress its importance on others, that I should deem it impertinent to add any thing to what the reader will find in Mr. Barrow's standard work. I will therefore proceed to consider its commercial importance, which I think has been much underrated.

That the Cape, if enjoying all the benefits of a free port, would become an emporium to which many of the nations to the westward, and particularly the rising states of South America, would resort for a supply of eastern produce, bringing in exchange the productions of their own country, its geographical position renders highly probable; and as applications are now making in a quarter where suggestions for the extension of British commerce are



seldom made in vain, there is little doubt that this important privilege will ere long be granted to the Colony.

Times of profound peace, however, and that improved rapidity of commercial communication which has brought distant nations so much nearer each other, and enabled them to carry on a direct trade, are, perhaps, not very favourable to an early increase of the commerce of the Cape as an emporium; and the more so, as it would require a much larger portion of British capital to be diverted into that channel, than is likely to find its way there. I shall, therefore, rather consider the capabilities of the Colony for carrying on a direct trade with the mother country, and with the other markets to which its commerce is opened,—and its fitness for a station of refreshment for ships trading to and from the East Indies, and for vessels engaged in the southern fishery, and in the distant voyages to the colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land.

The principal circumstances which *appear* to militate against the agriculture and commerce of the Cape, are the large quantity of sterile, uncultivated land within its boundaries, and the want of navigable rivers for the conveyance of its produce to the ports of shipment, as well as of secure harbours for the shelter of the shipping which resort there. Nature, however, provident in all her works, has not failed to find a means of transport for the commodities of most of those districts which she has not doomed to irreclaimable barrenness, or to a pastoral state; and the finest parts, both of the Colony, and of those countries which will, probably, in the progress of civilization, be added to it, lie so contiguous to a sea-coast of six or seven hundred miles in length, on which a vessel scarcely ever finds herself on a lee-shore, as greatly to supply the want of inland navigation; while the extreme cheapness of land-carriage, and the general excellence of the roads in the Colony, render the conveyance of produce, from the interior to the coast, much less expensive than would be imagined at first sight.

If the reader will cast his eye over the map, he will perceive that within a line drawn from the junction of the Cradock and Gariep rivers southward nearly to the Sneeuwberg, and from thence following the line of the Nieuwveld mountains to the westward and north-west, as far as Hantam, and from thence to the sea, following which to the mouth of the Gariep, and from thence along its course eastward, which seems to form the natural northern boundary of the Colony, —nearly the whole of that enormous tract is totally unfit for the subsistence of any considerable population. The great inclined plain, leading from the Nieuwveld to the Gariep river, is subject to almost continual drought; and the mountain ranges, and their immediate vicinity, though admirably adapted for the pasturage of cattle, are yet quite unfitted for the subsistence of any but a pastoral and partly wandering race. In addition to which, the hungry lands of the Bokkeveld, Roggeveld, and Great Karroo, comprehend a large territory not included within this line. No produce is, therefore, likely to come from these districts, except such as possesses, within itself, the power of locomotion.

The principal wine districts, the produce of which, notwithstanding all that has been said against it, will still, I trust, maintain its rank as the staple commodity of the Colony, lie within a distance of thirty to forty miles from Cape Town; viz. in the Stellenbosch district, along the skirts of the chain of Hottentots' Holland Mountains,—the wine farms beginning at Hottentots' Holland, and continuing through Stellenbosch, Banghoek, Franschehoek, Drackenstein, and the Paarl, to Waggon-maker's Valley. And though the roads are bad, lying chiefly through a deep sand, and require eighteen oxen to convey two leaguers, of 152 gallons each, occupying two or three days to perform the journey, yet, considering the cheap rate of carriage in that country, they are still sufficiently near to Cape Town to establish that beyond competition as the wine port of the Colony. The other parts that produce the wine, are the skirts of Table Mountain, Constantia, and its neighbour-

hood, Houts' Bay, and Tiger Berg. These latter places chiefly produce the favourite wines, such as Hock and sweet Muscadels, while the more distant farms above-mentioned, produce the common wine, denominated Cape Madeira and Pontac. The extension of this species of cultivation to other districts of the Colony, after the late severe check upon its prosperity, is, I think, for the present at least very doubtful.

The principal corn districts are, the Blue-Berg, Koeberg, Zwartland, and Twenty-four Rivers, all in the Cape district; the produce of which comes chiefly by land to Cape Town, though capable of partial transport by sea, at least from the districts in the neighbourhood of St. Helena Bay. These are at present the principal granaries of the Colony. But the greater part of the districts of George and Swellendam are equally capable of producing corn abundantly: the soil is well fitted for it, and the rains which fall in the season of its growth along the whole eastern coast of the Colony, do not render irrigation so indispensable in the process of agriculture, as it is to the northward of the chain of mountains which intercept the refreshing showers brought by the south-east wind.

For the ready conveyance of grain to a distant market, the Breede River, which falls into the sea at Port Beaufort, and is navigable for vessels of two hundred tons, furnishes abundant means as far as respects the district of Swellendam; while Mossel Bay is a sufficiently secure place for shipping the produce of such parts of George as are capable of growing corn.

Nearly the whole of the district of Uitenhage is also well suited for the successful cultivation of corn: and the Zwartkops River, which falls into Algoa Bay, furnishes a means of inland water-carriage for nearly fifteen miles from its mouth. The district of Albany, though under present circumstances so much better adapted for grazing, could yet, were the rust extirpated, and external demand to arise, undoubtedly furnish a very considerable surplus quantity of grain. And the country along the coast between the

Fish River and Keiskamma, as far as I can judge from personal inspection, as well as from the reports of many intelligent persons who have visited it, is equally well, or better adapted for the purposes of agriculture. There are, therefore, no impediments that I am aware of, except the restrictions on the corn trade, already alluded to, and the want of a labouring population to cultivate the ground, which prevent the Cape from producing corn in superabundance. How the latter impediment is to be speedily got over in the Dutch districts, I do not see very plainly. The settlement of British emigrants there by Government, is not practicable to any considerable extent; because the whole country, except some small tracts already noticed, is in the possession of the boors; and the increase of the population, unless a large spontaneous influx should take place from Britain, must be very gradual. The readiest means which occurs to me for a farther supply of labour, (provided there be no prospect of obtaining it from Europe,) is the receiving into these districts as indentured servants or apprentices, refugees from the Bechuana and Caffer tribes. Above a thousand fugitives from different nations have already been received into the districts of Somerset, Graaff-Reinet, and Albany; and pressed as the border tribes now appear to be by the weight of those behind them, there will perhaps eventually be no alternative, but either their entire destruction between the British force on the frontier, and the savage invaders behind, or allowing them to be peaceably scattered through the Colony on some plan that will secure at once their general usefulness and their good treatment. From whatever cause it arises, whether from the redundancy of the population, in consequence of the stoppage of the slave trade on the north-east coast, or from the conquering chiefs of that quarter driving the weaker tribes to the south-west, certain it is, that the southern tribes are pressed upon from the north by a weight which they cannot withstand; and as such events as the irruption of the Mantatees may again, ere long, not improbably recur, it is desirable, if possible, to turn this evil to some good account. The

details of such a measure may be safely left to the consideration of the Colonial Government, but that humanity dictates, in the event contemplated, some steps to be taken to prevent the extermination of the tribes on the border by military execution or savage massacre, is sufficiently apparent.

Every reasonable expectation may be formed, that the population so introduced will be found superior to a *slave* population. At least this has hitherto been the case with the prize apprentices, who not only look upon themselves as a caste superior to the slaves, but are so esteemed by those in whose service they are. It is true, they are generally settled in and about Cape Town, and it is probable that the dispersion of the native refugees at a distance from the check, both of authority and public opinion, would operate unfavourably upon the conduct of the *master*, upon which, in most situations of society, either amongst slaves or freemen, much of the good or evil conduct of servants depends. But even the obstinacy objected against the Dutch boor, would not be entirely proof against the gradual amelioration which is taking place in society; and I am inclined to think, that no evils could arise which bear any comparison to the wretched fate these poor creatures are probably doomed to, unless something is done for their relief.

The importation of Chinese settlers has been advised, and no doubt these industrious people would be in many situations a great acquisition; but it seems very doubtful, whether they could be induced to serve as agricultural labourers to the boors. I have always understood that they have thriven best on allotments of land tilled for their own emolument; and here the same impediments present themselves, as with regard to English settlers; viz. the best lands are already allotted. As artificers, mechanics, and domestic servants, they would be highly useful in Cape Town, and the smaller towns. But I much doubt whether any emigration, conducted on a large scale, would not fail, from the same causes that were fatal to an experiment of the same kind at Trinidad.

A country so prolific in flocks and herds as the Cape, cannot but furnish a large supply of hides and skins ; and these have accordingly, of late years, been a considerable article of export to Great Britain. The quality of the hides is in fair estimation, and the sheep and goatskins furnish a highly valuable material to the leather-dresser. This, from the nature of things, must be an increasing article of export, and capable of extension, by barter with the native tribes, till a higher state of civilization induces home manufacture to a greater extent than is now carried on. But in the article of wool the Cape is as yet far behind our Australian Colonies. The Cape sheep, it is well known, is covered rather with hair than wool ; but its adaptation for its native climate, and the use made of the fat of its tail, render the Dutch farmers, who at best are not very fond of innovations, averse from changing this breed for one possessing the valuable property which the native sheep wants. Consequently, the experiments in introducing the Merino breed have chiefly been confined to the Government farms and a few places in their vicinity, where, though neither pains nor expense have been spared, the success has been far from encouraging. The wool appears to have degenerated, and from the nature of the country in which the experiments have been tried, it has been found so much clogged with sand, and with small decayed vegetable substances, as greatly to deteriorate its value in manufacture. This I am fully aware of, having sent home some wool, esteemed of good quality, which lost above half the weight in washing, and produced a cloth of about twelve shillings per yard in value, which I sold at the Cape, and the result paid me little more than five per cent. on the capital. Whether a greater share of success will attend the exertions which Captain Stockenstrom, the Landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, is making, yet remains to be seen. In Albany there are some Merino sheep ; I believe the flock of Major Pigot is the most extensive, and I understand promises to succeed very well. I am, therefore, not without great hope, that, ere long, wool will furnish a more important article of export

from the Colony than it has yet done; and I think the sheep in the eastern provinces will not be so much annoyed by the sand as in the Cape district.*

Dried fruits are cured at the Cape in some perfection; and raisins, which form so valuable an article of commerce from the Mediterranean, ought, and probably will, under the protecting duty they enjoy, form a larger article of export to England than they have yet done. These, and some other fruits, have been sent in considerable quantities to St. Helena, the Mauritius, New South Wales, and Van Diemen's Land, and in these channels the trade in them will probably increase; large quantities of them are also sold to the Indiamen as sea-stores. The extreme richness of the grapes, and probably some want of skill in the preparation, greatly limit their consumption as dessert fruit in England; but for the purposes of cookery none better can be found. Were the proper mode of curing raisins better understood at the Cape, there can be no doubt of success in this branch of commerce,—for whatever may be said of its wines, the grapes of the Colony are of the finest quality.

Argol, the quality of which has improved of late years, and the quantity of which might probably be a good deal increased, is another secondary article of export. Aloes are exported in large quantities. This drug is capable of production to a much larger extent than there can be any demand for, till some other use than a medicine for cattle be discovered for it. The plant grows wild, and is not, like the finer aloe of the West Indies, an object of cultivation. Its manufacture is so simple that any sudden demand is easily supplied.

These are the principal products of colonial industry which have hitherto been considered fit articles of export to England; and certainly it does not ap-

* Since the above was written, I have learned that these favourable anticipations are likely to be realized. Some of the wool sent home from the eastern districts, (which, with the Sneeuwberg and Nieuwveld, are the best sheep-walks of the Colony,) promises to be of a better quality than any hitherto raised near the Cape, and holds out the cheering prospect of this important produce becoming, ere long, one of the staple exports of the interior.

pear to furnish such a list as might be expected from its situation and climate. It may be questioned, however, whether it would conduce to the prosperity of the Cape, to divert from its natural channels that labour and capital which have proved beneficial, for the sake of producing a variety of articles, which, though suited to the *climate* of the Colony, are yet unfitted to its other circumstances.

The tea of China, the coffee of Java, the cotton of India, the tobacco of America, together with a long list of the productions of the southern countries of Europe, might all, it is believed, be successfully cultivated in different parts of the Colony. But it is not from these sources that the early prosperity of the Colony must arise, any more than from the iron, the copper, and other minerals which it is known to possess.* No one can be more averse than I am from throwing a damp upon the enterprising spirit, without which, no country can attain prosperity; but I am of opinion, that the articles I have just enumerated, are rather to be expected from the vigour of a maturer age, than from the infancy of the Colony. It may seem strange to use this term after a colonization of nearly two hundred years; but when it is considered, that the settlement is but just emancipated from the leading-strings of commercial monopoly, it will not appear to be ill applied.

There is another species of cultivation, and that a valuable one, which has been suggested by the editor of the "State of the Cape in 1822," of the favourable result of which I entertain no doubt,—I mean that of the silk-

* Copper is known to exist in abundance in Little and Great Namaqualand. According to the reports of the missionaries, native iron is to be found in the same quarter in considerable blocks, a circumstance I had but little faith in until I discovered that it was also found in that state in Siberia and Senegal. The mineral most likely to be first in request is that well known to exist on the Van Staade's River, between the Camtoos River and Algoa Bay,—being a rich vein of silver and lead. If it be true, as currently reported, that coal has been found on the Kromme River, not far west from Van Staade's River, it is possible, that ere long, some attempt may be made to work it. The acquisition of coal mines would, indeed, be invaluable to South Africa; they would furnish the means of smelting her ores, and supplying her steamers.

worm ; and I am happy in the prospect that an attempt is now likely to be made, under circumstances which render its success highly probable. The white mulberry attains to the highest degree of perfection ; the climate is precisely suitable to the worm, and a population well adapted for the tendency of these insects, is to be found in the Hottentots. It requires, in fact, nothing but a very few persons skilled in the art of winding the silk from the cocoons, to instruct others, and a proper set of machinery for the purpose, to insure the most perfect success. It fortunately demands no such very large capital to start upon, as might deter individuals from embarking in it, if a public company formed expressly for such purposes should decline the undertaking.

The whale fisheries on the coast, which have hitherto furnished an export to England, I am sorry to say, have become less productive in each succeeding year ; and this trade, unless it is capable of being conducted on very different principles than the mere taking of the whales that come into the bays, is soon likely to be of little value to the Colony. At present, I think that agriculture forms a more profitable investment for the capital of the resident at the Cape ; and the merchants generally connected with England, have their means otherwise engaged. South Sea whaling expeditions are carried on upon those principles of partnership between the owners and the crew, that they can only be settled on the ship's return home ; and an absence of two or three years from England is quite as long as a seaman would generally be disposed to bind himself to. Whenever there is surplus capital among the Cape residents, this may be undertaken, I think, with great advantage, but not till then.

The seals which are caught on this coast afford skins of but indifferent quality, and these are likely rather to diminish than increase in quantity. The fish that swarm off the banks of the Cape, are entirely neglected as an article of foreign trade, though there is abundance of salt to cure them. Perhaps

the most profitable and extensive markets for this kind of produce are to be found too near to the fisheries of Europe and of North America, to admit of a successful competition.

To the export of articles to England, which I have already mentioned as the produce of the Colony itself, may be added the ivory, gum, and ostrich feathers, which form a lucrative branch of commerce between the settlers and the border tribes ; being chiefly obtained in barter for beads, buttons, and articles of small comparative value. This trade will probably be found susceptible of considerable increase, both in the quantity and variety of the products, when a more unreserved intercourse takes place between the traders and the natives. It was formerly restricted by law to an annual fair at Fort Willshire, from a laudable desire to afford protection to those employed in the trade ; and though this is now extended to a market twice a week at the same place, yet the thirst of gain causes a continued violation of the rules laid down by government, and neither the preventive service of the troops on the border, nor the dread of ill treatment from the natives, deter some adventurers from entering the forbidden country in the prosecution of so profitable a trade. Limited as the intercourse is, it must still, ere long, have some effect in civilizing these tribes ; and they have already property of sufficient value in their herds of cattle, added to the products I have mentioned, and to others that may yet be discovered amongst them, to give an equivalent for such articles as new wants may render desirable to them.

The cheapness of the cattle purchased from such neighbours as these, as well as the increase of their own flocks and herds in a country so well adapted to pasture, may prove to the inhabitants of Albany the source of a lucrative trade in the curing of salt provisions, which has been begun with some prospect of success, both with respect to its cheapness and good quality. I can speak of this from experience, having supplied some homeward-bound

Indiamen with beef cured at Mr. Nourse's establishment, at the Kowie, which was so well approved that the commanders regretted that they had not taken more of it. The appearance was not so prepossessing as that of Irish beef, but its quality was equally good. The country possesses every natural advantage for this trade, and I have no doubt of seeing it become an important article, not only for supplies to the shipping in the India trade, but also as an export to foreign countries. Not only salted provisions, but salt itself may become a considerable article of trade, whenever labour can be applied to the numerous salt-pans along the coast. The salt lakes of the interior are too far distant from the sea to furnish the article for export.

Timber is sufficiently abundant in the forests of the Knysna and Plettenberg's Bay to supply the wants of the Colony; but neither is its quality sufficiently good, nor the price of the labour employed in procuring it low enough, to render it an article of export; and indeed, until capital be found for the erection of saw-mills on the Knysna, deals from Europe will even still be imported with advantage, the charges of freight, &c. being more than counterbalanced by the expense of labour required to reduce the produce of the forests into this shape.

With the exception of these districts, however, the Colony is any thing but well wooded; and on the sea-coast, particularly, great advantage might, I think, be derived from plantations of the pine, which have been so useful in Portugal. The bark of the mimosa is well adapted for the use of the tanner, and may one day become an article of export from Albany and Cafferland, as well as from the districts beyond the north-west boundaries of the Colony.

The improved breed of Cape horses, for which the Colony is without doubt greatly indebted to the patronage of his Excellency the present Governor, has proved so considerable a source of profit to the farmers, as to have induced them to take great pains in the breeding of horses, and they now furnish a considerable article of export,—the finest to India, sometimes

bringing prices of two to three hundred guineas, and the less valuable ones to the Isle of France, (to which twenty or thirty are occasionally exported in one vessel,) from 15*l.* to 50*l.* ;—nor is this a branch of trade at all likely to decline, the number of valuable horses continually increasing.

The Mauritius and St. Helena are certain and increasing markets for almost every species of the agricultural produce of the Cape, and to her they must continue indebted for those useful supplies of corn, wine and oil, sheep and cattle, butter, soap, forage, and fruits, which the barrenness and limited extent of the one, and the sugar cultivation of the other, preclude them from furnishing themselves. The sugar and coffee of the Brazils are occasionally exchanged for the corn and wine of the Colony :—of the latter some cargoes have also been advantageously disposed of in Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales ; and, notwithstanding the efforts to produce wine in the latter Colony, I think the Cape will be able for a long while hence to supply it at a cheaper rate than it can be grown there.

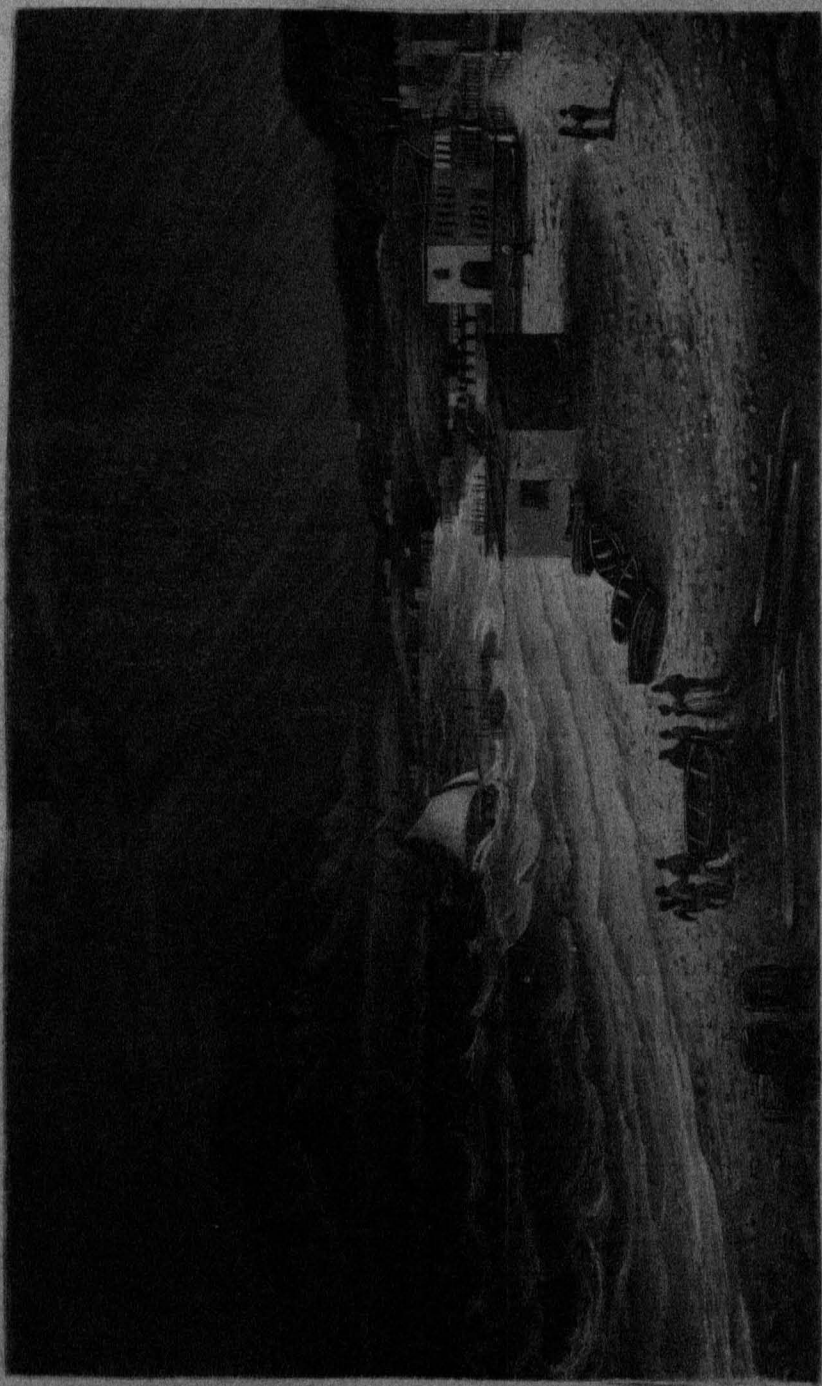


Illustration by J. H. Hill
WALLS BY THE SEA
From the "Life of the Duke of Devonshire"



CHAPTER VII.

INLAND CARRIAGE. — PROPOSED INTRODUCTION OF CAMELS. — OTHER IMPROVEMENTS SUGGESTED. — TABLE BAY. — NOTICES OF OTHER BAYS AND HARBOURS ON THE WEST AND SOUTH COASTS. — CONCLUDING REMARKS.

HAVING shown what the Colony is capable of producing, I will next consider the alleged difficulty of conveying this produce to a distant market. And first it is to be remarked, that, with the exception of what may be called the pastoral country, no part of the Colony extends to a much greater distance than one hundred and fifty miles from the coast, — the sea-beach forming, as it were, the outer edge of a broad semicircular belt, extending nearly a thousand miles round the Colony, which, by this means, enjoys in some measure the advantages of an insular situation. Land-carriage across this country, which would be

so formidable an obstacle in many parts of the world, is here, from the general excellence of the roads, and the ease with which fodder is obtained for the draught cattle, by no means so expensive as to form any serious charge upon the produce brought to market, notwithstanding that it requires from twenty to thirty oxen, divided into two teams or spans, for a weight of two thousand pounds. In one of those long journeys, a boor travels with his whole family and caravan, at a very small expense, taking dried meat with him; and the cattle are grazed on the outspann places set apart for public use. It has often been a subject of discussion, whether it would not be better to use the draught cattle as pack-oxen, after the manner of the Aborigines, instead of employing waggons,—and I think it would certainly be cheaper. But the waggon is so congenial to the habits of the Dutch boor, that it must be some strong inducement indeed, that would cause him to adopt any other mode of carriage than this, which is, as it were, a travelling house to him.

It is much to be regretted that that useful animal the camel has never been introduced into Southern Africa. Although the roads are not in every quarter so well calculated for its feet as the sands of Arabia, yet in many parts, particularly in the Cape and Stellenbosch districts, they are equally so, and I presume he might cross the Karroos without difficulty. Albany, Cafferland, and the Bechuana country might be traversed with ease—these countries being of a soft nature generally; and indeed I am not aware that he is incapable of standing even a much harder road than most parts of the Colony. In the neighbourhood of Muscat and Arabia Petræa, camels are employed constantly in traversing rough and stony regions. If we look at the small quantity of nourishment required by the camel, and the heavy load he carries, it is at once obvious what an advantage his introduction into South Africa would prove. On good authority, I understand his usual burthen is about 750 lbs. His food is every thing almost you choose to give him; straw, brambles, pounded

dates, beans, barley, &c. With a single pound of food, and as much water, in a day, he will travel for weeks together. And I cannot but join in the wish expressed by the Editor of the "State of the Cape in 1822," whose notes form so valuable a part of that work, that Government would undertake the introduction of this animal, as the first cost is too great, and the profit to be obtained too remote, to incline private individuals to engage in a speculation of this nature.

Canals and rail-roads are entirely out of the question ; but few countries possess such excellent natural roads, as I have already observed, and with the exception of a few mountain passes and deep rivers, the Colony can be traversed with the greatest ease from one end to the other. All that can be done at present is to subdue, as far as is practicable, the natural difficulties. Government have lately done much in this way, and the Franschehoek Pass will stand as a monument of fame of the planners of the excellent road over it. The next object worthy of a similar attention is the Hottentots' Holland Kloof, which might, at a third of the expense, be rendered easy to cross, to the incalculable advantage of the districts of Swellendam and George, particularly if the Howhoek pass is also improved.

It is more difficult to render the rivers passable than the mountains. At one season of the year, when the rains set in, and when the dry beds of summer are filled with furious currents that carry all before them, waggons have been known to lie six weeks before one of these winter torrents. *Ponts*, or floating bridges, are used with great success on the Berg and Breede Rivers, and might in a few other instances. Perhaps the ingenious rope-bridge of Mr. Shakespeare might answer in some places here, as well as over the torrents of India. At any rate, some contrivance ought to be resorted to for the conveyance of the mails, which is becoming daily of more vital importance to the Colony.

I shall now endeavour to point out the various places of embarkation to

which produce may be brought for transport by sea ; and at the same time notice such improvements as they are susceptible of, either as inlets for the coasting trade, or as harbours on a large scale. Bad as is the reputation of South African rivers, I apprehend that many of them may yet be rendered available for commerce, whenever the increasing wealth and population of the Colony shall render it practicable to bestow some expense upon their improvement ; and in this light they have been viewed by many eminent nautical men on this station.

The plan suggested by the late Commodore Nourse, for clearing the bar of the Kowie, is applicable to many other rivers on the east coast ; * and the state

* Extract from a Report by Commodore Nourse to His Excellency the Governor, dated at the Kowie, Oct. 17, 1823.

“ From the bar, the course of the channel is tortuous for some distance, until it falls into the smoother uninterrupted course of the river, up which I proceeded seven miles ; and there can scarcely be less than four fathoms so far as sixteen miles up, without a bank or rock to intercept the progress. Both sides are thickly wooded close to the water's edge.

“ To remove the obstacles, in some measure, at the entrance, and the winding, and consequent lodgement and shifting of sand, I think it would be worth the experiment to make the course straight from the bar to the straighter and deeper part of the river, that the tide might have a straight influx and reflux ; which, with the freshets occasionally, and the receding tide, would carry all the loose sand into the sea, which is now lodged near its mouth.

“ The flood tide would certainly bring a quantity of that matter in again ; but instead of being deposited, as it is now, just within its entrance, it would be carried higher up and be dispersed over the deeper parts of the river. The straight course given within its entrance, would confine the passage over the bar to one particular spot, and consequently deepen it, whereas it is now constantly shifting several points.

“ Should this be found to answer, I would propose such a vessel, worked by steam, as is used generally in harbours in our seaports, to prevent them from filling up,—which is found to be often the case. This vessel would be employed when the bar is perfectly smooth, (which I am informed is sometimes the case for several days together,) in deepening and widening the bar : and, at such times as the surf on the bar may prevent working upon it, the vessel could be employed within, in clearing and deepening the channel to the deeper part of the river.

“ There would be little more than the first expense of such a vessel, as the woods which come down all the way up the river to the water side, would furnish fuel enough for all purposes for centuries to come. The vessel might be built on the banks, at the mouth of the river, and the machinery sent from England.

of the two harbours, Saldanha Bay on the west, and the Knysna on the east coast, whose bold bluff cliffs, and narrow entrances, present the same natural obstacles to the accumulation of sand at their mouths as are proposed to be artificially erected at the Kowie, is a tolerably strong proof of the good effects that would result from the adoption of some such plan.

I am strengthened in my opinions on this head, by my friend Captain Owen, commanding the squadron recently employed on the extensive survey of the African coast, who has pointed out to me that similar inconveniences in some of the harbours on the coast of Portugal have been obviated by similar methods.*

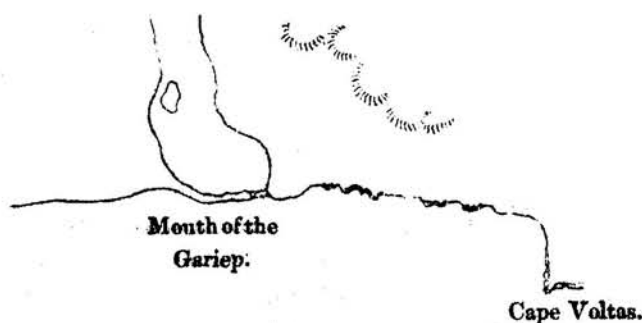
At the seasons when a river of the west coast has dwindled into insignificance, the sea, from the prevalence of the north-west monsoon, throws up a continual accumulation of sand, which it is no longer able to wash out, and a bar thus becomes formed at its entrance, leaving only a narrow channel for the diminished stream to pass through. At the period when the north-west monsoon has ceased to blow, the river, swelled into a torrent, bursts through the barrier, which it again washes into the sea, leaving the entrance clear till a repetition of the same causes produces the same effects. From this circum-

“Regarding the labour for making a straight course from the bar to the deeper part of the river, perhaps not more than forty roods of sand would have to be cut through, and some stakes laid down, with an embankment which the sand would soon form against it, to keep the river in a straight line to the necessary distance. This labour, it appears to me, were it necessary, might be had at little or no expense. I will suppose so many convicts on their way to Botany Bay, as might be thought necessary, landed at Kowie, where they could be hutted and fed at a trifling expense, until the work were finished, when they might be again embarked, and proceed to their ultimate destination.”

To the landing of convicts in the Cape Colony, under any circumstances, there are most serious objections; but it is unnecessary to urge them, since the same object might be attained by sending out emigrant labourers at the public expense, on condition of their services being mortgaged to Government for a certain period on this or similar public works.

* Vide “Description of the Coasta of Portugal; translated from the Portuguese, by Capt. W. F. W. Owen, R.N.”—London, 1814.

stance may arise the discrepancy of accounts as to the entrances of unfrequented rivers when surveyed at different seasons. As an instance of this, my friend Captain Vidal, of His Majesty's Ship *Barracouta*, expressed to me his disappointment at finding the mouths of the Nourse and Somerset Rivers, north of the Gariep, completely choked with sand banks, though Capt. Chapman, of the *Espiègle*, had entered both of them at a different season of the year. Were a barrier raised sufficiently strong to resist the weight of the winter floods, and confining the outlet of the water to such a space as the summer stream could keep clear of sand, the entrance would always be navigable. The annexed sketch of the mouth of the Gariep, or Orange River, taken during the recent survey, will answer as a general description of this kind of river. It may, however, be remarked, that the Gariep being encumbered at its entrance with rocks, (as seen by the *Espiègle* at a different season,) and, moreover, on too large a scale to attempt any plan for narrowing its channel, is totally prevented from ever becoming navigable.



Those connected with the interests of Kamiesberg, the extreme point of civilization of the Colony to the north, have long wished for a harbour, from which they might send their surplus produce to the Cape, and have at last, as I am informed, succeeded in finding a bay that is likely to answer the purpose, viz.,—at the mouth of what is laid down in the map as Zwartlintjes

River, opposite to the Kamiesberg. An enterprising individual connected with the coasting trade on the west coast of the Colony has it in contemplation to try the experiment immediately.

From the Zwartlintjes River to the Oliphant's River, nothing like a bay or harbour presents itself, and the mouth of this fine river precludes all entrance, owing to two bars of sand thrown across it, allowing only small boats to enter. Immediately over the bar the river is deep, and continues so for nearly twenty miles. It is much to be regretted that it is not navigable. However, a place a little more to the southward, called Lambert's Bay after the admiral of that name, has become serviceable for the village of Clan-William, and a small vessel trades between this spot and Table Bay.

The next harbour that presents itself is St. Helena Bay,—a very large and commodious one, and, as already mentioned, possessing safe anchorage in one part of it. It is, however, greatly exposed to the north-west gales. The Berg River falls into the bay, but its mouth is blocked up by a bar of sand. Saldanha Bay having already been alluded to, it is unnecessary to repeat that it is one of the best bays, when once entered, on the African coast, but nearly destitute of fresh water. Much has been said about bringing the Berg River into this bay ; but I fear, if practicable, this is not a work for the present generation. Saldanha Bay being situated so far to leeward of the Cape of Good Hope, during the south-east monsoon, renders it far from being that desirable naval station so much recommended by some writers.

We now come to Table Bay, the grand rendezvous of the colonial vessels and traders, and the resort of Indiamen for refreshment to and from India. This bay has long been the subject of discussion ; and in general its safety as a harbour has been much undervalued, although occasionally during the months of June, July, and August, it is exposed to the north-west monsoon. Much has been said on the feasibility of a mole or breakwater ; but if this could be accomplished, I have my doubts whether it would answer or not. A

breakwater, even on as extensive a scale as that at Plymouth, would scarcely stand the sea that would occasionally roll against it; and during the south-east gales I fear more wrecks would be caused by ships driving upon it, than would be saved by its protection in the north-west monsoon. It is also doubtful whether the bay would not fill up with sand and mud, which is now kept clear by the current that sets into the bay on the south side of Robben Island, and runs out at the north side.*

An ingenious plan has been suggested by Captain Knox, of the merchant service, for the formation of a large basin, capable of containing a considerable fleet, both of merchantmen and men-of-war. I see no objection to the plan, except the expense, which I fear would both be greater than the projector of it anticipates, or than the Government would undertake without reference to its utility to His Majesty's Navy. Simon's Bay, too, is on so many accounts preferred, as a naval station, that I fear merchant shipping must still trust to good anchors and hempen or coir cables for riding out the gales; and if they are as well found in these as they ought to be, there is by no means the danger which the frequent losses (occasioned in some instances by carelessness, and in others by ignorance,) would lead us to suppose. I should be sorry to insinuate that many cases, and those very distressing ones, have not occurred, where not the slightest blame would attach to the unfortunate sufferers; but I cannot help thinking that there is some truth in the remark which a naval friend made to me, that if captains were sole owners, and their ships uninsured, it would materially contribute to the safety of Table Bay.

The present commodore on the station (H. M. Christian Esq.), anxious to add to the safety of Table Bay, has proposed tiers of moorings for vessels of

* This current is well known by all nautical men to set from the east round the Cape into the Atlantic. However, a recent circumstance caused much doubt upon the subject, viz. after the wreck of the *Perseverance* on the Whale Rock, near Robben Island, a cask of wine, part of her cargo, was found in Simon's Bay, having weathered the point. This appeared to me a mystery, until Captain Owen gave me to understand that an eddy current sets round the Cape, to the east, close to the shore.

all sizes, which I have little doubt would answer nineteen seasons out of twenty, and the expense would be small in comparison with any other plan. Plenty of anchors must be lying at the different depots in England, and the commodore, with his squadron on the station, would be at the trouble of laying them down.

For the accommodation of the trade of the place, something might certainly be done in the way of erecting a substitute for our frail jetty, that totters upon little more than one-third of its original supports. If the expense is to be considered, funds might easily be raised in shares, secured by a wharfage until the amount is redeemed. The vicinity of Rogge Bay, near the Post-office and Custom-house, appears naturally adapted for the site of a new landing-place, and much more convenient to the town, than where the present wooden jetty stands. Another great advantage in its being placed there would be in the opportunity afforded to boats to go off to the assistance of ships in distress, either in a north-west or south-east gale, whereas it is quite impracticable to leave the present jetty with a north-west wind, a time when it is often most required to carry off an anchor or cable. The new jetty, or pier, I should propose to be built of stone, which could easily be procured on the spot. The situation to which I allude presents some great natural aids in forming it, as follows: To the right and left, chains of rocks, A and B, run out some distance, as shown in the annexed sketch, on which ought



to be constructed piers sufficiently substantial to protect the jetty C from the north-west and south-east winds, which would form a wharf for landing goods, &c. The head of the pier C being in tolerably deep water, some of the smaller coasters, in fair weather, might be brought even up to the wharf and discharged: and the basin would form an excellent protection to the small

craft and boats, now so much injured in bad weather. The lighthouse (of which an engraving is prefixed to this Chapter) has been alluded to already, at the entrance to Table Bay, and Captain Owen's directions, recently published, will be a sufficient guide for entering the bay.*

* Considerable discussion has existed among scientific men, as to the fact, whether the ocean has been gaining upon the land, or the land upon the ocean, in this part of the globe. Mr. Barrow argues strongly against the latter hypothesis, and offers some cogent arguments in support of the former. Other writers have adopted different theories. I pretend not to hazard any decided opinion on a subject involved in such difficulties; but the following facts may be not unworthy, perhaps, of being noticed.

1st. Some small islands in Simon's Bay, more particularly Duyker Island, which, in the memory of many of the inhabitants, were once detached from the continent, are now connected by low isthmuses.

2d. On the skirts of the Downs, or Flats, which form an isthmus between the Cape peninsula and the rest of the continent, there was discovered a few years ago, at a considerable distance from the sea, what seemed to be the timbers of a vessel deeply imbedded in the sand. This I had myself a cursory view of, but there was too little of the wood visible to enable me to form any clear judgment of its shape, or probable purpose. I found, however, some metallic substance fixed in the wood in a very corroded state. A nautical gentleman who examined it with more care than I had an opportunity of bestowing, thinks that the wood (which has apparently been buried for ages in the sand) greatly resembles cedar,—and conceives it possible that this may be the remains of some ancient Phœnician vessel, wrecked here when our present Cape flats were under water,—forming, perhaps, a shallow strait between Wynberg and the Koeberg. This is certainly a rather wild-looking hypothesis,—yet, that the land in the southern extremity of Africa *might* be elevated from the sea without necessarily affecting (as Mr. Barrow supposes) the level of the northern extremity, is evident from the effects produced by recent earthquakes in Chile, in elevating the whole extent of coast for some hundred miles. Is it not, also, possible to account for the formation of a low sandy isthmus like the Cape Downs, from the agency of tides and winds alone collecting a mass of sand in a shallow strait? The formation of the immense sand hills along the southern coast, and on the shores of Table Bay itself, indicate pretty clearly how such an operation would proceed, if once commenced.

Whatever may be in this, Captain Owen seems to have obtained strong evidence of the commerce of the Phœnicians having extended from the Red Sea, much farther down the eastern coasts of Africa than is generally imagined; and to have pretty clearly ascertained that the celebrated gold mines of ancient *Ophir* were situated in the vicinity of Inhamban,—where it is remarkable that a place of the name of *Ophir*, still rich in gold and ivory, exists at the present day. It seems, therefore, not altogether incredible, that the Phœnician mariners may have actually doubled the Cape of Good Hope from the Indian Ocean.

After leaving Table Bay, the only safe harbour between it and the real Cape of Good Hope, is Hout's Bay, perfectly safe when once in, and only slightly affected by the south-east winds: there is one danger near the entrance, a rock laid down in all charts. It is too near Table Bay ever to be a place of any importance in the way of trade.

On rounding the Cape of Good Hope,* you enter the wide and extensive False Bay; so called from ships having often been deceived in coming from the eastward. After rounding Hanglip, in darkish weather, imagining that they had passed the real Cape of Good Hope, they stand to the north, when in a short time they find themselves on the Muizenberg beach, at the bottom of False Bay.

Of Simon's Bay and False Bay, the ample information contained in the works of Mr. Barrow, and our "Civil Servant," render any farther details altogether superfluous. The dangers too in entering the bays are laid down in all charts,—the Whittle-rock and Seal-island in False Bay, and the Roman Rock, and Noah's Ark, on entering Simon's Bay: on the latter, a lighthouse would be very desirable. Of the present state and population of Simon's Town, the work last mentioned affords a very full and accurate account.

From False Bay to the Breede River, no harbour of any kind exists. The mouth of this river, now called Port Beaufort, allows vessels of 200 tons

* On one of my visits to Simon's Town, I made an excursion to this extremity of the Cape promontory,—the real "Cabo Tormentoso,"—in company with some officers of His Majesty's Ships, Owen Glendower, and Martin. The road lay across a rugged chain of rocky hills, composed of the same materials as a great part of the mountains in this part of the Colony,—sandstone and granite. The appearance of this southern abutment of the African continent is bold, bleak, and desolate. In an immense cavern at the bottom of the cliffs, washed occasionally by the billows of the great southern ocean, we found a piece of wreck, consisting of a ship's windlass, &c.,—a melancholy memorial of some one of the many disasters which have happened on this stormy coast since the adventurous Vasco de Gama doubled the promontory four hundred years ago. This cavern seemed to be the resort of innumerable flocks of sea fowl, but contained nothing else remarkable.

to enter, and discharge and load in safety, and has become a regular place of export for the produce of Swellendam. Corn and stock are occasionally exported direct from it to St. Helena; but this only by special permission, as it has not yet, like Algoa Bay and Port Frances, become a regular port under the Custom-house regulations.

Not far to the east of Port Beaufort is Mossel Bay, very similar in many respects to Algoa Bay, being safe from all winds but the south-east. The landing is good, and a large granary or storehouse is erected at this spot, for the reception of corn for exportation to Cape Town.

The Kuysna harbour is well known. The entrance is so narrow, and the rocks so precipitous, that the influx and reflux of the tide keep it clear of sand to the depth of eighteen feet at ebb tide, in the bar. When inside, a finer harbour cannot be desired, as it is perfectly safe from all winds. An interesting chart of this harbour is to be found in Mr. Barrow's work. Its chief export is timber; but there is abundance of land capable of producing corn, so that in time it cannot fail to increase in importance.

Plettenberg's Bay affords good anchorage, and from thence also timber is shipped. Like Algoa Bay, it is exposed to the south-east winds.

The next harbour or inlet we meet with, is the Kromme River and Bay,—the river admitting vessels of 200 tons, and the bay possessing good anchorage for large ships. This place has not hitherto been much visited, and its advantages are little known, but it may become of first-rate importance ere long, if, in addition to the abundance of timber in its neighbourhood, in the Zitzikamma, and the produce raised by the wealthy boers in the Lange-Kloof and the parts adjacent, it be true that coal is to be found on its banks.

Port Elizabeth, in Algoa Bay, is the next harbour. As a mercantile port, it has become next in importance to Table Bay, and will prove the principal port of the eastern division of the Colony. The Zwartkops river, which flows past Uitenhage, falls into Algoa Bay, and vessels of nearly 200 tons

have entered it, but its mouth is occasionally obstructed with a bar of sand. It is however capable of great improvement, and would at no very enormous expense become navigable for steam-vessels nearly to the Drostdy, whose rising importance I have already noticed. Chimerical as this may seem to those who have long considered inland navigation as entirely out of the question, I yet hope to live to see it carried into execution.

Though Algoa Bay has hitherto been considered as the port of the new settlement, its distance from the frontier renders it less eligible than Port Frances at the Kowie River mouth, which is the next port to the eastward, and which river flows through the heart of the district of Albany. Of the practicability of clearing the bar I have already spoken; and as Government has laid down moorings off its mouth, and made it a Custom-house port, it is to be hoped they will take an early opportunity of completing a work so essential to the prosperity of that part of the Colony. This is the last harbour on the eastern coast of the Colony.

The Great Fish River is said to have been entered by a boat, under the superintendence of Mr. Bailey, a gentleman in that vicinity; but the bar is constantly shifting, and the offing is much more exposed than the Kowie mouth. Beyond this I am not personally acquainted with the coast; but the whole of it having been recently surveyed by Captain Owen, R. N., a much more valuable account will doubtless come before the public from him than any slight sketch I could pretend to give.

Whatever may be the diversity of opinions entertained as to the capabilities of the Cape for becoming a place of commercial importance, it will at least vindicate the judgment of its first founders, by continuing to be the great half-way house to India. The cheapness and abundance of provisions; the security of its bays, if resorted to at the proper seasons; the profits of bringing hither, and carrying back the numerous valetudinarians, who, no longer able to conceal from themselves the effects of the burning sun of

India, seek for restoration to health in our milder climate ; and the chances of a market which often affords a sale for Indian produce, profitable enough to pay, at least, their expenses,—will always prove sufficient temptations to the commanders of Indiamen to touch here, in spite of the ill-founded objections against it as a port. The ships of the East India Company indeed, with the exceptions of two annual ships from China, are instructed to avoid the Cape, and resort to their own settlement of St. Helena. But their example in peace, and even their influence, should another war break out, is becoming of less importance, and our fleets of free traders would hardly be compelled, for the convenience of the Company, to relinquish the advantages of the Cape for the expensive rendezvous of St. Helena. A few years more will probably give to the private traders of Great Britain the same superiority in the trade to China, which they already enjoy in that to India ; for it can hardly be supposed that Government will renew the exclusive privileges of the East India Company ; and painful as it is to contemplate the decay and gradual extinction of the finest class of merchant ships which ever graced the commercial annals of the world, whether we look to their mere mechanical excellence, or to the high character of the officers brought up in the East India Company's service,—yet, without such exclusive privileges, the trade of China must gradually be transferred into the less splendid, though more extensive channels of individual enterprise.

The increasing trade between Great Britain and her Australian possessions, renders the Cape also important as a place of refreshment to the ships bound to that quarter ; and not a few are now beginning to avail themselves of its advantages in this respect, and of the chances of a middle freight, which the increasing intercourse between the two colonies gives them an occasional opportunity of obtaining.

If the commercial advantages of the Cape be but little tempting to the adventurer for wealth, it is some consolation that no great sacrifice of health

is required for its attainment; and I think this circumstance contributes in some degree to place the state of society on a better footing in this Colony, than it is represented to be in many others. He who stakes his life against a speedy return to his country with "a fortune," which he expects will give him importance there, in the eyes of those who will not trouble themselves to inquire how it was accumulated, if he be not careless as to the means he uses to obtain this end, is at least too often but little solicitous for the future advantages of a society which he intends quitting as soon as his purse is made up; and to this cause may be attributed much of the selfishness and irregularity of principle which are objected against colonists in general. The young and eager votaries of Mammon are continually pouring in, while those whom a more advanced age, and more affluent circumstances, ought to render the ornament and the defence of the country to which they owe their wealth, leave it, — too happy if they escape with a constitution only half ruined, to return to that which they have never ceased to consider as their "home."

The contrary to all this happens at the Cape, where there is no field for making a rapid fortune, though abundance of room for the profitable exertion of persevering industry; and when a man feels that he is destined at least to a long residence, if not to pass the remainder of his days, and perhaps to bring up his family in a country, he becomes naturally anxious, not only to uphold his own character by the sacrifice of a thousand little selfish feelings to the general good, but is interested in every improvement of the place and its inhabitants. It becomes, in fact, his country, and when his wealth and leisure increase, he feels little inclination to quit a spot where his conduct has raised him to a rank and consideration comparatively far greater than he could hope to attain in any other situation. Instead, therefore, of sending back to Europe her adventurers rich in purse and poor in constitution, the Cape has a fair chance of retaining within itself the property, experience, and

kindly feelings of her inhabitants, and of gradually advancing in intellectual improvement.

Few ranks in society would gain much increase in happiness by a removal from the Cape, if a salubrious climate, and an easy acquisition of all the necessaries, and many of the conveniencies and luxuries of life may be supposed to promote this end ; and in respect to society, this Colony is fortunate above most others in possessing a variety suited to all classes. The gentleman, whether sportsman, scholar, or man of pleasure, may here pass his time with congenial associates. Though it would be absurd to compare the society of Cape Town with that of an European metropolis for extent and variety, it is not too much to state, that there are few men either of rank or talent so exalted as not to find there appropriate companions in the principal official persons of the Colony, (many of them relations and connexions of families of rank in England,) and in the officers of His Majesty's military and naval services, and the visitors from India, who form, in every point of view, so valuable an addition to the population of the Colony.

Of female society I do not profess to be a critic, and my testimony to its merits would be of small value indeed. In any points, however, where it falls short of perfection, the fault cannot be attributed to a want of the brightest example in the highest and most influential quarter ; and they must have little experience in the world, who do not know how to estimate this benefit at its full worth.

The working bees of the hive, whether merchants, agriculturists, tradesmen, or mechanics, much less pressed by the severity or duration of their labours, than those of the same classes in England, pass their leisure hours either in their family circle, or in company adapted to their respective habits,—not the less happily perhaps that it becomes less refined in proportion to their descent in the scale of society.

If it be objected that I have spoken in too sanguine terms of the prospects of Southern Africa, I can only reply, that I should be ashamed if I could speak coldly on such a subject. *There* I have passed in happiness the first years of my active life, and laid up experience sufficient, I trust, to guide my steps hereafter. There I have encountered some dangers, and there experienced the forbearance, hospitality, and protection of all classes of people, from the wandering savage of the desert, to the highest ranks of civilized society. I have met with but little unkindness even from those quarters where commercial rivalry may be supposed not to engender the best feelings. I judge of the future by the past; and many must be the storms I encounter in my farther voyage through life, before I shall cease to esteem the place of my residence in the fullest sense of the word, as the Cape of "GOOD HOPE."

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

ACCOUNT OF THE AMAKOSÆ, OR SOUTHERN CAFFERS.*

History.—Government.—Crimes and Punishments.—Sorcery.—Religion and Superstitions.—Circumcision.—Marriage.—Medicine and Surgery.—Funeral Rites.—Dress.—Ornaments.—Agriculture.—Hunting.—Language.—Description of the Country.—Journey through the Amakosa territory.—Interview with Hinza, the principal Chief.

HISTORY.—The national appellation of the Southern Caffers is *Amakosa*, the singular of which is *Kosa*. Their country is sometimes called *Amakosina*.

According to the traditionary accounts which I have collected from their old people, this tribe first settled on the Great Kei River under their chief, Toguh; but whether they were a colony from the *Tambuakie* or *Amatymba* tribe, or from some of the nations farther to the north-east, I have not been able to ascertain. The period of their emigration, as nearly as can be collected from the existing traditions, appears to have been about 150 years ago, or somewhat more.

The sons of Toguh were Gondè, Tindè, and Keitshè. Gondè succeeded his father as principal chief; and the other two brothers removed from the Kei, and settled on the coast,

* This account has been extracted from the manuscript notes of the Rev. Mr. Brownlee, who has resided as a missionary among the Caffers for seven or eight years. It was written by Mr. B. (without any knowledge of Lichtenstein's work), entirely from his own observations, and information obtained from the natives. It will be found to corroborate Lichtenstein's statements on many points, and to differ from them in others—especially in the historical details, which in Mr. Brownlee's summary are much less favourable to Gaika. But the missionary, living in habits of daily intercourse with the natives, and speaking their language, may be supposed qualified to give a more accurate representation of such matters than the hasty traveller. In the present sketch, several topics already sufficiently well known, from former writers, have been omitted or curtailed.

between the Kalumna* and Buffalo Rivers. At that period the Gonaqua Hottentots had their chief kraals on the coast; but likewise inhabited the country along the Buffalo River, and up to the very sources of the Keiskamma.

On the death of Gondè, he was succeeded as chief, over part of the tribe, by his son Tshio; but the younger brother, Mandanka, had been declared by his father independent of Tshio, and a number of the people removed under the guidance of this young chief to the country situated between the Chumi and Kat Rivers, and afterwards occupied also the banks of the Kounap, and the country on the Great Fish River opposite to Somerset.

Tshio had scarcely succeeded to the government, when he sent out his forces to attack the clan of Keitschè, and defeated them near the mouth of the Kalumna river; and after this, (which happened about ninety-seven, or one hundred years ago), the whole of Keitschè's horde removed to the northward, and have never since been heard of. The warrior who had the chief command in the expulsion of Keitschè, was created a chief by Tshio, and from him are descended the Congo family, since so well known on the frontier.

Shortly after this period the Gonaqua Hottentots, who were governed by a chief named Kohla, had established their kraala between the Fish and Bushman Rivers; and the Caffers of the Kucha and the Tindè clans, being pressed for room, purchased from Kohla the territory along the coast, from the Fish to the Sunday River, including the tract of country now occupied by the British settlers. The price was a large number of cattle. After this amicable arrangement, the Caffers began to occupy the Zuurveld, and the Gonaquas retired northward to the Zuurberg and Bruintjes-hoogte.

The Dutch colonists began, ere long, to extend their settlements to Bruintjes-hoogte. The Hottentots having been subdued or driven back before them, (and the females and children made prisoners and reduced to servitude), no energetic resistance had hitherto been opposed to their progress; but when they met with the Caffers at the Fish River, they found them a much more formidable obstacle to their acquiring entire possession of the country. For some time, however, they seem to have avoided any direct acts of oppression, or other measures that might provoke their hostility. The Christian and the Caffer occupied the country together, and lived in amity, until, as the Caffers relate, the following barbarous act of perfidy was perpetrated by the Colonists.

About fifty-six years ago the boors of Bruintjes-hoogte invited the Mandankæ clan of Caffers, of whom Jalumba was then chief, to meet them on the western bank of the Great Fish River, for the purpose of holding a consultation on some public matters. The Mandankæ attended the meeting, where a palaver was held, and they were entertained with tobacco. After which the boors said they had brought a costly present for their good friends the Caffers; and having spread some rush mats on the ground, they covered them with beads, and invited their visitors to make a scramble, and display their activity in picking them up, upon a signal to be given. The boors then retired a little distance to where their guns were lying ready loaded with two or three bullets each. The signal was given by the Veld-Cornet Botman.

* Kalumna is the Caffer pronunciation of *Krumna*, the original Hottentot name.

The Caffers rushed upon the beads, overturning each other in their eagerness. The boors at the same instant seized their guns and poured in a volley upon their unsuspecting visitors; and so destructive was their murderous aim, that very few, it is said, escaped the massacre! The residue of the Mandankæ immediately abandoned the banks of the Fish River, and sought refuge in the Zuurveld with the Chief Congo, and their countrymen of the Tindè tribe.

But to return to the royal family. On the death of Tshio, his two sons, Galeka* and Palo,† ruled in amicable conjunction. On the decease of the latter, there was a regular division of the Amakosa nation, by mutual consent; and Kachabè, the son of Palo, migrated from the Great Kei River with all his followers, and settled near the sources of the Keiskamma and Chumi.

Kachabè, after establishing himself in this part of the country, married his eldest daughter to a chief of the Tambookies (Amatymbæ); but not being satisfied with the cattle that were given by the bridegroom, he sent his eldest son Umlào to demand a farther contribution. The young chief, however, died in the Tambookie country; and whether there was any suspicion of treachery, or that his father only wanted a pretence for his violence, Kachabè immediately afterwards attacked the Tambookies, pretending that they had employed sorcery against him. After a great deal of fighting, Kachabè succeeded in bringing off his daughter, and ravaged the Tambookie country to such a degree, that part of it lay desolate for many years afterwards; but this turbulent chieftain was ultimately overthrown and slain in one of his marauding expeditions.

On the death of Kachabè, his second son S'Lhambi‡ succeeded him as regent of the tribe,—Gaika, the son of Umlào, the lineal heir, being yet a minor. S'Lhambi, the better to secure his own authority, placed his sister Ishusa over those kraals that had been under the sway of his deceased brother Umlào.

The only thing worthy of notice that occurred during Gaika's minority, was an attack on the clan of Congo, at the instigation of the Dutch colonists. Congo was assailed on one side by S'Lhambi, and on the other by the boors at the same time; yet, though many of his followers were destroyed, he kept his ground in spite of his enemies. At this time Gaika was a very young man; and was carried by S'Lhambi on the expedition, to train him to hardihood and heroism.

It was at this period that the Caffers first began to carry on extensive depredations against the colonists; and, as was to be expected, the Mandankæ race, who had now become a broken clan, and were dispersed among the other tribes, were the most inveterate in pursuing a system of hostility to their colonial antagonists.

* The *Tyareka* of Lichtenstein.

† *Palo* was generally known among the colonial boors during his time by the name of *Pharaoh*, and some of them fancied that he was a lineal descendant of the Egyptian monarchs.

‡ This name is usually but erroneously written *Sambie* or *T'Sambah*. The real pronunciation of the initial sound is like that of the Welsh *Ll*.

Gaika began, at length, to dread and to oppose the influence of his uncle in the nation; and what he could not effect by force, he did by artifice. The first of his warlike exploits was to plunder some kraals belonging to S'Lhambi's adherents. This successful foray was achieved by the aid of a number of young men about his own age. On a remonstrance being made to S'Lhambi, he interfered, and made the cattle be given up. But, it seems, this act of audacity gained Gaika no small admiration, particularly among the young warriors of his tribe.

The next step he took was still more decided. He ordered his followers to seize and carry off a number of S'Lhambi's own cattle; and when his uncle's adherents followed, he attacked and drove them back with disgrace. Upon this S'Lhambi came to Gaika in a peaceable manner, and remonstrated against his violent conduct: but such an adept was the juvenile chief already in dissimulation, that he pretended to be entirely ignorant of the transaction, and thus contrived to pacify his uncle, who returned to his own kraal at the Debè River. But he had scarcely arrived there, when Gaika collected all his followers, and surprised S'Lhambi, drove him from his kraal, and forced him to take shelter in the territory of his cousin Bucho. The fugitive chief was supported by Bucho, and a great force was collected to attack Grika. But the latter was on the alert; and falling suddenly upon them, routed their forces, and took S'Lhambi and Hinza prisoners. The latter, being only a boy, he discharged, but kept his uncle a prisoner at large.

Shortly after this, numbers of the smaller clans removed from the Caffer territory, and joined Congo. Several bands also marched to the northward towards the Great Orange River; and considerable numbers advanced westward into the Zuurveld, and the country towards the Zwartkops River.

S'Lhambi, after having remained for some time a prisoner, was permitted by Gaika to leave his kraal, and settled in the Zuurveld.

At this time numbers of the Caffers were dispersed among the boors, within the Colony, and lived peaceably, some as servants and dependants,—others having herds of cattle, which they grazed in unoccupied tracts of land.

On the frontier, however, mutual hostility and depredation continued to subsist between the Caffers and the Christians. Reciprocal injuries had generated reciprocal animosity, and the Caffers, mindful of former wrongs, were ready on all occasions to plunder the boors. At length, about 1810, complaints of these disorders became so urgent, that an order was issued by the Colonial Government (now British) to drive them across the Fish River. At the time the Commando assembled to accomplish this object, it was in the summer, when their crops of vegetables were fit for using. There is little doubt that the Caffers felt very reluctant to leave a country which they had occupied the greater part of a century; and the hardship of abandoning their crops was urgently pleaded,—since, in consequence of this measure, they must necessarily suffer a year of famine. And having, at a remote period, bought part of the country from the Aborigines, and (as they alleged) paid a second price to the Colonial Authorities on the frontier for an enlargement of territory only a few years previous to this time, they remonstrated strongly against the injustice of the order.

These remonstrances, however, were not listened to. All the Caffers were collected who

had been living among the Colonists, and conducted by a military escort over the Great Fish River. The Caffers in Albany retreated, but only before the Commando, and showed determined reluctance in quitting a country which they might certainly with some propriety call their own. During these proceedings there was some intercourse still between the Commando and the main body of the Caffers, and an interview was proposed between the Caffer chiefs and the Landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, Mr. Stockenstrom. That magistrate, who was well acquainted with many of the chiefs, met some of the Mandankæ Caffers belonging to Congo, in the middle of a wood near the Zuurberg, with little more than a dozen attendants. These Caffers, perhaps recollecting the murder of their forefathers by the Colonists, took this opportunity to obtain their revenge; for Mr. Stockenstrom and most of his attendants were treacherously murdered on the spot.

After the Caffers had been driven over the Fish River, military posts were established on its banks to prevent their return, and check their depredations. However, from this period to 1817, they continued to annoy the Colonists on the frontier by occasional inroads,—sometimes murdering the herdsmen, and taking away the cattle; and although there was every precaution adopted by the military, such is the nature of the country along the Fish River, that ten times the number of troops that have ever been kept on the frontier would have been quite insufficient to prevent these disorders. Their marauding parties seldom consist of more than six or eight men, and often not more than two or three; therefore, a patrol of ten or more troops sent out in search of two or three Caffers, are seldom successful in overtaking them.

In 1817 the Governor visited Cafferland, and had an interview with Gaika, and some of the other chiefs, when it was arranged, that all cattle in their possession of colonial breed, and all horses should be given up. The Caffers had been in a state of frequent warfare with the Colony for forty years prior to this period, long before it was taken by the English; and it is therefore probable, that cattle taken in what they considered just warfare, may thus have been extorted from them, and thus increased their secret heart-burnings.

One particular arrangement then made, was, that if cattle stolen from the Colony were traced to any Caffer kraal, that kraal should be held responsible, and either find the cattle or give an equal number.

Another arrangement proposed by the Colonial Government on this occasion was, to make Gaika responsible for the conduct of the Caffer nation, and that the Government should treat only with him, and have nothing to do with any of the other chiefs. This gave Gaika some consequence, but gained him no respectability; for the plan proposed was repugnant to the feelings of the other Caffers, as every chief considers himself a king in his own kraal, and altogether irresponsible to any superior.

From this period, Gaika acted according to his engagement, and a number of horses and Colonial cattle were sent out. Yet S'Lhambi and some of his adherents did not acknowledge Gaika's authority; and in some instances they sent out cattle themselves, without acquainting Gaika. This renewed the old jealousy between them.

During these proceedings Makanna (or Lynx, as he is commonly called in the Colony), who was a Caffer of intelligence, and had some ideas of religion, imposed on the credulity of his

countrymen, and by professing to be a teacher and prophet, acquired great respect among all the adherents of Congo and S'Lhambi's party. He collected a number of followers around him, and by his humane and popular conduct and high pretensions, gained a very great name in the country, and became the chief counsellor of the disaffected chiefs. Gaika was well aware of the influence of Makanna; but the means by which he tried to counteract it, only resulted in rendering himself less popular.

The state of the frontier remained much the same, and in Cafferland there was much secret animosity gaining ground. S'Lhambi despised Gaika, and said, "Shall I be subject to a boy, whom I have nursed?" Makanna, knowing the hatred of Gaika towards himself, did all in his power to set the other chiefs at variance with him. At this period there was also a misunderstanding between Gaika's Caffers and those belonging to Hinza; and one thing that particularly created resentment against the former was, that some of his men took away by force some of the plumes of the crown feathers (which are worn by the warriors) from Hinza's people. Gaika, moreover, thought proper to take to himself a wife (Tata), who belonged to one of S'Lhambi's counsellors; and on a remonstrance being made on the subject, refused to give her up. This led to a serious dissension among the Caffer clans, and they began to make preparations for war, particularly in making ready shields and assagais. These preparations and the assembling of the forces were entirely under the superintendence of Dusani, S'Lhambi's son and successor in his chieftainship. Makanna had also a leading hand in all this, and a number of Hinza's people joined against Gaika.

The place where they engaged was between the Buffalo River and the Debè. Gaika's people had been assembled to meet the enemy for part of two days, and in this time they had nothing to eat. The place where they assembled was on the side of a hill, not far from the Debè; and on this hill, Gaika sat when his men went on to the combat. S'Lhambi's party had several guns, which annoyed Gaika's followers, and made them in a short time give way. From the small number of assagais they carry, their conflicts are generally soon over; though not unfrequently they meet in a bushy place, and continue skirmishing for a good part of a day. But in this engagement there was a complete chase, and S'Lhambi's party having a number of horses, they came up with the fugitives, and made a selection of those who had the greatest riches, that is, who had most beads and ornaments; these were slain, while others, from their apparent poverty, were suffered to escape. The number killed was considerable; and Gaika lost the whole of his old counsellors, with the exception of one. The victors did not continue the pursuit; but Jaluhsa, the brother of S'Lhambi, who from his position, (residing between Gaika's kraal and the Kat River,) and his promise to support Gaika's party, had been restrained from joining his brother, on seeing the defeat of the former immediately joined in plundering, and captured a great number of cattle between the Chumi and Keiskamma, belonging to Gaika's followers.

Gaika, after this defeat, fled westward, near to the sources of the Kounap River, and with all possible speed made his situation known to the Colonial authorities on the frontier. Shortly after, there was a strong force sent from the Colony to chastise S'Lhambi and his adherents, which in a very short period captured a great number of cattle. Nine thousand were given to

Gaika as a remuneration for the losses he had sustained, and more than that number were brought out to the Colony. The confederate chiefs then turned all their fury against the Colony, and in a very short time, the country between the Fish River and the Zwartkops was overrun by the Caffers, and several of the small military posts were obliged to be evacuated. The boers who inhabited the Zuurveld fled, and removed their cattle to the westward of Uitenhage. In these attacks, the Caffers showed a determined resolution to recover their cattle; yet, although they killed many of the soldiers and colonists, they did not evince that blood-thirsty disposition that is common to most barbarians. When they could get away the cattle without being opposed, they made no attempt on the lives of the inhabitants.

After they had overrun the whole country, they assembled in great force to attack Graham's Town. The Caffers engaged in this enterprise were the adherents of S'Lhambi, Congo, Habanna, and Makanna, with a few of Hinza's followers, whom Dusani, S'Lhambi's son, had prevailed on to join his party. The Caffers were under the command of Makanna and Dusani, and it is certain they were well aware of the smallness of the military force in Graham's Town; whether through the medium of Gaika's interpreters, or from their own spies, is doubtful. Before the attack, Gaika gave information at the military post at Roodewal, stating what the hostile chiefs were concerting. The Caffers were elated by their former success, and Makanna had assured them of victory; yet from the bloody defeat they met with on this occasion,* it is obvious what a vast superiority the use of fire-arms confers, and how weak an enemy the Caffers are, when encountered by Europeans in the open plain.

After the failure of their attack on Graham's Town, the Caffers were much disconcerted, and retreated in a short time over the Fish River. In August 1819, a great Commando entered Cafferland, and captured, in a short time, a vast number of cattle in the kraals along the Fish River. The Commando from the district of Graaff-Reinet, entered Cafferland from the Tarka, and came upon the inhabited part of the country near the sources of Kat River; but before their arrival in that quarter, S'Lhambi had crossed the Keiskamma; and Congo, who was near the mouth of the Fish River, with Habanna, after an interview with Major Fraser, was allowed to remain on the coast between the Fish and Keiskamma Rivers. At the same time Makanna, finding he was declared an outlaw by the Colonial Government, and ordered to be taken dead or alive, surrendered himself to the Landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, upon his life being guaranteed. He was sent a prisoner to Robben Island,—a fate which he appears not to have anticipated; and was soon after drowned in attempting to make his escape.

The Commando proceeded to scour the Caffer country; one party penetrating along the coast almost to the mouth of the Kei; another along the mountains and woods near the sources of the Keiskamma and Buffalo Rivers. The regular troops brought up the baggage, and acted as a guard for the captured cattle, being posted in the centre of the country. S'Lhambi's followers having retreated to the Kei, afterwards proceeded up that river; and though the pursuit was continued by the Commando of boers on horseback, they were never able to come up with the main body of the Caffers. The foot soldiers proceeded slowly along with the waggon and

* See notice of this attack, at page 36.