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**R E P O R T**  
**OF THE**  
**PARLIAMENTARY SELECT COMMITTEE**  
**ON**  
**ABORIGINAL TRIBES,**  
**(BRITISH SETTLEMENTS.)**

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# ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY.

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The object of this Society is to assist in protecting the defenceless, and promoting the advancement of uncivilized Tribes.

A Subscription of One Guinea a year, or a Donation of 10*l.* constitutes a Member.

The Society is desirous of promoting the formation of Auxiliary Associations, both at home and abroad.

Subscriptions or Donations, in aid of the Funds of the Society, will be thankfully received by the Treasurer, the Secretaries, or any Member of the Committee.

Mr. Stalwood 15/-

## PREFACE.

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AN apology may perhaps be expected for the present volume, consisting as it does, for the most part, of details which have already, in a somewhat different form, been brought under the notice of the British public. On the value of the accompanying Report there can hardly be two opinions. The appalling facts which it discloses, and the judicious suggestions it contains, combine to render it one of the most important documents which has ever come before the legislature. Replete with evidence as to the injustice and cruelty with which the Aborigines have hitherto been treated, and the pernicious effects which have resulted to them from their intercourse with European nations, it abundantly proves the necessity of *immediate* legislative interference. In some respects, however, the Report is defective. Facts of deep importance, as showing the workings of the system, are more than once passed over altogether, or only incidentally alluded to. These deficiencies, it is hoped, will in part at least be supplied by the additional information contained in the present volume.

Another, and yet stronger inducement to the publication of the appended statements arises from the indifference which still too generally pervades the public mind in reference to the wrongs of the Aborigines. It is a mournful reflection, that among the many philanthropic designs which have recently called forth the active energies of the good and benevolent in this country, no effort, at all commensurate with the magnitude of the object, has yet been made to check the progress of oppression in our colonies. In an age distinguished for its liberality, its enlightened sentiment, and its christian zeal, atrocities, the most daring and dreadful in their character, which, even in a darker era of the world's history, would have excited universal horror, have passed unnoticed and unproved. To a foreigner, acquainted only with the general reputation of the British people, the facts,

detailed in the ensuing pages might appear as little other than idle tales, the dreams of an excited imagination. The injuries we have inflicted, the oppression we have exercised, the cruelties we have committed, the vices we have fostered, the desolation and utter ruin we have caused, stand in strange and melancholy contrast with the enlarged and generous exertions we have made for the advancement of civil freedom, for the moral and intellectual improvement of mankind, and for the furtherance of that sacred truth, which alone can permanently elevate and civilize mankind. Accustomed to view with indignation the tyranny of neighbouring states, we have yet by our silence given sanction to a policy not less iniquitous in its principles, and destructive in its tendency. Every law of humanity and justice has been forgotten or disregarded. Through successive generations the work of spoliation and death has been carried on, until to the colonial possessions of the most religious nation in the world the emphatic language of Scripture may with truth be applied—they are “the dark places of the earth, full of the habitations of cruelty.” It would be an idle, as well as a painful task to trace the motives which may fairly be supposed to have actuated those, whose names will for ever be connected with the oppression of the innocent and unoffending Aborigines. The policy of Spain was pre-eminent for its hypocrisy. Vainly attempting to conceal her ambition under the garb of piety, she sent forth her armies with the Bible in one hand, and the sword in the other, presenting death or conversion as the only alternatives of the hapless beings she sought to plunder and destroy. The guilt of our own nation, though equal in degree, is somewhat different in its character. We have been content to assume the office of the murderer, without adding to it the baseness of the hypocrite. The lust of power, and the love of gain, have in our case been the open and avowed incitements to injustice. Borne away by these master passions, we have left to the helpless victims of our colonial policy one only choice,—to fall by the sword, or to perish by famine. While, however, the motives which have influenced the different nations of Europe in their treatment of the Aborigines may have varied with the changing circumstances of the times, the effect of that treatment upon the Aborigines themselves, those especially of the Western hemisphere, has in all cases been the same. To them the brutal tyranny of Holland, the ferocious bigotry of Spain, and the insatiable cupidity of England, have proved alike degrading

and destructive. Destitute, afflicted, tormented, death has been their only refuge from suffering so intense, as almost to justify their curses upon the memory of him, who first published to Europe the fact of their existence.

The leading causes of these frightful calamities are not difficult of discovery. Much of the evil may be regarded as resulting from vicious or mistaken legislation. The acquisition of new territories, and the advancement of British ascendancy, have too often been preferred to the claims of justice and sound policy. Another, and in the present day, yet more fruitful source of injury to the Aborigines arises from the pernicious character of our commercial intercourse. The amazing power we possess by means of our commerce has too generally been employed for the vilest of purposes. The mighty influence with which Providence has invested us, we have made the means of spreading devastation and ruin. The national honour has been tarnished; common honesty has been thrown aside; life itself has again and again been sacrificed, for the mere convenience of trade. On the native inhabitants of our colonies our mercantile enterprise and skill have produced effects scarcely less lamentable, than those occasioned by our open hostility. Men calling themselves Christians; subjects of a christian government, professors of the christian faith, have stooped, for the attainment of selfish ends, to practise upon the confiding ignorance of these simple and untutored children of the desert. On the mischievous consequences which have resulted from the guilty conduct of our seamen, it would be superfluous to enlarge. By the sanction their example has given to the worst of vices; the diseases they have introduced; the dark and dreadful crimes against property and life which they have perpetrated, the efforts of our Missionaries have too often been counteracted or rendered comparatively useless. While holy and devoted men have been labouring to disseminate the seeds of knowledge, to extend the light and purity of the gospel, the ministers of evil have also been at work, striving with unwearied assiduity to stay the progress of the truth, to perpetuate the existing ignorance and misery. Which of these antagonist powers has hitherto prevailed, may be gathered from the following Report. A perusal of its pages, if it accomplish no better purpose, may, at any rate, serve to humble our national pride, to teach us that the feelings of tyranny and bigotry, which once reigned over Europe, are not yet altogether extinct—that the spirit of Cortes and Pizarro still survives.

The indifference with which the treatment of the Aborigines has to the present day been viewed by the religious public of Great Britain seems, at first sight, almost unaccountable. It may well excite surprise, that oppression so grievous, and cruelty so atrocious, should have been permitted to go on for centuries without restraint. Amid the excitement of party politics, and the pressing claims of our own population, the degraded state of the unfortunate Aborigines has been almost entirely overlooked. The prevailing apathy must, in charity, be ascribed to the prevailing ignorance. Comparatively little of what was passing in our colonies has been published at home. Sensible of the danger that would result to their own individual interests from the publication of the truth, it has been the almost invariable practice of the colonial authorities to hide their conduct towards the natives as much as possible from the public view. If occasionally facts of startling import have forced themselves upon the popular notice, it has been through the agency of men who have received the reward of their honesty in general hatred and abuse. For the greater part of the information we now possess, we are indebted to the Christian Missionaries sent out from this country. To the labours of these invaluable men the cause of humanity is unspeakably indebted. Amid persecution and scorn, obloquy, ridicule, and contempt, they have steadily persevered in their work of faith and labour of love, until to them, in an especial degree, belongs the honour of having first exposed the evil workings of our colonial policy. They have taken from us the plea of ignorance, with which we have hitherto sought to palliate our neglect of this all-important subject. The silence is broken; the darkness has passed away; and **THE TRUTH**, ungarbled and undisguised, stands forth before the public gaze in all its dreadful and tremendous reality.

It will be well for the interests of justice, if the increase of our knowledge produce a corresponding diminution of our prejudices—if it lead us to abandon the false and groundless opinions, which still prevail respecting the claims of the Aborigines. Forgetful of Him “who hath made of one blood all nations that dwell upon the earth,” we have too long been accustomed to look upon the coloured races as possessing a nature far inferior to our own. To justify our oppression, we have resorted to calumny, and sought to vindicate by falsehood our cruel treatment of those whose existence has been their only crime. The injustice of the allegation is enhanced by the consideration that the only circum-

stance which can give to it the semblance of truth, results mainly from our own disgraceful policy. The mere fact, that scarcely one of the native tribes in the British colonies has become civilized, is sufficiently discreditable to our national character—the dishonour is increased when we attempt to found upon this the monstrous assumption, that they are naturally incapable of improvement. It is obviously unreasonable to expect that men habituated and attached to a roving, unsettled life, should abandon their wandering habits, and engage in agricultural pursuits, when the experience of every day is reminding them, that the cultivation of the soil will, in their case, prove only a preparatory step to its seizure by others. We may look in vain for any marked and decided amelioration in the condition of the yet uncivilized tribes, affected by our influence, until a widely different system of government is adopted in our colonies; until we learn to act upon milder and more equitable principles; until we cease to foster prejudices as wicked as they are absurd.

It is not, however, in reference only to the capacities and capabilities of the Aborigines, that delusion and error still possess the public mind. Not a few, even in the present day, are inclined to the belief, that in spite of all our efforts, the speedy extinction of the Aborigines is inevitable. Their extermination, it would seem, is an appointment of Heaven, and every attempt to avert their doom must, therefore, of necessity prove utterly unavailing. The atrocity of such a sentiment is only surpassed by its impiety. To imagine that there now exists a race of men devoted by Providence to destruction, is assuredly to libel the beneficent and merciful character of the Most High. The devastation and ruin, of which the ensuing pages contain so dreadful a detail, have been caused by no mysterious, and to us inexplicable process; they have followed, as natural consequences, from the guilty ambition and avarice of men professedly civilized and christian. There is as little of mystery about the origin, as in the reality of the evil. Acquainted with the one, we may with certainty anticipate the other. Oppression has produced its invariable effects. It remains with the British nation to decide whether such shall be the ruling principle for the time to come, or whether justice and mercy shall henceforth be permitted to exert their legitimate and salutary influence.

While ignorance, prejudice, and error, have thus been operating on the minds of many, others have been deterred from an attention to the subject by the apparent hopelessness of the

case. Sickened at the remembrance of the past, and looking onward with dismay to the future, they seek in a gloomy despondency an excuse for their supineness and neglect. It would be well for such persons to remember the vast amount of good which has, in modern times, been accomplished by a comparatively feeble instrumentality. The extinction of the Slave-trade, and the abolition of Colonial Slavery, were achieved by men armed with no more formidable weapon than the Truth. Ridiculed and despised, they knew no such feeling as despair. Firm in their convictions of duty, and faithful in its performance, they left the consequences to God. Amid darkness and gloom they looked forward with sure and certain hope to a brighter day, and steadfastly laboured on, until public opinion was at length enlisted on their side, and the triumph of justice was secured. To the same spirit of dauntless determination we owe the recent act of justice to the native tribes of Southern Africa. The energy which has once prevailed, may prevail again. It has already rescued thousands, it may yet be the saviour of millions.

The present volume, as will be seen from the title-page, is published under the sanction and superintendence of the **BRITISH AND FOREIGN ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY**. The object of this association is sufficiently indicated by its name. It is established as the protector of those, who have no power to protect themselves. In this character, and in this alone, the Society makes its appeal to the public for support. The means to be employed for the attainment of its great design are too obvious to need minute detail. By diffusing correct information concerning the character and condition of the Aborigines; by appealing to the government, or to parliament when appeal is needed; and by bringing popular opinion to exert its proper influence in advancing the cause of justice, it is hoped that much may be done towards the diminution of those gigantic evils, the continuance of which reflects such deep dishonour on the British name. The Society's proceedings will, of course, be mainly guided by the communications of its corresponding members, located in the countries occupied by Aborigines. The information they supply, and the suggestions they may offer, will form the ground-work of its future operations. Though but recently established, it has already been productive of good. The degree of its efficiency must depend on the measure of its support. Only one thing is requisite to render the Society worthy of the cause—that its power be proportioned to the magnitude and importance of its objects.

It can hardly be necessary, after what has now been stated, to dwell at any length upon the circumstances which vindicate the formation of this Society, and entitle it to the sanction of the public. A review of the past history and present degraded state of the Aborigines, is sufficient to show the absolute necessity of adopting immediate measures for their protection and preservation. The same unjust and unhallowed principles which have already wrought such fearful desolation, still reign on our earth—they have lost little of their former prevalence, and none of their original tendency. While *we* are slumbering at our posts, deaf to the call of duty, and indifferent to the claims of mercy, the oppressor and the spoiler are abroad, outraging the dearest rights of humanity, and devoting thousands of our race to ruin. To delay our interference in the hope that the rapid diffusion of christian feelings may soon render interference unnecessary, will be but to wait until the last office of oppression is performed, until the work of death has reached its perfect and final consummation. It was the lament of an ancient tyrant that, having subjugated to his power every nation then known to exist upon the earth, he had no ambition left to gratify, no further conquest to achieve. Let us see to it, that his case, in a yet more melancholy sense, be not our own. Let us now, by unceasing vigilance and effort, seek to guard against the fearful possibility, that, persevering in the practice of cruelty and injustice towards our uncivilized fellow-men, the day may at length arrive, when not one of all their race will remain in whom the purer and nobler features of our character may be reflected. Every consideration, as well of national interest as of moral obligation, every dictate of reason, every motive of humanity; the retrospect of the past, the events of the present, the prospects of the future; our duty, our patriotism, our religion—all alike incite and impel us to immediate and energetic exertion. The case is urgent—the danger is imminent—the demand is imperative. At once, then, let us awake to our duty, and relying on the blessing from on high, let every energy be exerted, and every nerve be strained, to hasten the arrival of that period, when the voice of the oppressor, and the cry of the oppressed, shall no more be heard on our earth: when men shall dwell together as brethren—children of one common Father—heirs of the same glorious immortality.

*Luncæ, 20<sup>o</sup> die Februarii, 1837.*

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*Ordered*, THAT a Select Committee be appointed to consider what Measures ought to be adopted with regard to the NATIVE INHABITANTS of Countries where BRITISH SETTLEMENTS are made, and to the neighbouring Tribes, in order to secure to them the due observance of Justice, and the protection of their Rights; to promote the spread of Civilization among them; and to lead them to the peaceful and voluntary reception of the Christian Religion.

And a Committee was formed of—

MR. FOWELL BUXTON.

MR. WILLIAM GLADSTONE.

MR. HAWES.

MR. BAGSHAW.

SIR RUFANE DONKIN.

MR. HOLLAND.

MR. CHARLES LUSHINGTON.

SIR GEORGE GREY.

MR. PEASE.

MR. BAINES.

MR. ANDREW JOHNSTON.

MR. HINDLEY.

MR. PLUMPTRE.

MR. WILSON.

COLONEL THOMPSON.

*Ordered*, THAT the Committee have power to send for Persons, Papers, and Records.

*Ordered*, THAT Five be the Quorum of the Committee.

*Ordered*, THAT the Minutes of Evidence, with the Report of last Session, be referred to the Committee.

*Ordered*, THAT the Committee have power to report the Minutes of the Evidence taken before them, together with their Observations thereupon, from time to time, to The House.

## REPORT.

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THE SELECT COMMITTEE “appointed to consider what Measures ought to be adopted with regard to the NATIVE INHABITANTS of Countries where BRITISH SETTLEMENTS are made, and to the neighbouring Tribes, in order to secure to them the due observance of Justice and the protection of their Rights; to promote the spread of Civilization among them, and to lead them to the peaceful and voluntary reception of the Christian Religion;” and to whom the Report of the Committee of 1836 was referred; and who were empowered to report their Observations thereupon, together with the MINUTES OF EVIDENCE taken before them, to The House;—Have examined the Matters to them referred, and have agreed to the following REPORT:

THE situation of Great Britain brings her beyond any other power into communication with the uncivilized nations of the earth. We are in contact with them in so many parts of the globe, that it has become of deep importance to ascertain the results of our relations with them, and to fix the rules of our conduct towards them. We are apt to class them under the sweeping term of savages, and perhaps, in so doing, to consider ourselves exempted from the obligations due to them as our fellow men. This assumption does not, however, it is obvious, alter our responsibility; and the question appears momentous, when we consider that the policy of Great Britain in this particular, as it has already affected the interests, and, we fear we may add, sacrificed the lives, of many thousands, may yet, in all probability, influence the character and the destiny of millions of the human race.

The extent of the question will be best comprehended by taking a survey of the globe, and by observing over how much of its surface an intercourse with Britain may become the greatest blessing, or the heaviest scourge. It will scarcely be denied in word, that, as an enlightened and christian people, we are at least bound to do to the inhabitants of other lands, whether

enlightened or not, as we should in similar circumstances desire to be done by; but, beyond the obligations of common honesty, we are bound by two considerations with regard to the uncivilized: first, that of the ability which we possess to confer upon them the most important benefits; and, secondly, that of their inability to resist any encroachments, however unjust, however mischievous, which we may be disposed to make. The disparity of the parties, the strength of the one, and the incapacity of the other to enforce the observance of their rights, constitutes a new and irresistible appeal to our compassionate protection.

The duty of introducing into our relations with uncivilized nations the righteous and the profitable laws of justice is incontrovertible, and it has been repeatedly acknowledged in the abstract, but has, we fear, been rarely brought into practice; for, as a nation, we have not hesitated to invade many of the rights which they hold most dear.

Thus, while acts of parliament have laid down the general principles of equity, other and conflicting acts have been framed, disposing of lands without any reference to the possessors and actual occupants, and without making any reserve of the proceeds of the property of the natives for their benefit.\*

Such omissions must surely be attributed to oversight; for it is not to be asserted that Great Britain has any disposition to sanction unfair dealing: nothing can be more plain, nothing can be more strong, than the language used by the government of this country on the subject. We need only refer to the instructions of Charles II., addressed to the Council of Foreign Plantations in the year 1670.

“Forasmuch as most of our said colonies do border upon the Indians, and peace is not to be expected without the due observance and preservation of justice to them, you are, in our name, to command all the governors, that they, at no time, give any just provocation to any of the said Indians that are at peace with us,” &c.

Then, with respect to the Indians who desire to put themselves under our protection, that they “be received.”

“And that the governors do by all ways seek firmly to oblige them.

“And that they do employ some persons to learn the languages of them.

“And that they do not only carefully protect and defend them from adversaries, but that they more especially take care

\* See Evidence 4367. In the preamble of an act passed August, 1834, “empowering his Majesty to erect South Australia into a British Province,” &c. it is stated that the part of Australia which lies as there described, together with the islands adjacent, “consists of waste and unoccupied lands, which are supposed to be fit for the purposes of colonization.” In the account of the proposed colony which appears to be authorized by the Company who have purchased land under this act, it is stated that “great numbers of natives have been seen along that part of the coast.”—P. 62.

that none of our own subjects, nor any of their servants, do any way harm them.

“ And that if any shall dare to offer any violence to them in their persons, goods or possessions, the said governors do severely punish the said injuries, agreeably to justice and right.

“ And you are to consider how the Indians and slaves may be best instructed and invited to the christian religion, it being both for the honour-of the Crown and of the Protestant religion itself, that all persons within any of our territories, though never so remote, should be taught the knowledge of God, and be acquainted with the mysteries of salvation.”

Nor is modern authority wanting to the same effect: the Address of the House of Commons to the King, passed unanimously July, 1834, states, “ That his Majesty’s faithful Commons in Parliament assembled, are deeply impressed with the duty of acting upon the principles of justice and humanity in the intercourse and relations of this country with the native inhabitants of its colonial settlements, of affording them protection in the enjoyment of their civil rights, and of imparting to them that degree of civilization, and that religion, with which Providence has blessed this nation; and humbly prays that his Majesty will take such measures, and give such directions to the governors and officers of his Majesty’s colonies, settlements, and plantations, as shall secure to the natives the due observance of justice and the protection of their rights, promote the spread of civilization amongst them, and lead them to the peaceful and voluntary reception of the christian religion.”

This Address, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer observed, so far from being the expression of any new principle, only embodies and recognises principles on which the British government has for a considerable time been disposed to act.

In furtherance of these views, your Committee was appointed to examine into the actual state of our relations with uncivilized nations; and it is from the evidence brought before this Committee during the last two sessions, that we are enabled to compare our actions with our avowed principles, and to show what has been, and what will assuredly continue to be, unless strongly checked, the course of our conduct towards these defenceless people.

It is not too much to say, that the intercourse of Europeans in general, without any exception in favour of the subjects of Great Britain, has been, unless when attended by missionary exertions, a source of many calamities to uncivilized nations.

Too often, their territory has been usurped; their property seized; their numbers diminished; their character debased; the spread of civilization impeded. European vices and diseases have been introduced amongst them, and they have been familiarized with the use of our most potent instruments for the

subtle or the violent destruction of human life, viz. brandy and gunpowder.

It will be only too easy to make out the proof of all these assertions, which may be established solely by the evidence above referred to. It will be easy also to show that the result to ourselves has been as contrary to our interest as to our duty; that our system has not only incurred a vast load of crime, but a vast expenditure of money and amount of loss.

On the other hand, we trust it will not be difficult to show by inference, and even to prove, by the results of some few experiments of an opposite course of conduct, that, setting aside all considerations of duty, a line of policy, more friendly and just towards the natives, would materially contribute to promote the civil and commercial interests of Great Britain.

It is difficult to form an estimate of the population of the less civilized nations, liable to be influenced for good or for evil, by contact and intercourse with the more civilized nations of the earth. It would appear that the barbarous regions likely to be more immediately affected by the policy of Great Britain, are the south and the west of Africa, Australia, the islands in the Pacific Ocean, a very extensive district of South America at the back of our Essequibo settlement, between the rivers Orinoco and Amazon, with the immense tract which constitutes the most northerly part of the American continent, and stretches from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean.

These are countries in which we have either planted colonies, or which we frequent for the purposes of traffic, and it is our business to inquire on what principles we have conducted our intercourse.

It might be presumed that the native inhabitants of any land have an incontrovertible right to their own soil: a plain and sacred right, however, which seems not to have been understood. Europeans have entered their borders uninvited, and, when there, have not only acted as if they were undoubted lords of the soil, but have punished the natives as aggressors if they have evinced a disposition to live in their own country.

“If they have been found upon their own property, they have been treated as thieves and robbers. They are driven back into the interior as if they were dogs or kangaroos.”

From very large tracts we have, it appears, succeeded in eradicating them; and though from some parts their ejection has not been so apparently violent as from others, it has been equally complete, through our taking possession of their hunting-grounds, whereby we have despoiled them of the means of existence.

## NEWFOUNDLAND.

To take a review of our colonies, beginning with Newfoundland. There, as in other parts of North America, it seems to

have been for a length of time accounted a "meritorious act" to kill an Indian.\*

On our first visit to that country the natives were seen in every part of the coast. We occupied the stations where they used to hunt and fish, thus reducing them to want, while we took no trouble to indemnify them, so that doubtless many of them perished by famine; we also treated them with hostility and cruelty, and "many were slain by our own people as well as by the Micmac Indians," who were allowed to harass them. They must, however, have been recently very numerous, since in one place Captain Buchan found they had "run up fences to the extent of 30 miles," with a variety of ramifications, for the purpose of conducting the deer down to the water, a work which would have required the labour of a multitude of hands.

It does not appear that any measures were taken to open a communication with them before the year 1810, when, by order of Sir J. Duckworth, an attempt was made by Captain Buchan which proved ineffectual. At that time he conceived that their numbers around their chief place of resort, the Great Lake, were reduced to 400 or 500. Under our treatment they continued rapidly to diminish; and it appears probable that the last of the tribe left at large, a man and a woman, were shot by two Englishmen in 1823. Three women had been taken prisoners shortly before, and they died in captivity. In the colony of Newfoundland it may therefore be stated that we have exterminated the natives.†

## NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

The general account of our intercourse with the North American Indians, as distinct from missionary efforts, may be given in the words of a converted Chippeway chief, in a letter to Lord Goderich: "We were once very numerous, and owned all Upper Canada, and lived by hunting and fishing; but the white men, who came to trade with us, taught our fathers to drink the fire waters, which has made our people poor and sick, and has killed many tribes, till we have become very small."‡

It is a curious fact, noticed in the evidence, that some years ago the Indians practised agriculture, and were able to bring

\* Cotton Mather records, that, amongst the early settlers, it was considered a "religious act to kill Indians."

A similar sentiment prevailed amongst the Dutch boors in South Africa with regard to the natives of the country. Mr. Barrow writes, "A farmer thinks he cannot proclaim a more meritorious action than the murder of one of these people. A boor from Graaf Reinet being asked in the secretary's office, a few days before we left town, if the savages were numerous, or troublesome on the road, replied, 'he had only shot four,' with as much composure and indifference as if he had been speaking of four partridges. I myself have heard one of the humane colonists boast of having destroyed, with his own hands, near 300 of these unfortunate wretches."

† See Evidence given by Capt. Buchan.

‡ Papers Abor. Tribes, 1834, p. 135.

corn to our settlements, then suffering from famine ; but we, by driving them back and introducing the fur trade, have rendered them so completely a wandering people that they have very much lost any disposition which they might once have felt to settle. All writers on the Indian race have spoken of them in their native barbarism as a noble people, but those who live among civilized men, upon reservations in our own territory, are now represented as "reduced to a state which resembles that of gipsies in this country." Those who live in villages among the whites "are a very degraded race, and look more like dram-drinkers than people it would be possible to get to do any work."

To enter, however, into a few more particulars. The Indians of New Brunswick are described by Sir H. Douglas, in 1825, as "dwindled in numbers," and in a "wretched condition."

Those of Nova Scotia, the Micmacs (by Sir J. Kempt), as disinclined to settle, and in the habit of bartering their furs, "unhappily, for rum."\*

General Darling's statement as to the Indians of the Canadas, drawn up in 1828, speaks of the interposition of the government being urgently called for in behalf of the helpless individuals whose landed possessions, where they have any assigned to them, are daily plundered by their designing and more enlightened white brethren.†

Of the Algonquins and Nipissings, General Darling writes, "Their situation is becoming alarming, by the rapid settlement and improvement of the lands on the banks of the Ottawa, on which they were placed by government in the year 1763, and which tract they have naturally considered as their own. The result of the present state of things is obvious, and such as can scarcely fail in time to be attended with bloodshed and murder ; for, driven from their own resources, they will naturally trespass on those of other tribes, who are equally jealous of the intrusion of their red brethren as of white men. Complaints on this head are increasing daily, while the threats and admonitions of the officers of the department have been insufficient to control the unruly spirit of the savage, who, driven by the calls of hunger and the feelings of nature towards his offspring, will not be scrupulous in invading the rights of his brethren, as a means of alleviating his misery, when he finds the example in the conduct of his white father's children practised, as he conceives, towards himself."‡

The General also speaks of the "degeneracy" of the Iroquois, and of the degraded condition of most of the other tribes, with the exception of those only who had received christian instruction. Later testimony is to the same effect. The Rev. J. Beecham, Secretary to the Wesleyan Missionary Society, says he has conversed with the Chippeway chief above referred to, on

\* Papers Abor. Tribes, p. 147.

† Ibid. p. 22.

‡ Ibid. p. 24.

the condition of the Indians on the boundary of Upper Canada. That he stated most unequivocally that previously to the introduction of Christianity they were rapidly wasting away; and he believed that, if it had not been for the introduction of Christianity, they would speedily have become extinct. As the causes of this waste of Indian life, he mentioned the decrease of the game, the habit of intoxication, and the European diseases. The small-pox had made great ravages. He adds, "The information which I have derived from this chief has been confirmed by our missionaries stationed in Upper Canada, and who are now employed among the Indian tribes on the borders of that province. My inquiries have led me to believe, that where Christianity has not been introduced among the aboriginal inhabitants of Upper Canada, they are melting away before the advance of the white population. This remark applies to the Six Nations, as they are called, on the Great River, the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Senacas, Cayugas, and Tuscaroras, as well as to all the other tribes on the borders of the province." Of the ulterior tribes, the account given by Mr. King, who accompanied Capt. Back in his late Arctic expedition, is deplorable; he gives it as his opinion, that the Northern Indians have decreased greatly, and "decidedly from contact with the Europeans."

Thus, the Cree Indians, once a powerful tribe, "have now degenerated into a few families, congregated about the European establishments, while some few still retain their ancient rights, and have become partly allies of a tribe of Indians that were once their slaves." He supposes their numbers to have been reduced within 30 or 40 years from 8,000 or 10,000, to 200, or at most 300, and has no doubt of the remnant being extirpated in a short time, if no measures are taken to improve their morals and to cultivate habits of civilisation. It should be observed that this tribe had access to posts not comprehended within the Hudson's Bay Company's prohibition, as to the introduction of spirituous liquors, and that they miserably show the effects of the privilege.

The Copper Indians also, through ill-management, intemperance, and vice, are said to have decreased within the last five years to one-half the number of what they were.

The early quarrels between the Hudson's Bay and the North West Companies, in which the Indians were induced to take a bloody part, furnished them with a ruinous example of the savageness of Christians.\* Mr. Pelly, the chairman of the Hudson's Bay Company, has, however, assured your Committee, that many of the evils caused by the rivalry of the two companies have been removed by their junction, and that the present directors are well disposed to promote the welfare of the Indians: yet we observe, that the witness above quoted, Mr. King, who has

\* See Papers relating to Red River Settlement, 1815, 1819: especially Mr. Coltman's Report, pp. 115, 125.

travelled in the country, is of opinion, that even our system of peaceable trade has a tendency to become injurious to these people, by encouraging them in improvident habits, which frequently bring large parties of them to utter destitution and to death by starvation.

But whatever may be the actual condition of the Indians at the present moment, on which subject there appears to be some diversity of testimony, we entirely concur in the wisdom, the humanity, and the right feeling which dictated the following paragraph:—

It appears to me that the course which has hitherto been taken in dealing with these people has had reference to the advantages which might be derived from their friendship in times of war, rather than to any settled purpose of gradually reclaiming them from a state of barbarism, and of introducing amongst them the industrious and peaceful habits of civilized life. Under the peculiar circumstances of the times, it may have been originally difficult to pursue a more enlightened course of policy; the system may, perhaps, have been persisted in by the home and colonial governments rather as a matter of routine than upon any well-considered grounds of preference, whilst, on the part of the Indians themselves, there is no doubt that its accordance with their natural propensities and with their long established habits rendered it more acceptable to them than any other, nor is it unlikely that, if on the one hand there existed a disposition in the aboriginal inhabitants to cling to their original habits and mode of life, there was a proneness also in the new occupants of America to regard the natives as an irreclaimable race, and as inconvenient neighbours, whom it was desirable ultimately wholly to remove. Whatever may have been the reasons which have hitherto recommended an adherence to the present system, I am satisfied that it ought not to be persisted in for the future; and that so enlarged a view of the nature of our connexions with the Indian tribes should be taken as may lead to the adoption of proper measures for their future preservation and improvement; whilst, at the same time, the obligations of moral duty and sound policy should not be lost sight of.\*

### SOUTH AMERICA.

In South America, British Guiana occupies a large extent of country between the rivers Orinoco and Amazons, giving access to numbers of tribes of Aborigines who wander over the vast regions of the interior. The Indian population within the colony of Demerara and Essequibo, is derived from four nations, the Caribs, Arawacks, Warrows, and Accaways.

It is acknowledged that they have been diminishing ever since the British came into possession of the colony. In 1831 they were computed at 5,096; and it is stated "it is the opinion of old inhabitants of the colony, and those most competent to judge,

\* Sir G. Murray's Despatch, 25th January, 1830. Papers Abor. Tribes, 1834. No. 617, p. 88.

that a considerable diminution has taken place in the aggregate number of the Indians of late years, and that the diminution, although gradual, has become more sensibly apparent within the last eight or ten years." The diminution is attributed, in some degree, to the increased use of rum amongst them.\*

There are in the colony six gentlemen bearing the title of "Protectors of Indians," whose office it is to superintend the tribes, and under them are placed Post-holders, a principal part of whose business it is to keep the Negroes from resorting to the Indians, and also to attend the distribution of the presents which are given to the latter by the British government, of which, as was noticed with reprehension by Lord Goderich, rum formed a part.

It does not appear† that any thing has been done by government for their moral or religious improvement, excepting the grant in 1831, by Sir B. D'Urban, of a piece of land at Point Bartica, where a small establishment was then founded by the Church Missionary Society. The Moravian Mission on the Courantin was given up in 1817; and it does not appear that any other Protestant Society has attended to these Indians.

In 1831 Lord Goderich writes,‡ "I have not heard of any effort to convert the Indians of British Guiana to Christianity, or to impart to them the arts of social life."

It should be observed that no injunctions to communicate either are given in the instructions for the "Protectors of Indians," or in those for the Post-holders; and two of the articles of the latter, (Art. 14 and Art. 15,) tend directly to sanction and encourage immorality. All reports agree in stating that these tribes have been almost wholly neglected, are retrograding, and are without provision for their moral or civil advancement; and with due allowance for the extenuating remarks on the poor account to which they turned their lands, when they had them, and the gifts (baneful gifts some of them) which have been distributed, and on the advantage of living under British laws, we must still concur in the sentiment of Lord Goderich, as expressed in the same letter, upon a reference as to sentence of death passed upon a native Indian for the murder of another. "It is a serious consideration that we have subjected these tribes to the penalties of a code of which they unavoidably live in profound ignorance; they have not even that conjectural knowledge of its provisions which would be suggested by the precepts of religion, if they had even received the most elementary instruction in the christian faith. They are brought into acquaintance with civilized life not to partake its blessings, but only to feel the severity of its penal sanctions.

"A debt is due to the aboriginal inhabitants of British Guiana

\* Letter from Jas. Hackett, Esq., Civil Commissioner, to Sir B. D'Urban. *Papers Abor. Tribes*, 1834, pp. 194 and 198.

† *Papers Abor. Tribes*, pp. 183, 193.

‡ *Papers*, p. 182.

of a very different kind from that which the inhabitants of Christendom may, in a certain sense, be said to owe in general to other barbarous tribes. The whole territory which has been occupied by Europeans, on the Northern shores of the South American Continent, has been acquired by no other right than that of superior power; and I fear that the natives whom we have dispossessed, have to this day received no compensation for the loss of the lands on which they formerly subsisted. However urgent is the duty of economy in every branch of the public service, it is impossible to withhold from the natives of the country the inestimable benefit which they would derive from appropriating to their religious and moral instruction some moderate part of that income which results from the culture of the soil to which they or their fathers had an indisputable title.\*

### CARIBS.

Of the Caribs, the native inhabitants of the West Indies, we need not speak, as of them little more remains than the tradition that they once existed.

### NEW HOLLAND.

The inhabitants of New Holland, in their original condition, have been described by travellers as the most degraded of the human race; but it is to be feared that intercourse with Europeans has cast over their original debasement a yet deeper shade of wretchedness.

These people, unoffending as they were towards us, have, as might have been expected, suffered in an aggravated degree from the planting amongst them of our penal settlements. In the formation of these settlements it does not appear that the territorial rights of the natives were considered, and very little care has since been taken to protect them from the violence or the contamination of the dregs of our countrymen.

The effects have consequently been dreadful beyond example, both in the diminution of their numbers and in their demoralization.

Many deeds of murder and violence have undoubtedly been committed by the stock-keepers (convicts in the employ of farmers in the outskirts of the colony), by the cedar cutters, and by other remote free settlers, and many natives have perished by the various military parties sent against them; but it is not to violence only that their decrease is ascribed. This is the evidence given by Bishop Broughton: "They do not so much retire as decay; wherever Europeans meet with them they appear to wear out, and gradually to decay: they diminish in numbers; they appear actually to vanish from the face of the earth. I am led to appre-

hend that within a very limited period, a few years," (adds the Bishop), "those who are most in contact with Europeans will be utterly extinct—I will not say exterminated—but they will be extinct."

As to their moral condition, the bishop says of the natives around Sydney, "They are in a state which I consider one of extreme degradation and ignorance; they are, in fact, in a situation much inferior to what I supposed them to have been before they had any communication with Europe." And again, in his charge, "It is an awful, it is even an appalling consideration, that, after an intercourse of nearly half a century with a christian people, these hapless human beings continue to this day in their original benighted and degraded state. I may even proceed farther, so far as to express my fears that our settlement in their country has even deteriorated a condition of existence, than which, before our interference, nothing more miserable could easily be conceived. While, as the contagion of European intercourse has extended itself among them, they gradually lose the better properties of their own character, they appear in exchange to acquire none but the most objectionable and degrading of ours."

The natives about Sydney and Paramatta are represented as in a state of wretchedness still more deplorable than those resident in the interior.

"Those in the vicinity of Sydney are so completely changed, they scarcely have the same pursuits now; they go about the streets begging their bread, and begging for clothing and rum. From the diseases introduced among them, the tribes in immediate connexion with those large towns almost became extinct; not more than two or three remained, when I was last in New South Wales, of tribes which formerly consisted of 200 or 300."

Dr. Lang, the minister of the Scotch church, writes, "From the prevalence of infanticide, from intemperance, and from European diseases, their number is evidently and rapidly diminishing in all the older settlements of the colony, and in the neighbourhood of Sydney especially, they present merely the shadow of what were once numerous tribes." Yet even now "he thinks their number within the limits of the colony of New South Wales cannot be less than 10,000: an indication of what must once have been the population, and what the destruction. It is only," Dr. Lang observes, "through the influence of Christianity, brought to bear upon the natives by the zealous exertions of devoted missionaries, that the progress of extinction can be checked."

The case of these people has not been wholly overlooked at home. In 1825 his Majesty issued instructions to the governor to the effect that they should be protected in the enjoyment of their possessions, preserved from violence and injustice, and that measures should be taken for their conversion to the christian faith, and their advancement in civilisation. An allowance has been made to the Church Missionary Society in their behalf, and

efforts for their amelioration have been made, and attended with some degree of utility; but much as we rejoice in this act of justice, we still must express our conviction that if we are ever able to make atonement to the remnant of this people, it will require no slight attention, and no ordinary sacrifices on our part to compensate the evil association which we have inflicted; but even hopelessness of making reparation for what is past would not in any way lessen our obligation to stop, as far as in us lies, the continuance of iniquity. "The evil," said Mr. Coates, "resulting from immoral intercourse between the Europeans and the Aborigines, is so enormous that it appears to my mind a moral obligation on the local government to take any practicable measures in order to put an end to it."

In this opinion the Committee entirely concur.

A new colony is about to be established in South Australia, and it deserves\* to be placed upon record, that parliament, as lately as August 1834, passed an act disposing of the lands of this country without once adverting to the native population. With this remarkable exception, we have had satisfaction in observing the preliminary measures for the formation of this settlement, which appears, if we may judge from the Report of the Colonial Commissioners, likely to be undertaken in a better spirit than any such enterprises that have come before our notice. The commissioners acknowledge that it is "a melancholy fact, which admits of no dispute, and which cannot be too deeply deplored, that the native tribes of Australia have hitherto been exposed to injustice and cruelty in their intercourse with Europeans;" and they lay down certain regulations to remedy these evils in the proposed settlement.\*

On the western coast of Australia collisions have not unfrequently taken place between the colonists and the natives, on the subject of which we may adopt the just language of Lord Glenelg: "It is impossible to regard such conflicts without regret and anxiety, when we recollect how fatal, in too many instances, our colonial settlements have proved to the natives of the places where they have been formed; and this too by a series of conflicts, in every one of which it has been asserted, and apparently with justice, that the immediate aggression has not been on our side. The real causes of these hostilities are to be found in a course of petty encroachments and acts of injustice committed by the new settlers, at first submitted to by the natives, and not

\* Had such a course of conciliation been followed in the establishing of the colony at Raffles Bay, on the northern shore of Australia, it is probable that the "hostility of the natives" would never have been among the reasons for the abandonment of that settlement. It is said, that on the trifling offence of the theft of an axe, the sentinels were ordered to fire at the natives whenever they approached. Captain Barker, in command when the order came for the abandonment of the settlement, had pursued a different course, and had won their confidence; and, it is said, that, far from being such "untameable savages as originally represented, they proved themselves to be a mild and merciful race of people."—See Wilson's Voyage. Google

sufficiently checked in the outset by the leaders of the colonists. Hence has been generated in the minds of the injured party a deadly spirit of hatred and vengeance, which breaks out at length into deeds of atrocity, which, in their turn, make retaliation a necessary part of self-defence."\*

It is true, that to remain passive under actual outrages, would encourage savages in their perpetration, but we regret that in any instance, punishment, which appears disproportionate, should have been inflicted. We find the natives on the Murray River mentioned as amongst the most troublesome in this quarter; and in the summer of the year 1834 they murdered a British soldier, having in the course of the previous five years killed three other persons. In the month of October 1834 Sir James Stirling, the governor, proceeded with a party of horse to the Murray River, in search of the tribe in question. On coming up with them, it appears that the British horse charged this tribe without any parley, and killed fifteen of them, not, as it seems, confining their vengeance to the actual murderers. After the rout, the women who had been taken prisoners were dismissed, having been informed, "that the punishment had been inflicted because of the misconduct of the tribe; that the white men never forget to punish murder; that on this occasion the women and children had been spared; but if any other person should be killed by them, not one would be allowed to remain on this side of the mountains."†

However needful it may be to overawe the natives from committing acts of treachery, we cannot understand the principle of such indiscriminate punishment, nor approve of threats extending to the destruction of women and children. "It would also be satisfactory," as Lord Glenelg has observed, "to know that there had been no previous misconduct, or act of harshness or injustice, which had originally provoked the enmity of the natives."

We are, however, happy to learn that, in his general policy, Sir James Stirling has pursued conciliatory measures towards the neighbouring tribes, and that measures are in progress for effecting their civilisation.

## VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.

The natives of Van Diemen's Land, first, it appears, provoked by the British colonists, whose early atrocities, and whose robberies of their wives and children, excited a spirit of indiscriminate vengeance,‡ became so dangerous, though diminished to a very small number; that their remaining in their own country was deemed incompatible with the safety of the settlement.

\* Despatch from Lord Glenelg to Governor Sir J. Stirling, 23d July, 1835.

† Despatch of Sir J. Stirling to Mr. Secretary Stanley, 1st November, 1834.

‡ Report of the Aborigines Committee, Van Diemen's Land, 1830. Parl. Papers, No. 259, p. 36.

In their case, it must be remembered, the strongest desire was felt by the government at home, and responded to by the local governor, to protect and conciliate them; and yet, such was the unfortunate nature of our policy, and the circumstances into which it had brought us, that no better expedient could be devised than the catching and expatriating of the whole of the native population. There is no doubt that the outrages of the Aborigines were fearful; but while the local "Aborigines Committee," in 1831, who recommended the removal, speak of the "forbearance" exercised both by the government and the greater part of the community, they state that there is the "strongest feeling amongst the settlers that so long as the natives have only land to traverse, so long will life and every thing valuable to them be kept in a state of jeopardy;" and they intimate their fear that if the measure recommended be not adopted, "the result will be that the whites will individually, or in small bodies, take violent steps against the Aborigines, a proceeding which they cannot contemplate the possibility of without horror; but which, they do believe, has many supporters in this colony:" they therefore urge the removal under the "persuasion that such a measure alone will have the effect of preventing the calamities which his Majesty's subjects have for so long a period suffered, and of preventing the entire destruction of the Aborigines themselves."\*

The governor Colonel Arthur's words on the subject are these: "Undoubtedly the being reduced to the necessity of driving a simple, but warlike, and, as it now appears, noble-minded race from their native hunting-grounds, is a measure in itself so distressing, that I am willing to make almost any prudent sacrifice that may tend to compensate for the injuries that the government is unwillingly and unavoidably made the instrument of inflicting."†

The removal accordingly proceeded under the management of Mr. Robinson (which is described by Colonel Arthur as able and humane); and in September 1834 it was so nearly effected, that the governor writes thus: "The whole of the aboriginal inhabitants of Van Diemen's Land (excepting four persons) are now domiciliated, with their own consent, on Flinder's Island."

From still later reports it appears that not a single native now remains upon Van Diemen's Land. Thus, nearly, has the event been accomplished which was thus predicted and deprecated by Sir G. Murray:—

The great decrease which has of late years taken place in the amount of the aboriginal population, render it not unreasonable to apprehend that the whole race of these people may, at no distant period, become extinct. But with whatever feelings such an event may be looked forward to by those of the settlers who have been sufferers by the collisions

\* Papers Abor. Tribes, p. 159.

† Despatch to Lord Goderich, 6th April, 1833. Papers, 1834.

which have taken place, it is impossible not to contemplate such a result of our occupation of the island as one very difficult to be reconciled with feelings of humanity, or even with principles of justice and sound policy; and the adoption of any line of conduct, having for its avowed or secret object the extinction of the native race, could not fail to leave an indelible stain upon the British government.\*

## ISLANDS IN THE PACIFIC.

We next turn our view to those islands in the Pacific Ocean to which we resort for purposes of traffic, without having planted colonies upon them; and again we must repeat our belief that our penal colonies have been the inlet of incalculable mischief to this whole quarter of the world. It will be hard, we think, to find compensation not only to Australia, but to New Zealand and to the innumerable islands of the South Seas, for the murders, the misery, the contamination which we have brought upon them. Our runaway convicts are the pests of savage as well as of civilized society; so are our runaway sailors; and the crews of our whaling vessels, and of the traders from New South Wales, too frequently act in the most reckless and immoral manner when at a distance from the restraints of justice: in proof of this we need only refer to the evidence of the missionaries.

It is stated that there have been not less than 150 or 200 runaways at once on the island of New Zealand, counteracting all that was done for the moral improvement of the people, and teaching them every vice.

"I beg leave to add," remarks Mr. Ellis, "the desirableness of preventing, by every practicable means, the introduction of ardent spirits among the inhabitants of the countries we may visit or colonize. There is nothing more injurious to the South Sea islanders than seamen who have absconded from ships, setting up huts for the retail of ardent spirits, called grog-shops, which are the resort of the indolent and vicious of the crews of the vessels, and in which, under the influence of intoxication, scenes of immorality, and even murder, have been exhibited, almost beyond what the natives witnessed among themselves while they were heathens. The demoralization and impediments to the civilization and prosperity of the people that have resulted from the activity of foreign traders in ardent spirits, have been painful in the extreme. In one year it is estimated that the sum of 12,000 dollars was expended, in Tahaité alone, chiefly by the natives, for ardent spirits."

The lawless conduct of the crews of vessels must necessarily have an injurious effect on our trade, and on that ground alone demands investigation. In the month of April 1834, Mr. Busby

\* Despatch, 5th November, 1830. Papers on Van Diemen's Land, 1831, No. 259, p. 56.

states there were twenty-nine vessels at one time in the Bay of Islands, and that seldom a day passed without some complaint being made to him of the most outrageous conduct on the part of their crews, which he had not the means of repressing, since these reckless seamen totally disregarded the usages of their own country, and the unsupported authority of the British resident.\*

Till lately the tattooed heads of New Zealanders were sold at Sydney as objects of curiosity; and Mr. Yate says he has known people give property to a chief for the purpose of getting them to kill their slaves, that they might have some heads to take to New South Wales.

This degrading traffic was prohibited by General Darling, the governor, upon the following occasion:—In a representation made to Governor Darling, the Rev. Mr. Marsden states, that the captain of an English vessel being, as he conceived, insulted by some native women, set one tribe upon another to avenge his quarrel, and supplied them with arms and ammunition to fight. The natives were thus involved in a war, through the recklessness of a foreigner; for, as they alleged, it was not their own quarrel, and they wished to know what satisfaction the English would give them for the lives which had been taken. When, however, Mr. Marsden proposed writing to England to prevent the return of the obnoxious captain, they requested he would by no means do so, as they wished he might return, and then they would take satisfaction themselves.

In the prosecution of the war thus excited, a party of forty-one Bay of Islanders made an expedition against some tribes of the south. Forty of the former were cut off, and a few weeks after the slaughter, a Captain Jack went and purchased thirteen chiefs' heads, and bringing them back to the Bay of Islands, emptied them out of a sack in the presence of their relations. The New Zealanders were, very properly, so much enraged that they told this captain they should take possession of the ship, and put the laws of their country into execution. When he found that they were in earnest, he cut his cable and left the harbour, and afterwards had a narrow escape from them at Taununga. He afterwards reached Sydney, and it came to the knowledge of the governor, that he brought theré ten of these heads for sale, on which discovery the practice was declared unlawful. Mr. Yate mentions an instance of a captain going 300 miles from the Bay of Islands to East Cape, enticing twenty-five young men, sons of chiefs, on board his vessel, and delivering them to the Bay of Islanders, with whom they were at war, merely to gain the favour of the latter, and to obtain supplies for his vessel. The youths were afterwards redeemed from slavery by the missionaries, and restored to their friends. Mr. Yate once took from the hand of a New Zealand chief a packet of corrosive sublimate, which a captain had given to the savage in order to

\* See also Q. 2937.

enable him to poison his enemies. Mr. Coates, the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, communicated to your Committee a letter from the Rev. S. Marsden to Governor-general Darling, giving the particulars of a most horrid massacre perpetrated by means of the assistance of the master and crew of a British merchant brig. The circumstances were reported as follows to Mr. Marsden, by two New Zealand chiefs, who also made their report to Governor Darling in person:—

In December 1830, a Captain Stewart, of the brig *Elizabeth*, a British vessel, on promise of ten tons of flax, took above 100 New Zealanders concealed in his vessel, down from Kappetee Entry Island, in Cook's Strait, to Takou, or Bank's Peninsula, on the Middle Island, to a tribe with whom they were at war. He then invited and enticed on board the chief of Takou, with his brother and two daughters: "When they came on board, the captain took hold of the chief's hand in a friendly manner, and conducted him and his two daughters into the cabin; showed him the muskets, how they were arranged round the sides of the cabin. When all was prepared for securing the chief, the cabin-door was locked, and the chief was laid hold on, and his hands were tied fast; at the same time a hook, with a cord to it, was struck through the skin of his throat under the side of his jaw, and the line fastened to some part of the cabin: in this state of torture he was kept for some days, until the vessel arrived at Kappetee. One of his children clung fast to her father, and cried aloud. The sailors dragged her from her father, and threw her from him; her head struck against some hard substance, which killed her on the spot." The brother, or nephew, Ahu (one of the narrators), "who had been ordered to the fore-castle, came as far as the capstan and peeped through into the cabin, and saw the chief in the state above mentioned." They also got the chief's wife and two sisters on board, with 100 baskets of flax. All the men and women who came in the chief's canoe were killed. "Several more canoes came off also with flax, and the people were all killed by the natives of Kappetee, who had been concealed on board for the purpose, and the sailors who were on deck, who fired upon them with their muskets." The natives of Kappetee were then sent on shore with some sailors, with orders to kill all the inhabitants they could find; and it was reported that those parties who went on shore murdered many of the natives; none escaped but those who fled into the woods. The chief, his wife and two sisters were killed when the vessel arrived at Kappetee, and other circumstances yet more revolting are added.

Governor Darling forwarded to Lord Goderich the account of this dreadful affair, together with the depositions of two seamen of the brig *Elizabeth*, and those of J. B. Montefiore, Esq. and A. Kennis, Esq., merchants of Sydney, who had embarked on board the *Elizabeth* on its return to Entry Island, and had there

learned the particulars of the case, had seen the captive chief sent on shore, and had been informed that he was sacrificed. Their depositions tally in all important points with the story of the New Zealanders; and General Darling remarks thereupon: "The sanguinary proceedings of the savages could only be equalled by the atrocious conduct of Captain Stewart and his crew. Rauparalia" (the aggressor chief) "may, according to his notions, have supposed that he had sufficient cause for acting as he did. Captain Stewart became instrumental to the massacre (which could not have taken place but for his agency) in order to obtain a supply of flax."\*

General Darling referred the case to the crown solicitor, with directions to bring the offenders to justice, but through some unexplained legal difficulty, this was never effected. Captain Stewart was indeed held to bail, but the other parties implicated, and the sailors who might have been witnesses, were suffered to leave the country. Thus, then, we have seen that an atrocious crime, involving the murder of many individuals, has been perpetrated through the instrumentality of a British subject, and that yet neither he nor any of his accomplices have suffered any punishment. Whether this impunity has arisen from defect in the law, or from inability to carry the law into execution, does not so clearly appear; but in either case it is incumbent upon this nation to provide against the repetition of outrages so destructive to the natives and so discreditable to the British name. We cannot conclude this melancholy detail without quoting the expressions of indignation with which this and other atrocities committed in New Zealand are spoken of by the then Secretary-of-State for our Colonies, Lord Goderich:—

It is impossible to read, without shame and indignation, the details which these documents disclose. The unfortunate natives of New Zealand, unless some decisive measures of prevention be adopted, will, I fear, be shortly added to the number of those barbarous tribes who, in different parts of the globe, have fallen a sacrifice to their intercourse with civilized men, who bear and disgrace the name of Christians. When, for mercenary purposes, the natives of Europe minister to the passions by which these savages are inflamed against each other, and introduce them to the knowledge of depraved acts and licentious gratifications of the most debased inhabitants of our great cities, the inevitable consequence is a rapid decline of population, preceded by every variety of suffering. Considering what is the character of a large part of the population of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, what opportunities of settling themselves in New Zealand are afforded them by the extensive intercourse which has recently been established, adverting also to the conduct which has been pursued in those islands by the masters and crews of British vessels, and finding from the letter of the Rev. Mr. Williams, that the work of depopulation is already proceeding fast, I cannot contemplate the too probable results without

\* Governor Darling's Despatch to Lord Goderich, 13th April, 1831.

the deepest anxiety. There can be no more sacred duty than that of using every possible method to rescue the natives of those extensive islands from the further evils which impend over them, and to deliver our own country from the disgrace and crime of having either occasioned or tolerated such enormities.\*

In connexion with this subject we cannot forbear noticing the inequality of the measure of justice which appears to be dealt out to the European and the native by our Australian courts. This is especially noticed by the late Attorney-General of New South Wales; and when we find that within the precincts of our chief settlement it is yet a subject of recommendation that coroners should be required to sit on the bodies of Aborigines, whenever there "might be any reason to suppose that British subjects had been in any way accessory to their deaths,"† we cannot be surprised that the enactors of savage deeds on shores remote from all abodes of civilized men find it easy to evade their due consequences.

A witness states that he has known of several murders committed by European crews upon the beach at Kororeka and other parts; but with the disclosure of these fearful facts, he still grounds his chief complaint against our sailors, not on their cruelty, which he does not consider general, but on the highly demoralizing effect of their manners.

There are indeed honourable exceptions: "There are some," says Mr. Williams, "who are in the habit of visiting us twice or thrice a year, whose conduct is very praiseworthy;" but we fear that evil greatly predominates in the merchant service; and so highly do some of our sailors resist the interference of christian missionaries, that they have been known to threaten their lives for venturing to interpose a check on their iniquitous proceedings. Thus it is stated, that in 1825, nearly forty seamen belonging to the *Daniel*, Captain Buckle, a large whaler from London, exasperated at the restraints laid on their licentiousness, went on shore at Lahaina, the port of Maui, one of the Sandwich Islands, armed, and with the black flag flying, and attacked the house of Mr. and Mrs. Richards, American missionaries; and appear to have been prevented from murdering them only by the promptitude and decision of the natives in coming to their defence. It is stated that the chiefs were obliged to keep a strong guard around the house for three successive days, to protect their missionary from the murderous assaults of christian seamen.

The conduct of the commanders and crews of our ships of war, both here and elsewhere, is stated to be such in general as to do credit to their nation. The savages in some parts of Australia are so aware of the distinction between them and the whalers, that they will flee on the approach of a small vessel, while

\* Despatch of Lord Goderich to Major-General Bourke, 31st January, 1832.

† Backhouse, p. 681.

they hail with joy that of a large one. We think, however, that there is reason to regret some of the circumstances attendant upon a recent naval expedition against New Zealand; the facts are thus stated:\*

In April, 1834, the barque *Harriet*, J. Guard, master, was wrecked at Cape Egmont, on the coast of New Zealand. The natives came down to plunder, but refrained from other violence for about ten days, in which interval two of Guard's men deserted to the savages. They then got into a fray with the sailors, and killed twelve of them: on the part of the New Zealanders twenty or thirty were shot. The savages got possession of Mrs. Guard and her two children. Mr. Guard and the remainder were suffered to retreat, but surrendered themselves to another tribe whom they met, and who finally allowed the captain to depart, on his promising to return, and to bring back with him a ransom in powder; and they retained nine seamen as hostages. Three native chiefs accompanied Guard to Sydney. Captain Guard had been trading with the New Zealanders from the year 1823, and it was reported that his dealings with them had, in some instances, been marked with cruelty. On Mr. Guard's representation to the government at Sydney, the *Alligator* frigate, Captain Lambert, and the schooner *Isabella*, with a company of the 50th regiment, were sent to New Zealand for the recovery of Mrs. Guard and the other captives, with instructions, if practicable, to obtain the restoration of the captives by amicable means. On arriving at the coast near Cape Egmont, Captain Lambert steered for a fortified village or pah, called the Nummo, where Mrs. Guard was known to be detained. He sent two interpreters on shore, who made promises of payment (though against Captain Lambert's order) to the natives, and held out also a prospect of trade in whalebone, on the condition that the women and children should be restored. The interpreter could not, from stress of weather, be received on board for some days. The vessel proceeded to the tribe which held the men in captivity, and they were at once given up on the landing of the chiefs whom Captain Lambert had brought back from Sydney. Captain Lambert returned to the tribe at the Nummo, with whom he had communicated through the interpreter, and sent many messages to endeavour to persuade them to give up the woman and one child (the other was held by a third tribe), but without offering ransom. On the 28th September the military were landed, and two unarmed and unattended natives advanced along the sands. One announced himself as the chief who retained the woman and child, and rubbed noses with Guard in token of amity, expressing his readiness to give them up on the receipt of the promised "payment." "In reply," as Mr. Marshall, assistant-surgeon of the *Alligator*, who witnessed the scene, states, "he was instantly seized upon

as a prisoner of war" (by order of Captain Johnson, commanding the detachment), "dragged into the whale-boat, and dispatched on board the *Alligator*, in custody of John Guard and his sailors. On his brief passage to the boat, insult followed insult; one fellow twisting his ear by means of a small swivel which hung from it, and another pulling his long hair with spiteful violence; a third pricking him with the point of a bayonet. Thrown to the bottom of the boat, she was shoved off before he recovered himself, which he had no sooner succeeded in doing than he jumped overboard, and attempted to swim on shore, to prevent which he was repeatedly fired upon from the boat; but not until he had been shot in the calf of the leg was he again made a prisoner of. Having been a second time secured, he was lashed to a thwart, and stabbed and struck so repeatedly, that, on reaching the *Alligator*, he was only able to gain the deck by a strong effort, and there, after staggering a few paces aft, fainted and fell down at the foot of the capstan in a gore of blood. When I dressed his wounds, on a subsequent occasion, I found ten inflicted by the point and edge of the bayonet over his head and face, one in his left breast, which it was at first feared would prove, what it was evidently intended to have proved, a mortal thrust, and another in the leg."

Captain Lambert, who did not himself see the seizure, admits that the chief was unarmed when he came down to the shore, and that he "certainly was severely wounded: he had a ball through the calf of his leg, and he had been struck violently on the head."

Captain Johnson proceeded to the pah or fortified village, found it deserted, and burnt it the next morning. On the 30th September Mrs. Guard and one child were given up, and the wounded chief thereupon was very properly sent on shore, without waiting for the delivery of the other child; but "in the evening of the same day," Captain Lambert states, "I again sent Lieutenant Thomas to ask for the child, whose patience and firmness during the whole of the negotiations, notwithstanding the insults that were offered to him, merit the greatest praise. He shortly after returned on board, having been fired at from one of the pabs while waiting outside the surf. Such treachery could not be borne, and I immediately commenced firing at them from the ship; a reef of rocks, which extend some distance from the shore, I regret, prevented my getting as near them as I could have wished. Several shots fell into the pabs, and also destroyed their canoes."\*

Oct. 8. After some fruitless negotiation, all the soldiers and several seamen were landed, making a party of 112 men, and were stationed on two terraces of the cliff, one above the other, with a six-pounder carronade, while the interpreter and sailors

were left below to wait for the boy. The New Zealanders approached at first with distrust; but at length a fine tall man came forward, and assured Mr. Marshall that the child should be immediately forthcoming, and also forbade our fighting, alleging, that "his tribe had no wish to fight at all." Soon afterwards the boy was brought down on the shoulders of a chief, who expressed to Lieutenant M'Murdo his desire to go on board for the purpose of receiving a ransom:—

On being told that none would be given, he turned away, when one of the sailors seized hold of the child, and discovered it was fastened with a strap or cord; to use his own expression, he had recourse to cutting away, and the child fell upon the beach. Another seaman, thinking the chief would make his escape, levelled his firelock, and shot him dead. The troops hearing the report of the musket, and thinking it was fired by the natives, immediately opened a fire from the top of the cliff upon them, who made a precipitate retreat to the pahs. The child being now in our possession, I made a signal to the ships for the boats, intending to re-embark the troops; but the weather becoming thick, and a shift of wind obliging the vessels to stand out to sea, and, at the same time, finding myself attacked by the natives, who were concealed in the high flax, I found my only alternative was to advance on the pahs. I therefore ordered Lieutenant Gunton with 30 men to the front, in skirmishing order, for the purpose of driving the natives from the high flax from which they were firing: this was done, and, as I have reason to think, with considerable loss on the part of the natives.\*

The body of the chief is said to have been mutilated, and the head cut off by a soldier, and kicked about. It was identified by means of a brooch, which Mrs. Guard said belonged to the chief, who had adopted and protected her son. It is scarcely necessary to add, that this wanton act met with the reprobation it deserved from Captain Lambert and his officers.

Captain Lambert states, that he should think there were between 20 and 30 of the natives wounded (and this, be it observed, after the child was recovered), but it was not ascertained. "The English went straight forward to attack the pahs, and they had no communication with the natives after." The troops immediately took possession of the two villages; and on quitting them, three days afterwards, burnt them to the ground.

In adverting to this transaction, it is necessary to bear in mind that we are furnished with the report made by one party only. If we could hear both sides, it is not improbable that further circumstances might be disclosed, which might alter the whole complexion of the case, or, at least, afford an explanation and an apology for the conduct of the natives. Limiting ourselves, however, to the narrative of the Europeans, and assuming

\* Captain Johnson's Report to the Governor of New South Wales. Parl. Papers, 1835. No. 583, p. 10.

no facts but such as they disclose, let us see how much blame attaches to each party.

A fray, in the first instance, took place between the Europeans and natives, in which 12 of the former, and 20 or 30 of the latter, perished.

From the examination of Captain Guard, it would appear that the natives were the aggressors. The Committee, however, receive his testimony with some hesitation, as they find this paragraph in the dissent of the colonial treasurer, C. D. Riddell, Esq., on the subject of this expedition :—"The council has had no evidence before them of the character of Mr. Guard. The colonial treasurer has been casually informed that he was formerly a convict, and that his dealings with the New Zealanders have in some instances been marked with cruelty."\*

Mr. Marshall being asked what was the character Captain Guard bore in the *Alligator*, says:—"In the estimation of the officers, the general sentiment was one of dislike and disgust at his conduct on board, and his conduct on shore." He has himself heard him say, that a musket-ball for every New Zealander was the best mode of civilizing the country.

Captain Lambert also declares that Guard suggested several things that he thought very improper; that he "was anxious that we should commence firing on the pahs; that we should land immediately, and not treat with them;" and that he did certainly hear of his having spoken in a very exasperated manner against the natives, and having no sort of kind feeling towards them. Further, on Captain Lambert's being asked, "Was Captain Guard a man upon whose unsupported testimony you would feel justified in commencing an attack upon the natives?" his answer was, "Certainly not, unless there was an object in view, which I saw." From these circumstances, and from the testimony of missionaries, that in cases of conflict, the cause, when completely sifted, has been always traceable to the Europeans, it appears to the Committee, that the unsupported testimony of Guard is hardly sufficient to warrant us in throwing the whole blame of the encounter on the natives; more especially, as there is this degree of contradiction between Guard's original narrative and his subsequent statement. In the former, he expresses his conviction that the natives, prior to the conflict, intended to kill him and his men, and to eat their bodies. In the latter, though the natives had been further exasperated by the loss of 20 or 30 of their tribe, "he expresses no dread for the safety of his wife and family, nor of the men left in bondage to the Mataroa tribe; and was quite confident that a pound of powder, and a blanket or two, would be considered as a sufficient ransom for each of them: something more, perhaps, would be required for his wife and children.†

\* Parl. Papers, 585, p. 5.

† Parl. Papers, 1835. No. 585, p. 5.

It appears to your Committee, that prior to proceeding to violence, it would have been prudent to have courted further communication with the natives, and to have heard their version of the events which had taken place. Nor can they conclude that the natives were entirely the aggressors when such inquiries do not appear to have taken place.

In another stage of the transaction an event occurred which created a suspicion of treachery.

Lieutenant Thomas landed on the 30th of September; a single musket was fired, and the ball passed over his head; but whether this was the act of the tribe, or only of an individual,—whether it was by accident or design, and whether it was intended to destroy that officer, or was merely a customary and peaceful salutation, as there is some reason to suppose, is not known, nor was inquiry made.

To your Committee it does not appear probable that the natives should have abstained from slaughter while their victims were in their power, and should resort to violence when they had surrendered all but one of their prisoners.

These two acts, however, constitute the whole that has been alleged against the natives.

On the other hand it is necessary, for the sake of justice, and for the sake of those traders who may be placed in the power of the natives, to inquire in what light the conduct of the Europeans appeared to them.

It is acknowledged that the agent sent from the frigate did promise ransom; he did so in contravention of his orders, but of this the natives could have no knowledge.

When the chief went down to the crew of the boat, unarmed and unattended; when he exchanged with Guard the usual token of peace, and when they saw him, instead of receiving the promised ransom, seized, dragged to the boat, exposed to violence and a species of torture, and finally shot at and wounded,—it was natural for them to suppose that they had been treacherously dealt with, and this was their construction. This impression may have been confirmed by the burning of their fortification. Again, on the afternoon of the same day on which Mrs. Guard and her children had been restored, their town was cannonaded, and their canoes destroyed by the fire of the vessel. Again, some days after, they see a large body of soldiers landed on their beach: the natives, it appears, declared at once that they did not wish to fight, and that the child would be forthcoming. Soon after the child appeared on the shoulders of a chief, who had, as it seems from Mrs. Guard's declaration, been his protector; they see the child snatched from him, the chief slain, his body mutilated, and a destructive fire poured upon them from musketry and cannon; and finally, after three days had passed, when the conflict had not been renewed, and when every prisoner had been restored uninjured, they saw two  
their villages committed to the flames.

The impression left with that tribe of savages must have been one of extreme dread of our power, accompanied with one of deep indignation. The Committee cannot refrain from expressing their regret at this transaction; because it occasioned a great sacrifice of life; because it may be fatal to many innocent persons; and because it seems calculated to obstruct those measures of benevolence which the legislature designs to native and barbarous tribes.

It appears to your Committee that these evils might have been avoided if further efforts for negotiation had been made in the first instance.

The missionaries, as we have seen, speak in general of the presence of the navy at their stations as beneficial; "the visits of ships of war have done a great deal of good among us: Captain Waldegrave, Lord Byron, and various others;" whilst they experience great annoyance from the undisciplined crews of merchantmen.

The Rev. J. Williams, missionary in the Society Islands, states, "that it is the common sailors, and the lowest order of them, the very vilest of the whole, who will leave their ship and go to live amongst the savages, and take with them all their low habits and all their vices." The captains of merchant vessels are apt to connive at the absconding of such worthless sailors, and the atrocities perpetrated by them are excessive; they do incalculable mischief by circulating reports injurious to the interests of trade. On an island between the Navigator's and the Friendly group, he heard there were on one occasion 100 sailors who had run away from shipping. Mr. Williams gives an account of a gang of convicts who stole a small vessel from New South Wales, and came to Raiatia, one of the Sandwich Islands, where he resided, representing themselves as shipwrecked mariners. Mr. Williams suspected them, and told them he should inform the governor, Sir T. Brisbane, of their arrival, on which they went away to an island 20 miles off, and were received with every kindness in the house of the chief. They took an opportunity of stealing a boat belonging to the missionary of the station, and made off again. The natives immediately pursued, and desired them to return their missionary's boat. Instead of replying, they discharged a blunderbuss that was loaded with cooper's rivets, which blew the head of one man to pieces; they then killed two more, and a fourth received the contents of a blunderbuss in his hand, fell from exhaustion amongst his mutilated companions, and was left as dead. This man, and a boy who had saved himself by diving, returned to their island. "The natives were very respectable persons; and had it not been that we were established in the estimation of the people, our lives would have been sacrificed. The convicts then went in the boat down to the Navigator's Islands, and there entered with savage ferocity into the wars of the savages." One

of these men was the most savage monster that ever I heard of: he boasted of having killed 300 natives with his own hands." Had Mr. Williams been invested with authority, he could have confined these men on their arrival, and prevented their further crimes.

The Rev. J. Thomas, Wesleyan missionary at the Friendly Islands, makes this report to his society from Tongataboo, December 1832:—

I wish to make a few remarks on a painful subject, viz., the ill conduct of masters of vessels and their crews at these islands. We have long been grieved to hear of the wickedness committed by our own countrymen who visit the Friendly Islands. It has spread its deadly influence far and wide, and presents an obstacle of no trifling importance to the extension of the gospel at many parts of this island, and is a constant stumbling-block to the infant church of Christ at this place. From what we have lately witnessed, we find that the evil complained of is increasing upon us, and the consequences have been most afflicting. I do not hesitate to say that 18 out of 20 of the accidents which have happened at these islands have taken place through the depraved and wicked conduct of the crews, as they drink to excess, quarrel and fight among themselves, and insult and ill-treat the natives, especially the females, which leads to quarrels with the men, and sometimes with the heads of the people, who are not disposed to put up with such conduct from persons whom they can easily overcome. Designs are then formed to revenge the evils that they suffer; which lead to murder and theft, to the great loss of property to the owners of vessels, the disgrace of our common Christianity and the English as a people, and the ruin and disgrace of the perpetrators, as well as the injury of the mission and the natives generally. Another thing we complain of is, that captains of vessels leave their wicked and disorderly men at these islands, to our no small annoyance, and the injury of our people. We are aware that it is contrary to the British laws for captains to act so, yet they continue to do it. I here relate a case, which you can do as you please with:—Captain Banks, of the *Mary Jane*, whaler, of Sydney, was in here a few days ago. He said his steward was a scamping fellow, and that he would leave him ashore at this place. We told the captain that he had no right to leave him here; also, that we had too many such men at this island. We furnished him with a copy of the British law on the subject; but notwithstanding that, he has left the man here. His name is Harroway. Two others were discharged also, and four ran away from the same vessel. The captain of the *Tonnant Castle*, from England, has long been in the habit of frequenting Tonga. He has generally taken up his abode at what is called the Mua, on the eastern part of Tonga. The above captain, though an old South Sea whaler, yet, I am sorry to say, conducts himself very improperly. He and his officers and crew have made that part of Tonga a kind of rendezvous, where all kinds of wickedness have been committed, at which even the poor heathen have been ashamed.

And in June 1833, Mr. Thomas still speaks of the mischief done by ill-disposed captains of whalers, who, he says, "send

the refuse of their crews on shore to annoy us;" and proceeds to state that the conduct of many of these "masters of South Sea whalers is most abominable; they think no more of the life of an heathen than of a dog. And their cruel and wanton behaviour at the different islands in those seas has a powerful tendency to lead the natives to hate the sight of a white man." Mr. Williams mentions "one of these captains, who with his people had shot 20 natives, at one of the islands, for no offence;" and "another master of a whaler, from Sydney, made his boast, last Christmas, at Tonga, that he had killed about 20 black fellows,—for so he called the natives of the Samoa, or Navigator's Islands,—for some very trifling offence; and not satisfied with that, he designed to disguise his vessel, and pay them another visit, and get about a hundred more of them." "Our hearts," continues Mr. Thomas, "almost bleed for the poor Samoa people; they are a very mild, inoffensive race, very easy of access; and as they are near to us, we have a great hope of their embracing the truth, viz., that the whole group will do so; for you will learn from Mr. Williams's letter, that a part of them have already turned to God. But the conduct of our English savages has a tone of barbarity and cruelty in it which was never heard of or practised by them."

It is impossible but that such conduct should bring retaliation; and unfortunately the natives do not always discriminate between the innocent and the guilty; so that occasionally crews just arrived are liable to suffer for the misdemeanors of their predecessors. We believe, however, that to almost all of these cases may be applied the declaration made by a missionary respecting some which occurred in New Zealand: "Not one case has ever come under my own observation, never under any circumstances, but what the Europeans have been the aggressors, or have committed some breach in a known New Zealand law; though I will say that the natives have not always punished the right, that is, the offending party."

"We have scarcely ever," says Mr. Ellis, "inquired into a quarrel between the natives and the Europeans, in which it has not been found to have originated either in violence towards the females, or in injustice in traffic or barter, on the part of the Europeans."

We have felt it our duty to advert to these glaring atrocities, perpetrated by British subjects, but we must repeat that acts of this nature form but the least part of the injuries which we have inflicted on the South Sea Islanders. The effects of our violence are as nothing compared to the diffusive moral evil which we have introduced; and many as are the lives of natives known to have been sacrificed by the hands of Europeans, the sum of these is treated as bearing but a trifling proportion to the mortality occasioned by the demoralization of the natives.

This is the view taken by those who have witnessed the pro-

ceedings of Englishmen in these remote regions, and also by those whose opinions, though they have not all personally visited them, are yet entitled to a large measure of consideration, from the offices they hold bringing them into constant communication with persons experimentally acquainted with the condition of the natives. With regard, then, to the fact of the depopulation of these South Sea Islands, the Rev. William Ellis states—

It has been most fearful; but I am not aware that it is traceable to the operation of the cruelty of Europeans. It is traceable, in a great measure, to the demoralizing effects of intercourse with Europeans; the introduction of diseases, of ardent spirits, and of fire-arms. These results of intercourse with Europeans have produced a destruction of human life that is truly awful. When Captain Cook was at the Sandwich Islands he estimated the population at 400,000. In 1823, when, with other missionaries, I made a tour of some of the islands, we counted every house in one of the largest islands, which is 300 miles in circumference, and endeavoured to obtain as accurate a census as several months' labour would afford; and there was not in the entire group of islands at that time above 150,000 people. That diminution is to be ascribed to the above causes—wars promoted by fire-arms, ardent spirits, and foreign diseases, and also to the superstitions of the people, the offering of human sacrifices. The practice of infanticide, which destroyed so many in the southern islands, did not prevail to any extent in the Sandwich Islands. Their wars were rendered far more destructive than heretofore by their being possessed of fire-arms. Where both parties are possessed of fire-arms the destruction is not so serious, but when one party only is possessed of fire-arms and the other party not, it is almost murder. With reference to the South Sea Islands, the depopulation has been as serious. Captain Cook estimated the population of the island of Tahiti at 200,000. I have reason to believe, from actual observation, that his estimate was much too high; but the ruins of former dwellings, which still spread over every part of the island, show that it must have been much more densely peopled formerly than it is now. When the missionaries first arrived there were not more than 16,000, and after they had been there ten or fourteen years, such had been the extent of depopulation, from the introduction of European diseases, ardent spirits, and of fire-arms, that the entire population was not above 8,000, some supposed not even 6,000. Since Christianity has prevailed among the people there has been a reaction; the population is increasing, and perhaps it has increased one-fourth since Christianity has been introduced. I do not ascribe the depopulation which had taken place in the South Sea Islands to overt acts of cruelty, but chiefly to the indirect operation of intercourse with Europeans.

On this subject, the moral effect of the intercourse of Europeans in general with these people, savages and cannibals as they were before we visited them, Mr. Williams adds his testimony: "I should say, with few exceptions, that it is decidedly detrimental, both in a moral and civil point of view. And, in attempting to introduce Christianity among a people, I would

rather by far go to an island where they had never seen an European, than go to a place after they have had intercourse with Europeans. I had ten times rather meet them in their savage state than after they have had intercourse with Europeans."

## SOUTH AFRICA.

In the beginning of the last century, the European colony in Africa was confined to within a few miles of Cape Town. From that period it has advanced, till it now includes more square miles than are to be found in England, Scotland, and Ireland; and with regard to the natives of great part of this immense region, it is stated, "any traveller who may have visited the interior of this colony little more than twenty years ago, may now stand on the heights of Albany, or in the midst of a district of 42,000 square miles on the north side of Graaff Reinet, and ask the question, Where are the aboriginal inhabitants of this district which I saw here on my former visit to this country? without any one being able to inform him where he is to look for them to find them."

The disappearance of the former possessors of this immense region cannot, indeed, be accounted for in a few sentences, but we will endeavour to give a brief sketch of the fate of some of the tribes who have held possession of South Africa, premising that the Aborigines of this country may be classed under two distinct races, Hottentots and Caffres.

The first are divided into two branches, the "tame" or colonial Hottentots, and the wild Hottentots or Bushmen. To the Hottentots belong the Corannas, Gonaquas, and the mixed race of Griquas. The appellation Caffres, though sometimes still applied in a more extensive sense, is generally used in the Cape colony to denote the three contiguous tribes of Amakosa, Amatembee, and Amaponda. Tambookies is a name the English have given to the Amatembee. Mambookies is our English name for the Amaponda, and the Amakosa comprehend the tribe under the family of Gaika, and who inhabit the country between the Kei and the Keiskamma, and lie nearest to this colony, along the chain of mountains stretching from the sources of the Kat river to the sea.

When the Cape was discovered by the Portuguese, the Hottentots were both numerous and rich in cattle. It was observed of them, that they kept the law of nations better than most civilized people. The Dutch formed their first settlement at the Cape in 1652, and their governor, Van Riebeck, gives vent in his journal to a very natural sentiment, and one which we fear has been too prevalent with succeeding colonists, when he describes himself as looking from the mud walls of his fortress on the cattle of the natives, and wondering at the ways of Providence, which could bestow such very fine gifts on heathen.

In the same spirit are the following entries:—

December 13th, 1652.—“To-day the Hottentots came with thousands of cattle and sheep close to our fort, so that their cattle nearly mixed with ours. We feel vexed to see so many fine head of cattle, and not to be able to buy to any considerable extent. If it had been indeed allowed, we had opportunity to-day to deprive them of 10,000 head, which, however, if we obtain orders to that effect, can be done at any time, and even more conveniently, because they will have greater confidence in us. With 150 men, 10,000 or 11,000 head of black cattle might be obtained without danger of losing one man; and many savages might be taken without resistance, in order to be sent as slaves to India, as they still always come to us unarmed.”

December 18th.—“To-day the Hottentots came again with thousands of cattle close to the fort. If no further trade is to be expected with them, what would it matter much to take at once 6,000 or 8,000 beasts from them? There is opportunity enough for it, as they are not strong in number, and very timid; and since not more than two or three men often graze a thousand cattle close to our cannon, who might be easily cut off; and as we perceive they place very confidence in us, we allure them still with show of friendship to make them the more confident. It is vexatious to see so much cattle, so necessary for the refreshment of the Honourable Company's ships, of which it is not every day that any can be obtained by friendly trade.”\*

The system of oppression thus begun never slackened till the Hottentot nation were cut off, and the small remnant left were reduced to abject bondage. From all the accounts we have seen respecting the Hottentot population, it could not have been less than 200,000, but at present they are said to be only 32,000 in number.

When the English took possession of the Cape, they found them the actual, though not the nominal, slaves of the boors, and after some feeble efforts on their part for emancipation, as such we suffered the boors to retain them.

The law of passes, by subjecting the Hottentots to “rigorous control in moving from one place to another,” did indeed much towards riveting their chains, as it had the effect of placing them under the control of any inhabitants of the colony, who never wanted frivolous pretexts to detain them at compulsory and unpaid labour.†

Every obstacle continued to be opposed to their civil or moral advancement, and as late as 1828, we find it stated in the law passed by General Bourke for their relief, that doubts existed upon the competency of the Hottentots and other free persons of colour (the recent possessors, be it remembered, of the whole soil) to purchase or possess land in the colony.‡

All parties agree in their account of the state of the Hottentots

\* Van Riebeck's Journal.

† Report of Commissioners of Inquiry, p. 5.

‡ See also Report of Commissioners of Inquiry on Hottentot Population, p. 5.

before the passing of the 50th Ordinance, a measure of admirable justice, by which their freedom was declared and their civil rights were recognised. These are the words of Colonel Wade :—

I do not consider it requisite to enter into any detailed history of the state of utter degradation from which the 50th Ordinance was intended to rescue the Hottentots and other free persons of colour : suffice it to say, that, from all I have been able to learn, the state of the slaves was a thousand times preferable, in every point of view, to that of this unhappy race, who, amounting at the very least to a fourth part of the whole free population of the settlement, were held in the most degrading thralldom by their fellow-subjects, at the same time that both Dutch and English governments over and over again admitted, and, by the strangest of all inconsistencies, admitted it in the very Proclamations and Ordinances in which their compulsory servitude was provided for, that “the Hottentots were a free people.” From the withering effects of this bondage (in truth, I know not how to designate so monstrous an anomaly), the 50th Ordinance was intended to emancipate them.

Major Dundas also speaks of it as the emancipation of the Hottentots.

Had this 50th Ordinance stood alone, it is more than probable that its benefits to the people would have been comparatively inconsiderable, but that ordinance was confirmed and perpetuated by an Order of the King in Council, which passed at the recommendation of Sir George Murray.\*

The immediate effect of the liberty thus granted was, as might have been expected, some temporary disorder, but not requiring more than the ordinary means of coercion. “Vagrancy, to a considerable extent, immediately after the promulgation of the 50th Ordinance, did take place; but this, in the opinion of Mr. Justice Burton and others, the laws of the colony were fully sufficient to restrain.” In 1834, Judge Kekewich, in his charge to the grand jury of the Cape district, stated decidedly, that crime had decreased within the last four years.

Besides the subjugated Hottentots, there were other Africans of the same or of kindred tribes, who were early designated under the term Bushmen, from their disdaining to become bondsmen, and choosing rather to obtain a precarious subsistence in the fields or forests. From their fastnesses, they were apt to carry on a predatory warfare against the oppressors of their race, and in return were hunted down like wild beasts. This state of things is thus described by Captain Stockenström :—

The white colonists having, from the first commencement of the settlement, gradually encroached on the territory of the natives, whose ejection (as is too well known) was accompanied with great injustice,

\* See Papers Cape of Good Hope, Part II. 1835. No. 252, pp. 34, 35.

cruelty, and bloodshed, the most hostile feelings were entertained by the weaker party towards those whom they considered as their oppressors. The Aborigines who did not become domesticated (as it was called) like the Hottentots, seeing no chance of retaining or recovering their country, withdrew into the interior as the whites advanced, and being driven to depredations by the diminution of the game, which constituted their principal means of subsistence, and which gradually disappeared when more constantly hunted, and as the waters became permanently occupied by the new comers, they often made desperate attacks on the latter, and in their turn were guilty of great atrocities. Some of the rulers of the colony in those days were, no doubt, favourable to measures of conciliation, but the evil soon got beyond their power of control. In proportion as the pastoral population increased, more and more land was taken possession of, and more desperate and bloody became the deeds of revenge on both sides, until the extermination of the enemy appeared even to the government the only safe alternative, at least it became its avowed object, as the encouragement given to the hostile expeditions, the rewards of the successful commanders of the same, and many documents still extant, clearly demonstrate. The contest being beyond comparison unequal, the colonial limits widened with great rapidity. A thin white population soon spread even over the great chains of the Suven and Newveld mountains, whilst the hordes, who preferred a precarious and often starving independence to servitude, were forced into the deserts and fastnesses bordering on the frontier.

It will be at once perceived that I am here alluding to a period of the colonial history not long previous to the close of the last century, and that the Aborigines spoken of are the Bushmen and some tribes of Hottentots; for our relations with the Caffres and others are somewhat of a different nature, as I will show in the sequel. Thus the isolated position of most of the intruders afforded the strongest temptation to the savages occasionally to wreak their vengeance. The numerous herds of our peasantry grazing on the usurped lands proved too seductive a bait for the hungry fugitives, who saw the pasturage of their flocks (the game) thus occupied; but their partial success against individual families was generally dearly bought by the additional loss of life and land in the long run.

In 1774, an order was issued for the extirpation of the whole of the Bushmen, and three commandos, or military expeditions, were sent out to execute it. The massacre at that time was horrible, and the system of persecution continued unremitting, so that, as we have seen, Mr. Barrow records it came to be considered a meritorious act to shoot a Bushman.

In 1795, the Earl of Macartney, by proclamation, authorized the landdrosts and magistrates to take the field against the wild Bosjesmen, whenever such an expedition should appear requisite and proper; a practice to which, in some parts, they needed not much urging; for Mr. Maynier, in his answers to the Commissioners of Inquiry, says, "When I was appointed Landdrost of Graaf Reynet, I found that regularly every year large commandos, consisting of 200 or 300 armed boors, had been sent

against the Bosjesmen, and learnt by their reports, that generally many hundred of Bosjesmen were killed by them, amongst which number there were perhaps not more than six or ten men (they generally contriving to save themselves by flight), and that the greatest part of the killed comprised helpless women and innocent children.

"I was also made acquainted with the most horrible atrocities committed on those occasions, such as ordering the Hottentots to dash out against the rocks the brains of infants (too young to be carried off by the farmers for the purpose to use them as bondmen), in order to save powder and shot."\*

Colonel Collins, in his tour to the north-eastern boundary in 1809, speaking of the Bushmen of that frontier, says,—

An attempt to draw them into service having proved unsuccessful, and some losses having been occasioned by their disposition to theft, a people not inferior in natural endowments to any upon the face of the globe, were represented to the colonial government as unfit to live. A journey from the Cape was supposed at that time to be too great an undertaking for the purpose of ascertaining any point which concerned only so distant a quarter. The reports received were implicitly believed, and orders were given for unlimited commandos.

The original population of the north-eastern frontier must have been very considerable, if any credit can be attached to the accounts given by the old inhabitants, of their younger days. I have heard one man, who is represented as an estimable character in other respects, declare, that within a period of six years, parties under his orders had either killed or taken 3,200 of these unfortunate creatures; another has stated to me, that the actions in which he had been engaged had caused the destruction of 2,700. They had acted thus in compliance with the instructions of a government which not only violated all the principles of justice and humanity by this indiscriminate massacre, but even acted in direct opposition to the plainest rules of policy and of common sense, by depriving the colony of the benefit which might have been derived from so useful a people.

The total extinction of the Bosjesmen race is actually stated to have been at one time confidently hoped for; but fortunately even such zealous instruments were not able to effect this bloody purpose.

It is but justice to observe, that the first attempt to conciliate this injured people was under the benign influence of Great Britain.

The journey undertaken by Mr. Barrow, at the desire of Lord Macartney, seems to have opened the eyes of the inhabitants of this district to the criminality of their conduct. They had never before harboured a thought that any government would condemn their proceedings, but, on the contrary, they conceived that their exertions in this unjust cause were the most certain means of recommending them to favour.†

After a time, we find that a milder system was enjoined,‡ and in some places the Bushmen became the willing herdsmen of the

\* Papers Cape of Good Hope, 1835, No. 50, Part I. p. 28.

† Papers relating to the Cape, 1835, No. 50, p. 40.

‡ See Despatch from Sir G. Murray, Papers Cape of Good Hope, Part II. 1835. No. 252, p. 34.

boors, and whenever they were well treated, they are described to have made faithful servants; but the boors were too often tempted to buy or to kidnap their children, and to turn the parents off the lands which they took into occupation; and so completely is the country south of the Orange river now cleared of Bushmen, that, in 1834, Dr. Philip wrote in a memorial to the government,—

A few years ago, we had 1,800 Boschmen belonging to two missionary institutions, among that people in the country between the Snewbergen and the Orange river, a country comprehending 42,000 square miles; and had we been able to treble the number of our missionary stations over that district, we might have had 5,000 of that people under instruction. In 1832, I spent seventeen days in that country, travelling over it in different directions. I then found the country occupied by the boors, and the Boschmen population had disappeared, with the exception of those that had been brought up from infancy in the service of the boors. In the whole of my journey, during the seventeen days I was in the country, I met with two men and one woman only of the free inhabitants, who had escaped the effects of the commando system, and they were travelling by night, and concealing themselves by day, to escape being shot like wild beasts. Their tale was a lamentable one: their children had been taken from them by the boors, and they were wandering about in this manner from place to place, in the hope of finding out where they were, and of getting a sight of them.

We reserve an account of the Griqua tribe, on the northern frontier, for an illustration of a subsequent part of our Report on the effects of Missionary exertions.

We may, however, remark, that no tribe of our neighbours appears to have suffered more from the incursions of boors with their flocks and herds into their country; a practice illegal indeed, but unchecked, if not connived at.

One of the first steps to be adopted to secure the peace of the frontier, and the prosperity of the colony, will be to put a stop to the practice of the boors in crossing the boundaries of the colony at certain seasons of the year with their numerous flocks and herds. In 1834, there were said to be about 1,500 boors on the other side of the Orange river, and for the most part in the Griqua country. Of these there were 700 boors, for several months during that year, in the district of Philippolis alone, with at least 700,000 sheep, cattle, and horses. Besides destroying the pastures of this people, in many instances their corn-fields were destroyed by them, and in some cases they took possession of their houses. This evil has been increasing for years, and all that time the Grikwas have been remonstrating, but nothing has yet been done effectually to check it; and, consequently, when the Grikwas remonstrated with the boors, the latter replied that it was useless for the former to complain, because the government would pay no attention to their complaints, and that if the government interfered it would only be to grant the Griqua country to boors. Nothing but the influence of the missionaries and of Christian principles restrained the Grikwas from attempting to expel them their country by force of arms.

The migration of the boors into the country of the Bushmen and other tribes is not less unjustifiable than the alleged inroads and robberies laid to the charge of the Caffres by the colonists. So long as the facts could be questioned, the reports on the subject were treated as gross calumnies. This being no longer possible, the conduct of those boors is defended on the plea of necessity. The country inhabited by the boors, it is said, cannot support their cattle. This may be a reason for leaving it, but none for seizing a country to which they can show no title. The natives have just as much justice on their side, when they seize the cattle of the boors, as the boors have in seizing their country. It is said they only take possession of those tracts of country at certain seasons, and afterwards return to their farms within the colony; but those seasons are seasons of scarcity to the natives as well as to the farmers, and this makes their conduct doubly oppressive. Their flocks and herds consume the whole pasturage of the countries they thus invade, and the natives are left in a state of utter destitution. It is understood that a great many families crossed the boundary towards the Kye in 1834. It is important to know the number of sheep, goats, and horses, they carried with them. Could we ascertain this, we would then be enabled to form an idea of the misery they must have inflicted on the natives, who live entirely by pasturage or game. The number of animals of all kinds would probably be estimated low at 2,000 for each; but if we allow 1,500 boors, and 1,000 only to each, the effects of such an immigration must be ruinous to the natives. It is a cruel robbery, followed by starvation and death in its most appalling shapes; yet these men complain that cattle are occasionally stolen from them by the natives from beyond the boundary. When the farmers received their grants from government, they knew the nature of the soil and climate, that they would support only a certain number of sheep and cattle, and that droughts often occurred. If they chose to collect a greater number of live stock than the lands could support at all seasons, they should have provided places of retreat behind them; but for this they must have paid, and this is the sole reason of the unjust proceedings of these men. Avarice is the motive, and its fruits are systematic robbery and murder. In April 13th, 1829, a letter was written by the secretary to government, which states that these farmers expatriated themselves without the permission of the government, and in defiance of the law. This fact illustrates what all writers on the Cape have lamented, namely, the weakness of the government; government gave way to the avaricious boors. It has also been stated, that did the farmers not graze their cattle beyond the line of boundary, the districts would be abandoned. There is in the colony, we hesitate not to say, room for ten times the number of its present population; and portions of these districts have been but recently taken from their original possessors, to make room for those who now occupy them, and who are yet allowed to plead the barrenness of the soil as an apology for further encroachments. Another plea is, that the evil cannot be remedied; that is, that the state of the country is such that the boors cannot be stopped from passing the boundary. If it is so, means must be employed till the evil is stopped; for robbery and murder, and the invasion of peaceable countries, and the extermination of whole tribes of mankind, must not be connived at, much less be winked at, by the British government. It is astonishing the indif-

ference with which the local authorities have viewed the proceedings of these wandering boors, and the slackness with which they have enforced the orders of government. In 1834 an official gentleman came to the Kat River settlement, where he was told that the boors were daily passing the boundary, to intrude themselves on the country of the natives beyond them. "I know that," said he, "but I cannot stop them; and besides, if they were to stop on their places, their cattle and all would perish for want of grass." What if Macomo were to make use of the same argument, and allowed his people, when there was as little grass in his country as there is on the floor of the committee-room, to graze their cattle on the colonial lands? It is a well-known fact, that the farmers in the district of Tarka have been quite a nuisance to the Tambookie chiefs, Mapassa and others, by allowing their cattle to graze on their lands in times of scarcity. None but those who have studied human nature, and are intimately acquainted with the workings of the system, can conceive of the enormities that must necessarily result from such a state of things. That the boors have carried their slaves with them out of the colony is now beyond doubt. In 1834 an officer was sent to the Kye to bring back some slaves who were reported to have been taken by their masters beyond the boundary. The officer succeeded in bringing back some of the slaves; but the impudence and audacity of these men was beyond any thing, and instead of being made an example of, they were allowed to remain beyond the line, much to the annoyance of the poor natives.

The statement is confirmed by Colonel Cox. "Were there considerable numbers, or only one or two cases?—Yes, in some numbers. They have been in the habit of crossing for grass, during the dry season, for several years; but I understand that they have now built houses upon the sources of the river, and are living there in great numbers.

"Do you happen to know of any great body of persons living together in this way?—I heard of forty farmers that went out, and are living upon the Kye.

"Did they take their herds with them?—They took the whole of their herds and families and slaves. An officer was sent to bring back their slaves."\*

Serious complaints have, as might have been expected, arisen respecting the conduct of these distant parties of boors, and that of wandering traders beyond the colony; and in the absence of any specific enactment on this subject, offences committed against the natives in their own country could not be noticed in our colonial courts:† we have, however, much satisfaction in observing, that a remedy for this acknowledged evil has been provided by a late Act (August 1836), making all crimes committed by His Majesty's subjects within any territory adjacent to the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and southward of the 25th degree of south latitude, cognizable and punishable by our courts of justice.

\* See also Colonel Wade's Despatch, 14th Jan. 1834, Cape Papers, 1835, No. 252, p. 77.

† Sir L. Cole's Despatch, 15th Nov. 1833, Cape Papers, 1835, No. 252, p. 64.

We proceed to take a brief retrospective review of our relations with the Caffre race; a people generically distinct from the tribes of Hottentots, Bushmen, and Griquas, and superior perhaps, from the effect of circumstances, to the two former in valour and intelligence.

For a considerable period, under the Dutch government, the Gamtoos river had been considered the limit of the colony. Previous to our occupation of the Cape in 1780, the Dutch governor, in a proclamation of that date, fixed upon the Great Fish River as the utmost limit of the colony on the eastern frontier. This, however, was only a restrictive and prospective boundary, as the Caffres were still left in possession of the country; and in 1798, Lord Macartney claiming all that the Dutch assumed as belonging to them by the vague proclamation of Governor Van Plattenberg, this new boundary was declared by a proclamation of his Lordship, in which we find mention of our contiguity to the Caffres. The preamble of this proclamation states, "Whereas hitherto no exact limits have been marked out respecting the proper boundaries between this colony, the Caffres, and the Bosjesmen, and in consequence of such limits not being regularly ascertained, several of the inhabitants in the more distant parts of this settlement have united in injuring the peaceful possessors of those countries, and under pretence of bartering cattle with them, reduce the wretched natives to misery and want, which at length compels them to the cruel necessity of having recourse to robbing, and various other irregularities, in order to support life;" he therefore fixes the Great Fish River as the eastern boundary, and strictly forbids the inhabitants of the colony to pass beyond it.\*

The terms of this proclamation are remarkable, compared with others, inasmuch as we thereby find that at various times two several reasons have been assigned for taking away land from the Caffres; the one, that they make inroads upon us, that they are troublesome neighbours, that we are not safe in their vicinity, we therefore pronounce their land forfeited; the other, as in Lord Macartney's proclamation, that we have been the oppressors, that we have seized their land and reduced the people to be plunderers from starvation, we therefore pronounce their land forfeited. It is singular that from such diversity of premises such an uniformity of conclusion should have been deduced.

After the return of the English to the Cape, in 1806, disputes were continually occurring; and in 1811, the Caffres were driven completely out of the Zuurveld. "Up to 1811," says Captain Aitchison, "the Caffres had possession of the whole of Albany. In 1811, a large force was sent from Cape Town under Colonel Graham, and were about a year in clearing that country. A great many lives were lost on both sides."

The same witness states the process of clearing to have been by "merely sending in small detachments and constantly harassing the Caffres."

The cost of this war of 1811, which was protracted four years,\* was deplorable in all respects; many hundred lives were lost on both sides; among the rest fell landdrost Stockenstrom, father of the lieutenant-governor of the eastern district, and T'Congo, father of the chiefs Pato, Kama, and T'Congo.

It is not easy to calculate exactly the expenses so brought upon the Cape colony, and upon the Home Treasury; but the commissioners of inquiry notice the expense of the war of 1811 as a great evil;† and, as they remark, that peaceful intercourse is endangered by the troops,‡ so they anticipate saving of money from a peaceful system.§

The results of this war of 1811 were, first, a succession of new wars, not less expensive, and more sanguinary than the former;|| second, the loss of thousands of good labourers to the colonists;¶ and this testimony as to the actual service done by Caffre labourers, comprises the strong opinion of Major Dundas, when landdrost in 1827, as to their good dispositions,\*\* and that of Colonel Wade to the same effect; and thirdly, the checking of civilization and trade with the interior for a period of twelve years.††

The gain was some hundreds of thousands of acres of land, which might have been bought from the natives for comparatively a trifle.‡‡

In 1813, it is stated, that a "commando, under Colonel Brereton, took 30,000 head of cattle from the Caffres; a practice forming part of a system to which frequent reference is made in every history of our Cape colony transactions.

The inhabitants of the frontier have, it seems, from the earliest times, been accustomed to unite in "armed assemblages, called commandos," for the purpose of recovering stolen cattle. The system was recognised by the government, who appointed a field-commandant to each district, and a field-cornet to each subdivision of the district.§§

For the mode of conducting the commandos, we refer to the evidence: ||||—

63. Please to describe a commando; how the orders are originally given, and the process?—A commando is merely a name attached to a

\* Par. Pro. H. C. 1835, No. 50, p. 196.

† Report, House of Commons Papers for 1835, No. 50, p. 200. ‡ Ib. p. 195.

§ Report on the Cape Finances, Papers for 1826-7, No. 282, p. 83, vol. xxi.

|| Par. Pro. H. C. 1835, No. 50, p. 196.

¶ Ibid. No. 50, p. 195, and Evidence of Mr. Maynier, landdrost at the time, pp. 30 and 174; and Col. Collins's Report, p. 41.

\*\* Par. Pro. 1835, H. C. No. 252, p. 14.

†† Ibid. No. 50, pp. 199, 200.

‡‡ Ibid. No. 50, pp. 34 and 47.

§§ Report of Commissioners of Inquiry, Parliamentary Papers on Native Inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope, Part I. p. 194.

Capt. Aitchison; Dr. Philip; Capt. Spiller; Capt. Stockenstrom

force collected, either a regular military force, or partly military and partly civil. The magistrates in that country have power to order the farmers upon military duties when occasion requires. The commandant of the frontier, or the civil authority, demands assistance from the military and from the neighbouring counties, to check any inroad the Caffres may make, or to recover beasts that may have been stolen; these when collected are called a commando.

66. What was the first step generally taken in those cases?—It depends upon whether we went to check irruptions into our own country, or to punish for depredations committed. If by crossing the boundary upon the trace of stolen cattle, we were to follow them as far as we could; but I ought to say, different governors vary so much in their opinions, and take such extremely different views of a subject, that it was a difficult matter for those employed to know how to act.

67. Now you traced the cattle as far as you could?—Yes, generally, to some Caffre's kraal.

68. And if you do not find the cattle there, what do you do?—At one time we used to go to the first kraal we could, and make reprisals; with those, of course, we returned to the colony, and they were given over to the civil authorities, to be disposed of as they thought fit. Upon other occasions we trace the cattle as far as we think proper, till we come to the kraal, and then point out to the chief of such kraal that the trace of such beasts had gone through his territory, and desired him to follow them up.

69. Suppose he denied all knowledge of them?—If you pointed out that the beasts had gone through and he refused to assist you, you took his cattle.

99. On what authority does the commando march; from the direction of the magistrate?—Nobody can enter Caffreland without the sanction of the military commander.

100. Then I wish to know on what authority he has this command?—By the order of the governor.

101. If I understand the matter right, when a boor loses his cattle he makes application to the magistrate?—To the nearest military post.

102. And upon his affidavit, or stating this fact satisfactorily to the magistrate, he interferes?—The magistrate is not required on these occasions; the magistrate is 60 miles off. I have been constantly on the frontier. The moment a farmer is aware that his cattle are driven off by the Caffres, he rides to the nearest military post, and there states his grievance. That officer has directions to listen to that, and to ascertain, as far as it is in his power, the truth of it. If he is satisfied of the truth of it, he sends an officer, if possible; but in many cases we have so small a force, that an officer could not be sent, and therefore non-commissioned officers were frequently trusted; they were sent to ascertain whether or not the cattle had crossed or passed as the farmer reported, and whether or not the Caffres were following them up. The trace of the Caffres is so marked that there can be no mistake.

In 1833, a proclamation of Sir Lowry Cole empowered any field-cornet or deputy field-cornet, to whom a boor may complain that he had lost cattle, to send a party of soldiers on the track and recover the cattle. These persons are often connected with

the boors themselves: their unfitness for such a trust is elicited in the following evidence:—

What is the rank and condition of a provisional field-cornet?—He is an inhabitant of the common class.

Is it possible that a man not in a higher situation than that of a constable in this country might be a provisional field-cornet?—Oh, decidedly, any man. I have seen provisional field-cornets of the most indifferent class in the colony.

And to persons of the most indifferent class, and in circumstances the lowest, this extensive power of making inroads upon the native territory, was, according to the old system, entrusted?—Very often; for the committee must understand, that even a field-cornet himself can appoint a provisional field-cornet, who has the right of appointing another provisional field-cornet, in sudden emergencies.

It is on evidence, that this mode of recovering cattle is very uncertain, that the cattle are often reported as lost, when they have only strayed; so that, in nine cases out of ten, you punish the innocent; “and here,” says Captain Stockenstrom, “lies the great evil, for it is the easiest and most lucrative mode of retaliation, yet at the same time the most demoralizing.”

Of late years, a plan has arisen of keeping patrols constantly on the border, parties of military on the alert for observation, and ready to attend the summons of the farmers. The frequency of these retaliating expeditions is thus noticed by officers who have been employed in them:\*

109. Were you called upon constantly to perform duties of this kind?—Constantly; not perhaps so frequently latterly, from my seniority in the corps; but I have known the junior officers to have been out four times in the week.

110. Upon these expeditions?—Upon these expeditions.

111. So that it was the great business of the corps?—The sole business of the corps. I have been left at my own post with seven or eight men only.

170. You say that you have known your officers called out four times in a week, suppose we say eight times in a fortnight; can you tell me the proportion, on an average, of how many of those are commandos, and how many patrols?—I mean the patrols; we have been out three months together on a commando; I have been out from July until October.

769. In your opinion, is the present strength of the Cape regiment equal to the defence of the frontier?—Decidedly not; and they were very much harassed when I was there with the duties they had to perform.

1183. The military were constantly employed by these expeditions into the Caffre country?—That they were frequently employed there is no doubt; they were continually employed (I mean those who were on the immediate line of the frontier) on patrol; they were continually passing along the boundary of the colony to observe whether there

\* Capt. Spiller; Major W. B. Dundas; Lieut.-Col. Wm. Cox. 

might be marks of cattle having crossed the main roads, and follow such, and to intercept any cattle they might by chance observe while being driven from the colony.

1184. How many expeditions do you imagine to have taken place during the year into the Caffre country to recover cattle?—I really cannot tell; but I can tell this, that during the whole time I was on the frontier, three years and a half, there was but one commando, properly so called, that is, a joint assemblage of burghers and military force, for the purpose of enforcing the restitution of cattle. There were other commandos, but they were set on foot to defend the Caffres and Tambookies against the inroads of other nations.

1185. Do you mean to say that there were incessant robberies going on of colonial cattle, and only in one case the military were employed?—No; I particularly explained what I considered to be a commando: a commando is the joint assemblage of burghers and the military force in considerable numbers, for the purpose of punishing the Caffres for depredations, or forcing the restitution of stolen cattle. There were frequent military parties that went in for the purpose of recovering cattle, or demanding the restitution of cattle.

2816. It is a matter of common occurrence that the Caffres steal the cattle, and that commandos enter their country?—Not commandos, but patrols, agreeably to the directions of the governor; it is very common; there was scarcely a week without application on the part of the farmers and boors, when I commanded at Fort Beaufort, for patrols to retake stolen cattle, and sometimes two or three in the course of a week.

2817. Were those patrols continually granted?—Always; and accompanied by the farmer himself, or one of his sons, people to whom the cattle belonged.

The late Commissioner of the frontier, now Lieutenant-governor, thus gives his opinion of the working of this system.

I had then long since made up my mind that the great source of misfortune on the frontier, was the system of taking Caffre cattle under any circumstances by our patrols, and I shall give my reasons: if Caffres steal cattle, very seldom the real perpetrators can be found, unless the man losing the cattle has been on his guard, and sees the robbery actually perpetrated, so that he can immediately collect a force and pursue the plunderers; if the cattle be once out of sight of the plundered party, there is seldom any getting them again; our patrols are then entirely at the mercy of the statements made by the farmers, and they may pretend that they are leading them on the trace of the stolen cattle, which may be the trace of any cattle in the world. On coming up to the first Caffre kraal, the Caffre, knowing the purpose for which the patrol comes, immediately drives his cattle out of sight; we then use force and collect those cattle, and take the number said to be stolen, or more: this the Caffres naturally, and as it always appeared to me, justly, resist; they have nothing else to live on, and if the cows be taken away, the calves perish, and it is a miserable condition in which the Caffre women and children, and the whole party, are left; that resistance is usually construed into hostility, and it is almost impossible then to prevent innocent bloodshed. It also often happens

that when the patrol is on the spoor of cattle really stolen, they find some individual head of cattle which is either knocked up or purposely left behind by the real perpetrators, near a kraal, and that is taken as a positive proof of the guilt of that kraal, and leads to the injustice which I have previously pointed out. There have been instances where the farmers have gone into Caffreland with a patrol, pretending to be on the spoor of stolen cattle, and where cattle was taken from the Caffres on the strength of this supposed theft, and on returning home he has found his cattle in another direction, or found them destroyed by wolves, or through his own neglect entirely strayed away; and thus men, not losing cattle at all, but coveting Caffre's cattle, have nothing more to do but to lead the patrol to a kraal, and commit the outrages above described; and the Caffres have frequently told me, "We do not care how many Caffres you shoot if they come into your country, and you catch them stealing, but for every cow you take from our country you make a thief." This I know to be the case, and though I am aware that it is an unpopular view of the question, I must persist that as long as Caffre cattle be taken, peace on the frontier is utterly impossible.

1005. Then do you attribute the disturbances, which have so constantly prevailed on the frontiers, and the acts of severity which we have been obliged to inflict occasionally, and the backward state of improvement of the natives, and the necessity of maintaining a large military force on the frontiers, to this cause; namely, the seizure of Caffre cattle, for cattle stolen or pretended to be stolen from the colonists?—Decidedly.

1006. You think that is the great source of these evils?—Certainly.

1007. And the great source of expense to government in keeping up a sufficient military force on the frontier?—Yes, decidedly; it leads to this, that when cattle are taken, those from whom they are taken have nothing else to live on; they consequently try to keep possession and defend themselves: this is "resistance;" we then use violence, they are shot, and at last comes war, and war without end.

1013. Do you think we can have a system of peace and tranquillity, and the introduction of civilization among the natives, so long as this system of seizing their cattle continues?—Decidedly not; they cannot be quiet, the people must eat.

1014. Do you think it is in vain to attempt to civilize and christianize them as long as this system of plundering them of their cattle continues?—Yes, it is in vain to attempt to civilize and christianize, if people have nothing to eat.

1015. Did you represent to the government that the continuance of this system would render it necessary for the government to annex the Caffreland to our dominions?—In both my statements which are before the Committee, it will be found that almost the very words were used long before any of the late outrages began. As a natural consequence of our commando in 1818, followed the expulsion of the Caffres, and the seizure of the ceded territory. We will go from one line to another, and we will take one slice of the country after another, and as long as you continue to take the people's cattle, so long will this take place, and you will go from river to river till you get to Delagoa Bay.

Nearly the same is the evidence of Colonel Wade, though

he argues for the substitution of some other measure of protection: "I admit, without any hesitation, that there are very many and very great evils inherent in the commando system (some of which I will hereafter enumerate); that it is a mode of defence greatly liable to abuse under many circumstances, some local, and others peculiar to the colony (some of which also are insurmountable); that almost at the very moment when the Secretary of State addressed the last of the despatches above alluded to, to Sir B. D'Urban, communicating his Majesty's disallowance of the commando ordinance, I was myself employed in writing<sup>1</sup> to Mr. Stanley, representing the commando as a system of defence of very ancient date, and which, in every point of view, in my humble opinion, required to be abandoned."

The despatch of Mr. Stanley above referred to, expressly says, "There certainly are not wanting reasons for authorizing the presumption, that these commandos have been carried on with much disregard of human life, and have been marked with acts of atrocious cruelty. It must, therefore, I apprehend, be admitted, that the system has been a fearful scourge to the native population, and with that impression on my mind I have naturally bestowed the most serious consideration upon the provisions of the ordinance;" and he thereupon adds, "I have his Majesty's commands to signify to you his disallowance of the Ordinance No. 99, and of Lord Macartney's proclamation, it being his Majesty's pleasure that such disallowance shall take place on 1st August next."\*

But we return to the history. In 1817, we entered into a treaty with Gaika, a Caffre chief of importance, but not, as we chose, or as a witness expresses it, "wished," to consider him, paramount sovereign, to punish the depredations of the other chiefs, one of whom, T'Slambie, soon after quarrelled with Gaika. We took part with Gaika, and defeated his enemies, of whom a great number were slain, and we brought off an immense drove of cattle, which we divided with our ally. This involved us in the more serious war of 1819, when the Caffres, whom we had plundered in the preceding year, made a desperate incursion into the colony. They were driven back with slaughter, and we then demanded of Gaika a large portion of Caffreland, for no reason that can be discovered, except that he failed in preventing the incursion, though he was then our ally, and aided us in repelling it.

Then are these the facts of the case: that we interfered with the quarrel between Gaika and the other Caffre tribes; that we made an inroad into the Caffre territory, in consequence of which we took from them a considerable quantity of cattle; that that led to an incursion on their part into our territory, and that then, having chosen to consider Gaika as the only responsible chief, we obtained his unwilling and

reluctant consent to the sacrifice of this rich district of land?—Yes, decidedly.

So that in the first instance, in consequence of our interference, we obtained a considerable quantity of the personal property of these natives; and, in the second place, we obtained a considerable space of territory?—Yes.

We thus pushed our boundary line to the Keiskamma, taking in about 2,000 square miles more. This tract was at first to be called neutral territory, but it soon came to bear the name of ceded territory, although the mode of cession was somewhat questionable. Gaika himself did not profess to have the entire disposal of the lands he thus surrendered; the right was disputed by the chiefs of his own nation, and the treaty was merely verbal, and consigned to the memory of the parties alone; but in those days, as a witness observed, a discussion with the Caffres was not treated with much formality.

But those chiefs who were present at the time of that interview with Lord Charles Somerset were consenting parties, were they not?—Lord Charles Somerset only held Gaika responsible, and only communicated with him. The discussions among the chiefs took place between themselves, and no one knows what their objections or their acquiescence were at that time.

But, as they made no objection, it might be taken for granted they were consenting parties?—It is very difficult for us to say whether they consented or not in their discussions with him; but we, being the stronger party, did not give that latitude to objections on the part of the native tribes which may be allowed on other occasions; a discussion with the Caffres was not then treated with so much formality as at present.

It should be noticed, that in this treaty Gaika expressly reserved for the Caffres the basin of the Chumie, which became afterwards a point of further contention.

Do you consider that Gaika had the power to make a surrender of that tract of territory?—He acquiesced after it was explained to him it must be so; but that he said, "I willingly consent to this," I cannot possibly say. In the first place, it would be contrary to reason to suppose that any people, under such circumstances as the Caffres, would willingly part with such a country. I do not think any people would. But when he saw there were no other means, he acquiesced in it; and, after much consultation with the other chiefs, he consented, provided that the Chumie Basin was included in Caffreland.

The next fact that strikes us is the statement of Captain Aitchison: "The chief, Macomo, upon representing the hardship of his being removed out of the country and giving up the Kat river, which was formerly his, was allowed to return again; but many robberies had been committed by his people, and traced to his kraals or huts. In 1822 or 1823 a large force, in which I

was employed, surprised these kraals in the middle of the night, and we took from them 7,000 beasts."

We also find other records of commandos of the colony, and in 1826 it is admitted that one of these attacked by mistake the kraal of Botman.\*

Still Macomo remained, as it was said, on sufferance; but in 1829 an attack of Macomo's upon the Tambookies was the occasion or the pretext of his expulsion. Macomo alleged that he had done nothing to deserve the displeasure of the British government. But it is not our design to defend his treatment of the Tambookies. His expulsion, however, seems to have been a measure of severity, as described by a witness by no means favourable to Macomo, and to have remained a lasting grievance in his mind. Mr. Gisborne was asked,

3286. Are you able to speak to the extent of territory taken from Macomo?—I cannot describe it otherwise than very generally, but it must be many miles each way. I accompanied one of the military parties, as a friend of the officers, when they were sent into it. I think the military was divided into three or four parties, who were in it for two days, going about the country and destroying the villages; and the country was so extensive, that our party had no communication with any other. The other parties were sufficiently far from us for us not to be aware that they were in the country, except by seeing the smoke of villages burning; and it was only on the evening of the second day we joined them again, so that the country must have been many miles each way in extent.

3287. Be pleased to explain the circumstances which came under your own observation, or to your knowledge, relative to the expulsion of Macomo.—My knowledge was derived partly from general report and partly from the conversation with officers with whom I was living, whom I suppose to be very well informed. It was commonly said that Macomo had quarrelled with the Tambookies; that he had made war on them, and captured from them about 7,000 head of cattle; the Tambookies chiefs reported this to our government, and, I believe, asked for aid, and also for actual provision for themselves, in consequence of having lost their cattle; our government remonstrated with Macomo, and insisted upon his restoring an equal number, which he constantly put off. I believe he never actually refused. He said he would if he could, but that the cattle had been distributed among his people, and it would be impossible for him to recover them, and therefore, after a considerable time spent in that way, military parties were ordered to go into his country to capture all the cattle they could, and to expel him and his people from it. The country was afterwards colonized by free Hottentots.

3288. Those were the general motives which led to that step?—I believe they were.

3289. What circumstances took place in your observation as to the method of moving him out of the country?—The party of military I

accompanied went into the country ; they met with no opposition ; they found a number of people, who immediately fled to the woods. They captured all the cattle they saw feeding, and burnt every village and every house which came within their range. The Caffre corn which was growing, they did not destroy, and the officers certainly ordered it not to be destroyed, and not to be burnt ; so that if the Caffres chose to return at a future time and reap that corn, they might ; but it was almost impossible to prevent the horses straying into the corn, and almost impossible to prevent the soldiers wilfully turning their horses in, that they might get a much better meal than they would otherwise. In most instances the soldiers went into the huts before they burnt them, and brought out any particular articles, such as the skins to hold milk, and other vessels, and laid them outside the houses, before they burnt them ; but where the villages were large, it was impossible for them to do so in every instance. I saw no injury done to any person, though I saw a very distressing case, in which a hut had been burnt, not by the party I was with, but by another : the hut must have contained a poor idiot Caffre woman, who was also blind, and she was crawling about when we came up, not knowing how to escape, and was burning herself. She was immediately removed by the soldiers, and they left a hut standing for her ; and some of the Hottentot soldiers, from their own feelings, left their rations with her, that she might have food.

3290. That injury was of course not intentional ?—Of course not at all.

3291. Had you an opportunity of communicating with the Caffres, so as to ascertain whether they considered their expulsion from their country a great injury ?—They certainly did, but we had no communication with any Caffre in that country at the time, except with one man, who had got to the other side a rocky ravine, while a village was being burnt. He called out to us in the Caffre language, which was explained to us by an interpreter, and asked us why we were burning his house ; and it seemed to be difficult to make a reply : there was general silence throughout the party. I should perhaps say, I afterwards went into the interior, and was much among the Caffre tribes, and we were generally on friendly terms with them, and they often used to refer to the expulsion of Macomo, and ask about it, apparently thinking it was part of a general system of taking their country from them : even Hintza, and other chiefs less powerful than him, alluded to it in their conversation with us.

3296. *Chairman.*] Will you state the general impression which the whole transaction left on your mind as to the system of measures of expelling the Caffres from their land, as to its policy, and as to the probable consequences with regard to maintaining peace in the country ?—As to the justice of the measure, I think that ejecting people entirely from their land, because they had been at war with others whom we might call our allies, was certainly the strongest kind of punishment that could be inflicted, and for an apparently almost dubious crime. The Caffres are constantly making war one with another, and a predatory war is not the greatest of crimes in their eyes. The government, very likely, were better informed as to what excuses, good or bad, Macomo might have for going to war with the Tambookies. He was a very uneasy neighbour, and I have no doubt the Cape government were very

desirous to get rid of him as their neighbour. He might be almost called a usurper. He was a very active man. He had always a considerable number of the most enterprising of the Caffres, who liked to serve under him, because he was a most successful plunderer. I think it would have been very difficult for any person to have relied on a promise or treaty of Macomo's, because he had established his power by being at the head of what might be termed a banditti. His father was Gaika, and Macomo could have no right to the territory till his death, if even then, not being his eldest or succeeding son. He had become the head of an army, and a certain portion of territory had been yielded to him, perhaps, by Gaika. He was probably as difficult a man to live on good terms with as any man that could be found. The consequence of the measures might be easily foreseen. Macomo had no place to go to except to retire to a part of the country where the Caffres declined to live (unless they were forced to do so), for want of water: he could not be expected to live there any more than the Caffres who had refused formerly to occupy it. He must therefore be still expected to live by rapine, and even more so than when he had a country where he could live by pasturing cattle and cultivating corn. He retired further down the Sward Kei (I think), where is a very bad country, and, I believe, then became for some time a head of mere roving banditti, and lived on his neighbours. Since that time, he succeeded to the power in Gaika's country, and then of course his circumstances were altered. He was, in the first case, driven back on the Caffres, who were altogether deficient in pasture land. The numbers of persons to be supported by the same country were considerably increased, and their extent of land diminished.

3297. Do you apprehend that Macomo entertained so painful a recollection of this season of his life as to have influenced him in his late attack, which had been made in the colony by the Caffres?—I think it is impossible to doubt that Macomo's feeling certainly had not subsided for a considerable time. He had professed to be very willing to make terms with the colonists again, provided they would give him part of his land.

The banks of the Chumie were still left in the possession of the Caffres, and their next remove was from thence. We have thought it right to quote these passages of Mr. Gisborne's relative to Macomo, in order to show that there is no prejudice in his favour; but after stating his opinion, it is necessary, in justice to the chief, to give that of other witnesses, who are well acquainted with his character:\*

126. What had been the previous conduct of Macomo?—He had been a good deal blamed at one time: he was certainly the most daring Caffre of the whole; a gallant bold fellow, and as a friend a most excellent one; but as an enemy a very dangerous one.

127. But he was a man, from your intercourse with him, in whom you could place reliance, if he pledged his word to you?—I should have no hesitation in doing so.

\* Capt. R. S. Aitchison; Colonel Cox; Mr. J. Read, jun.; Rev. S. Read.

4532. Is the fact here stated true, that you had reason to entertain a good opinion of Macomo?—Macomo was a favourite of mine. I confess I thought a great deal could be done with him, and I thought he had been, in some instances, rather harshly treated. I have a more favourable opinion of Macomo than of any other chief.

4536. Do you attribute to him deliberate duplicity?—No.

4537. What do you think of him in point of general character and intelligence?—I think he has more intelligence than the other Caffre chiefs, and that a great deal more might be done with him than with any others; he has more reason to complain than the others; he has been removed two or three times from his territory.

5186. *Mr. Johnston.*] What was your opinion of Macomo's character for intelligence?—I think he is a most intelligent man, an acute man, a man of great mind, a just man, a man who tried to do every thing in his power to discourage thefts, a man who, if he could but sit quiet, as he once called it, would attend to the word of God. We have never had any cattle traced to his country; a man who is praised by every military officer. I heard Major Birnie say, at Beaufort, on my way to Graham's-town, that if Macomo had been treated by every officer as he had been treated by himself, Macomo might have been made much of, and this war never would have happened.

5187. What did the chief mean by the expression "sitting quiet?"—That he had no rest; he was daily annoyed by patrols.

5256. *Chairman.*] Do you consider Macomo to be a person of considerable natural talent?—Considerable.

5257. Do you think he had a sincere desire to sit down, as he called it, in peace, and to promote the civilization and improvement of his people?—I believe perfectly so, from every thing I could learn. I do not derive this confidence in Macomo from my own personal observation alone; but every missionary that I have met with that had any knowledge of Macomo, spoke in the highest terms of him. The Rev. Mr. Ross resided with him three years, at Balfour, and he said he found him always correct in all his proceedings; and I have not met with a military officer that has come into contact with Macomo yet, but what has given Macomo a good character.

In 1833, before Sir Lowry Cole left the colony, he had given orders for removing Tyalie and his people from the Muncassanna; he was accordingly removed, but by an error, as Colonel Wade says, not placed beyond the boundary. To remedy this error, Colonel Wade, without consulting the frontier authorities, gave order for a further removal, which must have appeared to the Caffres, who had submitted quietly to the first order, an unaccountable decree.

A very short time before Sir Lowry embarked for Europe (on the 10th of August), orders were transmitted to the civil commissioner and commandant to remove Tyalie and his people from the Muncassanna beyond the colonial boundaries. Finding that government had decided on this measure, Tyalie did not offer any resistance, or render the employment of the troops and burghers, who were in readiness to enforce compliance, necessary, but withdrew from the colony, and was placed

behind what was erroneously supposed to be the boundary, viz. the "Gaga," one of the small periodical streams which have their source in a ridge of no great elevation, which commences where the Kat Berg terminates, runs thence parallel to the course of the Chumie and Keiskamma rivers, as far as Somerset Mount, where it branches off to the westward, and encloses several other streams that run directly to the sea.

The necessity of removing Tyalie and his people from the Muncassanna had undergone mature consideration before Sir Lowry Cole issued his instructions for the execution of that measure in the preceding August or July; and when after his departure I discovered that they had been placed, not beyond the boundaries, but only behind the Gaga, which was erroneously supposed to be the boundary, and that there were others within the limits to whom I was positively certain no permission to reside there had been granted by the government, and that the locations were, under these circumstances, still exposed to, and suffering from, depredation and trespass, I did not again deem it necessary to consult the frontier authorities, but decided upon perfecting the protection of the locations, as far as it was possible to do so. Had I asked their opinion, I am inclined to believe that the acting commandant, Colonel England, would not, and that the civil commissioner, Captain Campbell would, have approved of the removal. It is right also that I should explain, that the existence of an error as to the precise boundary line at the point in question was by no means a matter to excite surprise, as from the length of time Tyalie's Caffres had been permitted to remain in the Muncassanna, an indulgence they so frequently and so shamefully abused, no circumstance had for some years past rendered necessary the verification of that particular portion of the frontier, and there were very few who possessed accurate information on the subject.

I have already explained that the chief Charlie (Tyalie) and his people were removed from the Muncassanna by order of Sir Lowry Cole. His orders were that they should be placed beyond the colonial boundaries; they were placed, not beyond the colonial boundaries, but beyond what was erroneously supposed to be the colonial boundaries, the Gaga. The source, as I have stated, of the Gaga is within a mile of the source of the Muncassanna; therefore, when I ascertained that depredations continued, I asked the officer of engineers to point out to me the exact boundaries, and he showed me that it was the upper stream, and not the Gaga, and it was at once evident to me that as long as the Caffres occupied the Gaga the depredations could be easily accounted for, as they had only a mile of open ground to go over into the Muncassanna, and therefore I at once decided upon removing them behind the upper stream, above the Gaga.

2783. Did the officer give any reason for his inferring that this upper river was the proper boundary, and not the Gaga?—I have already stated it was the same officer who was sent with Captain Stockenstrom when a doubt arose as to the precise boundary in 1822. He had persons sent along with him to mark out and ascertain the boundary, and it happened fortunately that this same officer was in the year 1833 at Cape Town, and he traced the boundary himself upon that map, where the dotted line now is.

2784. *Chairman.*] Then having ascertained from Lieut. Pettingall, who surveyed the boundary, that an error had been committed, you considered that you were justified in removing the Caffres further to the eastward?—Yes. I must explain, also, that this was the first time since 1823 that it had become necessary to ascertain the boundary in that direction, because the Caffres had, been permitted to return to the colony “on sufferance,” and that country had been occupied by them from that period. Macomo was expelled from the valleys of the Kat in 1829, but Charlie (Tyalie) was still left in possession of the Muncassanna, and therefore it had not before become necessary to ascertain the precise boundary. Sir Lowry Cole left Charlie (Tyalie), certainly the most troublesome chief upon the frontier, on that stream, the Muncassanna, and as nothing at that moment was brought against him, permitted him to retain possession of it, although a tributary of the Kat river, where at the same time he located the Hottentots.

On this affair we would remark, that the actual boundary was at least a disputed point, few authentic witnesses remaining; but there were two persons, who, from their station, must be regarded as competent to speak to the point, and they, without communication, concur in declaring that the Chumie basin (the tract in question, as we believe) had been reserved for the Caffres. These are Captain Stockenstrom, who, in his account of the treaty, says, as we have seen, that Gaika did stipulate that his family should keep the Chumie basin; and Macomo, who, in a letter written in 1833, says, that “I have lived peaceably with my people west of the Chumie river, ever since I have been allowed by Stockenstrom and Somerset to live there in my own country.”\*

Whatever may be the opinions of our witnesses on this and on other particulars of our border policy, on one point we observe they are all agreed, in condemning and in lamenting its fickleness and inutility.

This vacillation may be explicable, perhaps, to ourselves, who are aware of the variety of men and opinions concerned in the administration of affairs, and of the contradictory representations liable to be made at a remote seat of government; but, as Lord Glenelg has justly observed, to the natives our proceedings must often have assumed an appearance of caprice, and of a confusion perfectly unintelligible. In no case has this vacillation been more awkwardly exemplified than in the further transactions with Macomo, thus stated by Captain R. S. Aitchison:—

115. Have you ever been employed in removing any of the Caffre tribes out of the neutral territory?—I have: in November 1833 I was ordered to remove Macomo, Botman, and Tyalie, beyond the boundary, which I did.

116. Who was the commandant of the frontier at that time?—Colonel England, of the 75th; Colonel Somerset having gone on leave to England.

\* See also Despatch of Sir B. D'Urban, 28th Oct., 1834, Cape Papers, Part II. 1835, No. 252, p. 103.

117. Who was the governor?—The acting governor was Colonel Wade; after Sir Lowry Cole's departure, and before Sir Benjamin D'Urban arrived, Colonel Wade was acting governor.

118. Will you state what took place when you were ordered to remove Macomo and Tyalie?—Colonel England sent for me (I was absent about 30 miles from Graham's Town), and stated that he had received from Cape Town orders to remove those chiefs beyond the boundary, and that I was named for that duty. He then, as I had been a long time in the country and understood these matters perfectly, asked me the policy of that step, and we agreed that as it was the time of the year when the Caffre corn and pumpkins were in a forward state, that if this could be put off for a few months it would be an act of charity towards the Caffres. Viewing it as I did, he did not act upon the order, but by the post of the following day wrote to say that such being the case, he had submitted again the policy of allowing the Caffres to remain until they had reaped their harvest, and hoped it would be approved of by the governor. By return of post, which was about fourteen days from that date, a peremptory order arrived for the removal of the Caffres. I was named and ordered to repair to Fort Willshire, to take upon myself the command of that post, and to superintend the clearing of the country. The force that was then put under my charge was quite inadequate to effect this purpose by force. I sent for Macomo and for Botman, and as I had known them many years, I told them, and in fact they expressed great confidence, knowing that I had never deceived them in any way whatever, and never promised them that which I could not perform. I sent for them and explained the case. At first they refused positively to go: I then pointed out as well as I could the absurdity of objecting to go. Macomo said he knew very well that I could not force him; I said of course that I must do it, but that if he would go quietly and advise all his people to do the same, Colonel Somerset might be expected very shortly and also the new governor, and that his good behaviour on this occasion would insure him my support, and that I would not fail, if he went quietly, to mention his conduct to both when they arrived. After many hours, I may say almost, of needless conversation upon the subject, he at last said that he would believe me, and would go. I gave him two days to complete the evacuation of the country, and then I went with the whole force I had, and did not find a single Caffre.

119. Had they left any property?—All the corn, which was quite green, all the gardens, and all the pumpkins, and every thing was left; no animals were left.

122. In this conversation that you had with Macomo, did he claim his right to stay?—No; but he distinctly said, which we found out afterwards to be the case, that he could not make out the cause of his removal, and asked me if I would tell him; and I really could not: I had heard nothing, no cause was ever assigned to me for the removal; and moreover, I met a boor who lived close to where Macomo was, and he said, "Pray, what are you removing these people for?" I said, "My orders are to do so." He said, "I am very sorry for it, for I have never lost, so long as they have been here, a single beast; they have even recovered beasts for me."

125. Then Macomo behaved, in this interview between you and him,

very well?—At first, as may be supposed, he was very violent; the man was very much irritated. I could not assign any reason why he was ordered to be removed; and he absolutely stated, “I will allow you to inquire at Fort Willshire, whether or not I have not sent in horses and cattle re-captured from other Caffres, which had been stolen from the colony.”

131. Did you see any instance of great distress amongst them?—Unfortunately it so happened for them that it was a particularly dry season; the grass, which generally is very abundant, was very scarce indeed, and also water; and they were driven out of a country that was both better for water and grass than the one they were removed to, which was already thickly inhabited. They took me over the country they were to inhabit, and I assure you there was not a morsel of grass upon it more than there is in this room; it was as bare as a parade.

132. On Colonel Somerset's return from England, was there any permission given to Macomo and his followers to return?—I mentioned to Colonel Somerset on his return, what I had told Macomo; I considered it my duty to do so, and he either obtained or gave the Caffres permission to re-occupy the ground from which I had driven them.

149. As to Macomo's tribe, did they reap the benefit of that harvest when they returned in January?—No, I think not; the corn would not be ripe till March.

150. You suppose the whole of that was lost?—A great part of that.

151. They came in February?—Yes.

152. When were they driven out?—By return of post. Colonel Somerset allowed them to come in, and, upon a representation to the civil commissioners, they were ordered back again.

In what light, may we again ask, must these changes have appeared to the Caffres, removed without cause assigned from their huts and springing corn in November, 1833—restored in February, 1834—sent away again by return of post—in the same year, as we shall see, allowed to resettle themselves—and again ejected.\*

We might find cause for regret in these changes, if only on the ground of the fickleness of policy which they exhibit, but when we couple with them the fact mentioned by Mr. Gisborne, that one only of these removals had produced in the minds not only of the chiefs immediately concerned, but in that of Hintza, feelings of distrust and irritation, we cannot but consider these

\* Sir Benjamin D'Urban thus speaks of the November expulsion:—“For many years past the tribes of the chiefs Macomo, Botman, and Tyalie, had been allowed by the colonial government to reside and graze their cattle immediately within (on the western side of) the River Keiskamma, upon the Gaga, Chumie, and Muncassanna. In the November of the last year the acting governor, under the impression that this indulgence had been abused (which probably it might have been to a certain extent), ordered their immediate expulsion from the whole of that line, and they were expelled accordingly. This unfortunately happened when a period of severe drought was approaching; so that these tribes, I am afraid, but too certainly suffered much loss in their herds in consequence.”—Despatch, 28th Oct. 1834, Cape Papers, Part II. 1835, No. 252, p. 103.

repetitions of the grievance as one of the principal causes of the calamity which has befallen the colony. Of the last scene of removal, Colonel Wade was witness on the 21st October, 1834. He says, that "at this time, they had been returned about a month, had built their huts, established their cattle-kraals, and commenced the cultivation of their gardens." He states that, together with Colonel Somerset, he made a visit to Macomo and Botman's kraal, across the Keiskamma, and that Macomo rode back with them, when they had recrossed the river and reached the Omkobina, a tributary of the Chumie. "These valleys were swarming with Caffres, as was the whole country in our front, as far as the Gaga; the people were all in motion, carrying off their effects, and driving away their cattle towards the drifts of the river, and to my utter amazement, the whole country around and before us was in a blaze. Presently we came up with a strong patrol of the mounted rifle corps, which had, it appeared, come out from Fort Beaufort that morning; the soldiers were busily employed in burning the huts and driving the Caffres towards the frontier."

Colonel Wade objects to the restrictions imposed by Sir B. D'Urban, as to the use of force against the Caffres, and conceives that to this system of leniency may be attributed the difficulties which arose: the above description, we think, scarcely warrants the inference, and Macomo's remonstrances on the occasion appear to us to be but natural. "I rode with Macomo for some time, who was evidently sorely vexed at the work that was going on around us. He complained of the Caffres being so often permitted to enter the colony and again thrust out, without any apparent cause for their removal; that they had remained during the last five weeks unmolested, and were again burnt out, when there was no cause of complaint against them. He asked me, emphatically, 'When am I to have my country again?'"

The further procedures with the Caffres are thus described:—

The second time of my leaving Caffreland was in October, last year, in company with a gentleman, who was to return towards Hantam. We passed through the country of the Gaga at 10 o'clock at night; the Caffres were enjoying themselves after their custom, with their shouting, feasting, and midnight dances; they allowed us to pass on unmolested. Some time after I received a letter from the gentleman who was my travelling companion on that night, written just before the breaking out of the Caffre war; in it he says, "You recollect how joyful the Caffres were when we crossed the Gaga; but on my return a dense smoke filled all the vales, and the Caffres were seen lurking here and there behind the Mimosa; a patrol, commanded by an officer, was driving them beyond the colonial boundary. (This piece of country has very lately been claimed by the colony.) I saw one man near me, and I told my guide to call him to me: the poor fellow said, "No, I cannot come nearer; that white man looks too much like a soldier;" and all

our persuasions could not induce him to advance near us." "Look," said he, pointing to the ascending columns of smoke, "what the white men are doing." Their huts and folds were all burned. When the boors cross the northern boundary, you hear the civil commissioner and Colonel Bell saying the drought compels them to intrude into the country of the Griquas. I suppose boors are men, Caffres are beasts, or why not use the same argument for all classes of our fellow-men?" Thus much of this gentleman's letter, upon whose veracity I can implicitly depend. It was about this period that the case of the Caffre Goubie came on, when the magistrate of Graham's Town awarded to a Caffre 50 lashes on his bare back, and an imprisonment of two months, for resisting a serjeant in the execution of his duty," such being the civil charge, as may be seen in the records of the magistrates' court of Graham's Town. The poor Caffre being a subject of Macomo's, had, as it appears in evidence, built his hut on a part of the neutral territory, so called, probably the Gaga. The serjeant being about to set fire to the hut, the Caffre is said to have threatened opposition; he afterwards went through the Caffreland, showing his wounded back to his countrymen, and calling down their vengeance. Numerous were the instances of commandos or patrols, of which I heard when in Caffreland, carrying off the cattle of the Caffres, burning their huts, besides the misconduct of the traders and farmers.

Of the previous state of the country, and its appearance at the time we are speaking of, Dr. Philip says:—

In passing through Albany and the neutral territory in the end of August or the beginning of September, the scenes where their depredations were said to have taken place, I made particular inquiry after the boors and settlers who could not send their cattle and herds without sending armed men to defend them; and I endeavoured to ascertain where the hordes of Caffres were said to be within the colony harassing the military, and, in spite of them, committing unparalleled outrages; but I met with none who had either seen or heard of such things. Herds of cattle and horses were seen wandering in different directions, some of them attended by herdsmen without any arms, and others of these herds without any one appearing to look after them. Every thing within the colony wore the aspect of peace; and the principal things which seemed to occupy the people's minds were the emigration of the boors beyond the frontier, and the expectation that when the governor came to the frontier he would grant them new farms beyond the limits of the colony. We heard in every direction that the patrols had been very active; and on approaching the Caffre frontier, the first thing which struck my travelling companions and myself was a patrol coming out of Caffreland. During the two weeks I spent at the Kat river, I was constantly hearing of patrols driving the Caffres over the Chumie, burning their huts, and going into Caffreland to bring out cattle said to have been stolen. Having remained at Kat river about a fortnight, I went into Caffreland, accompanied by Captain Bradford, J. H. Tredgold, Esq. and the Rev. Mr. Read. We spent about a fortnight in the Caffre country, and in every part that we visited we found the Caffres in a state of continual alarm; and we seldom met a few of them

together but one or the other of them had to tell us how they had been ruined by the patrols. It was truly heart-rending to listen to their complaints, and the complaints of the men were almost forgotten in the distress of the women and children, who were literally perishing, being stricken through for want of the fruits of the field and the milk that had been the means of their support, their cows having been carried away by the patrols.

Having visited the missionary stations of Lovedale, Burn's-hill, and the Buffalo river, I returned by way of Knap's-hill, the missionary station of the Rev. Mr. Kayser, which was on Macomo's ground, and near his kraal. There we met with several of the Caffre chiefs who had been invited to meet me there; namely, Macomo, Botman, Kama, and Tzatzzo. We had a public meeting, which occupied the greater part of a day, and at which there was much speaking. My sole object on that occasion was to procure any additional information for the governor which I could obtain. I stated to them that I had come among them as their friend; I neither was in fact, nor appeared to them to be, in any other character. In reply to the remarks which the chiefs made about their sufferings, I stated that I hoped the governor would soon be on the frontier, and that I had reason to think he was a just man, and would redress any real grievances of which they might have to complain. I told them, at the same time, that they must not expect anything more than was reasonable from his Excellency; that he was obliged to protect the colonists from any depredations that might be committed on them by the Caffres, and that any future plan that might be proposed to the chiefs by the governor would necessarily embrace the restoration of cattle stolen from the colonists by the Caffres, and other things of a similar nature.

I found the Caffres reasonable, and I had not the least doubt that had the governor gone to the frontier at the time I was there, they would have embraced the plan he had to propose for the peaceable settlement of the frontier affairs with transports of joy. Having stated rather strongly the necessity the chiefs would be under of preventing all stealing from the colony as the condition of any peaceable relations the governor might enter into with them, Botman made the following reply: "The governor cannot be so unreasonable as to make our existence as a nation depend upon a circumstance which is beyond the reach of human power. Is it in the power of any governor to prevent his people stealing from each other? Have you not within the colony magistrates, policemen, prisons, whipping-posts, and gibbets; and do you not perceive that in spite of all these means to make your people honest, that your prisons continue full, and that you have constant employment for your magistrates, policemen, and hangmen, without being able to keep down your colonial thieves and cheats? A thief is a wolf; he belongs to no society, and yet is the pest and bane of all societies. You have your thieves, and we have thieves among us; but we cannot, as chiefs, extirpate the thieves of Caffreland, more than we can extirpate the wolves, or you can extirpate the thieves of the colony. There is, however, this difference between us: we discountenance thieves in Caffreland, and prevent, as far as possible, our people stealing from the colony; but you countenance the robbery of your people upon the Caffres, by the sanction you give to the injustice of

the patrol system. Our people have stolen your cattle, but you have, by the manner by which you have refunded your loss, punished the innocent; and after having taken our country from us, without even a shadow of justice, and shut us up to starvation, you threaten us with destruction for the thefts of those to whom you left no choice but to steal or die by famine."

My last interview with the chiefs took place in the beginning of October, 1834. After this interview, I returned to the Kat river, where I waited, expecting daily the arrival of the governor. Finding that he delayed his proposed journey, and that I had no certainty as to the time of his arrival on the frontier, I drew up a document, communicating additional information, and at the same time laying before Sir Benjamin the principle on which it was necessary to base the system of international law proposed to be introduced. Finding that I could not wait longer for his Excellency on the frontier, I wrote a letter to him, in which I stated that circumstance, assigning my reasons for leaving Caffreland at that period; and as he was daily expected in Graham's Town, the above document, with the letter in question, I forwarded to Graham's Town, to be put into the hands of his Excellency on his arrival there, that he might see them before he went into Caffreland.

I then left Kat river on the 4th of November, by way of the Muncassanna and Gaga. On a ridge which separates these two districts, I met several parties of Caffres. Goobie, a Caffre, who had been imprisoned and flogged at Graham's Town by order of the civil magistrate, had returned to that neighbourhood; and one of the first questions asked me was, what right the English government had to punish the subject of a Caffre chief? I was assured by the people then around me, that it was the first example of a Caffre ever having been flogged; that the man could never again lift up his head in society; that it would have been better had he been shot dead; and that when the governor should arrive among them, he would hear of it from every tongue in Caffreland as one of the greatest indignities that could have been offered to their nation. I said every thing in my power to soothe them; but no people can have a keener sense of injustice in cases where they themselves are the sufferers, or can be more alive to what they deem national affronts, than the Caffres are; and I found that any argument I used to quiet their minds tended only to increase the excitement to which this circumstance had given rise. Some of the Caffres asserted that the man was arrested on what was, till then, considered Caffre territory; but this is a circumstance of small consequence; he was the subject of a Caffre prince, and he had only lifted his hand to protect his hut, and his wife and child, who were in it.

Leaving the Muncassanna, I proceeded along the western edge of the Chumie basin, and during a ride of perhaps twenty miles, I did not find a single Caffre kraal or hut which had not been burnt or otherwise destroyed by the military. Immediately above Fort Willshire, and below the junction of the Chumie and Keiskamma rivers, I saw with my own eyes the kraals and huts of the Caffres burning. This was on ground that was of use to no one. It was on the boundary of the neutral ground (within the territory which goes by that name), and at a great distance from any colonists. The people were sitting in small groups looking at their burning habitations. Being asked why they

did not go over the river, they said there was no grass on the other side, and they might as well perish by the patrols as by famine; they added, that the patrols who fired their kraals and huts had informed them, that the next day every one of them was to be driven over the river at the point of the bayonet.

On the 5th of November, the day after I left Kat river, I halted near Fort Willshire, about mid-day. Macomo, hearing that I was there, came to the place, accompanied with about twenty of his men. They remained with me about two hours. On his way he called at Fort Willshire, where he was reminded of a demand which had been made upon him a short time before by Colonel Somerset for 480 head of cattle, said to be due to the colony. The chief stated in reply to that demand, that there were no colonial cattle among his people; that he had always been ready, whenever cattle had been stolen from the colony, and reported to him, to recover them; that in the course of a year he had sent back a great number he had recaptured from Caffres that did not belong to them. Colonel Somerset had still urged that the 480 head of cattle were to be demanded, adding that he had orders from the governor to make this demand, but the governor was not willing to use force till he knew whether Macomo would comply with the demand or not. To this the chief replied, that he could only repeat what he had before said, that he had done every thing in his power to recover cattle said to have been stolen from the colony; that he would be answerable for his own people, but that he could not be answerable for cattle stolen by vagabond Caffres in the bushes. Having given this reply, and being conscious that he had done every thing in his power, and seeing no end to the demands made upon him, he received this last demand as a proof that his ruin was resolved upon; for he had just been told at Fort Willshire that a commando was about to enter his country to take the 480 head of cattle, and this threat seemed to add greatly to his distress. The chief then entered upon further detail of his grievances, and declared that it was impossible for human nature to endure what he had to suffer from the patrol system. I reasoned with him, and did all in my power to impress upon his mind the importance of maintaining peace with the colony. I stated again that I had reason to believe that the governor, when he came to the frontier, would listen to all his grievances, and treat him with justice and generosity. "These promises," he replied, "we have had for the last fifteen years;" and, pointing to the huts then burning, he added, "things are becoming worse: these huts were set on fire last night, and we were told that to-morrow the patrol is to scour the whole district, and drive every Caffre from the west side of the Chumie and Keiskamma at the point of the bayonet." He asked to what extent endurance was to be carried? and my reply was, "If they drive away your people at the point of the bayonet, advise them to go over the Keiskamma peaceably; if they come and take away cattle, suffer them to do it without resistance; if they burn your huts, allow them to do so; if they shoot your men, bear it till the governor come; and then represent your grievances to him, and I am convinced you will have no occasion to repent of having followed my advice. He was deeply affected, and the last words he said to me were, (grasping my hand,) "I will try what I can do."

These events bring us to the breaking out of the late war. On this most important subject we abstain from entering. Though much evidence has been laid before us, and many circumstances appearing therein have excited our deep regret (amongst the most painful of which we may allude to the death of the Caffre Prince Hintza), yet as the evidence on this head has not been completed, and as the events are so recent, we have been led to the belief that an analysis of the statements already before us might not be considered either impartial or conclusive: we therefore waive the investigation. It is sufficient to express our opinion, that the system which has long been pursued in our intercourse with the natives of South Africa has been productive of most injurious effects both to the colonists and the Caffres, exposing the former to constant insecurity and frequent severe suffering and loss, and subjecting the latter to great injustice, and to treatment which could not fail to occasion feelings of irritation and hostility.

We look upon the late war as one among many illustrations of these evils. While we purposely abstain from dwelling upon the circumstances which immediately produced it, we, without hesitation, name its real, though perhaps remote cause—it was the systematic forgetfulness of the principles of justice in our treatment of the native possessors of the soil.

That any substantial benefit can accrue from border conflicts, either to the British or the Caffre nation, may well be questioned. What has either party gained by recent hostilities? It is proved that both have sustained immense detriment—civilization has been retarded; commerce has been interrupted; the vanquished party has endured immense loss in property, in territory, and in life;\* and the victorious nation, besides suffering in all these particulars, has incurred an actual outlay of money far more than commensurate to the value of the territory acquired. The cost of this war to the British nation is estimated at 241,884*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.*

With respect, however, to this part of our investigation, we wish it to be understood, that it is not against individuals, much less against the colonists or the military as bodies, that we would direct our reprehension; we are convinced that a large proportion of both are well and kindly disposed towards the natives: but it is the system that has been permitted to prevail in the colony, which, in our opinion, requires a complete alteration: a system which puts it into the power of the few who are rash, reckless, or greedy, to hazard the peace and the welfare of the whole community. We are aware that the results of a long system of

\* This consisted in the slaughter of 4000 of their warriors, or fighting men. "There have been taken from them also, besides the conquest and alienation of their country, about 60,000 head of cattle, almost all their goats—their habitations every where destroyed, and their gardens and corn fields laid waste."—Sir B. D'Urban to Lord Glenelg, November, 1835.

erroneous policy are not to be remedied without much time and patience, and we fear that the weight of the calamity which it has produced has in many instances fallen on those of our colonists who have least merited it; but we entertain a confident hope that, by the measures which have been lately adopted and recommended by the government, peace and harmony between us and our neighbours may be restored and established on a sure and lasting basis; and it is chiefly to the enlightened principles, and to the just directions of the head of our colonial department, exemplified as they are in his late despatches before us, and to laws embodying and carrying into effect those directions and principles, that we look for this happy accomplishment of our desires. Thus much at least is sufficiently obvious, as has been stated by Sir Benjamin D'Urban in his despatch to Mr. Secretary Rice, of 28th October, 1834, "that a complete and effectual reformation of our system of proceeding with the native tribes (if that may be called a system which seems to have been guided by no fixed principles, certainly by no just one) had become absolutely necessary."

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*Effects of Fair Dealing, combined with Christian Instruction,  
on Aborigines.*

In the foregoing survey we have seen the desolating effects of the association of unprincipled Europeans with nations in a ruder state.

There remains a more gratifying subject to which we have now to direct our attention—the effect of fair dealing and of christian instruction upon heathens. The instances are unhappily less numerous than those of an opposite character, but they are not less conclusive; and in reviewing the evidence before us, we find proof that every tribe of mankind is accessible to this remedial process, and that it has actually been partially applied, and its benefits experienced in every quarter of the world, so that the main feature of the case before us being the ravages caused by Europeans, enough has been incidentally disclosed to show that those nations which have been exposed to our contamination might, during the same period, have been led forward to religion and civilization. Independently of the obligations of conscience to impart the blessings we enjoy, we have had abundant proof that it is greatly for our advantage to have dealings with civilized men rather than with barbarians. Savages are dangerous neighbours and unprofitable customers, and if they remain as degraded denizens of our colonies, they become a burthen upon the state.

We have next to express our conviction that there is but one effectual means of staying the evils we have occasioned, and of

imparting the blessings of civilization, and that is, the propagation of Christianity, together with the preservation, for the time to come, of the civil rights of the natives.

We have seen that a mere acquaintance with civilized men by no means prepares savages to receive Christianity, and that kind of civilization which alone can be advantageous to them or ourselves.

True civilization and Christianity, says Mr. Ellis, are inseparable; the former has never been found but as a fruit of the latter. An inferior kind of civilization may precede Christianity, and prevail without it to a limited extent; such, for instance, as the adoption, by comparatively rude tribes, of the dress and modes of living of more cultivated society, a taste for their arts, manufactures, and comforts. All this may occur without any change of character. This kind of civilization is only superficial: it may polish and smooth the exterior of human society, but it leaves the deep foundations of crime and wretchedness, the vices of human nature, which are the causes of all barbarism in every part of the world, untouched, and consequently supplies no sufficient remedy for the evils to be removed. My experience would lead me to regard this inferior kind of civilization as a very inefficient means of promoting the improvement of the native inhabitants of different countries. The communication with members of a more advanced state of society, by which it is produced, has often occasioned the most serious impediments to the introduction of Christianity, and it certainly would not predispose men to admit the moral claims of the christian religion. The advantages this kind of civilization offers have not proved inducements sufficiently powerful to overcome the long confirmed habits of uncivilized nations, while their intercourse with Europeans has generally added the vices of the latter to those of the aborigines, and has increased in a fearful degree the miseries which prevailed before. Mr. Ellis adds, it is a fact of great importance in the present inquiry, that Christianity has never been introduced into any nation or tribe where civilization has not invariably followed.

We further find, in the evidence before us, that benevolent attempts have been made to instruct savages in the arts of civilized life, for the purpose of improving their condition, and gradually preparing them for the truths of the gospel, and that these attempts have been signally unsuccessful.

The cause of this failure is explained by Mr. Beecham.

The higher motives of the gospel must be brought to bear upon the mind of the savage; he must be made to feel the importance of the truths of religion before he will discover any thing desirable in the quietness and sobriety of civilized life, or will dare to break through his superstitions in order to subdue it.

I was aware that the governor of Upper Canada had made many attempts to induce the Indians to renounce their wandering life, and I wished to ascertain from the chief himself what were his views of the endeavours made by the governor in their behalf, and how it was that they failed. He said the fact was simply this, that the offers of the

governor had no charms for them ; they could see nothing in civilized life sufficiently attractive to induce them to give up their former mode of living for the sake of it. He told me that they gave the governor credit for very kind and benevolent intentions ; yet, in answer to all his applications, while they thanked him for his kind intentions, they uniformly told him that they preferred their own mode of living to that followed by Europeans. This again was the case with the Indians who are situated in the neighbourhood of the river St. Clair. The governor made several attempts to induce them also to renounce their wandering habits, and devote themselves to civilized pursuits ; but they also refused, arguing in the following strain : " Who knows but the Munedoos (gods) would be angry with us for abandoning our own ways ;" and concluded by saying, " We wish our great father, the governor, to be informed that we feel thankful to him for his good will towards us, but cannot accept of his kind offers." It is true that, after some time, one of the tribes so far acceded to the governor's proposals as to consent that he should build them some houses. He built a small number for their use, but it was altogether a fruitless experiment ; the Indians only occupied them occasionally as they used their own huts, without any reference to the comforts or pursuits of civilized life. I have here a letter from the chief himself in his own hand-writing, in which he says, in reference to the attempts that had thus been made to promote civilization without Christianity, " I have heard of no instance in this part of the country, where the plan of first civilizing the heathen Indians ever succeeded."

In like manner, the American Society of Friends have for nearly a century and a half laboured for the civilization of the Indians, under an idea that civilization would make way for the introduction of the peculiar doctrines of the christian religion. Their efforts have been always received with gratitude, and been repaid by the confidence of the Indians : but a member of the Society of Friends, Mr. Elisha Bates, who was in a committee for their benefit, and who several times visited the Shawnee tribes, declares, with reference to these people, that though there was an improvement in civilization, it was not by any means satisfactory ; and he states, " Within the last few years we have had to review the whole course of proceedings, and we have come to the conclusion, from a deliberate view of the past, that we erred, sorrowfully erred, in the plan which was originally adopted, in making civilization the object ; for we cannot count on a single individual that we have brought to the full adoption of Christianity."

So complete, indeed, has been the failure of the merely civilizing plan with various tribes of Indians, that intelligent Americans have been led to adopt the conclusion, that it is necessary to banish the Indians from the neighbourhood of the white population, on the supposition that they are not capable of being reclaimed or elevated into a civilized or well ordered community.

This was not the opinion of William Penn, whose conduct

towards the Indians has been deservedly held up as a model for legislators, and who, "notwithstanding he purchased their lands" by an equitable treaty, "did not desire their removal," but "admitted them to full participation in the benefit and protection of the laws, and who also took pains to promote their religious instruction, and to render the intercourse with their white brethren beneficial to them.\* That the good which he contemplated has been frustrated by many untoward circumstances, we are aware; but we do not therefore doubt the feasibility of producing a permanent impression upon uncivilized men. We consider that the true plan to be pursued is that which we find thus recommended by the Church Missionary Society, [in their instructions to two of their emissaries:—"In connexion with the preaching of the gospel, you will not overlook its intimate bearing on the moral habits of a people. One effect arising from its introduction into a country is, the 'beating the sword into a ploughshare, and the spear into a pruning-hook.' Seek then to apply it to the common occupation of life; and instead of waiting to civilize them before you instruct them in the truths of the gospel, or to convert them before you aim at the improvement of their temporal condition, let the two objects be pursued simultaneously."†

The governors of the Canadas, as we find in their despatches, seem to have been brought to the conviction that religious instruction and the influence of missionaries would be the most likely means of improving their condition, and, eventually, of relieving the government from the expense of the Indian department. Both Sir James Kempt and Sir J. Colbourne advise the sending of missionaries among them.‡

A remarkable instance of the power of the gospel in reclaiming savages, has been afforded by the Mississaguas and Chipeways, the very Indians who had, as we have seen, rejected civilization, and who were notorious for drunkenness and debauchery.§

Their improvement began with their conversion: "as soon as they were converted, they perceived the evils attendant upon their former ignorant wandering state; they began to work, which they never did before; they perceived the advantage of cultivating the soil; they totally gave up drinking, to which they had been strongly attached; they became industrious, sober, and useful.||

The Bishop of Quebec writes,—

The Methodist Society have been very successful in converting a great portion of the Mississagua tribe from heathen ignorance and

\* Paper A, referred to in the Evidence of T. Hodgkin, Esq. M.D.

† Papers Abor. Tribes, 1834, No. 617, p. 152.

‡ Abor. Tribes, Parl. Papers, p. 40—43.

|| Report of the Rev. J. Magrath, p. 42.

§ Parl. Papers, p. 27.

immoral habits to christian faith and practice ; and this improvement has been so great and rapid within these few years, that the hand of God seems to be visible in it ; and it must be acknowledged that they have done much in the work of their civilization. An extraordinary reformation and conversion to Christianity has taken place in this tribe within a few years. It commenced on the river Credit, and has extended to various settlements of the nation to a considerable distance. A great proportion of the tribe have become sober and industrious in their habits, well clad as to their persons, and religious in their life and conversation.\*

Mr. Magrath also mentions, that they no longer desire the gifts of trinkets and gaudy coloured clothes, in which they formerly delighted, in lieu of which they request twine, for the purpose of making fishing-nets for the Lake Ontario. The half-caste chief Kahkewaquonaby, generally known by the name of Peter Jones, in answer to the question, whether the Chippeways, on embracing the gospel, did not immediately apply themselves to civilized pursuits ? says,—

This has uniformly been the case with all the tribes that have embraced the gospel. Immediately on their conversion, they have applied to the governor and missionaries for assistance, to enable them to settle down in villages, and attend to the things that make for their present happiness as well as their spiritual welfare. Their language is, "Give us missionaries to tell us about the words of the Great Spirit ; give us schools, that our children may be taught to read the Bible ; give us oxen to work with, and men to show us how to work our farms." To the question, Whether the christian Chippeways have not made considerable advancement in civilization ?—The improvement the christian Indians have made, has been the astonishment of all who knew them in their pagan state. The change for the better has not only extended in their hearts, views, and feelings, but also in their personal appearance, and in their domestic and social condition. Formerly they were in a wandering state, living in wigwams, and depending on the chase for subsistence. The christian Chippeways are settled at the following places, viz. :—River Credit, Grape Island, Rice Lake, Mud Lake, Lake Simcoe, Cold Water, Muncey Town, River St. Clair (Wawanosh's tribe), and Sahgeeng. At each of these places they have made more or less progress in civilization, according to the advantages they enjoyed. The River Credit mission being the oldest station among the Chippeways, I will give you an account of their present temporal condition. About ten years ago this people had no houses, no fields nor horses, no cattle, no pigs, and no poultry. Each person could carry all he possessed on his back, without being much burthened. They are now occupying about 40 comfortable houses, most of which are built of hewn logs, and a few of frame. They are generally one-and-a-half story high, and about 24 feet long and 18 feet wide, with stone or brick chimneys ; two or three rooms in each house ; their furniture consists of tables, chairs, bedsteads, straw mattresses, a few feather beds, window-curtains, boxes and trunks for their wearing apparel, small shelves

fastened against the wall, for their books, closets for their cooking utensils, cupboards for their plates, cups, saucers, knives and forks. Some have clocks and watches. They have no carpets; but a few have mats laid on their floors. This tribe own a saw-mill, a workshop, a blacksmith's shop, and a warehouse, the property of the whole community. They have about 200 acres of land under cultivation, on which they grow wheat, Indian corn or maize, oats, peas, potatoes, pumpkins, and squashes. In their gardens they raise beans, melons, cabbages, onions, &c. A few have planted fruit-trees in their gardens, such as apple-trees, cherry-trees, pear-trees, currant and gooseberry-bushes. All these thrive well here, when properly cultivated. They have a number of oxen, cows, horses, pigs, poultry, dogs, and cats; a few barns and stables; a few waggons and sleighs; also all sorts of farming implements. "I guess," as the Yankees say, it would require an Indian as strong as Sampson, to carry all his goods and chattels on his back now.

He goes on to speak of the improvement in their dress; they now use English cloth; and he dwells especially upon the great amelioration of the condition of the women, who have been raised from the drudgery of beasts of burthen, and are now treated with consideration by their husbands.

A similar instance is furnished by the history of the St. Clair Chippeways, of whom the Rev. J. Evans says,—

They were all drunkards, with one exception; not drunkards in a limited sense, but the most abandoned and unblushing sots imaginable; they were never sober when they could procure any thing to intoxicate them; they were idle in the extreme, never attending to any business except hunting; the women being considered the proper persons to manage the agricultural department, which consisted of perhaps half an acre of maize or Indian corn, seldom more; the greater part of the produce of which was in general sold for whiskey at the spirit-store or the tavern, in the vicinity of which places the greater part of their time was spent, embracing every opportunity of soliciting from the whites the means of gratifying their insatiable thirst for the "fire water." Their places of abode, until about three years past, were bark wigwams; and such was their poverty and wretchedness, that could my pen draw a faithful picture, and fully point out their extreme misery, there are few, indeed, in the island of comforts where you dwell, who would not charge me with exaggeration. Thus sinking in the slough of iniquity, the children were at times exposed to the most severe sufferings by hunger and nakedness. I have known many times a family of small children left to spend several days and nights in the wigwam alone, gathering a few sticks to warm their shivering limbs, or wandering through the bushes to obtain a few berries and roots; chewing the bark of the elm and other trees to satisfy their hunger; greedily devouring the potato-peelings and refuse thrown out by the whites; while their parents were rolling around some of those hot-beds of vice, those nurseries of crimes, the taverns. They were the most prodigal that can be conceived; the annual payments made by the crown as a remuneration for their lands, together with presents, amounting to several thousand pounds sterling, were almost useless; nay, in many cases, worse than

useless, by making them indulge, to a greater extent, in drunkenness. I have known scores of them to sell all their goods thus obtained, in two or three days. Such was their insatiable thirst for liquor, that a quart or two would induce them to part with any thing they possessed, rather than forego the gratification of a drunken frolic. I have known the Indians to live for days on a dead horse, ox, or other animal, rather than leave the spot where they could procure whiskey.

For the civilisation of this tribe, also, government made considerable efforts. Sir J. Colbourne, who has ever been much interested in the civilisation and improvement of the Aborigines, had, as we have seen, built them houses, appointed an Indian agent, and established a school; but the houses, although very comfortable, were so little prized by the Indians, that many of them were in a great measure rendered uninhabitable at the time when they embraced Christianity, windows and doors having in several instances been completely destroyed, and but few of them were ever occupied, excepting as an occasional shelter. No furniture was found in them, the Indians choosing rather to follow their old habit of sitting on the floor, and eating with their fingers around the kettle, spreading their skins, &c. on the floor as a bed. "The school was so little regarded, that the teacher considered it unnecessary to attend, and during the six months preceding their embracing Christianity, he only gave 13½ days' attendance."

The Wesleyan missionary sent to these Indians had more than ordinary difficulties to contend with: to gain access to them he found it necessary to travel with them; he went out with them on their hunting expeditions, that he might have an opportunity after the chase to speak to them on the subject of Christianity; but his endeavours have succeeded to a great extent. A very considerable number of that body of Indians have now embraced Christianity, and have become decidedly a changed people.

The first Indian at St. Clair who embraced Christianity was one of the *Metai*, or conjurers. He had no corn-field, was poor in the extreme, and always drunk when he could procure liquor. He was baptized, together with his family, the 10th December, 1834. He commenced clearing his lands and splitting rails, and, at the last fall, reaped the reward of his labour in a plentiful crop of corn, pumpkins, turnips, and potatoes, the produce of about an acre of land, cleared and fenced with his own hands. In February 1835, the chief and several others were baptized and converted, and each appeared to vie with the other who should give the strongest proofs of industrious habits. Last summer, these people mowed and stacked sixteen tons of wild hay, for the wintering of four pair of oxen, which they now possess for public use among them. They have, during the past winter, split and drawn several thousand oak rails, with which they are now about to engage in enclosing their several fields, of from one to three acres. They are now comfortably clothed, having made a good use of the goods received as payment and presents, which were formerly wasted in liquor. Many of the

houses now present an appearance of neatness and comfort. Tables, chairs, bedsteads, bed and window-hangings, and other necessities, together with their regular family worship, established in every house morning and evening, proclaim, in language too forcible to be misunderstood, Christianity and civilisation go hand in hand; and here Christianity is the elder sister, and, I believe, every where else. The school has been well attended during the winter, averaging about thirty scholars; and as a proof that the Indians are not, as heretofore, careless in this respect, I may add, that some of the families being now about four miles back in the wood, making sugar, frequently come in a morning, and bring the children from five to six years of age, and fetch them home again at night, so anxious are they that their children should learn.

I might point to other nations in Canada, where Christianity has done more than at St. Clair, as it is only fifteen months since the first Indian has become a Christian. In some of the missions, the Indians, who, a few years ago, were no less miserable than those of St. Clair, are engaged in useful avocations, as joiners, shoemakers, printers, blacksmiths, &c.; and there are likewise places where years of ill-directed effort have failed even to civilize the Indians, nor will they succeed until the lever of the gospel shall raise them out of the mire of paganism and ignorance.

The Rev. Mr. Ryerson, who is described as being intimately acquainted with the Mohawks, gives a similar history of their past and present circumstances:—

A striking proof of the inefficacy of merely educational instruction to civilize barbarous tribes, and of the power of the gospel to civilize as well as to christianize, the most vicious of the human race, is furnished by the Mohawk nation of Indians in Upper Canada.

The Mohawks are one of the six nations of Indians to whom, at an early period, his Majesty granted a large tract of land, situate on the banks of the Grand river, the most fertile tract of land in Upper Canada, lying in the heart of the province, and surrounded by a white population. Most of these Mohawks had even been baptized, and they were visited once a year by a clergyman of the Church of England.

The greater part of them were taught to read and write: they were exhorted to till the soil, and cultivate the arts of civilized life; yet this nation was more drunken, ferocious, and vicious than any one of the five other heathen nations on the Indian reservation. They were proverbially savage and revengeful, as well as shrewd, so as often to be a terror to their white neighbours. In no respect was the social and civil condition of the Mohawks practically and morally improved above that of the neighbouring heathen tribes, by the mere educational and civilizing process of forty years. The example and vices of the Mohawks were often urged by their heathen neighbours as an objection against the christian religion itself, when missionaries were sent among them. But a few years ago (1825), when the gospel was preached to these Mohawk Indians, as well as to the several tribes of Chippeway Indians, a large portion of them embraced it, and became at once changed in their dispositions, and reformed in their lives, teachable, sober, honest, and industrious; and are improving in the arts of civilisation, and cultivating the virtues and charities of christian life.

In the instance of these various tribes of Indians, we see that the very people who had access to civilisation not only in the form in which it ordinarily presents itself to savages, but for whom also expensive and more than ordinarily humane exertions were made, under the patronage of the governor, to lead them to adopt civilisation, nevertheless withstood all inducements to alter their habits. The allurements presented to them altogether failed, so that there was neither civilisation nor Christianity among them; when a second experiment, beginning at the other end, was made. Christianity was preached to them by resident missionaries; and no sooner did they become converts to its doctrines, than they exhibited that desire for the advantages of civilized life, and that delight in its conveniences, which have hitherto been supposed to belong exclusively to cultivated nations, and to be utterly strange and abhorrent to the nature of the savage.

On the subject of the North American Indians, Mr. Beecham concludes his evidence by saying,—

I think I may safely lay down this as a general rule, that wherever the gospel has not been introduced among the Indians of Upper Canada, there the process by which the diminution of their numbers is effected is steadily going on; but wherever Christianity has been established, there a check has been interposed to the process of destruction; and on the older stations, among the tribes that have been the greatest length of time under the influence of christian principles, there the population has begun to increase. Christianity, by the change which it has wrought in their character and pursuits, by saving them from those destructive vices to which they were given up, and promoting that industry which procures for them the means of healthful subsistence, has thus checked the evils under which they were wasting away.

The Rev. W. Ellis, the secretary of the London Missionary Society, who was for many years himself a missionary in the South Sea Islands, thus gives the summary of the results of his own experience:—

It is my conviction that Christianity supplies materials and machinery for promoting civilisation of the highest order. I might adduce one or two examples of the correctness of these sentiments from a part of the world with which I am more familiar than any other, the South Sea Islands. If civilisation be viewed as consisting in exemption from temporal wants, and the possession of means of present enjoyment, the inhabitants of these islands were placed in circumstances more favourable to civilisation than, perhaps, any other people under heaven. They have a salubrious climate, a fertile soil, and an abundance of all that could render the present life happy, so far as mere animal existence is concerned; but there was, perhaps, no portion of the human family in a state of wretchedness equal to that to which they were reduced before Christianity was introduced among them. They were accustomed to practise infanticide, probably more extensively than any other nation; they offered human sacrifices in greater numbers than I have read of

their having been offered by any other nation ; they were accustomed to war of the most savage and exterminating kind. Efforts were made by the missionaries for the introduction of the arts of civilisation, with instruction in the truths of the christian religion. For fifteen years those efforts were altogether unsuccessful ; they produced no amelioration in the morals or in the circumstances of the people. The vices which sailors took there rendered the inhabitants more wretched. When Christianity was adopted by the people, human sacrifices, infant murder and war entirely ceased ; *peace remained unbroken for fifteen years* ; the language which the missionaries had learned during the interval between their arrival and the adoption of Christianity by the people, had been reduced to a system ; orthography, a grammar and dictionary had been prepared ; portions of the Bible had been translated. When the natives adopted Christianity they were willing to become pupils in the school ; but until Christianity supplied a motive, by producing a desire to read the Scriptures, they never had a motive sufficient to lead them to endure the restraint and confinement of the school, but they have done so since, and there are several thousands now capable of reading and writing. The entire volume of Divine Revelation has been translated ; the New Testament has been printed, and is in circulation among them. Christianity condemned indolence, *required industry*, and supplied inducements to labour ; and the natives, since they embraced Christianity, have acquired a knowledge of a number of useful manual arts. Before that the efforts of the missionaries to induce them to work in iron and in wood produced no satisfactory result ; since that they have been taught to work in wood, and there are now carpenters who hire themselves out to captains of ships to work at repairs of vessels, &c., for which they receive regular wages ; and there are blacksmiths that hire themselves out to captains of ships, for the purpose of preparing iron-work required in building or repairing ships. The natives have been taught not only to construct boats, but to build vessels, and there are, perhaps, twenty (there have been as many as forty) small vessels, of from forty, to eighty or ninety tons burthen, built by the natives, navigated sometimes by Europeans, and manned by natives, all the fruit of the natives' own skill and industry. They have been taught to build neat and comfortable houses, and to cultivate the soil. They could not be induced to do that while heathen, for they used to say, " The fruit ripens and the pigs get fat while we are asleep, and that is all we want ; why, therefore, should we work ? " But *now they have new wants* ; a number of articles of clothing and commerce are necessary to their comfort, and they cultivate the soil to supply them. At one island, where I was once fifteen months without seeing a single European excepting our own families, there were, I think, twenty-eight ships put in for provisions last year, and all obtained the supplies they wanted. Besides cultivating potatoes and yams, and raising stock, fowls and pigs, the cultivation, the spinning and the weaving of the cotton has been introduced by missionary artizans ; and there are some of the chiefs, and a number of the people, especially in one of the islands, who are now decently clothed in garments made after the European fashion, produced from cotton grown in their own gardens, spun by their own children, and woven in the islands. One of the chiefs of the island of Rarotonga, as stated by the missionaries, never wears any other dress than that woven in the island. They have been

taught also to cultivate the sugar-cane, which is indigenous, and to make sugar, and some of them have large plantations, employing at times forty men. They supply the ships with this useful article, and, at some of the islands, between fifty and sixty vessels touch in a single year. The natives of the islands send a considerable quantity away; I understand that one station sent as much as forty tons away last year; in November last a vessel of ninety tons burthen, built in the islands, was sent to the colony of New South Wales laden with Tahitian-grown sugar.

4417. Have they any slaves there?—Not since Christianity has been introduced; formerly captives taken in war were made slaves.

4418. Then Christianity, among other good effects, has *led to the abolition of slavery* among them?—They never considered the two things compatible. Besides the sugar they have been taught to cultivate, they prepare arrow-root, and they sent to England in one year, as I was informed by merchants in London, more than had been imported into this country for nearly twenty previous years. Cattle also have been introduced and preserved, chiefly by the missionaries; pigs, dogs, and rats were the only animals they had before, but the missionaries have introduced cattle among them. While they continued heathen, they disregarded, nay, destroyed some of those first landed among them, but since that time they have highly prized them, and by their attention to them they are now so numerous as to enable the natives to supply ships with fresh beef at the rate of threepence a pound. The islanders have also been instructed by the missionaries in the manufacture of cocoa-nut oil, of which large quantities are exported. They have been taught to cultivate tobacco, and this would have been a valuable article of commerce had not the duty in New South Wales been so high as to exclude that grown in the islands from the market. The above are some of the proofs that Christianity prepares the way for, and necessarily leads to, the civilisation of those by whom it is adopted. There are now in operation among a people who, when the missionaries arrived, were destitute of a written language, seventy-eight *schools, which contain between 12,000 and 13,000 scholars*. The Tahitians have also a simple, explicit and wholesome *code of laws*, as the result of their imbibing the principles of Christianity. This code of laws is printed and circulated among them, understood by all, and acknowledged by all as the supreme rule of action for all classes in their civil and social relations. The laws have been productive of great benefits. I have before me a copy of the code of laws printed in 1835, in the islands, and a translation also. The missionaries have often been charged with being opposed to the introduction of the means for the temporal improvement of the people. I might adduce the evidence of many witnesses to show that the labours of the missionaries, while chiefly directed to the spiritual improvement of the people, have originated and promoted the civilisation of the most efficient kind. But I will only quote the testimony of one, a naval officer, Captain Beechy, who visited the island in 1826, and was there several months. After mentioning a number of changes, he refers to the laws. There were several instances in which he saw their operation. In reference to their practical working, he says, "The limit thus imposed on the arbitrary power of the monarch, and the security thus afforded to the liberties and properties of the people, reflect credit upon the missionaries, who were very instrumental in introducing these laws." And

after adverting to a trial for theft, Captain Beechy, as quoted by Mr. Ellis, proceeds to say, "If we compare the fate which would have befallen the prisoners, supposing them innocent, had they been arraigned under the early form of government, with the transactions of this day, we cannot but congratulate the people on the introduction of the present penal code, and acknowledge that it is one of the greatest temporal blessings they have derived from the introduction of Christianity." Christianity, when received by an uncivilized people, not only leads to the adoption of salutary laws for preserving the peace of the community and cultivating the virtues of social life, but it secures *protection to the merchant and the mariner*, and the greatest *facilities for the extension of commerce*. Traffic can often only be carried on with uncivilized tribes at great risk, even of personal safety; but where missionaries have introduced the gospel, our vessels go with safety and confidence. Formerly, when a wreck occurred, the natives hastened to plunder and to murder, or reserved those who escaped from the sea for sacrifices; now they succour them and protect their property. I could give many instances of this, but I content myself with one. It is contained in a letter left by Captain Chase, of American ship *Falcon*, with the native teachers at Rurutu, at which island he had been wrecked:—

"The natives gave us all the assistance in their power, from the time the ship struck to the present moment. The first day, while landing the things from the ship, they were put into the hands of the natives, and carried up to the native mission-house, a distance of half a mile, and not a single article of clothing was taken from any man belonging to the ship, though they had it in their power to have plundered us of every thing that was landed. Since I have lived ashore, myself, officers and people have received the kindest treatment from the natives that can be imagined, for which I shall ever be thankful. Myself and officers have lived in the house of Buna (a teacher from Raiatea), who, together with his wife, has paid every attention to make us comfortable, for which I return my unfeigned thanks, being the only compensation I can make them at present."

The moral progress of this quarter of the world stated in this general survey is more particularly detailed by the missionaries of the several societies who have there laboured; and the testimony of all to the necessity of beginning with Christianity is the same. Thus a clergyman of the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand, says, in answer to the question, "From the experience you have had in missionary exertions, would you begin by attempting to civilize or by attempting to christianize? —Certainly by attempting to christianize; fifteen years we attempted to civilize without effect, and the very moment that Christianity established itself in only one instance in the island, from that moment civilisation commenced, and has been going on, hand in hand with Christianity, but never preceded it."

In the case of New Zealand, it appears solely to have been the religious character of the missionaries which won for them the confidence of the people.

"We found them decidedly a savage people, addicted to canni-

balism, to murder, and to everything which was evil, and accustomed to injuries from Europeans."

One of the first proofs of the influence which the missionaries had acquired was given on the occasion of a war which some among them were desirous to terminate. The account is so characteristic of the manners of the people, and of the missionaries' method of influencing them, that we transcribe the whole of it:—

1615. In what instances have the missionaries exercised their influence in making peace between contending tribes?—The first instance was the battle of Hokianga. A young man, the son of a chief, came over to the Bay of Islands, and when he arrived there he took up a stone, and dashing it upon the ground, said, "This stone is Warrehumu." That is one of the greatest curses that he could utter; and the custom of the country is always to punish the tribe to which the party belongs that has uttered the curse, and not the party himself. Immediately that Warrehumu heard that he had been cursed by this man he went and began to punish the tribe, which punishment they resisted. One man loaded his musket with ball cartridge, and fired it into the midst of the party; a skirmish ensued; Warrehumu was shot dead, his wife and children, and twenty of his men. The rest escaped, and told their tale in the Bay; and the chiefs assembled to consult together what they ought to do, and they were unanimously of opinion that it was impossible to make peace till they had had satisfaction in blood to double the amount shed on their side. There were two or three of them that were very desirous of making peace, on account of the great slaughter that must take place if they fought, for they were equally well armed, and about 2,000 on each side; and one of the principal men jumped up in the midst of the consultation, and said, "There are these missionaries that have been talking to us for fifteen years about peace, let us see what they can do." They came, and requested us to go. We went, five of us, in a body. We found 2,000 people on one side of a little eminence, and 2,000 on another side, within musket shot, waiting the arrival of the chiefs to commence the attack. We pitched our tent between them for three successive days; we went from tribe to tribe and from hut to hut to endeavour to make it up between them. At the end of that time there was great division in their councils, and we seemed to be as far from effecting our purpose as at the first moment; and then we requested them to leave the decision of it to one individual, which they resolved to do, and left it to Tareha, a chief of great importance in the Bay, but a very dreadful savage. We succeeded in getting him to our tent, and he resolved in his own mind to decide for peace; we tried to work upon his mind in the best manner we could.

1616. Is he connected with either of those parties?—Yes.

1617. Both parties placed it in his hands?—Yes, it was left to the Bay of Islanders to decide; the other people could not say a word.

1618. Was it in consequence of your communications with Tareha that he was induced to take the resolution in favour of peace?—Himself and the whole of the 4,000 people attributed it entirely to that, and from that moment we date our present influence in the country.

1619. Did you then secure peace between the contending tribes?—

Yes; and they have been the firmest friends and allies of any distinct tribes we are acquainted with in the country, ever since that time.

1620. What sort of arguments did you use with that person?—We first began to tell him of what would be the effect of it in lessening their own numbers, even if they gained the victory, and that the people from the south would then come down upon them, knowing that Hongi was dead, they would come in a body upon them and destroy them; and then we endeavoured to point out to him the evil of it in the sight of that God whom we came to make known. After our consultation he got up, and as he was passing out of the tent he said, “Perhaps I shall be for war, perhaps I shall be for peace, but I think I shall be for war; perhaps we shall fight, perhaps we shall not fight, but I think we shall fight.” We then tried to work upon his fears; he was an enormously large man, and Mr. Williams called out to him, “Take care, Tareha, you are a very big man, and no musket-ball can pass by you.”

1624. Was the result of your interference, that what would have probably been a bloody battle was prevented, and that peace was made between the contending tribes?—Yes; and they have remained upon the most friendly terms ever since.

1625. Do you believe that if it had not been for the interference of the missionaries this conflict would have taken place?—There is no question in my own mind, nor in the mind of any New Zealander I have ever met with.

1626. Did the measures which the missionaries took upon that occasion tend to extend and enlarge their influence afterwards?—Yes, throughout the whole country. It was made known in the southern parts of the island, and brought great numbers to request our interference in their quarrels also.

1627. Do you recollect any other instances in which the missionaries have been engaged in promoting peace?—Not in which I myself have been engaged; but many in which my brethren have, at the different stations.

1628. Can you speak of those from that kind of information that you can confidently state that you know the facts?—Yes.

1629. Will you state any that have come to your knowledge in that way?—There was the battle of Tauranga: the first rise of that was, the captain of an English vessel, a whaling ship, had a quarrel with some women on board his vessel; he was very angry about it, and determined to get the natives of the interior to punish those on the coast for the insult which those two women had offered to him in that quarrel. He sent into the interior to fetch the chiefs, telling them they must come to fight a battle for the insult of those two women. They refused to do so, saying, that it was not according to New Zealand custom; that they only fought when people had done some real injury, but that they never fought when it was all mouth, and that this had been nothing but mouth, and consequently they refused to fight. He told them that he would make it known in England; that every one in England thought the New Zealanders were a brave people; but he would let the English people know, and let the king know, that they were cowards; but that if they would fight he would supply them with arms and ammunition. They could not bear this, and therefore they resolved to fight. They brought down a great number of people. We

were rather too late in going over; we did not know so much of it as we do sometimes; and about a quarter of an hour after the battle we saw a hundred of the people dead and wounded upon the beach. Then, according to the custom of the country, a number of the New Zealanders went to the south to seek satisfaction for the death of their friends. Those persons who went down, intending to cut off some of the tribes of the south as a payment for the death of their friends, were fallen in with by a large armed party of the natives, and were all cut off themselves; forty-one went and only one returned. This caused the whole of the Bay of Islanders to arm themselves, and to go and fight with the tribes of the south for the loss of those forty. There were between fifty and sixty canoes. The canoes were attended by our missionary ship, the *Active*, the missionary boat, and a small cutter that we have. Mr. Williams accompanied the flotilla. They were five weeks before the fortification of the besieged, negotiating with the besiegers, but without effect, the first five weeks. The missionaries then returned home, and afterwards, not satisfied, they went back again. Mr. Williams went down in his boat a second time, with Mr. Chapman, Mr. Kemp, and Mr. Fairburn, and effected a reconciliation between the two parties. The Bay of Islanders returned home without having destroyed a single individual.

Besides being thus instrumental in preserving peace in the country, the missionaries have been enabled to effect another great good, in abolishing the custom of tapuing, or rendering sacred and unapproachable a particular place or person; a superstition which opposed the greatest obstacles to improvement and civilisation.

We find that the missionaries in New Zealand have composed a grammar of the native tongue, translated the whole of the New Testament, and supplied every one who could read with a copy, to the number of 1,800; that they have translated also a portion of the Old Testament, and printed the Liturgy and Services of the Church of England, which they use in their congregations. "The whole of the northern part of the island has now established the Sabbath; they allow their slaves to attend worship, and require no labour from them on the Sunday; they give them every possible advantage on that day, and leave them entirely to themselves."

1771. Then although they have not abolished slavery, still the effect of Christianity among them has been to mitigate it very much?—Decidedly, to alleviate it in every sense of the word.

Mr. Coates, the secretary of the Church Missionary Society, gives a long list of improvements effected in New Zealand; we take this paragraph as being of the latest date, 14th December, 1835: "When we last met at the Lord's table we had seventy-four native communicants. The number of candidates for baptism is considerable, and their number is increasing. The scene in the

Waimate and its vicinity is much changed, and we may truly be said to live in a civilized country. Our neighbours, those not connected with the seaports, are civil, courteous, honest, and teachable. Locks and bolts are but little used, and but little needed; working tools are safe, although lying in all directions. Ten years ago a person scarcely dared to lay a tool down, as it was almost sure to be stolen."

The general results of the mission in New Zealand are thus stated :—

1782. What have been the effects of the exertions of the missionaries in a general manner?—Abolishing their superstitious observances, establishing the Sabbath, rendering the natives more industrious, bringing a large proportion of their land into a state of cultivation, preventing war, ameliorating the condition of the slaves, and making the language a written one.

Amongst other benefits conferred by Christianity, the amelioration of the laws of the islanders is undoubtedly one of the most important; it has been adverted to in the evidence of Mr. Ellis, but the subject is so interesting that we transcribe, further, that given by Mr. Williams.

5646. *Chairman.*] Have the natives of those islands any fixed code of laws?—Yes; in the island of Tahiti they have a representative government and trial by jury.

5647. That of course has been adopted in imitation of our practice?—Yes, they asked our advice in the formation of their laws. Their practices were very sanguinary when they were idolaters.

5648. Then Christianity has had the effect of softening the rigour of their usages?—Entirely so; for instance, formerly in the island of Rarotonga, an island which I discovered, the king, when a thief was caught upon his premises, would have him cut up, and portions of the body hung in different parts of the farm on which the depredation had been committed. But when Christianity was embraced by them they saw immediately that such sanguinary proceedings were inconsistent with the benign spirit of the gospel, and they inquired of us what would be done in England, and what was consistent with the christian profession. We informed them that there were judges in England, and all such offences were tried regularly, and particular punishments awarded. They immediately said, "Will it not be well for us to have the same?" and after months and months consultation with them, and explaining those things to them, a very simple code was drawn up.

5649. Are the powers of the sovereign circumscribed under this representative system?—Not particularly so. Formerly the will of the chief was law; life and death was entirely vested in his hand; he could send his messengers out and kill a person upon any occasion, which he cannot do now. So far it is circumscribed; but it is operating very beneficially upon the people.

5650. When you speak of a representative government, do you mean that delegates come from different districts of the island, and form themselves into an assembly?—Yes.

5651. Have their proceedings any authoritative weight with the executive government?—Yes; this may be illustrated by a circumstance which has taken place since I left. The representatives met, and the first thing they did was to send a message to the queen, to know upon what principles they were to proceed; she sent back a copy of the New Testament, saying, "Let the principles of this book be the foundation of all your proceedings;" and they, perceiving the beneficial effects of the temperance societies in all the districts where they had been introduced, immediately proceeded to enact a law that they would not trade with ships that came there for the purpose of introducing ardent spirits among them.

5652. *Mr. Baines.*] By whom are the representatives elected?—It is done in the different districts; it does not create any stir among the people; the chiefs of the respective districts meet among themselves, and say we will send so and so this time. I am speaking now of the Tahitian Islands; the islands are in a varied state of progression; some just emerging from barbarism.

5653. *Chairman.*] Then the Committee are to understand that Tahiti is most advanced in civilisation, and in the profession of Christianity?—Yes.

5654. And your past observations relate exclusively to Tahiti?—Yes; the Society Islands are following very closely in every respect, but Tahiti is the head-quarters.

5655. Have the Society Islands representatives?—No; they have not, they have a regular code of laws and trial by jury.

There are occasions in which the penalties due to the dishonesty of our countrymen have been averted by the influence of the missionaries. The following instance occurred in the island Rurutu, about 300 miles from Tahiti:—

A captain of a whaling vessel from London went on shore there; engaged with the natives for a certain number of hogs and yams as provision for his crew, promising to give the natives axes and other useful articles in return. The natives, as he requested, took all the property he had purchased from them to the ship, which was lying two or three miles from the shore. As soon as the natives had reached the ship and the captain had hoisted in the pigs as the stock for the voyage to England, instead of paying them the axes and other articles which he had promised, he threw over to them a small bundle of pieces of iron hoop, then cut the rope by which their canoes were hanging on to the ship, and sailed away from the island. They of course could not overtake him and did not try to do so, but returned and held a consultation as to the course they should pursue; and the decision at which they arrived—for they had not been visited by missionaries at that time—was, that the next vessel that came they should invite the captain, the officers and the seamen on shore, decoy them up into the woods and there destroy them; then seize their boats and other property, and also get the ship, if possible. A missionary from Raiatea visited the island shortly after that time; they informed him of what had occurred, and of the purpose they had formed. He of course said that it was very wrong of his countryman to have acted towards them as he had done, but dissuaded

them from retaliating in the manner they intended. He made some compensation for their losses, promised to represent the case to benevolent individuals in England, and thus succeeded in dissuading them from executing their purpose of seizing the next ship that might visit the island. A number of facts of this kind have occurred in the islands, but I mention this because it occurred while I was there, and because the information of it I received from the missionary with whom I was associated, and in whose testimony I place the most entire confidence.\*

We find that the missionaries have often been successful mediators between the natives and those who have injured them. "There was an instance in which we were called in," says Mr. Yate, "by the captain of His Majesty's ship *Alligator*, Captain Lambert, and the British resident in New Zealand:"—

A man of the name of King, a person who had escaped from New South Wales, had entered into an engagement with Pomare, a chief of one of the tribes in the Bay of Islands, to give him a certain number of muskets and a quantity of powder for a certain quantity of the produce of the country. He gave him several loads of flax, and a quantity of timber and potatoes. King sold those things to the masters of other vessels that came into the harbour, and then left the country without making any payment to Pomare. King possessed a small schooner, about a 15-ton vessel; he sold the schooner to some merchant there, and when Pomare found that the vessel which belonged to King was still in the island he took possession of it, and would not give it up to the person to whom it had been sold. They represented this to the British government at New South Wales, and the captain of the *Alligator* received instructions to obtain this vessel from Pomare and to see that right was done. Pomare still refused to give up the vessel, and then the captain wrote to us to interfere to get Pomare on board.

Mr. William Williams and myself went and succeeded in getting him on board; and when the matter came to be sifted we found that Pomare was perfectly right, and that the Englishman had been altogether wrong: Pomare had been cheated out of the whole of his property; and so convinced was the captain of the *Alligator* that the New Zealander was right, that he gave him the full payment for the property which he had been cheated out of, and Pomare then restored the vessel which he had taken possession of as payment for it.

Mr. Williams, who was for eighteen years a missionary in the South Sea Islands, and principally residing in Raiatea, one of the Sandwich Islands, confirms the account given by other witnesses, and adds further particulars.

He too says, in reference to the improvement which had taken place,—

\* It is a remarkable fact, that the very chief who, instigated by ill-treatment, led the attack on the "Boyd," when the whole ship's company of 90 persons, excepting two (a little girl and the cabin boy) were massacred and devoured, was, 15 years afterwards, when under missionary influence, the means of rescuing an English vessel which had been boarded by a party of his subjects with a similar intention.—*Bennet and Tyerman's Voyage*, vol. ii. p. 137.

All this is to be ascribed to the result of christian principle implanted in them by missionary labour. We could not get them to do anything, or evince any attention to industrious habits, till they made a profession of Christianity. There must be an impetus given to the mind before they will aspire to those improvements.

These facts, which the late questions have elicited from you, are introductory to one general and leading question, which is, whether in our endeavours to introduce Christianity among barbarous nations, civilisation or Christianity should take the precedence?—I have not the slightest hesitation upon that. Christianity must precede; you cannot get a barbarous people to attend to anything of a civilizing process, or to aspire to any European habit, till you give them christian principle. You must eradicate their disposition to war before you can get them to desire earnestly the blessings of peace; and what is to do that but christian principle taking possession of the mind?

But supposing they were inclined to attend to your suggestions and exhortations with regard to a civilizing process only, would not that smooth the way to the introduction of Christianity?—I do not know; the difficulty is to get them to attend to anything of the kind until they have embraced Christianity.

On the whole, then, you think it expedient and indispensable that in the successful introduction of civilization, you should use the great engine of the truths of the gospel originally?—Undoubtedly: I think the most effectual and the most speedy way to civilize a people is to commence with teaching them the principles of Christianity. The idea I would convey is this: I would not advise an attempt to civilize a people, leaving Christianity out of the question. I think the attempt would fail; but I would advise that Christianity should be accompanied with a civilizing process. It is what we have united in all our attempts.

The missionaries made it their business to teach their converts useful trades.

I have made 8 or 10 sugar-mills for them with my own hands, says Mr. Williams. I built a ship there, and when the natives saw what could be done upon their own islands, with their own materials, they imitated the example, and have now many small vessels of their own building, just like our ships, instead of their own canoes; 20 to 50 tons burden.

Has the character and style of their dwellings improved?—Very much indeed. We have taught them the art of making lime from the coral rock, and they now plaster their houses, and divide them into apartments and live in families.

They are “very apt indeed” at learning mechanical trades.

I made rope machines for them, and taught them rope-making from the hibiscus bark, and taught them turning. I made turning lathes for them; in the different islands they have very good chairs and sofas and things now of their own manufacture, in learning all which they showed great aptness.

Is not the consequence of this instruction very much to increase the comforts, as well as to elevate the character, of the people amongst whom they labour?—Undoubtedly, instead of their little contemptible huts along the sea beach, there will be a neat settlement, with a large chapel in the centre, capable of containing 1,000 or 2,000 people, a school-house on the one side, and the chief's or the missionary's house on the other, and a range of white cottages, a mile or two miles long, peeping at you as it were under the splendid banana-trees or the bread-fruit groves, so that their comfort as well as their happiness is increased, and altogether their character is elevated.

It is a remarkable feature in this work, that it has been greatly extended by the agency of the converted natives themselves, since it has always formed a part of the missionary system to employ native teachers to propagate Christianity.\* Thus Mr. Williams says:—

We should not have been able to have extended our labours to the number of islands that we have, had it not been for the labours of the native missionaries. In the island of Rarotonga, which I discovered, I found them all heathens; I placed native missionaries among them, and by the native missionaries alone they were all converted to the profession of Christianity; so that on my second visit to that very place I found not an idolater remaining. This has been the case in eight different islands to which I have taken native missionaries. The inhabitants of eight islands were entirely converted to Christianity by the agency of native missionaries.

This, then, is a means unlimited; you have materials there to increase the native missionaries to any extent almost?—Yes; perhaps that is saying rather too much, for we are very particular in the persons we select, and they are not so numerous as we could wish. Still we have about 60 or 70, and that number is increasing; because, whenever the gospel is attended with its beneficial effects, there is a new agency created for its still further propagation.

Do you suppose that native missionaries might not be more extensively employed than they are at present?—Yes; we intend to employ more as soon as we can; but our labours have been extended as far as our means would allow. The original station was only one island, that of Tahiti; and the knowledge of Christianity was conveyed to the islands where the American missionaries are, first, by means of native converts from the island of Tahiti, and so with respect to the islands where the Wesleyan missionaries are. Christianity was first conveyed to them by native missionaries from other islands. I think, without including the Friendly Islands or the American missionary stations, we must have 40 or 50 islands under our own instruction at the present

\* We happen to know of one island, named Rurutu, which was most singularly converted by a boat's crew of their people, who had been cast away on a christianized island; they returned to their homes with native teachers, and when the next English vessel touched at Rurutu, bearing a deputation from the London Missionary Society, these gentlemen were amazed to behold a chapel, and were greeted, to their uttermost surprise, with a christian and almost civilized reception.—*Bennet and Tyerman's Voyage*, vol. i. p. 492.

time, by native agency, superintended by ourselves, except in our own immediate stations.

The same plan is in a measure pursued by the Church Missionary Society ; and in New Zealand schools are established in the villages, under the direction of native youths, superintended by the missionaries, who visit them once a month.

We find that the South Sea Islands are becoming every year more important to our commerce. Mr. Yate was asked,—

Do you know how many British subjects there are in New Zealand ? —Upon the whole island, from 1,800 to 2,000 ; and at times there are a great many more. I have known 1,000 at a time in the Bay of Islands, but that has been composed of the crews of several ships, with the residents.

Exclusive of the missionaries there are now about 12 or 14 families permanently settled there, who are for the most part respectable, and live in good understanding with the natives. It is also stated that the natives are very desirous of having Europeans to reside among them, from the advantages they derive from them in the way of traffic, and that they would now consider it a misfortune to lose our commerce, an additional reason for putting it under such regulations as may ensure its stability on terms conducive to the benefit of either party.

At the island of Tahiti, says Mr. Williams, there are now from 60 to 100 sail of shipping touch in the course of the year ; they get provisions at very little expense ; they can refit their vessels, and they can recruit their crews. This, of course, is of great importance to a commercial people such as we are ; and I think also there is a great advantage accruing to our country by means of missionary labours, in a commercial point of view. A few years ago they knew nothing of European manufactures, and now there are hundreds and thousands of them wearing European clothing, and using European articles, such as tools and various other things. Wherever Christianity is introduced, of course European clothing and European habits are induced. There is not a single person in any of our congregations but is dressed very respectably ; they are not thoroughly clad as we are, but some of them wear a jacket and a shirt, and a native garment as a substitute for trousers.

The extent of this wide area for the spread of missionary operations, and for the extension of our commerce, appears from the following examination of Mr. Williams :—

5602. In the groups of the Pacific Ocean what islands are christianized ; what have partially received the truths of the gospel ; and what remain in their original pagan state ?—The Tahitian and Society Islands are christianized ; the Austral Island group, about 350 miles south of Tahiti ; the Harvey Islands, about 700 miles west of Tahiti ; the Vavou Islands, and the Hapai and the Sandwich Islands, where the American

missionaries are labouring, and are 3,000 miles north of Tahiti, and the inhabitants also of the eastern Archipelago, about 500 or 600 miles east of Tahiti.

5603. What are the principal islands in the Archipelago?—An island called Chain Island; the group consists of a great number of small coralline islands. Chain Island is the largest, and perhaps there may be 1,000 people upon that.

5604. Mr. *Hindley*.] What would you consider the population of all the islands you have mentioned?—Including the Sandwich Islands, I should think perhaps 200,000.

5605. All Christians?—Yes.

5606. *Chairman*.] Now will you state those that have partially received the gospel?—The Navigators' Islands, Tongatabu, and the Marquesas, are partially under the influence of the gospel, where missionary labours have just been commenced.

5607. Mr. *Baines*.] What is the population of those that are partially christianized?—It is rather difficult to say, but I should suppose from 100,000 to 150,000.

5608. *Chairman*.] What are those that remain unchristianized?—The Feejees, the New Hebrides, Solomon's Archipelago, New Caledonia, New Britain, New Ireland, and New Guinea, with the adjacent islands. Those are the groups that remain still to be visited by missionaries.

5609. Can you make any estimate of the population of those?—No; but I should say by far a greater number. New Guinea is 1,200 miles in length, and 200 or more in breadth, and said to be inhabited by several millions of people. The Feejees is a group of 150 or more islands, one of which is 500 miles in circumference. The Hebrides is also a very populous group, but we can form no estimate of the population; they are very wild and savage, and it is dangerous to have any intercourse with them.

Thus, then, amidst these clusters of islands, containing a population known to exceed a million, and perhaps of several millions, a change (as we have seen) of unequalled importance, because affecting so large a mass of mankind, has been begun in our own time, and has been almost imperceptibly going forward.

The first attempt made for their conversion was in 1797; for 17 years the work appeared to make no progress, and in Europe no other notion was entertained of these people than that they were idolaters and cannibals, and their country a rude and barbarous wilderness, without arts, without commerce, without civilization, and without the rudiments of Christianity. Such was the estimate, not inaccurately formed, of their state 20 years ago. Within this brief space, under no other agency than the influence of christian truth, they have conveyed a cargo of idols to the dépôt of the Missionary Society in London; they have become factors to furnish our vessels with provisions, and merchants to deal with us in the agricultural growth of their own country. Their language has been reduced to writing, and they have gained the knowledge of letters. They have, many of them, emerged from the tyranny of the will of their chiefs into the

protection of a written law, abounding with liberal and enlightened principles, and 200,000 of them are reported to have embraced Christianity.

The settlement of Sierra Leone, on the coast of Western Africa, was founded and has been conducted on a different principle from all our other colonies; the object of it having been, not the gain of Englishmen, but the providing a place of refuge for the victims of the slave trade; its history, therefore, could not be expected to afford much illustration of the subject before us (the treatment of Aborigines on their own soil), and the evidence taken with regard to it has been brief; but an important fact has been here established, one which, however, we trust is now too universally acknowledged to need much further proof: it is that of the capacity of the negro race (which composes the mass of the Aborigines of Africa here congregated) for mental culture, and their good average intellect.

The means of bestowing instruction upon these liberated Africans, have become very inadequate to their increasing numbers, (stated by H. W. Macauley, Esq., Commissary Judge at Sierra Leone, at about 32,000,) being as 320 to one European, but their desire to receive it is generally admitted.

The Rev. J. Weeks, of the Church Missionary Society, speaks of their great readiness to subscribe to the erection of churches and to the maintenance of the schools; and, with respect to their abilities, he gives the following instance:—

Eighteen months before I left the colony (April 13, 1835), the governor sent me 100 liberated African boys, who had just been landed from a slave-ship, to be educated under my superintendence; they were in excellent condition, having been on board the slaver only a few days before they were captured and brought into Sierra Leone. I now thought a fair opportunity was afforded me of trying an experiment, and forming a tolerably correct judgment of what were the capacities of the Africans: not one of them as yet knew a single word of the English language; and when I left, 13 of them could read their Bibles, and 36 the parables, miracles, &c. of our Saviour, and other elementary works; and I trust two of them are by this received into the christian institution, with a view to their becoming native teachers, and that several others will in due time prove useful assistants in the missionary work.

Mr. Macauley's evidence to the same point is worthy of citation; he states, that a large portion of these people have been brought to the "colony in a savage state," landed, as he has seen many thousands of them, in a diseased and wretched condition, yet that they speedily become civilized and useful members of society. He states, that these men form the militia; they serve as constables and attendants on the courts of justice, and that in every situation, in which they have been called upon to act, they have

fulfilled their duties satisfactorily. He gives the following curious instance of the advancement of one individual :—

190. Have you seen any instances of these people who were originally, when first landed, in such a state of extreme debasement, who afterwards have, under the instruction they have received, risen into civilized men?—Many; in fact it is almost universally so. There are many such instances of liberated Africans; one in particular, which I recollect, where a man, who, not very long since was in the hold of a slave-ship, is acquiring at present an income of, I suppose, from 1,200*l.* to 1,500*l.* a year. He has the government contracts for the supply of beef to the army and navy, and has had them for many years past, and he has always fulfilled his contracts to the satisfaction of the government. He is living in a very excellent house, has every comfort about him, and has educated two of his children in England. One is in England now, and one has been educated before and has returned to Sierra Leone. I also recollect a number of other instances, perhaps not to the same extent, but where people advanced wonderfully in point of civilization and of wealth.

Mr. Macauley also states, that he has known them called upon to act as jurymen :—

195. Had you reason to believe they discharged their duties satisfactorily?—Always; I never knew an instance where a black jury has given a verdict which you could really find fault with. I have very frequently been in the court when questions have been before them, and they show as much attention, and almost as much acuteness, I think, as any English jury I have seen here.

196. Would you feel yourself aggrieved if a question affecting a large amount of your own property were to be disposed of by the verdict of a jury composed entirely of these liberated Africans, who have been taken out of the holds of slave-ships?—Certainly not; I have had questions myself of large amount before the courts there, and I believe the people are perfectly satisfied to leave their cases to the decision of these men.

The above refers solely to the Africans liberated from the slave-ships. Mr. Macauley also says, “ We have other parts of the black population, and other inhabitants filling all our municipal situations, mayor and aldermen, the police clerk, the officers of militia, and the different clerks employed in public offices, such as the secretary’s office, and the liberated African departments.”

204. Do any of them act as magistrates?—Yes, as mayor and aldermen they are magistrates.

To a further question respecting the measures which have proved thus effectual in raising men from a state of extreme degradation, Mr. Macauley answers, that he thinks “ it is owing to their being left to themselves,” and that he considers it a great

point to leave such persons unshackled by too many regulations.

At the same time he urgently states the need that exists of more moral and religious instruction, as the most effectual mode of promoting the work of civilization, and he says, that wherever this has been afforded the results have been excellent. In the villages especially, where "correct teachers of the gospel" have been employed, he has every where seen their influence powerfully exerted, and producing good fruits. In providing such instruction, however, he considers our government to have been remiss, for while we have made a stipulation with Spain in the treaty on the subject of the slave trade, that she "shall secure honestly and faithfully to the emancipated negroes a knowledge of the tenets of the christian religion, and their advancement in morality and civilization," we ourselves neglect the instruction of these persons, for whose redemption from slavery we take so much pains and incur such expense. We trust that this representation may excite our government to greater exertions for the moral benefit of men who have shown themselves so capable of profiting by any means of improvement offered to them.

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With respect to the native tribes of South Africa, the copious evidence taken by your Committee, has related rather to their civil affairs than to their moral and religious condition. It is not now necessary to repeat the circumstances of oppression under which, till within a late period, the Hottentots laboured. They had fallen, as we have seen, into a state of bondage to the farmers, through a system of forced contracts of service, and of apprenticeship of their children; both of which are noticed with strong disapprobation by the Commissioners of Inquiry.\*

Mr. Bigge, one of the commissioners, says, that the Cape farmers and the inhabitants generally regard the Hottentots as incapable of benefiting by instruction; and that, with the exception of a few individuals, "the inhabitants of the Cape may be considered to have been averse to their receiving moral or religious instruction of any kind;" and he also declares, "I am not aware of any attempt having been made, or sanctioned, by the colonial government to instruct the Hottentots, or to promote their improvement. Little indeed was done in any quarter for their benefit, except by missionaries; by whom, as Major Dundas remarked, "Unquestionably a great deal of good was done in bringing together and keeping together the wrecks of the Hottentot nation." The Hottentots themselves seem almost to attribute their existence to the missionaries, "who," as the witness of that nation said to your Committee, "picked up a few, and they are increasing now:" he also stated that the "other

\* Report on Hot. Pop. Cape of Good Hope, 1830, p. 4.

Europeans have done them evil, but have not done them the least good."

The Moravians appear to have been the first missionaries who laboured in South Africa, and their mission has been attended with much success.\*

Bishop Hallbeck states that they have now five establishments, besides superintending the leper institution, which was established by government. In December 1835, 3,474 natives belonged to these six stations, and their conduct is acknowledged to be highly respectable. "We can," writes Mr. Hallbeck in 1823, and the same might still be said, "without fear appeal to the records of the courts of justice under whose jurisdictions our establishments are, for proof that comparatively very few, either civil or criminal cases, have occurred in which Hottentots of these places have been implicated."†

The Moravians have always made a great point of teaching their converts to work, and of making them contribute by their labour to the support of their establishments; and here again we find that men noted for inculcating habits of industry, consider that the best method of introducing these is by giving a knowledge of religion.

The London Missionary Society early took its share in protecting and instructing the Hottentots; and Vanderkemp, the great benefactor of that race, laboured under the patronage of this society.

Their improvement is thus noticed by the Rev. J. Read:—"The lands given to Bethelsdorf were barren; the missionaries had no choice, the place was given by General Jansen; yet the Hottentots began to improve rapidly, so that a storekeeper in the neighbourhood stated in 1815 that he received annually from the Hottentots of Bethelsdorf 20,000 rix dollars, or 1,500*l.* for clothing, &c.; this was besides what they spent elsewhere. After this, the Messrs. Kemp, who had a store upon the place, stated they received annually from the same people about the same sum. Cutting wood, burning lime, gathering aloes (about forty tons were sent yearly to England), gathering salt, honey; mechanical trades, masons, smiths, carpenters, thatchers, tailors, shoemakers, bringing fire-wood to Port Elizabeth, and goods for government and merchants at Graham's Town, were the means by which the Hottentots got their money. The Hottentots of Bethelsdorf proved loyal from the beginning, always ready to obey orders."

Thus a small portion of the nation were in some measure relieved from the common degradation, yet all suffered under the pressure of disqualifications and disabilities, till the 50th Ordinance

\* Report Commissioners, Cape of Good Hope, No. 584, p. 12.

† Papers, Native Inhabitants, Cape of Good Hope, No. 50, Part I. p. 26. See also Dundas, Q. 1151, Stockenström, Q. 2322.

was granted, and operated as the removal of a weight which had kept down the spring of the people's energy.

At this time an experiment was made which proves what may be done for men by merely giving fair play to the motives which stimulate honest industry. It is thus detailed by the present Lieutenant-governor of the frontier:—

The government, wishing to give full effect to the provisions of the 50th Ordinance, and well aware that this law could never operate to its full extent in favour of the class in whose behalf it had been framed, without a fair field being opened for the exertions of its industry, determined on the experiment of allotting lands to a certain number of Hottentot families. This experiment was intended to be upon a small scale. Hottentots of good character, or possessing property, were invited to settle in the branches of the Kat River. They were to be located in the immediate vicinity of the Caffres, who were then in a state of great irritation against the colony. Some families of Hottentots soon made their appearance on the spot; few of these possessed property to any amount; they were poor, as might be expected, but were generally known to be steady men. It was soon, however, found to be impossible to draw a line of distinction. Hottentots flocked in from all quarters, many of them known to be indifferent characters; even some of those who till then had been vagabondizing, came and begged to be tried. To exclude these became difficult; to refuse a man the opportunity of bettering his condition only because it was suspected that he would prove unworthy, appeared cruel. In the mean time the Caffres threatened the new settlements, and it became necessary to arm the new settlers, or to expose them to be massacred; ruin was anticipated from such a step. The Caffres with their assagais were thought less dangerous to the colony than a congregation of Hottentots armed with muskets, with little or nothing to eat. That these men would turn the weapons which we had put into their hands against ourselves as well as against the Caffres, and that the country would be deluged with blood, was confidently predicted. The clamour became loud, and the projectors themselves began to doubt whether they might not have acted too rashly; but the step, whether wise or rash, was taken; hundreds of able-bodied men, well armed and supplied with ammunition, but with little food, were within hail of each other; hungry men, so circumstanced, might (it was thought) make short work of the numberless flocks of the Caffres and colonists on both sides and all round them. Such were the predictions then expressed; but the conduct of the Hottentots soon gave them a practical contradiction. They were told, "Show yourselves worthy of freedom, and your farther improvement is in your own power." Instead of collecting in a mass, eating and sleeping until the little they then had should be consumed, and then carrying fire and destruction over the country, and allowing the Caffres to surprise them, cut all their throats, and with their muskets carry on a more equal warfare with the colony, as was anticipated, they set immediately to work, cut canals which, considering their tools and the rock and indurated soil through which they had to penetrate, would have been thought impracticable. They cultivated, by means of the most miserable implements, an extent of country which surprised every

body who visited the locations, including the governor. Those who had no food lived upon wild roots, and by working for those who had something; these again were obliged to economize to support their families, until in a few months they had an abundance of pumpkins, Indian corn, peas, beans, &c. Instead of apathy or indifference about property, they became (now that they had property to contend for) as covetous and litigious about land and water as any other set of colonists. They display the utmost anxiety to have schools established among them. Several of these schools are in a flourishing state; and so eager are they for instruction, that if they find only one amongst them who can spell, where nothing better can be obtained, they get him to teach that little to the rest. They travel considerable distances to attend divine service regularly; their spiritual guides speak with delight of the fruits of their labours. No where have temperance societies succeeded half so well as among this people, formerly so prone to intemperance. They have themselves petitioned the government that their grants may contain a prohibition against the establishment of canteens or brandy houses. They have repulsed the Caffres on every occasion on which they have been attacked, and are now on the best of terms with that nation. They have cost the government nothing beyond the salary of their minister, from 15 to 20 mudes of Indian corn, and a few more of oats given them for seed the first year, 1829, and the loan of the muskets, together with a little ammunition given them for their own protection as well as that of the country in general. They pay every tax like the rest of the people; they have rendered the Kat River decidedly by far the safest part of the frontier; and the same plan, followed upon a more extensive scale, would soon enable government to withdraw the troops altogether, and put an end to that desultory warfare which must retard the improvement both of the colony and its barbarous neighbours, whilst no excuse would be left for Hottentot vagrancy.

Petty misdemeanors we must suppose occur in this as in every community, but they have not hitherto cost the public a magistrate, and the nearest functionary of the kind is two long days' ride distant. I only recollect two cases tried before the civil courts in which settlers of the Kat River were the accused; one was a Bushman, who had stolen some goats before he had joined the settlement, and was taken up after he had reached it, and the other was the case of two Hottentots who had stolen a Caffre cow, which was discovered by the vigilance of the head of the party to which they belonged, who arrested and sent them prisoners to Graham's Town, though the owner of the cow wished to make up the matter by receiving back another cow. In short, the most prejudiced men who have travelled through the locations admit that the Hottentots have done wonders; that as far as the land is arable they have made a garden of it from one end to the other; they have already supplied the military posts with forage and provisions to a considerable extent, and just as I was embarking, the commissary-general handed to me a memorandum of some of their tenders which he had just accepted. The above statement may possibly by some be considered as too favourable, and individuals may be found who, jealous of the success of this experiment, in refutation of all their sinister predictions, may point out indolent and bad characters in the Kat River settlement, such of course existing there as well as in every other place where numbers of men are

congregated. But to these objectors I would reply, that I never meant to represent the Hottentots as faultless or better than any other race of people in the aggregate. I have only wished to show, that as soon as they were treated as reasonable beings they acted reasonably, and the facts now stated can be proved to the letter.

The difficulties of the undertaking are further told. Dr. Philip says, speaking of the Kat River settlement, "I saw in one instance, in 1832, a Bushman location, and at that time they had been very recently established on that location, and they had nothing whatever when they were first located there. They borrowed a hatchet; they made a wooden plough without one iron nail in it, entirely of wood, and with this they cultivated their land. They received from the first crop enough to supply them through the winter, and something to sell. In the second year they cultivated to a greater extent; they had then a very excellent plough, which they made themselves with an iron coultter; they had also made a waggon for themselves; they had had no previous advantages whatever; they were literally in the situation which Captain Stockenstrom mentions, when they asked him what they were to do for means to cultivate their ground. 'If you are not able,' said he, 'to do it with your fingers, you need not go there.' But they had resources in their own minds, and those resources were brought into action, and with the most complete success."

The Rev. J. Read states, "They had to form dams across the river and water-courses, sometimes to the depth of 10, 12, and 14 feet, and that sometimes through solid rock, and with very sorry pickaxes, iron crows, and spades, and few of them. These works have excited the admiration of visitors; they had to cut roads also on the sides of mountains of considerable height. An obstacle was raised, in the beginning, to the Hottentots residing alone; a mixture was recommended of Dutch and English. The Hottentots begged and prayed to be left alone for a few years, and Captain Stockenstrom entered into their feeling, and said to them, 'Then show to the world that you can work as well as others, and that without the shambok (the whip).'"

They did work; and as a proof that they did not relax in their industry, we may mention that, according to Colonel Wade, they had, in 1833, completed 55 canals for irrigation, of which 44 measured nearly 24 miles. They were not disheartened by common accidents, such as a drought and a sickness amongst the horses, and the settlement continued to prosper beyond the most sanguine expectations of Captain Stockenstrom, who planned, and the government, who promoted the experiments; and as Colonel Wade remarks, the statement of its progress afforded the "best evidence that the Hottentots could be industrious, and were as capable of contending with ordinary difficulties as their fellow-men."

But there is another important fact to be noticed with regard to the Kat River settlement. It took at its very commencement a religious character, to which, as we believe, may be ascribed its subsequent well-doing. Many of the leaders and the men, who set the example of industry, had been educated at missionary establishments, and so impressed were they with the necessity of religious administrations, that they would not remain without a missionary, and sent for Mr. Read within a few months after their establishment. The Rev. W. Thompson was also appointed Dutch minister at the Kat River, and both have spoken with the greatest satisfaction of the people. Mr. Read says of them,—

The people were moral; many had been addicted to drinking brandy, and that to excess; but when the temperance society was established, about 1,700 signed its rules; and when I left, only four or five persons in three years had broken through the rules. Although wine is not included in the rule, yet most of the people refrain from taking any; they also sent a memorial to the governor, requesting that their grants for their lands might be given so as never to admit a canteen in the settlement. Religion flourished among them. I baptized about 260 adults during the four years and a half that I was with them, besides children, and the number of church members was about 400; the attendance on religious worship was great; on Sunday we were obliged to divide into two congregations, and the conduct of the people was most uniform. The older people were most zealous for instruction themselves, and very anxious to have their children educated, and for the latter object bore some of the expenses themselves. We had seven schools for the larger children and one school of industry, besides five infant schools, mostly carried on by native teachers, receiving a small salary from the Missionary Society, and generally supported in provisions by the people. There are connected with our congregation about three-fourths of the settlement.

In May 1834, Captain Bradford found that the Kat River people had subscribed to the amount of 499*l.*, partly in money, partly in material, to build a new church, and had also prepared to lay the foundation of another.

Dr. Philip also speaks thus of their progress:—

5433. When you were there, was a large proportion of the children instructed in the schools?—There were 700 children in the schools at the Kat River, when I was there in 1834.

5434. Out of a population of how many?—Out of a population of 4,000.

5435. That is one in every seven?—Yes; and in proportion to the population, that is equal to any thing we have in any country in Europe.

5436. Did you examine the children instructed in the school?—I examined the children in 1834. Sir John Wilde, the Chief Justice, happened to be upon the circuit at Graham's Town; he wrote me a note, saying that he was coming to spend a few days at the Kat River, and I had a public examination upon that occasion; and after the examination was over, he said he had not examined any schools in the

colony that had given him equal satisfaction to that which the examination of the Hottentot schools upon the Kat River had given him. He spoke in the highest terms of our normal school, conducted by Mr. Read, junior; he said he had met with nothing equal to it.

5437. Comparing that school with the schools established in this city, do you think they have carried education as far, and that the children answered as well as they do in England?—I can scarcely conceive that children with only the same advantages could, in an examination of the kind, have excelled those children.

5438. What were the subjects taught them?—English reading; the Dutch is the vernacular tongue; they read English exceedingly well, and were well acquainted with geography, and well acquainted with general history; they could write a very fair hand and they could cipher; the whole system, indeed, was conducted in a manner, in my opinion, that scarcely could admit of improvement.

5439. Was there an infant school there?—There were several infant schools there, in admirable order.

5440. Do you conceive that those infant schools showed the same degree of proficiency that infant schools in this metropolis do?—Quite equal to any thing I have seen in England. I have not seen infant schools superior to them, and it has been admitted by all visitors, both from India and England, that they had not seen any thing superior to what they had seen in those schools.

5442. Was the attendance upon public worship considerable on the part of the adult population at the Kat River?—Considerable; I do not know that any person absented himself from public worship that was able to be present.

5443. Were the chapels as crowded, and was the behaviour of the attendants as decent and decorous as it is in this country?—I never saw, and I have heard many most respectable individuals say they never saw, so much seriousness, so much attention, such deep feelings of devotion, in any congregation in any part of the world as they have seen at the Kat River.

5444. *Mr. Baines.*] Are those congregations composed wholly, or nearly so, of native inhabitants?—Wholly so. You seldom see the eye of an individual diverted for a moment from the preacher; there is a kind of sympathy between them, that they seem breathless when a sentence is begun till the sentence is ended. What they hear is matter of prayer to them after the service is over, and a subject of conversation during the week.

5445. *Chairman.*] Were many shops open on the Sunday?—None at all.

5446. Do you consider that the establishment of the Kat River, and the advancement made by the natives in civilization, had some tendency to create a barrier and a protection to the colony against the inroads of savage tribes?—I do think so.

5447. Was that the opinion of the government?—I believe that was the general opinion.

Had it indeed depended on the Hottentots, we believe the frontier would have been spared the outrages from which they, as well as others, have suffered. Their flourishing settlement was

thrown into confusion by the Caffre invasion, and the predominance of martial law, and the missionaries were ordered from their stations. We are informed that the "Kat River local force" behaved steadily and bravely in the war,\* and we hope that their loyalty may be speedily rewarded by a restoration of the privileges of which they were disposed to make so good a use. The native teachers are, we are told, carrying on the work of education to the best of their power; but they are extremely anxious for the return of their missionaries.

The northern frontier of our colony, an extent of 300 miles, is bordered by the Griquas, a mixed race, "the offspring of colonists by Hottentot females, who finding themselves treated as inferior by their kinsmen of European blood, and prevented from acquiring the possession of land, or any fixed property, within the colony, about fifty years ago sought a refuge from contumely and oppression among the native tribes beyond its limits, where their numbers were gradually augmented by refugees of the same class from the colony, and by intermarriages with females of the Bushmen and Coranna tribes around them." In these people we find a striking instance of the benefit of missionary restraints; and they afford a remarkable contrast with the Caffres on the north-eastern frontier, whose unsettled state has not allowed them as yet to take the mould of their teachers.

The Griquas seem to have retained no trace of civilization from their European parentage. In 1800, when their first missionary, Mr. Anderson, went among them—

They were a herd of wandering and naked savages, subsisting by plunder and the chase. Their bodies were daubed with red paint, their heads loaded with grease and shining powder, with no covering but the filthy caross over their shoulders. Without knowledge, without morals, or any traces of civilization, they were wholly abandoned to witchcraft, drunkenness, licentiousness, and all the consequences which arise from the unchecked growth of such vices. With his fellow-labourer, Mr. Kramer, Mr. A. wandered about with them five years and a half, exposed to all the dangers and privations inseparable from such a state of society, before they could induce them to locate where they are now settled.

When the labours of the missionaries began to produce their legitimate effects on the minds of the Griquas, polygamy was abandoned; and since that period every man has confined himself to one wife. This state of things, as it exists among savage tribes, is one of the greatest obstacles to the success of the missionaries; and when the christian religion operates so powerfully upon their minds as to enable them to make the sacrifice which its abandonment requires, the missionaries are furnished with one of the most unquestionable evidences of the efficacy of their instructions, and have the best securities for the future triumph of their principles. As a corroboration of the preceding statement, the following extract of a letter from the Rev. William Anderson, formerly

\* General Orders, 26 February; Papers, Caffre War, p. 7; also General Orders, 3 July and 7 August, p. 91.

of Griqua Town, and now of Pacaltsdorp, dated 23d December, 1825, will be perused with interest: "When I went among the Griquas, and for some time after, they were without the smallest marks of civilization. If I except one woman (who had, by some means, got a trifling article of colonial raiment), they had not one thread of European clothing among them; and their wretched appearance and habits were such as might have excited in our minds an aversion to them, had we not been actuated by principles which led us to pity them, and served to strengthen us in pursuing the object of our missionary work: they were, in many instances, little above the brutes. It is a fact, that we were among them at the hazard of our lives. This became evident to us from their own acknowledgments to us afterwards, they having confessed that they had frequently premeditated to take away our lives, and were prevented only from executing their purposes by what they now considered an Almighty power. When we went among them, and some time after, they lived in the habit of plundering one another; and they saw no moral evil in this, nor in any of their actions. Violent deaths were common; and I recollect, many of the aged women told me their husbands had been killed in this way. Their usual manner of living was truly disgusting, and they were void of shame; however, after a series of hardships, which required much faith and patience, our instructions were attended with a blessing, which produced a great change. The people became honest in their dealings; they came to abhor those acts of plunder which had been so common amongst them; nor do I recollect a single instance, for several years prior to their late troubles, which could be considered as a stain upon their character. They entirely abandoned their former manner of life, and decency and modesty prevailed in their families. When we first settled among them, we had some Hottentots with us from the Zak River. With their assistance we began to cultivate the ground about Riet Fonteyn; but notwithstanding our exhortations, remonstrances and example, the Griquas manifested the greatest aversion to such work, and appeared determined to continue their wandering and predatory habits. At the end of six months, the Hottentots left us, and our prospects, as to the future cultivation of the ground, became very gloomy. We determined, however, to abide by them; and in wandering about with them, we constantly endeavoured to impress upon their minds the superior advantages they would derive from cultivating the ground, and having fixed habitations. After a considerable time had elapsed, we prevailed upon them to try the experiment, and a commencement was made. This event was preceded and followed by a great and visible improvement upon them as a body. It was soon after our location in this place that we were visited by Vandergraaf, landdrost of Tulbagh, Mr. Vanderbyl, and Professor Lichsteinstein. On this occasion, the landdrost expressed himself thus: 'I find every thing different from the reports which have reached the ears of the governor, and I shall state to him the satisfaction I have felt on finding things so different as they have been represented, on my return.'

"Considering the circumstances of the people, much land was cultivated at this time, and in the following years the land under cultivation was much increased. I have seen the whole valley, from the Fountain to the Lion's Den, which must include nearly four square miles, covered with corn and barley. This refers to the Griqua Town

alone, and the ground around the neighbouring fountains was in a similar state of improvement." Before the Griquas were induced to give up their nomadic life, and locate themselves in their present situation, such were the privations of the missionaries that they were often six months at a time without tasting bread. After they had got the people to give up their wandering life, and they began to have bread and garden stuffs, to use their own expression, "We seemed scarcely to have an earthly wish left that was not gratified." When, in addition to this improvement in their table, they got comfortable houses and clothing, and saw the people improving in their understandings, in piety and industry, they found their cup running over, and felt themselves repaid for all their sufferings and sacrifices.

A fact mentioned by Dr. Philip marks the influence which the missionaries early acquired over the Griquas in leading them to acts of justice. They have been accused, and with much probability of truth, of having, whilst themselves in a savage state, treated the Bushmen with barbarity, and expelled them from the greater part of their country. This, however, was before the missionaries went to them. "I never understood that when the missionaries discovered the fountains, where Griqua Town now stands, there were any tribes or persons in occupation of the place. They found that part of the country empty, and they took possession of it. Shortly after, they discovered some springs of water at a place which was named Campbell. This place was about 40 miles distant from Griqua Town, and there was only one Bushman and his family upon it; and Adam Kok, late chief of Philippolis, paid him 150 dollars for the fountain he claimed as belonging to him. This transaction shows, that at a very early period, the Griquas had imbibed some principles of justice towards the Bushmen from the missionaries. This fact was brought to my knowledge by the following circumstance. When Campbell was put under the jurisdiction of Waterboer by the treaty Sir Benjamin D'Urban entered into with that chief, Adam Kok, the chief of Philippolis, preferred his claim for the 150 dollars he had paid for that fountain, which claim, after an investigation of the circumstances, was allowed, and the money was paid to him."

Long after the settlement of the Griquas, they not only tolerated the Bushmen in the land, but in 1832, when, as we have seen, Dr. Philip did not see a single Bushman kraal in the Bushman country within the colony, he passed 11 kraals between Philippolis and the Yellow River, the inhabitants of all of which spoke of the Griquas as their benefactors, and the only people to whom they could look up for protection. The Griquas are said to have once held the Bushmen in slavery. "They now," says Mr. Moffat, "regard the practice with abhorrence." We regret to say that our farmers are less scrupulous, as is proved by the following fact mentioned by Mr. Moffat: \*—"The Bushmen in

general are attached to their children. Many applications for them have been rejected by the parents, though the price offered has been raised with a view to tempt them. One Bushman was induced to yield his consent to give up his child for a cow, and a Griqua farmer was applied to, to lend one for the purpose of effecting the bargain. The Griqua seemed to appeal to me for advice how to act, stating that his heart forbade him; and as I discouraged him, he refused to give the cow, and the bargain was consequently broken off. The Bushmen in question were living from choice with the Griquas, and perfectly free; and application was made to Berandt, one of the Griqua captains, to influence the Bushmen to sell their children, and he observed to me, that he could not do it; that it was slave-trade to barter for children; and what was he to think of our people who could make such a proposal to him."

Having got the Griquas to settle, Mr. Anderson next induced them to adopt a more regular form of government, and also got the colonial government to confirm a chief of their electing.\*

They do not, however, appear to have been willing to profess entire subjection to the colonial government, and their refusing to furnish recruits in 1814 gave great umbrage. It was with some difficulty that Dr. Philip obtained leave for the continuance of the mission among these people: the missionaries were, however, suffered to remain, and in 1819 the connexion with the colony was strengthened by the establishment of a fair at Beaufort for the mutual benefit of the colonists and the native tribes, of whom the Griquas were the principal dealers. "At the first fair the business done by that people amounted to 27,000 rix dollars; and on most of the goods sold to the Griquas by the colonists the latter had a profit of from 200 to 500 per cent. In 1820 a second fair was held, which terminated as successfully as the first. On that occasion about 200 people attended, with 27 waggons, loaded with elephants' teeth, salt, skins of all sorts, wheat, honey, and various curiosities, driving before them upwards of 700 oxen. This circumstance shows that missionaries have been the instruments of elevating considerably the character and condition of this people. I was informed by several respectable and intelligent individuals present, that the strangers not only vied with the colonists in preserving order, but that the praise of sobriety was so decidedly on their side, as on several occasions to induce the chief magistrate present to speak of their conduct with admiration, and point them out as examples to the colonists."

In 1822 the government appointed a political agent to reside among the Griquas, to strengthen the authority of the chiefs or captains in preserving order; and in his instructions, it is expressly said, "It is fortunate for the inhabitants of Griqua Town that the London Missionary Society has established a resident missionary there, to communicate to them religious instruction. It will

\* Letter of Waterboer, Ev. p. 624.

be a most essential part of your duty to encourage the attendance of the people to the instruction so charitably and zealously proffered to them; and you will be pleased to keep his Excellency apprised of the progress made in the introduction of Christianity among the Griquas and the adjoining tribes."\*

Hitherto there had been two captains of the Griqua nation; but just before the agent, Mr. Melville's arrival, a third, a Hottentot, named Waterboer, had been chosen chief of Griqua Town, and approved by the colonial government.† A few of the Griquas, jealous of the colonial interference, (a jealousy, Mr. Melville says, "not to be wondered at,") removed from the district; and some others, finding that they did not derive the advantages they expected from their connexion with the colony, joined them. This band of disaffected persons retired to the mountains (whence they acquired the name of Bergenaars), and lived by plunder. In keeping down these banditti, Waterboer did not meet with the support from the colony that he conceived he had a right to expect: still he was always well inclined to the British government, to which, on various occasions, he proved himself useful. By his own abilities and the superior civilization of his Griquas, he made himself respected by the savage but powerful tribes to the northward, and kept them from destroying their weaker neighbours, and from pressing on our borders, exemplifying the importance to us of having belts of confederate nations who have made some progress in civilization, between the colonists and their uncivilized neighbours.‡

It is not now necessary to disentangle the story of the northern frontier, since the movements and the broils of the neighbouring tribes have happily not resulted in injury to ourselves; but we may select a few instances of missionary influence in restraining and guiding these wild spirits, the best of whom had been but lately reclaimed from rude barbarism. Mr. Melville, the government agent, writes in 1824:—

In the month of July last a report having reached Griqua Town, that five invading tribes had attacked a Borolong town, and destroyed a Wesleyan missionary's property during his absence from the place, and that they were approaching the Griqua territory, a commando was called out under the direction of Waterboer, assisted by the chief of Campbell. After they had proceeded six days to the north-east, it proved to be a contrivance of the Borolong chief to evade discovery, having himself made away with the property. In order to punish such atrocious conduct, and to obtain some compensation for the people who had lost the season for hunting elephants, and had been put to great expense for the commando, it was thought proper by the Griquas to

\* Papers, Cape of Good Hope, Part I. p. 211. † Cape Papers, Part I. p. 212.

‡ I believe almost all the boors of the district are ready to acknowledge the integrity and talents of Waterboer, and the services he has rendered to the colony. The field-cornet, Jaubert, who is near the Philippolis district, remarked to a gentleman, from whom I had my information, "I never go to my bed one night without being thankful to God that we have the Griquas between us and danger."—*Mr. Philip's Letter to the Hon. Colonel Wade, 10th October, 1833.*

demand 600 head of cattle from the Borolong chief, to which he consented, and they were divided among the Griquas and Coramas composing the commando; but the Griqua chiefs and their heemraden most disinterestedly declined receiving any for themselves. The Borolong chief was so struck at the lenient manner in which he was treated, that he said at parting, "If I had fallen into the hands of my own countrymen, I and all my family would have been killed." His uncle also expressed his surprise that the chief had escaped with his life; adding, "I now see what kind of people the Makooas are;" a word signifying civilized, and applied to the Griquas.

This affair being settled, the chiefs proceeded to reduce the Bergenaars (in order, if possible, to remove the only obstacle that remained to the restoration of good order in the Griquas' country, and to put a stop to the system of depredation carried on against the tribes around them). Instead of showing any disposition to alter their conduct, they set the commando at defiance, and maintained that attitude till night come on with rain, when they made their escape, two of their party having been killed in the first onset. The chiefs returned to Griqua Town with 4,000 head of cattle, followed by some hundreds of the plundered tribes, to whom a considerable part of the cattle belonged; and, contrary to the usual practice of savage tribes, a scene of justice took place that would have done credit to any civilized nation. The chiefs restored to the poor people all their cattle, without the least reservation of any for themselves, to which any of these people could establish a right.

Finding it necessary to visit Cape Town with the chiefs and some of the leading people, the Bergenaars came with the intention of attacking Griqua Town, soon after our departure; and, having surrounded some houses in the vicinity, they killed two men and burnt a woman in one, to which they had set fire; after this, they proceeded to Griqua Town; but hearing there was a missionary residing there, they retired to a distance and sent for him, when he induced them to listen to terms of peace.

"In adverting to the danger to which the northern frontier is exposed, I must give it as my decided opinion," says the government agent, Mr. Melville, "that it is missionary influence alone that has hitherto preserved peace between the colony and the tribes beyond it. In the instance of Griqua Town, already mentioned, when the Bergenaars came to attack it, the great respect attached to the character of missionary was most apparent. The spirit of war and revenge that raged against the inhabitants of that place was allayed, and peace established by the presence of missionaries. The peace now existing between the Bechuannas and Corannas round about the Griqua country (tribes that formerly maintained a constant warfare) has its origin and continuance in the mission of Griqua Town. The Namaqua chief, Africaner, was a noted murderer and plunderer, and was a terror to the colonists; but it is a well-known fact, that after a missionary went to reside with him he was so changed as to become a promoter of peace, not only with the colony but with all the surrounding tribes, and received from the colonial government a most liberal gift of a waggon that cost 800 rix dollars, as a testimony of the governor's good will towards him; which was an act of the best policy for securing the peace of the frontier. And similar instances can be produced, if necessary, in further proof of what I have advanced.

"I am satisfied, from what has come under my own observation during a residence of two and a half years as government agent at Griqua Town, that the only means of civilizing the savage tribes and preserving the peace of the frontier, is to encourage the missions beyond the colony. I have no doubt that, if those missions fail for want of a check upon the Bergenaars, the whole of that part of the country on the frontier will be infested with robbers and murderers. The missionaries have always allayed the spirit of irritation, and prevented contests between the colonists and the savage tribes; their presence preventing the former from dealing unjustly with the savages, and the latter from retaliating when ill treated by the colonists."\*

That education is rapidly advancing among the Griquas, we have a casual illustration in a paper relating to the succession to one of the chieftainships, in which it is observed that a certain candidate "cannot write, and therefore will have no support among the people." Now the majority of the tribe, consisting of that portion to whom instruction has been afforded, are, as we are told, "well disposed, and anxious to live at peace with us;" and they afford a fresh instance of the natural connexion of an appreciation of the advantages of education, with a friendly feeling towards Europeans. This is a fact which, whether we look at it in reference to the interests of religion and humanity, or to its effect on the security of property, or to its influence in procuring us at once the best and the cheapest defence against the inroads of the neighbouring tribes, deserves peculiar notice; and an instructive contrast may be drawn between the tranquillity of this large extent of our northern frontier, protected by tribes humanized by Christianity, and treated with some consideration by our government, and the constant disturbances along the 80 miles of the north-eastern boundary, fortified, as it has been, by a large military establishment against the inroads of exasperated natives. "As it is," says Captain Stockenstrom, "you will find, by the statements of the military commandant himself of 1831, that then, after so many years of military coercion, the frontier was in as deplorable a condition as it ever had been. Would any man tell you that it is because there are not troops enough? Let him then say how many it would take to protect a frontier of 800 miles, if 1,000 cannot do so with 80 miles."—"If the present system be persevered in, we may require the troops to be increased tenfold, for every cottage and every flock may require a guard; and, by an opposite course, we may hope to see them dispensed with altogether." With regard more especially to the influence of missionaries upon the Griquas, and the difference between those who were by them kept under subordination, and the rebels to their authority, Capt. Stockenstrom thus strongly expresses himself:—

There is another set of missionaries belonging to the London Missionary Society, and in 1832, I believe it was, that there was an inroad of a marauding horde of Corannas, Hottentots and others, who

\* No. 50. Papers, Cape of Good Hope, Part I., pp. 215, 216, 217, 218.

were considered outlaws, and independent of the Griqua tribes. They slaughtered indiscriminately several families, and plundered to a great extent: a strong expedition was sent against those people, but was unsuccessful. It was apparent to every man acquainted with the northern frontier, that if it had not been for the influence which the London missionaries had gained over the Griquas, we should have had the whole nation down upon us. It was only the state of feeling produced by that influence which prevented the Griquas from taking advantage of the exposed condition of the country, and the panic then existing, to give vent to their old animosities against the colony, and overrun the northern half of it. Had they been without that helm, that influence, I say, of these missionaries, we should have had a strong tribe instead of a gang of robbers to contend with. We had no force to arrest them if they had; and I have been informed that, since I left the colony, the government has been able to enter into a sort of treaty with the chief Waterboer, of a most beneficial nature to the Corannas and the Griquas themselves, as well as to the safety of the northern frontier. Now, that those people are in that state to enable us to treat with them, I attribute altogether to the domesticated state to which they have been brought by the labours and the confidence which they have in the advice of the missionaries, whose interest it is to preach peace.

We concur in regarding with much satisfaction the treaty alluded to, which, in December 1834, Sir B. D'Urban concluded with the chief Waterboer,\* and from which the Governor anticipates essential benefit in protecting our northern frontier from the incursions of banditti. We are well satisfied also to observe, that the chief is to be allowed a small salary to defray a part of his expenses in the service of the colony. If Waterboer continues to rule his people with the firmness and equity that he has hitherto manifested, we have little fear of disappointment resulting from this arrangement, and we think that a lesson may be learnt from the principles of government laid down for his own guidance, by one who claims no higher ancestry than that of the Hottentot and the Bushman.†

I feel that I am bound to govern my people by christian principles. The world knows by experience, and I know in my small way, and I know also from my Bible, that the government which is not founded on the principles of the Bible must come to nothing. When governments lose sight of the principles of the Bible, partiality, injustice, oppression and cruelty prevail, and then suspicion, want of confidence, jealousy, hatred, revolt and destruction succeed. Therefore I hope it will ever be my study, that the Bible should form the foundation of every principle of my government; then I and my people will have a standard to which we can appeal, which is clear, and comprehensive, and satisfactory, and by which we shall all be tried, and have our condition determined in the day of judgment. The relation in which I stand to my people as their chief, as their leader, binds me, by all that is sacred and dear, to seek their welfare and promote their happiness; and by

\* Paper, Cape of Good Hope, Part II. 115.

† Papers, Cape of Good Hope, Part II. p. 115; Part I. p. 127.

what means shall I be able to do this? This I shall best be able to do by alluding to the principles of the Bible. Would governors and governments act upon the simple principle by which we are bound to act as individuals, that is, to do as we would be done by, all would be well. I hope, by the principles of the gospel, the morals of my people will continue to improve; and it shall be my endeavour, in humble dependence on the Divine blessing, that those principles shall lose none of their force by my example. Sound education I know will civilize them, make them wise, useful, powerful, and secure amongst their neighbours; and the better they are educated, the more clearly will they see that the principles of the Bible are the best principles for the government of individuals, of families, of tribes and nations.

This treaty met with the cordial approval of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Earl of Aberdeen, whose sentiments on the subject, and also on the general course to be pursued with the border tribes, well deserve to be quoted:—

COPY of a DESPATCH from Lord *Aberdeen* to Sir *B. D'Urban*.

Sir,

Downing-street, 11 April, 1835.

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 26th December last, enclosing a "Treaty of Agreement," which you have concluded with Andries Waterboer, chief of the Griquas, a tribe of natives who are settled on the northern frontier of the colony.

I not only approve in the fullest manner of the object and the terms of this agreement, but I am desirous of expressing the high satisfaction which it has afforded to His Majesty's Government to learn that you have, even in one instance, succeeded so completely to realize the view which the King's Government entertain of the only policy which it becomes this country to observe and steadfastly to pursue in regard to the native tribes, by which the colony under your government is in a great measure encompassed.

I am, &c.

(Signed) *Aberdeen*.\*

We have yet another example to bring of the benefit we have derived from missionary influence upon bordering nations; and it shall be taken from the quarter to which we have of late been especially led to look with apprehension. So great has been the effect of missionaries upon the Caffre race, that Captain Stockenstrom (as we however think erroneously) would even estimate their political beyond their religious usefulness. He says, "Their influence is really wonderful; but it is more of a political than a religious nature. Look at what Mr. Shaw's influence has done with one set of Caffres in the midst of all this last war; that decidedly is political; and if we look at the number of real converts which they have made in a religious point of view, I should think they would be found few in proportion to those who have been kept out of harm's way in other respects."

We are aware that Mr. Shaw had left Caffraria some time before the commencement of the war, but we also ascribe it to

the influence which he had gained over the tribes of Pato, Kama and Congo, amounting to nearly 10,000 persons, and which his colleagues continued to exert, that these chiefs held firm to the colony during the late war. Before the establishment of the Wesleyan mission among them, these people had been notorious for their predatory habits, bearing, it seems, deep resentment against the colony, on account of the unauthorized cession of their lands made by Gaika,\* and so dangerous were they reputed, that Mr. Shaw's going among them was considered to be at the risk of his life, and numbers of his friends tried to dissuade him from so hazardous a step. The reception they gave him was, however, kind and cordial:—

They were extremely glad (he says) to see me, and received me with loud huzzas, as if I had been making a triumphal entry, when I took up my residence among them. I speedily discovered that the chiefs were dissatisfied with the loss of their lands, and I therefore promised, if they would stop all marauding in the colony by their people, that I would represent their case to the colonial government. They did so, and I kept my promise; and ultimately the colonial government, with the sanction of Earl Bathurst, allowed them to re-occupy about one-half of their lands in the neutral territory, only, however, upon the precarious tenure of their good behaviour. Your lordship will, doubtless, be desirous of knowing the result of this measure; and I have great satisfaction in stating that a good understanding was thus obtained with these chiefs, that they have prohibited their people from plundering in the colony for nearly ten years past, that I possess and can produce documentary evidence, which proves that they have frequently recaptured and returned to the colony cattle stolen by other tribes, and that during the late irruption they have manifested a strong disinclination to join the aggressive tribes.†

No proof can be stronger than this, that Caffres can be managed without patrols; of which another missionary to Pato's tribe, the Rev. S. Young, affirms they had none sent against them for the last ten or twelve years. Under these favourable circumstances, Christianity gradually took hold of the people's minds. They disputed every inch of ground with us; they were willing to go into inquiry, but we found them very different in that respect to the Hottentots in the colony, who always receive with implicit credit what is stated to them by their teachers. The Caffres exhibited considerable powers of mind, and were not willing to receive any dogma until it was proved to their satisfaction. At length, however, "the truths of the christian religion made a deep impression on many of them; the chiefs regularly attended divine worship; some of their own children learned to read and write. Kama and his wife, a daughter of the late Gaika, embraced the christian faith, and were baptized; and my successors," writes Mr. Shaw, "have favourably reported since of

\* Mr. Shaw's Letter to Earl of Aberdeen, Papers, Cape of Good Hope, Part II. p. 139.

† Ibid. p. 141.

the continued progress of Christianity amongst them."\* The Sabbath has been recognised by proclamation of the chiefs; and it is stated that the "effect of the gospel in promoting public morals and humanizing the people is observable by all who visit that tribe."† Whilst inculcating the doctrines of Christianity, Mr. Shaw neglected not the civilization of the people; and he succeeded in raising them from purely nomadic to agricultural habits. He taught them the use of the plough, an implement difficult for them to purchase; but seeing the advantage of it, they managed to acquire ploughs, and also waggons with teams of oxen. They have built a beautiful village at Wesleyville, with houses much in the same style as those of European settlers. Many of the tribe adopted an European dress; and such was their demand for British manufactures, that Mr. Shaw applied to the government to found a shop or store for the sale of British goods. The Wesleyan missionaries have published a grammar of the Caffre language, and have translated and printed nearly the whole of the New Testament and a portion of the Old; and the school children (who are described as being very intelligent) can read the Scriptures in their own language. Many barbarous customs have given way before the light and knowledge introduced by missionaries. "Their heathenish cruelties," says Mr. Kay, "have been materially checked. On every mission station the various superstitious ceremonies to which the people have been accustomed from time immemorial, are almost wholly laid aside. Some of these were of the most inhuman character, inflicting torture and excruciating pain, by means of stinging insects; of branding with hot stones; of roasting or of burning, until nearly dead. Their sorcerers or rain-makers, also, a class of impostors, and the universal ring-leaders in all this kind of cruelty, with whom every missionary has had more or less to contend, have been put to flight; being, confessedly, unable to dwell where the light of the gospel shines. I very much question, therefore, whether one of these men could now be found within a circle of many miles round about any of the stations. This circumstance will appear the more important when I state that the living stand in constant dread of them; their property, and even life itself, being placed in jeopardy the moment they begin to call an assembly; and all being kept in perfect suspense, as to the object of vengeance, until they announce their verdict, which is uniformly based upon some supposed witchcraft." On the first appearance of hostilities Pato, Kama, and Cobus sent messengers to every part of Caffreland, with the hope of stopping them. They afforded refuge to all the British traders who fled to them, patrolled their boundary to stop marauders, and reinforced a post under the command of a British officer.‡

\* Mr. Shaw's Letter, p. 140.

† Shepton's Letter, Cape Papers, Part II. p. 142.

‡ Beecham's Evidence, p. 535.



In the feeling of the christian chiefs, that to destroy the bonds of union with christian and civilized men, is to replunge their people into barbarism, and to annul the advantages that they have learnt to prize, lies, we are convinced, the main security we have for peace and quietness on our borders.

To bring barbarians, however, to this opinion, must require a certain continuance of equable and temperate policy towards them; and the experiment of subduing their fierceness, by the mild influence of civilization, remains to be tried on those tribes who have most distinguished themselves in the late lamentable hostilities. We fear that Macomo has had too much reason to allege to Dr. Philip, who was urging him to have his children sent to school, "All that you have said is very good; but I am shot at every day; my huts are set fire to, and I can only sleep with one eye open, and the other eye shut; I do not know where my place is, and how can I get my children to be instructed?"

Tzatzoe, who is himself a Christian, and who has himself laboured for the conversion of his countrymen, says that the "word of God had once made a deep impression upon the Caffres;" but the commando of Colonel Frazer put a stop to the labours of the missionaries, and that since that time commandos have continued, and the people have not been able to learn. The Caffres say, "We might learn if we were not teased every day;" and Tzatzoe adds, "Whenever the missionaries preach to the Caffres, or whenever I myself preach or speak to my countrymen, they say, 'Why do not the missionaries first go and preach to the people on the other side; why do not they preach to their own countrymen, and convert them first.'"

Some progress was made in the instruction of these turbulent, irritated spirits, when affairs came unhappily to the crisis, which put a stop to all attempts of the kind. Tzatzoe himself had at his place a missionary, Mr. Brownlee, and a church, capable of containing 300 persons, generally filled on the Sunday; together with schools; and though these incipient improvements have, we fear, been crushed by the events of the war, and the occupation of the station by the British troops, it is yet satisfactory to find him expressing his opinion, that "if peaceable relations and a good understanding between the Caffres and the colony were established, and if a state of tranquillity were restored to the Caffre nation, they would yet gladly receive missionaries, and attend to instruction."

Something has already been gained in the desire excited among them for education. Mr. James Read says, "The Caffres begin to see that they have not the same intelligence (I mean as far as regards books and knowledge) as the Hottentots; and they have often wished to have missionaries, like the Hottentots, to instruct them and their children."

They look upon the missionaries as their friends and protectors: "our bush," as they call them; and their care to send

them uninjured from the scene of conflict proved the reality of their regard.

"The hostile chiefs themselves," says the Rev. S. Kay, "at the very commencement of the war, gave special charge to their warriors concerning all missionaries: not one of them was to be hurt on any account whatever;" and he mentions another circumstance as tending to illustrate the humanizing effect of a certain degree of religious knowledge, "even where true christian principle has not yet gained the ascendancy. It is quite notorious that in all former wars the Caffres massacred men, women, and children indiscriminately; but during the last, it is well known that many instances occurred of European females and children falling into the hands of the enemy, who protected, and finally restored them to their relatives in safety."

In reviewing the general case before us, we have endeavoured to fix our attention rather on the requirements of justice and morality than on the motives of interest. It may not, however, be irrelevant to observe, that the latter are in close alliance with the former, and that we cannot infringe on these without sacrificing true economy. We again beg to be distinctly understood, that we are making no charge against the body of English settlers: we believe them to have been great losers by a course of mistaken policy: and we commiserate the misfortunes which this has brought upon great numbers who have taken no active part in abetting a system of irritation. In the matter of commerce alone they have been losers; for we have abundant evidence to show that the Caffres were acquiring an increasing desire for British manufactures, and that this unhappy war interrupted a trade which, though of late growth, had amounted to at least 30,000*l.* per annum, in the purchase of European commodities.\*

This fact, coupled with the knowledge of the profit we already derive from other nations in an incipient state of civilization, proves the utility to ourselves of cultivating with them the relations of peace and of mutual good understanding; and we repeat our conviction, that the most effectual mode of making such nations desirable neighbours, is the giving them christian instruction, and allowing them, through the equity and the moderation of our political conduct, a fair opportunity to profit by the instruction afforded.

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## CONCLUSION.

Your Committee cannot recapitulate the evils which have been the result of the intercourse between civilized and barbarous

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\* Lord Glenelg's Despatch to Sir B. D'Urban, 26 December, 1834, p. 64. The Rev. S. Kay states, that not a trader was travelling in Caffraria at the time the missionaries commenced their labours: when the war broke out, 200 traders were in that country.

nations more truly, than in the summary contained in the interrogation and responses of the secretaries of the three missionary societies most conversant with the subject, and to which we have already referred.

4329. To Mr. *Coates*.] Is it your opinion that Europeans coming into contact with native inhabitants of our settlements, tends (with the exception of cases in which missions are established) to deteriorate the morals of the natives; to introduce European vices; to spread among them new and dangerous diseases; to accustom them to the use of ardent spirits; to the use of European arms and instruments of destruction; to the seduction of native females; to the decrease of the native population; and to prevent the spread of civilization, education, commerce and Christianity: and that the effect of European intercourse has been, upon the whole, a calamity on the heathen and savage nations. In the first place, is it your opinion that European contact with native inhabitants, always excepting the cases in which missions have been established, tends to deteriorate the morals of the natives?—Yes.

4330. To Mr. *Beecham*.] Do you concur in that opinion?—Yes.

4331. To Mr. *Ellis*.] Do you concur in that opinion?—Certainly.

4332. Does it tend to introduce European vices?—Mr. *Coates*.] Yes.—Mr. *Beecham*.] Yes.—Mr. *Ellis*.] Yes.

4333. Does it tend to spread among them new and dangerous diseases?—Mr. *Coates*.] Yes.—Mr. *Beecham*.] Yes.—Mr. *Ellis*.] Yes.

4334. Does it tend to accustom them to the use of ardent spirits?—Mr. *Coates*.] Yes.—Mr. *Beecham*.] Yes.—Mr. *Ellis*.] Yes.

4335. And to the use of European arms and instruments of destruction?—Mr. *Coates*.] Yes; but might I add a word which would go rather to express a doubt whether the ultimate result of that be injurious to the savage nations? but that it has the tendency suggested in the question, I have no doubt.—Mr. *Beecham*.] Yes.—Mr. *Ellis*.] Yes.

4336. To the seduction of native females?—Mr. *Coates*.] Yes.—Mr. *Beecham*.] Yes.—Mr. *Ellis*.] Yes.

4337. To the decrease of population?—Mr. *Coates*.] Yes.—Mr. *Beecham*.] Yes.—Mr. *Ellis*.] Yes.

4338. Does it tend to impede that civilization which, if Europeans properly conducted themselves, might be introduced?—Mr. *Coates*.] Certainly.—Mr. *Beecham*.] Yes.—Mr. *Ellis*.] I have no doubt that it does.

4339. The same as to education?—Mr. *Coates*.] Certainly.—Mr. *Beecham*.] Yes.—Mr. *Ellis*.] Certainly.

4340. The same as to commerce?—Mr. *Coates*.] Certainly.—Mr. *Beecham*.] Yes.—Mr. *Ellis*.] Yes.

4341. Is it your opinion that it tends to prevent the spread of the christian gospel?—Mr. *Coates*.] Most assuredly.—Mr. *Beecham*.] Yes.—Mr. *Ellis*.] Yes.

4342. Is it generally your opinion that the effect of European intercourse, saving where missions have been established, has been, upon the whole, hitherto a calamity upon the native and savage nations whom we have visited?—Mr. *Coates*.] That I have no doubt about.—Mr. *Beecham*.] Yes; generally.—Mr. *Ellis*.] Generally, I should think it has.

4343. As far as you know, in instances of contention between Europeans and natives, has it generally happened that the Europeans were in fault?—Mr. *Coates*.] Universally, so far as I have information upon the subject.—Mr. *Beecham*.] Yes.—Mr. *Ellis*.] I have not met with an instance in which, when investigated, it has not been found that the aggression was upon the part of the Europeans.

These allegations have, we conceive, been clearly proved in the evidence of which we have given an abstract; and we have also seen the effects of conciliatory conduct, and of christian instruction. One of the two systems we must have to preserve our own security, and the peace of our colonial borders; either an overwhelming military force, with all its attendant expenses, or a line of temperate conduct and of justice towards our neighbours.

“The main point which I would have in view,” said a witness before your Committee, “would be trade, commerce, peace, and civilization. The other alternative is extermination; for you can stop nowhere; you must go on; you may have a short respite when you have driven panic into the people, but you must come back to the same thing until you have shot the last man.” From all the bulky evidence before us, we can come to no other conclusion; and considering the power, and the mighty resources of the British nation, we must believe that the choice rests with ourselves.

Great Britain has, in former times, countenanced evils of great magnitude,—slavery and the slave-trade; but for these she has made some atonement; for the latter, by abandoning the traffic; for the former, by the sacrifice of 20 millions of money. But for these offences there was this apology; they were evils of an ancient date, a kind of prescription might be pleaded for them, and great interests were entwined with them.

An evil remains very similar in character, and not altogether unfit to be compared with them in the amount of misery it produces. The oppression of the natives of barbarous countries is a practice which pleads no claim to indulgence; it is an evil of comparatively recent origin, imperceptible and unallowed in its growth; it never has had even the colour of sanction from the legislature of this country; no vested rights are associated with it, and we have not the poor excuse that it contributes to any interest of the state. On the contrary, in point of economy, of security, of commerce, of reputation, it is a short-sighted and disastrous policy. As far as it has prevailed, it has been a burthen on the empire. It has thrown impediments in the way of successful colonization; it has engendered wars, in which great expenses were necessarily incurred, and no reputation could be won; and it has banished from our confines, or exterminated, the natives, who might have been profitable workmen, good customers, and good neighbours. These unhappy results have not flowed from any determination on the part of the government of this country to deal hardly with those who are in a less advanced

state of society; but they seem to have arisen from ignorance, from the difficulty which distance interposes in checking the cupidity and punishing the crimes of that adventurous class of Europeans who lead the way in penetrating the territory of uncivilized man, and from the system of dealing with the rights of the natives. Many reasons unite for apprehending that the evils which we have described will increase if the duty of coming to a solemn determination as to the policy we shall adopt towards ruder nations be now neglected; the chief of these reasons is, the national necessity of finding some outlet for the superabundant population of Great Britain and Ireland. It is to be feared that, in the pursuit of this benevolent and laudable object, the rights of those who have not the means of advocating their interests, or exciting sympathy for their sufferings, may be disregarded.

This, then, appears to be the moment for the nation to declare, that with all its desire to give encouragement to emigration, and to find a soil to which our surplus population may retreat, it will tolerate no scheme which implies violence or fraud in taking possession of such a territory; that it will no longer subject itself to the guilt of conniving at oppression, and that it will take upon itself the task of defending those who are too weak and too ignorant to defend themselves.

Your Committee have hitherto relied chiefly on arguments, showing that no national interest, even in its narrowest sense, is subserved by encroachments on the territory or disregard of the rights of the aboriginal inhabitants of barbarous countries; but they feel it their duty to add, that there is a class of motives of a higher order which conduce to the same conclusion.

The British empire has been signally blessed by Providence; and her eminence, her strength, her wealth, her prosperity, her intellectual, her moral, and her religious advantages, are so many reasons for peculiar obedience to the laws of Him who guides the destinies of nations. These were given for some higher purpose than commercial prosperity and military renown. "It is not to be doubted that this country has been invested with wealth and power, with arts and knowledge, with the sway of distant lands, and the mastery of the restless waters, for some great and important purpose in the government of the world. Can we suppose otherwise than that it is our office to carry civilization and humanity, peace and good government, and, above all, the knowledge of the true God, to the uttermost ends of the earth?"\* He who has made Great Britain what she is, will inquire at our hands how we have employed the influence He has lent to us, in our dealings with the untutored and defenceless savage; whether it has been engaged in seizing their lands, warping upon their people, and transplanting unknown disease and

deeper degradation through the remote regions of the earth; or whether we have, as far as we have been able, informed their ignorance, and invited and afforded them the opportunity of becoming partakers of that civilization, that innocent commerce, that knowledge and that faith with which it has pleased a gracious Providence to bless our own country.

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It is our duty to express the satisfaction we have felt in the perusal of this Report, and we acknowledge it the more willingly, because we do but embody in our expression what must be the general sentiment. A correct and enlarged view has certainly been taken of the evidence, and stated in a manly and decided tone; we cannot, however, but regret that our satisfaction should have been in the least degree lessened by the abrupt manner in which it is concluded. The Committee has traced up faithfully the workings of a system of policy pursued in South Africa, until the period when it was about to disclose itself in its fearful but legitimate consequences, and then has contented itself with briefly adverting to the event, while it has expressed its opinion on the causes in an ambiguous, and what appears to us a somewhat inconsistent manner.

If the reasons given for this conduct are *bond fide* the true reasons on which the Committee has acted, we do not consider them to possess any weight, nor can we allow them to exercise the slightest restraint on us, in laying before our readers a full exhibition of the evidence necessary to form an opinion on this most important part of the history. That the evidence is not complete after the sittings of three sessions, and when the event has so long transpired, is scarcely admissible, as an apology for the omission of which we complain, for on looking over that evidence we find it quite large and explicit enough to enable any one to form a just estimate of the causes, and of our conduct during the war. How was it that Lord Glenelg, in his eloquent despatch to Sir Benjamin D'Urban, all the "principles" and "directions" of which are highly approved of by this Committee, could on much smaller evidence pass so decided a judgment on this affair, and a judgment which we venture to affirm has been fully borne out by the evidence subsequently collected, while this honourable body will not so much as pass an opinion upon it?

And as to the recent occurrence of the event being a reason for not forming an opinion upon it, we certainly do not think it so recent as to afford grounds for alarm that the members of this

Committee would be swayed by passion in their judgment, while it is just sufficiently recent to preserve in the evidence all its vivid and consistent character.

Although the opinion as to the general question of our conduct in this war, is pronounced "without hesitation," yet it is so with considerable limitation; we are told that it was the "systematic forgetfulness of the principles of justice in our treatment of the native possessors of the soil," that was the "remote cause of the war." Let any one judge from the state of the frontier only a few weeks before the war broke out, an account of which the Committee has seen proper to introduce into this report, as well as from the evidence which we subjoin on this subject, whether such conduct was not the *immediate*, as well as the remote cause of the war.

Dr. Philip says in his statement before this Committee:—

"The encroachments of the colonists upon the Caffres when they came in contact with them on the banks of the Gampton's river; their expulsion from the Rumfield, now Albany, in 1811; the commandos of Colonel Brereton, in 1818; our conduct to Gailver, our ally, in 1819, in depriving him of the country between the Fish and Keiskamma rivers; the injury inflicted upon Macomo and Gaika, by the ejection of Macomo and his people, with many of the people of Gaika, from the Kat river, in 1829; the manner in which the Caffres were expelled from the west bank of the Chumie and Keiskamma, in 1833, and subsequently again (after having been allowed to return) in 1834; and the working of the commando system down to December, 1834, were sufficient in themselves to account for the Caffre war, if the Caffres are allowed to be human beings, and to possess passions like our own."

To go into all the particulars that have been named is not my present design; but there are a few cases of recent date that bear upon this point, which I hope I shall be excused in bringing before the Committee. It is not always the greatest injuries that are the most keenly resented, but when the cup of suffering is full, a few drops make it to overflow. The seizure of so large and fair a part of Caffreland, in 1819, and the expulsion of Macomo from Kat River, in 1829, inflicted greater injuries upon the Caffres than any subsequent events; but if I have formed a correct estimate on this subject, it is my decided opinion that the provocation given to the Caffres in 1833, when they were driven over the Chumie and Keiskamma, added greatly to the irritation and impatience of the Caffres, and to their disaffection to the English government, to which former events had given rise. But in the former instances they seem still to have hoped that the colony would be satisfied with the part of their territory taken from them; but it now appeared that nothing would satisfy us but the whole, and that it was their entire ruin that was sought. In illustration of this point, it is necessary only to advert to the following letter of Macomo to myself, in which he enumerates the injuries inflicted upon his father and himself by the British government, in language that cannot be read by any mind

endowed with sensibility without deep emotion. In the whole of this admirable letter there is a beautiful simplicity, a touching pathos, a confiding magnanimity, a dignified remonstrance, which shows its author to be no common man, and to be worthy of the friendship and confidence of the British government. The words of this remarkable document are as follows :—

“As I and my people have been driven back over the Chumie without being informed why, I should be glad to know from the government what evil we have done? I was only told that we must retire over the Chumie, but for what reason I was not informed. Both Stockenstrom and Somerset agreed that I and my people should live west of the Chumie as well as east of it, without being disturbed : When shall I and my people be able to get rest ?

“When my father (Gaika) was living, he reigned over the whole land, from the Fish River to the Kei ; but since the day he refused to assist the boors against the English, he has lost more than one half of his country by them. My father was always the best friend of the English government although he was a loser by them.

“My poor people feel much the loss, not only of their grazing ground, without which we cannot live, but also of our corn, some of which is a considerable height : all this we must abandon.

“I have lived peaceably with my people west of the Chumie river ever since I have been allowed by Stockenstrom and Somerset to live there in my own country. When any of my people stole from the colonists, I have returned what was stolen ; I have even returned the cattle which the people of other kraals have stolen ; yet both I and my brother Tyalie, have almost no more country for our cattle to live in.

“I am also much dissatisfied with the false charges sometimes spoken against me. Pray, do the people in the colony not steal as much as the Caffres ? Not long ago several boors came to us in search of three cows that were lost ; and as I was afraid a commando, as usual, would come upon us, I was obliged to give them 30 head in their place. But after the farmers had left I found the footmarks of the three cows, which had gone close by my kraal, and I found these cows at Fima's kraal, a great distance from me ; this is generally the case, and yet the innocent are punished for the guilty. On delivering the three cows I received the 30 head back again.

“Just yesterday a cow was returned that had been brought to one of my people by his relation (who is in the service of a boor) in order that he might take charge of it, as the property of the boor's servant ; yet we were charged with having stolen it. I do not know why so many commandos come into this country and take away our cattle, and kill our people without sufficient reason : we do no injury to the colony, and yet I remain under the foot of the English.

“I would beg the favour of your inquiring at the government for me the reason of all these things, and I will thank you. Your friend,

(Signed) “Macomo, the Chief.”

From the manner in which the Caffres had been from time to time driven over the Chumie and Keiskamma Rivers ; from the burning of their kraals and tents, and the destruction or loss of their cows on those occasions ; the insults they met with in the cases of Macomo and Gooby ; the manner in which they were harassed and threatened by

patrols ; I found them in a state of great irritation and excitement on my last visit to Caffreland. But that resentment, it is my firm conviction, would have been kept under till the arrival of the governor among them, and would not have broken out into actual war at the time it did, had it not been for the affair of "Sparkes," and that of "Sutton," which took place in December, 1834, and which goaded on the people of Eno and Tyalie to precipitate themselves upon the colony in the manner they did, in a fit of desperation.

It is not to be wondered at that these aggressions were followed by an overt act on the part of the Caffres. We can form no conception of the respect the Caffres have for their chiefs, and more particularly for the members of the royal family. In their wars with each other, no man aims a blow at the life of a chief; the persons of the sons of their kings and principal chiefs are regarded with a fondness and veneration of which we have no examples in civilized countries; and the wounding of that young man in the head roused the Caffres to retaliation. Much has been said about the late war being the result of a previous combination among the chiefs. For the last fifteen years it was impossible for the Caffres to see their country taken from them by piecemeal, and to see the sword of destruction hanging over their heads, without asking themselves what they could do to save their country and their families; it was impossible for them to reflect upon their melancholy situation and not think upon some means to save themselves should things at last come to the worst: but there was no plan among them to attack the colony before the patrols of Ensign Sparkes and Lieutenant Sutton; and had it not been for these aggressions they would have continued to bear their sufferings for weeks or months longer, in the hope of obtaining redress from the governor. They were driven to take one fatal step; having once acted on the offensive, they could not see how it was possible for them to retreat and throw themselves upon our mercy. Had they met with a firm resistance at first, the thing might have soon ended; but when the Caffres saw the English taken by surprise and flying before them, can we be surprised that Tyalie got so many Caffres to join him? May we not rather wonder that the whole country did not rise simultaneously and precipitate itself upon the colony? That the late invasion of the colony was the effect of a long and deeply-concerted scheme is an allegation, in support of which there is not the slightest evidence. This opinion is held by all the missionaries in Caffreland with whom I have been in the habit of corresponding.

The cases of "Sparkes" and "Sutton" here referred to, are thus related in a pamphlet published in the Cape, after the war had broken out.

On the 2d December, 1834, Ensign Sparkes went to one of the Chief Eno's kraals for the purpose of getting some horses supposed to have been stolen. Not finding them there, he proceeded to take by force a large quantity of cattle as an indemnity. This proceeding roused the dormant anger of the Caffres—they surrounded his party, and manifested an intention of attacking it. They did not, however, venture upon a general engagement, though one of them, more daring,

and perhaps a greater loser than the rest, wounded Ensign Sparks in the arm with an assegai or spear, whilst the soldiers under his command were busily employed in driving the cattle out of the bush. Macomo no sooner heard of this affair, than he gave up of his own property to the colony 400 head of cattle, and went himself frequently to visit the young man who had been wounded, expressing great sorrow at what had occurred. This conduct was highly praiseworthy, as it was evidently for the sake of preventing any misunderstanding, but more especially so, because the deed had been committed, not by one of his people, but by a Caffre belonging to Eno's tribe. On the 18th of the same month, a patrol under Lieut. Sutton seized a number of cattle at one of Tyalie's kraals, for some horses alleged to have been stolen, but not found there. On this occasion the Caffres seem to have determined to resist to the last. An affray took place in which they were so far successful as to retake the cattle. Two of them were, however, shot dead, and two dangerously wounded, one of whom was Tyalie's own brother (not, however, Macomo), who had two slugs in his head. An individual residing in the neutral territory, referring to this affair, thus expressed his opinion: \* "The system carried on, and that to the last moment, is the cause the Caffres could not bear it any longer. The very immediate cause was the wounding of Gaika's son, at which the blood of every Caffre boiled." And the Editor of the local newspaper, † well known as the apologist of the frontier system, was himself obliged to vent his indignation against such proceedings, in the following spirited manner:—"We scarcely know whether or not to complain of the conduct of the Caffres in affairs of this kind; they have an *unquestionable right to defend their own territory* against the inroads of colonial troops; and if we are to have no other system adopted than that of *Might is Right*, let us look to it that in future no patrols consisting of about a dozen men, and headed by a mere stripling, be sent across the Border to beard a whole nation within their own limits."

The following is the opinion of the Caffre chief, John Tzatzoe, as to the cause of this war.

*Chairman.* What do you believe to have been the cause of the war?—The shooting of Xo-Xo.

Did the wounding of Gaika's son by the patrol produce a powerful feeling amongst the Caffres?—Yes, from that day; from the time that Xo-Xo was shot; when Xo-Xo recovered a little, he fainted away, and recovered a little; and he then said to the Caffres about him, "Fight away!" and the Caffres fought with the patrol.

Is any injury committed on the person of a Caffre chief regarded as a very peculiar and great provocation?—Yes.

Did the Caffres in this instance consider the wounding of their chief as a great insult to the nation at large?—Yes; the Caffres said, "Life is of no use to us if they shoot our chiefs."

Did Tyalie send to inform you of the wounding of his brother?—Yes.

Was the place where Xo-Xo was wounded within the British colony, or within the Caffre territory?—On the Caffre ground; the Caffre lived

at the Gaga at the time. When I was on my way to the Kat river, the chiefs had not then held a meeting to decide upon making war, but every Caffre who saw Xo-Xo's wound, went back to his hut, took his assagai and shield, and set out to fight, and said, "It is better that we die than be treated thus."

After these incontrovertible statements, there can be no question as to the causes of the war, nor does it require much penetration to discover who were the original aggressors.

After the war had been prosecuted with various success for about five months, and the governor had inflicted punishment of unexampled severity upon this unfortunate people, he issued a proclamation, stating, "That, whereas the chiefs had, during a period of established peace and amity, without provocation, suddenly broken into the colony," and that, "whereas it is absolutely necessary to provide for the future security of the colony against such unprovoked aggressions, which can only be done by removing these treacherous savages to a safer distance," he therefore declared, "that the eastern boundary of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope is henceforward extended eastward to the right bank of the Kei river;" thus adding to our possessions 7000 square miles of "beautiful and fertile" country. The proclamation concludes with declaring that "from the aforesaid country, which they have lost by the operations of the war which they had so wantonly provoked, and which they have justly forfeited, the above-mentioned chiefs, namely, Tyalie, Macomo, Eno, Botman, T'Slambie, Dushanie, &c. with their tribes, are for ever expelled, and will be treated as enemies if they be found therein."

This proclamation will appear sufficiently severe when it is remembered that the people were thus deprived of every means of future subsistence, and driven to take shelter in a country where they must ever have been considered and treated as intruders.

But, amongst all the events which occurred during this war, that which made the greatest impression in Downing-street, and first aroused attention to the subject, although an event not out of character with the rest of the proceedings, was the cold-blooded murder of the Caffre king Hintza; a circumstance which the honourable Committee also "regrets" as the "most painful" attending this war.

Hintza was paramount sovereign of the Amakosæ Caffres, possessing a power similar to, but perhaps even more limited than, that of our ancient sovereigns under the feudal system; he lived

beyond the Kei river, and at a considerable distance from the seat of war. The manner in which this man was involved in the war is strikingly unjust, and deserves to be related as a specimen of the policy which all along dictated its proceedings. The first light we have thrown upon this affair, we find in a ray that glimmers through considerable darkness in a despatch of his Excellency's, dated 19th of March :—

Hintza has been playing a double game. He has received the plundered cattle into his territory, some of his people have even undoubtedly joined the invaders, and his council (Lleemraaden) are decidedly hostile : but he himself professes not to be so, and as far as I can discover in some communications I have had with him during the last month, he is very desirous of holding off to await the results of our first movements in advance, and then to act as may best suit his policy at the moment. In this perhaps he *may go farther than may be for his advantage* ; because, if he holds back from giving his essential assistance to the other tribes in the outset, he will weaken them, and, when they are disposed of, will be left by ourselves to meet the ulterior proceedings upon our part, which, if we shall find it expedient to adopt them, I have little doubt we shall have discovered ample cause upon his, to justify our adoption.

We confess ourselves unable to arrive at the precise meaning of the latter sentence ; it wears the aspect of a threat, and seems to convey something more than “meets the ear.” But from the whole communication, it would appear evident, that his Excellency determined not to let Hintza escape ; for whether he engaged in the war, or continued to “hold off,” the conjecture (for it was but a mere conjecture) of his having received stolen cattle, would be sufficient to “justify the adoption” of what he terms “ulterior proceedings,” which doubtless were those he ultimately adopted. The testimony of John Tzatzoe as to Hintza's pacific disposition in this war, is important, as it strongly corroborates his Excellency's communication on this subject.

“Had Hintza sent any message to the border chiefs, commanding them to abstain from hostilities?—Yes, a chief was sent to my place. The messenger said, ‘Hintza sends his word to you, and Hintza says, You must not fight, for I do not fight.’”

On the 15th of April, Sir Ben. D'Urban crossed the Kei river, and entered Hintza's territory, in the prosecution of his “ulterior proceedings.” The king, however, did not wait for his visitor, but very naturally retreated into the heart of his own country, driving his cattle before him ; this afforded an opportunity of giving a colour of justice to our proceedings, and a construction

was put upon this retreat, that he had gone "to receive his share of the colonial plunder;" a very probable surmise, at such a time and under such circumstances! Several threatening messages were sent after him, which only served to increase his alarm; five days were given him to return in, but as he did not make his appearance within the appointed time, his Excellency, on the 24th, formally proclaimed war with him in the presence of one of his chief counsellors. Col. Smith immediately marched his troops into the mountainous district where Hintza had taken shelter with his cattle, came upon him by surprise, almost captured the king, and concluded this "brilliant affair" by driving off "10,000 head of beautiful cattle;" none of which, strange to say, are mentioned as being of colonial breed! After this, on a sufficient security being given to him, Hintza was persuaded to come to the camp, that a treaty might be entered into, or rather that he might receive the stipulations of his conqueror. Here a document was read to him, containing various accusations, and proposing the conditions on which peace might be concluded; these were, that he should surrender 50,600 head of cattle and 1,000 horses, and emancipate all his Fingoe slaves; to these hard terms he found it necessary to agree, and he remained in the camp as a voluntary hostage for their fulfilment. While in this capacity, some of his people fell upon the Fingoes, who thinking themselves secure under the protection of his Excellency, were robbing them of their cattle, 15,000 of which they ultimately carried off. It was immediately announced to Hintza that he must consider himself as a prisoner, and the governor threatened him that if the carnage was not put a stop to in three hours, or any subterfuge was employed in the message to his people, he would hang Hintza, his son Creili, and his counsellor and brother, Bookoo, on the tree under which they were sitting.\* He immediately sent information of his danger, and this had the desired effect; but he found that he did not possess sufficient authority at a distance to enforce the delivery of the cattle. For this purpose he requested that he might be sent under a sufficient guard, that by his presence among his people he might collect them. This was agreed to, and he set out with Col. Smith. The Colonel gave him warning at the commencement of the march, that he would certainly be shot if he attempted an escape. Such an assurance was surely neither calculated to allay his fears or win his confidence. Hintza, finding that as he advanced his people were driving the cattle before them, sent one of his coun-

\* See Dr. Murray's Letter, published in "South African Commercial Advertiser," of date February 20, 1836.

sellors to command them to stop. On the same day they came to a place where the cattle-track divided, and they followed that path, at the advice of Hintza, which led up an abrupt and wooded hill to the right, over the precipitous banks of the Kebaka river. What followed we give in the language of Col. Smith:—

It had been observed that this day Hintza rode a remarkably fine horse, and that he led him up every ascent; the path up this abrupt and wooded hill above described is by a narrow cattle-track, occasionally passing through a cleft of the rock. I was riding alone at the head of the column, and having directed the cavalry to lead their horses, I was some three or four horses' length in front of every one, having previously observed Hintza and his remaining two followers leading their horses behind me, the Corps of Guides close to them; when nearing the top, I heard a cry of "Hintza," and in a moment he dashed past me through the bushes, but was obliged, from the trees, to descend again into the path. I cried out, "Hintza, stop!" I drew a pistol, and presenting it at him, cried out, "Hintza," and I also reprimanded his guard, who instantly came up; he stopped and smiled, and I was ashamed of my suspicion. Upon nearing the top of this steep ascent, the country was perfectly open, and a considerable tongue of land running parallel with the rugged bed of the Kebaka, upon a gradual descent of about two miles, to a turn of the river, where were several Caffre huts. I was looking back to observe the march of the troops, when I heard a cry of "Look, Colonel!" I saw Hintza had set off at full speed, and was 30 yards ahead of every one; I spurred my horse with violence, and coming close up with him, called to him; he urged his horse the more, which could beat mine; I drew a pistol, it snapped; I drew another, it also snapped; I then was some time galloping after him, when I spurred my horse alongside of him, and struck him on the head with the butt-end of a pistol; he redoubled his efforts to escape, and his horse was three lengths ahead of mine. I had dropped one pistol, I threw the other after him, and struck him again on the head. Having thus raced about a mile, we were within half a mile of the Caffre huts; I found my horse was closing with him; I had no means whatever of assailing him, while he was provided with his assagais; I therefore resolved to attempt to pull him off his horse, and I seized the athletic chief by the throat, and twisting my hand in his karop, I dragged him from his seat, and hurled him to the earth; he instantly sprang on his legs, and sent an assagai at me, running off towards the rugged bed of the Kebaka. My horse was most unruly, and I could not pull him up till I reached the Caffre huts. This unhorsing the chief, and his waiting to throw an assagai at me, brought Mr. George Southey of the Corps of Guides up; and, at about 200 yards' distance, he twice called to Hintza, in Caffre, to stop, or he would shoot him. He ran on; Mr. Southey fired, and only slightly struck him in the leg, again calling to him to stop, without effect; he fired, and shot him through the back; he fell headlong forwards, but springing up and running forwards, closely pursued by my aide-de-camp, Lieutenant Balfour, he precipitated himself down a kloof into the Kebaka, and posting himself in a narrow niche of the rock, defied any attempt to secure him; when, still refusing to surrender, and

raising an assagai, Mr. George Southey fired, and shot him through the head. Thus terminated the career of the chief Hintza, whose treachery, perfidy and want of faith, made him worthy of the nation of atrocious and indomitable savages over whom he was the acknowledged chieftain. One of his followers escaped, the other was shot from an eminence. About half a mile off I observed the villain Mutini and Hintza's servant looking on.

This narrative is the account of one whose interest it was to make the catastrophe appear as unavoidable as possible, and by whom of course nothing is related which he might think would bring disgrace upon his own command. This however is not the only account of this proceeding, but we forbear adducing any other witness, as Col. Smith's version may perhaps be allowed to be the most unquestionable, and it certainly is sufficiently criminal. To place it in a proper light to our readers, we subjoin the remarks of Lord Glenelg upon this narrative, which are just, and do great credit to his Lordship's feelings:—

I will not pause, (he says,) to inquire whether Hintza was justly detained in your camp as a prisoner, or whether he was really liable to pay with his life the penalty of attempting to escape from the detachment which accompanied him. All this being conceded, there yet remains the question not hitherto solved, nor, as far as I can perceive, ever discussed. He was slain when he had no longer the means of resistance, but covered with wounds, and vainly attempting to conceal his person in the water, into which he had plunged as a refuge from his pursuers. Why the last wound was inflicted, and why this unhappy man, regarded with an attachment almost idolatrous by his people, was not seized by the numerous armed men who had reached his place of concealment, has never yet been explained. \* \* \* It is said that Hintza refused to surrender. But if the fact be so, of what importance was the refusal of a wounded, helpless, isolated man?

At the time this affair was perpetrated, two British officers had gone with proposals from the governor to the Caffre camp. While they remained there they were treated most respectfully and honourably by these "irreclaimable savages," and dismissed unhurt when the intelligence arrived of Hintza's having been made prisoner. What a contrast does this form to our own conduct!

The war was continued after the event of the death of Hintza, until the Caffres had received what the governor considered to be "sufficient" punishment; this consisted in the slaughter of 4,000 of their warriors, including many principal men. "There have been taken from them also," says a despatch, "besides the conquest and alienation of their country, about 60,000 head of cattle, almost all their goats; their habitations every where destroyed, and their gardens and corn-fields laid waste."

The governor, on the 4th of May, made proposals of peace to the Caffres, but the terms were so humiliating, that they were

immediately rejected, and the war continued for three months longer, when his Excellency found it necessary to lower his requirements; and under such modified terms peace was concluded: the Caffres were not to be expatriated altogether, which was a condition in the first terms, but his Excellency appointed a part of their own country on which they might locate themselves, while he laid claim, as fair conquest, to the rest. This measure was strongly reprobated by Lord Glenelg, in his despatch; and the Caffres have since been put in full possession of their country.

Captain Stockenstrom, a native of the colony, well versed in Caffre affairs, and whose humane and liberal disposition had formerly endeared him to the Caffre nation, has been appointed to the government of the eastern frontier; he has entered into treaties with the Caffres; and by invariably acting upon a just, humane, and conciliatory conduct, he has already gained the confidence of the chiefs, and the affections of the people.

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### SUGGESTIONS.

HAVING thus adverted to some of the more remarkable of those incidents by which the intercourse between the British Colonies and the Aborigines in their vicinity has been characterized, it remains to consider how the recurrence of similar calamities can be most effectually averted.

It is obviously difficult to combine in one code rules to govern our intercourse with nations standing in different relationships towards us. Some are independent communities; others are, by the nature of treaties or the force of circumstances, under the protection of Great Britain, and yet retain their own laws and usages; some are our subjects, and have no laws but such as we impose.

To this variety in their circumstances must be added a variety as great in their moral and physical condition. They are found in all the grades of advancement, from utter barbarism to semi-civilization.

To propose regulations which shall apply to our own subjects and to independent tribes, to those emerging from barbarism, and to those in the rudest state of nature, is a task from which your Committee would shrink, were it not that all the witnesses, differing as they do upon almost every other topic, unite in ascribing much of the evil which has arisen to the uncertainty and vacillation of our policy. Your Committee cannot too forcibly recommend that no exertion should be spared, and no time lost, in distinctly settling and declaring the principles which shall henceforth guide and govern our intercourse with those vast multitudes of uncivilized men, who may suffer in the greatest degree, or in the greatest degree be benefited, by that intercourse.

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The regulations which we would suggest for that purpose are either general or special; that is, they either extend to all parts of the globe in which we are brought into contact with uncivilized tribes, or they apply only to the particular case of some one settlement. In the first place, therefore, we will advert to those general regulations which we have to suggest, and which may be reduced under nine separate heads.

1.—*Protection of Natives to devolve on the Executive.*

The protection of the Aborigines should be considered as a duty peculiarly belonging and appropriate to the executive government, as administered either in this country or by the governors of the respective colonies. This is not a trust which could conveniently be confided to the local legislatures. In proportion as those bodies are qualified for the right discharge of their proper functions, they will be unfit for the performance of this office. For a local legislature, if properly constituted, should partake largely in the interests, and represent the feelings or the settled opinions of the great mass of the people for whom they act. But the settlers in almost every colony, having either disputes to adjust with the native tribes, or claims to urge against them, the representative body is virtually a party, and therefore ought not to be the judge in such controversies. Or if the members of the colonial legislature are not chosen by the people, but selected by the government, there is still a similar objection to their interference with regard to the Aborigines. Possessing an invidious elevation, in which they are supported by no other title than that of the preference of the Crown, they will endeavour to abate the ill-will which follows on such superiority, by ministering to all popular prejudices which do not directly invade the power and the rights of the government they serve. Whatever may be the legislative system of any colony, we therefore advise that, as far as possible, the Aborigines be withdrawn from its control. In the formation of any new colonial constitution, or in the amendment of any which now exist, we think that the initiative of all enactments affecting the Aborigines should be vested in the officer administering the government; that no such law should take effect until it had been expressly sanctioned by the Queen, except in cases of evident and extreme emergency; that copies of all such laws should be communicated to both Houses of Parliament with all convenient dispatch; and that the governor of each colony should be invested by Her Majesty, so far as the royal prerogative should be adequate to the purpose, with authority for the decision of all questions affecting the interests of the native tribes. If the creation of such powers by the Crown shall not appear practicable, then we conceive that they should be created by Legislative authority.

Your Committee would take occasion to observe, that so far as regards that portion of the Aborigines who may inhabit the country beyond our colonial frontiers respectively, the Provincial

Legislatures have no authority to make enactments; and thus far, therefore, there will be less difficulty in retaining the government of our relations with the Aborigines in more impartial hands.

## II.—*Contracts for Service to be limited.*

No vagrancy laws or other regulations should be allowed, the effect of which might be to cripple the energies of the natives, by preventing them selling their labour at the best price, and at the market most convenient for themselves. All contracts for service into which any of the Aborigines may enter with any of the colonists, should be expressly limited in their duration to a period which should, in no case, exceed 12 months. At the expiration of that time, the servant should be, in the fullest sense of the term, free to abandon or to continue the service, at his discretion; and the master shall not have any claim upon the servant on the ground of advances alleged to have been made by him. But every contract for service should be made in the presence of an officer specially appointed for that purpose, in whom should be vested a summary jurisdiction to enforce the payment of the stipulated wages. To the neglect of regulations of this kind is to be ascribed the growth of a servile relation, differing little from slavery, properly so called, into which the natives were formerly brought in some of our foreign possessions.

## III.—*Sale of ardent Spirits to be prevented.*

The prohibition of the sale of ardent spirits, or the delivery of them to the natives in barter, is an object of the deepest interest, which it is, therefore, impossible to pass over in silence; at the same time, it is vain to deny the extreme difficulty of rendering any such prohibitory rule effectual, such are the temptations, and such the facilities, to disobedience. It is useless, therefore, to advance further than to recommend this subject to the diligent attention of all the local governments, who will remember, that for the extermination of men who are exempt from the restraints both of Christianity and of civilization, there is no weapon so deadly or so certain as the produce of the distilleries.

## IV. *Regulations as to Lands within British Dominions.*

So far as the lands of the Aborigines are within any territories over which the dominion of the Crown extends, the acquisition of them by Her Majesty's subjects, upon any title of purchase, grant, or otherwise, from their present proprietors, should be declared illegal and void. This prohibition might also be extended to lands situate within territories which, though not forming a part of the Queen's dominions, are yet in immediate contiguity to them. But it must be admitted, that we have not the power to prevent transactions of this nature in the countries which are neither within the Queen's allegiance, nor affected by any of those intimate relations which grow out of immediate

neighbourhood. In such cases it may be impracticable to prevent the acquisition of lands by British subjects; but it should be distinctly understood, that all persons who embark in such undertakings must do so at their own peril, and have no claim on Her Majesty for support in vindicating the titles which they may so acquire, or for protecting them against any injury to which they may be exposed in the prosecution of any such undertakings.

V.—*New Territories not to be acquired without Sanction of Home Government.*

Your Committee recommend that it should be made known to all governors of Her Majesty's colonies, that they are forbidden by Her Majesty to acquire in her name any accession of territory, either in sovereignty or in property, without the previous sanction of an Act of Parliament. If, however, at any time, under special circumstances, such accession of territory shall have been made upon the responsibility of the colonial executive, then it ought to be distinctly announced to those who may avail themselves of it, that they acquire no valid title to any part of such lands, nor a claim to be defended by the Crown in their occupancy, until the formal authority of the legislature shall have thus been obtained. This and the preceding rule, of course, does not apply to the settlement of vacant lands comprised within any of the existing British colonies, the extent of which, both in North and South America, in Australia, and in Southern Africa, is certainly sufficient to absorb whatever labour or capital could be profitably devoted to colonization.

VI.—*Religious Instruction and Education to be provided.*

The revenue of each colony should be considered as subject to a charge for such sums as may be necessary to provide for the religious instruction and for the protection of the survivors of the tribes to which the lands comprised in that colony formerly belonged; and the same rule should apply to the tribes inhabiting those territories which are now in progress of settlement by Her Majesty's subjects. The specific appropriation of such funds to their immediate object must be referred to the governors of the various colonies, subject to such instructions as they may receive from Her Majesty's government in this country. Although it be true that the land in our colonies has derived the greater part of its exchangeable value from the capital and the labour employed in the cultivation of it, yet, even in its most rude and wild state, that land is demonstrably worth a very large amount of money. Thus, Parliament has fixed a minimum price of 12s. per acre for the lands of South Australia, at which rate they appear to have been sold in London to the amount of some hundred thousand pounds sterling, before a single European had landed on the spot; yet for this important acquisition the ancient occupiers of the soil have not received so much as a nominal

equivalent. In North and South America, and in Southern Africa, the ancient lords of the wilderness have been dispossessed with little, if any, more ceremony; yet, on the banks of Lake Huron, and of the river Essequibo, wild lands are now bought and sold at prices not seldom exceeding even that which is obtained in Southern Australia. It requires no argument to show that we thus owe to the natives a debt, which will be but imperfectly paid by charging the land revenue of each of those provinces with whatever expenditure is necessary for the instruction of the adults, the education of their youth, and the protection of them all.

### VII.—*Punishment of Crimes.*

Provision has already been made by law for the punishment of crimes committed by Her Majesty's subjects on the North American continent, beyond the northern and western limits of the Canadas; in Southern Africa, beyond the limits of the Cape of Good Hope; and in the islands of the South Sea, beyond the jurisdiction of the Australian colonies. But the provision thus made for the redress of wrongs is defective and unsatisfactory. Beyond the frontier justice is feebly administered, and within it ignorant savages are often made amenable to a code of which they are absolutely ignorant, and the whole spirit and principles of which are foreign to their modes of thought and action. It would be vain to expect the establishment of any other than a most imperfect system of justice amongst persons placed in such circumstances; but for the improvement of the present system some suggestions may be offered. Thus, when the British law is violated by the Aborigines within the British dominions, it seems right that the utmost indulgence compatible with a due regard for the lives and properties of others, should be shown for their ignorance and prejudices. Actions which they have been taught to regard as praiseworthy we consider as meriting the punishment of death. It is of course impossible to adopt or sanction the barbarous notions which have urged the criminal to the commission of the offence, but neither is it just to exclude them from our view in awarding the punishment of his crime.

Again: in the case of offences committed beyond the borders, British subjects are amenable to colonial courts—the Aborigines are not. From this distinction arises, not merely a failure of justice, but, as far as our own people are concerned, an appearance at least of partiality and wrong, of which they are the victims. British subjects exposed to outrages in a country where there is no established form of civil government, and attacked by persons who are not amenable to our own courts, must be expected to resort to other means of self-defence, and not seldom to urge those means beyond the strict bounds of necessity or justice. It would, therefore, on every account, be desirable to induce the tribes in our vicinity to concur in devising some simple and effectual method of bringing to justice such of their own people as

might be guilty of offences against the Queen's subjects. For that purpose, treaties might be made with the chiefs of the independent tribes, defining, with all practicable simplicity, what acts should be considered as penal, by what penalties they should be visited, and in what form of procedure those penalties should be enforced.

#### VIII.—*Treaties with Natives inexpedient.*

As a general rule, however, it is inexpedient that treaties should be frequently entered into between the local governments and the tribes in their vicinity. Compacts between parties negotiating on terms of such entire disparity are rather the preparatives and the apology for disputes than securities for peace: as often as the resentment or the cupidity of the more powerful body may be excited, a ready pretext for complaint will be found in the ambiguity of the language in which their agreements must be drawn up, and in the superior sagacity which the European will exercise in framing, in interpreting, and in evading them. The safety and welfare of an uncivilized race require that their relations with their more cultivated neighbours should be diminished rather than multiplied.

#### IX.—*Missionaries to be encouraged.*

To the preceding statement an exception is to be made as far as respects the pastoral relation formed between christian missionaries and the Aborigines.

To protect, assist, and countenance these gratuitous and invaluable agents is amongst the most urgent duties of the governors of our colonies. On the other hand, those by whom the missionaries are selected and employed cannot be too deeply impressed with a sense of the responsibility under which that choice is made. Without deviating into discussions scarcely within the proper province of a Parliamentary Committee, it may be observed, that piety and zeal, though the most essential qualifications of a missionary to the Aborigines, are not the only endowments indispensable to the faithful discharge of his office: in such situations it is necessary that, with plans of moral and religious improvement, should be combined well-matured schemes for advancing the social and political improvement of the tribes, and for the prevention of any sudden changes which might be injurious to the health and physical constitution of the new converts.

The foregoing suggestions offered by the Committee for the future treatment of Aborigines in general, we are happy to say, are founded upon a correct and extensive knowledge of the case, and contain the strongest philosophy.

On the 1st and 8th Suggestion, however, we would be allowed to make some remarks. In reference to the 1st, "That the protection and management of the Aborigines should devolve entirely upon the executive power, and not be subject

to local legislature, is, we think, maintained upon solid grounds; but the Committee could not be ignorant that it has been the plan generally, though not always acted upon hitherto; and that it has failed, because this power was lodged in the hands of inefficient men. It was in this capacity that Lord Charles Somerset deprived the Caffres of their territory, that Sir Lowry Cole followed his example, and that Sir Ben. D'Urban attempted the same thing: it is evident then, that the agency in whom this power is lodged is every thing; that it must either be composed of men of high and tried principles, or much more responsibility must attach to it than has formerly been the case.

With respect to the 8th Suggestion, that "treaties with natives are inexpedient," we do not think satisfactory. The reason given by the Committee in support of this opinion, is, that "the safety and welfare of an uncivilized race require that "their relations with their more cultivated neighbours should "be diminished rather than multiplied." The relations between neighbouring nations must ever be extensive, however great the disparity of intellect or cultivation; and it is very questionable, whether it would be proper to restrain this relationship, when it might be conducted in an enlightened manner,—and treaties we conceive calculated to secure this; but, if the relation of contiguity alone existed, we should still consider a treaty necessary and highly advisable. Treaty or compact is natural to man in every state: it arises out of his social condition; and he does not feel himself at ease with his fellow-man except in the security which is afforded by conventional compact. And the Caffre or the Indian are as capable of understanding the nature of a treaty, when it is plainly stated to them, as the civilized man. We cannot in any sense agree with the Committee in considering it as a cause of evil: it may be made an instrument by which wicked and violent men will pervert justice; but if no treaty existed, such dispositions would only lead them to similar conduct by more *direct* means. It is an unquestionable fact that the vacillating character of our border policy, and the uncertainty and inquietude arising from it to both parties, has been mainly owing to the deficiency of written treaty; the line of conduct pursued to-day has been altered to-morrow; until, by the weakness and inconsistency of our conduct, we have irritated the feelings, and merited the contempt of those whom we despised. The treatment of Gaika by Lord Charles Somerset, and of Macomo by Sir Lowry Cole and Col. Wade, is fully illustrative of this, and frequently has that chief been heard to

complain of the uncertainty that marked our policy; while, on the other hand, the treaty which has been entered into with Waterboer, the Griqua chief, has afforded the greatest satisfaction to his people, and has established among them a degree of confidence in the colonial government which they did not formerly feel. On these facts and arguments we therefore form our opinion, that treaties may not only in general be entered into with safety and advantage, but are also absolutely necessary to the peace and prosperity of both parties. We cannot help remarking that there is some degree of inconsistency between this suggestion of the Committee's and the sentence immediately preceding it: we quote the words: "It would, therefore, on every account, be desirable to induce the tribes in our vicinity to concur in devising some simple and effectual method of bringing to justice such of their own people as might be guilty of offences against the Queen's subjects. For that purpose *treaties* might be made with the chiefs of the independent tribes, defining, with all practicable simplicity, what acts should be considered as penal, by what penalties they should be visited, and in what form of procedure those penalties should be enforced."

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Passing from these general suggestions, we proceed to offer such remarks as have occurred to us, in reference to each of the colonies in which British subjects are brought into contact with the Aborigines, commencing with the

### CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

It is with sincere gratification that your Committee record their entire concurrence in the instructions conveyed by Lord Glenelg to Sir B. D'Urban in his Lordship's despatch of the 26th December 1835 and the 5th of February 1836, written after the close of the recent hostilities with the Caffre nation. They appear, indeed, to have been drawn up under some uncertainty whether the explanations required from the governor might not disprove the necessity of abandoning his conquest of the new province called Adelaide. Up to the present time, the Committee are not in possession of the expected Report, nor are they in possession of any statement of the proceedings of the lieutenant-governor in administering the affairs of the eastern provinces. It may, however, be concluded that the territory called Adelaide has, in fact, been surrendered to the Caffres, and that Lieutenant-governor Stockenstrom is proceeding to execute Lord Glenelg's instructions: your Committee will therefore transcribe them in this place. They are as follows:

The following is a statement of the principal rules which it is intended to prescribe to the lieutenant-governor and civil commissioner, for the guidance of their conduct.

1. A treaty, fixing the boundaries of the colony, must be made in writing, in English and in the Caffre language, and, being explained to each border chief, must be signed or attested by each. Copies of this treaty must be delivered to each of the contracting chiefs.

2. A separate treaty must be made, in the English and in the native languages, with the chief of every tribe to which a portion of territory is assigned within the British dominions; defining the limits of his allocation, the degree of his responsibility, and the nature of his relations with the British government, and all other particulars admitting of specification. A copy of this treaty, in the native tongue, must be preserved by the chief.

3. A separate treaty must be made, in the native and English languages, with the chief of every tribe in alliance with us, or in any degree under our protection; defining also in each case all that can be specified in such an instrument. A copy of the treaty must be preserved by each chief.

4. The rules of mutual restitution, and those which relate to the prevention of inroads, and the redress of the injury occasioned by them, must be particularized in each of the above treaties.

5. The responsibility of particular kraals, or villages, for the acts of individual Caffres, must no longer be enforced. But

6. The chiefs must be called upon to bind themselves to make restitution for plundered cattle, on sufficient proof of the reality of the theft. They must be left to detect the offenders, or to indemnify themselves at the expense of the tribe collectively for such losses as they may sustain by being required to make these compensations. In other words, we must look to the chiefs, and to them alone, and must no longer take upon ourselves to make reprisals upon the people. The chiefs to enter into securities, or pledges, of such a nature as may be deemed sufficient, and not inconvenient for the due fulfilment of these stipulations.

7. Fairs for the interchange of commodities should be re-established at convenient places on the frontier.

8. The wounding or killing a Caffre, or otherwise injuring his person or property, will be made liable to the same punishment as if the sufferer were one of His Majesty's subjects. This, of course, would not apply to times of actual war; nor prevent the compulsory removal back into their own territory of any Caffres who might re-appear within the boundaries with purposes apparently hostile or fraudulent, or in opposition to any existing laws. No violence must, however, be used in effecting their removal, which is not strictly required by the necessity of the case, and for the effective execution of the service.

9. No European or Hottentot, or any others but Caffres, to be located or allowed to settle east of the Great Fish River. Those Hottentots who were placed in the ceded territory prior to the late war, and all christian teachers, are exempted from this rule. I may observe here, that in the above rules, under the general name of Caffres, I include the Fingoes.

In aid of these general rules, it is proposed to submit, for the approbation of parliament, a law to enable our colonial tribunals to take cognizance of, and to punish offences committed by British subjects within the Caffre territory, in the same manner as if they had been perpetrated within the limits of the colony itself.

Your Committee would strongly impress upon His Majesty's Government the propriety of a strict adherence to these regulations. So far as the authority of Parliament was required to render them effectual, it has already been exerted by the enactment of the Statute 6 & 7 of William IV. c. 57, which provides for the punishment of offences committed by British subjects within the Caffre territory. It may, however, be justly feared, that unless some well-organized force for the apprehension of offenders shall be established in Caffraria, the law will be to a great extent inoperative. The most recent intelligence from the Cape of Good Hope states that large bodies of the colonists have migrated across the border, with the intention of establishing themselves on the lands of the natives by no other title, as it should seem, than that of superior force. There is reason to suppose that these persons have concluded, that beyond the precincts of the colony they would not be amenable to its laws. It seems important to disabuse them of this error, and to apprise them, that while retiring beyond the protection of the British Government, they have not ceased to be responsible to its authority.

### PORT NATAL.

At a greater distance from the eastern frontier another body of British subjects have, it appears, settled themselves at Port Natal, influenced by the wish to diffuse religious knowledge and principles amongst the natives. It is impossible to contemplate without serious distrust the attempt to combine European colonization with plans for the conversion of the natives to Christianity. The allurements to deviate to the pursuit of secular and selfish ends are many and powerful; and although they may be counteracted at first by the principles and character of the settlers, yet no permanent and effective restraint of their cupidity appears to have been devised. It will be the duty of Government at the Cape of Good Hope to maintain, as opportunity offers, a vigilant superintendence over the growing settlement at Port Natal, so that any injuries done to the tribes may be arrested and punished before they assume the form of actual hostility.

### AUSTRALIAN COLONIES.

Passing to the case of Australian colonies, it appears that on the eastern, western, and southern shores of New Holland, the British settlements are brought into contact with aboriginal tribes, forming, probably, the least-instructed portion of the human race in all the arts of social life. Such, indeed, is the barbarous state of these people, and so entirely destitute are they even of the rudest forms of civil polity, that their claims, whether as sovereigns or proprietors of the soil, have been utterly disregarded. The land has been taken from them without the assertion of any other title than that of superior force; and by

the commissions under which the Australian colonies are governed, Her Majesty's sovereignty over the whole of New Holland is asserted without reserve. It follows, therefore, that the Aborigines of the whole territory must be considered as within the allegiance of the Queen, and as entitled to her protection. Whatever may have been the injustice of this encroachment, there is no reason to suppose that either justice or humanity would now be consulted by receding from it. On the contrary, it would appear eminently desirable to impress upon the Australian government, and upon the inhabitants of those colonies, the consequences of the principles upon which they have been thus founded. If the whole of New Holland be part of the British empire, then every inhabitant of that vast island is under the defence of British law as often as his life or property may be attacked; and the appeal to arms for adjusting controversies with any part of the primitive race, exposes those by whom blood may be shed to the same responsibility, and to the same penalties, as if the sufferers were white persons. Yet the most recent intelligence from New South Wales and from Western Australia records conflicts between the Europeans and the Aborigines, in which the former acted avowedly upon the principle of enforcing belligerent rights against a public enemy.

When it is remembered that unsettled land has been sold by the government of New South Wales, yielding in a single year returns to the local treasury exceeding 100,000*l.*, and that in the recollection of many living men every part of this territory was the undisputed property of the Aborigines, it is demanding little indeed on their behalf to require that no expenditure should be withheld which can be incurred judiciously for the maintenance of missionaries, who should be employed to instruct the tribes, and of protectors, whose duty it should be to defend them. With regard to the duties of missionaries, your Committee have no other suggestion to make than that the choice of them, and the direction of their labours, should be confided to the missionary societies in this kingdom. But with regard to the office of Protector, there is greater room for specific suggestions.

#### *Duties of Protector of Natives.*

The duties of the protectors of the Aborigines in New Holland should consist, first, in cultivating a personal knowledge of the natives, and a personal intercourse with them; and with that view these officers should be expected to acquire an adequate familiarity with the native language. To facilitate the growth of confidence, the protectors should be furnished with some means of making to the tribes occasional presents of articles either of use or ornament, of course abstaining from the gift of liquors. The protectors should ascertain what is that species of industry which is least foreign to the habits and disposition of the objects of their care, and should be provided with all the necessary means of supplying them with such employment. Especially they should claim for

the maintenance of the Aborigines such lands as may be necessary for their support. So long as agriculture shall be distasteful to them, they should be provided with the means of pursuing the chase without molestation. The education of the young will of course be amongst the foremost of the cares of the missionaries; and the protectors should render every assistance in their power in advancing this all-important part of any general scheme of improvement.

In the event of a native being slain, it should be the duty of the protector to perform, as far as the nature of the case will admit, the office of coroner.

To require from the ignorant hordes of savages living in Eastern or Western Australia the observance of our laws would be absurd, and to punish their non-observance of them by severe penalties would be palpably unjust. On the other hand, if they are placed beyond the pale of the law as a rule of their conduct to others, they will infallibly lose the advantage of it, considered as a rule of conduct of others towards them. To determine under what special regulations they should be placed, is a task to be performed only by those who can study the question with the aid of the most minute and close local observation. It should therefore be one branch of the duty of the protectors to suggest to the local government, and through it to the local legislature, such short and simple rules as may form a temporary and provisional code for the regulation of the Aborigines, until advancing knowledge and civilization shall have superseded the necessity for any such special laws.

The practice of employing the Aborigines as a species of police to detect and counteract the thefts practised by the convicts in the remoter districts of the colony should be prevented or discouraged by the protectors. It is not difficult thus to enlist the instinct and passions of uncivilized men in defence of order; but they invariably become the victims of their own zeal in this service. The deadly antipathy which was excited between the Aborigines and the Bushrangers of Van Diemen's Land provoked a series of outrages which would have terminated in the utter extermination of the whole race, if the local government had not interposed to remove the last remnant of them from the island; an act of real mercy, though of apparent severity. The Aborigines of New Holland have enough to undergo and to fear from their contact with a convict population, without aggravating the evil by fostering a bitter personal antipathy between them.

Each protector of Aborigines should be invested with the character of a magistrate, and should be required to promote the prosecution of all crimes committed against their persons or their property; while, in the event of any of them being charged with the commission of such offences, the protector should, either in person or through the agency of some practitioner of the law, to be employed and instructed by him, undertake and superintend the defence of the accused party.

Finally, the protector should be required to make periodical reports to the local government of all his proceedings in the execution of the duties of his office, with every suggestion which increasing experience might enable him to offer for advancing the interests and maintaining the security of the objects of his care. The local government should, in its turn, be required to transmit those reports to this kingdom, with a report of the proceedings taken or contemplated in furtherance of the recommendations of the protector. The collection of accurate statistical information should be one of the principal objects of these periodical reports. It is probable that the depopulation and decay of many tribes which, in different parts of the world, have sunk under European encroachments, would have been arrested in its course, if the progress of the calamity had from time to time been brought distinctly under the notice of any authority competent to redress the wrong. In many cases, the first distinct apprehension of the reality and magnitude of the evil has not been acquired until it was ascertained that some uncivilized nation had ceased to exist.

### SOUTH SEA ISLANDS.

The fertile and populous islands of the Pacific Ocean have, as has been seen already, undergone the most disastrous calamities from their intercourse with the natives of Europe. Hitherto the various governments of Christendom have respected the rights of the native chieftains; and no attempt has been made to subject the islanders to the dominion of any European state. It is impossible not to approve this forbearance. Great Britain will not, it may be hoped, ever exert her power to destroy the political rights of these comparatively feeble and defenceless people; yet it cannot be denied that their national independence cannot be consulted without some immediate injury to their social welfare. British merchants, seamen, and runaway convicts from our Australian colonies, are enabled to commit crimes with impunity in the South Sea Islands, because we regard them as foreign states; while yet they are destitute of the resources by which other independent powers defend themselves and their people against outrage and wrong. Without police, or a regular armed force, or judicial tribunals, the natives have none of the methods of preventing or punishing crime which are in use in the civilized world; and, at the same time, are unable to invoke the aid of those institutions as established in the British dominions in Australia. True it is, that the statute defining the constitution of those colonies has rendered British subjects amenable to their courts for offences committed in the South Sea Islands; but though it be the recognition of an important principle, it is yet no real provision against the evil. A crime committed by an Englishman at New Zealand may be tried at Sydney; but the criminal will not choose, and cannot be compelled, to repair to Sydney

for the purpose. The witnesses for or against him are as reluctant to attend as himself; and there is no provision for defraying the expenses of such proceedings, even if all parties should be disposed to prefer them. Unless some method of trial on the spot can be devised, the South Sea Islands must be delivered over to the most degrading and intolerable of all forms of tyranny, that, namely, of brigands triumphing, by mere audacity, over every restraint of morality and law. The ultimate consequences are readily foreseen. A new race of buccaneers will appear in the Southern Ocean, under whose oppressions the natives will sink, while they will make war on the commerce of mankind at large.

### *Consular Agents.*

To arrest the progress of this evil, your Committee would suggest that consular agents should be appointed in each of the principal islands; that they should be armed with powers similar to those of British consuls in the Barbary states; that is, with a judicial authority to arrest, commit for trial, and try all British subjects committing offences within the limits of the consul's commission; that in aid of this jurisdiction, the island should be periodically visited by some of His Majesty's ships of war; that the officers of any ships should, when required by the consular agent, act as assessors or jurors for the trial with him of any criminals subject to his jurisdiction; that, within a certain limit, a consular agent should be authorized to proceed to the immediate infliction of the punishment, and especially of the punishment of removal from the island, for which purpose a ship of war might be employed to carry the sentence of banishment into effect; that, in graver cases, a record should be made of the accusation, of the defence, of the evidence, and of the judgment, and that the prisoner should be forthwith removed to the first part of the British dominions which the ship of war might reach, in which any criminal court should be established; that the judges of that court should thereupon review the whole proceedings, and decide whether the crime imputed to the prisoner had been sufficiently established by the evidence, and what punishment, according to that evidence, would have attached to the offence if committed within the realm of England. To that punishment the offender should then be adjudged; or if the court should be of opinion that no offence had been established by the evidence, he should be discharged, and provided at the public expense with a passage to England.

With a full perception of the defects of this system, your Committee are yet of opinion, that it is incomparably better than the entire impunity which at present prevails, nor do they doubt that, when carefully elaborated by persons competent to the task from professional knowledge, it would be found susceptible of such modifications as, without impairing the general basis of the plan, would obviate many of the particular objections to which, at the first view, it may appear to be liable.

Your Committee deprecate any further interference with the internal affairs of the South Sea Islands, except as they would authorize the consular agents to frame, and the King in council to establish, all such special rules as may be necessary for maintaining peace and order amongst British subjects resident in or resorting to the island.

Various schemes for colonizing New Zealand and other parts of Polynesia have at different times been suggested, and one such project is at present understood to be on foot. On these schemes your Committee think it enough for the present to state, that regarding them with great jealousy, they conceive that the executive government should not countenance, still less engage in any of them, until an opportunity shall have been offered to both Houses of Parliament of laying before Her Majesty their humble advice as to the policy of such an enlargement of Her Majesty's dominions, or of such an extension of British settlements abroad, even though unaccompanied by any distinct and immediate assertion of sovereignty.

### NORTH AMERICA.

On the subject of the relations between the British colonies in North America and the Aborigines on that continent, your Committee abstain from offering any specific suggestions, because they understand that Her Majesty's government have for some time past been engaged in correspondence respecting it with the lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, and that the case, although as yet immature for decision, will probably engage the attention of Parliament whenever the estimates for the expenses of what is called the Indian department shall be brought under the consideration of the House of Commons. Your Committee are unwilling to embarrass the government by suggestions, which being offered during the pendency of the discussions on the subjects, might proceed upon imperfect grounds and point to erroneous conclusions.

### BRITISH GUIANA.

Respecting the Aborigines on the continent of South America, adjacent to British Guiana, your Committee are of opinion that the suggestions made with reference to the Australian settlements are, with little or no variation, applicable to this case; observing that British policy has hitherto cherished, between the negroes and the Indians of Guiana, an antipathy which is the precise counterpart of that which has been encouraged between the convicts and the Aborigines of New Holland.

### WEST AFRICA.

In this general survey, the last region to which attention is to be drawn is the western coast of Africa; but the policy to be observed towards the natives on the Gambia, at Sierra Leone, and on the Gold Coast, is a branch of a different and very important

subject. Nor do your Committee think it desirable to combine with a discussion of the case of the Aborigines an inquiry into the means by which the British settlements on the coast of Africa should be made subservient to the suppression of the slave trade and to the civilization of the African continent.

26 June, 1837.

In the statement submitted to the Select Committee by the Rev. Dr. Philip, the following important remarks are made :—

We now come to the consideration of a few general principles, necessary to the establishment and maintenance of any system of international law that may be adopted on the frontiers of the colony between the British government and the aboriginal tribes living on or near our borders.

To secure the objects we have in view, it is necessary to do justice, and to deal openly and fairly with the chiefs in alliance with us, to treat them with good faith, to encourage them to do well, and to protect them against aggressions from the colonists.

A sense of injuries is often long retained by individuals and nations, and the memory of such as are of a national character is handed down from generation to generation ; and the men of one age will often take up the quarrels of the men of preceding ages, as they happen to be moved by the recollection of wrongs to be revenged or of losses to be recovered, or perhaps both. If we change our conduct towards the Caffres, they may forget their wrongs, but rights are never forgotten, nor are they longer left in abeyance than till the injured party acquire the power of asserting them. The government has been often warned of the crisis likely to be speedily brought on by the continuance of the commando system ; of this the following passage from the South African Commercial Advertiser, of the 18th of January, 1834, is an instance :—

“ But what will require the immediate exercise of the best principles and the highest abilities, is the formation of a just, humane, and honourable scheme of intercourse with the native tribes beyond the frontier. There is at present no system, or one that is good for nothing ; and a cloud is gathering in that quarter, which, but for the speedy intervention of wisdom and prudence, will certainly descend in a shower of blood. On this point, above all others, we beg to assure him (the governor) he must rely upon the resources of his own understanding and heart. The barbarians, or savages, as we are pleased to style them, understand the merits of a simple case as well as the most refined, and in most, if not all, our disputes with them from the beginning they would find it no difficult matter, before any impartial world, to obtain a verdict against us. As it is, a sense of injustice rankles in their minds, and the harshness with which unjustifiable orders have recently been executed has either reduced them to despair or exasperated them to schemes of revenge. The haughtiness of the chief has been aggravated by the petulance of the subordinate, and rendered intolerable by the brutality of the soldier. We refer particularly to the case of the Caffre chief Macomo. In treating of such a man, we have nothing to do with his being black, or living chiefly on milk, or wrapping himself in an ox's hide. He is a man of ability and sound sense, and the undoubted legitimate prince of a nation. As such he should be met and spoken with

by the governor of the colony, or his proper representatives, on a footing of equality. Our superiority should be shown in superior gentleness and liberality,—qualities which never fail to make a favourable and due impression on the minds of men in his unfortunate circumstances, and to which we have occasion to know the chief's heart is peculiarly open."

The Caffres are represented as crafty savages, as monsters who have placed themselves beyond the pale of humanity. But, even by the showing of their accusers, they suffer nothing by a comparison with our conduct towards them; and enough has been said to satisfy the Committee as to the origin to which the war may be traced. The conduct of the Caffres towards us when they invaded the colony was no more than a simple re-action of a system we have been carrying on against them for many years past. They have been dealing with us exactly on our own principles. We missed cattle, and we were in the habit of going into Caffreland and taking the first cattle we met with to make up the loss. The Caffres complained that many thousand head of cattle were unjustly taken from them in this way; and not being able to put a stop to the system, or to obtain redress, they at last determined to right themselves, and to serve us in the same way in which we for many years had been in the habit of serving them. What is there, therefore, in the conduct of the Caffres, in this instance, which gives us a right to complain? We burnt their houses in our commandos, and they in return have burnt some of ours. We robbed the innocent, and they have taken the cattle of a people many of whom had never wronged them. We fired among the Caffres and shot them when they resisted our commandos; now they have wounded and killed some of our people who resisted them. We began the system and carried it on against them for many years, and they have now done no more than followed the example we have set before them. It has been justly remarked, "that at no period in the history of late years had the conduct of the military been so harsh and unwarrantable towards the Caffres as during the five or six months preceding the invasion. Upon the slightest pretext their cattle were seized, their kraals fired upon, their houses burnt to the ground, and themselves driven to seek elsewhere a place of shelter." On the intelligence of Lieutenant Sutton's patrol, even the editor of the *Graham's Town Journal* felt constrained to express his indignation against such proceedings in the following spirited language: "We scarcely know whether or not to complain of the conduct of the Caffres in affairs of this kind: they have an unquestionable right to defend their own territory against the inroads of colonial troops; and if we are to have no other system adopted than that of *Might is Right*, let us look to it that in future no patrols, consisting of about a dozen men, and headed only by a stripling, be sent across the border to beard a whole nation within their own limits." With the sentiment here expressed every reasonable man must concur. We cannot, indeed, help coming to the same conclusion with this writer, that war against the Caffre nation was already begun. One chief seizing the cattle of another has always been considered, according to Caffre usage, as a declaration of war; and it is on this ground, among others, that Macomo and the other Caffre chiefs have always insisted that we began the war.

There has been in the Cape colony a great deal of discussion about the propriety of entering into written treaties with the Caffres. It has been said that the Caffres are not Christians, and that they are therefore

incapable of being bound by the moral obligation of treaties. But what is said against entering into written treaties with the Caffres betrays equal ignorance of history, of the present state of the world, and of human nature. To this Committee these particulars require neither proof to make them certain, nor amplification to make them plain, and therefore I shall not attempt either; but I beg to refer to one case in the history of America (how deplorable there should be but one!) which is of itself a conclusive proof that the obligation of treaties may be powerfully felt by a people in a still ruder state of society than that in which the Caffres are: it is needless to say that the case I refer to is that of "Penn." His conduct towards the Indians was as remarkable for kindness, honour and good faith, as that of others had been the reverse. Penn and his friendly Quakers were not only well spoken of while they lived, but after their death they were long spoken of; and down to a recent date they never ceased to be spoken of by the remains of the Delawares in terms of enthusiastic regard. When war between the Indians and whites was raging in Pennsylvania, the Quaker's habit was a protection in every Indian camp, and the unarmed wearer experienced a friendly welcome in every wigwam.

The Caffres are as sensible of kindness and justice on the part of the whites as the red Indians were, and whenever they shall be honourably treated they will make an honourable return. Do the nations of Europe pay much further regard to the moral obligations of treaties than unto their interest? How often do we find even civilized nations violating their treaties when they find them disadvantageous to themselves! and can we expect that barbarians should not act in a similar manner? But let the Caffres be satisfied that it will be for their interest to be on good terms with us, and we shall have all the securities of those peaceable relations into which we may enter with them that are at present required to justify the introduction of an equitable and peaceable system, in place of the barbarous and unjust policy which has been so long pursued towards them.

The Caffres have been represented as bloodthirsty savages, as worse than were the New Zealanders, and as burning all the houses that came in their way, and slaughtering the inhabitants in the most cruel and barbarous manner. It is not my intention to vindicate the atrocities that the Caffres may have actually committed, or to cut off the sympathy due to the colonists who have actually suffered. But the strong language which has been employed is certainly not borne out by facts. The truth is, that before the Caffres returned violence, they had been long and greatly provoked, and there is reason to believe that when they first rushed into hostilities they were actuated by a desire for revenge, consequently it is not surprising that the first victims which fell into their hands were put to death. But the Caffres always spared the women and children (to this there is only one exception, when a woman was put to death by mistake); and had their main object been the effusion of blood, that object might have been attained on a scale beyond all comparison with that on which it was pursued, for they were in possession of the whole of Albany for several weeks, and during that time they could have burnt every house and destroyed every family out of Graham's Town. In corroboration of the above views, I beg to subjoin the extract of a letter from a gentleman, a magistrate, who had the best opportunities for forming an estimate on this subject, from his

residence in one of the districts bordering on Caffreland, and who is as much distinguished for his abilities as he is for the respectability of his situation :—" I have come to this conclusion about this disastrous state of things: that the system has engendered a bad feeling; that the recent patrols caused it to burst forth; that the Caffres, "all the tribes," have not combined, and if they had, according to their system of plundering and destroying, and avoiding coming into contact with the colonists, they might, if guided by intelligent men, have destroyed every town between this and the Cape, and ravaged the country at the same time. It required but boldness and celerity during the panic. Half a score of Caffres could have rushed into this town at night time unperceived and set fire to it with perfect impunity. There have been many discoveries made during the last ten years about the circumstances of the colony, but no one ever seems to have apprehended that the power of the Caffres to blast the colony was hanging as fearfully over our heads as a drawn sword suspended by a thread. I must confess this fact is alarming, our contiguity to such formidable enemies; and will show the necessity of basing our intercourse on principles of justice if we wish to avoid future causes of war, as well as our maintaining a strong attitude on the frontier line to defend the colony. We must be the masters, but rule, as we do, in justice, making the interests of the natives the grand policy of our conduct. Our very existence in India is a miracle of God for that object, and when we neglect it, the kingdom will depart from us; and it is such views I am inclined to take of our rule, of our duty, in this quarter of the world."

One of the first steps to be adopted to secure the peace of the frontier and the prosperity of the colony, will be to put a stop to the practice of the boors in crossing the boundaries of the colony at certain seasons of the year with their numerous flocks and herds. In 1834 there were said to be about 1,500 boors on the other side of the Orange River, and for the most part in the Griqua country. Of these there were 700 boors, for several months during that year, in the district of Philippolis alone, with at least 700,000 sheep, cattle and horses. Besides destroying the pastures of this people, in many instances their corn fields were destroyed by them, and in some cases they took possession of their houses. This evil has been increasing for years, and all that time the Griquas have been remonstrating; but nothing has yet been done effectually to check it; and consequently, when the Griquas remonstrated with the boors, the latter replied, that it was useless for the former to complain, because the government would pay no attention to their complaints; and that if the government interfered, it would only be to grant the Griqua country to the boors. Nothing but the influence of the missionaries and of christian principles restrained the Griquas from attempting to expel them their country by force of arms; but if this practice shall be continued much longer it will be impossible to prevent a conflict that will be the occasion of shedding much blood, and of bringing upon the colony and the nation consequences that one scarcely dares to contemplate. Feeling the importance of this subject, I have treated it more at large in a document I have with me, which may either be read to the Committee now, or given in to be published along with this document. As a summary of those principles necessary to put a stop to the state of disorder that has so long prevailed on the frontier of the colony, and has been the cause of so many evils to the

colony itself, as well as to the tribes adjoining it, I know of nothing more comprehensive, more just and philosophical, than what is found on this subject in a speech of the chief Waterboer, delivered at a missionary meeting at Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope, January 1835. "I feel that I am bound to govern my people by christian principles. The world knows by experience, and I know in my small way, and I know also from my Bible, that the government which is not founded on the principles of the Bible must come to nothing. When governments lose sight of the principles of the Bible, partiality, injustice, oppression and cruelty prevail, and then suspicion, want of confidence, jealousy, hatred, revolt and destruction succeed. Therefore I hope it will ever be my study that the Bible should form the foundation of every principle of my government; then I and my people will have a standard to which we can appeal, which is clear and comprehensive and satisfactory, and by which we shall all be tried and have our condition determined in the day of judgment. The relation in which I stand to my people as their chief, as their leader, binds me by all that is sacred and dear to seek their welfare and promote their happiness; and by what means shall I be able to do this? This I shall best be able to do by alluding to the principles of the Bible. Would governors and governments act upon the simple principle by which we are bound to act as individuals, that is, to do as we would be done by, all would be well. I hope by the principles of the Gospel the morals of my people will continue to improve, and it shall be my endeavour, in humble dependence on the Divine blessing, that those principles shall lose none of their force by my example. Sound education I know will civilize them, make them wise, useful, powerful and secure amongst their neighbours; and the better they are educated, the more clearly will they see that the principles of the Bible are the best principles for the government of individuals, of families, of tribes and nations." The conduct of the chief Waterboer is in strict accordance with his christian philosophy, and the principle of government he has laid down for his own guidance. Among other circumstances that might be adduced confirmatory of this opinion, we may notice one to which reference was made at his interview with the civil commissioner Ryneveld at Priestkas. Waterboer had heard that Stuurman was travelling with his followers along the southern bank of the Orange river, and one of his own people who dwelt on the opposite bank of the river having missed a horse, and it being supposed that it would be found with Stuurman, Waterboer came upon him in a way that would have secured him an easy victory, had Waterboer been less scrupulous as to principle than he was. The following is the account that Waterboer gave to the civil commissioner of this affair. "In the neighbourhood of Priestkas," says the chief, "I succeeded in overtaking Stuurman and his party. In the morning Stuurman and his party found themselves within the reach of our guns. In this posture I demanded the horse which it was supposed he or some of his people had stolen; but fortunately for himself and his people the horse was not with him, and having no proof that this horse was stolen by them, I allowed them to pass unmolested." In the version of this affair, as it was related to me by some of Waterboer's people, several circumstances are omitted that are worthy of being recorded. Stuurman was at that time possessed of considerable property in sheep and cattle; he and his people and property were entirely in the power of Waterboer. The

Griqua chief and his party had come upon him and his party before dawn, and in the morning Stuurman and his men, fifty in number, found themselves surrounded and entirely at the mercy of Waterboer. In the conduct of Waterboer, in this instance, we see nothing of the spirit of injustice; he did not take advantage of his situation and shoot them, which he could have done while unprepared to make any resistance, on the presumption that they must have stolen the horse. Before firing a single shot, he gave them an opportunity of proving their innocence. Waterboer might have presumed that the horse had been sent on before Stuurman with other horses or cattle, or to announce to the women in his kraal some message; but the horse was not found with Stuurman; and the Griqua chief possessed a conscience, and he could not shed men's blood without a proof that would satisfy his conscience that they were guilty. He might have demanded a horse from Stuurman, and he might at the same time have demanded a fine of five or six horses to indemnify him for the expense of his commando, and he might have told Stuurman to go and catch the thief, and indemnify himself. But Waterboer had been taught his morality from the Bible, and when he did not find the stolen horse with Stuurman, he allowed him and his party to pass unmolested. If Waterboer governs his people and defends them on Bible principles, I do not see how the same principles may not be introduced into our frontier policy, or why we may not look to such a man as Waterboer for a lesson on this subject. Whatever may be said of his origin or of the colour of his skin, his principles are sound, and his example is worthy of imitation.

In advocating this cause we may avail ourselves of any legitimate aid within our reach: it is to be lamented that any success that may attend the adoption of any new and improved scheme of frontier policy, will, in a great measure, depend upon the character of the agency which may be employed to carry it into effect; but the more I reflect upon the subject, the more I am satisfied that we shall be able to do but little, so long as any scheme for the settlement of our frontier affairs shall rest solely on the grounds of expediency, the calculations of interest, the character of the agency which may be employed, the humanity of the governor, and other contingencies, not always subject to any wise or salutary control. We shall be able to do nothing to establish a better system of things, possessing a character of permanency, without the assistance of higher principles. We must have a principle on which to base a more equitable system, that will settle the controversy on this subject, in the authoritative manner in which the Almighty settled the controversy between Job and his friends. We must be able to come into court and to assert the claims of justice on principles paramount to all human authority. We must not be content to plead for justice as an advocate may plead for his client, when the advocate is obliged to become the apologist. We must take higher ground. We must lay down, as the basis of any system of international law we may wish to see introduced to regulate our intercourse with our neighbours on the borders of our colonies, that principle by which kings should rule, and princes decree justice. The most despicable interest on earth will be listened to before justice, if her friends allow her to stand before governors and judges as a suppliant asking alms; the cause is all but lost, the moment we cease to fight her battles with her own weapons, or descend to lower ground than that on which the throne of God is built, and by which he wills that the earth

shall be governed. The difficulty of maintaining amicable relations with the tribes and nations on the borders of our colonies is with us, and not with them.

One of the first steps towards the establishment of amicable relations with the tribes on the frontiers of the colony will be the abandonment of the commando and patrol system. My objections to the system are these: First, It is unnecessary. We govern and defend our Indian empire against all our neighbours without it, and no reason can be urged for its continuance at the Cape of Good Hope that might not be brought forward to justify its introduction on the borders of our Indian possessions. Secondly, It is unjust in principle; and as there is no medium between justice and injustice, if we would govern our colonies on the principles of justice, the system admits of no modification, but must be wholly abandoned if we would act justly towards our weaker neighbour. Thirdly, It is as impolitic as it is unjust. In any country in which such a system is carried on, the seeds of humanity and civilization cannot flourish; so long as it is retained it must keep the colonists in a state of semi-barbarism, operate as a blight upon their prosperity, deteriorate the neighbouring tribes in their character and condition, prevent among them the growth of industry and settled habits, prevent them from ever having the means of being useful to us or to themselves in the way of trade, and continually involves us in ruinous expenses by the wars to which it must give rise. Fourthly, It is diametrically opposed to all the laws of natural and revealed religion; the annals of heathenism and of barbarism can show nothing more unjust, more cruel and bloody, or more of character truly savage, than the treatment our helpless neighbours have received and are receiving at our hands. From the long continuance of the system we deprecate, men have begun at home and elsewhere to regard this system of robbery and extermination as one of the immutable laws of God, as a something to be acquiesced in as we do in the cholera, and in the law of death, for which there is no remedy. On this subject the understandings and feelings of men have been grossly abused, but the delusion has, I trust, reached its utmost limits, and one thing must result from the labours of the Committee, that things will in future be called by their proper names. There is no law of God that sanctions robbery and murder, and the extermination of men, because they have black skins, and live upon milk and wild roots, or because they are too weak to assert their own rights; and there is no necessity that can be urged in this case that may not be urged with equal propriety to justify the slave-trade and slavery, and highway robbery and murder. The blood of nations is crying from the ground against us; the very Caffres say, If there is a God there must be a day of retribution, when England and Englishmen must be punished for their bad faith, and the enormous wickedness they have practised against us; and the voice of truth, issuing from the lips of that injured people, is confirmed by every page of the sacred record, and finds an echo in the heart of every man who has a conscience towards God and man. Fifthly and lastly, The present system can no longer be carried on; we must either recur to the principles of justice in our relations to our weaker neighbours, or we must incur an expense, in defending the Cape colony, that this country will not consent to defray. If the present system be continued, 10,000 troops will not be sufficient to defend its extended frontiers. We may be justi-

fied in supporting such an expenditure for the defence of India, but it is impossible that England can seriously think of such an establishment for South Africa, which, in comparison of India, so far as British interests are concerned, is little more than a worthless desert. Is England to waste her blood and treasure, and to exterminate tribe after tribe, and nation after nation, that the boors and farmers in South Africa may in all future ages dwell alone, having estates from eight to twenty-four square miles each; that they may reign alone over a few Hottentots and slaves beyond the reach of all salutary control? If the old system is to be continued, you will not only need an army cooped up in barracks, or distributed over a chain of forts, to repel the aggressions of the tribes and nations beyond us, but it will be necessary to construct every boor's house on the frontier into a fortification, and to allow every family in the neighbourhood of the frontier eight or ten soldiers to defend it. All the tribes on the borders of the colony are, through various causes, advancing in that knowledge which may be emphatically called power, with a rapidity of which very few of the colonists have the slightest conception. To illustrate this opinion it is necessary only to notice in passing the history of the Caffres. In 1834 no one could persuade the abettors of the patrol system that the Caffres were not in the same condition they were in 1819, when they met us in masses in the open field, and were then driven before us like a helpless mob before regular and disciplined troops. No one can read the letters of Colonel Somerset, from 1830, published in the Minutes of Evidence that have come before the Committee, and attend to the circumstances under which the Caffres were repelled from the Kat River and from the Gaya, and review what has been brought forward, showing the increased activity of the patrols down to the breaking out of the war, and compare that state of things with what followed,—and not feel that we had till then cherished a most unreasonable contempt of the Caffres, and that those who ought to have been best acquainted with the actual state of things were the only people in the colony who were altogether ignorant of them. They had seen a whole nation year after year suffer itself to be bearded by a patrol of eighteen or twenty men; and they appear to have come to the conclusion that a handful of men, headed by a military officer, would at any time be sufficient to intimidate or subdue the whole Caffre nation. When the late formidable commando, assembled to enter Caffreland in 1835, crossed the Fish River, scarcely an individual connected with it seemed to have any other idea than that all that was to be required would be accomplished in a few weeks. On the 10th of May, when the governor published the proclamation of that date, it was supposed that the war was at an end; that we had entered upon a peaceable possession of our new province. After a war of nine months, it was discovered that we could not expel the Caffres from the Amatola Mountains; and after a waste of blood and treasure, the governor was obliged to give them the terms they would have accepted before a British soldier in the commando set his foot in Caffreland. In the mean time, during the whole of their arduous and protracted struggle, the eyes of all the nations and tribes from the Kye to Delagoa Bay, and from the Orange river to the 22d degree of south latitude, have been upon us, and they were restless to know what the result would be. In the first instance they entertained no doubt as to the issue; after they heard of the commencement of the war, they expected to hear every day that the Caffres were subdued;

and the only question they asked was, "Will the British leave the Caffres their country, or will they take their country from them?" During the whole time this struggle continued, some of the remote tribes were in the habit of sending messengers to those situated on the colonial boundary, to hear and report the last intelligence from Caffreland. I was told by the Rev. Mr. Casalis, a French missionary, that the chief Moshis, with whom he resides, between 200 and 300 miles north-east of Philippolis, on the northern boundary of the colony, was in the habit of coming to him as frequently as he could to ask his opinion of the Caffre war, and of its probable results. When Moshis, and the other chiefs in that quarter, knew of the proclamation which annexed Caffreland to the colony, the intelligence produced a most unfavourable impression upon their minds, and every one seemed to feel for himself and his tribe, as if the counterpart to that which had happened to the Caffres was awaiting them. They said there was no standing against the white men. Soon after this, however, they found that the Caffres were not subdued; and on hearing of the determination of the Caffres, and of the formidable resistance they were making, one of those chiefs said, "Well, God is with the right." One of the greatest evils that has arisen out of the late war has yet to be noticed. Previous to its commencement the colony was looked upon as invulnerable; but that spell has been broken by the resistance of the Caffres, and there are at this moment Coranna chiefs north of the Griquas who now look upon our power with contempt. From the gradual manner in which the Cape colony has been extended; from the peaceable manner in which the Hottentots had submitted to the colonial yoke; from the extermination of the Bushmen between Graaff Reinet and the Orange river, and from the manner in which the Caffres had retreated before us from the Sunday river to the Fish river, and from the Fish river to the Keiskamma, I had formed an opinion that in this way the aborigines of Africa would ultimately be exterminated, and that future ages would have nothing but tradition to tell them where the tribes and nations now inhabiting the continent were fixed. Recent discoveries and observations have, however, corrected and modified that opinion; and at this moment it appears to me to be doubtful whether the white men or the black men are to be doomed to perish, should the old system be much longer pursued. It is but a few years since we knew any thing of Dingaan, and that that powerful chief took any interest in the affairs of the colony. Since then we have been gradually encroaching upon our neighbours that lie between the colony and his country; and he has not been an indifferent spectator to our proceedings. Already we began to dread his power, and to talk of extending our eastern frontier, so as to have a better defence against him, should he think of attacking us.

We talk like children when we talk of the impression made upon the Caffre and Zoolah tribes by the massacre of the Ficani, when we destroyed them for another tribe by mistake, and the pleasure with which the Amapondas and others in that direction beheld the fall of Hintza. Hintza was pleased when he got rid of his formidable neighbours, the Ficani; and the Amaponda chiefs might be pleased to see Hintza humbled; but however the chiefs beyond Hintza's country might conceal their sentiments while a British army was on their borders, they could not view our proceedings but with terror and dismay, and the men that could trust to professions of friendship made by such people, under such

✓ circumstances, are the last that should be trusted to secure the peace and safety of the colony. The elements of power and destruction are, at this moment, widely scattered over the whole of the country between the Orange River and Delgoa Bay, and no more is necessary but to continue and put them in motion, to blot out the name of the Cape of Good Hope from the list of British colonies. One individual is wanting only to wield those elements; and should we continue the iniquitous course we have hitherto pursued, who can say how soon an offended God may raise him up, as he did Cyrus, to be the minister of retributive justice? and to give him a commission to execute that, will repay to us in full measure all the injuries we have inflicted, the robberies we have committed, and the blood we have shed. An intelligent individual, and one who has travelled over that country lately, remarked to me just before I left the Cape: We have nothing to dread from the Caffres, compared to what we have to apprehend from the state of the northern frontier. There are numerous families of boors who have taken up their domicile in that country; they have among them at least 3000 stand of arms; they have abundance of powder and lead, and we have no means of preventing them from getting as much as they wish for; those that have guns are, with very few exceptions, in possession of horses: and if the colonial government is foolish enough, at this moment, to lose the affections of the Griquas, and by that means to disperse them among that people, woe be to the colony! The importance of this colony, as the basis of operations that are destined to effect much good or much evil to a large portion of the human race, becomes every day more distinct. When I take a review of the numerous and rapidly improving tribes of the interior, it appears to me clear that we are to be the instruments of subduing them to Christ, or they are to be the instruments of Divine vengeance upon us for our neglect of so plain and obvious a duty. India does not require more ability or a more simple form of government. The mischiefs consequent upon a failure will be less striking to the public eye than the ruin of India would be; but the ruin would be more complete and less remediable, as far as we and some hundreds of tribes of men are concerned, than would occur even by the ruin of India. An able governor of the Cape might, in 12 years, influence the continent of Africa as far as the tropic; influence it for good, make every tribe to know its limits, to be content with its own, to respect its neighbours, and to drink with eagerness from the fountains of our religion, civil policy and science. The missionaries have already done enough to prove that all this is not only possible, but easy; much easier for a wise man to accomplish, than it is for a fool to render the whole of this part of the continent not only more barbarous than it is at present, but hostile to us, and ever ready to combine for our destruction, and the destruction for a time of their own chances of civilization. What a responsibility then rests upon the British government, even in the management of this apparently insignificant colony; and how anxious and persevering ought the friends of religion and humanity to be, in saving us from the perils that threaten us!













