

J.C. CHASE — 1820 SETTLER AND SERVANT OF THE COLONY

A Thesis for the Degree of Master of Arts

by

M.J. McGinn

Supervisor : Professor W.A. Maxwell

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## INTRODUCTION

J.C. Chase was an 1820 settler who travelled to the Cape with Bailie's party. He was a man of some standing and education. There is evidence that he was a member of the Worshipful Company of Founders, whose arms were later adopted by Aliwal North, but he was reputedly a bookseller in London in 1819. Clearly the reading and writing of books were among his chief preoccupations at the Cape. He was particularly interested in travel and exploration, and was one of the early white visitors to Griqualand. But his main objective at the Cape was probably to seek the security of a government appointment, and he held quite a succession of offices until he secured a permanent post in the administration. Even then he was moved from Graham's Town to Albert before he found his niche at Uitenhage, where he was Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate from 1849 to 1863.

Newspaper correspondence, pamphlets and books were the main channels available to ambitious or idealistic men to bring themselves or their ideas before the public, and Chase was a very active publicist, often though not always limiting the range of his publications to some current political interest. His career shows much that was typical of the 1820 settlers — enterprise and intellectual alertness and a sense of history in the making. Something of Africa cast its spell. Yet there is also an almost clannish loyalty to the settler complex in Albany, so that though Chase himself was never in the van of frontier conflict, he expresses vividly the fears, hopes and prejudices of his kind.

The approach of this thesis is biographical since there seems to be no study of him other than the brief and very able sketch in

Percival Kirby's article in the Dictionary of South African Biography.<sup>1</sup>

But attention will be given to the exposition of his ideas in his identifiable writings. Here so often he shows himself as the product of a particular environment, and a man whose writing may be said to have acted as a formative factor in the expression and part creation of the opinion of the Eastern Cape for at least a generation after his death.

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<sup>1</sup>DSAB, I, pp. 165-7.

## ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have been used in this thesis:

- Annals of the Cape. Chase, J.C., and Wilmot, A., A History of the Cape of Good Hope. (Cape Town, 1869.)
- Breitenbach. Breitenbach, J.J., The Development of the Secretaryship to the Government at the Cape of Good Hope under John Montagu, 1843-52 (Archives Year Book, 1959, Vol. II).
- The Cape of Good Hope. Chase, J.C., The Cape of Good Hope and the Eastern Province of Algoa Bay. (London, 1843. Reprinted, Cape Town, 1967.)
- Cory. Cory, Sir G., The Rise of South Africa. (London, 1930.) Vols. I - V: Vol. VI in Archives Year Book, 1939, Vol. II.
- Crankshaw. Crankshaw, G.B., The Diary of C.L. Stretch. A Critical Edition and Appraisal. (M.A. Thesis, Rhodes University, 1960.)
- D.S.A.B. ed. de Kock, W.J., Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol. I, (Cape Town, 1968.) Vol. II, (Cape Town, 1972.)
- Duminy. Duminy, A.H., The Role of Sir Andries Stockenström in Cape Politics, 1846-56. (Archives Year Book, 1960, Vol. II.)
- E.P.H. Eastern Province Herald.
- Frye. Frye, J., The South African Commercial Advertiser and the Eastern Frontier, 1834-1847, an examination of the ways in which, and the sources from which, it reported frontier conflicts. (M.A. Thesis, Rhodes University, 1960.)

- Fryer. Fryer, A.K., The Government of the Cape of Good Hope, 1825-54 : The Age of Imperial Reform. (Archives Year Book, 1964, Vol. I.)
- Godlonton, Memorials. Godlonton, R. (compiler), Memorials of the British Settlers of South Africa, being the records of Public Services, held at Graham's Town, and Port Elizabeth on the 10th of April, and at Bathurst on the 10th May, 1844, in Commemoration of their Landing in Algoa Bay, and Foundation of the Settlement of Albany, in the Year 1820. (Graham's Town, 1844.)
- GTJ. Graham's Town Journal.
- Hunt. Hunt, K.S., The Development of Municipal Government in the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope, with special reference to Grahamstown, 1827-1862. (Archives Year Book, 1961.)
- Kirby, Chase. Kirby, P.R., 'John Centlivres Chase, Cartographer and Geographer', *Africana Notes and News*, Dec. 1968, Vol. 18, no. 4, pp. 135-160.
- Kirby, Natal. Kirby, P.R., ed., Andrew Smith and Natal. Documents relating to the Early History of that Province. (Van Riebeeck Society, Cape Town, 1955.)
- Kirby, Smith. Kirby, P.R., ed., The Diary of Dr. Andrew Smith, director of the "Expedition for Exploring Central Africa", 1834-1836. Two volumes. (Van Riebeeck Society, Cape Town, vol. 1, 1939; vol. 2, 1940.)
- MacMillan, W.M., Bantu, Boer and Briton. MacMillan, W.M., Bantu, Boer and Briton. The Making of the South African Native Problem. (Oxford, 1963.)

- Natal Papers. Chase, J.C., The Natal Papers; A Re-print of All Notices and Public Documents Connected with that Territory, including a Description of the Country, and a History of Events from its Discovery in 1498, to the Mission of the Hon. H. Cloete L.L.D. etc. in 1843, in Two Parts, with an Appendix, including a Brief Review of the Steps taken by Sir Benjamin D'Urban, G.C.P., etc., Late Governor of the Colony, for the Tranquillization of the Frontier, especially as regarded the Emigration of the Farmers. (Graham's Town, 1843.)
- Oxford History. Wilson, M., and Thompson, L., eds., The Oxford History of South Africa. Vol. I. (Oxford, 1970.)
- Practical Considerations. Chase, J.C., Practical Considerations of the Exact Position of the Slave Question as far as it regards the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. (George Greig, Cape Town, 1831.)
- Researches. Philip, J., Researches in South Africa, Illustrating the Civil, Moral and Religious Condition of the Native Tribes : including Journals of the Author's Travels in the Interior; together with Detailed Accounts of the Progress of the Christian Missions, Exhibiting the Influence of Christianity in Promoting Civilization. 2 vols. (London, 1828.)
- SACA South African Commercial Advertiser.
- SAQJ South African Quarterly Journal.
- Stead. Stead, J.L., The Development and Failure of the Eastern Cape Separatist Movement with special reference to John Paterson. (M.A. Thesis, Rhodes University, 1974.)
- Wagenaar. Wagenaar, E.J.C., A Forgotten Frontier Zone : Settlements and Reactions in the Stormberg Area, between 1820 and 1860. (M.A. Thesis, Rhodes, University, 1974.)

Witcomb.

Witcomb, J.D., Emigration from Great Britain to South Africa : 1820 to 1840. (M.A. Thesis, University of Birmingham, 1953. Microfilm 95, Cory Library.)

Wits.

Godlonton, R., Correspondence, Accession No. A 43, Historical Papers, Library of the University of the Witwatersrand. Johannesburg.

ZA

Zuid Afrikaan.

## CHAPTER I

## GEOGRAPHICAL AND POLITICAL EXPLORATIONS

J.C. Chase, a bookseller by trade,<sup>1</sup> was among the Londoners of Bailie's party who set out for the Cape aboard the Chapman in 1819.<sup>2</sup> He was accompanied by his wife and infant daughter, but the latter died during the voyage.<sup>3</sup> Nearly four months after leaving London the Chapman reached Algoa Bay on April 10, the first of the settler ships to arrive there. It has been claimed<sup>4</sup> that Chase was the first 1820 settler to step ashore at 'the desolate and unpromising place', as he later described it.<sup>5</sup> Bailie's party was located in the area between the Wellington and Palmiet Rivers, near Cuylerville, named by the settlers in honour of the local landdrost, J.G. Cuyler.<sup>6</sup> Presumably because he could afford to pay for it, Chase received an extension to his grant of land, and acquired a total of 825 morgen.<sup>7</sup> His farm, Peninsula, lay on the coast between the Lyndoch and Wellington Rivers.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Kirby, Chase, p. 136.

<sup>2</sup>D.S.A.B., I, p. 165.

<sup>3</sup>ibid.

<sup>4</sup>(Port Elizabeth) Evening Post Magazine, 27.11.1965. Article by P. Beachy-Head.

<sup>5</sup>Annals of the Cape, p. 274.

<sup>6</sup>Cuyler (1775-1854) was landdrost at Uitenhage 1806-1827.

<sup>7</sup>Diagram of land ... granted to ... Chase, Cory Library, MP 544(x). See also deeds of transfer, Cory Library, MS 14,494 - 14,497.

<sup>8</sup>Morse-Jones, E. Lower Albany Chronicle, I, p. 59.

The settlers soon became discontented with their conditions and in December, 1822, Chase was one of the signatories to a request for permission to hold a meeting to discuss their grievances.<sup>9</sup> In 1823 the settlers sent a memorial to the Secretary of State, Bathurst,<sup>10</sup> complaining about Somerset's allegedly despotic rule, the restrictions on public meetings, the settlers' distance from the seat of Government and their scant protection against Xhosa attack. J.C. Chase was among the one hundred and sixty-nine signatories.<sup>11</sup> Chase and his compatriots did not spend all their time grappling with the problems of survival in the Zuurveld. A letter written by Thomas Philipps<sup>12</sup> in January, 1823, describes a pleasant day spent at Chase's farm, where a party picnicked in a sheltered clearing facing the sea, and enjoyed 'a plentiful repast'. They were in an idyllic setting, but Philipps significantly commented, 'Nothing but fresh water is wanting to make this spot a residence for a Nobleman'.<sup>13</sup> In July, 1823, Chase moved from Peninsula to a farm on the Melk River, near Graaff-Reinet, where he had acquired 'a good house, excellent gardens and copious streams for irrigation'.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Morse-Jones, E., Lower Albany Chronicle, I, p. 59.

<sup>10</sup>Earl Bathurst, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, 11.6.1812 - 29.4.1827.

<sup>11</sup>C.O. 48/61. There is a photo-copy of this petition in the Cory Library.

<sup>12</sup>Thomas Philipps (1776-1859) was leader of a settler party that sailed in the 'Kennersley Castle'. In 1820 Philipps was made an assistant magistrate. In 1821 he was a member of the Kowie Navigation Company and in 1825 a member of the Albany Shipping Company. In 1837 he presented a Bible to the Trek leader, Jacobus Uys, on Albany settlers' behalf. He died in Graham's Town.

<sup>13</sup>Keppel-Jones, A., ed., Philipps, 1820 Settler, His Letters, p. 168.

<sup>14</sup>ibid., p. 188.

Thi; move to the Graaff-Reinet district probably limited Chase's opportunities to take part in the efforts of the settlers to bring about improvements in their conditions, but he was clearly identified with them.<sup>15</sup> By the beginning of 1825 the political prospects of the Colony seemed to be improving, with the establishment of the Council of Advice. Chase did not, however, see his own future as a farmer in an equally promising light, for during 1825 he began to look further afield.

During June, 1825, Chase and a fellow-settler, James Collis<sup>16</sup> journeyed up-country to trade beyond the Orange River. A Government Proclamation of January 27, 1825, had relaxed to some extent the earlier regulations forbidding traders to cross the northern border, and authorised the Landdrost of Graaff-Reinet or the Deputy Landdrost of Beaufort 'to grant Passports to any Hawkers or other Persons belonging to the Colony, of good character and conduct, who may wish to traffick with the Tribes beyond the Frontier, where there is any Government Agent'.<sup>17</sup> Between October, 1825 and November, 1826, a series of articles on the trading possibilities beyond the Colonial boundary appeared in the South African Commercial Advertiser, under the pen-name 'Evitas'. Probably this series was the work of J.C. Chase and was based on his journey of

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<sup>15</sup>Keppel-Jones, A., Ed., Philipps, 1820 Settler, His Letters, p. 232.

<sup>16</sup>1820 settler — Willson's party. About 1831 became a trader at Port Natal. In September 1834 was killed when some gunpowder was accidentally ignited in his store.

<sup>17</sup>The Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser, January 29, 1825.

1825. In a letter to Fairbairn,<sup>18</sup> written from Graham's Town in 1826,<sup>19</sup> he referred to his 'Notice on the Interior', which he wished to have re-published. Like the writer of the articles, Chase was in Griquatown in June, 1825.<sup>20</sup> Since, moreover, the opinions expressed in the series are similar to those held by him, it seems reasonable to conclude that the account of the 'Nature, Extent and Promise of the Trading Intercourse with the Transgarietine Nations' was the work of Chase.

Chase began with a general survey of trade with 'savage nations': white traders, he argued, obtained valuable goods in exchange for those of trifling cost, while the 'barbarian' became more civilised thanks to his commercial activities. In Chase's opinion the most important product of the interior was ivory, that from Mozambique being particularly fine, but there were, no doubt, many other commercially valuable goods in the hinterland of the Colony which had yet to be discovered. Chase pointed out that the African coast, including Mozambique, in which he was very interested, had long been exploited by traders in search of precious metals and ivory, but these men had 'stained their flags and compromised their souls in the degrading and murderous traffic of human flesh'.

Chase explained that he was writing about his own journey in

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<sup>18</sup> John Fairbairn (1794-1864) was editor of the South African Commercial Advertiser, and later a member of the Cape Legislative Council. His political views were identified with those of his father-in-law, Dr John Philip.

<sup>19</sup> Chase to Fairbairn, 1-10-26. Fairbairn Correspondence, Africana Library, South African Library, Cape Town.

<sup>20</sup> SACA 29.8.26 and Kirby, Chase, p. 137.

order to promote 'a lucrative barter' which would benefit both the Colony and its northern neighbours. He had been interested in the possibilities of trading beyond the Orange River for some time, and had collected all the information he had been able to find on the subject. After his long journey, however, he had altered some of his earlier ideas about conditions beyond the frontier, and intended offering his experiences as a guide to those who themselves might wish to travel north in search of 'profit, interest and valuable discovery'.

After the tedious ten-day trek from Graaff-Reinet to the Orange River, the sight of water was refreshing, but Chase could not imagine that its desolate shore would ever 'resound with the hum of populous cities'.<sup>21</sup> Burchell<sup>22</sup> had suggested that immigrants should be encouraged to settle south of the Orange River. Chase disagreed: not only was there a shortage of game, fish and water, but frosts and locusts destroyed the Boers' meagre crops, while the Bushmen in the area were an 'annoyance'. After crossing the boundary of the Colony the travellers encountered some members of the Koranna tribe who on the whole did not impress them very favourably. Chase believed that this tribe waged unceasing war against the Bushmen, although they did not attack white travellers. He found the Koranna men handsome, but the women were so 'very diminutive in stature and extremely corpulent,' that the two colonists could not help laughing at the contrast. The women were 'in no way

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<sup>21</sup>In 1849, Chase was to help found the first colonial town on the Orange River — Aliwal North. *Infra*, chapter IV.

<sup>22</sup>Burchell, W.J. Travels in the Interior of South Africa (1822).

disconcerted but joined good-humouredly in the chorus, requesting afterwards as some recompense a little tobacco'. To Chase the Hottentots appeared to have no religion,<sup>23</sup> but to have a wealth of folk-tales. His attitude to the missionaries about this is significantly patronising: 'the Missionaries fondly fancy they can recognise in [these tales] some faint traces of the stories found in the Old Testament, as that of Sampson etc., by which they suppose they have formerly professed the doctrines of Judaism if not of Christianity'. On the whole, Chase believed that the Koranna offered little opportunity to traders, largely because of the 'indolence and imbecility' which he attributed to them.<sup>24</sup>

Chase travelled to Griquatown, the seat of the Government Agent, John Melville,<sup>25</sup> where he encountered Bechuana and Griqua. He formed a poor opinion of the latter, but believed the Bechuana might be useful trading partners. Chase believed that the Griqua were generally very poor — he had met only two who had succeeded in acquiring any wealth — but he was surprised to find that in spite of their poverty they were very proud, and would not 'descend to offices' they considered to be 'menial and the peculiar province of black people'. According to J.S. Marais,<sup>26</sup> 'The Griquas ... were very proud of the white blood in their veins. It made them in their own opinion, superior to the pure natives around them.' Chase

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<sup>23</sup>For a discussion of the religion of the Hottentots, see I. Schapera, The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa, Bushmen and Hottentots, Chapter XIII, pp. 357-399.

<sup>24</sup>SACJ 19.10.25.

<sup>25</sup>Melville was Government Agent at Griqua Town, 1822-1826.

<sup>26</sup>J.S. Marais, The Cape Coloured People, p. 45.

acknowledged that the Griqua had a 'worthy preacher' to teach them about the Gospel, but regretted that they were not taught practical skills as well. He was aware of an atmosphere of social decay in the settlements of Griquatown, Campbell, Ramah and Daniel's Kuil. For this Chase blamed the Colonial Government and its agent, Melville, who supported the authority of the 'upstart Waterboer',<sup>27</sup> despite the fact that his rivals Adam Kok<sup>28</sup> and Barend Barends<sup>29</sup> had many followers. At the time of Chase's visit, Kok and Barends were awaiting the arrival of Andries Stockenstrom,<sup>30</sup> whose advice they respected because of his 'long-experienced kindness and knowledge of their affairs'. In his capacity as landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, Stockenstrom had no doubt issued Chase with his trading licence, and Chase later wrote to him from Griquatown, describing the conditions there. Stockenstrom quoted Chase's comments in a letter to the Colonial Office, and wrote, 'I give an extract from a letter ... from Mr Chase ... to show that my ideas about the state of that country are not peculiar to myself, and as Mr C. does not know them, he cannot be biassed by them; he says: "There exists

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<sup>27</sup>Andries Waterboer, a mission teacher, was elected captain or chief of the Griqua at Griquatown in 1820.

<sup>28</sup>Adam Kok II, a Griqua captain, left Griquatown and moved to Campbell in about 1820.

<sup>29</sup>Barend Barends, another Griqua captain, settled at Daniel's Kuil about 1820.

<sup>30</sup>Andries Stockenstrom (1792-1864) was Landdrost of Graaff-Reinet 1815-1828; Commissioner-General for the Eastern Districts 1828-1833; gave evidence before the Aborigines' Committee in 1835; was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Eastern Cape in 1836, was dismissed in 1839 and given a baronetcy and a pension in 1840. He commanded a burgher force in the Frontier War of 1846. In 1850 he gained a majority of votes in the Eastern Cape in the 'unofficial election'. He represented the Eastern Cape in the 'unofficial Council between 1853 and 1856. He died in England in 1864.

much dissatisfaction among the inhabitants, which from the measures at present adopting to force submission to the new Captains is likely to be increased."<sup>31</sup> Chase informed his readers that the Griqua no longer trusted the missionaries, as they were believed to be government spies, so any good they might once have achieved had now been undermined. He supported this claim by describing the disintegration of the station at Ramah, which had been financed by those whom he called 'the pious but gulled John Bull'. Chase regretted that the 'overjealous friends of the Cape Hottentots' had not been with him during his visit to the Griqua,<sup>32</sup> as they would have seen the many defects in the Hottentots' 'natural character', and could no longer blame the bad example of the whites, nor the oppressive laws of the Colony for what Chase termed the 'acknowledged viciousness' of the Hottentots.

Chase then discussed the origins of trade between the Griqua and the colonists. He described how the missionaries and later the Government Agent had issued permits allowing the Griqua to enter the Colony in order to trade. This method was unsatisfactory, so fairs were arranged to regulate trade more efficiently, but Chase alleged that these fairs were also unsuccessful. In fact, fairs were held at Beaufort in 1819 and 1820, and Dr Philip<sup>33</sup> claimed that they were successful.<sup>34</sup> J.S. Marais points out that law-abiding Griqua carried

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<sup>31</sup>Kirby, Chase, p. 137.

<sup>32</sup>The terms 'Griqua' and 'Hottentot' seem to be used interchangeably here.

<sup>33</sup>Dr John Philip (1777-1851) was Superintendent of the London Missionary Society's missions at the Cape. He was blamed by many colonists for the passage of Ordinance 50, and was unpopular with many for championing the rights of the blacks. He wrote Researches in South Africa which was published in 1828.

<sup>34</sup>Researches, II, p. 69.

passes and traded only at the Beaufort fairs, while an illegal trade flourished between the Boers and the Bergenaars,<sup>35</sup> who provided the whites with oxen, in exchange for guns and brandy.<sup>36</sup> The proclamation of January 27, 1825<sup>37</sup> had altered the situation again, but Chase complained that its specific reference to Griqua trade had been misleading. Many traders in the Colony had believed, on the strength of the proclamation, that a journey to Griquatown would bring them great profits, while in fact only one or two of the earliest in the market had found the long journey worthwhile. Ivory was the only commodity worth buying from the Griqua and even this was in short supply, because personal rivalries between their leaders had prevented them from going on their annual ivory hunt for two consecutive years. Chase also claimed that trade was hampered by the Government Agent's prohibition of dealings with the Bergenaars, even while many of Waterboer's men were away on commando. Chase concluded that the Griqua would never improve merely as a result of missionary endeavour: 'Coercion must be employed to reduce them to habits of obedience and order'. He believed that they would improve rapidly if they were included in the Colony, but this solution was unacceptable, as it would not be in the interests of the colonists to extend the 'already extensive boundaries'.<sup>38</sup>

This early piece of writing by Chase reveals his attitude

<sup>35</sup>The Bergenaars were a band of Griqua who established themselves in the Langeberg and lived on the proceeds of plunder.

<sup>36</sup>Cape Coloured People, p. 39.

<sup>37</sup>Supra, p. 3.

<sup>38</sup>The articles summarised above appeared in SAQA, 12.10.25; 19.10.25; 2.11.25; 19.11.25; 16.11.25 and 23.11.25.

toward various matters which are dealt with in more detail in his later work, for example the Portuguese settlement on the south-east coast of Africa. Like many others, Chase realised that immense profits would be reaped by the Colony if Britain gained control of the trade in this strategic area,<sup>39</sup> which accounts for his later attempts to encourage the annexation of Natal.<sup>40</sup>

Another issue on which he was frequently to comment was the role of missionaries among the blacks: his contention that they should teach useful skills and not merely 'theological tenets', probably found considerable support among his fellow-colonists, but his charge that the missionaries had in no way improved the 'moral character' of the Griqua met with an outspoken rebuke from a doughty adversary : Dr John Philip.

In a long and biting letter to the South African Commercial Advertiser,<sup>41</sup> Philip attacked 'Evitas' as 'either a prejudiced or an incompetent judge'. He countered Chase's criticisms by comparing the savage state of the Griqua in 1800<sup>42</sup> with their more civilized habits of 1825. Philip had travelled to Griquatown in August 1825 and had personally seen the signs of improvement. He crowned his argument by describing how a missionary had persuaded the Namaqua chief, Christian Afrikaner — who was also known as

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<sup>39</sup>cf. M.V. Jackson-Haight, European Powers and South-East Africa, a Study of International Relations on the South-East Coast of Africa 1796-1845, pp. 187-217, passim.

<sup>40</sup>Infra, Chapters II and VII.

<sup>41</sup>SACA, 30.11.25 and 7.12.25.

<sup>42</sup>This comparison appeared later in Researches in South Africa (Vol. II, p. 56). J.S. Marais believes that Philip exaggerated the former wildness of the Griqua (The Cape Coloured People, p. 34.).

Jager Afrikaner — to abandon his war-like ways.<sup>43</sup> This, Philip argued, had saved the north-west and perhaps even in turn the eastern frontier, from attack by the Namaqua raiders. He believed that missionaries had certainly made the interior safe for white travellers such as 'Evitas'. This letter must have angered Chase: it probably helps explain the many bitter attacks he subsequently made on the London Missionary Society and those associated with it.

There was a gap in the articles at the end of 1825, but in the Advertiser of January 11, 1826, the series was resumed. Before continuing his narrative, Chase commented on the letter of a 'morbidly sensitive friend of Missions' (Dr Philip), who had questioned his statements about the Griqua, and assured the Editor of their 'general accuracy'. He also undertook to give due credit to those missionaries whose fine work deserved praise. Some fourteen articles appeared in due course between January and November, 1826, in which were detailed accounts of the Bechuana and Bushmen. There were, as promised, favourable comments on the work of Robert Moffat<sup>44</sup> at Kuruman. The general conclusion drawn by Chase was that the prospects of trade among the Griqua were poor, but that the Bechuana trade held out some promise.

Having gained some experience of farming and trading, Chase had entered the government service in July, 1825, as Accountant in the district of Albany.<sup>45</sup> He had hoped for a better post, but

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<sup>43</sup>cf. Robert Moffat, Missionary Labours & Scenes in Southern Africa, pp. 83-84.

<sup>44</sup>Robert Moffat (1817-1870), famous Christian missionary who established the mission station at Kuruman.

<sup>45</sup>C.O. 4402 No. 54.

nothing else was then available. Late in 1825 Sir Richard Plasket<sup>46</sup> offered Chase the position of Vendue Master in the Albany district, on condition that he provided 'unexceptionable' securities.<sup>47</sup> Chase submitted the names of thirteen people, but these were refused, apparently because they were too numerous. During 1826 he wrote several letters in connection with his application for the Vendue Mastership, which are interesting as an indication both of Chase's tenacity and the working of the Colonial Office, so are quoted extensively.

In February, 1826, Chase wrote to Plasket that it seemed 'fate and necessity had arrayed themselves' to prevent him from becoming Vendue Master in Albany. He feared that he would be denied a situation which he was confident he 'could fill with credit and fidelity', and which 'with the advantageous alteration said to be awaiting the district'<sup>48</sup> would eventually prove very lucrative. He continued: 'After the expectations I have naturally formed, and my probable occupation of the vacant office being the subject of general conversation, I must confess failure will be attended with considerable pain to myself, and, I am vain enough to believe, annoyance to the Landdrost,<sup>49</sup> whose good opinion my exertions to obtain have, I believe, been crowned with success'.

Chase was sure that Plasket, who had already shown such great

<sup>46</sup>Secretary to the Government 1822-1827.

<sup>47</sup>C.O. 293 No. 19.

<sup>48</sup>This presumably refers to the hope that the Eastern Cape would be given some form of local authority, on the strength of the report of Commissioners H.G. Colebrooke and J.T. Bigge.

<sup>49</sup>Major Dundas, Landdrost 1825-1828.

kindness to himself, 'an almost friendless immigrant', would continue to help him. He had not quite despaired of becoming Vendue Master and would attempt to find satisfactory security elsewhere.<sup>50</sup>

In May, 1826, the issue of the appointment still unsettled, Chase wrote again to the Secretary to the Government, because an attack on the Landdrost of Somerset had appeared in the Advertiser, and its authorship had been imputed to Chase; he wished to assure Plasket that this charge was 'false and malicious'.<sup>51</sup>

In the following September Chase wrote yet again to Plasket, 'I find by Major Dundas and the general report here, that Major Pigot<sup>52</sup> has applied for the vacant seat of Vendue Master of the District, which I had almost hoped would have been given to me.... The very trifling salary here, and the great expense of living in this town, naturally make me particularly anxious to procure something of more emolument than is furnished by my present appointment, and I must confess that its rank is a considerable objection against it.... In sending down my securities in the form I did, I thought that I had consulted the greater security of Government by offering a larger sum than that required, and dividing it among so many persons, and Major Dundas himself approved of the method.... If however that cannot be admitted and it is not too late, I beg to offer any two persons on the list transmitted at that time by the

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<sup>50</sup>C.O. 293, No. 43.

<sup>51</sup>C.O. 293, No. 132.

<sup>52</sup>Major George Pigot, 1820 settler. In 1820 he was appointed Assistant Magistrate for Graham's Town. In 1824 he was a member of the committee of the Distressed Settlers' Fund.

Landdrost in solidum, and I consider (without attempting to throw any difficulty in the way of the Gentleman who has also applied) that my knowledge of Business. and my being able to give my own personal and undivided attention to the office, [will ensure] that the Government would be as well secured in the due performance of its duties as by the appointment of any other person'.<sup>53</sup>

Chase's next letter followed within a month. He wanted to tell Plasket that if the Vendue Mastership were unattainable, he would 'gladly forego the acceptance of an office of such great responsibility for one of less profit but of at least equal rank'. He had heard that there was likely to be an opening for a Chief Magistrate in the Sub-Drostdy of Beaufort, and would like to apply for that position.<sup>54</sup> As it turned out, Chase did not have to worry about this new application, because in October he heard that he had been appointed Vendue Master after all, and so he sent his 'warmest acknowledgements' to Plasket for his great kindness. There was still some insecurity, because his new office was likely to be abolished fairly soon. Chase trusted that if he carried out his duties conscientiously, Plasket would help him find some other appointment when the time came.<sup>55</sup> The frank use of influence and importunity reflected in this correspondence does not indicate that Chase was an unprincipled place-seeker: his method of finding a position was largely in conformity with convention — so likewise the ponderously obsequious prose.

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<sup>53</sup>C.O. 293, No. 222.

<sup>54</sup>C.O. 293, No. 239.

<sup>55</sup>C.O. 293, No. 250.

Graham's Town, the 'Metropolis' of the Eastern Cape, must have provided Chase with considerable interest and entertainment, with its mixed and changing frontier population. A series of letters appeared in the Commercial Advertiser during 1826 and 1827, describing the Eastern Cape, and Graham's Town in particular, from the point of view of a visitor from Cape Town. They were signed 'Britannicus' — a nom de plume frequently used by Chase, and are clearly his work.<sup>56</sup> He was obviously involved in the social life of the little town, but sometimes he felt cut off from his family and friends in England. Late in November, 1826, he wrote to his uncle, James Sharpe, who lived in London, '... in this remote corner of the world, where although I may form acquaintances and connexions, friendships are out of the question, the attentions of a relative, distant even as you are, I find consolatory'.<sup>57</sup> He was more cheerful when writing in December 1827. He explained that although his office of Vendue Master was to be abolished at the end of that year, he had done extremely well and was hoping for another lucrative position. He had already declined the position of Justice of the Peace for Graham's Town, as the salary of £100 per annum was too small. He continued, 'I am trying all my influence and interest for that of Guardian of Slaves for the Eastern Province, the emoluments of which are £400 a year. Luckily I have got the interest of the Commissioner General,<sup>58</sup> the Civil Commissioner,<sup>59</sup> the

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<sup>56</sup> cf. letter Chase to Fairbairn, dated Grahamstown 1.10.26. (Fairbairn Correspondence, Africana Library, South African Library, Cape Town.)

<sup>57</sup> Chase to J. Sharpe, 28.11.26. (Letter in possession of Major C.C. Chase, Vereeniging.)

<sup>58</sup> Andriess Stockenström (see above, p. 7).

<sup>59</sup> Major Dundas.

Secretary of the Government,<sup>60</sup> and several others, and have no doubt of getting something between £150 and £300 a year — you see, I have not done badly by emigration!' Commenting on the changes about to be made in the administration of the Colony, he exultantly claimed, 'We Settlers — and I say it proudly — have done this'.<sup>61</sup> He probably meant the Charter of Justice and the Language Ordinance, and clearly did not subsume Ordinance 50 in his claim that all the impending changes were the product of settler pressures. Here, however, is the emergence of one of the credos which most settlers came to accept.

At the end of 1827 when the office of Vendue Master was abolished, Chase became secretary to the Albany Mutual Assurance Company,<sup>62</sup> but this was only a stop-gap until he was again appointed to a suitable post in the government service.<sup>63</sup> In July, 1828, he became agent for the Board of Orphan Masters in the district of Albany,<sup>64</sup> a post he held, except for a short break during 1829,<sup>65</sup> until the end of 1830. Chase continued to take a great interest in exploration, and began preparing an account of all the expeditions that had been made northwards and eastwards of the colonial border. He became the agent for two travellers, Dr Alexander Cowie and

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<sup>60</sup> Sir Richard Plasket.

<sup>61</sup> Chase to J. Sharpe, 15.12.27 (Africana Library, South African Library, Cape Town).

<sup>62</sup> Morse-Jones, E., Lower Albany Chronicle, II, p. 19.

<sup>63</sup> Chase's name remained on the list of candidates for government posts. C.O. 4402, No. 54.

<sup>64</sup> C.O. 4402, No. 54.

<sup>65</sup> His appointment was suspended between 6.5.29 and 11.7.29 (C.O. 4402, No. 54).

Benjamin Green, who set off from Albany on a trading expedition to Delagoa Bay in 1828. The two men reached their destination, but in 1829 died on their return journey. A Hottentot servant carried their papers to H.F. Fynn<sup>66</sup> at Port Natal, and the precious information was eventually sent to Chase, as the agent of the dead men.<sup>67</sup> The notes about the journey to Delagoa Bay were inadequate: Chase required more information for his proposed article on exploration, and wrote to Fynn, enclosing a very comprehensive questionnaire to help elicit the details he sought.<sup>68</sup> There is also evidence that, several years later, Fynn entrusted Chase with the manuscript of his own account of Port Natal.<sup>69</sup>

The reports describing how Cowie and Green had died, which appeared in the Advertiser in September and November, 1829, were probably supplied by Chase,<sup>70</sup> but his relations with Fairbairn were by this time becoming strained. The Albany settlers, as early as 1826, had criticised the Advertiser for paying too little heed to 'cattle depredations' on the frontier. In August, 1829, Fairbairn accused his correspondents in the Eastern Districts of unreliability,

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<sup>66</sup> Henry Francis Fynn (1803-1861). Arrived at Port Natal in 1824, and became friendly with Shaka. Left Natal in 1834, and was interpreter for D'Urban during the Sixth Frontier War. From 1837 to 1849 he was diplomatic agent at Tarka Post, and from 1849 to 1852 was British Resident at the Kraal of Faku, the Mpondo. In 1852 he became Assistant Magistrate at Pietermaritzburg, and in the same year gave evidence before the Natal Native Affairs Commission. In 1856 he became Resident Magistrate at Lower Umkomazi, but retired because of ill-health. His notes on his experiences in Natal were among the sources Chase used for Natal Papers.

<sup>67</sup> Kirby, Chase, p. 138.

<sup>68</sup> *ibid.*, p. 139.

<sup>69</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 157-8.

<sup>70</sup> *ibid.*, p. 138.

as their various reports were frequently contradictory.<sup>71</sup> Against this background, in April 1830, the first issue of the Zuid Afrikaan appeared, claiming that it intended to present only the truth and to promote unity between the Dutch and English colonists, but at the same time implying its opposition to the Advertiser. Soon its editorial and correspondence columns carried frequent attacks on Dr Philip and John Fairbairn who, early in 1830, had visited the Eastern Districts, where much resentment had been aroused by Fairbairn's claim that there was a state of 'profound peace' on the frontier.<sup>72</sup> Many of these attacks came from the Eastern Cape, amongst them a succession of three letters which appeared on August 20, December 3 and December 17, all bearing the nom de plume 'XY'. The first two dealt with cattle theft and the third with vagrancy. The style, the point of view and the insistence on the need for statistics, suggest the identification of 'XY' with J.C. Chase, and this is further supported by the fact that on the microfilm copy of the Zuid Afrikaan of December 17, 1830, in the South African Library, Cape Town, the initials 'J.C.C.' are written next to 'XY' 's letter on vagrancy.

In the Zuid Afrikaan of August 20, 'XY' accused Philip and Fairbairn of spreading false information about conditions on the frontier. Notwithstanding the Advertiser's claims to the contrary, 'XY' argued that the frontier farmers were the innocent victims of numerous Xhosa and Hottentot stock thieves. On December 3, another letter from 'XY' appeared, in which he again discussed stock-theft, urging that details of losses be made public. He argued that if

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<sup>71</sup>Frye, J., pp. 9-10.

<sup>72</sup>ibid., pp. 21-24.

the British Parliament realised how serious the frontier situation was, they would give the colonists suitable authority to deal with the new evil which had recently sprung up. This was clearly a reference to the alleged increase in 'cattle depredations' on the frontier since Ordinance 50 of 1828 had removed restrictions on the movement of 'free persons of colour'. 'XY' believed that the increased crime rate could be proved if individual colonists would declare under oath what their losses had been during the two years before and the two years after the passage of Ordinance 50.<sup>73</sup>

The third letter from 'XY', which appeared on December 17, concerned the demands of frontier whites for 'Vagrant Laws', to counteract the effects of Ordinance 50. Using details of criminal convictions amongst the various racial groups in the Colony, 'XY' attempted to prove statistically that the Hottentots produced the largest proportion of criminals, despite their having been 'deluged with Missionaries for the last thirty or forty years'. He complained of the 'immense quantity' of livestock that had been 'annually sacrificed to the idle theories of visionary fanatics'. He concluded his letter as follows: 'What right has any man ... to say to the Colonists, "you shall tolerate [the Hottentots] ... they are a free people, and have a right to live idle if they choose" ? Granted, ... but have they a right to rob us, that they may live in idleness? You know well that the nature of the country is such, that detection is next to impossible. We do not want a

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<sup>73</sup>In this letter the reference is to the Fifty-eighth Ordinance, but the context makes it clear that this is a typographical error, and should read Fiftieth Ordinance. Ordinance 50 was 'for continuing in force until the 31st day of May, 1829, the Ordinance No. 46, entitled "An Ordinance for the Provisional Regulation of Bankrupt and Insolvent Estates"'.

vagrant law for particular classes, but for the whole community; and if the Hottentots are really the industrious people they are represented to be, they have nothing to fear from any enactments directed against idleness. At all events, you have no more right to insist that they ... shall live at free quarters on the Colony, than Charles X and his ministers had to insist that the French nation should relinquish their chartered privileges of elections, and forego the use of Newspapers' — an interesting if not particularly relevant reference to Polignac's Ordinances. 'XY' 's ideas are representative of those expressed by other Eastern Cape correspondents who wrote to the Zuid Afrikaan. The Advertiser also featured letters critical of Philip and Fairbairn for defending the Hottentots, but the Advertiser's correspondents generally lacked the venom which characterised the Zuid Afrikaan. During the next few years J.C. Chase was to become closely associated with the latter newspaper, and the policies for which it stood.

Frontier politics by no means monopolised Chase's activities, and the subject of extra-colonial exploration continued to occupy much of his attention. On June 30, 1830, a paper he had prepared was read on his behalf at a meeting of the South African Institution in Cape Town, and was later published in the South African Quarterly Journal.<sup>74</sup> The paper described the journey of Robert Scoon and William McLuckie,<sup>75</sup> two 'trading travellers' whose journal

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<sup>74</sup> S.A.Q.J., No. IV, 1830, pp. 402-407.

<sup>75</sup> Scoon and McLuckie visited Mzilikazi in 1829, the first colonists to do so. They told Archbell and Moffat about their visit, and as a result of this, the two missionaries visited Mzilikazi.

Chase had managed to acquire.<sup>76</sup> During the latter part of 1830 two events of considerable significance in Chase's life took place. The first was the death of his wife, Arabella, on August 18, 1830.<sup>77</sup> The second concerned his career in the government service: in order to help bring the arrear business of the Orphan Chamber up to date,<sup>78</sup> he was transferred to Cape Town.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>76</sup>Kirby, Chase, p. 141.

<sup>77</sup>Morse-Jones, E., Lower Albany Chronicle, II, p. 44.

<sup>78</sup>C.O. 4402, No. 54.

<sup>79</sup>Morse-Jones, E., Lower Albany Chronicle, II, p. 46.

## CHAPTER II

## CAPE TOWN — 1831-1837

In Cape Town Chase had opportunities both to expand his study of geography and to indulge his interest in public affairs. Nevertheless these interests did not cause him to neglect his work, and between 1830 and 1833 he settled more than three hundred estates for the Orphan Chamber. His services then became redundant, as the Orphan Chamber was to be abolished in 1834. While waiting for a new place in the colonial service, Chase looked for temporary employment elsewhere, having made sure that his chances of a government post would not be prejudiced by this step.<sup>1</sup> In the Graham's Town Journal of December 26, 1833 there is a reference to Chase's 'effecting a mortgage' for the Graham's Town Infant School, which suggests that he may have been undergoing some practical training as a notary, and in 1834 he advertised his services as an agent for sheep-farmers who might wish him to buy sheep for them in Cape Town.<sup>2</sup> In October, 1834 his hopes were raised by his appointment as Landing Surveyor of Customs at Table Bay. But this appointment was not confirmed by the Colonial Office, London, which had its own nominee, and in May 1836, Chase was superseded when G.F. Rowan was appointed Landing Surveyor directly from London.<sup>3</sup> It was to be more than ten years before Chase received another

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<sup>1</sup>C.O. 4402, No. 54.

<sup>2</sup>GTJ, 14.3.34.

<sup>3</sup>C.O. 4402, No. 54.

government appointment. Meanwhile he pressed for a post in the government service in the Eastern Cape,<sup>4</sup> where he now had a confirmed interest, having in 1831 married Maria Damant, the widowed heiress of the wealthy Port Elizabeth merchant, Frederick Korsten.<sup>5</sup>

But while on tenterhooks about his prospects, Chase was not idle. He tried to turn his interest in exploration and geography to good account. In February, 1831, he wrote to Lord Goderich,<sup>6</sup> enclosing a map of south-east Africa, which he had drawn to illustrate an article he was planning to write on 'the various Travels ... from the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope to the Interior of Africa'. He offered the map for the use of the Colonial Office, merely asking that it afterwards be handed over to an agent in London, whose name was not given, but whom Chase would authorise to receive it. While not guaranteeing the absolute accuracy of the map, he assured Goderich that he had compiled it from original and authentic sources, that were in his possession. He also wrote a more personal letter to Goderich, quoting Sir Richard Plasket as a referee, and asking for a permanent post in the government service, as his own post was due to be abolished.<sup>7</sup> He hoped that his ability as a cartographer and his knowledge of the Colony, which were demonstrated by the map,

<sup>4</sup>H. Hudson to J.C. Chase, 15.11.36. L.G. 624, No. 1.

<sup>5</sup>F. Korsten (1772-1839) established industries including a tannery, a whale-fishery, salt-beef factory and a sheep farm, near Algca Bay. He was well-known for the hospitality at his estate, Cradock Place. In 1836 he refused nomination to the Legislative Council because of poor health.

<sup>6</sup>Viscount Goderich, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies Nov. 1830 - April 1833.

<sup>7</sup>These letters are both quoted by Professor Kirby. Kirby, Chase, pp. 142-145.

would win him an appointment. Chase's hopes, however, remained unfulfilled, and he received neither an appointment nor payment for the map, which was later pirated by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge,<sup>8</sup> apparently with the connivance of the Colonial Office.<sup>9</sup>

Early Capetonians were fascinated by the discoveries of the traders and explorers who ventured beyond the colonial border. While he was still based in Albany, Chase had already submitted at least one paper on this topic to the South African Institution,<sup>10</sup> and in 1831 he was elected a full member of this body, having presented a paper on the travels of Cowie and Green.<sup>11</sup> This account had already been published in the South African Directory for 1830,<sup>12</sup> and during 1831 it appeared in the South African Quarterly Journal.<sup>13</sup> In 1832 Chase again made use of the same subject in a series of articles on Cowie and Green in the recently-established<sup>14</sup> Graham's Town Journal.<sup>15</sup> Public curiosity about the land north of the Colony

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<sup>8</sup>The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, founded by Lord Brougham to publish books at prices within the reach of artisans, flourished between 1827 and 1846.

<sup>9</sup>Kirby, Chase, pp. 146-153.

<sup>10</sup>Supra, p. 20.

<sup>11</sup>Kirby, Chase, p. 138.

<sup>12</sup>This article was used by Andrew Steedman in Wanderings and Adventures in the Interior of Southern Africa (1835).

<sup>13</sup>Kirby, Chase, p. 138.

<sup>14</sup>The first issue of the Graham's Town Journal appeared on 30.12.31.

<sup>15</sup>GTJ, 1.6.32; 8.6.32; 15.6.32; 22.6.32.

was increased by the reports of Dr Andrew Smith<sup>16</sup> on his return from Natal in 1832,<sup>17</sup> and of Hume and Millen<sup>18</sup> who returned from the north in 1833.<sup>19</sup> On June 5, 1833 the Literary and Scientific Institution<sup>20</sup> resolved that 'an attempt should be made to send a Scientific Expedition to those regions (north of the Colony) with the object of elucidating their Geography, the nature of their Productions, and the Advantages they may offer to Commercial Enterprise'.<sup>21</sup> The Institution could not finance so large an undertaking, so it was decided to invite the public to buy shares in the expedition, and shareholders would be entitled to a proportion of any profits which might accrue. The fourteen members present at the meeting formed a provisional committee to put their plan into operation, and Chase was appointed secretary. On June 24 a public meeting under the chairmanship of the Acting Governor,<sup>22</sup> elected a

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<sup>16</sup>Dr A. Smith (1797-1872), English military doctor and explorer, who lived at the Cape from 1820 - 1837. He visited Natal in 1832 and led an expedition into the interior of Africa 1834-1836. cf. Kirby, Smith, I & II, and Kirby, Natal.

<sup>17</sup>Kirby, Smith, I, p. 26.

<sup>18</sup>Hugh Millen and David Hume, travelling north of Kuruman, believed they reached the Tropic of Capricorn during 1833.

<sup>19</sup>Kirby, Smith, I, p. 27.

<sup>20</sup>The Literary Society and the South African Institution were amalgamated into the Literary & Scientific Institution in July, 1832.

<sup>21</sup>Kirby, Smith, I, p. 27.

<sup>22</sup>Lt.-Col. T.F. Wade (1784-1846), Acting Governor of the Cape Colony, 10.8.33 - 16.1.34. He sympathised with the colonists on the Eastern Frontier, and drafted a 'Vagrant Act', which was passed by the Cape Legislative Council but disallowed by the Crown. In 1835 he returned to Britain and gave evidence favourable to the Cape frontiersmen before the 'Aborigines' Committee.

management committee for the expedition, Chase being among those chosen. The Rev. Dr E.J. Burrow<sup>23</sup> and J.C. Chase were appointed joint-secretaries of the management committee at its first meeting, held on June 27.

The task of organising the expedition, which was to be led by Dr Andrew Smith, involved a great deal of correspondence. Shareholders throughout the Colony contributed to the fund, while several scientific organisations in England and India were also asked to assist.<sup>24</sup> Professor Kirby mentions some of the letters written by Chase while he was helping to organise the expedition. Chase successfully asked the Governor<sup>25</sup> to remit the sentence of a convicted homicide, Andries Botha<sup>26</sup> so that he could accompany Smith's party. Other favours Chase helped to secure were the landing of 'Philosophical Instruments' duty free, and permission to transport four hundred pounds of gunpowder beyond the northern frontier of the Colony. He also procured authority for Smith, and his second in command, Captain William Edie,<sup>27</sup> to commandeer horses to draw their wagon to Graaff-Reinet from Algoa Bay. Chase also asked the Governor

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<sup>23</sup>Otherwise unidentified. According to the Cape of Good Hope Almanac & Annual Register for 1834, a Rev. Dr Burrows lived at 'Harrington House, near the Castle'.

<sup>24</sup>Kirby, Smith, I, p. 32.

<sup>25</sup>Sir Benjamin D'Urban, Governor of the Cape Colony, 10.1.34 to 20.1.38. He became the hero of the frontier colonists for the settlement he made after the 1834-5 war. D'Urban's dismissal by Glenelg increased D'Urban's popularity in the Eastern Cape. He remained at the Cape until 1846, when he became Commander-in-Chief of the British troops in North America. He died in Montreal in 1849, aged 72.

<sup>26</sup>Botha travelled with the expedition but proved a trouble-maker and died shortly before the party returned to the Colony.

<sup>27</sup>Edie, a member of the 98th Regiment, was injured in a shooting accident in November 1834, and had to return to the Colony.

to suggest to the Civil Commissioner of Graaff-Reinet<sup>28</sup> that the farmers along the Zeekoe River be encouraged to help transport to Griquatown seven loads of wheat, which had been bought for the use of the expedition. The Governor agreed to do what he could about this, although he pointed out that he could not issue orders to farmers settled beyond the colonial boundary.<sup>29</sup> In September, 1833, Chase produced a map of southern Africa, which Professor Kirby believes might have been drawn for the use of Smith's expedition. Kirby comments that, 'Chase's map of 1833 gives one a fair idea of his capacity both as a geographer and as a cartographer, for it clearly shows that he did his best to keep up to date as far as new discoveries were concerned.'<sup>30</sup> On July 2, 1834, Smith and his immediate party left Cape Town on the first stage of their journey.

While preparations were being made for Smith's expedition to the north, Chase had become interested in another territory beyond the colonial border, namely Natal. The reports about Andrew Smith's journey to Natal (1831-32) had captured the attention of the merchants of Cape Town and at a meeting of the Commercial Exchange towards the end of 1833, Chase, who belonged to the Exchange, gave some information about the possibilities of trade at Port Natal. Their interest now thoroughly aroused, the committee of the Exchange arranged a special meeting and invited several speakers to come and discuss the commercial development of the south-east coast. Andrew

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<sup>28</sup>W. Van Ryneveld.

<sup>29</sup>The Zeekoe River was within the colonial boundary, but Griquatown was beyond the Orange River. E.A. Walker, Historical Atlas of South Africa, p. 10.

<sup>30</sup>Kirby, Chase, pp. 155-156.

Smith and J.C. Chase, who were in fact the only speakers to attend, gave all the information they could about Natal, and the committee decided to hold a public meeting to petition the British Government to annex Natal. The draft memorial and resolutions were to be drawn up by J.B. Ebden,<sup>31</sup> J.C. Chase and the secretary of the committee, R.W. Eaton.<sup>32</sup>

On Monday, January 20, 1834, the public meeting took place, and the advantages of extending British control into Natal were outlined in several motions. Chase seconded Ebden's resolution that the annexation of Natal would prevent the Zulus from gaining arms and ammunition, with which they might threaten the Colony, while the presence of British authority would assist the missionaries in their task of conversion. The entire draft memorial was unanimously approved and made available for signature at the Commercial Exchange, where it was signed by one hundred and ninety people.<sup>33</sup> The outcome of the memorial was unsatisfactory : the Government appreciated the 'benefits likely to result from an extension of the commerce and the general relations of the Colony', but 'in the present state of the finances of the Cape, any additional expense for the establishment of a new Settlement would be highly inconvenient'.<sup>34</sup> Chase

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<sup>31</sup>J.B. Ebden (1787-1873), arrived in Cape Town 1806. In 1830 became committee member of Commercial Exchange. In 1850 was chairman of Anti Convict Association, and in 1854 was President of the Cape of Good Hope Bank and a member of the Legislative Council.

<sup>32</sup>Richard Webber Eaton, a partner in a firm of 'Arbitrators, General Brokers and Accountants'.

<sup>33</sup>Kirby, Natal, pp. 145-151, where the list of signatories to the memorial is printed.

<sup>34</sup>Kirby, Natal, p. 176, and Natal Papers, p. 38.

later commented, 'Natal remained subject to all those irregularities which mark communities of men unrestrained by law in the vicinity of savages, who know no control to [their] passions'.<sup>35</sup>

While the expedition to explore central Africa was being planned, and while Smith and his fellow explorers were away, Chase helped maintain public interest in the undertaking by publishing several articles on African exploration. During the first six months of 1834 a series on which he had been working for some time was published in the South African Quarterly Journal,<sup>36</sup> entitled, 'Progress and present state of Geographical Discovery in the African Continent, made from the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope'. A series of five articles described the succession of journeys into the interior from the time of Van Riebeeck onwards. Chase was clearly very well-informed and widely-read. His method was not very scholarly for he wrote, even of the early authors, rather casually, as if they were old friends. He gave neither the titles nor the dates of books referred to,<sup>37</sup> but he was writing for a live audience, very much on the qui vive about the unknown interior. He drew widely on contemporary sources : he knew A.G. Bain<sup>38</sup> and H.F. Fynn

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<sup>35</sup>Natal Papers, p. 38. .

<sup>36</sup>S.A.Q.J., Second Series, January to March, 1834, Parts 1, 2 and 3, and April to June, 1834, Parts 1 and 2.

<sup>37</sup>See Appendix A, *infra*, for some authors referred to by Chase, and the works by them then available in Cape Town.

<sup>38</sup>A.G. Bain (1797-1865). Settled at the Cape in 1816. 1825 visited Kuruman with B. Kift, and travelled with J. Biddulph to Bechuanaland in 1826 and to Pondoland in 1829. In 1834 failed in an attempt to reach Molopo River. Commanded Tyumie River Post in 1834-5 frontier war. In 1837 became supervisor in Royal Engineers and directed construction of various military roads in the Colony. Was an able amateur geologist. cf. The Journals of Andrew Geddes Bain, ed. M.H. Lister, V.R.S. 30.

and had been entrusted with the latter's notes on Natal,<sup>39</sup> and it is highly probable he knew Thomas Pringle<sup>40</sup> who had 'ghosted' George Thompson's Travels & Adventures in Southern Africa which was published in 1827.<sup>41</sup> He had also gained access to the travel records of John Biddulph,<sup>42</sup> Cowie and Green, and Scoon and McLuckie.<sup>43</sup> The approach of Chase was neither critical nor analytical but he was certainly a good publicist. Having outlined the history of exploration of the south-east coast of Africa, he commented that, thanks to the many colonial traders who had 'now traversed almost every part of Caffreland', and to Dr Andrew Smith, 'who had made a scientific journey to Natal in 1832', the public had acquired 'a tolerably well-defined knowledge of the ... geography of the African Continent'.<sup>44</sup> He then discussed the geography and population of the area adjacent to the south-east coast, and completed his paper with a short account of the Portuguese possessions in Africa.

<sup>39</sup>Supra, p. 17.

<sup>40</sup>Thomas Pringle (1789-1834) 1820 settler. Moved to Cape Town in 1822, and was joined by his friend John Fairbairn in 1823. Pringle's association with the early Cape press led him to clash with the Governor. In 1826 he left the Colony. Best known as a writer, he was unpopular in the Eastern Cape, because his ideas were identified with those of Philip and Fairbairn.

<sup>41</sup>Frye, p. 15. (Quoted from D. Godfrey, The Enchanted Door; a Discourse on Africana book collection, p. 125.)

<sup>42</sup>J. Biddulph (1797-1837) 1820 settler. Travelled with Bain in 1826 and 1829. In 1830 travelled to Natal with James Collis.

<sup>43</sup>Kirby, Chase, p. 143.

<sup>44</sup>S.A.Q.J., Second Series, April-June 1834. Part I, p. 195.

In the Graham's Town Journal of November 13, 1834, there appeared a report on Dr Smith's progress, signed by J.C. Chase, as Secretary to the Committee of Management of the Association for Exploring Central Africa. A report written by Smith from Philippolis on December 23, 1834, was submitted by Chase to the Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette and appeared in January 1835.<sup>45</sup> The details of Smith's report also appeared in the Graham's Town Journal of January 23, 1835, quoted from 'a letter addressed by Mr Chase to the Editor'<sup>46</sup> of this Paper'. In December, 1834, Bain had sent Chase an account of his own ill-fated journey to the Molopo River. Knowing of Chase's connection with Smith's expedition Bain believed Chase would be glad to learn more about a region through which Smith's party might pass.<sup>47</sup> This letter was published in the Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette in 1835.<sup>48</sup> In the same issue of the Gazette<sup>49</sup> appeared an article entitled 'the Late Caffre Trade; Origin, Progress & Effect of the Trading Intercourse with the Native Tribes surrounding the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope', in which Chase described the trade with the Xhosa, which had at that stage been suspended by the frontier war of 1834-1835. The article

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<sup>45</sup>Kirby, Smith, I, p. 45.

<sup>46</sup>Robert Godlonton (1794-1884), 1820 settler, newspaperman and politician. He and Chase were friends and cooperated closely in the cause of the Eastern Cape, and corresponded with each other until shortly before Chase's death.

<sup>47</sup>The Journals of Andrew Geddes Bain, edited by M.H. Lister, pp. 133-156.

<sup>48</sup>A.M. Lewin Robinson, None daring to make us afraid: A study of English periodical literature in the Cape Colony from its beginnings in 1824 to 1835, pp. 236-7 (Cape Town, 1962). (Bain's article appeared in the Cape Literary Gazette, Vol. 5, No. 2, pp. 19-23.)

<sup>49</sup>ibid. (Cape Literary Gazette, pp. 27-30.)

was based on one written by Chase for the South African Almanac for 1830,<sup>50</sup> but included some additional information. During 1834 and 1835 Chase was also working on a map of the 'Eastern Frontier of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, invaded by the Caffre tribes in December 1834 ...'. The map, which was dedicated to Sir Benjamin D'Urban, was published in London in 1836, and a second, slightly revised edition, appeared in 1838.<sup>51</sup>

Dr Smith's party returned from the interior early in 1836. In March that year the Cape of Good Hope Association for Exploring Central Africa met to hear Smith's report,<sup>52</sup> and resolved to elect a new management committee to dispose of the massive collection of interesting objects brought back by Smith.<sup>53</sup> Chase was re-elected secretary to the committee, and in September, 1836, he helped arrange for part of the collection to be sent to London<sup>54</sup> for exhibition in the 'Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly'.<sup>55</sup>

Professor Kirby supposed that there was friction between Chase and Smith. This he believed was suggested by the comments of Chase

<sup>50</sup> *ibid.* (South African Almanac 1830, pp. 255-260.)

<sup>51</sup> Kirby, Chase, p. 150.

<sup>52</sup> The 'Report of the Expedition for exploring Central Africa from the Cape of Good Hope, June 23, 1834, under the superintendence of Dr A. Smith' was published for the 'Subscribers only' in 1836. S.A. Pamphlets, Vol. I, Cory Library.

<sup>53</sup> Kirby, Smith, I, p. 50.

<sup>54</sup> Kirby, Chase, p. 156.

<sup>55</sup> 'Catalogue of the South African Museum: now exhibiting in the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly. The property of a society entitled "The Cape of Good Hope Association for Exploring Central Africa". This Catalogue may be had at the Hall, or at Smith, Elder & Co., 65, Cornhill. 1837. Price One Shilling.' Photo-copy in Cory Library.

more than thirty years later in the Annals of the Cape,<sup>56</sup> where he wrote, 'Furnished with all the appliances for success, for some reasons, never satisfactorily explained, [the expedition] reached no further than the country of the Zulu Chief, Moseliketse ... no geographical facts were added to our knowledge, no narrative was ever produced by the doctor'.<sup>57</sup> But while it is true that Chase was casual and curt, it is also true that Smith did not travel beyond Mzilikazi's kraal, and a narrative, as distinct from the formal report of the expedition, was not published.

It is clear that Chase's preoccupation with geography was linked with his ambition to establish himself in colonial society, and also with his public-spirited interest in the development of the Colony, particularly the Eastern section of it. His interest in public affairs was certainly not restricted to matters geographical — for example, he became the secretary of the newly-established Cape of Good Hope Savings Bank in 1831, and retained this office until at least the end of 1836.<sup>58</sup> But he probably became most widely-known during his stay in Cape Town, as a defender of the 'frontier' viewpoint on such controversial topics as vagrancy, slave emancipation and the Government's frontier policy.

When Chase moved to the Western Cape in the early 'thirties, two closely-related issues were causing anxiety among colonial whites, namely, the recent recognition of the rights of 'free persons of colour' by Ordinance 50 of 1828, and the impending emancipation of

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<sup>56</sup> Kirby, Chase, p. 160.

<sup>57</sup> Annals of the Cape, p. 302.

<sup>58</sup> SACA 22.6.31; and GT 29.12.36, p. 1, col. 6.

slaves. By the beginning of the 'thirties, many colonists feared that the abolition of slavery by the British Government was not far off.<sup>59</sup> They were haunted by the imagined nightmare of thousands of former slaves joining the ranks of the 'free persons of colour'. Many whites were convinced that they and their property faced destruction at the hands of a horde of uncontrolled black vagrants. Few colonists would explicitly have defended the principle of slavery; many declared their support for 'gradual emancipation' by the manumission of all slave children born after a certain date; but very few seem to have advocated the liberation of the entire slave population.

Having demanded a law against 'vagrancy' in the Zuid Afrikaan of December 17, 1830, Chase, alias 'XY',<sup>60</sup> renewed his attack on Dr Philip, in the issue of January 7, 1831, and blamed Researches in South Africa for Ordinance 50, and for the problems of vagrancy. The twin issues of vagrancy and slave emancipation were discussed in various publications at the time, and in January 1831 a pamphlet — 'Considerations on the Exact Position of the Slave Question' ... by Thomas Miller<sup>61</sup> — was published in Cape Town. It was welcomed in the Commercial Advertiser as 'an able and candid review of the position of the Slave Question at the present moment'.<sup>62</sup> Miller stated bluntly that the keeping of slaves was incompatible with Christianity. In the first section of the pamphlet he outlined

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<sup>59</sup>cf. letter from 'A Colonist', SACA, 15.1.30.

<sup>60</sup>cf. supra, p.18.

<sup>61</sup>Miller was side-de-camp to the Governor and acting Clerk of the Council.

<sup>62</sup>SACA, 15.1.31.

the development both of slavery and of the Anti-Slavery Movement, stressing that the rights of ownership in a slave were invalid, as they were based on a contravention of the moral law. In the second section he dealt more specifically with Cape slavery. He acknowledged that there might have been some slave-owners 'whose native goodness of heart, and kindness of disposition' made the chains of their slaves 'feel light as gossamer', but he argued that many slave owners abused their position, thus proving that 'the depraving influence of ... power over the moral sense of the master [was] if possible, more deplorable than over the slave'. Despite this, Miller held that 'slavery in the West Indies and at the Cape [were] two very different things', but unless local slave owners voluntarily devised a formula for the manumission of their slaves, the Cape would soon be 'included in some general legislative enactment' for emancipation throughout the Empire, which would 'be inapplicable and vexatious in many of its provisions'. Miller suggested that a day should be specified after which 'all children born of slaves' in the Colony should be freed. The children should be apprenticed until about the age of twenty, after which they should work under a five-year contract with their masters, 'at a certain low rate of wages', and then they should be allowed to go free.<sup>63</sup>

These far from radical proposals concerning gradual emancipation do not conflict to any great extent with those already put forward at meetings of slave proprietors in Stellenbosch, Cape Town and Graaff Reinet during 1826,<sup>64</sup> but Miller's outright condemnation of

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<sup>63</sup>Miller, T. 'Considerations on the Exact Position of the Slave Question', pp. 32-40.

<sup>64</sup>cf. Edwards, I.E., Towards Emancipation, p. 156.

slavery as unchristian, and his obvious approval of restrictions on the rights of masters to punish slaves<sup>65</sup> aroused opposition amongst the already sensitive slave owners. It was believed in Cape Town that Miller's ideas were those of the Colonial Government, who hoped that reaction to the pamphlet would be some indication of public opinion, but the Governor<sup>66</sup> subsequently denied that he had known anything about the pamphlet before its publication.<sup>67</sup> On January 21, 1831, the Zuid Afrikaan carried a review of Miller's 'Considerations'. The reviewer objected to Miller's warning that the Cape should initiate some means of local emancipation before it became subject to a general imperial abolition act, and interpreted this warning as a threat. The Zuid Afrikaan claimed that Cape slave owners were not illiberal, and would have promoted 'the amelioration and final extinction of the state of slavery in [the] Colony', had the Government agreed to suspend certain slave regulations, particularly Ordinance 19 of 1826, which had curbed the rights of slave owners over their slaves.<sup>68</sup> The Zuid Afrikaan invited all those who were competent to do so to comment on the slave question.

It may have been partly in response to this suggestion that Chase replied to Miller in a pamphlet, 'Practical Considerations on

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<sup>65</sup>The Commissioners of Enquiry reported in 1827 that the owners of slaves were "more alive to interference with the rights of inflicting punishment on them than with any other which is supposed to attend that species of property".<sup>1</sup> Marais, J.S. The Cape Coloured People, p. 175, quoting from Theal's Records of the Cape Colony, XXXIII, pp. 37-38.

<sup>66</sup>Lieut.-Genl. Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole, Governor of the Cape, 9.9.28 - 10.8.33.

<sup>67</sup>Edwards, I.E., Towards Emancipation, p. 163.

<sup>68</sup>ibid., pp. 152-157.

the Exact Position of the Slave Question, as far as it regards the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope', which appeared at the end of January 1831. Chase, as an Albany settler<sup>69</sup> was not a slave owner, and was 'unconnected with Slave Proprietors',<sup>70</sup> but it is not surprising that he should write a thirty-six page argument against emancipation, because he believed that the issue affected him vitally. The liberated slaves would, he argued, be classified as 'free persons of colour', and swell the ranks of the so-called 'vagrants', to the ruin of white property and prosperity. Chase denied Miller's statement that slave owners could not be true Christians, and claimed that the rights of slave-owners were valid because they had been recognised by the British Government. He attacked the advocates of immediate liberation of the slaves — illogically including Miller amongst them — on the grounds that they wished to expose the colonists to 'all the misery and annoyance ... to be inflicted by the unqualified acquirers of an inexpedient emancipation'. As usual, Chase sketched the historical background, and traced the development of slavery in the Cape Colony, and emphasised its mildness. As an example of the benevolence of Cape slave owners he cited the existence of the Philanthropic Society for Redeeming Female Slave Children, and pointed out that between July 1828, when it had been founded, and the end of November, 1830, sixty-one children had been liberated by the society. He alleged

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<sup>69</sup>Slave owning was forbidden in the Albany District. cf. I.E. Edwards, Towards Emancipation, pp. 68-9; and Duly, L.C., British Land Policy at the Cape, 1795-1844: a study of Administrative Procedures in the Empire, pp. 86-7 and 146. Chase still owned land in Albany at this time.

<sup>70</sup>Practical Considerations, Preface. It is interesting to note that Frederick Korsten, who became Chase's father-in-law during 1831, was a slave-owner.

that many slave owners belonged to it and that its 'sphere of usefulness' was 'only circumscribed by its means'. There is, however, evidence that the Philanthropic Society was not a very influential body,<sup>71</sup> and that the slave owners were not interested in selling slaves into freedom.<sup>72</sup> At the end of 1830, £111.13s remained unused in the society's treasury, because so few owners were prepared to sell slaves, even at high prices.<sup>73</sup> Chase's information about the number of manumissions at the Cape between 1816 and 1830 appears to be more accurate, and apart from a few major discrepancies does not differ markedly from the table of manumissions compiled by I.E. Edwards in 1942.<sup>74</sup> Chase discussed the rewards that would be demanded by the colonists in return for the gradual abolition of slavery. He concluded that most Cape slave owners would agree to liberate slave children born after a specified date, on condition that their rights to punish the remaining slaves would be restored, so that until slavery died out completely, masters would be able to control their property. Like Miller, and many other writers on slavery, Chase suggested that the freed children of the slaves be apprenticed for a number of years. Discussing the need for labourers to take the place of the slaves, whose children might prefer to become 'vagrants' rather than work for a living, Chase seized the opportunity to blame the Griqua for

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<sup>71</sup>E.A. Walker, A History of Southern Africa, p. 171.

<sup>72</sup>J.S. Marais, Cape Coloured People, p. 163, points out that an increasing number of slaves were withdrawn from the market after the abolition of the slave trade in 1807.

<sup>73</sup>I.E. Edwards, Towards Emancipation, pp. 157-159.

<sup>74</sup>Practical Considerations, p. 28, and Edwards, I.E., Towards Emancipation, p. 153.

the disruption of the Tswana refugees who were creating pressure on the northern frontier,<sup>75</sup> and suggested that the Tswana, if brought into the Colony, would provide an efficient labour force. Chase believed that the Xhosa were too 'addicted to marauding' to become suitable labourers. Moreover he hoped that British immigrants would be encouraged to settle in the Colony, as they would greatly relieve the shortage of skilled workers at the Cape. Finally he warned the slave owners to avoid violent demonstrations against the Government, but to rely on 'prudent and temperate discussion' to solve their problems.

Chase's pamphlet soon provoked some reaction, and in the Commercial Advertiser of February 5, Fairbairn discussed it at some length. He wondered at Chase's harsh attack on Miller, for both pamphleteers had argued that slavery was unjust and should be abolished. Apart from pointing out, quite legitimately, some inconsistencies in Chase's argument, Fairbairn's attitude towards Chase was fairly tolerant, although he implied that Chase was one of those who 'waste their time in frivolous cavillary (sic), or obtrude their vanity and self conceit on the Public by a ridiculous assumption of superiority over all who ... differ from their opinion'.

In the same edition of the Advertiser, 'A Colonist' observed, 'Unfortunately the pamphleteers and newspaper correspondents of the day ... evade or confuse the question, which, however viewed as regards the justice, expediency etc. of emancipation, cannot weigh one feather in influencing the result, which more than seven years since was predetermined by the British legislature'. This is

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<sup>75</sup>cf. Marais, J.S., Cape Coloured People, pp. 40-41.

presumably a reference to the support shown in the House of Commons for Canning's<sup>76</sup> denunciation of slavery in May, 1823.<sup>77</sup> In the Advertiser of February 9, three letters discussed slavery, two of them referring to Chase's pamphlet. 'Justus' took Chase to task for his implied criticism of the Prize Negroes,<sup>78</sup> and quoted evidence of their good behaviour to vindicate the argument in favour of immediate emancipation. 'Jones of Bloemhof's' letter criticised both the British Government for its treatment of the colonists, and Chase for not demanding a Legislative Assembly in return for the emancipation of slave children. This correspondent believed that the Government should 'buy up the Mortgage Bonds and pay off the price of the slaves'. On February 11 the Zuid Afrikaan carried a review of Chase's pamphlet, incorporating an attack on the Advertiser for its comments on Chase's work. The Zuid Afrikaan clearly approved of Chase's views on slavery, and suggested that his pamphlet be translated into Dutch, so that it would reach a wider public although there is no evidence that this was ever done. At the end of February, Fairbairn published a collection of editorials which had appeared in the Advertiser between February 9 and 23, in which he discussed slavery and put forward his plans for emancipation. Possibly he reprinted these editorials in response to the publications of Miller and Chase. Fairbairn believed that emancipation would be

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<sup>76</sup>In 1823 George Canning was Foreign Secretary and leader of the House of Commons.

<sup>77</sup>Coupland, R., The British Anti Slavery Movement, pp. 124-5.

<sup>78</sup>After the abolition of the oceanic slave trade in 1807, the human cargo of any slave ship entering Table Bay was liable to be seized. The slaves, known as Prize Negroes, were apprenticed for a maximum period of fourteen years, before being set free.

most easily achieved if all the capital invested in slaves were converted into 3 per cent stock, if the Slave Code were abolished, and the liberated slaves were apprenticed to their former masters for a certain period. This, he argued, would be the first step. 'The necessary regulations for the protection of person and property, or the public tranquillity [would] come under consideration in due time'.<sup>79</sup>

As 'A Colonist' had predicted,<sup>80</sup> this debate on slave emancipation had no apparent effect on the course of events in England, and in 1833 the Emancipation Act was passed. On December 1, 1834, the slaves were freed,<sup>81</sup> but before the end of the same month, the attention of the colonists swung away from the slaves to the Xhosa, whose attack on the Eastern frontier marked the beginning of the frontier war of 1834-5. Unfortunately the Advertiser of December 24, 1834, containing some adverse comments on official frontier policy, reached Graham's Town on January 2, 1835, at a time when the panic-stricken Albany settlers were least able to differentiate between criticism of a bad system, and criticism of themselves. Fairbairn's name was forever blackened in their sight, and he was accused of having engineered the war during his visit to the frontier in 1830.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>79</sup>Collection of SACA editorials, South African Library, Cape Town. Facing p. v of the pamphlet.

<sup>80</sup>Supra, p. 39.

<sup>81</sup>In December 1834 the liberated slaves commenced a four-year apprenticeship, as laid down in the Emancipation Act of 1833. I.E. Edwards, Towards Emancipation, p. 175.

<sup>82</sup>W.M. MacMillan, Bantu Boer and Briton, pp. 136-7.

Chase's earlier antipathy towards Fairbairn was confirmed. In May 1835 he submitted to the editor of the Zuid Afrikaan an article entitled 'Exposure of a Gross Attack of the Editor of the South African Commercial Advertiser, on the Character of the Colonists and the Civil Commissioner of Albany as to the treatment of the Caffers'. It was published in the Zuid Afrikaan of May 29 and June 5<sup>83</sup> and also appeared in pamphlet form.<sup>84</sup> In it Chase attacked Fairbairn for his reporting<sup>85</sup> of the trial of a Xhosa, Ghodé or Goobé, who had been punished for violently resisting eviction from his hut west of the Tyumie, by Colonial troops in 1834.<sup>86</sup> Chase's article, in reply to comments in the Advertiser of August, 1834, was written only in April or May, 1835. Perhaps Chase produced it then in order to reinforce D'Urban's sympathy for the Albany settlers<sup>87</sup> and to make the Xhosa appear in a more unfavourable light. The pamphlet was typical of much that Chase wrote in that he always sought to reinforce his arguments with statistical or other source material. He quoted at some length from the official court records, to counter Fairbairn's charge that the magistrate's action had been unwarranted. The case had been heard in Graham's Town, and reported in the Graham's Town Journal, but Chase's quotations were more detailed than those given in the press report. It is

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<sup>83</sup>A.M.L. Robinson, None daring to make us afraid: a study of English periodical literature in the Cape Colony from its beginnings in 1824 to 1835, p. 234.

<sup>84</sup>A copy of this pamphlet, 'printed at the Zuid Afrikaan office', is in the South African Library, Cape Town.

<sup>85</sup>SACA, 27.8.34 and 30.8.34.

<sup>86</sup>GTJ, 14.8.34.

<sup>87</sup>cf. MacMillan, W.M., Bantu Boer and Briton, p. 136.

likely that Chase was supplied with copies of the court records by the Resident Magistrate for Albany, Duncan Campbell,<sup>88</sup> with whom Chase clearly corresponded.<sup>89</sup> As Chase in fact pointed out, William Waddell,<sup>90</sup> and not Duncan Campbell, had been the presiding magistrate at the Ghodé hearing, but Campbell would, of course, have had access to the records of the case. In his covering letter to the Zuid Afrikaan Chase claimed that he had originally submitted the article to the Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, which had refused to publish it. The allegation gave rise to a quarrel between Chase and the Gazette.<sup>91</sup> During December 1835, Chase and Fairbairn embarked on a wordy battle in the columns of the press.<sup>92</sup> The matter was trivial — Fairbairn accused Chase of dishonesty in a memorial<sup>93</sup> which Chase in turn denied having written but the incident is one more example of the suspicion and dislike each showed for the other.

During 1836 a pamphlet was published at the Cape entitled 'Some reasons for our opposing the author of the "South African

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<sup>88</sup>Duncan Campbell (1782-1856) 1820 settler. Appointed Civil Commissioner for Albany and Somerset in 1828, and Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate for Albany in 1834. Between 1835-36 was Acting Commissioner General. Returned to England in 1844.

<sup>89</sup>Infra, p. 49.

<sup>90</sup>William Waddell, Resident Magistrate for Albany from at least 1831. Ill-health forced him to leave his post in 1834, and he died in the September of that year, aged 31 years.

<sup>91</sup>A.M.L. Robinson, None daring to make us afraid: a study of English periodical literature in the Cape Colony for its beginnings in 1824 to 1835, p. 237.

<sup>92</sup>SACA, 2.12.35; 9.11.35; GTJ, 17.12.35.

<sup>93</sup>Memorial from Graaff-Reinet to the King. See GTJ, 23.7.35 and 6.8.35.

Researches", Dr John Philip ... by the British Immigrants of 1820'. It consisted of a collection of articles signed by 'Albani' which had originally appeared in the Zuid Afrikaan between August and November 1835.<sup>94</sup> Although this pamphlet has been variously attributed both to Donald Moodie and to Chase<sup>95</sup> there is convincing evidence that 'Albani' disguised Chase's identity. In a letter to her sister, Mrs George Christie, in London, Mrs John Fairbairn (née Eliza Philip) referred to the letters of 'Albany', which she clearly ascribed to Chase.<sup>96</sup> Moreover, in a letter to Godlonton, written in December 1868, Chase asked for the loan of this pamphlet as his own copy had disappeared, and from the context of the letter it is clear that the pamphlet had been written by Chase himself.<sup>97</sup>

The pamphlet, written in highly emotive language, advanced seventeen arguments against Philip's Researches in South Africa. At the time the name of Dr Philip was anathema on the frontier, for he was popularly regarded as being responsible for the war which had broken out in December, 1834.<sup>98</sup> But even in the thick of angry polemics, Chase the traveller and amateur geographer displayed something of his learning. 'Reason no. 3' concentrates on Philip's statements about the Bushmen. Philip was accused of inventing

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<sup>94</sup>ZA, 21.8.35; 4.9.35; 11.9.35; 18.9.35; 25.9.35; 2.10.35; 16.10.35; 23.10.35; 30.10.35; 6.11.35; 13.11.35.

<sup>95</sup>Mendellsohn, S., South African Bibliography, II, p. 43, attributes it to Moodie. Hahn, T.H., An Index of the Grey Collection in the South African Public Library attributes it to Chase.

<sup>96</sup>Mrs John Fairbairn to Mrs George Christie, 16.7.36, quoted Una Long, An Index to Authors of Unofficial privately-owned Manuscripts relating to the History of South Africa 1812-1920, p. 127.

<sup>97</sup>Chase to Godlonton, 2.12.68. Wits.

<sup>98</sup>MacMillan, W.M., Bantu, Boer and Briton, pp. 129-153. cf. C.E.G. Schutte, Dr John Philip's Observations Regarding the Hottentots of South Africa, pp. 114-115, and 223 (AYB, 1940, I).

'false statements with regard to the origin of the Bushmen tribes' in order to blacken the reputation of the colonists in the eyes of the English public. This charge arose because Philip quoted evidence that the Bushmen had originally been Hottentots who, driven by the cruelty of the colonists, had been forced to adopt a more primitive way of life.<sup>99</sup> In refutation of this, Chase quoted various authorities, including Dr Andrew Smith, although he gave no specific reference. 'The time when such [Bushman] communities began to exist must ever remain a matter of conjecture; yet it is certain that they occurred at an early period, for we find that the histories of such hordes are familiar to the better-disposed Hottentots, even far in advance of the Colony, and stated by them to have existed from time immemorial.' Since Dr Smith was in the Colony at the time, it may be that Chase checked verbally with the explorer. Though Chase was clearly correct in his denial that the Bushmen were by-products of white oppression, he glossed over the whole question of the Bushman frontier.<sup>100</sup> He did not truly investigate, though he was usually accurate on particular points he selected in his endless debate. The evidence he led, in part acquits him of 'suggestio falsi': but he indulged in polemics and there was 'suppressio veri'. 'Reason Number VII', which is quoted here in full, demonstrates Chase's tendency to build a high-sounding argument on a flimsy base.

'We oppose him, because he has publicly panegyricized in his Work the "Researches", the Rev. Dr. Van Der Kemp, the first Missionary

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<sup>99</sup> Researches, Vol. I, p. 33; and Vol. II, pp. 2 & 5.

<sup>100</sup> cf. Oxford History, I, p. 41; and Marais, J.S., The Cape Coloured People, pp. 19-30.

to the Caffer Tribes -- the Founder of the London Society's Institution in South Africa -- and treacherously defamed his memory in secret.

Inasmuch as, in that work published in 1828, he has stated that "The circumstances, the talents, and the character of that remarkable individual, naturally pointed him out as the fittest person for being placed at the head of this Mission".<sup>101</sup>

Whereas, in a letter addressed to the Colonial Secretary<sup>102</sup> in 1819, he had already written as follows respecting the same individual, Dr. Van der Kemp.

"That great errors have been committed in the management of the London Missionary Society's Missions in South Africa, cannot be denied; and that some of those errors may be traced to different sources will be readily granted; but the great source, in which most of them have originated, will, I apprehend, be found in the mistaken confidence which the Directors of the Society appear to have placed in the late Dr. Van der Kemp's judgement, the man who laid the foundation of the Society's missions in this part of the African Continent. The Dr has been acknowledged to be a man of learning and genius, but he seems to have been too much of a theorist and a visionary, and not to have had an understanding sufficiently practical for the situation he filled as a Missionary, or even for the common purposes of life!"

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<sup>101</sup>Researches, I, p. 63.

<sup>102</sup>Lieutenant-Colonel Christopher Bird (1769-1861) Colonial Secretary, Cape Town, 1818-1824.

In 1819 Philip had indeed written to Bird as quoted.<sup>103</sup>

There is no indication of how Chase knew of this letter, but it is quite possible that some members of the political 'clique' to which Chase obviously belonged had access to Government correspondence. Lt.Col. T.F. Wade, who was Acting Governor from August 1833 until Sir Benjamin D'Urban's arrival in January, 1834, may well have been the source of Chase's information. The correspondence between Chase and Wade in 1836 about the murder charge against Stockenström<sup>104</sup> suggests that the two men co-operated for political purposes prior to Wade's departure from the Cape in 1835.

During 1836 Chase continued to defend the interests of the Eastern Cape whenever he could, and by the middle of the year he had clearly decided to return to that part of the Colony.<sup>105</sup> In May, 1836, he sent the Editor of the Graham's Town Journal an article he had come across in the Edinburgh Review,<sup>106</sup> giving an account of the frontier war of 1834-5 and the death of Hantsa.<sup>107</sup> This was to demonstrate what Chase believed was inaccurate reporting of frontier affairs in Britain.<sup>108</sup> In June a group of Graham's Town men established a 'Representative Fund' to raise money to pay

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<sup>103</sup>Theal, Records of the Cape Colony, Vol. 12, pp. 245-6. Philip's letter was quoted by Lord Charles Somerset in a letter to Earl Bathurst, 30.6.19. cf. Schutte, C.E.G., Dr. John Philip's Observations Regarding the Hottentots of South Africa, p. 190.

<sup>104</sup>Infra, p. 49.

<sup>105</sup>Supra, p. 23.

<sup>106</sup>Edinburgh Review, January, 1836, pp. 455-470.

<sup>107</sup>Hantsa, Xhosa chief, descended from Gcaleka. Was killed while attempting to escape from the British during the war of 1835. The circumstances of his death aroused considerable controversy.

<sup>108</sup>GTJ, 26.5.36.

for an agent to represent the colonists, and counteract the unfavourable publicity they received in England. Clearly Chase was still in close touch with Albany, as he was elected corresponding member of the fund committee.<sup>109</sup> In the Advertiser of July 6, Chase explained the purpose of the Representative Fund, and asked for subscriptions from those in the Western Cape who would like 'a Champion of their Cause' in England. On November 19 Chase attended a public meeting in Cape Town, to petition the Government for an on-the-spot enquiry into the 'charges' against the colonists made by Glenelg.<sup>110</sup> Chase seconded Henry Cloete's<sup>111</sup> resolution that Glenelg's dispatches showed 'a want of information' about the Colony and were biased in favour of the blacks. Chase was one of the five-man committee elected to draw up the petition.<sup>112</sup>

The same issue of the Advertiser which had carried Chase's appeal on behalf of the Representative Fund, included an editorial which was to lead Chase to take legal action against Fairbairn. Fairbairn was commenting on the charges which had recently been made against the newly appointed Lieutenant-Governor, Andries Stockenström, that he had shot a young Xhosa in cold blood while on commando many years previously. Duncan Campbell, who had been

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<sup>109</sup>GTJ, 16.6.36.

<sup>110</sup>Lord Glenelg (Charles Grant), Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, 18.4.35 - 19.2.39. The reference is to his despatch to D'Urban of December, 1835.

<sup>111</sup>Hendrik (Henry) Cloete (1792-1870). 1816-1843 had legal practice in Cape Town. 1843 Government Commissioner to the Boers in Natal. 1845 appointed Recorder for Natal. 1855-1866, Judge of the Supreme Court, Cape Town.

<sup>112</sup>The committee consisted of J.B. Ebdon, F. Still, H. Ross, H. Cloete and J.C. Chase. GTJ, 8.12.36.

acting Commissioner General for the Eastern Cape between 1833 and 1836,<sup>113</sup> and was probably jealous of Stockenstrom's appointment as Lieutenant-Governor, had arranged for sworn statements to be made by several frontiersmen, who claimed to have witnessed Stockenstrom's alleged crime. Campbell sent the deposition made by one of Stockenstrom's accusers, Hendrik Klopper, to Chase in Cape Town. This was done so that Chase could send the statement to Captain Wade in London, where the former Acting Governor could confront the Aborigines Committee with evidence of the charge that had been laid against Stockenstrom.<sup>114</sup> Many people, particularly in the Eastern Districts, believed that Stockenstrom owed his recent appointment to the evidence he had given before the Aborigines Committee 'against the Colonists'.<sup>115</sup> Fairbairn's comment on the attack on Stockenstrom included a reference to Donald Moodie<sup>116</sup> and J.C. Chase respectively, as 'the unprincipled Place Hunter at Graaff-Reinet, and the wretched and most ungrateful Tidewaiter'<sup>117</sup> at the Cape, creatures of selfishness and malignity, of whom the serpent in the fable is but a type'.<sup>118</sup> It soon became common

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<sup>113</sup>GTJ, 10.3.57, p. 2, col. 4.

<sup>114</sup>J.M. Urie, A critical study of the evidence of Andries Stockenstrom before the Aborigines' Committee in 1835, viewed in the light of his previous statements and policies, pp. 10-15; and p. 35, note 16. For a discussion of the 'Zeko Incident', which sparked off the conspiracy against Stockenstrom, see pp. 219-263. See also P.J. Smuts, The Lieutenant-Governorship of Andries Stockenstrom, p. 37.

<sup>115</sup>Urie, J.M., op.cit., p. 10.

<sup>116</sup>Moodie (1794-1861), opposed 'philanthropic' frontier policy. 1832 was appointed Guardian of Slaves in the Eastern Cape. In 1834 was commissioned to compile the Record. 1845 Colonial Secretary for Natal. 1857 First Speaker of Natal Legislative Council.

<sup>117</sup>A reference to Chase's position as Landing Surveyor at Table Bay.

<sup>118</sup>SAGA, 6.7.36.

knowledge that Moodie and Chase intended suing Fairbairn for libel,<sup>119</sup> and when the case was finally heard, the judgement went against Fairbairn who had to pay Chase forty shillings and costs, and Moodie £50 and costs.<sup>120</sup>

During 1837 Stockenstrom initiated legal action against Duncan Campbell, who seemed to have been the ringleader of those who had attacked the Lieutenant-Governor's reputation. Even when allowance has been made for the heated language of Cape politics, it seems that Campbell, Chase, Moodie and others had been guilty of underhand behaviour. The suggestion is made on the evidence of two letters. In one, an undated and incomplete fragment, Mrs John Fairbairn wrote that Chase had 'made oath to the Lieutenant Governor that he(?) knew nothing of the conspiracy against him and(?) within about an hour Stockenstrom received proof that he had been their agent in Cape Town.'<sup>121</sup> On June 6, 1837, Fairbairn wrote to Stockenstrom, 'Mr Chase ... I have at present no doubt, will be found as one of the Zuid Afrikaan clique, but I think he is now degraded below your notice'.<sup>122</sup> This cynical classification of Chase perhaps saved him from becoming the defendant in a libel action. In 1838 Stockenstrom unsuccessfully sued Campbell for libel, but later that year an official inquiry into the whole matter exonerated Stockenstrom from any suspicion of having murdered a young Xhosa,

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<sup>119</sup> GTJ, 21.7.36; 11.8.36.

<sup>120</sup> Cory, III, p. 340.

<sup>121</sup> Fairbairn Papers, Acc. No. A663, Historical Papers, Library of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

<sup>122</sup> Fairbairn Correspondence, Africans Library, South African Library, Cape Town.

and indicated that Campbell and his friends had acted injudiciously.<sup>123</sup>

At the end of 1837 Chase and his family had moved to Port Elizabeth, where he established a 'General Agency and Notarial Business'.<sup>124</sup> He had returned to the Eastern Cape, the heir to the Korsten fortune and prestige, and with an established link with a Dutch-speaking family which increased his acceptability in Dutch colonial circles. Moreover he had found himself some useful social and political acquaintances in Cape Town and won a reputation in his own right as a tireless protagonist of Eastern Cape interests.

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<sup>123</sup>Cory, III, p. 444; and P.J. Smuts, The Lieutenant Governorship of Andries Stockenström, p. 37.

<sup>124</sup>GTJ, 2.11.37.



## CHAPTER III

## TEN YEARS IN PORT ELIZABETH

Between 1837 and 1847 Chase was active in three main fields. These were his own career and business interests; the development and improvement of Port Elizabeth; and some broader political issues concerning the Eastern Districts and the Cape Colony as a whole. It is proposed to discuss them thematically rather than chronologically.

Chase established his notarial and agency business at the end of 1837.<sup>1</sup> Later during that year he expanded his activities to include a shipping agency,<sup>2</sup> and in 1839 he became the local agent for the South African Insurance Office.<sup>3</sup> In June, 1837, Frederick Korsten died,<sup>4</sup> and shortly afterwards the Chase family headquarters was moved from Port Elizabeth<sup>5</sup> to Cradock Place, the country estate which Korsten had established about four miles from the Bay. Many years later, in 1868, Chase was to pay tribute to his father-in-law in a pamphlet — 'Old Times and Odd Corners. The Founder of the Eastern Province Commerce and His Frontier Home' — in which he described Cradock Place and outlined the contribution that Korsten had made to the development of the Eastern Cape.<sup>6</sup> Chase's interests now became diversified,

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<sup>1</sup>Supra, p. 51.

<sup>2</sup>GTJ, 7.6.38.

<sup>3</sup>GTJ, 28.2.39.

<sup>4</sup>GTJ, 27.6.39.

<sup>5</sup>GTJ, 25.7.39.

<sup>6</sup>J.C. Chase, 'Old Times and Odd Corners. The Founder of the Eastern Province Commerce and His Frontier Home' (Port Elizabeth, 1868). S.A. Pamphlets, Vol. 15, Cory Library.

because he took over the extensive sheep farm at Cradock Place, while retaining his business in Port Elizabeth. In 1847, when he was appointed Secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor,<sup>7</sup> most of the Cradock Place flocks were put up for sale,<sup>8</sup> while the family firm was left in the care of Chase's eldest son, Henry Nuthall Centlivres Chase, who was then in his mid-twenties.<sup>9</sup>

Chase's business and farming activities fit into the wider framework of his efforts to develop the Bay as a port and commercial centre, and to establish some civic amenities in Port Elizabeth. He organised petitions to the Governor<sup>10</sup> for a lighthouse on the Cape Receife,<sup>11</sup> and for the construction of a pass over the Zuurberg.<sup>12</sup> He was a trustee of the new public library, the foundation stone of which was laid towards the end of 1843;<sup>13</sup> was a member of the Port Elizabeth Trust Association;<sup>14</sup> and helped formulate plans for the defence of Port Elizabeth, of which Cradock Place was an outpost, during the War of the Axe.<sup>15</sup> He was a churchwarden of St Mary's for

<sup>7</sup>Infra, p. 86.

<sup>8</sup>GTJ, 29.5.47.

<sup>9</sup>EPH, 21.8.47.

<sup>10</sup>Major-General Sir George Thomas Napier, Governor of the Cape 22.1.38 - 18.3.44.

<sup>11</sup>GTJ, 22.9.42. A lighthouse was built at Cape Receife in 1851.

<sup>12</sup>GTJ, 18.1.44. A pass through the Zuurberg was opened in 1850.

<sup>13</sup>GTJ, 10.9.43.

<sup>14</sup>GTJ, 27.2.45. The Association was formed to hasten the closure of insolvent estates.

<sup>15</sup>EPH, 14.2.46 and 11.4.46.

a number of years<sup>16</sup> and was a committee member of the Port Elizabeth Auxiliary Bible Society.<sup>17</sup> His main local concerns, however, were linked with the Port Elizabeth Jetty Company, the commemoration of the arrival of the British settlers, and the establishment of municipal government in Port Elizabeth.

In October, 1837, Chase became one of the directors of a company which was to supervise the erection of a much-needed jetty at Port Elizabeth<sup>18</sup> — a project that had been discussed as far back as 1832.<sup>19</sup> Progress was slow, but on April 10, 1840, a double ceremony was held at the Bay, to lay the foundation stone of the jetty, and to commemorate the landing of the British settlers twenty years before. After the foundation-stone laying — a very formal affair — the prominent men of the town attended a banquet at Mr Thornhill's<sup>20</sup> new store, which had been 'tastefully decorated' for the occasion. During the meal, nineteen toasts were drunk, and amongst those honoured were the Queen, Napier, the Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, Colonel Harry Smith,<sup>21</sup> and several local figures, including J.C. Chase, one of the main speakers of the evening. Chase was thanked for his services

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<sup>16</sup>GTJ, 4.5.43 and EPH, 10.4.47.

<sup>17</sup>EPH, 12.12.46.

<sup>18</sup>GTJ, 23.11.37.

<sup>19</sup>E.K. Lorimer, Panorama of Port Elizabeth, Appendix I, p. 184.

<sup>20</sup>John Thornhill, born 1805. He signed Cape Town Merchants' Memorial of 1834; in 1837 was a director of the P.E. Jetty Co.; and in 1838 was United States Consul at Port Elizabeth.

<sup>21</sup>H.G.W. Smith (1787-1860). 1823, Quartermaster-General at the Cape. 1834-5, Sir B. D'Urban's Chief of Staff during frontier war. Administered Province of Queen Adelaide 1835-36. 1840 left the Cape for India, and returned as High Commissioner and Governor of the Cape Colony in 1847, having won a baronetcy on the strength of his success in India. Remained at the Cape until recalled in 1852.

to the British settlers, particularly for the 'publication ... of very valuable statistical documents relative to the Colony'.<sup>22</sup> In his speech which was published verbatim in the Graham's Town Journal, Chase gave a resumé of events in the Eastern Cape since the arrival of the settlers in 1820, and pointed out their beneficial influence especially on the economy of the region. Chase rarely missed an opportunity to extol the 1820 settlers, and with predictable extravagance he claimed that they were responsible for the Colony's new institutions — 'its Courts of Judicature - its Councils - its Press' and for its increased trade.<sup>23</sup> The fanfare of the foundation-stone laying filled the Bayonians with pride,<sup>24</sup> but the construction of the jetty proved to be a slow business. Chase took advantage of this unsatisfactory situation to air the grievances of the Eastern Cape. In a letter to the Graham's Town Journal of March 30, 1843, he argued that the value of wool exported from the Eastern Districts exceeded the value of wine exported from the Western Districts, specifically mentioning these products because wool and wine were respectively the main exports of the Eastern and Western regions. Chase claimed that it was unfair that customs revenue raised in the East was not used solely for the benefit of that area, and complained that three jetties were maintained at Table Bay, while the 'beautiful structure' of the nearly completed Port Elizabeth jetty lay unused, 'for want of a few hundred pounds from the Government purse'. The publication of this letter was rather badly timed, because the next day Chase wrote to

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<sup>22</sup> *Infra*, pp. 65-70.

<sup>23</sup> GTJ, 30.4.40.

<sup>24</sup> e.g. GTJ, 5.11.40.

congratulate those who had at last begun using the jetty.<sup>25</sup> A few months later the controversial jetty was wrecked during a severe storm.<sup>26</sup>

During 1844 Port Elizabeth commemorated the arrival of the British settlers of 1820, as it was twenty-five years since the scheme to colonize the Zuurveld had been launched in Britain. In a letter to the Graham's Town Journal of November 23, 1845, the Rev. Mr John Ayliff<sup>27</sup> had suggested that the occasion should be marked by a suitable celebration. Chase supported Ayliff's idea, and made some constructive suggestions about celebrating the 'half-jubilee of the Albany Settlement'. Chase envisaged both a multiplicity of celebrations wherever even ten settlers could get together, and major events at Port Elizabeth, Bathurst and Albany. The date he suggested was April 10, because on that date in 1820 the first British settlers to reach Algoa Bay had disembarked from the 'Chapman'.

Godlonton endorsed Chase's proposal and was probably correct in saying that his 'spirit-stirring' letter had 'excited deep emotion'.<sup>28</sup> The widespread settler celebrations of 1844 may be said to mark the self-conscious beginning of the cult of the 1820 settlers. To arouse public interest in the scheme, Godlonton published Chase's 'Statistics of the British Settlement in South Africa of 1820' which gave 'dates of arrivals of the respective emigrant ships'.<sup>29</sup> In Port Elizabeth,

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<sup>25</sup>GTJ, 30.3.43.

<sup>26</sup>GTJ, 31.8.43.

<sup>27</sup>1797-1862. 1820 settler. Methodist missionary, served at Butterworth and Bathurst, and founded Birklands Mission which later became Healdtown Institute.

<sup>28</sup>GTJ, 25.1.44.

<sup>29</sup>GTJ, 8.2.44.

meetings were held to discuss the settler jubilee<sup>30</sup> and by Wednesday, April 10, 1844, everything had been arranged for the celebrations.

In Port Elizabeth Chase was the chairman at a commemoration banquet in honour of the settlers. When 'the toast of the evening [to] the British Settlers of 1820 with those who [had] since joined them' was proposed, Chase replied on behalf of his compatriots. He recalled the arrival of the 1820 settlers and went on to describe what they had accomplished since then. His account was so laudatory that the Eastern Cape was made to seem a paradise indeed: by 1844 Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth had been established, churches had been built, mission stations had been founded for the Xhosa, trade and commerce had begun to flourish, there was a brisk turnover of imports and exports at Algoa Bay, and some democratic institutions had been granted to the colonists. Chase claimed that the settlers had triumphed and won these great blessings for the Colony, despite their sufferings during the frontier war of 1834-5, and the insults they had received from 'wretched and degraded calumniators'.<sup>31</sup> Chase concluded with the wish that there would soon be 'a South African Empire' — the 'new State' which 'the Settlers of 1820 were destined by Providence to found in South Africa'.

Before the banquet ended, Chase did however pay tribute to the original Dutch settlers of 1652 and their descendants, after a toast had been proposed in their honour, by the Collector of Customs, D.P. Francis.<sup>32</sup> Chase praised the contribution of the Dutch to the

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<sup>30</sup> Godlonton, Memorials, p. xxii.

<sup>31</sup> Clearly a reference to Stockenstrom, Philip and Fairbairn.

<sup>32</sup> David Francis (1784-1854) 1820 settler. In 1828 was appointed Port Captain at Port Elizabeth, and became Collector of Customs there in 1832.

Colony, pointing out that it had been on the foundations laid by the earlier colonists that the British had built their prosperity. Recalling the kindness of the Boers to the British settlers, he mentioned with sorrow those frontiersmen who had emigrated from the Colony, especially 'the best among all that was good ... the unfortunate and lamented Pieter Retief'.<sup>33</sup> Later too, Chase proposed a solemn toast in memory of those whom the ever-active Victorian providence had removed. It is to his credit that while describing Thomas Pringle as 'one whom we have cause to remember with some degree of anger', Chase asked his audience to 'forgive the errors of a quick imagination and a too sensitive mind and recollect only the sweet Poet, who hath made the Kat, the Didema and the Winterberg classic ground'.<sup>34</sup>

Finally, Mr W.M. Harries, a well-known Port Elizabeth businessman<sup>35</sup> proposed a toast to the chairman, and thanked him for all he had done for the British settlers. Chase's reply gives some idea of how he himself wished to be regarded. 'Mr Chase returned thanks, stating that whatever services he had done for the cause of the Settlement, to which so kind allusion had been made, either as its historian or its statistician ... had been done from a pure motive ... neither for pecuniary gain ... nor for ... ambition. All he wished was to be

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<sup>33</sup>Pieter Retief (1780-1838) Voortrekker leader. Was killed by the Zulus at Dingane's kraal, Mgungundlovu.

<sup>34</sup>This is a reference to two of Pringle's poems, 'The Brown Hunter's Song' and 'The Emigrant's Cabin'. Poems Illustrative of South Africa, African Sketches, Part I, by Thomas Pringle, edited by J.R. Wahl, pp. 55, 63, 173 and 175.

<sup>35</sup>William Matthew Harries, a leader of the Eastern Cape Separatist Movement, became a member of the Legislative Council in 1848. He represented Port Elizabeth and then Cradock in the House of Assembly during 1858-9 and 1861-64 respectively.

remembered as one who had contributed, however feebly, something to their success.<sup>36</sup>

The settlers were clearly very proud of their town at the Bay, but in fact during the 1840's Port Elizabeth was 'noted for the ungodliness and intemperance of its inhabitants', and termed by some the 'Little Hell'.<sup>37</sup> There were few signs of urban civilization, no pavements nor gutters, no lights at night, no sanitation — in fact the town was little better than 'an unkempt and dirty fishing village'.<sup>38</sup> Port Elizabeth required many improvements, such as an efficient police force, and the introduction of lighting and drainage systems; the way to bring these about was by electing municipal commissioners, in terms of Ordinance 9 of 1836. By mid-1843 thirteen towns in the Colony had taken this step, and Grahamstown, the town of which Port Elizabeth was most conscious, had achieved municipal status in 1837 — the fourth town in the Colony to do so.<sup>39</sup>

Chase played some part in the establishment of municipal government for Port Elizabeth. For this he campaigned between 1843 and 1847, although the introduction of municipal regulations for the town had been discussed as far back as 1835.<sup>40</sup> At a public meeting on May 22, 1843, Chase had unsuccessfully proposed that Port Elizabeth 'should be erected into a Municipality', but the majority had supported Harries' amendment that the 'uncertain advantages' of municipal

<sup>36</sup>Godlonton, Memorials, pp. 49-76.

<sup>37</sup>Edwards, J., Reminiscences of the Early Life and Missionary Labours of the Rev. John Edwards, Fifty Years a Wesleyan Missionary in South Africa, p. 156 (London, 1836).

<sup>38</sup>Redgrave, J.J., Port Elizabeth in Bygone Days, p. 368.

<sup>39</sup>Hunt, pp. 144-145; 281.

<sup>40</sup>EPH, 9.1.47. Speech by J.C. Chase.

government would not justify the expense involved.<sup>41</sup> Nearly two years later, on January 5, 1845, Chase seconded S. Middleton's<sup>42</sup> motion that Port Elizabeth request municipal status, but the motion was lost by forty-six votes to forty.<sup>43</sup> Another two years passed before the question of electing municipal commissioners for the Bay was again publicly discussed. At a public meeting held on January 4, 1847, Chase proposed the only resolution, that 'we consider municipal regulations for the future government of Port Elizabeth should forthwith be established'. In his speech he referred to the tradition of local government which the Cape had inherited both from Holland, 'the elder foster-parent of the Colony' and from England. After a rather theoretical discussion of the benefits to be derived from municipal government, Chase described its practical advantages. He pointed out that a municipality would be an official link between the Government and 'the people of this neglected spot', and would improve the town's hopes of receiving Government aid for essential amenities. He mentioned some of the less attractive aspects of Port Elizabeth which might be obviated : the nakedness of the Fingoes on the beach, which shocked 'respectable females'; the disturbance of the peace by the swearing of Hottentot women; the danger of builders' rubble blocking the tracks and sidewalks; the unhealthy water supply and the unhygienic market. He told his listeners that Graham's Town had received a Government grant for the improvement of water-supplies,<sup>44</sup> and reminded them that Graham's Town's roads had been improved thanks to

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<sup>41</sup>GTJ, 1.6.43.

<sup>42</sup>Sampson Middleton, a prominent Port Elizabeth merchant.

<sup>43</sup>GTJ, 26.6.45, Letter from 'Publius'.

<sup>44</sup>cf. Hunt, p. 190.

the efficiency of the municipal commissioners.<sup>45</sup> Finally he exhorted the inhabitants of Port Elizabeth to vote for municipal commissioners, to show that they were fit to share in the government of the country, 'whether the Colony be separated into two independent Provinces, or, what would be by far more preferable', it were consolidated 'by the establishment of a real central metropolis midway between its wide extremes'. W.M. Harries who, since 1843, had apparently changed his mind about municipal government, seconded Chase's resolution, which was carried unanimously 'by acclamation and with three hearty cheers'.<sup>46</sup>

At a public meeting on January 11, 1847, a five-man committee, which included J.C. Chase, was appointed to 'draw out Municipal regulations' for Port Elizabeth.<sup>47</sup> On February 2, the draft regulations were approved at a public meeting,<sup>48</sup> and were then sent to Cape Town for the sanction of the Governor.<sup>49</sup>

Chase had left Port Elizabeth by the time the Eastern Province Herald carried the glad news that Port Elizabeth was officially to receive municipal status.<sup>50</sup> When the relevant proclamation was finally published on November 18, 1847<sup>51</sup> he could feel well satisfied.

Between 1837 and 1847 Chase continued his political activity on behalf of the Eastern Cape, where the greatest interest was invariably

<sup>45</sup> cf. Hunt, p. 198.

<sup>46</sup> EPH, 9.1.47.

<sup>47</sup> The others were Messrs Fleming, W. Smith, C. Andrews and W.M. Harries.

<sup>48</sup> EPH, 9.1.47 and 6.2.47.

<sup>49</sup> Major-General Sir Henry Eldred Pottinger, Governor of the Cape Colony 27.1.47 - 1.12.47.

<sup>50</sup> EPH, 6.11.47.

<sup>51</sup> Hunt, p. 281.

shown in matters of frontier policy. Most Easterners believed that the abolition of the so-called 'Stockenstrom' or 'treaty system',<sup>52</sup> would bring about stability on the frontier. There was also a general anxiety to increase the number of immigrants from Britain, so that there would be more whites to defend the frontier towns against the Xhosa. Moreover, immigrants would help stimulate the economic development of the Eastern Cape and its seaport, Port Elizabeth. The possibility of political separation of the Eastern from the Western Cape remained a live issue, because it was believed that separation would lead to firm action against black invaders, and that peace on the frontier would allow the local economy to develop rapidly. Until 1847, no representative from the Eastern Districts sat in the Legislative Council which had been established in 1834,<sup>53</sup> so during the early 1840's the only peaceful way in which the frontiersmen could bring about political change was to publicise their grievances as widely and convincingly as possible. They did this by means of memorials to the Queen or Governor, and through the press. Chase supported several public appeals for a change in the official attitude towards the Eastern Districts,<sup>54</sup> but he made most effective use of the correspondence columns in the press. In this he was energetically supported by his friend Robert Godlonton, the Editor of the Graham's Town Journal, where Chase's work was always given prominence.

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<sup>52</sup>For a discussion of this system see Duminy, p. 83.

<sup>53</sup>Frederick Korsten was offered a seat in the Legislative Council in 1836, but declined it on account of ill-health. William Cock of the Eastern Cape joined the Council in 1847.

<sup>54</sup>See GTJ, 28.12.37 and 22.2.38. Also Crankshaw, p. 118, notes 1 and 3.

Between June 1838 and December 1839, a series of letters about conditions on the Eastern frontier appeared in the Graham's Town Journal. These letters were obviously the work of J.C. Chase, using the pen-name 'Britannicus' — a pseudonym he had used earlier in his career while still a correspondent of the Commercial Advertiser.<sup>55</sup>

In the 'Britannicus' correspondence Chase, with typical self-righteousness, attempted to prove that the policy dictated by the British Government since the mid-'thirties, had given rise to an allegedly explosive situation along the Eastern Cape frontier.

'Britannicus' began his series with a discussion of Napier's reaction to the welcoming address he had received from Port Elizabeth. The new governor's reply had amounted to a curt refusal to accept the advice of the local residents on how to solve the frontier problems. In this connection 'Britannicus' summed up one of the essential beliefs of the frontiersmen. 'Ministers may invent theories of government, and find men ready to carry them into practice; but they alone who have to undergo their practical effects can be judges of their consequences'. He concluded his letter with a venomous attack on the originators of the 'present system', obviously referring to Stockenstrom and Glenelg, although he did not mention them by name.<sup>56</sup>

In his next letter, 'Britannicus' exulted at Stockenstrom's departure from the Colony in August, 1838, and alleged that the Lieutenant-Governor who was officially on leave had in fact resigned, because of the 'undaunted and constitutional opposition of the

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<sup>55</sup>Supra, p. 15.

<sup>56</sup>GTJ, 7.6.38.

British settlers to his weak Government'.<sup>57</sup> When he ceased to be a respecter of persons, Chase was always likely to misrepresent the evidence. In the catalogue of Stockenstrom's misdeeds presented by 'Britannicus' there is a reference to 'the late solemn verdict of the Supreme Court against him, for slaying an unarmed and defenceless Kafir youth'. This referred to Stockenstrom's recent unsuccessful libel action against Captain Duncan Campbell.<sup>58</sup> The Supreme Court had certainly not convicted Stockenstrom of murder, as 'Britannicus' had implied. This inaccuracy reflected the attitude of the Eastern frontiersmen to the libel case; illuminations and bonfires had celebrated Campbell's acquittal, as though the Eastern Districts had been on trial and had been vindicated by the court.<sup>59</sup>

In November, 1838, 'Britannicus' discussed the grievances which he claimed had forced the Boers to leave the Colony. He also pointed out the grievances of the 'more recent settlers' who, he declared, had been 'inveigled into this country under the pledge of protection' and had then been ruined during the war of 1834-5 — a statement later somewhat invalidated by the boastful tenor of the jubilee celebrations.<sup>60</sup> The 'Britannicus' correspondence continued during the early months of 1839.<sup>61</sup> 'Britannicus' welcomed the permission recently

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<sup>57</sup>Stockenstrom had intended to resign. Glenelg refused to accept his resignation, but Lord Normanby who succeeded Glenelg at the Colonial Office in February, 1839, dismissed Stockenstrom. cf. J.S. Galbraith, Reluctant Empire. British Policy on the South African Frontier 1834-1854. (California, 1963), pp. 148-150.

<sup>58</sup>Supra, p. 50.

<sup>59</sup>An official Court of Inquiry later acquitted Stockenstrom of murdering a Xhosa youth. (Cory III, p. 445). cf. supra, p. 51.

<sup>60</sup>Supra, pp. 55 & 57.

<sup>61</sup>GTJ, 3.1.39; 31.1.39; 28.2.39, continued in 7.3.39.

given by Napier for the publication of the official records of cattle theft on the frontier. Discussing the frontier situation in the light of the stock-theft records which he had analysed, 'Britannicus' claimed that 'notwithstanding our now nearly two years-old Treaties, robberies by Kafirs are fully equal to whatever took place under what has been termed the old and cruel system'.<sup>62</sup> At the beginning of May, the Journal again carried a 'Britannicus' letter containing extensive criticism of all aspects of Stockenstrom's frontier policy, and yet another attack on Dr Philip.<sup>63</sup>

Some reaction against these letters appeared in the Journal of May 9, 1839. Thomas Nelson<sup>64</sup> warned the editor that the ideas of 'Britannicus' were unchristian and that his writings would foster hatred.<sup>65</sup> 'Britannicus' retorted that his motive was to 'cleanse the Colonial character from those dark stains with which zealots and philanthropists ... [had] for their own purposes blackened the history of [the settlers'] intercourse with the Native tribes', and he defied Nelson to disprove his facts.<sup>66</sup>

About six months passed before 'Britannicus' again wrote to the Graham's Town Journal, possibly because of the disruption caused by Frederick Korsten's death in June, 1839.<sup>67</sup> Moreover, the letter which eventually appeared in the Journal of November 7, 1839, must

<sup>62</sup>A reference to the commando and spoor systems.

<sup>63</sup>GTJ, 2.5.39.

<sup>64</sup>1786-1863. Sailed for the Cape in 1819. Became a prominent citizen of Graham's Town, and was at one time a municipal commissioner.

<sup>65</sup>GTJ, 9.5.39.

<sup>66</sup>GTJ, 6.6.39.

<sup>67</sup>Supra, p. 52.

have taken some time to prepare, as it included a number of 'statistical' tables connected with 'cattle depredations', and was presented as an authoritative condemnation of Stockenstrom's treaties.<sup>68</sup> This 'final proof' of Stockenstrom's iniquities was welcomed by a correspondent, 'Colonus', who wrote, 'The new system fast approaches to its dissolution; the last blow has been given by ... 'Britannicus', in the masterly tables with which he has favored the public'.<sup>69</sup>

The following issue of the Journal carried the tidings of Stockenstrom's dismissal from office by Lord Normanby,<sup>70</sup> whose decision had been reached largely on the strength of Napier's opinion that the unpopularity of the Lieutenant-Governor had made it impossible for him to govern the Eastern Cape successfully.<sup>71</sup> There can be little doubt that the impression of Stockenstrom's unpopularity in the Eastern Cape was greatly strengthened by Chase's attacks on him in the press. This was an erroneous impression in so far as the Lieutenant-Governor was hated by the vociferous British settlers, and possibly by some of the Voortrekkers, but not apparently by the Dutch-speaking frontiersmen who remained in the Colony.<sup>72</sup> The 'unofficial election' of 1850 re-affirmed Stockenstrom's popularity with the frontiersmen when he was returned at the top of the poll in the Eastern Districts. Had the frontiersmen of 1839 hated Stockenstrom as violently as the Journal's propaganda had made out, it is highly unlikely that he would have

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<sup>68</sup>GTJ, 7.11.39.

<sup>69</sup>GTJ, 28.11.39.

<sup>70</sup>GTJ, 5.12.39.

<sup>71</sup>Duminy, p. 82, footnote 3.

<sup>72</sup>cf. Urie, J.M., A critical study of the evidence of 'ndries Stockenstrom before the Aborigines Committee in 1839, viewed in the light of his previous statements and policies, pp. 35-36.

triumphed in 1850 merely on the strength of the popular acclaim he had won during the War of the Axe.<sup>73</sup>

Chase's part in ousting the Lieutenant-Governor was much appreciated by his fellow townsmen, who were clearly aware of the identity of 'Britannicus'.<sup>74</sup> After signing a valedictory letter to Stockenstrom,<sup>75</sup> 'Britannicus' did not reappear in the Graham's Town Journal, but Chase continued the campaign against the treaty system under his own name. In July, 1843, he published three tables to prove the inefficiency of the frontier system,<sup>76</sup> and later the same year provided an analysis of stock-theft figures, which it was hoped would strengthen a petition to the Queen for the abolition of the treaty system.<sup>77</sup> Early in 1844 a request in the Legislative Council for an official analysis of 'cattle depredations' on the frontier was turned down because of the expense involved, so Chase checked his calculations of July, 1843, to ensure complete accuracy, and in July, 1844, published the revised statement for the use of the Legislative Council.<sup>78</sup>

Chase's analysis was widely read and quoted. Both J.M.Bowker<sup>79</sup> and Robert Godlonton referred to it in their publications;<sup>80</sup> the analysis was

<sup>73</sup>Duminy, pp. 107 and 149.

<sup>74</sup>Supra, p. 55.

<sup>75</sup>GTJ, 5.12.39.

<sup>76</sup>GTJ, 13.7.43.

<sup>77</sup>GTJ, 21.9.43; Crankshaw, p.118; Annals of the Cape, p. 381.

<sup>78</sup>GTJ, 21.3.44; Annals of the Cape, p. 381.

<sup>79</sup>1801-1847. Settled in Lower Albany 1822. Became Resident Agent with Fingo near Fort Peddie. 'Speeches, Letters and Selections from Important Papers of the late John Mitford Bowker' was published 1864. pp. 118-119 refer to Chase.

<sup>80</sup>Crankshaw, p. 89.

also quoted at various public meetings in Albany and Somerset;<sup>81</sup> the analysis was frequently mentioned in the Journal; and was of course used by members of the Legislative Council. Even John Montagu, the Colonial Secretary in Cape Town,<sup>82</sup> saw 'no reason to doubt its accuracy'.<sup>83</sup> In spite of this accolade, Chase's analysis did not receive universal approval : C.L. Stretch,<sup>84</sup> the Government Agent with the Gaika tribe, commented, 'Every hoof missing from a farm, whether lost or strayed, was sure to figure in the list.'<sup>85</sup> Mr Chase took advantage of it, and very naturally for him, he balanced the account not long since, and the result was printed'.<sup>86</sup> It is true that Stretch might have been prejudiced in favour of the Gaika, from whom he had received a grant of land at Blockdrift,<sup>87</sup> and it is also true that Chase and Stretch appear to have been boyhood rivals,<sup>88</sup> but even in

<sup>81</sup>GTJ, 3.10.44.

<sup>82</sup>John Montagu (1797-1852). Secretary to the Government, Cape Town, 1843-1852. Among his administrative achievements were the reorganization of the Cape's finances and settlement of the public debt; and the improvement of the Colony's roads.

<sup>83</sup>Annals of the Cape, p. 382.

<sup>84</sup>1796-1882. Ensign, 38th Regiment, reached Cape about 1811. 1835 appointed Government Agent with the Gaika, but dismissed 1846. Was M.P. for Fort Beaufort 1854-58, and for Port Elizabeth 1860-63.

<sup>85</sup>The 'not-reclaimable' list, instituted by Napier in 1839, when he slightly relaxed the terms of the treaties to the benefit of the Colonists. Stretch described the 'not-reclaimable' list as 'the heaviest blow ever struck on the treaties'.

<sup>86</sup>Crankshaw, 'B. Memorandum on the Stockenstrom Treaty System by C.L. Stretch'.

<sup>87</sup>Crankshaw, p. 5.

<sup>88</sup>Chase to Godlonton, 6.4.69. Wits.

spite of these reservations, it does seem that Stretch's criticism of Chase's analysis was valid.

G. Crankshaw discusses the various available sources of information concerning stock-theft, no one of which agreed with any other: the records of the Agent-General in Graham's Town;<sup>89</sup> figures given in British Parliamentary Papers; and official Cape Government returns which were published in the Government Gazette from the beginning of 1838. The last mentioned was the main source used by Chase, while his information on the period December 1836 to December 1837, was from reports in the local papers. Crankshaw shows that both sets of returns used by Chase were unsatisfactory, and Chase himself complained that the government returns were 'very clumsily prepared'.<sup>90</sup> 'Philipus Non DD', a correspondent of the Graham's Town Journal, also queried the reliability of the returns.<sup>91</sup> Clearly, Chase's conclusions must be questioned. Crankshaw concludes that the diary of C.L. Stretch is probably the most accurate record of stock losses along the Gaika boundary, and that it is possible to accept the evidence of Stretch's diary that the Gaika chief made restitution in nearly all the cases of stock-theft which were referred to him by the Government Agents.<sup>92</sup> Crankshaw's thesis contradicts the conclusion drawn from Chase's analysis that the Xhosa were taking advantage of Stockenstrom's system to enrich themselves at the Colonists' expense,

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<sup>89</sup>Hougham Hudson (1794-1860). 1820 settler. Appointed Magistrate for Port Elizabeth, 1828. Agent-General for the Xhosa people 1836; Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate, Albany, in 1846. Retired 1852.

<sup>90</sup>GTJ, 31.1.39.

<sup>91</sup>GTJ, 15.9.42.

<sup>92</sup>Crankshaw, p. 93.

and that the Xhosa refused to fulfil the terms of the treaties. Even Lieutenant-Governor Hare,<sup>93</sup> who was not prejudiced in favour of the blacks, reported in October 1842 that all claims for stolen horses and cattle on the 'reclaimable' list had been satisfactorily settled.<sup>94</sup> The 'not-reclaimable' list was not a reliable guide to the rate of cattle theft, as it provided many opportunities for abuse on the part of colonists as well as of the authorities.<sup>95</sup> Chase's analysis gave a wrong impression of the border situation, and this contributed nothing towards a peaceful resolution of the confrontation between black and white on the frontier. Tension, arising from constant fear of attack, made the white frontiersmen susceptible to false alarms and rumours,<sup>96</sup> and created a situation in which an objective evaluation of the treaty system by the people of the Eastern Cape was next to impossible. Very few attempted it.

The main flow of emigration from Great Britain to her colonies during the first half of the 19th century bypassed the Cape en route to the Antipodes, or was directed across the Atlantic to Canada. Apart from the £50,000 invested in the settlement of 1819-20, the Imperial Government gave very little financial assistance to emigration to the Cape until 1844,<sup>97</sup> the main reason for this being that the Cape could not balance its budget.<sup>98</sup> Consequently the rate of British

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<sup>93</sup>Lieut.-Col. John Hare, Acting Lieut. Governor 9.8.38 - September 1839. Lieut. Governor September 1839 - September 1846.

<sup>94</sup>Crankshaw, p. 81.

<sup>95</sup>Crankshaw, pp. 77-85.

<sup>96</sup>Crankshaw, p. 101.

<sup>97</sup>H.M. Robertson, 'The Cape of Good Hope and "Systematic Colonization"', p. 381, in The South African Journal of Economics, vol. 5, no. 4, Dec., 1937.

<sup>98</sup>Breitenbach, p. 192.

emigration to the Cape was very limited, and it has been estimated that on average only about two hundred and nineteen English settlers arrived at the Cape annually between 1821 and the early 1840's.<sup>99</sup> John Ingram, an 1820 settler,<sup>100</sup> led a party of Irish emigrants to the Cape in 1823<sup>101</sup> and arranged the settlement of further groups at the Cape between 1823 and 1830, with partial Government assistance at about £6.17.6. per immigrant.<sup>102</sup> Between 1833 and 1839 the Child's Friendly Society<sup>103</sup> arranged for the emigration of a number of boys and girls to the Cape. Two-fifths of their expenses, which amounted to £15 for passage and rations, were met by the society, and three-fifths by the prospective master of each child.<sup>104</sup> Nevertheless, several other emigration projects originating both in Britain and in Southern Africa, were unsuccessful because they lacked funds.<sup>105</sup>

Both the Eastern and Western sections of the Colony needed immigrants, but a large proportion of those who travelled to the Cape probably remained in Cape Town, unwittingly adding to the Eastern Cape's resentment against the Western Cape. To some extent the two regions differed in the type of immigrant they required. The merchants of Cape Town demanded servants and labourers, especially after their

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<sup>99</sup>Duly, L.C., British Land Policy at the Cape, 1795-1844 : A Study of Administrative Procedures in the Empire, p. 189.

<sup>100</sup>Born 1785. Leader of the Cork party of settlers in 1820.

<sup>101</sup>Dickason, G.B., Irish Settlers to the Cape. A history of the Clanwilliam 1820 Settlers from Cork Harbour, pp. 58-60 (Cape Town, 1973).

<sup>102</sup>Witcomb, p. 70.

<sup>103</sup>Funded by E.P. Brenton, to rescue destitute children. Funds were raised by public subscription, and children raised by the society were usually apprenticed in the Colonies.

<sup>104</sup>Witcomb, pp. 71-73.

<sup>105</sup>Witcomb, pp. 50; 114-5; 119-128.

control over Hottentots and former slaves had been reduced.<sup>106</sup> In addition to servants and labourers,<sup>107</sup> the Albany colonists were on the look-out for immigrants who would settle on the land, and help strengthen the frontier against the Xhosa. Consequently their quest for immigrants became an even more serious issue after the Great Trek. During the early 1840's Chase took up the cause of emigration in the interests of the Eastern Districts. Lord John Russell's establishment of the Land Board and Emigration Commission in 1840<sup>108</sup> gave rise to much discussion amongst the colonists on the best means of encouraging immigrants to settle in the Cape Colony.<sup>109</sup> In Port Elizabeth, Chase helped organise a meeting, held on June 2, 1840,<sup>110</sup> 'to consider the best means of promoting immigration to the Colony'. He successfully proposed a resolution 'that this Colony holds out advantages to Capitalists, Mechanics and Labourers, equal to any, and superior to most of the other colonies of Great Britain'. He introduced some figures to support his resolution, and set out to prove that the Cape was 'unfairly ... proverbial for its poverty', as it was more densely populated than New South Wales. He arrived at this questionable conclusion as follows, 'Deduct the area of the Karoos of the Colony from the rich and picturesque belt of land which stretches round the coast, and increases in fertility on our eastern frontier, and you will find that New South Wales has a population only  $\frac{1}{4}$  to a

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<sup>106</sup> Ordinance 50 of 1828; Emancipation Act of 1833.

<sup>107</sup> GTJ, 20.4.32.

<sup>108</sup> Duly, L.C., British Land Policy at the Cape, 1795-1844: A Study of Administrative Procedures in the Empire, pp. 160-1.

<sup>109</sup> Witcomb, pp. 115-116.

<sup>110</sup> GTJ, 4.6.40.

square mile, while that of the Cape is  $2\frac{1}{8}$  '.<sup>111</sup>

At the meeting, Chase was appointed to a committee to 'memorialize the Governor that Port Elizabeth [wished] to co-operate with the work of the Land and Emigration Board'.<sup>112</sup> The memorial sent to Napier by the Port Elizabeth committee was published in the Graham's Town Journal of July 2, 1840 and Godlonton gave his approval, recommending other towns to 'go and do likewise'. It can be imagined what indignation electrified the colonists when the news arrived early in July, 1840, that Lord John Russell had not included the Cape in any of his instructions to the Land and Emigration Board. This was because Lord John Russell had unwillingly accepted the argument of the Governor, Napier, that owing to the Colony's unique tradition of land alienation, the Cape could not afford to take part in an Imperial emigration programme as envisaged by the Land and Emigration Board. The Board proposed to finance colonization in the British Empire by using profits from the sale of land in the Colonies. Although unoccupied land was available at the Cape, particularly in the Eastern Districts, where many farms had been left vacant during the Greak Trek,<sup>113</sup> Napier argued that few colonists would be prepared to buy land auctioned at a minimum upset price, when for years comparable land had been available for occupation at very low quitrents. Consequently the profits from land sales at the Cape would be inadequate to pay for an effective emigration scheme. It was not in fact until September

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<sup>111</sup>GTJ, 11.6.40.

<sup>112</sup>The other members were T. Philipps, C. Andrews, P. Heugh, J.C. Welsford, W. Smith and W.M. Harries.

<sup>113</sup>Duly, L.C., British Land Policy at the Cape, 1795-1844: A Study of Administrative Procedures in the Empire, pp. 188-189.

1843 that the disposal of land by public auction at minimum upset price was proclaimed the only legal system of land alienation at the Cape.<sup>114</sup> Meanwhile, in response to the publication of Russell's instructions to the Land and Emigration Board, protest meetings were held at the Cape and a memorial sent to Lord John, asking him to sanction the use of money derived from quitrents, for immigration. This was in line with the suggestions made in Port Elizabeth's memorial to Napier. Lord John Russell replied that the Cape Government could not afford this measure, and that the colonists must try to finance immigration themselves.<sup>115</sup>

By October, 1840, Chase had partly completed a guide-book on the Eastern Cape,<sup>116</sup> which was intended to attract immigrants to the region, and an extract from it was published in the Graham's Town Journal of October 22, 1840. Chase ingeniously included publicity for the cause of immigration in his business advertisements, offering his services as a 'Land Agent and Conveyancer ... to Settlers and Purchasers of Landed Estates'.<sup>117</sup> He also co-operated with other local leaders in trying to attract immigrants to the Eastern Districts, and in 1842 was appointed to a Port Elizabeth sub-committee<sup>118</sup> of the Graham's Town-based Cape of Good Hope Eastern Districts Emigration Association.<sup>119</sup> Later that year Chase was appointed secretary at

<sup>114</sup>Duly, L.C., op.cit., pp. 160-170.

<sup>115</sup>Witcomb, pp. 116-117.

<sup>116</sup>The Cape of Good Hope and the Eastern Province of Algoa Bay, by John Centlivres Chase, edited by Joseph Christophers (London, 1843).

<sup>117</sup>GTJ, 12.12.40.

<sup>118</sup>The other members were W. Fleming and W. Smith.

<sup>119</sup>GTJ, 15.9.42.

the first meeting of the newly-established Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage Immigration Society.<sup>120</sup> In October, 1843, copies of Chase's long-awaited hand-book on the Eastern Cape arrived in Graham's Town, and were cordially welcomed by the editor of the Journal.<sup>121</sup>

It is difficult to assess the effectiveness of the work done by Chase and his fellow-propagandists of immigration : certainly some groups of settlers arrived in the Eastern Districts during the early 'forties.<sup>122</sup> Some of these were recruited by J.S. Christophers, Chase's editor,<sup>123</sup> so it seems reasonable to assume that he used Chase's book to publicise his emigration campaign, although some references to Eastern Cape grievances must have been considered more of a deterrent than an attraction to prospective settlers. Neither Chase's claim that the frontier's fate depended on 'a vicious border policy which, after six years test [had been] pronounced and proven a decided failure',<sup>124</sup> nor his warnings against the treachery of Xhosa labourers<sup>125</sup> and the likelihood of 'cattle depredations',<sup>126</sup> seemed calculated to reassure. On the other hand, Chase alleged that the advantages of life at the Cape Colony outweighed the disadvantages, particularly as the region was very healthy. 'We may want capital and labour (yet even these emigration will supply) but still Providence

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<sup>120</sup>GTJ, 22.12.42. The other committee members were W. Fleming, W. Higgins, W. Smith, W.M. Harries, C. Andrews, J. Parkins.

<sup>121</sup>GTJ, 5.10.43.

<sup>122</sup>GTJ, 13.10.42; 19.1.43; 17.8.43.

<sup>123</sup>GTJ, 19.1.43; 17.8.43.

<sup>124</sup>The Cape of Good Hope, p. 86.

<sup>125</sup>ibid., p. 238.

<sup>126</sup>ibid., p. 91.

has enriched [the Colony] with the greatest blessing in its store, a perfectly healthy climate'.<sup>127</sup>

It is because of the aspect of its regional emphasis — given expression in the foundation of local emigration societies and the publication of Chase's book — that the emigration campaign in the Eastern Cape can be seen as part of the Separation Movement. It was believed that emigration would serve the twin aims of economic development and military security in the Eastern Districts— aims that harmonised exactly with those of the Separation Movement. It might also be argued that the question of emigration exacerbated the attitude of Chase and his allies towards the two main targets of Separatist propaganda, Philip and Stockenstrom, who were held responsible for the bad press the Eastern Cape received in Britain.<sup>128</sup> Chase's vision of emigration extended beyond the Cape Colony and into Natal : 1843 saw the publication of his Natal Papers, which was partly intended to persuade the British Government to annex and colonize the south-east coast of Africa.<sup>129</sup>

Ironically, the campaign for increased immigration to the Eastern Cape was at cross purposes with that for separatism. Immigration enthusiasts sketched an idyllic landscape and boundless opportunities; Separatists harped on scenes of neglect, backwardness and peril. It is not surprising that after 1844, when a Government-sponsored immigration scheme came into operation,<sup>130</sup> Chase took

<sup>127</sup> *ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>128</sup> Witcomb, pp. 94-95.

<sup>129</sup> *infra*, ch. VII.

<sup>130</sup> *Supra*, p.70, footnote 97.

little further part in fostering immigration and devoted his energies to other ways of promoting the interests of the Eastern Cape.

Late in 1844 Chase helped write a memorial to the Governor, Maitland,<sup>131</sup> on behalf of the citizens of Port Elizabeth who wished to protest against a proposed Stamp Act.<sup>132</sup> Taking advantage of any opportunity to call attention to Eastern Cape grievances, Chase and his colleagues<sup>133</sup> contrived to remind the members of the Legislative Council that the Eastern Districts were 'imperfectly represented' in the Council, so their petition deserved special consideration.<sup>134</sup> Probably the clearest statement of Chase's view of the relative positions of the Eastern and Western Cape at this time appears in a speech he made at a public meeting held in Port Elizabeth to protest against a move by the Legislative Council to abolish the Lieutenant Governorship. This suggestion put forward by J.B. Ebdon and supported in principle by the entire Legislative Council, was never put to the vote, but it aroused a storm in the Eastern Districts, where protest meetings were held at many centres.<sup>135</sup>

Chase's speech was published verbatim in both the Eastern Province Herald and the Graham's Town Journal.<sup>136</sup> He challenged the competence of the Legislative Council to propose the abolition of the Lieutenant-Governorship, as he alleged the Council did not

<sup>131</sup> Lieut. Gen. Sir Peregrine Maitland, Governor of the Cape Colony, 18.3.44 - 27.1.47.

<sup>132</sup> Breitenbach, pp. 207-211; Fryer, p. 65.

<sup>133</sup> W. Fleming and W.M. Harries.

<sup>134</sup> GTJ, 16.1.45.

<sup>135</sup> Breitenbach, pp. 254-5; Fryer, p. 4.

<sup>136</sup> EPH, 31.12.45; GTJ, 3.1.46 and 17.1.46.

represent public opinion. Members, he said, were Government appointees, ignorant of the Eastern Cape and minimising its difficulties and stock losses on the mere evidence of 'unpublished and very doubtful statements of the Kafir Agents'.<sup>137</sup> Arguing that the Eastern Cape was entitled either to a separate government, with its own Lieutenant Governor, or to become the seat of a single central government for the whole Colony, Chase quoted the opinions of various 'eminent and competent' persons, to support his claims. In their memorial to Bathurst in 1823, the British settlers had complained that the frontier could not be effectively governed from Cape Town.<sup>138</sup> The Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry had in 1827 recommended the separation of the Colony into two provinces.<sup>139</sup> Sir Benjamin D'Urban had suggested the removal of the seat of government to Uitenhage in preference to the appointment of a Lieutenant Governor.<sup>140</sup> Even Lord Glenelg had seen fit to recognize the right of the Eastern Cape to special consideration by the appointment of a Lieutenant Governor.

Chase argued, not very convincingly, that the commercial superiority of the Western Cape over the Eastern Cape was only apparent. He predicted that the construction of a canal across the Isthmus of Suez<sup>141</sup> would reduce Table Bay's marine traffic very

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<sup>137</sup> cf. *Supra*, pp. 68-69.

<sup>138</sup> *Supra*, p.2.

<sup>139</sup> cf. Reports of the Commissioners of Inquiry, on the Cape of Good Hope, pp. 22-23 and 28. (Reprinted and published by G. Grieg, Cape Town, 1827.) (1827 XXI 282.)

<sup>140</sup> Referred to in despatch, Glenelg to D'Urban, 1.5.37, in Return: Caffre War, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed July, 1837, p. 274. (1837 XLIII 503.)

<sup>141</sup> In 1843 a pamphlet had been published by Arthur Anderson: 'Observations on the Practicability and Utility of Opening a Communication Between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean by a Ship-Canal'. (Encyclopaedia Britannica, pp. 366-7, vol. 21, 1971.)

considerably, and even the building of a breakwater at Port Elizabeth, which was well within the bounds of possibility, would divert much shipping from Cape Town to Algoa Bay. Moreover, argued Chase, the hinterland of the Western Cape was confined by the Kalahari desert, while that of the Eastern Cape stretched to the tropics.

Yet another standard argument against the abolition of the office of Lieutenant Governor was used by Chase. He described how he had encountered a general fear in the frontier zone of invasion by the Xhosa, during a recent tour he had made of that area, and warned the Legislative Councillors that their abolition of the Lieutenant-Governorship might lead to a fatal breakdown in frontier defence arrangements in the event of war. Chase compared the apparent willingness of the Legislative Council to run such a risk, with the alleged readiness of Glenelg to assume responsibility for the abandonment of the Province of Queen Adelaide. This, according to Chase's reckoning, made the former Secretary of State for War and Colonies responsible for 103 murders and stock losses amounting to £60,000 during the period 1837 to 1845. This charge against Glenelg was based on an extract from his despatch to D'Urban of May, 1837, which Chase quoted. 'I confess my anticipations [of disaster on the frontier] to be different from those you have formed. I am perfectly willing to take on myself the sole and exclusive responsibility on this occasion'. To be strictly honest, Chase should have included the rest of Glenelg's sentence in his quotation; 'at the same time it is right to remind you that my instructions of December were not conclusive as to the measure of abandoning the new acquisition.... The final decision was thus distinctly postponed until you should have supplied the report and information for which I called.... To the present day no such

report or information has reached me. For any evil consequences therefore, which may ensue, I cannot hold myself singly responsible.<sup>142</sup> Furthermore, Chase gave no evidence to prove that 103 murders had been committed on the frontier since 1837, although he gave references for many other statements made in his speech. Accurate records of murders do not seem to be available, but according to one list of 'Civilians who lost their lives in frontier disturbances'<sup>143</sup> only about 20 whites were killed by Xhosa on the Eastern Frontier between 1837 and the end of 1845. It is unlikely that as many as 83 cattle herds were murdered during the same period. It does seem that with regard to his charge against Glenelg, Chase made use of what he himself might have termed 'special pleading' to embellish his arguments.

A series of desperate public meetings, petitions and public statements<sup>144</sup> during the first four months of 1846 did nothing to reduce the tension on the frontier, and in April of that year the War of the Axe broke out.<sup>145</sup> Not unexpectedly, Chase held the Government entirely responsible for the outbreak<sup>146</sup> and fanned the flames of settler resentment by recalling the circumstances of the Sixth Frontier War (1834-5) — probably the most emotionally-charged issue in white

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<sup>142</sup>Despatch Glenelg to D'Urban, 1.5.37, pp. 277-8, in Return: Caffre War, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed July 1837. (1837 XLIII 503.)

<sup>143</sup>ed. D.J.J. Pretorius, In the Land of the Settlers, pp. 61-71.

<sup>144</sup>Speeches, Letters and Selections from Important Papers of the late John Mitford Bowker, Some Years Resident and Diplomatic Agent with Certain Kafir and Fingo Tribes, pp. 191-213. (Graham's Town, 1864. Facsimile Reprint, Cape Town, 1962.)

Also EPH, 21.2.46; 28.2.46; GTJ, 28.2.46; 25.4.46.

<sup>145</sup>cf. J. Frye, ed., The War of the Axe and the Xosa Bible. The Journal of the Rev. J.W. Appleyard, pp. 35-118.

<sup>146</sup>Chase to D'Urban, 1.7.47. (D'Urban Correspondence, Cory Library.)

Eastern Cape tradition — in the Eastern Province Herald of August 8, 1846. This was followed by Chase's 'Index Raisonné to materials for the compilation of a hand-book for inquiries into the causes of the Kafir War of 1846', which was published in the Graham's Town Journal of September 26. A resumé of events on the frontier between 1834 and 1846, the 'Index Raisonné' was intended to prove that the outbreak of 1846 was the logical outcome of Government policy during that period, and was a more detailed account of the Eastern Cape history which Chase had already frequently given in numerous public speeches and petitions.<sup>147</sup> Possibly this long list of events had been intended for use in a publication, 'Kaffirland and the Kaffirs' for which he had invited subscribers during February and March 1846,<sup>148</sup> but which seems never to have been published.

Nearly nine months after the appearance of the 'Index Raisonné', Chase compiled an 'Analysis of the Blue Book on the war of 1846',<sup>149</sup> in an attempt to trace what he believed to be the origins of the War of the Axe. Chase acknowledged that his analysis was hasty and imperfect. But there is surely a nice irony in a situation where his friend and sponsor, Robert Godlonton, unwittingly showed up the defects in Chase's work. It would seem that Godlonton's editorial comments were based, not on Chase's 'Analysis', but on his own study of the Blue Book. For example, the first despatch in the Blue Book,<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>147</sup>Supra, pp. 57-58; 63-67; 75; 77-79.

<sup>148</sup>EPH, 21.2.46; 7 3.46.

<sup>149</sup>Correspondence with the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope relative to the State of the Kafir Tribes on the Eastern Frontier of the Colony. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. February 1847. (1847 XXXVIII 786.)

<sup>150</sup>Sir P. Maitland to Lord Stanley, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, 17.11.45.

according to Chase's summary, contained 'remarks on petitions of English and Dutch farmers ... of Albany and Somerset', and the only comment on these that Chase attributed to Maitland was 'representations exaggerated'. But Godlonton stated, much more accurately, that Maitland's judgement had been 'clear and sound'.<sup>151</sup>

Chase sought to establish that the Governor had been totally unsympathetic towards the frontiersmen and oblivious of the threat of war. Maitland had in fact written not unsympathetically of the petitioners, 'although I have no hesitation in saying that the representation of their condition is exaggerated, I readily allow that the petitioners have some substantial grounds of complaint, and that it is an irritating and harassing thing to be liable to have their property driven over the border by nocturnal thieves to their inconvenience and loss, and the creation of an uncomfortable feeling of insecurity'. Moreover, Maitland's comments on the Xhosa — whom he described as 'an uncivilised race, greedy of cattle and equally unscrupulous and adroit as to the mode of obtaining them',<sup>152</sup> — would have won the hearty agreement of most Eastern frontiersmen.

Chase's continuous criticism of the Government for its treatment of the Eastern Cape seemed hardly calculated to win him the appointment in the colonial service for which he still hoped,<sup>153</sup> and he deserves credit for having had the courage to express his opinions

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<sup>151</sup>GTJ, 19.6.47.

<sup>152</sup>Correspondence with the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope relative to the State of the Kafir Tribes on the Eastern Frontier of the Colony. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. February 1847.' p. 3. (1847 XXXVIII 786.)

<sup>153</sup>In 1846 Chase applied for the post of Civil Commissioner, Uitenhage. Chase to D'Urban, 26.9.46 (D'Urban Correspondence, Cory Library).

as he did. In February, 1847, the new Governor and High Commissioner, Pottinger, arrived in the Eastern Cape and the Bayonians welcomed him with an address on which the list of signatories was headed by J.C. Chase. Pottinger seemed most interested in the address, which carried the familiar settler version of frontier history. The Governor's reception of the deputation who presented the address was very cordial;<sup>154</sup> it seemed to augur well for the future.

In September, 1846, the Lieutenant Governor, Hare, resigned on account of ill-health, and died on his way back to England.<sup>155</sup> He was succeeded by Sir Henry Edward Fox Young<sup>156</sup> whose arrival was heralded by the trumpet blast of a Godlonton editorial. Young was placed before the public eye as a man appointed on merit and not connection; and who, having worked with Sir Benjamin D'Urban, must surely reflect to some extent D'Urban's views. It was further suggested that the knighthood conferred on the occasion of Young's appointment was a compliment to the 'Province' no less than to the man.<sup>157</sup>

Young did not disappoint the Journal's hopes, and in some ways it was perhaps a pity that he held office in the Eastern Cape for only seven months. Despite the argument of Mr Justice W. Menzies,<sup>158</sup> supported by the Executive Council, the Governor<sup>159</sup> and the Secretary of State for War and Colonies<sup>160</sup> that the office of the Lieutenant-

<sup>154</sup> EPH, 20.2.47 and 27.2.47.

<sup>155</sup> Cory IV, p. 497.

<sup>156</sup> Lieutenant-Governor of the Eastern Districts, April 9 - Nov. 4, 1847.

<sup>157</sup> GTJ, 17.4.47 and 24.4.47.

<sup>158</sup> Appointed Puisne Judge, 1828; revised border treaties for Napier, 1840; annexed Orange-Vaal area 1842 (disallowed by Napier).

<sup>159</sup> Henry Pottinger.

<sup>160</sup> W.E. Gladstone. Secretary of State for War and Colonies, 23.12.45 - 2.7.46.

Governor held 'merely nominal power',<sup>161</sup> Young energetically championed the rights of his new 'province'. Early in 1846 Gladstone had requested details of Eastern claims for separation : Pottinger now asked Young for evidence on this matter, so that the Executive Council could submit a report.<sup>162</sup> Young therefore sent a circular request for information to various leading Easterners, including Chase : the enthusiastic response from all over the region left no doubt that the Cape Town based government was unpopular in the Eastern Districts. Some replies however urged the division of the Colony, while others asked for the removal of Government from Cape Town to a more central site. Pottinger and Young both believed that a change in the existing system was necessary<sup>163</sup> : it was therefore to be a blow to Eastern Cape aspirations when both men were transferred at the end of 1847.

Shortly after Young's arrival in Graham's Town,<sup>164</sup> Chase offered his services to the new Lieutenant-Governor, who replied that it would have given him 'no small pleasure' to employ Chase, especially as he had been recommended by that 'honorable and distinguished officer', Sir Benjamin D'Urban, but there were no vacant appointments.<sup>165</sup> Chase would probably have been reluctant to accept

<sup>161</sup> Fryer, p. 6.

<sup>162</sup> Correspondence between the Right Hon. Sir Henry Pottinger, Bt. GCB., Governor, His Honour Sir H.E.F. Young, Kt., Lieutenant-Governor, Eastern Districts, and Others, Respecting a Separation of the Eastern and Western Provinces, and the Establishment of a Distinct and Separate Government in the Eastern Province, p. 46. (Cape Town, 1847). cf. Fryer, p. 6.

<sup>163</sup> Fryer, p. 6.

<sup>164</sup> GTJ, 24.4.47.

<sup>165</sup> Young to Chase, 28.4.47 IG 639, p. 1.

any position inferior in status to that of Magistrate, as by 1847 he was obviously a man of some means and influence in the Eastern Cape. For many reasons government service was attractive to Chase. It would reduce pressure on the family business which was supporting his son's increasing establishment, and would also give him pension rights. Moreover, as Dr K. Fryer pointed out in his study of Executive Government at the Cape of Good Hope, the office of Magistrate which Chase clearly coveted, had become an index of social status.<sup>166</sup>

Young's first inclination was to use the post of Secretary to secure a military engineer for the Eastern Districts, who would draw his military pay in addition to the small salary of £350 paid to the Secretary.<sup>167</sup> This plan was stillborn. Then the appointment was offered to Fleetwood Rawstone, Civil Commissioner in Colesberg, who had recently earned Young's gratitude by sorting out the arrears in the Land Department, but Rawstone thought the remuneration quite inadequate.<sup>168</sup> It was then that Young recommended to Pottinger the appointment of Chase. His letter is quoted in extenso, because it shows both the extent to which Young had identified himself with the interests of the Eastern Districts and the standing of Chase throughout the area.

Young wrote, 'believing the office of Lieutenant Governor to be less efficient than it ought to be, owing to the absence of any local authority for raising, appropriating, expending and controlling the funds of these Districts, I think that by associating Mr Chase with

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<sup>166</sup>Fryer, p. 72.

<sup>167</sup>Young to Pottinger, 11.5.47 IG 619, p. 24.

<sup>168</sup>Young to Pottinger, 21.6.47 CO 4386.

me in the capacity of Secretary I give to the Inhabitants of the Eastern Districts, by the selection of a man so thoroughly conversant with local affairs and so zealous an advocate of local interests, the utmost guarantee in my power, that as far as the office of Lt Governor can, under the existing system be rendered satisfactory to them, the effort to make it so is not wanting on my part.

'Secondly - That if a change in the existing system of Government be made, either by creating a Separate Legislature and Treasury in the Eastern Districts, or by calling representatives of the Eastern Districts to assemble annually, with representatives of the Western Districts in some central spot, such as Port Elizabeth or Uitenhage, for the purpose of raising and appropriating the general taxes of the whole Colony; in either case no more useful or zealous assistant can be found than Mr Chase, who on these points has for years been the strenuous, well-informed and popular advocate of one or other of these plans'.<sup>169</sup>

Chase's acceptance of the appointment marks his return to the government service. Undeniably the appointment was popular in the Eastern Districts. There was the suitable tribute from Godlonton in the Journal of July 3, and a farewell dinner in Chase's honour held at Port Elizabeth.<sup>170</sup> Chase arrived in Graham's Town early in August with a bustle of enthusiasm.

The short duration of the appointment means that it is too small an index of his abilities and attitudes. He was little more than administrative assistant to Young,<sup>171</sup> whom he vigorously supported

<sup>169</sup>Young to Pottinger, 21.6.47. CO 4386, no. 110.

<sup>170</sup>EHH, 31.7.47.

<sup>171</sup>cf. Fryer, p. 4. 'The Lt-Governor was not idle. Col.Hare's correspondence show his activity.' Examples of work handled by Chase may be found in LG 511, e.g. 259, 263, 283, 270.

in his efforts on behalf of the Eastern Cape. Newspaper criticism of the Lieutenant Governor and his secretary, like that in the Advertiser, was invariably answered by Godlonton.<sup>172</sup>

The idyll ended with the news of Young's impending departure to South Australia. Young did his best to give some security to his secretary<sup>173</sup> and Pottinger agreed that Chase could continue in office at least until the arrival of his own successor.<sup>174</sup> That there was fairly close rapport between Chase and Young is illustrated by the fact that Chase himself saw Young board the 'Phoenix' in Port Elizabeth.<sup>175</sup> Young for his part wrote a letter, which was also a testimonial, to his former secretary in which he emphasised his confidence in Chase's ability : 'Whilst on personal grounds I exceedingly regret the briefness of our intercourse, I feel persuaded that the public interest cannot fail to be promoted by your services in any official capacity'.<sup>176</sup> On the back of this letter Chase scribbled a note authorising the inclusion both of Young's letter to him and the one from Young to Pottinger concerning his appointment as secretary,<sup>177</sup> in the despatch book as a formal record.<sup>178</sup>

Sir Harry Smith arrived at the Cape as Governor and High Commissioner, and travelled to Graham's Town which he reached on

<sup>172</sup>e.g. GTJ, 2.10.47.

<sup>173</sup>LG 619, p. 107.

<sup>174</sup>LG 70, p. 215.

<sup>175</sup>EHH, 6.11.47; GTJ, 6.11.47.

<sup>176</sup>LG 656, p. 58.

<sup>177</sup>CO 4386, no. 110. cf. supra, p. 86.

<sup>178</sup>LG 656, p. 59.

December 17, 1847. British policy with regard to the separate or special consideration of the Eastern Cape was by no means clear, and Smith himself, with his own design for an overall pacification, did not want his personal authority and margin of discretion limited in any way. When, however, in January 1848 he extended the colonial boundary to include the Kraai River area as the district of Albert, it was Chase he selected to be Civil Commissioner in the new district. That he regarded this as an important appointment is clear from the despatch in which he reported it to Grey.<sup>179</sup> 'I have appointed Mr Chase, the Secretary to the Lieutenant Governor, Civil Commissioner [of Albert], by which means he is provided for, his present office is abolished, and the district of Dutch inhabitants placed in charge of a man who speaks their language and possesses conciliatory and amiable manners'.<sup>180</sup> The rationale is clear, and seems warranted by Chase's record in the Colony. Since, moreover, the appointment was made in January, 1848, less than a month after Smith's arrival in Graham's Town, there seems little ground for the recent suggestion that it was the product of Smith's 'political alliance with Godlonton's faction'.<sup>181</sup>

When Chase left Graham's Town to take up his new appointment in the village of Burghersdorp, his departure was cheered by the Journal's good wishes, and Godlonton's optimistic prediction that the newly annexed 'tract of country [would] when settled, form one of the finest divisions of South Africa'.<sup>182</sup>

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<sup>179</sup> Earl Grey, Secretary of State for War and Colonies, 3.7.46 - 27.2.52.

<sup>180</sup> Smith to Grey, 9.1.48. GH 23/18, p. 32.

<sup>181</sup> Tony Kirk, 'Progress and Decline in the Kat River Settlement, 1829 - 1854', in Journal of African History, vol. XIV, 1973, no.3, pp. 411-428.

<sup>182</sup> GTJ, 15.1.48.

## CHAPTER IV

## THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF ALBERT, 1848-1849

Chase was glad to remain in the government service, but he did not relish the prospect of relative isolation which his appointment to Burghersdorp might entail. This he made very clear in his letter of acceptance. 'Go ... I will, to arrange and set in order the machine, which I am vain enough to think I am able to do, but trusting you will relieve me as soon as this is done, and give me an appointment within the haunts of civilised man, when an opportunity occurs.'<sup>1</sup> Yet the brief episode in his career shows his quick, rather fussy but intelligent approach to the business of administration. Likewise it illustrates clearly the practical difficulties encountered in trying to develop a stable administrative framework in an area of mixed and shifting settlement. The mainspring of administration was the Colonial Office (Cape Town) where even the indefatigable Montagu could not foresee all contingencies. Chase, for instance, was Resident Magistrate and Civil Commissioner in Burghersdorp, but Burghersdorp was in the Colesberg district and was not incorporated in the district of Albert, which Chase was to establish, until July 5, 1848, four months after his arrival.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the annexation of the Orange River Sovereignty in February and the events leading up to the battle of Boomplaats in August, 1848, created tensions on

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<sup>1</sup>Chase to Sir H. Smith, 11.1.48, quoted by D.W. Kannemeyer, in 'How Burghersdorp became the Capital of the Albert District', p. 4, in South African Pamphlets, vol. 18, Cory Library.

<sup>2</sup>Proclamation dated 5.7.48. Government Gazette (Supplement), 6.7.48.

both sides of the Orange River. Like Kipling's elephant, Chase needed 'infinite patience and sagacity'. Given the circumstances, his own confidence in his abilities was warranted, and he justified the Governor's selection of him for the task in hand. Though his departure was delayed by floods,<sup>3</sup> Chase used the interim to study the administrative problems involved in organising a new district. He wrote to Montagu, the Secretary to Government for 'forms, ordinances and instructions', and later for 'the three volumes of Harding's Proclamations, and a set in sheets of all subsequent official documents as printed by van der Sarit'. He also asked Montagu for advice on how to carry out 'the delicate and peculiar duties' awaiting him in Albert.<sup>4</sup> Clearly, Chase did not intend going unequipped to the 'netherend of existence'.<sup>5</sup>

In Graham's Town, on February 21, Chase was interviewed by the Governor, who issued 'verbal instructions' and promised that 'full and written directions' for the new Resident Magistrate would soon be sent from Cape Town. The discussion with Sir Harry obviously clarified Chase's thinking on the situation in Albert, and the next day he wrote confidently to Montagu about the disposal of land in the newly-annexed area, and discussed a suitable spot for the seat of Magistracy there. Chase realised that on the remote north-eastern border he might find it necessary to act in an official capacity in areas which were beyond his jurisdiction, the exact extent of which was in any case inadequately defined. Therefore he

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<sup>3</sup>Chase to Montagu, 11.2.48, CO 2851.

<sup>4</sup>Chase to Montagu, 17.1.48 and 11.2.48, CO 2851.

<sup>5</sup>D.W. Kannemeyer, 'How Burghersdorp became the Capital of the Albert District', p.4., in South African Pamphlets, vol. 18, Cory Library.

requested a commission as Justice of the Peace for the regions north of the colony, in terms of the Cape of Good Hope Punishment Act,<sup>6</sup> and also asked to be appointed a Justice of the Peace for the districts of Albert and Colesberg.<sup>7</sup> In due course these requests were granted.<sup>8</sup> When he began to come to grips with the problem, and especially after his interview with Sir Harry Smith, Chase warmed to the task ahead. Before his departure he was having forms printed on which could be collected 'every kind of statistical information' about the District of Albert.<sup>9</sup>

After a long and tedious journey, Chase arrived at Burgersdorp on March 14, 1848, and received a boisterous yet respectful welcome from the local inhabitants. D.W. Kannemeyer describes the contrast between the new arrival and the burly frontiersmen. Chase was 'short in stature; of slender build, with a clean-cut intellectual face, [and was] scrupulously neat in his attire. To the stalwart and rude farmers grouped around him, Mr Chase's slender physique at first sight brought disappointment ... on all sides the remark was heard, "Is that little fellow the magistrate? He will never do!"<sup>10</sup> Fortunately these remarks did not reach the ears of their subject, who was soon to demonstrate that his size in no way affected his efficiency.

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<sup>6</sup> Eybers, G.W., Select Constitutional Documents Illustrating South African History, 1795-1910, pp. 146-148.

<sup>7</sup> Chase to Montagu, 22.2.48, CO 2851.

<sup>8</sup> GH 23/18, p. 101; CO 5183, p. 106; CO 4932, p. 260.

<sup>9</sup> Chase to Montagu, 22.2.48, CO 2351.

<sup>10</sup> D.W. Kannemeyer, 'How Burgersdorp became the Capital of the Albert District', p. 14., South African Pamphlets, vol. 12, Cory Library.

In Burghersdorp Chase found a village 'consisting of an unfinished church and sixty unattractive flat-roofed houses', with a population of two hundred and eighty-eight whites and four hundred and sixty-eight coloureds.<sup>11</sup> Burghersdorp had originally been established as a religious centre for farmers in the remote region beyond the Stormberg Spruit, and the authority of the Dutch Reformed Church Committee which owned most of the village was considerable.<sup>12</sup> The district of Albert of which Burghersdorp was the chief village — although it was only included in the Albert District on July 5, 1848<sup>13</sup> — was close on 8 000 square miles in size, and thinly populated by an estimated 3 914 Dutch farmers and an undetermined black population of Tambookies and Mantatees. There were also some Bushmen in the district, near the confluence of the Waschbank Spruit and the Kraai River.<sup>14</sup>

Probably the most pressing problem connected with the establishment of British authority in the area was the question of land disposal, which was complicated by the pattern of haphazard white settlement which had developed during the 'thirties and 'forties. Farms had been occupied in this region since the early 1830's,<sup>15</sup> and settlement had increased after 1840 and again after 1846. The farmers had sought inclusion in the Colony on account of the largely mythical protection they would receive from Britain. In 1835 the area had been

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<sup>11</sup>Wagenaar, p. 100.

<sup>12</sup>ibid., pp. 99 and 101.

<sup>13</sup>supra, p.89.

<sup>14</sup>Wagenaar, pp. 92-3.

<sup>15</sup>ibid., p. 94.

briefly annexed by D'Urban<sup>16</sup> but changes in Government policy later led to its relinquishment. The Albert farmers pleaded on several occasions to be included in the Colony,<sup>17</sup> but all was in vain until the annexation of the area by Sir Harry Smith in 1848. Now the problem of allocating land and title deeds had to be faced.

Chase wanted the survey of the Albert lands to begin immediately, so that the Government could derive revenue from them as soon as possible.<sup>18</sup> There was another more urgent reason. The loyalty of the farmers to Britain depended to some extent on their hope of receiving land on favourable terms.<sup>19</sup> By March there were already rumours of 'a refractory spirit on the North-East frontier'<sup>20</sup> as well as in the newly-annexed Orange River Sovereignty.<sup>21</sup> The importance of the land question to the farmers was emphasized in Chase's first official despatch from Burghersdorp, where he mentioned that all the farmers he met 'were anxious to know how their claims [were] to be considered'.<sup>22</sup>

Chase went quietly ahead. He appointed field cornets<sup>23</sup> and a field commandant,<sup>24</sup> and defined the area of jurisdiction of each man.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>16</sup>Wagenaar, p. 58.

<sup>17</sup>ibid., p. 89.

<sup>18</sup>Chase to Montagu, 22.2.40, CO 2851.

<sup>19</sup>cf. Rev. William Shaw to R. Southey, 8.5.48, 'the granting of a few land certificates ... would go far to divide [the Boers] and render them powerless for any mischief'. GH 22/3, no. 160.

<sup>20</sup>GTJ, 18.3.48.

<sup>21</sup>Annexed 3.2.48.

<sup>22</sup>Chase to Montagu, 16.3.48, CO 2851.

<sup>23</sup>Jan Olivier, Hans Albertse, Andreas Greyling, Christian Shoeman.

<sup>24</sup>Piet Smit was appointed Commandant, but was later asked to resign because of his drunkenness. (infra, p.108. )

<sup>25</sup>Chase to Montagu, 25.3.48, CO 2851.

In April the first two members of his staff arrived, the Surveyor, W. Hopley, and the Clerk of the Peace, J. Blake.<sup>26</sup> They were followed in due course by two additional clerks, C.T. Bird and J.G. Woodward,<sup>27</sup> who completed Chase's office staff. The chief constable, John Graham, took up his duties soon afterwards.<sup>28</sup> It was ironical that news of Graham's appointment had been despatched on the same day as a circular letter reminding various Civil Commissioners about Ordinance 25 of 1847, 'for improving the police of the Colony'<sup>29</sup> because Graham was the first of a long line of Burghersdorp constables who came and went with embarrassing rapidity.<sup>30</sup> Drunkenness was the chief reason for the high turnover of policemen — the low salary they received attracted mainly those unfortunate characters who could not find better jobs because of their insobriety.<sup>31</sup>

Four days after his arrival in Burghersdorp, the energetic Chase set out on an excursion into what he termed 'Albert Proper', so that he could meet some of the inhabitants of his new district. This journey must have revived memories of the 'trading mission' he had undertaken over twenty years before. His account of the tour of inspection suggests that he had lost none of his zest for travel. 'With every deference to His Excellency' Chase decided to avoid 'a

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<sup>26</sup>Chase to Montagu, 4.4.48, CO 2851.

<sup>27</sup>Montagu to Chase, 13.3.48, CO 4931, pp. 425-426. For a complete list of Albert officials, etc., see The Cape of Good Hope Almanac & Annual Register for 1849, compiled by B.J. van der Sandt, pp. 289-290.

<sup>28</sup>Montagu to Chase, 16.3.48. CO 4931, p. 461.

<sup>29</sup>Montagu to various Civil Commissioners, including Albert, CO 5183, pp. 124-6.

<sup>30</sup>e.g. Graham suspended 29.6.48; his successor, Maslin, dismissed 26.10.48, etc.

<sup>31</sup>cf. Wagenaar, p. 114.

staid and formal Report', but wrote what he termed 'a plain, matter-of-fact narrative',<sup>32</sup> which consisted of thirty pages of lively description. He met many local farmers who were anxious about their land claims. Some farmers even travelled from beyond the Orange River, to find out from the representative of the British Empire what their fate was likely to be, in the light of Sir Harry's proclamation of the Orange River Sovereignty in February 1848. According to Chase, these farmers were 'totally ignorant of the benevolent intentions of the Government', so he 'fully explained His Excellency's plans, and read to them the Proclamation, giving at the same time a running commentary, and these persons appeared to leave with much satisfaction at the Governor's arrangements'. In addition to describing the condition of the people in Albert, Chase also noted the possibilities of using the Orange and Kraai Rivers for irrigation, described the thermal springs at Buffels Vley<sup>33</sup> and commented on the local geology. He was impressed by the suitability of Buffels Vley as the possible site for a village: an examination of it confirmed his earlier belief that it would be an ideal spot for the 'capital' of the Albert District, so he described its advantages in some detail.

The inhabitants of Burghersdorp were aware that their village was threatened by a rival, and, according to the Journal of March 4, 1848, it was generally believed that the future capital of Albert would be at Buffels Vley. This was the opening round of a press campaign in favour of Buffels Vley, that was to continue in the

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<sup>32</sup>Chase to Montagu, 26.3.48, CO 2851.

<sup>33</sup>Buffels Vley or Buffels Valley was the site on which Aliwal North was founded in 1849.

Journal until June, 1848.<sup>34</sup> The inhabitants of Burghersdorp reacted by petitioning the Governor to locate the Magistracy at Burghersdorp. Chase, having granted the requisite permission for a public meeting, duly forwarded the petition, which carried sixty-four signatures. But he sent forward his own covering letter, sixteen pages of sustained argument supporting the rival claims of Buffels Vley. He described not only the appalling extremes of temperature and humidity experienced in Burghersdorp, but also complained about the bigotry of the Dutch Reformed Church authorities who, he feared, would impede civic and economic development in the village. The outline of Sir Harry's reply on the back of the despatch was unequivocal. 'The seat of Government of the District is to be established at Burghersdorp — if the District flourish, and if the population admits of another town in Buffels Vley — the more towns the better'. There was also a reply to Chase's complaints about lack of religious tolerance. 'Mr Chase to be informed in all societies there are controversies and religious disputes, which it is the duty of Government to allay by every possible means and especially by example'.<sup>35</sup> In April, 1848, Burghersdorp was declared capital of Albert,<sup>36</sup> and despite its unpopularity with all but its inhabitants, it retained that position.

At the end of March, 1848, Montagu sent Chase the Governor's instructions about the Albert Land Survey. A surveyor, Mr Ford, had been appointed to head the survey, and other surveyors had been

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<sup>34</sup>Wagenaar, p. 105.

<sup>35</sup>Chase to Secretary to Government, 30.3.48, CO 28:1.

<sup>36</sup>GTJ, 13.5.48.

appointed to act under him, to 'bring into the market some lots with as little delay as possible'. Chase and Ford were to decide together on suitable sites for future villages, where the land would be divided for sale. They were to avoid encroaching in any way on land occupied by the Boers, whose land rights would be decided by a commission, which was still to be appointed.<sup>37</sup> Ford arrived on May 17,<sup>38</sup> and on the following day he, Chase, and the other surveyor, Hopley, read and discussed the instructions of the Assistant Surveyor General, M.R. Robinson. Ford wished to begin operations at Buffels Vley as soon as the weather cleared, but it was agreed that he would first accompany Chase beyond the colonial boundary to the Wittebergen area, which Chase had been instructed to inspect because the farmers East of the Kraai River sought inclusion in the colony.<sup>39</sup> One result of this journey was that on July 5, 1848, the boundaries of Albert were redefined to include the Boers between the Kraai River and the Wittebergen.<sup>40</sup>

Ford's preliminary work in Buffels Vley brought several problems to light, which were reported to the Colonial Office in Cape Town, and in reply Montagu indicated the Governor's ruling on the points raised. As Buffels Vley seemed a suitable site for a village, His Excellency would arrange for that area to be reserved for settlement. While recognition of titles to land by virtue of occupation was not strictly legal, the projected land commission would be instructed to judge each case on its own merits, in order to avoid causing hardship to individual claimants. The final approval of the land

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<sup>37</sup>Montagu to Chase, 30.3.48, CO 4931, p. 539.

<sup>38</sup>Chase to Secretary to Government, 18.5.48, CO 2851.

<sup>39</sup>Chase to Montagu, 31.5.48, CO 2851; and Montagu to Chase, 19.4.48, CO 4932, p. 104.

<sup>40</sup>Wagenaar, pp. 108-110.

commission's decisions would in all cases rest with the Governor. As Chase had suggested, quitrents would be levied in accordance with the value of the land granted, at a rate still to be determined. The Governor also approved of Ford's suggestion that erfs should be granted only on condition that recipients would allow watercourses to be cut through their land if necessary. Finally, the Governor directed that farms should be restricted in size to 3 000 morgen, but in practice this instruction, too, was flexible.<sup>41</sup>

Despite the crisis in the Sovereignty and the battle of Boomplaats, the survey in the Albert district went quietly ahead. Moreover, when Sir Harry Smith visited Burghersdorp in September, 1848, he indicated to Chase that he had changed his mind, and now favoured Buffels Vley as seat of government, instead of Burghersdorp.<sup>42</sup> Chase received the Governor's permission to commemorate Smith's recent victory at Aliwal in India,<sup>43</sup> by giving the new town at Buffels Vley the name of Aliwal. When founded in 1849 the town was named Aliwal North, to distinguish it from the town established at Mossel Bay in 1848, which had been called Aliwal (South) in the Governor's honour.<sup>44</sup> The development of another town on the north-eastern frontier would reinforce colonial authority in the area, so Smith asked for plans of the new town to be drawn up immediately, so that it could be established as soon as possible. However, when Chase, with the help of

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<sup>41</sup>Wagenaar, pp. 93-94.

<sup>42</sup>Smith to Earl Grey, 21.10.48, GH 25/18, p. 282.

<sup>43</sup>In 1846 Smith had defeated the Sikhs in a decisive battle fought at Aliwal.

<sup>44</sup>The name of Aliwal South was later changed to Mossel Bay, as the name was not popular locally, and there was confusion between Aliwal North and Aliwal South.

Bird, prepared to go ahead, he was blocked by Ford, the Head of the Albert Land Survey. It took reference to Cape Town before the controversy was resolved. Montagu's reply on behalf of the Governor was quite clear. 'Mr Ford will point out the limits of the Township lands, beyond which he will not interfere in this work ... as His Excellency is desirous that Mr Bird should lay out the village of Aliwal'.<sup>45</sup>

Two surveys were henceforward at work : that under Bird who was planning the new town of Aliwal North with Chase taking an active interest, and that of the Albert District under the Assistant Surveyor General, M.R. Robinson. In the district the procedure was as follows. Each farmer was to pay a deposit for the survey of his land, and for the issue of land tickets or temporary title deeds. The Civil Commissioner was to receive the deposit and in return give the farmer a land-ticket, which would be supplied to the Civil Commissioner by the president of the Land Commission.<sup>46</sup> Almost inevitably trouble developed over Aliwal North because the main claimant for land compensation elsewhere was Mrs de Wet, whose farm was taken over for the new township. Chase moreover was piqued by his exclusion from official participation in either land project, and with some petulance embarked on a petty power struggle. He disapproved of the arrangements made by Robinson for the sale of erven at Buffels Vley, which was to take place on May 12, 1949,<sup>47</sup> the day selected by Chase

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<sup>45</sup>Montagu to Chase, 23.10.48, CO 4933, p. 434.

<sup>46</sup>Le Seuer (for Secretary to Government) to Chase, 19.2.49, CO 4934, p. 489.

<sup>47</sup>Chase to the Secretary to Government, 26.3.49. CO 2857. cf. Montagu to Chase, 3.4.49, CO 4935, p. 143.

for the official naming ceremony of the village of Aliwal North. There was such ill-feeling between Chase and Robinson that after the sale Chase lodged an official and carefully documented complaint against him.<sup>48</sup> He criticised Robinson for having refused to guarantee water and grazing rights to the future villagers of Aliwal North; the Civil Commissioner feared that Robinson might neglect the public good in his anxiety to give adequate compensation to the original owner of Buffel's Vlei, Mrs de Wet. Subsequently Chase tried to force Robinson's hand by withholding Mrs de Wet's land ticket, but Robinson merely issued a duplicate directly to Mrs de Wet.<sup>49</sup> Having waded through Chase's lengthy account of the quarrel, the Governor instructed Chase to end the 'unseemly altercation' between himself and the Assistant Surveyor General, and to issue Mrs de Wet's land ticket at once.<sup>50</sup>

The disagreement between Chase and Robinson had not interfered with the programme which had been arranged for May 12, 1849. The sale was so well attended that it took on the social character of a fair. It also provided occasion for the Graham's Town Journal to criticise Robinson on the one hand, and fire a long shot at Cape Town on the other. A comparison of Chase's official complaint against Robinson with the article in the Journal on May 26, 1849, suggests that Chase either provided the Editor with a copy of his official complaint to Montagu, or briefed Godlonton very carefully. The Journal reported, 'The average price of each erf was about £28.10s,

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<sup>48</sup>Chase to the Secretary to Government, 14.5.49, with enclosures, CO 2857.

<sup>49</sup>Chase to the Secretary to Government, 14.6.49, with enclosures, CO 2857.

<sup>50</sup>Montagu to Chase, 14.6.49 and 20.6.49, CO 4935, pp. 435-448.

and the whole fetched nearly £1000. Will this money be spent in the Eastern Province or thrown into Table Bay? ... Much higher prices would have been obtained had the Assistant Surveyor-General to whom the vendue had been entrusted, why "God wot", given any precise information as to the extent of the pasturage and the water privileges to be granted to the nascent town, and many Dutch farmers, who came with the intention to purchase, retired in disgust because that gentleman would not give them the requisite guarantees.'

In the account of the ceremonial which marked the official establishment of Aliwal North, the Journal turned the spotlight on Chase. 'Towards the close of the sale, the Civil Commissioner, John Centlivres Chase Esq, laid the foundation stone in the centre of Smith Street.... Mr Chase then addressed the bystanders to the following effect : "It is my duty and especial honour that I have been directed by His Excellency the Governor, to found the first town ever established on the banks of this magnificent stream, the Great River. I do this under the flag of our native land, which has I believe for the first time floated in this locality<sup>51</sup> --- that flag which has braved the battle and the breeze for a thousand years".' Chase's hyperbolic reference<sup>52</sup> to 'the flag of our native land' was perhaps inappropriate in view of the number of Boers and blacks who must have been present. Chase then declared that he was founding Aliwal North 'under the banner of one of the ancient guilds', the Worshipful Company of Founders, of which he had 'the honour to be enrolled, as

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<sup>51</sup>Perhaps the makeshift 'potticoat' flag used by Judge Menzies at Allomans Drift in 1842 was the nearest the Union Jack had been to Buffels Vley before 1849.

<sup>52</sup>The Union Jack was first used in 1801.

a citizen and Liveryman of London, and whose motto [was] "God the only Founder".<sup>53</sup>

The speech continued, 'Gentlemen, you know the obstacles I have met with in the establishment of this place, but thank heaven they have been surmounted thus far.... It is now my duty, by direction of our much-loved Governor, to name this town "Aliwal North", and which I do by breaking this bottle of wine ... in belief that this locality will become a rich wine-bearing country.'<sup>54</sup> After Chase had presented their newly-arrived commissions to the field cornets, the meeting closed with three rousing cheers 'for the success of Aliwal North, for Sir Harry Smith and the Civil Commissioner'.

Chase was not the Journal's only correspondent from Albert. One defender of Robinson, writing from Burghersdorp, gives a lively account of what may be called non-official proceedings. 'As the day of sale drew near, all the good folks had made themselves ready for ... "a spree". Thursday evening, 10th inst., visitors from several towns dropped into our little village on their route to Buffels Valley. On Friday, the 11th, all made a start, having previously well supplied themselves against the cold. On the road several races took place, through which one cart broke down.... The morning of sale, 12th inst., Boers and travellers arrived from all directions. Two persons had taken tents and provisions with them to afford accommodation to strangers, while three Union Jacks were flying, indicative of the loyalty of the place.... The jolly people amused themselves after

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<sup>53</sup>For a discussion of Chase's membership of the Founders' Guild see Kirby, Chase, p. 136.

<sup>54</sup>Chase's hopes were not fulfilled in this respect. 'The town has a flourmill, several factories ... and monumental works. The tourist trade is really its principal asset.' (Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa. Nasca, Cape Town, 1970 - ).

the sale by rowing on the river, by the depletion of cognac, abstracting saddles, horses and other articles from their neighbours; dancing, running off with blankets and other bed covering from their friends during the night — blocking the doors of Mr Butler's house<sup>55</sup> with wagons, etc., and, worst of all, depriving the Civil Commissioner of his Sunday's dinner, by filching a goose from his larder.'

Clearly the supporters of Mr Robinson enjoyed themselves as much as the supporters of Mr Chase, and the official foundation was a great success. It was and is moreover most surprising to find a South African town with the arms of a London City Company. Major C.C. Chase of Vereeniging, a grandson of J.C. Chase, is able to fill in some of the details. It seems that Chase duly reported his action to the Founders' Company and was given permission ex post facto. The Company provided a careful sketch of the coat of arms<sup>56</sup> which was formally adopted by Aliwal North in February, 1857.<sup>57</sup> Aliwal North was by this time no longer part of the Albert District, but had become the seat of a new magisterial district in July, 1855.<sup>58</sup> The minutes of the Worshipful Company of Founders of August 5, 1857, record the arrival of a copy of the Graham's Town Journal dated March 14, 1857, which carried a detailed account, written by Chase, of the development of Aliwal North and the recent adoption by that district of the Company's arms. It was assumed that the newspaper had been sent by

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<sup>55</sup>The Butler family was among the original owners of land at Buffels Vley.

<sup>56</sup>Records of the Worshipful Company of Founders, 29.10.1854.

<sup>57</sup>GTJ, 14.3.57.

<sup>58</sup>Proclamation of the District of Aliwal North, dated 26.7.55, in Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette, 27.7.55.

Chase<sup>59</sup> who, in October, 1859, eventually wrote to thank the Company for their co-operation and to tell them that Aliwal North was 'steadily progressing'.<sup>60</sup>

The portentous solemnity with which the foundation stone of the village was laid, was not merely a sign of Chase's fondness of pageantry. An appeal to the Boers' patriotism and confident predictions of future prosperity were no doubt designed to reinforce stability in the area, which Boer rebels had threatened to invade less than a year earlier.

The threat of rebellion in the Orange River area had arisen gradually. Vague rumours of possible trouble reached Burghersdorp as early as May, 1848,<sup>61</sup> and at Nachtmaal that month Chase seconded the plea of officiating clergyman, the Rev. J. Taylor of Cradock, that the local Boers should persuade their friends across the Orange River to remain loyal to Britain.<sup>62</sup> Moreover Chase restricted the amount of gunpowder issued to the colonists in Albert and allowed purchasers from the Sovereignty only one pound each.<sup>63</sup>

News that Pretorius<sup>64</sup> had forced Warden<sup>65</sup> out of Bloemfontein reached Cape Town on July 22, and the Governor promptly put a price

<sup>59</sup>Records of the Worshipful Company of Founders, dated 5.8.57.

<sup>60</sup>Records of the Worshipful Company of Founders, dated 7.2.59. All references to Founders' Company Records kindly supplied by Major C.C. Chase.

<sup>61</sup>Chase to the Secretary to the High Commissioner, 22.5.48, GH 22/3, no. 134.

<sup>62</sup>GTJ, 20.5.48.

<sup>63</sup>Chase to Southey, 25.7.48, GH 22/4, no. 6.

<sup>64</sup>A.W.J. Pretorius (1798-1853). Voortrekker leader and Boer General.

<sup>65</sup>Captain H.D. Warden, appointed British Resident at Bloemfontein in 1845.

of £1000 on the rebel leader's head.<sup>66</sup> By the time word of this had reached Chase he was already aware of the rebellion, and had made arrangements to cope with an invasion of Albert, if it were to take place. He did not anticipate much disturbance in his area, as 'all classes' had assured him 'of their unalterable attachment to Her Majesty's Government'.<sup>67</sup>

On August 1, 1848, copies of the Governor's proclamation of July 22 reached Burghersdorp, and Chase 'instantly dispatched them in all directions'.<sup>68</sup> He wished to prevent the fraternization of the colonial Boers with the rebels : there was little likelihood that the peaceful Albert farmers would take up arms to support their friends and relatives in the rebel camp, but it was equally unlikely that they would fight against them, or hand them over to the authorities.<sup>69</sup> To prevent the followers of Pretorius from entering the Colony, Chase instructed his field commandant to watch the drifts over the Orange River,<sup>70</sup> and when it was rumoured that a rebel force was poised for an invasion at Sanddrift, Chase ordered all the boats in the area to be securely moored on the colonial side of the river.<sup>71</sup> There were frequent rumours that messengers from Pretorius had crossed into the

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<sup>66</sup>Montagu to various Civil Commissioners, including Albert, 22.7.48, CO 4933, p. 34.

<sup>67</sup>Chase to Southey, 25.7.48, and enclosures, GH 22/4, no. 2.

<sup>68</sup>Chase to Sir Harry Smith, 1.8.48, GH 22/4, no. 5.

<sup>69</sup>GTJ, 19.8.48.

<sup>70</sup>Chase to Olivier, 6.8.48, GH 22/4, no. 103.

<sup>71</sup>Chase to the Secretary to the High Commissioner, 7.8.48, GG 22/4.

Colony and in fact at least one rebel successfully evaded capture after enjoying a night's shelter in Burghersdorp.<sup>72</sup> The rebel had been carrying letters from Pre'orius to the Editor of the Grensblad, L.H. Meurant;<sup>73</sup> the letters were seized and handed over to the Civil Commissioner who opened and read them, thereby incurring Meurant's deepest indignation. Sir Harry justified the Civil Commissioner's action, but Meurant believed Chase had insulted him by questioning his loyalty which was 'second to none'.<sup>74</sup>

The defeat of the rebels by Smith's force at Boomplaats on August 29, 1848, ended the brief state of emergency in Albert, and the visit to the district by the Governor soon afterwards, was visible proof of British supremacy in the region. The Governor's visit, moreover, gave Chase an opportunity to discuss the problems he had faced in running his district; it was no small relief to him that Sir Harry approved of all the measures he had taken to protect Albert during the 'late unhappy disturbances'.<sup>75</sup>

The loyalty of the Albert farmers to the Government during the crisis had stemmed partly from their hope that British rule would bring them peace and security.<sup>76</sup> Their introduction to British rule at the hands of their first Civil Commissioner had apparently not disillusioned them and from the outset Chase had

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<sup>72</sup>Chase to the Secretary to the High Commissioner, 7.8.48, GH 22/4. (Chase wrote two letters to Southey on 7.8.48.)

<sup>73</sup>L.H. Meurant (1812-1893). Established Graham's Town Journal in 1831; sold it to Godlonton in 1839. Later established the Kaapsche Grensblad. Meurant's dialogues between 'Klaas Waerseggar' and 'Jan Twyfelaar' fostered written Afrikaans. Became a member of the Legislative Council in 1882.

<sup>74</sup>Meurant to Southey, 21.8.48, Southey Papers. Cap: Archives.

<sup>75</sup>Chase to Montagu, 26.1.48, CO 2852.

<sup>76</sup>Wagenaar, p. 112.

done his best to win the Boers' confidence. Shortly after Chase's arrival in Burghersdorp, G.D. Joubert<sup>77</sup> had written to R. Southey<sup>78</sup> about conditions in the Orange River area. He mentioned that the farmers beyond the Stormberg Spruit were 'much satisfied with their Civil Commissioner. They look[ed] on him as a true friend and [were] much attached to him', although they feared he was not aware of all their problems. Joubert himself had enjoyed a wide-ranging discussion with Chase, and had 'found him a very friendly and upright man — and a friend of the Boers over the [Stormberg] Spruit', who were seeking inclusion in the Colony.<sup>79</sup>

An example of Chase's practical understanding of the Boers' situation was his request for Dutch copies of official documents that concerned his area.<sup>80</sup> He also co-operated in the framing of market regulations for Burghersdorp,<sup>81</sup> and the establishment of pounds in Albert.<sup>82</sup> He did not recommend the election of municipal commissioners for Burghersdorp, as he realised that the overriding authority of the Dutch Reformed Church Committee there would complicate

<sup>77</sup>Joubert was a Field Cornet in 1838; he often acted as emissary for British authorities to the Trekkers. By 1845 he was a field commandant in the Orange River area.

<sup>78</sup>R. Southey (1808-1901). Secretary to the High Commissioner in 1847; was present at Battle of Boomplaats in 1848. In 1849 was appointed Civil Commissioner, Swellendam. In 1859 was Auditor General; in 1861 Treasurer and in 1864, Colonial Secretary. In 1873 was Lieutenant-Governor of Griqualand West, and in 1877 Member of the House of Assembly for Grahamstown. He was knighted in 1891.

<sup>79</sup>G. Joubert to R. Southey, 23.4.48, GH 22/3, no. 104.

<sup>80</sup>Chase to Montagu, 19.4.48, CO 2851.

<sup>81</sup>Inhabitants of Burghersdorp to Chase, 23.1.49, and endorsements, CO 2857.

<sup>82</sup>Chase to Secretary to Government, 27.12.48, CO 2852; and Montagu to Chase, 15.1.49, CO 4934, p. 328.

the functioning of a municipal institution.<sup>83</sup>

In June 1848, when Piet Smit, who had been appointed Field Commandant<sup>84</sup> proved unsuitable for office because of his frequent drunkenness, Chase handled an awkward situation with tact and sympathy. Rather than have Smit suffer the disgrace of dismissal, Chase first suspended and then arranged for the resignation of the Field Commandant.<sup>85</sup> This face-saving arrangement no doubt enhanced Chase's popularity in Albert.

Chase's attitude to the black inhabitants of the North-Eastern frontier was less conciliatory than his approach to the whites, and his rather idealized opinion of the Tambookies found in the South African Quarterly Journal of 1834<sup>86</sup> had undergone a complete change by the end of his stay in Albert.<sup>87</sup> When Chase arrived in Burghersdorp, there were no separate residential areas for the different racial groups, but by June, 1848, there had been so many complaints by the white inhabitants about the Tambookies in their midst that he established a 'coloured hamlet'. He sent the Colonial Office, Cape Town, a full report on this matter.

'Having received several representations from the inhabitants of this village that the promiscuous collection of native huts ...

<sup>83</sup>Chase to Secretary to Government, 13.5.48, CO 2851. See also, CO 4933, p. 148, and Montagu to Resident Magistrate, Albert, 11.1.49, CO 5184, pp. 442 and 443.

<sup>84</sup>Supra, p. 93.

<sup>85</sup>Chase to Secretary to Government, 16.6.48, CO 2851, and Montagu to Chase, 10.7.48, CO 4932, p. 492.

<sup>86</sup>SAQJ, April-June, 1834, no. 3, part I, p. 198. cf. supra, pp. 29-30.

<sup>87</sup>For a discussion of the Tambookies, see Wagenaar, *passim*, particularly ch. I (pp. 1-26) and pp. 113-114.

between the Houses was dangerous in cases of Fire, to which such structures are particularly obnoxious; annoying from the filth accumulated and a nuisance from the noise their inhabitants indulged in, I have taken upon myself to remove them to a spot agreed upon ... where all the labouring population I hope will soon be congregated.

'The place chosen is a dry space ... within sight, close to and much above the elevation of this muddy village - and I think more healthy than that of its seat. I have pegged out three rows of huts ten feet apart from each other with an intervening stretch of twenty feet and on visiting it this day I found eighteen completed and in progress. I am glad to say the colored persons are most willing to remove, indeed I have not had one single complaint.

'Besides the advantage of thus acquiescing in the reasonable wishes of the white inhabitants, I hope to secure a better supervision of the Colored Classes. I have appointed a head [Colored] man recommended to me, over the Village, with orders to report any impropriety to his Field Cornet, W. Enslin. This Colored man has no pay; but I hope if a municipality be founded, they will make him some acknowledgement.

'As soon as the spots marked out by me are filled a census will take place. Strict orders are already given that no Stranger be allowed to lodge there without a report made to the Field Cornet and then to me. I intend to give all inhabitants of huts a pass on good behaviour and thus I shall be enabled to keep a strict eye on the colored people; prevent their haunts being receptacles for theft or the concealment of improper characters; and have a "Labor Mart" always convenient for persons to resort to in want, whether servants or employers.

'I have taken the liberty to call the little hamlet "Colorton" and the three existing rows, Chase, Blake and Bird rows.'<sup>88</sup>

Having described the extent of his arrangements for black housing in Burghersdorp, Chase took the opportunity of giving his opinion on the wider aspects of this matter. 'Had I been entrusted with the government of a town such as Graham's Town, I should have insisted on the plan of my friend and late Chief, Sir H.E.F.Young by making the Natives build houses instead of Huts<sup>89</sup> : but here in the remote wilderness, with such rude tribes as the Tambookies, Mantatees etc., I find it impossible.' He trusted, however, 'that time [might] enable [him] more effectually to carry out [his] incipient ideas'.<sup>90</sup>

The establishment of 'Colorton' did not solve the problem created by the 'Native vagrants' of whom the North-Eastern frontiersmen complained as bitterly as did the farmers along the Eastern frontier : the field-cornets and police were fighting a losing battle to restrict the movements of the Tambookies and Mantatees.<sup>91</sup> It is interesting to note that membership of the police force was not limited to whites; there was officially no distinction on racial grounds, and salaries depended on competence, not colour.<sup>92</sup> So many of the cases heard in the Albert magistrate's court involved blacks,

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<sup>88</sup>After the Civil Commissioner, the Clerk of the Peace and the Clerk to the Civil Commissioner in the Division of Albert.

<sup>89</sup>cf. 'Rules proposed for locations in the Eastern Districts', dated 4.6.47, GH 22/3, no. 13.

<sup>90</sup>Chase to Secretary to the Government, 9.6.48, CO 2851.

<sup>91</sup>Chase to Secretary to the Government, 13.10.48, CO 2852.

<sup>92</sup>Montagu to Resident Magistrate, Albert, 28.12.48, CO 5184, p. 400.

that Chase went to considerable trouble to gain permission to employ an interpreter, to ensure that justice would be done.<sup>93</sup>

It was clearly impossible to prevent unauthorised blacks from entering Albert, and the white farmers became increasingly discontented.<sup>94</sup> Not surprisingly, the local missionaries were blamed for this 'vagrancy'. In April, 1849, Chase forwarded a memorial to the Governor from some inhabitants of Albert who complained that missionaries were giving passes to vagrant blacks, thus enabling them to enter the Colony. In his covering letter Chase confirmed the complaints.<sup>95</sup> In reply the Governor instructed Chase to forbid the missionaries to issue any more passes.<sup>96</sup> At the same time, Smith directed H. Calderwood,<sup>97</sup> the Civil Commissioner of Victoria, to arrange for the removal of the offending Tambookies to their 'Great Location'.<sup>98</sup> Calderwood and Chase clearly believed that this would be no light undertaking and that the

<sup>93</sup>Chase to Secretary to the Government, 4.7.48; 28.9.48; 11.11.48, CO 2822, and 4.5.49, CO 2857, and Montagu to Resident Magistrate, Albert, 20.7.48; 17.10.48; 27.11.48, CO 5184, pp. 62-64, 265, and 340.

<sup>94</sup>cf. complaint about defence of Albert against Tambookies in GTJ, 16.12.48.

<sup>95</sup>Memorial from some inhabitants of Albert, 18.4.49, CO 2857. See also Chase's remarks on the need for a Vagrancy Law, GTJ, 21.4.49 and 5.5.49.

<sup>96</sup>Montagu to Civil Commissioner, Albert, 25.4.49, CO 4935, p.234.

<sup>97</sup>Rev. Henry Calderwood, came to the Cape in 1839 as a missionary of the London Missionary Society. Worked mainly at Blinkwater near Fort Beaufort, and for a short time in Cape Town. In 1846 was appointed Commissioner for the Gailra tribe, and in 1848 was appointed Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate of Victoria, a post he held until shortly before his death which occurred in Graham's Town in 1865.

<sup>98</sup>The 'Great Location' was presumably the region that was known as 'Tambookieland', within the jurisdiction of the Civil Commissioner of Victoria. The northern part of Victoria was adjacent to the Division of Albert.

number of Tambookies involved would demand a semi-military operation, so they began making arrangements accordingly.<sup>99</sup> While these preparations were being made, a Tambookie was shot dead while he was allegedly attempting to steal some horses. In his report on this, Chase also described the plans being made for the expulsion of the Tambookie 'intruders'.<sup>100</sup> The authorities at the Colonial Office, Cape Town, now realised that what they had imagined would be the removal of a few 'vagrants', was likely to become a full-scale commando against the Tambookies; Montagu sent word to Chase that the farmers were on no account to be called out.<sup>101</sup> Immediate hostilities had been avoided by the intervention of the Colonial Secretary, but nevertheless the friction on the North-Eastern border, similar in some ways to that on the Eastern frontier earlier in the 19th century, continued to simmer during 1849 and 1850, and was eventually to boil over during the war of 1850-53.<sup>102</sup>

The possibility of Mosheshwe's interfering in the affairs of the North-Eastern border had also to be recognised by the local authorities.<sup>103</sup> A tantalising report in the Graham's Town Journal of June 30, 1849, claimed that Chase had gone on a visit to Mosheshwe, but there appears to be no record of this in Chase's correspondence with the Colonial

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<sup>99</sup> Calderwood to Chase, 5.5.49 and 22.6.49; Chase to Calderwood, 11.6.49; Chase to J. Olivier, 16.7.49; Chase to Ross, 16.7.49, CO 2857.

<sup>100</sup> Chase to Secretary to Government, 11.6.49; CO 2858.

<sup>101</sup> Montagu to Civil Commissioner, Albert, 9.7.49, CO 4936, p. 33; cf. Chase to Ross, 22.7.49, CO 2857.

<sup>102</sup> For a discussion of the war of 1850-53, see Wagenaar, Ch. V (pp. 115-158).

<sup>103</sup> cf. Vorster to Chase, 2.6.49, about rumours concerning Mosheshwe (included in letter from Chase to the Secretary to Government, 11.6.49), CO 2858.

Office. Possibly Chase had mentioned to Godlonton that he was considering such a visit and Godlonton, believing a firm arrangement had been made, reported accordingly. At any rate no further mention seems to have been made of a visit to Mosheshwe by the Civil Commissioner of Albert.

All the time he was wrestling with the problems of establishing Aliwal North, planning the defence of his district, regulating the public affairs of Albert and performing his numerous other duties as Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate,<sup>104</sup> Chase was hoping for a transfer from Burghersdorp to somewhere more congenial. At first he had hoped for the revival of his old position as Secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Eastern Districts, but in this he was disappointed,<sup>105</sup> as no successor was appointed to H.E.F. Young. C.H. Darling, the Lieutenant-Governor appointed in 1852, was Lieutenant-Governor for the whole colony.<sup>106</sup> After the Governor's visit to Burghersdorp in October, 1848,<sup>107</sup> Chase wrote to ask Smith for a transfer, believing that 'the most important objects of [his] office [in Burghersdorp] had been completed, and the machine brought into working order'. He claimed that his main objection to Albert was its distance from his family and Cradock Place,<sup>108</sup> but in a subsequent

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<sup>104</sup>His duties ranged from finding suitable office accommodation to making celebratory speeches on the Queen's birthday and haggling over the price of coffins for deceased prisoners.

<sup>105</sup>cf. Chase to Secretary to Government, 4.4.48 and 13.6.48; CO 2851; and Montagu to Chase, 26.6.48, CO 4932, p. 442.

<sup>106</sup>Charles Henry Darling, Lieutenant-Governor of the Cape Colony 1852 - May, 1854. Acting Governor of the Cape Colony, May 1854 - December 1854. (Fryer, pp. 90 and 101.)

<sup>107</sup>Supra, p. 106.

<sup>108</sup>Chase to Smith, 3.10.48, CO 2825.

letter to Montagu he complained more freely that his salary was very meagre and the cost of living in Burghersdorp very high.<sup>109</sup> It was not until June 25, 1849, that Montagu sent Chase the welcome news that as H. Tennant<sup>110</sup> had resigned his post as Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate in Uitenhage, the Governor had appointed Chase to succeed him.<sup>111</sup> Chase at once began making arrangements to hand over his responsibilities in Albert to his successor, E.M. Cole.<sup>112</sup>

Chase's stay in Burghersdorp had not been particularly pleasant, but he had proved his energy and efficiency. In spite of occasional mild rebukes and queries concerning his official activities, to which he replied with characteristic indignation,<sup>113</sup> the relations between Chase and the Colonial Office appear to have been cordial. It is fortunate that he loved writing. The dispatches and letters written by Chase, although rather turgid by 20th century standards, include a wealth of lively detail.

<sup>109</sup>Chase to the Secretary to Government, 18.12.48, CO 2852.

<sup>110</sup>Hercules Tennant, appointed to his post in Uitenhage in 1846; resigned in 1849 on account of failing health and died a few months later.

<sup>111</sup>Montagu to Chase, 26.6.49, CO 4935, p. 478.

<sup>112</sup>E.M. Cole had been appointed Tambookie Commissioner in April, 1847, but his office had been abolished in February, 1849. Since then he had received an allowance of £150 per annum from the Government.

<sup>113</sup>e.g., Montagu to Civil Commissioner, Albert, 28.3.49 and 30.4.49, CO 4935, pp. 127 and 251; and Chase to Secretary to Government, 16.4.49, CO 2857. Also, Montagu to Civil Commissioner, Albert, 12.7.49, CO 4936, p. 37; and Chase to Secretary to Government, 21.7.49, CO 2857.

## CHAPTER V

CIVIL COMMISSIONER AND RESIDENT MAGISTRATE,  
UITENHAGE (1849 - 1863)

Uitenhage which was near the frontier yet out of the danger zone, had been proposed both as a possible location for the seat of government for the Cape Colony, and as a possible capital for the Eastern Districts if they were given a separate government.<sup>1</sup> It was certainly of some strategic importance in the local politics of the Eastern Cape: this was admitted even by those who would have opposed its elevation to the status of any kind of capital centre.<sup>2</sup> Hence a study of Chase at work in Uitenhage, and particularly after 1855 when he became, ex officio, Chairman of the Divisional Council has an interest wider than the merely biographical. During the fourteen years that he spent in Uitenhage, Chase's official activities required considerably less pioneering zeal than had been necessary in Albert. Nevertheless his post was by no means a sinecure : his division extended westwards beyond the Tzitzikamma forests to the George District, north and north-eastwards to the divisions of Graaff-Reinet and Somerset, and eastwards to the relatively small magisterial district of Port Elizabeth. Even after the creation of the new divisions of Alexandria in 1856 and Humansdorp in 1859,<sup>3</sup> which reduced the area under his jurisdiction,

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<sup>1</sup>Reports of the Commissioners of Inquiry on the Cape of Good Hope : I. Upon the Administration of the Government at the Cape of Good Hope; II. Upon the Finances at the Cape of Good Hope, p. 23. (Reprinted and published by G. Greig, Cape Town, 1827.) (1827 XXI 282.)

<sup>2</sup>W.S.J. Sellick, Uitenhage Past and Present, p. 77.

<sup>3</sup>*ibid.*, pp. 123 and 129.

Chase was expected to cope with a wide range of duties.<sup>4</sup>

In 1854 Chase made a vain plea to the Colonial Office, Cape Town, for increased clerical assistance, and gave an outline of the work that had to be done in his office. In 1852 the office of Clerk of the Peace for Uitenhage had been abolished, and instead a Clerk of the Peace had been appointed for Port Elizabeth.<sup>5</sup> Chase regretted this change, not only because of the extra duties which thereby devolved on the Clerk to the Resident Magistrate, but because he himself as Resident Magistrate was now deprived of a legal adviser. In his usual conversational style, Chase wrote to the Secretary to the Government,<sup>6</sup> 'It cannot now be unknown to you that almost all the Gentlemen at present holding offices as Magistrates have had no legal professional education and I can fancy you will feel with me that it is imposing a weighty responsibility on officers like myself to have no appeal to one "learned in law" — to be thrown upon one's own resources alone — to decide chiefly by Equity, when legal advice would explain to me, if at fault, the written law as it stands, correcting a judgement likely to be as fallible as any common man's.' It seems that Chase was still entitled to seek the advice of the Port Elizabeth-based Clerk of the Peace,<sup>7</sup> but it would clearly have been very difficult to confer with him frequently. In keeping with his reputation as a 'statistician',

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<sup>4</sup>cf. Hunt, p. 141.

<sup>5</sup>A.C. Wylde, Clerk of the Peace, was transferred from Uitenhage to Port Elizabeth.

<sup>6</sup>Rawson W. Rawson, Colonial Secretary at the Cape, 1854-1864. He had already served in Canada and Mauritius and later became a Governor in the West Indies.

<sup>7</sup>cf. The Cape of Good Hope Almanac and Annual Register for 1856, compiled by B.J. van de Sandt, p. 250.

which derived from his habit of substantiating his statements with lists of figures, Chase added to his letter some calculations to show that during the period from October 1852 to June 1854, the Resident Magistrate at Uitenhage had heard 292 criminal cases and 247 civil cases.

Chase enclosed a statement made by his clerk, D.J. Aspeling,<sup>8</sup> describing the duties of the Clerk to the Resident Magistrate:

- '1. Issuing the Criminal and Civil Processes of the Resident Magistrate's Court....
2. Issuing Civil Process for Circuit Court.
3. Attending to the Record Books of the Magistrate's Court.
4. Attending to the issuing of Passes, and orders for the purchase of Gunpowder.... In issuing passes much time is also taken up by my not understanding the Fingo and Kaffir languages, when I require the services of an interpreter.
5. The forwarding of Wills, Death Notices etc., of which copies must be kept, and the collection of Fees for the Master's Office require also some considerable attention.
6. I am also Distributor of Stamps, in which capacity I am to issue Stamps and Licences.

Besides the above it can well be understood by those acquainted with a Public Office that other duties as Clerk to the Resident Magistrate require my constant attention.'

Since the removal of the Clerk of the Peace, Aspeling had been expected to carry out some extra duties, which included,

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<sup>8</sup>Dirk Jacobus Aspeling, Clerk to the Resident Magistrate, Uitenhage, 1850-54. Later became an auctioneer and was also a sworn translator. 1860-1864 was M.P. for Uitenhage. Died 1872.

'1. Taking Preliminary Examinations, and making copies of the same, which are generally very lengthened and mostly derived through an Interpreter.

2. Attending to complaints of whatever nature and deciding as to the Prosecution of the cases. The statements of the complaining parties are invariably almost incomprehensible at first, and the time taken up in getting an insight into the case interrupts so much the business in the Resident Magistrate's department that every inconvenience is experienced thereby.' The aggrieved Aspeling added, 'Besides which, ignorant people will always seek redress in cases of a civil nature by complaint to the Public Prosecutor, in whose place I unfortunately now stand.' He concluded, 'I have devoted on an average seven hours a day to the service and found that time insufficient for the proper performance of my duties, frequently taking my work home to be performed at night. Since the removal of the Clerk of the Peace I have been obliged to employ the services of a young man to assist me, and pay him from my own private resources.'<sup>9</sup> Not surprisingly, Aspeling resigned from the civil service within a few months of writing this letter, and in October, 1854 he was succeeded by P. Buyskes.<sup>10</sup>

Understandably, letters from the Colonial Office, Cape Town, to the Civil Commissioner of Uitenhage frequently carried complaints about the non-arrival of reports or returns from the Division;<sup>11</sup> particularly as Chase did not devote himself entirely to his official

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<sup>9</sup>CO 4396, no. 105.

<sup>10</sup>The Cape of Good Hope Almanac and Annual Register, for 1855, compiled by B.J. van de Sandt, p. 257.

<sup>11</sup>Letters from the Colonial Office (Cape Town) to the Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate, Uitenhage. I/UIT 10/29 - I/UIT 10/32. passim.

duties, but maintained an interest in Eastern Cape politics as well. In 1860 he was asked by the Separation League<sup>12</sup> to join their 'Statistical Committee' in Port Elizabeth, and wrote to enquire whether the Governor<sup>13</sup> would object if he did so. Richard Southey, acting Colonial Secretary, in due course replied that he had not even mentioned the request to the Governor; Southey believed that permission would not be granted as Chase's official business was not up to date.<sup>14</sup>

There was one field in which Chase broke new ground — that of local government. By Act 5 of 1855,<sup>15</sup> boards or councils were established in the various divisions of the Colony, to administer the maintenance of branch roads and various other local matters. Each Divisional Council consisted of seven members, six of whom were elected by the registered voters of each division, the seventh member being the local Civil Commissioner who was, ex officio, the chairman. Chase thus became the link between the government and the elected representatives of the local inhabitants, with responsibilities to both.

Since Landdrosts and Heemraden had been dropped in 1828<sup>16</sup> there had been no representative element in rural government in the Cape, and this was a felt need. In 1854 F.W. Reitz<sup>17</sup> of Swellendam proposed

<sup>12</sup>cf. Stead, pp. 47-76.

<sup>13</sup>Sir George Grey, High Commissioner and Governor of the Cape Colony, 5.12.54 - 15.8.61.

<sup>14</sup>Acting Colonial Secretary to Civil Commissioner, Uitenhage, 12.12.60. I/UIT. 10/31.

<sup>15</sup>'An Act for Creating Divisional Councils in this Colony'. Eybers, G.W., Select Constitutional Documents Illustrating South African History 1795-1910, pp. 83-85.

<sup>16</sup>Ordinance 33 of 1827. Eybers, op.cit., pp. 109-112.

<sup>17</sup>Francis William Reitz (1810-1881). Was educated in Cape Town and then studied farming in Scotland. Published pamphlets on farming and established Agricultural News. He was a very successful sheep-farmer. He sat in the Upper House from 1854-1863, and as a member for Swellendam in the Lower House from 1869-73.

in the Legislative Council that an investigation be made into the possibility of creating what he called 'district municipalities' in the colony, 'upon the basis and principle of the Boards of "Landdrost en Heemraden"'. He also advocated the 'restoration of the functions of Field-Cornets', as they had originally existed, allowance being made for the adaptation of the old system where necessary, to suit the needs of contemporary society.<sup>18</sup> In a witty and pointed speech, Reitz argued that the roots of Cape local government lay not with the 'Anglo-Saxons, tithing men and county courts', nor with the 'Municipalities of the Romans', but in the traditional Boards of Landdrost and Heemraden. He outlined the jurisdiction enjoyed by the Landdrost and Heemraden in such matters as local education, the preservation of public forests, the administration of pound fees, tolls and servitudes, and in arbitration in local boundary disputes.<sup>19</sup> A comparison of his speech with the legislation which subsequently created Divisional Councils in 1855 gives point to his claim that the proposed Divisional Councils had their prototype in the old Boards of Landdrost and Heemraden. He claimed moreover that the authority of Landdrost and Heemraden over local roads had 'in fact constituted them a Divisional Road Board'.<sup>20</sup> The difference between Boards of Landdrost and Heemraden on the one hand, and Divisional Road Boards on the other, lay in two things : there was more deliberate planning by central government after 1843 than there had been in the days of Landdrost and Heemraden; and the Divisional Road Boards were elected and not

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<sup>18</sup>The Advertiser and Mail's Parliamentary Debates, in the First Session of the First Parliament of the Cape of Good Hope, appointed to meet 30th June, 1854. Volume I, p. 29.

<sup>19</sup>ibid., pp. 69-70.

<sup>20</sup>ibid., p. 70.

nominated, and thereby were in line with 19th century trends.

Established in 1843, the Divisional Road Boards, each consisting of four locally elected members who met under the chairmanship of the local Civil Commissioner, had supervised the construction and maintenance of branch and divisional roads.<sup>21</sup> For various reasons the Uitenhage Divisional Road Board, which held its first meeting in April, 1845,<sup>22</sup> did not function satisfactorily, and at a public meeting held in July, 1853, it was decided that the board should cease to exist. A resolution was carried unanimously 'that this meeting is of opinion after taking into consideration the numerous lines of branch road under the supervision of the Divisional Board, with the limited income at their disposal — that it is a waste of public money to keep up an Establishment of paid officers, whereby the small income of the Board is frittered away without any benefit to the public'.<sup>23</sup> To some extent, as W.S.J. Sellick suggests,<sup>24</sup> this decision was a result of Eastern Cape grievances against the Western Cape : and it may have been a precedent for the tendency of its successor, the Uitenhage Divisional Council, to concern itself with political matters that were in fact beyond its defined scope. The creation of a forum of elected representatives from a large area, gave to Chase and other champions of the Eastern Cape, an opportunity to further their cause. The surviving minute books of the Divisional Council, which are in places incomplete,<sup>25</sup> give only a brief outline

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<sup>21</sup>Hunt, p. 145.

<sup>22</sup>D.C. Uit. M 1. 23.4.45.

<sup>23</sup>D.C. Uit. M 2. Meeting 25.7.53.

<sup>24</sup>W.S.J. Sellick, Uitenhage Past and Present, p. 102.

<sup>25</sup>For example, the minutes of the first meeting are apparently missing.

of the discussions held during meetings, but there can be little doubt that the members, some of whom travelled considerable distances, exchanged ideas on local affairs before and after the meetings, and used their membership of the council for political purposes, partly by emphasizing Eastern grievances and partly by adopting obstructive tactics as a form of protest.

The policy of the Central Road Board, and the disproportionate expenditure as between East and West had long been a sore point among the Easterners. It was argued, and not altogether without justification, that the construction of Eastern Cape roads was sacrificed to Western Cape interests.<sup>26</sup> There is no doubt that many roads in the East were in a very poor state, and that travelling along them was dangerous and uncomfortable. Between 1843 and 1853 the Central Road Board improved the main links between the Eastern and Western sections of the Colony, to their mutual advantage, but the Board's frequent contravention of the regulations governing use of the money raised by the Road tax,<sup>27</sup> blinded many Easterners to the considerable benefits they in fact reaped from the Central Road Board's activities. Hostility to the Road Board is evident in several entries in the Minutes of the Uitenhage Divisional Council. When asked by the Government if the Council would be prepared to take over supervision of the main roads<sup>28</sup> within the Division, the members indignantly resolved that their Council was not equipped to survey and repair these main roads,

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<sup>26</sup>Breitenbach, pp. 243-4; and Fryer, pp. 5 and 102.

<sup>27</sup>Breitenbach, p. 249.

<sup>28</sup>Main roads, as opposed to branch or divisional roads, were the responsibility of the Central Road Board until 1864.

especially as the area included a very large section of the Zuu berg pass. The resolution concluded with a well-worn Separatist demand:<sup>29</sup> 'That in the event of the Government being determined to relieve the existing Central Road Board of the Road Duties in this Province, this Council would recommend the establishment of a Similar Board in the Eastern Province for the performance of main road duties of that Province'. The Council, presumably because of the political implications of the resolution, decided to send a copy of it to each Divisional Council in the Eastern Cape<sup>30</sup> : a move in keeping with the general tendency of Divisional Councils to co-operate and keep in touch with one another.<sup>31</sup>

The Uitenhage Divisional Council again revealed its defensive attitude towards Government when Parliament requested local contributions towards the cost of building a main road linking Port Elizabeth and Graaff-Reinet.<sup>32</sup> To make matters worse the Council mistakenly believed that no parliamentary grant for road building would be forthcoming until local contributions had been made.<sup>33</sup> The Council members complained that local authorities in the Western Cape had not been required to help pay for main roads, a complaint that was to some extent unjustified in view of the recently increased responsibilities of local authorities since the establishment of Divisional Councils. In fact, Divisional Council responsibilities regarding main roads were

<sup>29</sup> cf. Breitenbach, p. 244.

<sup>30</sup> D.C. Uit. M 3. Meeting 6.2.56.

<sup>31</sup> Stead, p. 63.

<sup>32</sup> Account of Central Road Board Meeting, SACA 13.8.57.

<sup>33</sup> D.C. Uit. M 4. Meeting 6.10.57.

clarified the following year, by the Public Roads Act,<sup>34</sup> which laid down that Divisional Council funds might be appropriated for use in 'the making or improving of any main road which the Divisional Council may desire to have opened or improved, and which work the Colonial Government may have agreed to undertake'.<sup>35</sup> Meanwhile the Uitenhage Council drafted an angry resolution of protest and wrote to the Divisional Councils of Port Elizabeth and Graaff-Reinet to ask for their opinions on the subject of contributing to main roads. The minutes do not show whether or not Graaff-Reinet or Port Elizabeth agreed with Uitenhage.<sup>36</sup> Probably they did not, for the proposed new road was vital to the Karoo sheep farmers, and to the interests of Algoa Bay. Certainly in 1862, two years before there was any statutory obligation,<sup>37</sup> the Port Elizabeth Divisional Council — which administered a small area and so had a limited mileage of road to maintain — was prepared to take over the maintenance of completed main roads in its division.<sup>38</sup> This was well in line with Port Elizabeth trends, for as early as 1855, a leader in the Eastern Province Herald suggested that Divisional Councils take over the control of main roads, provided they were given the resources that were available to the Central Road Board.<sup>39</sup> Uitenhage tacitly accepted defeat. Denied regional support

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<sup>34</sup>Act 9 of 1858, 'An Act to provide for the Management of the Public Roads in the Colony'. Jackson, E.M., Laws relating to Divisional Councils of the Cape of Good Hope, pp. 28-48.

<sup>35</sup>*ibid.*, p. 42.

<sup>36</sup>D.C. Uit. M 4. 7.11.57.

<sup>37</sup>Act 10 of 1864, 'Act to provide for the construction and maintenance of the main roads of the Colony'. Jackson, *op.cit.*, pp. 61-70.

<sup>38</sup>Information supplied by Professor W.A. Maxwell, from a study of the Port Elizabeth Divisional Council Records.

<sup>39</sup>EPH, 28.8.55.

and faced with the announcement that the building of the new road was after all about to begin, the Council reaffirmed its opposition to the policy of local contributions to main roads,<sup>40</sup> but subsequently paid less attention to road grievances and found other ways of campaigning for Eastern Cape rights.

In October 1857 a meeting of the Uitenhage Divisional Council, attended by only four members<sup>41</sup> passed a resolution recommending its 'constituents' to refrain from voting in the parliamentary elections scheduled to be held early in December, because the council believed the Eastern representatives in the Legislative Council had 'no efficient and reliable influence'.<sup>42</sup> The reason for this resolution can be traced to the view held by Chase and Armstrong<sup>43</sup> that the interests of the Eastern Cape would best be served if the region boycotted the colonial parliament. In June of 1857 the Eastern members of the Legislative Council had resigned en bloc in protest against the rejection by the Western majority of Godlonton's 'federative-separation' motion.<sup>44</sup> The brief mood of co-operation among Eastern members soon passed, and after Godlonton's departure for England, only a handful of supporters for non-participation in parliament remained. The Uitenhage correspondent of the Eastern Province Herald<sup>45</sup> condemned the 'nonsensical' resolution and accused Chase and

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<sup>40</sup>D.C. Uit. M 4. 12.10.57 and 7.11.57.

<sup>41</sup>Chase, Armstrong, Billingham and Hitzeroth. Those absent were Muller, Smith and Kirkwood.

<sup>42</sup>D.C. Uit. M 4. adjourned meeting, 12.10.57.

<sup>43</sup>William Armstrong had represented Port Elizabeth in the Legislative Assembly, in 1856-7, but had resigned his seat in protest against what he believed was Western Cape neglect of the East. Armstrong died in 1859.

<sup>44</sup>Stead, p. 39.

<sup>45</sup>EPH, 3.11.57.

Armstrong of having carried the motion while 'the leading members were all absent'. The Divisional Council Chairman at this stage had a casting vote.<sup>46</sup> The Herald report continued, 'In Uitenhage every man of common sense condemns the trick, but such a resort must be left to the disappointed spirits. Uitenhage has not appointed the Divisional Council its mentors'. Even the Graham's Town Journal did not react favourably and merely reported the text of the Council's resolution without comment.<sup>47</sup> The resolution in fact seemed to have little force. Admittedly Uitenhage did not nominate a candidate for the Legislative Council,<sup>48</sup> but this may well have been the effect of apathy. The town did however return a candidate for the House of Assembly, namely, Josiah Billingham, who represented Uitenhage during 1858 and 1859.<sup>49</sup>

A matter in which the Divisional Council legitimately took a great interest was education : Section 32 of the Divisional Councils Act of 1855 had provided that the powers and functions of the former district school commissions should be transferred to the Councils.<sup>50</sup> This arrangement proved popular, and despite an Act allowing for the creation of local Education Boards,<sup>51</sup> the Divisional Council retained its powers over education until the statutory establishment of local

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<sup>46</sup>Until 1859 the Chairman of a Divisional Council had a casting vote.

<sup>47</sup>GTJ, 17.10.57.

<sup>48</sup>Four Eastern Cape members of the Legislative Council were returned unopposed: two were nominated from Graaff-Reinet, one from Colesberg, and one from Port Elizabeth.

<sup>49</sup>Kulpin, R., Romance of a Colonial Parliament, p. 139.

<sup>50</sup>Malherbe, E.G., Education in South Africa, 1652-1922, pp.121-2.

<sup>51</sup>Act 14 of 1858.

school committees by the Education Act of 1865.<sup>52</sup> The question of education was frequently debated in the Legislative Assembly between 1855 and 1865, and by 1857 an Education Bill had been hammered out by two successive Select Committees on Public Education.<sup>53</sup> The publication of the Bill in the Government Gazette caused a stir in Uitenhage, because it contained various proposals with which the townspeople disagreed, and a public meeting was convened by the Divisional Council 'at the special request of the inhabitants'. At the meeting it was decided that the existing system of education was highly satisfactory, and that any change in it would inflict 'a great wrong on the community' : the system was simple to administer, while its 'catholicity of spirit' prevented the development of a sectarian outlook among the youth. For this reason the meeting opposed the establishment of denominational schools which might give rise to religious controversy. The general opinion was that the existing system should be extended, and that the 'able and faithful Teachers' should receive better salaries for all their hard work. At the end of the meeting the Council members were duly thanked for their 'timely interference on behalf of the education of the rising generation',<sup>54</sup> although as it turned out, their interference proved unnecessary because the Bill was postponed and it was not until 1865 that the Education Act was finally passed.

The Uitenhage Divisional Council's interest in education extended beyond the Government schools : the members were anxious to establish

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<sup>52</sup>For a discussion of the Education Act — Act 13 of 1865 — see E.G. Malherbe, Education in South Africa, 1652-1922, pp. 94-98.

<sup>53</sup>Malherbe, E.G., Education in South Africa, 1652-1922, pp.93-95.

<sup>54</sup>D.C. Uit. M 4. 23.3.57.

a college in Uitenhage, as an Eastern Cape equivalent to the South African College in Cape Town. As early as August 6, 1856, the Council agreed that Uitenhage was the ideal spot for such a college, and recommended that proceeds from the sale or lease of local Crown land should be used to pay for it.<sup>55</sup> In 1857 a Bill for the establishment of a college in the Eastern Cape was published, Uitenhage being mentioned as a possible site. Moreover the Colonial Secretary, Rawson W. Rawson, asked the Uitenhage Council's opinion on 'the extent and value of land' that should be set apart as an endowment for the proposed college.<sup>56</sup> Chase replied enthusiastically that about sixty farms would be needed to raise sufficient funds, but to this the Colonial Office non-committally answered that the arrangements for the foundation and endowment of a college were 'under consideration'.<sup>57</sup> Despite several 'college meetings' in Uitenhage and some correspondence between Chase and the Colonial Office,<sup>58</sup> the Divisional Council's ambition to establish a college remained unfulfilled.<sup>59</sup> Parliament refused to grant funds for the establishment of a college unless the local inhabitants were

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<sup>55</sup>D.C. Uit. M 3, 6.8.56.

<sup>56</sup>D.C. Uit. M 4, 8.8.57.

<sup>57</sup>Chairman, Divisional Council Uitenhage to Colonial Secretary, 10.9.57. CO 692 no. 105, and endorsements.

<sup>58</sup>D.C. Uit. M 3, 6.8.56; D.C. Uit. M 4, 8.8.57; 5.5.59; D.C. Uit. M 5, 2.8.59; 7.2.60; 5.6.60 and CO 674, Secretary, Divisional Council Uitenhage to Colonial Secretary, 11.8.56; CO 692 no. 105.

<sup>59</sup>Educational arrangements in Uitenhage remained unsatisfactory for a long time. In 1877 the Riebeeck College for Girls was founded, but it was not until 1836 that the Muir Academy, founded in 1875, became an effective centre for the education of boys.

prepared to help finance the project. The Government did not agree with the Divisional Council that Uitenhage's inability to raise funds could be offset by the use of revenue raised by the exploitation of local Crown land. The move for the establishment of a college in Uitenhage was to some extent linked with Eastern Cape consciousness, but rivalry between Graaff-Reinet and Uitenhage for this prestige institution<sup>60</sup> was symptomatic of the regional hostility which helped kill the Separation Movement.<sup>61</sup> The Council's frustrated plans to use the Crown lands for the endowment of a college helped keep alive the idea of using these lands for the benefit of the Eastern Cape. The Council believed that land was a regional asset which was being unjustly depleted by sale : there was absolutely no guarantee that the money thus raised would be used for the benefit of the Eastern Cape. It was in connection with the sale of Crown land that the Divisional Council showed itself most determined to resist Western Cape domination.

While the origins of the Divisional Councils were closely linked with the supervision of roads, soon after their establishment they had been granted certain powers over the sale of Crown lands. Government Notice No. 357 of 1846, which was reinforced by Government Notice No. 295 of 1860, laid down the 'Conditions and Regulations upon which the Crown Lands at the Cape of Good Hope' were to be disposed of.<sup>62</sup> The Divisional Council, with access to the detailed local information which was a necessary basis for decisions concerning

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<sup>60</sup>CO 759, no. 144.

<sup>61</sup>Stead, *passim*.

<sup>62</sup>CO 718, dated 31.10.56.

the disposal of Crown land, became the link between prospective purchasers and the Government. No sale of Crown land could be completed without the co-operation of the Divisional Council : it was this position which the Uitenhage Divisional Council now proposed to exploit as a political weapon.

In Uitenhage, dissatisfaction with the system of the disposal of Crown lands had existed as far back as 1856. In May that year the Divisional Council recommended a memorial to the Governor, signed by twenty-four 'Landowners etc.' of the Uitenhage Division, requesting permission to lease vacant Crown lands, because they could not afford to buy land.<sup>63</sup> Both the covering letter from the Divisional Council secretary and the attached memorial contained two familiar themes : a fear of 'Vagrants' and a belief that every white 'farmer' was entitled to his own farm.

The Divisional Council secretary wrote: 'In this Division serious inconveniences are experienced in consequence of the occupation of these [Crown] lands by Coloured and other Vagrants, and the Council conceive that the only mode of being relieved from this evil would be to throw the lands into private hands'. The memorialists put their case plainly : 'Although the farmers are unwilling and in most cases unable to become purchasers, they are all ready to hire on leases those farms which have unsuccessfully been offered for sale as well as almost the whole of the Waste lands in the District, a plan which if adopted, would make a very large addition to the public revenue and at the same time would be the means of populating this thinly inhabited District with a producing and industrious class of people'. The letter and memorial received little sympathy at the

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<sup>63</sup>CO 674, no. 9.

Colonial Office, where the inability of most farmers to buy land was doubted. One marginal comment pointed out that applications to buy land were in fact being made — 'Applications for 100,000 acres written!' — while the Surveyor-General, Charles Bell,<sup>64</sup> was similarly sceptical: 'I suspect that competition [at land sales] is not an idea which will be approved of by the Memorialists. There is a very large class of the inhabitants both white and Coloured who acquire stock without supposing that they ought at the same time to acquire either permanently or temporarily the land necessary to their maintenance — and they talk of the purchase of Crown lots by more wealthy stockholders as an oppression'. In a letter written on December 12, 1857, the Colonial Secretary suggested the subdividing of plots of ground for sale, to enable the poor to buy small areas of land,<sup>65</sup> but this proposal was ignored, probably because the Council did not meet between December 23, 1857 and May 14, 1858.<sup>66</sup> On June 23, 1860, the Colonial Secretary reminded the Uitenhage Divisional Council that he had received no reply to his suggestion of December 12, 1857, but by the time the letter reached Uitenhage the Council had suspended Crown land sales<sup>67</sup> so the suggestion was not considered.<sup>68</sup>

Meanwhile the Divisional Council, with a resilience no doubt

<sup>64</sup>Charles Bell (1813-1882), was Surveyor-General of the Cape Colony 1848-1872.

<sup>65</sup>Referred to in letter Colonial Secretary to Civil Commissioner, Uitenhage, 23.6.60. I/UIT, 10/31.

<sup>66</sup>No meetings are recorded between these dates; the minutes of 23.12.57 are unsigned, and the meeting of 14.5.58 was attended by a newly elected Council.

<sup>67</sup>infra, p. 134.

<sup>68</sup>D.C. Uit. M 5, 3.7.60.

encouraged by the chairman, reacted to the Government's opposition to leasing Crown lands by forming a two-man sub-committee to draft a letter 'stating in extenso the reasons for selling on quitrent in preference to any other system'.<sup>69</sup> The Government remained firm despite an eight-page letter from Chase, in which he explained that the Divisional Council, 'as conservators of the interests of the District' urged a change in the method of disposing of Crown land. The Colonial Secretary replied that the regulations had been framed 'with great care and consideration, with reference to reports of committees of parliament, and, that His Excellency [Sir George Grey] could not sanction the proposed change without a further expression of the opinion of parliament on the subject.'<sup>70</sup>

In 1859 Chase again requested Government permission to lease Crown lands, this time on an annual basis<sup>71</sup> : he believed that short-term leases would not interfere with the eventual sale of the land and would be a good means of raising money. The Surveyor General's opinion, written on the back of Chase's letter, gives an idea of the administrative problems he faced in arranging the efficient disposal of Crown land throughout the Colony. He explained that he had to consider not only 'the amount of good which could be accomplished... by an energetic Civil Commissioner and Divisional Council', but also the harm that could be done by a less able local authority. He continued, 'Looking at the question put theoretically the Civil Commissioner [Chase] is quite right. It would be an advantage ... to draw some hundreds of

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<sup>69</sup>D.C. Uit. M 3, 3.12.56.

<sup>70</sup>Chairman, Divisional Council, Uitenhage, to the Colonial Secretary, 17.11.57, and endorsements by Colonial Secretary, CO 674.

<sup>71</sup>D.C. Uit. M 4, 5.5.59.

pounds to the general Revenue by the means suggested', but viewing the situation practically he believed that his department should exert itself to dispose of Crown lands according to the existing regulations, as quickly as possible, without superimposing a new, temporary system, 'which in the greater number of districts might degenerate into a nursery of claims fatal to the system of sale'.<sup>72</sup>

During 1859 and 1860 the Council's requests for permission to lease lands continued with renewed persistence after the members found that land was available for lease in Beaufort,<sup>73</sup> Swellendam and Robertson.<sup>74</sup> After some correspondence involving the Surveyor-General, the Colonial Secretary and the Divisional Council, Rawson W. Rawson finally informed Chase that the system under which Crown land had been leased in some districts was an old arrangement which had now been discontinued.<sup>75</sup> This disappointing reply after a long wait annoyed the Councillors, and even though they could not accuse the Government of having favoured the Western Cape, because Beaufort, a Midland division, had been among the districts where Crown lands had been leased, their Eastern Cape patriotism was evidently aroused. On June 5, 1860, the Colonial Secretary's final answer on the leasing of Crown lands was read to the Council; at the same meeting his veto on the use of Crown land sales to pay for a local college was discussed. On the same day Dobson<sup>76</sup> gave notice of a significant resolution which was passed unanimously at

<sup>72</sup>CO 740, no 153.

<sup>73</sup>D.C. Uit. M 5, 2.8.59 and 6.9.59.

<sup>74</sup>D.C. Uit. M 5, 7.2.60.

<sup>75</sup>CO 740, no. 259; CO 759, no. 85; CO 759, no. 95.

<sup>76</sup>Edward Dobson represented Uitenhage in the Lower House in 1865. He later served several terms as Mayor of Uitenhage.

the next ordinary meeting, on July 3, 1860. Dobson's resolution was 'that it is the opinion of this Council that it is impolitic and injurious to the best interests of the Eastern Province to recommend or sanction the sale or alienation of any more of the crown lands in this Division until such time as a Separation of Eastern and Western Divisions of this Colony takes place, and a proper provision is made that the proceeds of lands sold in the Eastern Province shall be appropriated to Eastern Province purposes only'.<sup>77</sup> It is interesting to note that Chase was absent from the meetings of June 5 and July 3 — clearly the Council's hostility to the Western Cape did not depend entirely on his leadership.

Early in 1861 the Separation League followed Uitenhage's example by asking all Divisional Councils in the Eastern Cape to refuse recommendation of Crown land sales. In reply to the Separation League's circular, the Uitenhage Council stated that they had already anticipated the League's move, and would continue to act in accordance with their resolution of July, 1860.<sup>78</sup> By 1864 Cradock, Colesberg, Albany, Queenstown, Fort Beaufort and Somerset had adopted the practice of refusing Crown land sales.<sup>79</sup>

Unanimous though the passage of the Crown land resolution had been in July 1860, by July 1861 at least some of the Council members were having second thoughts about the wisdom of blocking the sale of Crown land. On July 2, 1861, Dobson, who had originally proposed the controversial motion, gave notice of a resolution 'that the question

<sup>77</sup>D.C. Uit. M 5, 5.6.60.

<sup>78</sup>D.C. Uit. M 5, 2.4.61.

<sup>79</sup>Stead, pp. 62-3.

of the separation of the Eastern and Western Divisions of the Colony having been disposed, that the Council take into consideration the propriety and necessity of having sections of the Crown lands in this District inspected, surveyed and sold'.<sup>80</sup> Dobson presumably believed that the loss of the Separation Bill introduced in the Legislative Council in May, was a foregone conclusion. By the time his proposed resolution was discussed on August 9, the Bill had indeed been rejected by eight votes to three.<sup>81</sup> Nevertheless, at the next meeting Dobson's motion was merely read and then withdrawn; the minutes do not explain why. Instead it was resolved that 'all applications for land be returned to the applicants, with the intimation that the Council cannot for the present recommend the sale of any Crown lands'.<sup>82</sup> This resolution was firmly adhered to; for example on October 15, 1861, three applications for land were turned down, and the Secretary was instructed to inform the Government of 'the resolution not to sell any lands until Separation [should] have taken place'.<sup>83</sup>

At the beginning of 1862 another attempt was made to re-commence the sale of Crown land : on January 7, D.J. Aspeling gave notice of a resolution that 'all those lands which had been inspected and surveyed and the reports of which have been considered by the Council, be put in train for early sale'. The Secretary was instructed to prepare a list of such lands, which was tabled at the following meeting on February 18, 1862, but there is no further reference to Aspeling's

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<sup>80</sup>D.C. Uit. M 5, 2.7.61.

<sup>81</sup>Stead, pp. 69-70.

<sup>82</sup>D.C. Uit. M 5, 9.8.61.

<sup>83</sup>D.C. Uit. M 5, 15.10.61.

motion until the meeting of March 4, when it was decided that the whole subject should 'stand over for the present'.<sup>84</sup> The Annual Report of the Divisional Council Chairman, read on January 6, 1863,<sup>85</sup> set out a full account, according to the Uitenhage Divisional Council, of the history of local Crown land sales. The report emphasised that leasing Crown land was preferable to selling it — a recurring theme in all discussions of Crown land sales by the Uitenhage Council.

During 1863 the debate concerning Crown land sales continued. On March 3, J.H. Tennant<sup>86</sup> gave notice of a motion 'that all applications for Crown lands already made, shall be taken into consideration, with the view of reporting thereon and ultimately having the same sold'. At the meeting on April 7, several different opinions about Crown land sales were expressed. Tennant's proposed resolution was seconded merely 'pro forma' by T.D. Philip.<sup>87</sup> Aspeling proposed an amendment that the Divisional Council should sanction the sale of certain Crown lands, for which application had been made prior to 1859, and Tennant thereupon withdrew his motion. Hobson<sup>88</sup> proposed another amendment, 'That this Council deprecates the sale of Crown land under the apprehension that the proceeds will be diverted from the use of the Eastern Province and absorbed into the general annual expenditure and forever dissipated

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<sup>84</sup>D.C. Uit. M 6, 7.1.62; 18.2.62 and 4.3.62.

<sup>85</sup>D.C. Uit. M 6, 6.1.63.

<sup>86</sup>John Henry Tennant later represented Uitenhage in the House of Assembly during 1870-1871.

<sup>87</sup>Rev. T.D. Philip was a missionary at Hankey, and later at Graaff-Reinet and Lovedale. He died in 1900.

<sup>88</sup>David Hobson, an 1820 settler, was a pioneer sheep farmer in the Eastern Cape.

as heretofore, and recommends instead that they be measured and leased out for a term of years in such extents as to be available to all classes of persons possessed of stock and likely advantageously to occupy the same, by which system the amount of purchase money will be liberated for the improvement of the district and a regular, permanent and growing revenue secured to the Province or Colony'.<sup>89</sup> Hobson's motion, which expressed the basic grievances about Crown Lands, was then put to the vote. Three members voted for it, and two against.<sup>90</sup> The Chairman's name appeared in the majority list but was then partially deleted — probably Chase thought better of risking his pension by openly supporting so contentious a motion,<sup>91</sup> especially as his vote was not necessary and the motion was to be sent to the Colonial Secretary for the information of the Governor.<sup>92</sup> At the meeting of July 7, 1863, it was decided to follow up the previous resolution with a petition to parliament for permission to lease rather than sell Crown lands, but the petition bore no fruit whatsoever. Meanwhile the Divisional Council continued to block the sale of Crown lands.<sup>93</sup>

At the end of October, 1863, Chase retired on pension from the Government service,<sup>94</sup> and at the beginning of 1864 his successor, James Rose-Innes<sup>95</sup> took office. At the second Divisional Council meeting

<sup>89</sup>D.C. Uit. M 6, 3.3.63 and 7.4.63.

<sup>90</sup>For: Hobson, Philip, Vermaak. Against: Aspeling and Tennant.

<sup>91</sup>cf. J.C. Chase to the Colonial Secretary, 10.7.63, and endorsements by the Colonial Secretary, CO 811.

<sup>92</sup>Sir P.E. Wodehouse, Governor of the Cape Colony, 15.1.62 - 20.5.70.

<sup>93</sup>D.C. Uit. M 6, 7.7.63 and 6.10.63.

<sup>94</sup>Colonial Secretary to J.C. Chase, 22.10.63. I/UIT 10/32.

<sup>95</sup>James Rose-Innes (1824-1906). Born in Uitenhage, entered Cape Government service in 1842. In 1879 became Administrator of Griqualand West. Later he became Under-Secretary for Native Affairs.

Rose-Innes attended,<sup>96</sup> when an application for land came up for discussion, Aspeling, in keeping with former practice, proposed that the application could not be considered. Tennant then proposed an amendment, which was seconded by the Chairman, that the time had come for 'a review of all applications for vacant Crown lands' to be made, and for a list of the applications to be prepared in the order in which they had been made. The necessary arrangements were made during the next few months and by May 3, 1864, the Governor had directed the Surveyor General to proceed with the sale of Crown lands in Uitenhage.<sup>97</sup>

The re-commencement of Crown land sales so soon after Chase's departure strongly suggests that his influence was paramount in keeping up this form of protest. Press reports after his retirement suggest this as well.<sup>98</sup> Officially, he himself denied allegations that he had caused the Divisional Council to obstruct the sale of Crown lands, but the Colonial Secretary clearly did not take his denial seriously.<sup>99</sup> The main justification for Chase's blocking Crown land sales was his anxiety for the Eastern Cape to retain some control of these lands and the revenue raised by their sale or lease. He also believed that the local inhabitants in the Uitenhage district would be better satisfied and work more productively if they could lease large farms rather than buy small plots. These considerations, compounded with his hostility to the Cape Town-based government — despite the fact that he was himself

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<sup>96</sup>2.2.64. The first meeting he attended was on 5.1.64.

<sup>97</sup>D.C. Uit. M 6, 3.5.64.

<sup>98</sup>ETH, 18.3.64.

<sup>99</sup>J.C. Chase to the Colonial Secretary, 10.7.63, and endorsements by the Colonial Secretary, CO 811.

in government service — accounts for his determined stand on the question of Crown lands.

During the period that Chase was Chairman of the Uitenhage Divisional Council, it is clear that he and the elected members saw themselves as representatives of the people, with responsibilities to the electors that went further than the Council's officially defined duties. Nevertheless the Uitenhage Divisional Council did not see itself as the possible nucleus of local authority should a decentralised form of government be introduced, and the members therefore opposed the extension of Divisional Council powers.<sup>100</sup> The members, however, disagreed among themselves on many issues : there was not even permanent unanimity about the policy to be followed concerning Crown land sales, while individual members changed their own views from meeting to meeting. What has been surprising in this investigation of Chase's work at Uitenhage is the extent to which the Divisional Council at Uitenhage was a sounding board for wider political issues, in particular questions arising from the Separatist Movement. Likewise it reflects the vitality of J.C. Chase, whose more routine duties as Resident Magistrate and Civil Commissioner were duly if tardily performed, and who as Chairman of the Divisional Council was also responsible for day to day administration in the district, and correspondence with neighbouring districts of Port Elizabeth, Alexandria, Somerset, Graaff-Reinet, George and Humansdorp, whenever problems traversed boundaries.

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<sup>100</sup> D.C. Uit. M 5, 9.8.61.

## CHAPTER VI

## J.C. CHASE, MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT, 1864-76

Between 1864 and 1876 Chase was a member of the Cape parliament, sitting first in the House of Assembly and then in the Legislative Council. Unlike many Eastern representatives he had financial security, which enabled him to attend parliament regularly and he was not constrained to leave Cape Town after fifty days, when the subsistence allowance for Eastern men ran out.<sup>1</sup> It was in fact only ill-health which prevented him from attending every session. As a member of parliament, Chase persistently demanded a better deal for the Eastern Cape, and continued to use the press to publicise his political views. It was during this period too that he collaborated with Alexander Wilmot<sup>2</sup> to produce a History of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope,<sup>3</sup> in which the claims of the Eastern Cape were given great prominence. Probably the most interesting of Chase's parliamentary duties was his membership in 1871-2 of the commission to investigate the possibility of introducing a form of provincial government at the Cape. The failure of the East both to secure provincial devolution and to avert responsible government in 1872, did not weaken Chase's resolve to fight for the interests of the Eastern Cape, and some measure of autonomy. It was only in 1876, when he was eighty years old and in poor health that he decided to resign his seat.

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<sup>1</sup>cf. Stead, p. 130.

<sup>2</sup>[John] Alexander Wilmot (1836-1923) public servant, Cape parliamentarian and author.

<sup>3</sup>History of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope from its Discovery to the year 1819 by A. Wilmot Esq, from 1820 to 1868 by the Hon. John Centlivres Chase, M.L.C. (Cape Town, 1869).

Towards the end of 1863 preparations were made for the parliamentary elections which were scheduled to take place during the first few months of 1864.<sup>4</sup> According to the Constitution Ordinance of 1853, Members of the House of Assembly were to be elected every five years : two members would represent each of twenty-one constituencies in the Colony, while Cape Town, in a special category, returned four members to the Lower House. The Legislative Council consisted of fifteen members, eight of whom represented the Western Divisions, while the remaining seven represented the Eastern Divisions. Members of the Upper House could retain their seats for a maximum of ten years before re-election, but in order to prevent a complete change of membership every decade, the initial arrangement was that the four members who gained the fewest votes in each of the two constituencies in the elections of 1854 were to resign after five years. The remaining seven members would serve the full ten years.<sup>5</sup> In practice the turnover of members of parliament was high and the average length of service in the Legislative Council was not much longer than that in the House of Assembly, even although Legislative Councillors were elected for a longer period.<sup>6</sup> Consequently in 1863 there were four vacant seats in the Legislative Council for representatives of the Eastern Districts.

In October, 1863, Chase, who was shortly to retire from government service and return to his home at Cradock Place, was asked to

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<sup>4</sup>In Port Elizabeth the Legislative Council elections were on 29.1.64, and the House of Assembly elections were on 18.3.64.

<sup>5</sup>J.L. McCracken, The Cape Parliament 1854-1910, pp. 18-20.

<sup>6</sup>ibid., p. 58.

stand for election as a member for Uitenhage in the House of Assembly, and also to become a candidate for election to the Legislative Council. He accepted the latter nomination.<sup>7</sup> The Eastern Province Herald urged Eastern Cape voters to return Chase as one of their representatives in the Upper House, claiming that he was 'a very efficient man' whose 'thorough acquaintance with the statistics of the Colony admirably qualif[ied] him to take a leading part in putting right the present disjointed state of affairs'.<sup>8</sup> Under the arrangements which prevailed between 1854 and 1874 members of the Legislative Council were elected by scrutin de list. In the elections of January, 1864, there were six candidates for the Eastern constituency, of whom the first four were declared elected.<sup>9</sup> Chase was at the bottom of the list. Editorial comment in the Eastern Province Herald is particularly interesting. It exposes some kind of a pre-election agreement, albeit tacit, between Graham's Town and Port Elizabeth, and makes very clear the points on which Chase, the former Resident Magistrate and Civil Commissioner of Uitenhage, differed from the Grahamstonians. He favoured Uitenhage for the seat of a future government — either colonial or of the Eastern Cape<sup>10</sup> — and he differed also on the question of the route to be taken by the proposed railway. This explains why Graham's Town gave the Port Elizabeth candidate very little support. The Herald complained that it had been 'an understood

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<sup>7</sup>EPH, 20.10.63.

<sup>8</sup>EPH, 22.1.64.

<sup>9</sup>Successful candidates: R. Godlonton, S. Cawood, H. Tucker, J.L. Leeb. Unsuccessful candidates: L.J.F. Maltitz, J.C. Chase. EPH, 16.2.64 and EPH, 26.2.64.

<sup>10</sup>The Cape of Good Hope, pp. 56-57.

thing that the Bay was to put forward one candidate, and it was expected that if the Bay supported Graham's Town men that the city would in return place the Bay man in a respectable position on the poll. But Mr Chase only received some thirteen or fourteen votes in Graham's Town, whereas the Graham's Town members had a fair share of support in Port Elizabeth'.<sup>11</sup> There was no vote by ballot and there were few electoral secrets, hence the Editor added on August 23 that of the votes Chase received in Graham's Town 'four of them were a plumper from his old friend Mr Godlonton'.

Despite his defeat in the Legislative Council elections, Chase still had a chance of securing a seat in parliament, by way of the House of Assembly elections. On March 11, when nominations were called for the two members of the Assembly to which Port Elizabeth was entitled, Chase was proposed by W.M. Harries.<sup>12</sup> Two other candidates were in the running, so a poll was held on March 19, with the result that M.H. Benjamin<sup>13</sup> and Chase were elected.<sup>14</sup> In his speech of acceptance, Chase declared his support for removal of the seat of government or for complete separation of the Eastern and Western Cape, and refused to recognise the possibility of a 'midland' province.<sup>15</sup>

At the close of the parliamentary session of 1863 the Governor and High Commissioner, P.E. Wodehouse,<sup>16</sup> had raised the Easterners'

<sup>11</sup>EPH, 4.3.64.

<sup>12</sup>EPH, 11.3.64.

<sup>13</sup>A Port Elizabeth merchant who represented Port Elizabeth in the Lower House for one year, 1864.

<sup>14</sup>Benjamin received 219, Chase 206, and Joshua Cawood 80 votes.

<sup>15</sup>EPH, 25.3.64.

<sup>16</sup>[Sir] Philip Edmond Wodehouse (1811-1887) Governor of the Cape Colony and High Commissioner, 15.1.62 - 20.5.70.

hopes for recognition by declaring that the 1864 session would be held in Graham's Town.<sup>17</sup> The Governor, however, was motivated by the hope that Eastern gratitude and Western absenteeism would enable him to carry the financial measures which had been rejected by parliament during 1863.<sup>18</sup> Parliament was opened on April 27, 1864.

Unfortunately illness prevented Chase from participating in what the Easterners considered a moment of triumph—the opening of a parliament in the Eastern Cape. Chase's arrival was delayed until July 14,<sup>19</sup> and he attended only the few remaining meetings of the session, which ended on July 26, 1864.

The 1865 session was held in Cape Town which to the disappointment of the Easterners became the site of all future meetings of the Cape parliament. Most of the Eastern members, including Chase, were unable to attend the opening of parliament on April 27 because of unexpected transport difficulties, but by the middle of May Chase had taken his seat in the House of Assembly.<sup>20</sup> The crucial issue of the 1865 session was the proposed annexation of British Kaffraria to the Cape Colony, which Wodehouse had been planning to bring about since 1862. The annexation would free Britain of a financial obligation, while providing a more efficient administration for British Kaffraria than the Imperial Government was willing to pay for. The Kaffrarians opposed Wodehouse's plans for them, as they wished to retain their

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<sup>17</sup>In terms of Clause 60 of the Constitution Ordinance of 1852. cf. Eybers, G.W., Select Constitutional Documents Illustrating South African History, p. 51.

<sup>18</sup>Grundlingh, M.A.S., The Parliament of the Cape of Good Hope, with Special Reference to Party Politics, 1872-1910, pp. 142-3. (AYB, 1969, II.)

<sup>19</sup>EPH, 22.4.64; 31.5.64; 15.7.64.

<sup>20</sup>EPH, 6.5.65; 23.5.65.

separate identity. The Western Cape had no wish to take on the problems of defending British Kaffraria, especially as the annexation would probably be followed by the removal of Imperial troops from the frontier. Moreover, the Westerners recognised the remote possibility that Kaffrarian representatives in the Cape parliament might support the Easterners, and thus swing the balance in favour of removing the seat of government or of the division of the Colony. The Easterners for their part hoped that the Kaffrarians would in fact support them and for this reason welcomed the prospect of the inclusion of British Kaffraria in the Cape Colony.<sup>21</sup>

In 1862 the British Kaffrarian Annexation Bill, introduced as a Government measure, had failed to get through parliament. Wodehouse eventually decided that if necessary he would force British Kaffraria onto the Cape, and persuaded the Imperial Parliament to pass an Act enabling him to carry out the annexation in his capacity as High Commissioner, if the Cape Parliament again refused to do so. Wodehouse hoped to make the Annexation Bill, which was again introduced during the 1865 session, more attractive to the Western Cape by holding out the prospect of an increase in the number of members of parliament, which would be arranged in such a way that the Westerners would retain their majority in both houses. The Eastern Cape members supported the Annexation Bill but naturally opposed the Representation Bill, which would perpetuate their numerical inferiority in parliament. The Westerners in the Assembly, however, skilfully saw to it that the Western Cape would glean what little benefit it could from the annexation which was now unavoidable. By obstructing the passage of

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<sup>21</sup>Grundlingh, M.A.S., The Parliament of the Cape of Good Hope, with Special Reference to Party Politics, 1872-1910, p. 143. (4.YB, 1969, II.)

the Annexation Bill they eventually forced the Governor to tack the Annexation Bill to the Representation Bill. It was now the turn of the Easterners to obstruct, but, despite their efforts — which included an all-night sitting during which Chase helped keep the discussion going until 6 a.m.<sup>22</sup> — the Annexation and Representation Bill was finally passed by the Lower House, the Eastern members having walked out rather than take part in a division.<sup>23</sup>

Membership of the House of Assembly was more demanding than membership of the Legislative Council, but Chase, 'a genial, benevolent, energetic old gentleman',<sup>24</sup> made use of his position to further the interests not only of his constituency in particular<sup>25</sup> but also of the Eastern Cape in general. Moreover, in keeping with his reputation as a statistician<sup>26</sup> he caused various pieces of 'statistical information' relating to the Eastern Cape to be tabled in the House of Assembly.<sup>27</sup> In 1866, however, when there were three vacancies for Eastern representatives in the Legislative Council, Chase accepted nomination for the Upper House. In May that year J.C. Chase, R.J. Painter<sup>28</sup> and D.H. Kennelly<sup>29</sup> were returned unopposed.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>EPH, 17.6.65.

<sup>23</sup>Grundlingh, M.A.S., The Parliament of the Cape of Good Hope, with Special Reference to Party Politics, 1872-1910, pp. 143-4. (AYB, 1969, II.)

<sup>24</sup>EPH, 1.6.65.

<sup>25</sup>e.g., debate on Port Elizabeth Water Bill, EPH, 3.6.65 & 6.6.65.

<sup>26</sup>cf. Stead, p. 31.

<sup>27</sup>EPH, 22.7.64; 29.7.64; 6.6.65.

<sup>28</sup>Richard Joseph Painter sat in the Assembly for ten years, representing Fort Beaufort (1854-61) and then Somerset East (1864-65). He represented the Eastern Divisions in the Council between 1866-68.

<sup>29</sup>Dennis Harper Kennelly had already represented the East in the Council in 1860 and 1861. His second term in the Council was from 1866 to 1873.

<sup>30</sup>EPH, 22.5.66.

After the defeat in parliament of the Eastern Districts over the Kaffrarian Annexation and Representation Bill, and in the wake of the financial crisis which hit the Cape in the mid-'sixties,<sup>31</sup> Separation appeared to lie dormant for a few years. Nevertheless it is clear from letters written by Chase to Godlonton that the political problems of the Eastern Cape were not forgotten. Chase had a clear understanding of the constitutional position and unlike many of his contemporaries he understood the terminology he was using. On one occasion he came close to 'lecturing' Godlonton himself on the nature of federal government. 'I must confess I am totally at a loss to understand your idea of federation; with whom can we federate? Natal has too much of us already with a High Commissioner over it, the two Republics will spurn the idea for it would bring them under the same imbecile government as ourselves, and then the East and West not being themselves independent cannot federate with each other, the capability for which requires that each should be on an equality of power like the American states prior to their union after the [War of Independence]. . . I can understand well Removal which would be the right thing, and the best, but that of course would be resisted to the death unless the Home Government interfered. We must be content with Separation.' Chase fully appreciated the importance of efficient party management, and pinpointed one of the inherent weaknesses of the Eastern Cape parliamentarians — their lack of co-operation — when he warned Godlonton that he should sound out the feelings of the other Eastern members before introducing his federal proposals in parliament. 'We must unite, make a party between ourselves and the members of the Assembly, otherwise we shall, as we

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<sup>31</sup>cf. Stead, pp. 78-9.

have ever done, fail miserably'.<sup>32</sup>

During 1867 the Legislative Council had an opportunity to discuss the issue of Separation on July 17, when P.L. van der Bijl,<sup>33</sup> though a Westerner, quite unexpectedly proposed a resolution that the Eastern and Western Divisions should be separated politically, so that friction within the Colony would be reduced. It would probably have been wise for the Easterners to muster behind this unexpected leadership. Instead, Chase and Tucker<sup>34</sup> moved an amendment which though it did little more than ring the changes, was defeated by ten votes to nine.<sup>35</sup>

Towards the end of the session there was a minor yet protracted tussle between the Eastern and Western members of both houses. On July 17, 1867, immediately before the introduction of van der Bijl's resolution, Tucker, seconded by Painter, had moved that the Governor be requested to call the next session of parliament in Port Elizabeth. The resolution was carried by the casting vote of the President, the Chief Justice of the Cape, Sir William Hodges.<sup>36</sup> In answer to this, on July 25, Saul Solomon<sup>37</sup> moved that in the opinion of the Assembly, parliament should 'be held at some fixed and settled place,

<sup>32</sup>Chase to Godlonton, 6.3.67. Wits.

<sup>33</sup>P.L. van der Bijl was M.L.C. for the Western Division (1867-68) and later for the South Western Division (1879-90).

<sup>34</sup>Henry Tucker was M.L.C. for the Eastern Division from 1861-1868.

<sup>35</sup>Stead, pp. 83-84.

<sup>36</sup>Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Council (1867), p. 127.

<sup>37</sup>Saul Solomon (1817-1892). Printing contractor, newspaper owner and influential liberal politician. In 1854 he was elected Member of the House of Assembly for Cape Town, and retained his seat for 28 years, until his retirement in 1883.

and that that place should be where the Seat of Government is', and that no exceptional circumstances had arisen 'either to require or to justify the holding of the next Session of Parliament at any other place than Cape Town'. There were very few Eastern members left in the Assembly by that stage of the session, and Solomon's motion was carried by nineteen votes to four.<sup>38</sup> A few weeks later this pattern of events was repeated. On August 12 the Legislative Council carried, by ten votes to six, a resolution introduced by G. Wood<sup>39</sup> and seconded by Godlonton, that in the opinion of the Council, 'the Seat of Government should be fixed at some more central place than Cape Town, and that the Eastern and Western Provinces should be placed on an equality of representation'.<sup>40</sup> Solomon reacted by moving a series of twelve resolutions in which he set out to demolish the claims that had been made on behalf of the Eastern Districts in the Legislative Council. These resolutions were carried by the Assembly on August 15, by twenty votes to three.<sup>41</sup>

Solomon's resolutions did not go entirely unchallenged. Chase wrote a series of six articles entitled 'The Seal of Solomon', which appeared in the Eastern Province Herald between September 27 and November 5, 1867.<sup>42</sup> Some of Chase's arguments rang true, but others were very contrived. His emphasis on the difference between the

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<sup>38</sup>Votes and Proceedings of the House of Assembly (1867), p.460.

<sup>39</sup>George Wood was M.L.C. for the Eastern Divisions from 1854 to 1857, when he was among the Eastern members who resigned. He again returned to the Council in 1862, and remained an M.L.C. until 1882.

<sup>40</sup>Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Council (1867), pp. 208-9.

<sup>41</sup>Votes and Proceedings of the House of Assembly (1867), pp. 562-570.

<sup>42</sup>EPH, 27.9.67; 1.10.67; 4.10.67; 15.10.67 (EPH Supplement); 18.10.67. The final article was signed by Chase, and appeared on 5.11.67.

people of the Eastern and the Western Cape may perhaps be described as self-hypnotic. Just as he had ascribed to British settler pressure some earlier administrative changes,<sup>43</sup> so now he again exaggerated settler influence. 'The British immigrants of 1820 originally located in Albany soon burst their bounds, established themselves throughout the Eastern Province and in consequence its society has been thoroughly leavened by the spirit of Anglo-Saxon enterprise, and by English sentiment, and unlike the West, the language of Milton and Shakespeare is spoken throughout its whole extent from the Gamtoos River to the Kei, and from the South-East littoral to the banks of the Gariep or Orange River.'<sup>44</sup> This undoubtedly attractive picture does not stand up to scrutiny. True, 1820 settlers, as well as later immigrants from the United Kingdom whom Chase usually forgot to mention, were widely distributed throughout the Cape and beyond. They made an undoubted contribution to farming, trade, commercial enterprise, journalism and local government. But even among the English-speaking settlers 'the language of Milton and Shakespeare' would have been hard to find, while Chase himself knew from first-hand experience that in areas such as the Albert District, English was a foreign language to most of the white inhabitants. The numerical predominance of English-speaking colonists even in the Eastern Cape is non-proven, and to mention but the obvious, possession of a common language did not lessen commercial and local rivalries, nor political bickerings among them.

By 1870 three inter-related processes which vitally affected the future of the Colony were taking place. Within the Colony

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<sup>43</sup>Supra, pp. 16, 55 and 57.

<sup>44</sup>EIH, 15.10.67.

Molteno,<sup>45</sup> Solomon, and Porter<sup>46</sup> were leading a powerful movement in favour of responsible government for the Cape.<sup>47</sup> At the same time the British Government was determined to withdraw Imperial troops from the Cape as soon as possible, and therefore the Colonial Office, London, supported the demands for responsible government. But Imperial policy was also strongly in favour of the establishment of a confederation of Southern African states — a unitary state which would be strong enough not only to formulate policy but also to pay for its own defence. Thus Britain would be relieved of the problems implicit in her possession of Natal and Basutoland, problems which were to become even more complex with the annexation of Griqualand West in 1877.<sup>48</sup>

Despite these important political trends, of which he seems to have been fairly well aware, Chase did not devote all his time in Cape Town to parliamentary matters. In a small notebook now in the possession of Major C.C. Chase, of Vereeniging, Chase jotted down a

<sup>45</sup>[Sir] John Charles Molteno (1814-1886), Cape farmer, businessman and politician. Member of the House of Assembly for Beaufort West, 1854-1878, and first Premier of the Cape Colony.

<sup>46</sup>William Porter (1805-1880), Attorney-General of the Cape Colony, 1839-1866. After his retirement from office he took a great interest in Cape politics, and was Member of the House of Assembly for Cape Town, 1869-1873. He was a fine orator, and much respected both for his intellectual abilities and his philanthropy.

<sup>47</sup>P.A. Molteno, The Life and Times of Sir John Charles Molteno, K.C.M.G., First Premier of the Cape Colony, Comprising a History of Representative Institutions and Responsible Government at the Cape, and of Lord Carnarvon's Confederation Policy and of Sir Bartle Frere's High Commissionership of South Africa, Vol. I, pp. 151-152. (London, 1900.)

<sup>48</sup>C.F. Goodfellow, Great Britain and South African Confederation 1870-1881, p. 25. (Cape Town, 1966.)

For a discussion of the implications for Cape politics of the Diamond Fields see G.W. de Kiewiet, The Imperial Factor in South Africa. A study in Politics and Economics, pp. 12-28, *passim*. (Cambridge, 1937.) and Mona Macmillan, Sir Henry Barkly Mediator and Moderator, 1815-1893, pp. 189-190. (Cape Town, 1970.)

sketchy outline of his activities during the parliamentary session of 1870. Homely details of visits to friends, appreciative comments about the weather and a brief outline of a particularly memorable Sunday sermon, are interspersed with laconic references to events in Council. He refused to be irritated or distracted by the frustrations of politics.

By 1870, although convinced that the seat of government should be removed to Uitenhage or Port Elizabeth, Chase had lost hope of ever seeing this plan put into practice. He became interested in the idea of creating a federation between what he termed the Eastern and Western 'Provinces' of the Colony. In April, 1870, he gave notice of a federation motion which he planned to introduce in the Legislative Council early the following session. His motion was,

'That the time has arrived when an organic change in the political institutions of the Colony is indispensable, and that the trial of a federative system of government may safely be made, commencing with the Western and Eastern Provinces, leaving to each the administration of their local affairs, and to a Central Government or Congress the subject of Military defence and other cognate matters.'<sup>49</sup>

Chase's 'federation' plan was very different from the confederation policy which the Colonial Office, London, was hoping to implement in Southern Africa. Chase's plan was concerned only with the Cape Colony, while Imperial policy applied to all the states of Southern Africa. In spite of his reservations about federation, Chase gave a great deal of thought to his proposals, and discussed his plans in his letters to Godlonton.<sup>50</sup> He decided to address his constituents

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<sup>49</sup>Stead, pp. 84-85.

<sup>50</sup>Chase to Godlonton, 6.9.70; and 23.12.70. Wits.

on the subject of federation, and with Godlonton's assistance formulated a statement of his ideas, which was published in the Journal of March 1, 1871.<sup>51</sup>

Chase proposed that each of the two provinces should control its own local affairs, the government being carried out by a chief magistrate, an executive and an elected uni-cameral provincial council, which would meet annually. A Governor and an executive as already existed in the Colony would have control of federal matters, assisted by the upper and lower chambers of a central legislature. The upper house would consist of members of the provincial councils, while the lower house would be elected by those voters entitled to vote in provincial elections. As J.L. Stead points out, the main weakness of Chase's proposal was that it was designed merely for two provinces, and would have perpetuated the conflict of East against West.<sup>52</sup>

As the 1871 session of parliament drew nearer, Chase became increasingly concerned about his federation motion, and again consulted Godlonton about his plans.<sup>53</sup> But in the end, events in parliament moved too swiftly, and Chase's resolution was not even debated.<sup>54</sup> Moltano put forward his responsible government motion on June 1, tacking onto it a proposal that the Governor appoint a commission to investigate the possibility of introducing a system of provincial government for the Colony, within the framework of a larger federal structure. Unlike the Eastern members, however, Moltano was more interested in a federation of the Cape with Natal, the Orange Free State and other areas beyond the Colony, and did not even believe that

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<sup>51</sup>Stead, p. 86.

<sup>52</sup>ibid., p. 87.

<sup>53</sup>Chase to Godlonton, 8.5.71. Wits.

<sup>54</sup>Votes & Proceedings of Parliament, 1873. Legislative Council, pp. 20; 31; 34.

the Eastern and Western Divisions need necessarily form separate provinces. Despite an attempt by C.A. Smith of King William's Town<sup>55</sup> to have both the responsible government question and the question of provincial devolution or federation referred to a commission, Molteno's responsible government motion was carried on June 9, 1871. With it was carried an amendment introduced by Scanlen,<sup>56</sup> recommending the appointment of a commission to investigate the expediency of introducing some form of provincial government in the Colony.<sup>57</sup>

Relations between the new Governor, Barkly,<sup>58</sup> and his Executive Council<sup>59</sup> were strained because of the Executive Council's opposition to the introduction of Responsible Government at the Cape, which Barkly had been instructed to carry out. The Attorney-General, W.D.Griffiths,<sup>60</sup> was 'as great a disbeliever in Federation as he was in Responsible Government',<sup>61</sup> and the former Attorney-General, William Porter, who would have been prepared to advise the Governor, was ill. Therefore Barkly himself was largely responsible for the instructions issued to the so-called Federation Commission.<sup>62</sup> On June 17, 1871, the Governor wrote to Chase,

<sup>55</sup> Charles Abercrombie Smith was a member of the House of Assembly for King William's Town, 1866-1874, and was Commissioner of Crown Lands and Public Works, 1872-1875, in Molteno's ministry.

<sup>56</sup> Thomas Charles Scanlen was member of the House of Assembly for Cradock, 1870-1895, and was Prime Minister of the Cape, 1881-1884.

<sup>57</sup> Stead, p. 89.

<sup>58</sup> Sir Henry Barkly, Governor and High Commissioner, 31.12.70 - 31.3.77.

<sup>59</sup> Richard Southey (Colonial Secretary); W.D. Griffiths (Attorney-General); J.C. Davidson (Treasurer); E.M. Cole (Auditor).

<sup>60</sup> Attorney-General, 18.3.64 - 30.11.72.

<sup>61</sup> Barkly to Kimberley, 4.7.71, quoted M. Macmillan, Sir Henry Barkly, Mediator and Moderator, 1815-1898, p. 187.

<sup>62</sup> M. Macmillan, Sir Henry Barkly, Mediator and Moderator, 1815-1898, pp. 183-187.

inviting him to become a member of the Commission. With some insight Barkly explained, 'My chief difficulty in selecting the members of that Commission arises from the conflict of interests in the East, which would, I fear, if Representatives of each of the rival Towns, were placed upon it, bring about almost a deadlock as to results.'

Believing that Chase was about to raise the subject in the Upper House, Barkly was hoping to hear his views on federation. The letter ended with a compliment to Chase's ability, 'the Commission ... would be altogether incomplete if it had not the advantage of your long experience and familiarity with all the details of Colonial History'. On the back of the letter Chase noted, 'Recd. at Council Library - 11 a.m. 19 June. Called on Governor at G. House 12 noon. Govr. wished me to head the Commission - I named at his request Godlonton for Chairman. He [named] Smith / K.W. Town for B. Kaffraria. I suggested Roubaix on part of West'.<sup>63</sup>

The Governor clearly approved of Chase's suggestion concerning Godlonton, who was appointed to head the Commission. In addition to the two Easterners, Chase and Godlonton, the Commission included three Westerners, Roubaix,<sup>64</sup> J.H. de Villiers,<sup>65</sup> and Molteno, who subsequently resigned to be replaced by William Porter; and two Midlanders, Ziervogel<sup>66</sup> and C.A. Smith. The Commission held its first sittings between July 1 and August 17, 1871, and then resumed its hearings on February 5, 1872.

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<sup>63</sup>Barkly to Chase, 17.6.71. Africana Library, South African Library, Cape Town.

<sup>64</sup>P.E. de Roubaix, M.L.C. for Western Districts, 1859-74.

<sup>65</sup>J.H. de Villiers (1842-1914), member of the House of Assembly for Worcester, 1867-1873. Attorney-General of the Cape Colony, 1.12.72 - 17.12.73. Chief Justice of the Cape, 1873-1910, and became first Chief Justice of the Union of South Africa.

<sup>66</sup>J.F. Ziervogel, member of the House of Assembly for Graaff-Rienet, 1854-1873.

One crucial problem which arose was disagreement on the number of provinces that should be recognised. Chase favoured a federation of two provinces, but eventually came round to the majority point of view that three provinces would be acceptable, and the Commission reached unanimity on this point at least. There were, as Barkly had feared, many other issues on which the Commission could reach no agreement and on which it made no firm recommendations. The final report, which reflected the majority opinion, included the heads of a federation bill. Godlonton, Smith and Chase, however, recorded their disagreement with their colleagues' proposals. Chase was convinced that only removal of the site of the capital would guarantee a successful federation of the different provinces, and that if such a removal did not take place the only remaining solution would be total separation of the Eastern from the Western Cape. Like so many other Eastern efforts to gain local self government the deliberations of the Commission came to nothing, and in 1872 the passage of the Constitutional Ordinance Amendment Bill, which introduced Responsible Government, struck a heavy blow at the Eastern Cape's hopes.<sup>67</sup>

In 1873 Chase was again associated with an abortive attempt by Eastern politicians to bring about a federal system of government within the Colony. John Paterson<sup>68</sup> who had recently returned to Port Elizabeth from England, devised a federation scheme which, if given a chance, might have provided a framework within which the local devolution of power could have taken place. However, partly as a result of poor political management on the part of the Eastern parliamentarians, the Bill failed completely. On April 24, 1873, Chase

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<sup>67</sup>Stead, pp. 89-95.

<sup>68</sup>John Paterson (1822-1880) Teacher, journalist, businessman and Eastern Cape politician.

introduced Paterson's Federation Bill in the Legislative Council,<sup>69</sup> which was generally believed to be more sympathetic than the Lower House to the cause of federation. On May 5, however, G.J. de Korte<sup>70</sup> threw the supporters of the Bill into confusion, by claiming that it was ultra vires, as the Cape Parliament lacked the authority to divide the colony. De Korte maintained, moreover, that the Bill should have originated in the House of Assembly, as it contained provisions related to revenue. These arguments forced the federalists to abandon the Bill.<sup>71</sup> Paterson's attempts to gain support for federation in the Assembly were equally unsuccessful.<sup>72</sup>

In 1874 the passage of Molteno's Seven Circles Act heralded an entirely new system of constituencies for Legislative Council elections. The old 'provincial' basis of Eastern and Western Districts was removed, and instead the Colony was divided into seven constituencies, each returning three members. This Act finally put an end to any practical possibility of political separation of the Eastern from the Western Cape.<sup>73</sup>

Even after the strength of the Easterners in the Legislative Council had been reduced by the new constituency arrangements, Chase and other Easterners still believed that the Eastern Cape might win some form of local autonomy. These hopes were strengthened when

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<sup>69</sup>Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Council (1873),  
p. 6.

<sup>70</sup>G.J. de Korte, Member of the House of Assembly for Malmesbury, 1864-1868, and M.L.C. for the Western Divisions, 1869-1878.

<sup>71</sup>Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Council (1873),  
p. 14.

<sup>72</sup>Stead, pp. 147-164.

<sup>73</sup>J.L. McCracken, The Cape Parliament, 1854-1910, pp. 23 and 109.

Carnarvon's confederation plans became known.<sup>74</sup> J.A. Froude,<sup>75</sup> Carnarvon's agent, encouraged the Easterners in their hopes of achieving federal devolution.<sup>76</sup> In July, 1875, Froude and Chase travelled round the coast on the same steamer and enjoyed 'many and long interesting conversations'.<sup>77</sup> In September of that year, Froude visited the Bay, and addressed a public meeting, which Chase arranged to attend. En route to the meeting from Cradock Place, the eighty-year-old Chase was injured in a road accident,<sup>78</sup> the second such misfortune to strike him in four years.<sup>79</sup> He recovered from his injuries, but after the accident he was not strong enough to leave his 'quiet, comfortable and happy Home'<sup>80</sup> to attend another session of parliament. He died at Cradock Place in December, 1877.<sup>81</sup>

It must be admitted that none of the members for the Eastern Cape had the high intelligence of Saul Solomon, or the vigour and political flair of J.C. Molteno. J.C. Chase was already sixty-eight years old when he was elected to the House of Assembly, and seventy when he joined the Easterners in the Legislative Council. He displayed no special aptitude for politics. He seems rather to have

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<sup>74</sup>Earl of Carnarvon, Secretary of State for the Colonies, 21.2.74 - 22.1.78. cf. C.F. Goodfellow, Great Britain and South African Confederation, 1870-1881, pp. 49-150.

<sup>75</sup>J.A. Froude (1818-1894). British historian who in 1874 and 1875 was sent by Carnarvon to investigate the possibilities of confederation of the Southern African states.

<sup>76</sup>C.F. Goodfellow, Great Britain and South African Confederation, 1870-1881, p. 83.

<sup>77</sup>Chase to Godlonton, 15.3.76. Wits.

<sup>78</sup>GTJ, 13.9.75.

<sup>79</sup>cf. GTJ, 12.1.72.

<sup>80</sup>Chase to Godlonton, 21.2.75. Wits.

<sup>81</sup>GTJ, 17.12.77.

brought to the business of politics aptitudes acquired long since as a public servant, namely the steady attention to the business of the moment, and concern for the facts of a situation wherever facts could be equated with figures. He understood the terminology of politics, but his few speeches fired no enthusiasm and he was much more influential as a writer than as a working politician.

## CHAPTER VII

## J.C. CHASE — HISTORIAN

In December, 1868, Chase wrote to Godlonton, 'there is little of interest to record in the Western Province; every event of consequence seems to be absorbed by our end of the Colony, and that chiefly regards our Native Relations'.<sup>1</sup> This sums up Chase's bias as a writer of history. He did not approach his writing as a seeker after the truth — he believed he already knew the truth and set out to convince his readers that he was right.<sup>2</sup> Chase has, nevertheless, been accorded the status of a reliable historian, particularly by earlier writers.<sup>3</sup> His Annals of the Cape Colony,<sup>4</sup> first published in 1869, is in many ways the classic statement of the way in which English men and women in the Cape then saw their rôle in the making of South Africa. Similarly, Chase's Natal Papers<sup>5</sup> has been described as one of the 'most valuable works of reference, dealing with the early history of Natal, and the annexation of the Colony to the British Empire.'<sup>6</sup> It is proposed in this concluding chapter to examine Chase's views in a few inter-related fields, with special reference to the Natal Papers, and to make some assessment

<sup>1</sup>Chase to Godlonton, 3.12.68. Wits.

<sup>2</sup>cf. Annals of the Cape, p. 267.

<sup>3</sup>e.g., Theal and Cory. cf. 'The distribution of the Sotho peoples after the Difaqane' by William Lye, in African Societies in Southern Africa, ed. Leonard Thompson, p. 192. (London, 1969.) and Cory, III, p. 338.

<sup>4</sup>Supra, p. 140.

<sup>5</sup>Supra, p. 76.

<sup>6</sup>Mendelssohn, S., South African Bibliography, Vol. I, p. 325. (London, 1910.)

of his work.

From the mid-1820's until the mid-1870's, in contributions to the press, in private correspondence and in more solemn publications, Chase gave an exposition of a point of view which seems in part to have been his own, in part a reflex of the views of others. It was expressed with such assiduity that by about 1870 he had built up a stereotype of the settlers' image of themselves. Although Chase's style, like much Victorian writing, seems often heavy and omniscient, it was in tune with the sentiments of his age. His ideas are by no means unique, but what is striking about his writing is the persistence with which he pursued a few basic concepts. Another noteworthy feature of Chase's work is his habit of quoting figures, which in most cases it is difficult either to substantiate or refute : nevertheless his 'statistics' added an aura of authenticity to his statements.

In Annals of the Cape Chase referred to the events along the Eastern Cape frontier as the 'Grand Kafir drama',<sup>7</sup> and indeed it is self-evident that the crux of the frontier problem was the relationship between the white frontiersmen and the Xhosa. Like most of his white contemporaries, Chase's understanding of Xhosa society was limited and over-simplified to the point of being erroneous. In his published works he had very little good to say of the Xhosa, and the general picture he drew of them was that they were dishonest, unscrupulous, uncivilised and wily. This image had been confirmed in Chase's mind by the war of 1834-5, which the white frontiersmen believed was an unprovoked attack.<sup>8</sup> This frontier war was a terrible shock to the British settlers, and in their oral no less than their written tradition

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<sup>7</sup>Annals of the Cape, p. 357.

<sup>8</sup>cf. *Supra*, p. 41.

it assumed even more startling proportions than the evidence warranted. The traumatic experience which Godlonton's Irruption of the Kaffir Hordes<sup>9</sup> recorded so vividly, echoes in much that was written by Chase. Though he was not on the frontier in the war of December, 1834, Chase was nevertheless in the slip-stream of the controversy between the South African Commercial Advertiser on the one hand, and the Zuid Afrikaan and the Graham's Town Journal on the other.<sup>10</sup> He became and remained a partisan, and expressed what many others believed. Indeed the traditional interpretation of frontier history, as disseminated by Chase and Godlonton remained virtually unchallenged until the appearance of W.M. MacMillan's Bantu Boer and Briton in 1929. Since then an increasingly strong counter-thesis to the 'authorised version' has shown what Professor Hammond-Tooke has called 'the other side of frontier history'.<sup>11</sup> While it was almost inevitable that the British settlers should be prejudiced against the Xhosa, and that their views should survive in their numerous petitions, private letters, and in newspaper correspondence, Chase was one of the first to give the traditional version the doubtful authority of being published in book form.

In all his writings Chase continually harped on the malevolence of the Xhosa, in keeping with the picture of the Xhosa which was woven into the pattern of white frontier tradition. The Xhosa formed the background against which all the other characters in 'the grand Kafir

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<sup>9</sup> A Narrative of the Irruption of the Kaffir Hordes into the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope 1834-1835, including Parts I, II, and III of the Introductory Remarks. (Graham's Town, 1835. Facsimile Reprint, Cape Town, 1965.)

<sup>10</sup> *Supra*, pp. 42-43.

<sup>11</sup> 'The "other side" of frontier history : a model of Cape Nguni political progress', by D. Hammond-Tooke, in African Societies in Southern Africa, ed. Leonard Thompson, p. 230.

drara' were seen. The frontier authorities were judged in terms of their apparent ability to regulate the relations between black and white in the border zone. Understandably the settlers' judgements were coloured by the immediate advantages or disadvantages to themselves of the various frontier policies. White understanding of the frontier situation was clouded by major misconceptions concerning the Xhosa. This is probably best illustrated by white reaction to the so-called D'Urban policy, which according to the British settlers held promise of a dramatic change in the way of life of the Xhosa. It was believed that the Xhosa were turning against their traditional beliefs and customs and welcomed instead the new régime introduced by Harry Smith.<sup>12</sup> Chase claimed that 'the refusal of the British Government to accept the willing allegiance of the Kafir tribes under the benevolent system of Sir Benjamin D'Urban ... re-plunged that people into all the horrors of barbarity and superstition'.<sup>13</sup> This article of the Albany creed perhaps explains to some extent the blind devotion of the settlers to Sir Benjamin D'Urban. But Chase's criticism of the British Government for not having allowed the D'Urban system to continue is yet another example of how little the settlers really understood of the workings of the Imperial Government. The annexation of new territory was not in line with Imperial policy at that time, largely on grounds of economy,<sup>14</sup> and it was unrealistic to expect Imperial policy to be altered for the sake of extending an already troublesome and barren frontier region. If Chase believed his own assertion that the Xhosa had willingly accepted D'Urban's settlement, it merely

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<sup>12</sup> cf. Galbraith, J.S., Reluctant Empire. British Policy on the South African Frontier 1834-1854, pp. 120-121.

<sup>13</sup> Natal Papers, II, p. 140.

<sup>14</sup> Galbraith, J.S., *op.cit.*, p. 114.

emphasises the narrow limits of his understanding.<sup>15</sup>

D'Urban's system was in fact barely applied before it was abandoned. D'Urban annexed the Province of Queen Adelaide on May 10, 1835, but on September 17 that year he altered the May settlement almost beyond recognition. During the next eleven months an attempt was made to implement the September treaties. But Glenelg's despatch of December, 1835, which reached the Governor in March, 1836, confirmed D'Urban's fears that Glenelg and the cabinet of which he was a member had resolved that the land between the Keiskama and the Kei should be returned to the Xhosa. D'Urban did not take action immediately, because he continued to hope for some time that his policy might be vindicated. It was, however, a vain hope. In August, 1836, D'Urban's revocation of martial law in the Province of Queen Adelaide made his system quite unworkable, but it was not until October, 1836, that the Governor finally ordered the evacuation of the Province.<sup>16</sup> Chase's claim that cattle theft decreased during the brief period in which the D'Urban system allegedly flourished is patently false : the apparent tranquillity on the frontier was a result of the military force at Smith's disposal and the temporary exhaustion of the Xhosa. Neither the 'benevolence' of the system, nor the personality of Smith had anything to do with it. Despite Chase's assertions to the contrary, stock thefts did continue to take place on the frontier during the period of Smith's administration of the Province of Queen Adelaide.<sup>17</sup> It is difficult to believe that Chase was sincere in this claim, as it is so obviously incorrect. Nevertheless, in an Appendix to the

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<sup>15</sup> cf. Crankshaw, pp. 45-46.

<sup>16</sup> Galbraith, J.S., op.cit., pp. 113-140 passim.

<sup>17</sup> Galbraith, J.S., op.cit., pp. 120-1.

Natal Papers he claimed that during 1835 and 1836, thanks to D'Urban's policy, the number of cattle and horses stolen on the frontier was 'nihil'. He expanded on this claim in a footnote which, although long, is quoted in full, as a typical example of the arguments in the Natal Papers.

'To the return NIHIL, under Sir Benjamin D'Urban's administration, some objection, it is understood, has been taken; but the individuals who are known to have troubled themselves to throw discredit upon this statement, which has repeatedly appeared in print, have either failed in proving its error, or not dared to give a public denial to its accuracy, and so its author repeats his record, challenging objectors. It is possible there may have been some few head of cattle abstracted during the early part of that happy period, but if so, the number was perfectly INAPPRECIABLE when compared with that under the Stockenstrom system, hailed by its friends as sure of putting an end to them altogether, and preventing any future wars. In fact, Colonel Smith's strict surveillance of the Adelaide province prevented all chance of depredation, for to use his own forcible and correct expression, "not a mouse could move in all Kafirland without his knowledge."

'Whatever depredations, however, took place during the D'Urban system, occurred only at the CLOSE of its administration, and the cause is obvious. For many months previous to the official notice of its abandonment, the agents of the London Missionary Society had made its fate well known in the Colony, and especially among the Kafirs themselves, and this dangerous communication soon unsettled that people. Made aware that the restrictive hand of the Colonial Government was soon to be withdrawn, they again resorted to all their superstitious practices, including the punishment of witchcraft

by torture and death, which had strictly been forbidden, and recommenced that system of plunder which has been increasing ever since. It cannot, therefore, be alleged with any truth that depredations took place under the administration of Sir Benjamin D'Urban's policy, but only that they took place as soon as the supercession of that just and admirable system was known to have been ordered.' <sup>18</sup>

The Graham's Town Journal for the relevant period may for once be quoted in refutation of Chase. The Journal of September 25, 1835, commented, '... the Kafirs still infest in great force the country along the old colonial boundary, ... the whole of the inhabitants are kept in a constant state of alarm and excitement by their numerous and daring depredations ...'. In the Journal of March 17, 1836, 'several cases of Kafir depredations within the past week' were reported, and there was a complaint about the 'undue forbearance which ... [had] been exercised towards these marauders — the authors of all our recent calamities.' So bad in fact were conditions on the frontier, that 'Mr Pieter Retief, one of the oldest and most intelligent inhabitants of the frontier [had] been deputed by the farmers of the Winterberg and Koonap to lay their grievances before the local authorities.... he [had] been instructed to state [that] unless these grievances [were] redressed, their necessities [would] unavoidably compel them to quit the colony and remove to a situation where they [might] at least protect themselves, and find some chance of providing the necessaries of life for their numerous families'. This protest by Retief was made previous to the arrival of Glenelg's despatch of December 26, 1835, which reached D'Urban on March 21, 1836. The fact that Retief was

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<sup>18</sup> Natal Papers, II, p. 304.

already threatening to trek even during what Chase later claimed was the idyllic period of D'Urban's rule, invalidates this very claim, and moreover goes a long way towards demolishing Chase's charge that Stockenstrom was responsible for the Great Trek.

Chase's fanatical devotion to D'Urban was as extravagant as his pathological hatred for Stockenstrom, who was given the rôle of arch-villain in the frontier drama. Chase's references to Stockenstrom in the press,<sup>19</sup> Natal Papers, Annals of the Cape and The Cape of Good Hope and the Eastern Province of Algoa Bay,<sup>20</sup> clearly made a significant contribution to the tradition of anti-Stockenstrom prejudice which was a feature of early South African historiography, but which has been challenged by more modern writers.<sup>21</sup> Chase placed much of the blame for the Great Trek on Stockenstrom's shoulders. He complained that Stockenstrom had dispelled the fears of the Boers that it would be illegal for them to trek beyond the Colony,<sup>22</sup> and in this way sanctioned the 'expatriation of the most valuable portion of the Colonial community', the Boers.<sup>23</sup> It is difficult to accept that Chase would have preferred the Lieutenant Governor to deceive the Boers, but his comments certainly suggest this.

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<sup>19</sup>Supra, pp. 63-70.

<sup>20</sup>The Cape of Good Hope, p. 108.

<sup>21</sup>e.g., Urie, J.M., A critical study of the evidence of Andries Stockenstrom before the Aborigines Committee in 1835, viewed in the light of his previous statements and policies (M.A. Thesis, Rhodes University, 1953).

Duminy, A.H., The role of Sir Andries Stockenstrom in Cape Politics, 1848-1856 (A.Y.B., 1960, vol. II).

Drapopoli, J.L., Sir Andries Stockenstrom 1792-1864 (Cape Town, 1969).

<sup>22</sup>cf. MacMillan, W.M., Bantu, Boer and Briton, pp. 117 and 198.

<sup>23</sup>Natal Papers, I, pp. 53 and 126.

In the Natal Papers, Chase reprinted the correspondence between Retief and Stockenstrom, which had originally been published in the Graham's Town Journal,<sup>24</sup> as further proof of how the Lieutenant Governor had given the 'deadliest offence' to the Dutch population. The correspondence does reveal that Stockenstrom did not mince his words. However, the tension on the frontier was assiduously fostered by the Graham's Town Journal, with which Retief was presumably familiar, so perhaps Godlonton and his allies also deserve some credit for the over-sensitivity of the Boers. Chase quoted a letter to Retief, the Field-Commandant of the Winterberg area, in which Stockenstrom succinctly summed up his policy : 'equal rights to all classes, without distinction'.<sup>25</sup> This view was simply unacceptable to Retief and those who thought as he did.

Chase returned repeatedly to the theme of Stockenstrom's share of responsibility for the Great Trek. He quoted a letter from an unidentified farmer to support the claim that 'the causes of the extension of the abandonment of the colony' were 'the Kafir invasion of 1834 — the neglect of compensating the sufferers for their losses by the savages and the actual permission of the Lieutenant Governor, Stockenstrom'. The unnamed correspondent allegedly stated, 'The acts of my countryman, Stockenstrom, was (sic) my greatest reason for quitting the colony.... Did not the Lieutenant-Governor himself tell us that we were at liberty to go?'<sup>26</sup> Another source quoted by Chase in this connection was a Cape Town periodical, the Meditator<sup>27</sup> which

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<sup>24</sup>GTJ, 17.11.36.

<sup>25</sup>Natal Papers, I, p. 55.

<sup>26</sup>Natal Papers, I, p. 127.

<sup>27</sup>Established as The Moderator but the title was changed in July, 1837. Its full English title was The Meditator & Cape of Good Hope Impartial Observer. It ran from 3.1.37 to 25.6.39, and was a

claimed that the emigration of the Boers was a result of 'the paternal Government of His Honor the Lieutenant Governor'.<sup>28</sup> The reasons for trekking varied from individual to individual and from group to group. For some the Trek was a solemn Exodus or protest movement, but many writers have indicated the complex and divergent motives of the leaders and their associates.<sup>29</sup> Chase was over-simplifying to the point of falsehood by ascribing the major influence to Stockenstrom.

Chase's attack on Stockenstrom was resumed early in Part II of the Natal Papers. Napier's reaction to the address presented by Port Elizabeth on his arrival in 1838 has already been mentioned.<sup>30</sup> This rebuff to the Bayonians rankled with Chase. However, perhaps because Napier later seemed more sympathetic to the frontier point of view,<sup>31</sup> Chase attributed Napier's earlier opinions to the influence of Stockenstrom. When he arrived in the Eastern Cape Napier, according to Chase, 'was met by Lieutenant Governor Stockenstrom who, availing himself of the detention caused by two successive rainy days, imbued his [Napier's] mind, with the highest opinion of his own [Stockenstrom's] new system, and tutored him into the belief that all the opposition he had hitherto encountered had had its rise among disappointed and

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bilingual periodical, predominantly Dutch. It was published and edited by Cornelius Moll, who later became a pioneer printer and publisher in Natal, before moving to the Transvaal.

<sup>28</sup> Natal Papers, I, p. 128.

<sup>29</sup> e.g., Walker, E.A., The Great Trek.

Van der Merwe, P.J., Die Noordwaartse Beweging van die Boere voor die Groot Trek (1770-1842) (Den Haag, 1937).

Muller, C.F.J., Die Britse Owerheid in die Groot Trek (Cape Town, 1947).

<sup>30</sup> *Supra*, p. 63.

<sup>31</sup> Annals of the Cape, p. 355.

factious individuals in the Eastern Province'.<sup>32</sup> Here once again Chase allowed his aggrieved imagination to rob him of logical deductive powers. Napier had been appointed to carry out the policies of the British Government on the frontier, and it is ludicrous to suggest that Stockenstrom's influence determined the Governor's attitude.

Chase revealed a certain amount of cynicism with regard to Stockenstrom's reliability as a witness. Although he bluntly accused Stockenstrom of telling lies about the colonists in order to become Lieutenant-Governor,<sup>33</sup> Chase quoted Stockenstrom as a reliable authority when it suited him. Chase refuted a suggestion that the Griqua had left the Colony on account of European injustice, by a quotation from Stockenstrom who, Chase claimed, had denied that the Griqua had emigrated because of ill-treatment at the hands of Europeans. Chase attempted to explain away his very obviously double standards by commenting that Stockenstrom's 'testimony [might] surely be taken when in favour of the Colonists'.<sup>34</sup> Similarly, in Annals of the Cape, Stockenstrom was quoted as a reliable source, when his evidence appeared to support Chase's views.<sup>35</sup>

Chase had little good to say of Stockenstrom in Natal Papers, but in Annals of the Cape, the tone of which is generally much gentler than the earlier work, there is a rather ambiguous tribute to Stockenstrom. Chase claimed that Stockenstrom's 'general kindness of disposition, his hospitality, and the possession of many other amiable

<sup>32</sup> Natal Papers, II, p. 10.

<sup>33</sup> cf. The Cape of Good Hope, p. 108.

<sup>34</sup> Natal Papers, II, p. 250.

<sup>35</sup> cf. Annals of the Cape, p. 295.

qualities, would have rendered him of great service to his co-Colonists, had he not identified himself, in an evil hour of no common temptation, with their detractors. Ambitious, proud, and unyielding, assailed, it must be confessed, too, by a bait, glittering — irresistible, he took the seals of office with conditions he should have spurned; and afterwards, under bad advisers and questionable friends, he disdained to conciliate when he might have done so. The reward was a brief, uneasy, and tempestuous administration, a barren baronetcy, and a life pension he was unfortunately not destined long to enjoy. Never in this Colony has fallen a man who could have achieved more good for his native land than himself; but unhappily he missed his way. Requiescat in pace.<sup>36</sup> This interpretation of Stockenstrom's public life seems to be one of the sources of the 'Stockenstrom enigma', which J. Urie explores in her thesis.<sup>37</sup> While showing better taste than Godlonton<sup>38</sup> in his treatment of Stockenstrom, it was a symptom of Chase's settler myopia that he was incapable of seeing that Stockenstrom's attempts to achieve 'good for his native land' had to some extent been foiled by Chase himself.<sup>39</sup>

Yet another villain in the 'authorised version' of frontier history, is Dr John Philip, about whom Chase wrote fairly extensively. Long before the Great Trek and its aftermath, Chase's views had clashed with those of Philip.<sup>40</sup> In Natal Papers Chase claimed that

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<sup>36</sup>Annals of the Cape, p. 353.

<sup>37</sup>Urie, J.M., A critical study of the evidence of Andries Stockenstrom before the Aborigines Committee in 1835, viewed in the light of his previous statements and policies, p. 307.

<sup>38</sup>cf. GTJ, 17.5.64. 'The death of Sir Andreas Stockenstrom is reported by telegram. The Colony paid deceased a pension of £750 which will now be saved.' cf. Urie, op.cit., p. 307.

<sup>39</sup>Supra, pp. 63-70.

<sup>40</sup>Supra, pp. 10-11.

Philip's association with the Aborigines Committee had helped cause the Great Trek. In a melodramatic passage Chase claimed that 'the proceedings of this Committee had a marked and fatal influence upon the Colony,' and he moreover attributed the report of the Committee to the pen of Dr Philip.<sup>41</sup> It is not clear what led Chase to make this claim. Perhaps he had heard a distorted version of how Philip had helped Buxton<sup>42</sup> draft the section of the Committee report that dealt with conditions at the Cape. Philip's contribution — mainly relative to the frontier war of 1834-5 — was in the end almost entirely excluded from the final report.<sup>43</sup> The suggestion that the entire report of the Aborigines Committee should have been entrusted to a missionary from as unimportant a colony as the Cape indicates yet again how little even the better-read settlers understood the mechanisms of Imperial politics. It also indicates how firmly — albeit incorrectly — the settlers believed in the power and influence of Dr Philip and Exeter Hall over British politicians.

Chase was not the only writer to exaggerate the influence of the missionaries. Amongst those who blamed them for the ills of the Eastern frontier was W. Cornwallis Harris<sup>44</sup> whom Chase quoted as a reliable authority on the causes of the Great Trek. Chase claimed that Harris's evidence was all the more sound as his fleeting visit to the Colony — mainly in search of big game — defended him from possible charges of being 'prejudiced by long residence' or of having

<sup>41</sup>Natal Papers, I, p. 47.

<sup>42</sup>Sir T.F. Buxton (1786-1845). Chairman of the Aborigines Committee.

<sup>43</sup>MacMillan, W.M., Bantu, Boer and Briton, pp. 187-190.

<sup>44</sup>William Cornwallis Harris (1807-1848). Military engineer, artist and sportsman.

'a direct interest in the oppression of the Aborigines'. Chase quoted from Harris's An Expedition into Southern Africa<sup>45</sup> an extract which is as prejudiced as it is uninformed. Harris claimed that the Cape colonists had been misrepresented by 'canting and designing men, to whose mischievous and gratuitous interferences veiled under the cloak of philanthropy is principally to be attributed the desolated condition of the Eastern frontier.' Harris claimed, moreover, that the Eastern frontiersmen were 'flanked by a population of ... dire irreclaimable savages, naturally inimical, warlike and predatory, by whom the hearths of the ... colonists [had] for years past been deluged with the blood of their nearest and dearest relatives'. Chase evidently concurred with this picture of carnage, and added no qualification either to the above, nor to Harris's claim that the colonists' 'wives and helpless offspring [had] been mercilessly butchered before their eyes'. It is difficult to believe that Chase was unaware of the Xhosa's almost invariable custom of sparing the lives of women and children.<sup>46</sup> Chase did, however, disagree with Harris's censure of the British Government. While agreeing that the Government had not 'redressed the wrongs of the colonists' and had therefore not 'put a stop to the true and early causes of that [Boer] emigration', Chase pointed out in mitigation that the Government had been deluded by 'a powerful anti-colonial party within the colony itself, led on by Dr John Philip and most ably championised (sic) by ... John Fairbairn'.<sup>47</sup> This is

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<sup>45</sup>W.C. Harris, Narrative of an Expedition into Southern Africa during the years 1836 and 1837 from the Cape of Good Hope through the Territories of the Chief Moseliketse, to the Tropic of Capricorn, with a Sketch of the Recent Emigration of the Border Colonists, and a Zoological Appendix, pp. 344-6 (Bombay, 1838).

<sup>46</sup>cf. Cory, III, p. 73, and Oxford History, I, p. 243.

<sup>47</sup>Natal Papers, I, p. 82.

further evidence of Chase's mistaken belief in Dr Philip's influence.

In the second volume of the Natal Papers the influence of the missionaries was again misrepresented when Chase quoted an allegation made by J.N. Boschof<sup>48</sup> that Dr Philip was responsible for the refusal of the British Government to approve an ordinance against vagrancy. Shortly before D'Urban's arrival as Governor of the Cape in 1834, Acting Governor Wade had issued a draft ordinance to restrict the mobility of so-called Coloured vagrants. This measure was subsequently passed by the newly established Legislative Council, in spite of D'Urban's disapproval. The Chief Justice, Sir John Wylde,<sup>49</sup> advised the Governor that the proposed vagrancy ordinance was repugnant to Ordinance 50, while several leading missionaries, including Philip and Boyce<sup>50</sup> condemned the measure. D'Urban suspended the ordinance which was in due course disallowed by the British Government.<sup>51</sup> Boschof gave his own version of this abortive attempt to introduce a vagrancy ordinance at the Cape. 'Sir Benjamin D'Urban, actually brought the question before the council, supported by memorials from the people throughout the colony — the ordinance passed — but to the astonishment of all who saw the necessity of such a law, the Governor, upon the representation of Dr Philip, had turned round upon the measure, and it was rejected in England — showing that we were not to be

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<sup>48</sup>J.N. Boschof (1808-1881). 1824-1838 was clerk in C.C.'s office, Graaff-Reinet. In May 1838 used his leave to visit the Voortrekkers, and reported their situation in GTJ. Having exceeded his leave he was dismissed from his post, and he subsequently moved to Natal, where he became a member of the Volksraad. He moved to the O.F.S., in 1855 he became the Free State's second President, but resigned in 1859 and went farming in Natal. Was a member of the Natal Legislative Assembly 1862-1873.

<sup>49</sup>(Sir) John Wylde (1781-1859). Chief Justice of the Cape Colony, 1827-1855.

<sup>50</sup>Rev. William Binnington Boyce (1803-1889). Methodist Missionary who worked at the Cape 1829-1843.

<sup>51</sup>Walker, E.A., A History of Southern Africa, pp. 173-4.

protected against vagrancy, the greatest encouragement to all more serious crimes'. Chase did not qualify this quotation and even the implication that the Governor had willingly sponsored the passage of the vagrancy ordinance was allowed to pass without comment.<sup>52</sup>

In a discussion of the effect of Boer migration on the Griqua, Chase found yet another opportunity to criticise Dr Philip. Chase had harboured strong feelings about the Griqua and the missionaries ever since his journey to Griquatown in 1825.<sup>53</sup> The Boers who trekked beyond the Orange River with their cattle during the annual dry season had been accused of displacing the Griqua. Chase, however, claimed that the Griqua had no more right to the land than the Boers, as the Griqua themselves had displaced the Bushmen.<sup>54</sup> There was more than a grain of truth in this charge against the Griqua,<sup>55</sup> but Chase's argument, in any case weakened by its unpleasant virulence, was based on the flimsy premise that the original occupants of land were the only people entitled to use it. Chase had in fact laboured the weakness of this very argument in 1831 in his pamphlet on slavery.<sup>56</sup> The digression on the Griqua looks like yet another pretext for an attack on the London Missionary Society, and particularly on Dr Philip, who in 1825 had encouraged the Griqua to settle on the land occupied by Bushmen near Philippolis. According to J.S. Marais, Philip had obviously realised that this step was fraught with danger for the

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<sup>52</sup>Natal Papers, II, p. 83. (cf. Natal Papers, I, p. 44.)

<sup>53</sup>Supra, pp. 10 & 11.

<sup>54</sup>Natal Papers, II, pp. 253-4.

<sup>55</sup>cf. Marais, J.S., The Cape Coloured People, p. 23.

<sup>56</sup>Supra, pp. 36-7. See p.10 of Chase's pamphlet on slave emancipation.

Bushmen, but it appeared to be the best arrangement that could be made in the circumstances.<sup>57</sup> In Chase's opinion Dr Philip had callously connived at the seizure of Bushman hunting grounds by the Griqua.

The main reason for Chase's attacks on Stockenström and Philip appears to have been his belief that they had slandered the colonists, both Dutch and British. Chase's own attitude towards these groups is therefore interesting. His unfailingly flattering assessment of the British settlers has already been discussed,<sup>58</sup> but clearly he also had great sympathy with the frontier Boers — possibly because he identified the sufferings and grievances of the Voortrekkers with the sufferings and grievances of the British settlers. In fact he implied that some British settlers might also have trekked out of the Colony, had they not been restrained by their loyalty to Britain, or their fear that they were not strong enough to flaunt British authority. Some insight into Chase's understanding of the Boers can be gained by comparing his interpretation of the reasons for the Great Trek with the much later and self-consciously nationalist interpretation of this movement by Professor F.A. van Jaarsveld.<sup>59</sup> Chase emphasised the Boers' despair at the reversal of the D'Urban system, and their concern over the threat to their lives and property which the treaty system allegedly aggravated. Chase attempted to counteract the 'odium' cast upon the frontiersmen by Dr Philip, mainly because he believed that the disrepute of the frontiersmen would prevent the British Government from paying compensation to the whites for losses sustained

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<sup>57</sup>Marais, J.S., The Cape Coloured People, p. 40.

<sup>58</sup>Supra, pp. 16, 55, 57.

<sup>59</sup>Van Jaarsveld, F.A., The Rise of Afrikaner Nationalism, pp. 11, 12. 20.

on the frontier. Chase's emphasis thus seems to have been mainly economic. In this he was probably typical of his fellow-settlers, many of whom had been well-acquainted with poverty in England, and whose main ambition at the Cape was to find financial security. The frontier Boers, on the other hand, had probably not been exposed to much hunger or nakedness amongst themselves, although their lives were far from luxurious. No doubt the Boers feared economic loss if they remained on the frontier — and if figures quoted by Chase are in any way a guide, they had very valuable flocks and herds to fear for<sup>60</sup> — but undoubtedly in some cases at least, there was an ideological rather than an economic motive for the Trek. Van Jaarsveld claims that one of the major reasons for the Trek was the British Government's onslaught on what the Boers believed were the 'proper relations between master and servant'. Chase, however, gave little attention to the ideological motives of the Voortrekkers, merely implying on one occasion that the religious convictions of the Boers had been offended by the emancipation of the slaves.<sup>61</sup>

The picture of the Trekkers painted by Chase was almost always flattering, and extremely uncritical. He referred to the 'men of a superior stamp, both for piety, intelligence and wealth', who 'joined the ranks of their expatriated countrymen' despite the troubles in Natal.<sup>62</sup> Elsewhere he quoted the American missionary, Daniel Lindley,<sup>63</sup> who had allegedly 'praised the piety, industry and good

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<sup>60</sup>Natal Papers, I, p. 106.

<sup>61</sup>Natal Papers, I, p. 105.

<sup>62</sup>Natal Papers, II, p. 20.

<sup>63</sup>Daniel Lindley (1801-1880). American missionary who worked among the Zulu. For a time he was the minister to the Voortrekkers.

feeling of the emigrant farmers, but more particularly their "extraordinary forbearance" towards the Zoolahs'. Chase quoted no authority for this statement of Lindley's opinion, and it appears in fact to be a false reflection of the missionary's view of the trekkers. In his brief biography of Lindley in the Dictionary of South African Biography, Dr D.J. Kotzé writes that Lindley 'does not appear to have been impressed by [the Boers'] piety and expected that they would oppress the Bantu and eventually reduce them to a condition similar to that of the Red Indians.<sup>64</sup> Chase's pro-Trekker bias can be further illustrated : the Graham's Town Journal of November 19, 1840, carried a report that some of the Boers were enslaving blacks in Natal. Even Godlonton gave some credence to this allegation; but predictably this report was not quoted in the Natal Papers, where the image of the Boers' 'forbearance' remained untarnished.

As a loyal British subject, and moreover, as a candidate for a post in the government service, Chase could not condone the Boers' desire for independence from Britain; nor could he defend their having taken up arms in an attempt to achieve it.<sup>65</sup> Nevertheless he regretted rather than criticised the Boers' behaviour, and suggested that their bid for independence should to some extent be excused because of their 'ignorance of the principles of English law ...'.<sup>66</sup> It was only by comparing the reaction of the Boers to the frontier situation with the reaction of the British settlers to the same conditions that Chase indirectly criticised the Voortrekkers. He commented for example, that 'the English settlers ... much more wisely [than the Boers] awaited the effect of a constitutional representation of grievances which, if

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<sup>64</sup>D.S.A.B., Vol. II, p. 402.

<sup>65</sup>cf. E.A. Walker, The Great Trek, pp. 206-313.

<sup>66</sup>Natal Papers, II, p. 147.

is excepted the case of the slave compensation they equally suffered with the Dutch farmers'.<sup>67</sup> Later he wrote, even more unctuously, 'The sufferers within the Colony, who still remained with unshaken loyalty, may perhaps be considered as likely to look on with compacency at the state of affairs at Natal', which only confirmed the prediction that had been made by the British settlers. 'But,' Chase continued, 'such is not the case; for although they cannot help sympathising with their misguided countrymen, they show by their own lofty bearing of endurance, that they look to the time when the chain shall be broken and the vulture scared away which has long preyed upon them and that fair and constitutional remonstrance will have its effect'.<sup>68</sup>

While the Natal Papers are invaluable for the student, as a convenient and quite well selected collection of documents, they also provide in Chase's own comments a reflecting mirror of contemporary opinion. The interrelation of source material and comment upon it, has tended to give to the comments the status of reliability more justifiably claimed for the documents. The comment is a source of a very different kind<sup>69</sup> — virtually a revelation of the way men interpreted the times in which they lived. It was intended moreover to be educative. Chase's belief in the power of public opinion as a means of 'fair and constitutional remonstrance' seems to have been one of the reasons for his compilation of the Natal Papers. His belief that pressure of settler opinion had helped cause Stockenström's dismissal

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<sup>67</sup>Natal Papers, I, p. 134.

<sup>68</sup>Natal Papers, II, pp. 136-7.

<sup>69</sup>In Appendix B, *infra*, will be found the commentary with which Chase linked the reprinted documents in Volume I of the Natal Papers.

in 1839<sup>70</sup> increased his faith in this type of political propaganda, and he presumably hoped that the publication of the Natal Papers would force the authorities to bring about the changes he and other British settlers wished to see on the frontier. In this respect the Natal Papers may be compared with Moodie's Record.<sup>71</sup>

In a 'Memorandum' which prefaced the Natal Papers, Chase claimed that his object was 'to collect into one concentrated focus all that has appeared in print or otherwise respecting the country of Natal', and so enable his readers 'to form, by such an array of facts, a dispassionate judgement' on the 'late extraordinary events' at Natal. He wished to demonstrate that there were 'two sides to the Natal question'. Presumably Chase wished to see justice done to the reputation of the Trekkers because the grievances which he claimed had caused the Great Trek were the same grievances of which the Albany settlers continued to complain. A vindication of the Trekkers would, perhaps, be a vindication of the settlers. Possibly Chase reasoned that if it could be proved that cattle theft and frontier disturbances were the result of Government policy, there might be some chance that the settlers would receive compensation for what they claimed to have lost at the hands of the Xhosa. It is, however, unlikely that Chase was personally seeking compensation for frontier losses. He had been in Cape Town during the war of 1854-5, and Cradock Place, whither he had moved in 1839, was behind the frontier zone.

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<sup>70</sup>Supra, p. 66.

<sup>71</sup>The Record or a Series of Official Papers Relative to the Condition and Treatment of the Native Tribes of South Africa, compiled, translated and edited by Donald Moodie. These reprinted documents were published in five separate unbound parts between 1838 and 1841. A photostatic reprint of all five parts bound in one volume, was published by A.A. Balkema of Cape Town in 1960.

It is likely that Chase regarded the writing of books as a good way of making a name for himself. After his move from Port Elizabeth to Cradock Place,<sup>72</sup> he had more free time than hitherto and the opportunity to write. During the early 'forties, in addition to the Natal Papers, he also produced The Cape of Good Hope and the Eastern Province of Algoa Bay.<sup>73</sup> Earlier in his career Chase had frankly expressed the hope that his cartography would win him an appointment in the government service.<sup>74</sup> It is suggested that the Natal Papers and Chase's other publications of the 'thirties and 'forties were produced partly in the belief that they might help him to the magistracy for which he hoped.<sup>75</sup> The criticism of Government policy which is an outstanding feature of the Natal Papers, does not necessarily invalidate this suggestion, if public opinion in the Eastern Cape is taken into account. As dissatisfaction with the treaty system increased, so did the hero-worship of Sir Benjamin D'Urban become more fervent among the British inhabitants of the Eastern Cape. Some of these, including Chase, apparently believed that the failure of the treaty system might lead to the reinstatement of Sir Benjamin as Governor of the Cape.<sup>76</sup> It was perhaps this hope which led Chase to make some of his more exaggerated claims in favour of D'Urban's frontier arrangements. It is certainly clear that Chase was influenced by D'Urban in his interpretation of what happened on the frontier during D'Urban's period as Governor. The two men corresponded, and the former Governor lent Chase various

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<sup>72</sup>Supra, p. 52.

<sup>73</sup>Supra, pp. 74-6.

<sup>74</sup>Supra, pp. 23-24.

<sup>75</sup>Supra, pp. 14; 82 (footnote 153); 84-85.

<sup>76</sup>cf. Chase to D'Urban, 9.9.42. D'Urban Papers, Cape Archives.

documents to be used in the compilation of the Natal Papers.<sup>77</sup>

D'Urban probably regarded Chase as a very convenient mouthpiece in his own campaign to vindicate his policy.<sup>78</sup>

In one of his letters to D'Urban Chase confided, 'the Natal Commissioner<sup>79</sup> has requested me to state to him whether I would go to Natal, as he considers from the zeal I have shewn in the cause of the poor farmers that I am well fitted to carry out the benevolent intentions of the Government. To this I have replied that my present circumstances which are as flourishing as I could wish, do not impose upon me the necessity to accept office, but nevertheless I do take so great an interest in the farmers and the New Country that if it is deemed I could be of use to the Emigrants and the Government I would gladly go. Whether anything will result from this advance and my answer to it I of course am still in ignorance...'.<sup>80</sup> This suggestion may have been made spontaneously by Cloete, who had moved in the same political clique as Chase in Cape Town during the 'thirties,<sup>81</sup> or it may have been initiated by Chase himself. Chase's letter to D'Urban pre-dates Cloete's departure from Cape Town on May 21,<sup>82</sup> so the suggestion could not have been made verbally even if Chase and Cloete had happened to meet at Algoa Bay in the course of the commissioner's journey round the coast. At all events, Chase's willingness to help in the solution

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<sup>77</sup>e.g., Chase to D'Urban, 9.9.42; 17.4.43; 19.5.43; 29.5.43. D'Urban Correspondence, Cape Archives.

<sup>78</sup>cf. Galbraith, Reluctant Empire. British Policy on the South African Frontier, 1834-1854, p. 122.

<sup>79</sup>Henry Cloete.

<sup>80</sup>Chase to D'Urban, 19.5.43. D'Urban Papers, Cape Archives.

<sup>81</sup>Supra, p. 48.

<sup>82</sup>cf. J. Bird, The Annals of Natal, vol. II, pp. 175-6 (Pietermaritzburg, 1888).

of the Natal question came to nothing, and he had to wait until 1847 for a suitable government post.<sup>83</sup>

It is suggested then that J.C. Chase rendered both service and disservice to the Cape. He seems to have been a man of large designs but only average talent. He was a sound and competent administrator and in due course an assiduous but not an outstanding parliamentarian. He lacked the force and dignity of Godlonton for instance, whose rectitude if irritating at times, made its own kind of impact. Like all his fellow immigrants, J.C. Chase was questing for security and inclined to be self-important. But his egoism did not lead him to cut himself off from his settler associates. He absorbed, expressed and helped to propagate the views of his generation. He helped to shape opinion and was himself moulded to some extent by his disciples. In his prejudices, conspicuously in his attitudes to missionaries, to the Xhosa, and to his fellow settlers, he was typical of an important segment of Eastern Cape opinion. He was friendly and liberal in his attitude to the Boers, whom he regarded as fellow pioneers in a strange land, which he himself found fascinating. His interest in history and exploration was quite spontaneous and clearly untutored. His championship of the Eastern Cape was sustained and unflinching, and in his insistence on its economic possibilities he was ahead of his times.

Chase seems to have wielded considerable influence, indirectly through his interaction with Godlonton, and more directly through his own writing. For when fears, prejudices and hopes are expressed by the pioneer with the pen, their reach exceeds the memory of a single generation. Hence it is submitted that his various writings, both

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<sup>83</sup>Supra, pp. 85-6.

casual and formal, are a salutary source for the understanding of the way the ordinary man saw the history of his life and times. It was an age which J.C. Chase portrayed as almost a saga of settlers versus scapegoats.

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- LG 653 : Circulars and Government Notices issued by Secretary for the Eastern Districts.
- LG 656 : Memoranda signed by the Lieutenant-Governor  
Miscellaneous memoranda.
- LG 657 : Copies of letters despatched by Lieutenant-Governor to the Governor.

### b) Government House Series

GH 23/9 - 23/11; 23/18 - 23/19; 23/29; 22/2 - 22/4 :  
Despatches from the Governor to the Secretary of State.

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759; 776; 792; 811:      to the Secretary to Government.

- CO 2851-2; 2857: Letters received from Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate, Victoria and Albert.
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## APPENDIX A

Some of the authors referred to by Chase in his series of articles on African exploration, and the works by them which were available in Cape Town in 1834. The works mentioned in Section I appear in the 1825 catalogue of books in the South African Public Library, Cape Town,<sup>1</sup> and those mentioned in Section II appear in the 1834 catalogue.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Pringle, T., compiler, *A Catalogue of the Collection of Books in the English Language in the South African Public Library, Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.* (Cape Town, 1825.)

<sup>2</sup>A.J. Jardine, compiler, *A Catalogue of the Collection of Books in the South African Public Library, Cape of Good Hope.* (Cape Town, 1834.);

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## APPENDIX B

## Natal

A.D. 1498.

Natal, at present the focus of all our colonial interest, and probably destined to become the scene of important events, on which some of the great problems of the law of nations will be practically discussed, appears to have been first discovered in 1498. In that year the illustrious Vasco De Gama, who transferred the rich commerce of the East from princely Venice to enterprising Portugal, visited the coasts of Southern Africa on his way to India, and passing that portion, the object of our present notice, upon Christmas Day, gave to it the name it has ever since borne, in honor of the nativity of the Saviour of Mankind.

A.D. 1575.

The earliest description of the coast and its immediate vicinage to be met with, is that of Manuel de Mesquitta Perestrello, a Portuguese Navigator, dispatched by King Sebastian in 1575 to make a marine survey, a condensed account of which will be found in Mr. Saxe Bannister's "Humane Policy", in the Appendix No. 1, but [it] is unnecessary to insert it here, as we have more recent and better accounts.

A.D. 1683.

The next notice is found in Hamilton's East Indies, vol. I, page 9:

' "I believe the first communication or commerce ... also many sorts of fowls and birds, with ostriches." '

A.D. 1684.

The navigator Dampier has preserved a very interesting, and somewhat detailed description of the country and inhabitants, their manners and customs, &c, derived from his friend, Capt. Rogers, who visited it several times, which may be seen in Bannister's work before mentioned, in the Appendix 1 - p. vi - but for the reasons before mentioned, need not to be reprinted here.

A.D. 1685.

In the Dessinean Collection of Manuscripts, to be found in the Public Library at Cape Town, is a German work, by one Johan Daniel Butua, intituled - "A true account and description of the Cape of Good Hope," &c., we find the following notice of Natal -

Speaking of an Expedition of some colonists, who had been authorised by the Cape Government to trade with the natives in 1684, and who were the first to discover the Kafir people, he says -

' "From the Gous [Cawers, vel Gauritz] River .... so that a small vessel could not safely go in there." '

In another manuscript of a similar date, in the same collection, called "A short account of the ferra de Natal", its harbor is thus described: -

' "The River of Natal falls into the Indian Ocean in 30 degrees South ..... frequently visited by Merchant vessels." '

A.D. 1686.

In this year the wreck of the 'Stavenisse' a Dutch vessel, took place, an event which led to the purchase of the Natal country by the Dutch East India Company, and on which purchase the present right of the English, to that territory, as representatives of the Dutch Government, by conquest and cession, is imagined to be founded.

The following extract is from a most interesting work in course of publication in the Colony - "THE RECORDS, or a series of Official Papers relative to the condition and treatment of the Native Tribes of South Africa, compiled, translated, and edited by D. MOODIE, ESQ., LIEUT. R.N.," which shews, from a series of uninterrupted and authentic documents, running through a period of nearly two centuries, preserved in the Archives of the Cape Colony, the practical results upon the aborigines of the migration of Europeans into barbarous regions.

'Extracts of Declaration of W. Knyff, in Castle of Good Hope, 24th March, 1687. I, the undersigned, Willem Knyff, ... while we suffered from want.'

In this deplorable condition they resolved on the arduous undertaking of building a vessel out of the materials of the wreck, and of such as could be obtained of native growth. This vessel is thus described and its departure recorded:-

'Their vessel being at last completed ... waves of the sea and of fortune.'

On the 18th April (1687) following, the Council at the Cape record the safe arrival of these bold adventurers. It sets forth:-

'The Captain of that vessel, ... they conjectured it to be gold.... Having found that the vessel was about 25 tons ... at six guilders per muid.'

A few months afterwards, viz., in November, the company resolved to send this little vessel back, on a voyage in search of the seamen still missing. The official dispatch thus gives the result of this voyage:-

'We did not long detain in inactivity the little vessel ... during all the time of their abode in that country.'

The accounts which were brought to the Cape by these people of the amazing fertility and strange productions of Natal, seem to have excited the curiosity as well as the cupidity of the Council, and hence they resolved to send another vessel, the Noord, to make further discoveries at Natal, and along the coast to the east. The despatch of the Council, dated April 15, 1689, states:-

'The commander, being meantime disinclined to keep the galliot ... men still missing of the crew of the Stavenisse.'

This vessel having reached De La Goa on the 29th December, and having

'Fully completed the survey .... remained on the beach.'

These persons gave much information respecting the Natal country and the inhabitants, which at this time a-day it is not a little amusing to peruse. They state, among other marvels:-

'One may travel 200 or 300 mylen ... taken down from the mouths [of our men].'

In a subsequent despatch, the council thus state, specifically the objects of the voyage:-

'It was unanimously resolved to send the galiot Noord ... which have been ordered with regard to Natal.'

The instructions actually given to the officers of the Galiot were:-

'Watching a fitting opportunity ... a chart of it drawn by the quartermaster Cornelis Heremans.'

The result of this negotiation is thus given:-

'On the 4th December [the Noord] arrived before the Bay of Natal ... and fully as many in its entrance.'

This vessel was unfortunately soon afterwards wrecked not far from De laGoa [Algoa] Bay. The particulars of this catastrophe are thus narrated:-

'Having on the day following the 16th, ... through which we have requeently travelled.'

Thus ended this unfortunate expedition; and upon which in a note the Council thus remark:-

'The galiot appears to have been shamefully thrown away ... so unfortunately lost their lives.'

A.D. 1705.

The permanent purchase thus supposed to have been effected, it seems was denied by the successor of the chief who alienated his patrilineal possessions.

John Maxwell in his account of the Cape of Good Hope in 1706 (published in London, in 1715), says, -

' "At the Cape I met with one Joanis Gerbrantzer, ... having no orders concerning it from the Company" '.

Upon the general question of the sale of lands, by savages to European adventurers, the following pertinent remarks by Hugh Murray in his "Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Africa," by the late Dr. Leyden, are worthy of attention. He observes, speaking of similar transactions at Sierra Leone:-

' "Much more formidable obstacles presented themselves ... in resuming that right which he abandoned without reflection." - Vol 2, p. 260.'

A.D. 1719.

Natal about this time seems to have been commonly resorted to for the purpose of purchasing slaves, and several English vessels, some of extraordinary small tonnage, visited the coast for that nefarious purpose.

One Robert Drury, who published his adventures about this time, says:-

' "Here we traded for slaves, with large brass rings or rather collars, and several other commodities. In a fortnight we purchased 74 boys and girls," &c.'

On the 23rd of December, of this year, orders were addressed from Holland to the Cape Government to establish factories, both at Dela Goa and Natal Bays, which were carried into effect in 1721, but on the 19th of April, 1729, directions were sent out to abandon the latter-named place, and it no where appears that any subsequent attempt was ever made, either to claim, re-occupy, or recognize the territory in question, on the part of the Dutch, as a dependency.

In the interval, between these years, several interesting journies were made overland from De la Goa to Natal, and from thence to the Cape Colony, especially one by Lieut. Monas, the Commandant of De la Goa, in 1727.

A complete history of occurrences at both these settlements is to be found in the Archives of the Colonial Office at Cape Town, under the following dates:-

|                                 |                     |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|
| 23rd December, 1719             | 18th December, 1725 |
| 5th July, 1721                  | 12th January, 1726  |
| 21st " "                        | 3rd July, "         |
| 11th October, "                 | 17th September, "   |
| 9th November "                  | 26th December, "    |
| 6th March, 1722                 | 31st December, "    |
| 15th December, "                | 27th August, 1727   |
| 15th June, 1723                 | 18th October, "     |
| 26th <sup>h</sup> January, 1724 | 27th " "            |
| 21st August, "                  | 19th January, 1728  |
| 22nd " "                        | 31st January, "     |
| 15th December, "                | 11th August, "      |

|                    |                    |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| 17th January, 1725 | 12th January, 1729 |
| 29th March, "      | 14th April, "      |
| 13th " "           | 15th " "           |
| 9th July, "        | 22nd October, 1729 |
| 10th " "           | 2nd May, 1731      |
| 26th September, "  | 19th " "           |

In 1755

The Doddington, an English East India Ship, was wrecked on one of the Bird Islands, situated near Cape Padron, in Algoa Bay, and after a seven months residence on that rocky spot, the survivors, having built a small vessel, called the "Happy Deliverance," made their escape on the 16th February, 1756. On the 15th of March they safely anchored the little craft in one of the Rivers of the Natal coast, in two and a half fathom; and on the 6th of April following they also put into the River St. Lucia, the Omvalozie of the Zoolahs. The particulars of their voyage - their intercourse with the natives - and the appearance of the country - may be seen in Bannister, Appendix 1 - p. xxxiii.

From this period up to 1806, several wrecks took place upon the coast.

A.D. 1782.

Amongst these melancholy events was that of the Grosvenor Indiaman, in 1782, but no attempts were made to settle, although the descendants, both of Europeans and Lascars, who escaped from those frightful catastrophes, are still distinctly traceable among the inhabitants up to the present day.

A.D. 1806.

The Cape Colony fell into the hands of the British government by its conquest in 1806, upon which the then Colonial Governor surrendered "the whole of the settlement of the Cape of Good Hope with all its dependancies, and all the rights and privileges held and exercised by the Batavian Government." (footnote: Article 1st of capitulation proposed to and accepted by Lieut. General Jansens, 18th January, 1806.) What was meant at the time by the term 'dependancies' - for except Natal and De la Goa - the Colony never

held anything approaching to such a designation - does not appear, and whether the expression was a mere technicality, common to all such documents, and used, of course, - or whether it included those old and temporary settlements, relinquished seventy years before, is a point over which much ink and perhaps some gunpowder may yet be expended.

A.D. 1815.

Whatever the rights conveyed by the capitulation of 1806 were, they were fully and finally confirmed in 1815, at the Treaty of Paris, when the Cape Colony was for ever ceded to Great Britain, but still without any description of, or expressed reference to the "dependencies", in question.

A.D. 1823.

In the latter part of the year 1823, Lieut. Farewell, of the Royal Navy, and Mr Alexander Thomson, a merchant of Cape Town, impressed with an idea that a lucrative traffic might be successfully carried on along the Eastern Coast of Africa, accompanied Lieut. King, R.N., of the *Salisbury*, on a voyage to the East coast. Having arrived in the neighbourhood where they intended to commence operations, they attempted several parts, when it appeared impossible to land. The boats were then sent on shore at St. Lucia, on the coast of Fumos; but Mr Farewell's upset, and he, although considerably bruised, miraculously escaped being drowned. Several days later, Mr Thomson met with a similar accident, his boat being overwhelmed when nearly a mile from the beach; they all gained the shore by swimming, except three poor fellows who perished in the attempt. The party now determined on abandoning this place, their views being directed to another quarter: several weeks having elapsed, they ran into Port Natal, but the voyage proving altogether unsuccessful, they returned to the Cape of Good Hope. The *Salisbury* and *Julia*, its tender, were the first vessels that entered that port during the life-time of the oldest inhabitants.

A.D. 1824.

In the following year Lieut Farewell induced a party of about 25 persons to join him from the Cape, having conceived the idea that

an establishment at Natal would supersede the commerce of the Portuguese at De la Goa Bay, and the neighbouring settlements, and attract it towards his own little colony. Lieut. King at this time, joined the intrepid adventurer, and in order to procure supplies and excite an interest in their embryo settlement, proceeded to England for the purpose. Anxious to promote the welfare of his promising settlement, Farewell now endeavoured also to procure the patronage and recognition of the new colony by the Government, and he addressed the then Governor of the Cape, Lord Charles Somerset, explaining his views and prospects in the following communication.

' "Cape Town, May 1, 1824. ... To His Excellency the Governor."  
Reply to the last letter.

"Colonial Office, May 5, 1824. ... To Mr. Farewell" '  
Letter from Mr Farewell to the Governor of the Cape.

"Port Natal, September, 1824. ... To His Excellency the Governor"

A.D. 1824.

Farewell's party of settlers finding the country about Natal in every direction completely depopulated, and the Zoola sovereign, Chaka, so absorbed in his warlike and predatory expeditions, and abandoned to a thirst of universal conquest as to be careless of trade, soon became disappointed, and a schism took place between them, which ended in their separation, and the abandonment of the place by all but Farewell. Expecting to be able to convince Chaka of the advantages of commerce, and to establish a trade with the western tribes, he dispatched several missionaries in that direction, but the quarrels in which he had been engaged with his associates had a very serious influence on his enterprise, especially with Chaka, whose shrewdness enabled him to take advantage of the absurd but very natural differences among the European party, which being composed of heterogenous materials and impatient of all control, carried with it the seed of its own dissolution.

The history of the tribes found by Farewell and his party in possession of the country of and around Natal, derived from Mr. H. Fynn, has been thus given by Major Charters, and can be depended upon:-

'In the year 1780 a chief of the name of Tingeswio ... not less than 1,000,000 human beings were destroyed by him.'

The character of the Chief of the Zoolahs, [or Zulus] and the extent of his conquests, has also been described by Farewell himself:-

' "History perhaps does not furnish an instance ... otherwise he is sure to be put to death." '

While Farewell was making these efforts to establish himself at Natal, Capt. King completed his voyage to England, laid before the Admiralty his plan of the harbor, and on his return, rejoined his old companion. In doing this he lost his vessel, the Mary, at the entrance of the port, and after combating every kind of privation, inseparable to the situation of a voluntary exile beyond the pale of civilization, he sunk under the ravages of disappointment, fatigue, and want of proper nourishment in 1828. The grave of this gallant officer is still to be seen on the southern point of the bay.

A.D. 1826.

Out of the wreck of the Mary the colonists of Natal constructed a small vessel, which they named "The Chaka", in honor of the monster reigning at Natal. This vessel succeeded in reaching Algoa Bay, but was seized and refused a Register, after every exertion being made, on the ground that she was built in a FOREIGN PORT - thus at once repudiating the claim over that place as a dependency of the Cape, - a view which has steadily been kept up by the home government all along, and by the Colonial authorities, to within a few weeks of the present time. The Custom's Officers have always levied the foreign duty of 10 per cent. upon produce from Natal, and it is only now admitted at the British rate by a recent order of the governor's.

A.D. 1828.

Chaka at this time became anxious to open a political connexion with the Cape and the English Governments, and for this purpose dispatched, along with Lieut. King, two ambassadors, to represent his wants and express his desire of friendship, one of whom was commissioned to proceed to the King of England. From causes, over which much uncertainty prevails, these people were not allowed to proceed beyond Port Elizabeth, in Algoa Bay - a place at that time, from its infant state, and the absence of all military pomp and parade,

not at all calculated to inspire the savage envoys with that opinion of our power with which it could have been advisable to impress them. They were soon shipped on board the Helicon to their native shores, indignant at their discourteous treatment, and harboring feelings of no great good will to the Colony or its Representative, who had brought them down, and to whom Chaka had granted previous to his sailing, the territory of Natal:- but why and in what way Farewell's previous grant had been vitiated or recalled does not appear. King's grant is dated February, 1828, and its authenticity sworn before a Colonial magistrate in July, 1828. The following is a copy of the document:-

'At Chaka's principal Residence, Umbololi, Feb. 1828 - ...  
Quod Attestor John Anty. Chabaud, Notary Public.'

A.D. 1829.

In 1829 Mr Saxe Bannister, the late Attorney General of New South Wales, felt induced to join Lieut. Farewell's speculation and settlement, and in the month of May, of that year, he addressed the following summary view of himself and co-adjutor to His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies:

' "Cape Town, May 12, 1829. ... "To the Secretary of State &c'

The reply to this communication from the Secretary of State was that, -

' "His Majesty's government do not perceive that such advantages would accrue to the public by adopting these suggestions, as would counterbalance the expense, and other inconveniences, which must inevitably attend the formation of a new settlement at Port Natal." '

The decided opinion expressed by this legal authority - the *ci-devant* Attorney General of New South Wales - that "I submit the law to be clear. It [Natal] is no part of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope and its dependencies," and the ground on which that opinion is come to is assuredly deserving of some consideration in our relations with that place.

On Mr Bannister's proposition the following judicious remarks were made by the Editor of the *Graham's Town Journal* on the 3rd of August, 1832, and re-printed, with some additions, in his work, "A Narrative of the Irruption of the Kafir Hordes into the Eastern

Province of the Cape of Good Hope," 1834-5, page 163 et seq.

'The question of the occupation of Port Natal may elsewhere be matter of unprofitable speculation ... take formal possession of Natal, before it be too late.'

So far the Graham's Town Journal to which is added in the 'Narrative':-

'To this powerful argument we shall only add ... by no less than one hundred and twenty rivers.'

The atrocities of Chaka, which had become unendurable, and the ambition of his brother, at length produced the destruction of that sanguinary chief. During a conversation with his council Dingaan treacherously stabbed him in the back, and was almost immediately afterwards proclaimed his successor, to run through a career even more deeply stained with human blood than that which had preceded it.

In the month of July the enterprising Farewell left Graham's Town with Messrs. Thackwray, Sen. and Walker, and about thirty Hottentots, with the intention of returning to his settlement at the port. Having reached the missionary station of Mr Shepstone, in the chief Faku's country, without any impediment, and rested a short time from their fatigue, they resumed their journey. Shortly after they fell in with John Cane, late Ambassador from Chaka, who was on his way to the Colony, with a fine elephant's tooth, as a present to the Governor from the brother and successor to Chaka. Being desirous of company, Cane signified his intention of proceeding to Mr Shepstone's station, to place the tooth in his care, and return with the party to Natal. With this view he hastened off in hopes of accomplishing his object. In the mean time, a chief, named Queto, and who was captain under Chaka, hearing of the approach of the travellers, dispatched a deputation with two bullocks as a peace-offering, with an earnest request that they would sojourn with him during their stay in his territory. This invitation was accepted; and the unsuspected travellers were greeted with every demonstration of welcome, and the chief, as a color to his sincerity, provided a plentiful repast for his weary guests. Confident of their safety, the strangers retired to their tent; and at the hour of midnight, while wrapt in sleep, the treacherous Queto rose upon his unoffending guests, and basely murdered Farewell, Thackwray, Walker, and two Hottentots. The motive alleged for this outrage was, that the party

on its arrival at the residence of the Zoola chief Dingaan would most likely be employed in some attack upon this chief. Queto some time after was destroyed at the Omzimvooboo River.

A.D. 1830 - 1832.

Subsequent to the massacre of Farewell and his party, Port Natal was visited by several British traders from the Colony, amongst whom may be especially mentioned the Messrs. Cawood's and Collis. The former proceeded thither in 1832, and, in the course of a few months, collected produce, chiefly ivory, worth £2,000 sterling, with which they returned in safety to the Colony. Mr James Collis preceded the Cawood's several months, and had, at the period of their arrival, made considerable progress towards fixing himself firmly on the spot. He afterwards visited the Colony, giving the most flattering description of his adopted country, in respect of its fertility, the friendly disposition of the natives and the capabilities of the place for colonization and trade. In March, 1834, he again departed from Graham's Town, with 12 wagons, heavily laden with necessaries and merchandize, and carried on a successful speculation. On the 24th of the following September, however, this zealous pioneer of civilization, who was most generally esteemed by every one of a numerous acquaintance of his brother settlers of 1820 was destroyed by an explosion, occasioned by incautiously snapping the lock of a musket over a barrel of powder in his store, by which several persons were at the same time killed along with himself.

A.D. 1832.

The little settlement now proceeded with chequered fortunes. In 1832, in consequence of some alarming reports of treacherous intentions on the part of Dingaan, raised by a chief named Jacob, the settlers considered it prudent for a time to abandon the neighbourhood of the port, upon which, Mr Fynn, who had originally been one of the party of Farewell, and others were pursued and robbed of their cattle. Shortly after their return they demanded the restitution of their property, which Dingaan would only promise upon the condition that seven chiefs, who had taken refuge from his cruelties with the English, should be destroyed. This was, of course, refused and the chiefs apprised of their danger, when they

prudently fled.

A.D. 1833.

In the following year (1833) Dingaan's troops, returning from a marauding expedition against the noted freebooter N'Capai, fell in with and attacked some Hottentots with wagons. The news of this event, probably exaggerated, reached Natal, and settlers suspicious that this was the earnest of further hostilities, in consequence of the flight of the 7 chiefs, fired upon the forces as they passed the port. Upon this Dingaan ordered all his people to remove to the north-east of the Tugola River, which movement indicating warlike views, the settlers again fled and sat down west of the Omzimvooboo River; but, after a few months Dingaan invited them back, apologizing for the attack upon the Hottentots as unintended: Jacob, the author of these misunderstandings, and several other chiefs, he punished with death.

The extreme droughts, frequently experienced along the northern frontier of the Colony, had induced, for many years before, a number of the Dutch farmers to cross the Great or Orange River from time to time with their cattle in search of pasture, and as the country in that direction was but sparsely occupied, and that chiefly by Griquas, intruders like themselves, several of them at last, following the Griqua's example, settled down altogether. In the early part of 1832 Capt. Stockenstrom estimated their numbers at about 200 families, in all somewhat more than 1,000 souls, who had fixed their abode along the Kraai River, and the south branch of the Gariep. These people, according to his statement to the authorities, at that time cherished no ideas of an independent government, - they visited the Colony to pay taxes, and to participate in the rites and consolations of religion. They were so anxious for their recognition as subjects that, on a visit to Capt. Stockenstrom, a short time previous, they expressed disappointment he had not come to fix some political agent in the shape of a Landdrost or Civil Commissioner amongst them. Captain Stockenstrom expressed himself on this subject with great justice and good sense, that -

' "Such emigration from the Colony .... means of subsistence and life itself." '

The effect of the intrusion of the boers at this time, into that country, was also then defended by the same authority -

' "The black native tribes ... if they destroy the natives it will be our own fault." '

A.D. 1834.

In 1834, a missionary of the name of Kolbe, made an official representation that there were, at that time, removed across the northern boundary 1120 families, who had in their possession 200 slaves. This representation, the accuracy of what was doubted and laid to the credit of extreme credulity in the gentleman who communicated the intelligence, and had besides, received a positive contradiction by affidavit, from a late slave of one of the emigrants, was, however, with praiseworthy zeal followed up by the Cape Government. Capt. Armstrong of the Cape Corps, was commissioned to take a force and seize the slaves, whose abduction was thus denounced; but it appears from the printed papers on this subject from the officer employed on the expedition, from Lt.-Col. Somerset, the Commandant of Kaffraria, and from Capitain Campbell, the Civil Commissioner of Albany, that only 14 slaves had been taken away, that they went with their own consent; that 10 of these belonged to one individual, and that a number of Hottentots, the reputed "ill-used and oppressed" people of the "cruel Boers", although told they might return with the military party, chose to remain with their hard-task-masters, the self-expat[r]iated frontier farmers. - (Vide, Military Correspondence, Oct. 10, Nov. 7, 14, 21 - 1834.)

Dr. Andrew Smith, the intelligent and indefatigable naturalist and traveller, who had visited Natal in 1832, reported so favorably of its capabilities for emigration, that public attention was at this time forcibly attracted to the place. The consequence of this was the transmission of a Memorial to the Home Government, signed by 192 Merchants and others of Cape Town, requesting that Natal might be colonized. To this Memorial, some able notes upon the country, was appended from the pen of Dr. S. But the Government, however, refused again to listen to any overtures of the kind, and Natal remained subject to all those irregularities which mark communities of men unrestrained by law in the vicinity of savages, who knew no control to their [their] passions. With what ease and small expense this place

could then have been taken possession of, and its promise will appear by the following extract from Dr. Smith's Notes:-

'Parag. 9. - "Looking therefore to the features of the country ... Cape Town, 6th May, 1854.'

The following is the official negative put upon the Merchants' Petition, received the following year:-

'Colonial Office, Cape Town, 12th March, 1835. ... (Signed) John Bell.'

The good faith towards, and the dependence on the Colony at this time felt by the farmers, may be gathered from the fact, that one of these voluntary exiles, at this period, applied to Mr. Rawstorne, the Civil Commissioner of Colesberg, to enregister a slave, born beyond the boundary, which was, of course, refused to be entertained by the Registrar.

The active party, of whom Mr Kolbe had been the recent instrument, eager to grasp any circumstance to keep alive the all-potent non-slavery cry, and to impugn the character of the colonists, had for some time before, laid to their charge that they had introduced from beyond the frontier, Bechuana children as slaves - an accusation, at once denied by Capt. Stockenstrom - certainly an authority, when in favor of his countrymen - who in a letter to D.M. Percival, Esq. Clerk to the Council, dated, 20 Feb., 1827, designates it as a "visionary idea of their being enslaved or substituted for slaves." Notwithstanding which grave and authoritative proof of innocence, this charge has been reiterated year after year, and is now transferred from the inhabitants within the Colony to the Farmers at Natal.

The close of 1834 witnessed the unprovoked but long conspired invasion of the Colony by the Kafir tribes, the result of which was the plunder and almost destruction of a peaceable and unoffending people, whose whole intercourse with the barbarians had been directed to civilize, conciliate, and christianize them. On this occasion, 5,715 horses, 111,930 cattle, 161,930 sheep and goats were carried off; 456 houses were reduced to ashes, 300 were pillaged, 58 wagons destroyed, amounting to the value of £300,000 sterling, and 44 lives mercilessly sacrificed by the savages.

This wide spread and murderous desolation, inflicted upon 7,000 British subjects, was however justified by the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Glenelg. Deceived by a party of meddling enthusiasts, set on by individuals, who had their private ends to serve, - who would see nothing but what was amiable in black skins, and oppressive and cruel in white - he, the natural protector of his Sovereign's lieges, abandoned his charge, and by lending his ear to irresponsible informers, gravely put upon record the following monstrous and baseless opinion:-

'That through a long series of year ... not the victorious party.'

This public expression, by such a high and influential authority, and the subsequent dismissal of Sir Benjamin D'Urban from the Government of the Colony, had an immediate effect upon the Dutch farmers, who began to prepare for a most extensive abandonment of their native homes, indignant at having insult added to injury, and every prospect of relief thus at once cut off.

A.D. 1835.

Natal was visited in 1835 by Capt. Allen Gardiner of the Royal Navy, a near relative of Lord Bexley. This gentleman, impressed with the belief he could effect the religious conversion of the Zoolah nation, established friendly relations with Dingaan, who, however, he describes as an atrocious miscreant; and although that chief would not listen to the erection of a mission near his own village or kraal, he permitted him to fix an institution at the port itself, to which the name of Berea was given, where about 2,500 natives were settled under the English residents. With rather more zeal than humanity he entered into the following treaty with the despot, whereby he agreed that in future all deserters from Dingaan should be given up, and which he actually carried out by surrendering with his own hand several of those unfortunates, who were put to a slow and cruel death:-

'A treaty concluded between Dingaan, King of the Zoolus and the British Residents at Port Natal:- .... Signed ...  
Allen. F. Gardiner.'

On the 23rd of the following June the inhabitants of the port, having founded a town and made a number of Regulations, addressed a

petition to Sir Benjamin D'Urban, begging that he would transmit their prayer for His Majesty's recognition of the settlement. To this however, the home government, still steadfast in their former resolution, refused to accede. Sir Benjamin, however, in the interim, pledged himself to send an officer to be in authority in the place of Capt. Gardiner during his absence to England, where he proceeded to procure the recognition of the settlement:-

'Petition of the Householders of the Town of D'Urban ... will ever pray.'

'His Britannic Majesty's Governor of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, to the Chief of the Zoclus, Dingaen ... Benj. D'Urban. ... 5th day of December, 1835.'

On the 13th July Dingaen pledged his royal word to cede to Gardiner and the people at Natal what had been already purchased in 1689 by the Dutch Government, and then again given, first to Farewell, then to King and afterwards to Collis, viz. all the territory between the Tugela and Omzimcoolu Rivers, and as far back from the coast as the Quathlamba Mountains, about 15,000 square miles.

The florid representations of Mr. Collis on his several visits to the Colony of his favorite Natal had had some considerable effect upon the Dutch Colonists of the frontier. At this time too - smarting under the recent invasion and irritated by the Abolition Act, which, they alleged, deprived them of their slaves for an inadequate compensation, and denied the enactment of a law to repress vagrancy, which had become an intolerable evil, although such a law they considered was pledged to them by the government when it wished to pacify them for the loss of their slaves (Footnote: Col. Wade's Guarantee for a Vagrant Law. .. Circular dated Govt. House, 7th Jan., 1834.) - the Boers began now earnestly to contemplate emigration beyond the Colonial boundaries. A small party had indeed been sent out to explore and report upon the interior, before the Kafir invasion, from which it returned after that event, and, no doubt, their representations increased the desire which was much strengthened by that catastrophe.

That these grievances were the real cause of the migration and that they were real grievances, I think we may take the opinion of Major Charters, an authority by no means too favorable to the colonists,

whether English or Dutch. He observes:-

'Next came the compensation question; .... quit their prey and make off.'

A.D. 1835 - 36.

The war upon the Kafirs, in retaliation of their atrocious invasion terminated at the close of the year. The native tribes as far eastward as the Kei were incorporated as subjects of His Majesty, the territory annexed to the crown under the name of THE PROVINCE OF QUEEN ADELAIDE. The rank and feelings of the Kafir chief were so far respected as that they were mostly appointed local functionaries under the British Government. This state of affairs, now designated as the D'Urban system, in contra-distinction to that which was destined so soon after to supersede it - the Stockenstrom Policy - lasted for 15 months; during which period Kafir depredations almost entirely ceased - the cruel punishment for the reputed crime of witchcraft and other heathen superstitions were abrogated - the purchase of wives, the fertile cause of robbery upon the colonists, forbidden; the Kafir people were relieved from the gross oppression of the native chiefs, and both colonists and Kafirs were happy and contented with the present peace and its prospects for the future, which the sagacious and benevolent system of Sir Benjamin D'Urban so ably administered by Colonel Smith, had produced.

A.D. 1836.

In the early part of this year a select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the treatment of aborigines in the British Colonies. Messrs. Buxton, Hardy, Hawes, Bagshaw, Holland, Pate, Plumtree, Sir R.S. Donkin, Sir G. Grey, Messrs. Lushington, Baynes, A. Johnston, Wilson, Hindly, and Col. Thompson, being the members. The proceedings of this Committee had a marked and fatal influence upon the Colony. Biassed in favor of the Kafirs, and deeply prejudiced against the Colonists, every evidence in behalf of the latter, however respectable or trustworthy, was unheeded, while the wildest and most extravagant denunciations against them were favorably entertained, and even its very report, was entrusted to be drawn up by the Rev. Dr. Philip, the least principled and bitterest accuser of the Colonists; a person who, to serve his purpose, did not

hesitate in one case to suppress, and in another interpolate whole passages in public papers laid before the Committee, besides being guilty of the most shameless fabrications.

Amongst those who took advantage of, and fostered the popular clamour, and whose long acquaintance with the colony, and his connexion with its government, added weight to his testimony, was Capt. (now Sir Andries) Stockenstrom, who, on the 2d of February, was appointed Lieut. Governor of the Eastern Districts, and who assumed his government armed with the most mischievous instructions, founded on the lamentable delusion he had assisted to produce.

The purport of Lord Glenelg's despatch of the 26th December, 1835, already alluded to, now became known in the Colony, and had its effect in loosening the affections of the Dutch inhabitants and disgusting the English. The feeling of disappointment and indignation this created was, however, increased by the appointment in question, as it appeared to be the reward of his cruel and unjust evidence. But it was still further augmented by the knowledge that a bill had been smuggled at a late hour through a thin House of the Commons, based upon the same misrepresentations, and which, to make it still more galling, was y'clept, par excellence, "THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE PUNISHMENT BILL"

'Anno Sexto & Septimo Gulielmi IV Regis ... to be the Government thereof.'

The practical value of this bungling piece of ultra-philanthropic legislation, which at least would require the services of the first astronomer of the age, Sir John Herschel, to fix the exact geographical boundary between the southern and northern line of the 25 degree of latitude, will be seen by the following extract from Mr. Advocate Musgrave's argument before the Supreme Court of the Colony in 1837, when the operations of the enactment came before it. Not a single conviction has taken place under the law, and the Chief Justice himself was warned at Graaff-Reinet by the Bar, against pronouncing a sentence of Death upon its authority, lest he himself should become thereby involved in a similar charge to that which he was about to try. Lord Glenelg's opinion on the same subject will be seen by an extract from his own despatch of the 29th October, 1837, shortly to be quoted:-

'Supreme Court, Dec. 23. 1837. ... and consequently confirms them ad interim.'

The despair of the Border Farmers, at the projected reversal of the pacification of the Frontier under Sir Benjamin D'Urban, induced considerable numbers to decide upon immediate removal to where, at least, they would be able to defend themselves against barbarian aggression, if they could not be beyond misrepresentation, but many still lingered under the general impression that there were legal impediments to their emigration. These doubts, however, were speedily swept away by the Lieut.-Governor Stockenstrom himself, who on his arrival at Uitenhage, on the 27th August, to take possession of his new Government, in a reply to an address of the inhabitants of that place, which indicated the vicious and unpopular course he was about to pursue, at the same time gave the highest authoritative sanction for the expatriation of the most valuable portion of the Colonial Community. He there said -

' "Upon one subject I trust you will allow me to touch ... would be tyrannical and oppressive." '

To other addresses from various parts of the Eastern Districts, the replies of His Honor the Lieut.-Governor were couched in terms everything but conciliatory or agreeable. To one from the British settlers of Albany, who at once nobly came forward to ask wherefore he had given evidence so dessonant to what they knew to be the fact, he declined to reply, although it was subscribed by above 400 persons, including all the leading inhabitants; but what gave the deadliest offence to the Dutch population, and shewed that they had neither to expect justice nor courtesy at the hands of their countrymen, was his correspondence with the unfortunate Retief, which is here extracted from the "Graham's Town Journal" of 17th November, 1836. The consequences of these exhibitions was a general rush from the colony, and the foundation of all that has since occurred at Natal.

"The address of the Winterberg Farmers. ... hordes of savage barbarians."

To return to Natal itself. - The imprudent treaty with Dingaan, made by Capt. Gardiner relative to the surrender of fugitives, seems to have encouraged Dingaan to demand its entire fulfilment, and thus keep the settlement in a continual state of excitement. Upon a

remonstrance of the Zoola chief, regarding some of his subjects, said to have been enticed to desert and harbored by the whites, the following proceedings took place:-

"Port Natal, June 20th, 1836. - At a meeting of the residents of Port Natal ... to enforce these our resolutions, with the greatest rigor."

Subsequently, however, both traders and missionaries were forced to yield full obedience to the savage mandates of the barbarian chief, and involve themselves in that despot's quarrels.

The first compact party of Dutch emigrants who left the Colony determined to settle down beyond its limits, was under the guidance of a Louis Trechard, an Albany Farmer, shortly after the cessation of the Kafir war. They located themselves in a fertile and uninhabited tract between the 26<sup>o</sup> and 27<sup>o</sup> parallel of S. Latitude on the eastern bank of a large and beautiful river. The fate of this unfortunate pioneering expedition was ascertained on a visit of the Comet, a vessel which visited De la Goa Bay in June of this year:-

"At Delagoa Bay we met with the unhappy remains of Louis Trechard's party ... there is every reason to expect that they will die, one after another, of the fever."

The few survivors were afterwards removed to Natal by sea.

About the end of May two parties, headed by J.G.S. Bronkhorst and H. Potgieter, left the camp formed by some of the emigrants on the Vet River, one of the tributaries of the Ky Gariep, for the purpose of exploring the country to the N E., of which journey, and of the first repulse the emigrants met with from the natives under Malzellikatze the following is Bronkhorst's own relation:-

"On the 24th May I departed from the Sand River ... and am willing, if required, to confirm the same on oath.  
(signed) J.G.S. Bronkhorst."

The barbarities of the natives on this occasion, inflicted upon the poor self-expatriated farmers and their families, were horrible:-

"Not even satisfied with stabbing ... against the iron bands of the wagon wheels."

It was no wonder, therefore, that atrocities like these should be visited with a fearful retribution.

A portion of the emigrants now remained with the wreck of their late flourishing camp, whilst others placed their wives and children under the protection of the Rev. Mr. Archbell's missionary station at Thaba Unchu for a short period, and then fell back upon a new station at the source of the Modder River. Here they were soon reinforced by a large party under Gert Maritz, a wealthy Burgher of Graaff-Reinet, who had been elected Governor-General. The number of emigrants, at this time assembled around Thaba Unchu, is computed at above eighteen hundred souls.

These attacks by Malzelikatze have attempted to be excused, as arising from precautionary measures on his part, against the ravages of a notorious and successful freebooter, Jan Bloem, and other predatory bands of Griquas, and have also been defended on the ground that the emigrants had entered territories of right belonging to the chief, and by a route which he had warned them not to take. This, however, is not the case: they were attacked in a direction opposite to that in which the freebooter and his clans were accustomed to approach - full fifteen days' march from the residence of Malzellikatze - away from any part of the country over which he claimed authority, either by occupancy or conquest, a conquest too, by the bye, which he had only lately achieved, after relentlessly butchering all its inhabitants - the mild and timid Bechuanas. The right of the Boers, therefore, to this territory were not inferior to his own in the period or manner of acquisition.

The close of the year 1836 saw Lieut.-Governor Stockenstrom occupied in the total reversal of Sir Benjamin D'Urban's measures - signing the most mischievous treaties with the Kafir chiefs, based, as they were, upon the false assumption that they were really justified in the late invasion and cruelty of the retaliatory war, into which the Colony had been forced. Moreover, actually rewarding them for their late atrocious conduct, by surrendering a large portion of territory, ceded by the Kafirs in 1819, from which however was carefully excepted that part, including His Honor's own landed property, the Magnificent Kaga estate, the first slice ever granted to a Colonist out of what he now affected to consider Kafir possessions.

The treaties, too, which the Lieut.-Governor then entered into with the chiefs, and which, when he left Cape Town, he had been only authorized to prepare and frame for reference to the Council, he madly and impertinently at once concluded, by placing the tribes in possession of the lands he had ceded without that reference; so that there remained nothing for the supreme government at the Cape to do but to ratify them or incur the risk of a renewal of hostilities - an event which would have been immediately taken advantage of by the anti-colonial party and been ruinous to the Colony.

That the abrogation of the D'Urban system of relations with the Kafir tribes, would be followed by dissatisfaction and an extensive migration from the Colony, Sir Benjamin himself predicted three several times, so that ignorance of the probable result of the reversal of his measures cannot be pleaded by those (whether the home or local government) who have hurried on the present fearful crisis. In a despatch of Sir Benjamin's to Lord Glenelg occur the following important passages:-

"I shall await the arrival of Lieut.-Governor Stockenstrom, .... will at once cause an extensive emigration, along the whole Albany and Somerset border, or I am much mistaken. - Vide return Caffer War, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 12th July 1837."

It is sufficiently well known, too, that Sir Benjamin D'Urban, when the treaties of the Lt.-Governor, Sir A. Stockenstrom, entered into in December, 1836, were in preparation, had disapproved of them altogether, and raised his voice, although ineffectually, against them.

1. That he then denounced the whole system which they embraced, as one which would infallibly involve the border provinces again in all the troubles, and the perils of life and property, which had preceded the war of 1834-5, and as a course of policy which, assuredly as certain causes must produce certain effects, was pregnant with insecurity, disorder, and danger.

2. That he exposed the fallacy of the main principle, upon which the Treaties were founded, the abandonment, namely, of the old Eastern Frontier line of the Keiskamma and Chumie, as it had existed since 1819 - the substitution, first, of that of the Fish and Kat Rivers - the virtual renunciation of British sovereignty and dominion

in the country between those lines of rivers - the introduction of the Kafir hordes of the Amakosa to locations upon the very banks of the latter, and the establishment of the permanent residence of these savage and predatory people in the forests through they run, skirting the new Colonial Frontier, and in close contact with it along its whole extent.

3. That he had disapproved their provisions as not comprehending those securities\*\* which he had regarded as indispensable, and had accordingly urged upon the Lieut.-Governor's attention, and which had been effectually provided for in the previous treaties of Sept., 1835, alike for the benefit of all parties concerned - colonists, friendly Kafirs, Fingoes, and the Amakosa Kafirs themselves.

4. And that looking forward to the inevitable consequences of those great defects in the system about to be adopted, he had predicted, with a fatal accuracy, the intolerable evils which have resulted from their adoption.

Footnote to point 3\*\*

These securities were specified under seven heads:-

- 1st. - The protection and integrity of our new border, its inhabitants, and their property.
- 2d. - The safety and protection of the missionaries who may desire hereafter to remain in Kafirland.
- 3d. - The safety and protection of the British traders who may be permitted to enter Kafirland, together with a due restraint upon the proceedings of these traders.
- 4th. - The protection of the Fingoe race, now become His Majesty's subjects, and located within the British territory, and the integrity of their locations.
- 5th. - The safety and protection of the tribes and family of Congo, (Pato, Kama, Kobus) our faithful friends and allies, and the integrity of their locations.
- 6th. - The safety and protection of Sutu and her son Sandili, and their family; Matua and Tinto and theirs; Nombe, and her son Siwani, and theirs; Umgahi and his family; Jan Tzatzoe and his family, with integrity of their possessions; all of whom deserved our protection by their conduct during the war, and to all of whom it was secured firmly by the Treaties of September, 1835.
- 7th. - As far as it may be possible, peace and good understanding between the respective native tribes whose allegiance to His Majesty, and obedience to our laws are now about to cease; with their abstinence from wars, and inroads among each other, and the abolition of all proceedings under the pretence of witch-craft, all which were carefully provided for by the Treaties of September, 1835.

The abandonment of the D'Urban system now converted the partial migration of the Dutch Farmers into a general movement, the real causes of which are thus well described by a gentleman who cannot be charged, as the colonists have been, by the philanthropic party in England, and in the colony, as prejudiced by long residence, and with a direct interest in the oppression of the Aborigines:-

' "The abandonment of the Cape colony by the old Dutch inhabitants ... are now retorting upon our allies the injuries they have so long sustained at their hands." - Captain Harris' H.E.I.C.S. Narrative of an Expedition into Southern Africa. '

The writer of the foregoing remarks, blames, and not without reason, the Government, for not having redressed the wrongs of the colonists, and thus put a stop to the true and early causes of that emigration. It should, however, in palliation of the conduct of the Government, be remembered that there was a powerful anti-colonial party within the colony itself, led on by the Rev. Dr. John Philip, and most ably championed by his son-in-law, Mr. John Fairbairn, the Editor of the "South African Commercial Advertiser," who not only represented the aborigines alone as the sufferers, but all along denied the facts of any extensive migration whatever, and even so late as the month of February, 1837, when thousands of our farmers "were over the border," laughed to scorn the idea of any numbers having left the colony, restricting these to one hundred and fifty souls, who he tried to represent were disgusted and disappointed, and who would gladly return to the country they had so madly abandoned.

It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that the philanthropic public, and the Government at home, should be misled by representations, when made by such a supposed immaculate and certainly influential authority, which knew, however, at the time they were hollow, unsubstantial and false. How little gifted with prophecy, too, was the same oracle, when it issued its solemn dictum at this time, that there was "utter incapacity of the leaders of the emigrants for achieving anything formidable or permanent in the interior." (Footnote: S.A.C.A., 11th February, 1837.) The utter extinction of two of the greatest native nations in the southern peninsula, by the emigrant arms, those of Matzelekatze and Dingaen, and the present untoward resistance to British arms and rule, prove, on the contrary, "the utter incapacity" of the Editor of the Advertiser and his party to

appreciate either the motives, or to understand the history of one of the most extraordinary and unfortunate movements which have been made in any colony of any Government that has ever existed. It is representations like those which have deceived both the Home and Colonial Governments, and led them to the fatal error of disregarding the wrongs, and holding the power of the emigrants at far too cheap a rate.

A.D. 1837.

Retief soon followed his countrymen after the close of his correspondence with Lt.-Governor Stockenstrom, leaving behind him a Manifesto, purporting to represent the real causes of the expatriation of himself and the colonial farmers:-

"Manifesto of the Emigrant Farmers.  
 Numerous reports having been circulated ...  
 By authority of the farmers who have quitted the colony,  
 (Signed) P. Retief."

To return to affairs with the emigrants:-

"Mauritz's first step after assuming the reins of government ... nor did they succeed in perforating the leathern doublet of a single Dutchman. - Harris' Narrative. "

The origin and conquests of the chief Matzellikatze, designated by Captain Harri[e]s, as "The Lion of the North," has been thus narrated:-

"His father, it seems, was a chief ... either for beauty or fertility, to any part of South Africa."

The arrival of the Dutch farmers from the Colony, was now most anxiously looked forward to by the English settlers at Natal, - the more especially as Dingaan, by some supposed intrigue of Captain Gardiner, had shut up the trade, and it was believed, seriously meditated an attack upon the inhabitants of the Port - the more particularly as the American missionary, the Rev. G. Champion, had been told by Dingaan that Captain Gardiner had represented them as a set of rascals who ought to be disarmed.

The British settlers appear to have indulged, at this time, in the chimerical idea of establishing at Natal, what the Boers are at this time essaying, namely, an independent form of government, as is

e-ident from the following extract of a letter from an influential member of the community there, addressed to Mr. B. Norden, dated the 2d of May, 1837, and published in the G.T.J. on the 22d of June following:-

"We hourly expect to hear from the Boers. When they arrive we intend to form an internal government of our own, free from the false measures and wavering policy of the neighbouring colony, and I have no doubt that everything will then go smoothly."

Whatever guilt, therefore, there is in the conception of the idea of revolt and separation from the parent state, must, consequently, not be exclusively placed against the Dutch emigrants - but the English deserve to share in some proportion with the later comers driven from the Colony by misrule, while the English left it from choice, and without any of the excuses of the unfortunate and infatuated Boers.

The amiable, but ill-fated, Retief, arrived among his expatriated countrymen in April, and the following account is given of his reception and elevation to the supreme authority, by an eye-witness of the most credible authority.

"On the 8th of April Mr. Maritz and one of his Heemraden rode from the camp of the emigrant farmers ... and to those who have committed themselves to his care."

An old colonist, of the name of Bernhard Roedolf, who had emigrated to Natal, enlightened his brother colonists by the publication of the following Diary of their Proceedings, Government, and Discoveries:-

"On the 4th of April last, I quitted Graham's Town, in a horse-wagon. ... they can muster 1,600 armed men."

In the same month of this year the migration was greatly augmented by the departure of one of the oldest inhabitants of the District of Uitenhage, Mr. Pieter Uys, with about 100 followers. The reasons which led to this influential person's expatriation, is explained in the leading Dutch newspaper of the day the Zuid Afrikaan. Addressing the government of the Colony, the Editor of that journal says, speaking of the complaints of the Dutch farmers against the government:-

"You have established posts to the villages, - but are branch posts established for the purpose of communication with those residing at an isolated distance from the villages? ... There he stopped - and - expatriated himself! "

The particulars of the departure of this much respected and regretted man, is thus related in the local newspaper of the day, the Graham's Town Journal:-

"We mentioned in our last Journal that a party of emigrants from the colony, .... although parted by distance, they should remain united in heart."

The complaints of the farmers who had expatriated themselves were again reiterated to the government within the Colony, and from a part of the country where complaints of this kind had been hitherto unknown. The Memorialists urged their right to follow robbers beyond the boundary - claimed indulgence for their hitherto loyal and dutiful obedience - requested some enactment for the repression of vagrancy, and declared the grievances under which they laboured had been the cause of the emigration of the farmers to Natal.

The voices of the Memorialists, nevertheless, fell upon the ears of the "deaf Adder," for he was determined to close them "let the charmer charm never so wisely." The Lieut.-Governor could not afford to have his system broken in upon by any part of the community - and accordingly this, another stirring appeal, was disregarded - to accumulate a mass of grievances and disaffection against the local and British Government for gross inattention to the wrongs of its subjects.

The following is the Memorial from Colesberg, hitherto the most contented and safest part of the Cape Colony:-

"To His Honor, A. Stockenstrom, Governor of the Eastern District of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. The Memorial of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Colesberg, humbly sheweth:  
... trust that our hopes and expectations will not be disappointed.  
And we shall, as in duty bound, ever pray."

Captain Gardiner, after a visit to England, returned to Natal in the month of May, accompanied by a Missionary, the Rev. Mr. Owen. His conduct in the Colony and at Natal disgusted all that came in contact with him, and he became involved in serious differences with the British settlers. A few days after his arrival,

"He called a meeting of the inhabitants, black and white, at which from 500 to 600 were present. ... This protest was signed by most of the white inhabitants."

The treaty of Capt. Gardiner, (vide, page 40) with Dingaan in 1835, was repudiated as cruel and unjust by the British inhabitants of Natal, who represented their views within the colony as follows:-

"To the Editor of the Graham's Town Journal:

Sir, - We have read with surprise a letter in the S.A.C.A. of the 19th April, 1837, (copied from one in the Record) ... in fact receiving from Dingaan the property of Mmuni? We remain, Sir, your's etc. R. Biggar, T.D. Steller, G. White, J. Duffy, D.J. Toohy, W. Blankenberg, J. Stubbs, R. Russell. "

From his camp at Sand River, Retief addressed the Governor of the Colony upon a subject which had already become serious matter of conversation within the Colony, that certain parties there, including some powerful agents, had used their utmost influence to raise the tribes of the interior, especially the Griquas, more immediately under their influence, against the Emigrant Farmers. His letter, conveying the belief of full six thousand people under him, respectful, conciliatory, but melancholy in its tone, is as follows - it repeats the "oft-told-tale" of great grievances, repeatedly represented, but still remaining unredressed, and an assumption of independence which could not be mistaken; but which it appears was neither checked nor attended to:-

"To His Excellency the Governor and Commander-in-chief of the Cape of Good Hope. The undersigned, conductor and chief of the United Encampment, hereby Humbly Sheweth .....

(signed) P. Retief. Sand River, July 21st, 1837."

Notwithstanding the allegations to the contrary, made by the Anti-Colonial Press, represented by the Editor of the "Commercial Advertiser", the continuance of the migration was thus described in the "Graham's Town Journal" by an intelligent and accurate correspondent:-

"Orange River, August 2d, 1837.

"I have just returned from the different camps between Modder, Vet, and Vaal River. .... I am happy to inform you that the different camps enjoy perfect health."

But another hand of later date sketched the progress and situation of the emigrants. The style and allusions will show it was not that of one of the Farmers, but of an Englishman, who regretted and foretold the results we now experience, but who was treated with levity as a "prophet accursed for ever boding ill."

"Orange River, 20th August, 1837.

"I have made rather a long journey - .... to steal them whenever they can lay their hands upon them."

The party under the management of Pieter Retief had settled themselves on the Sand River, a branch of the northern Gariep. Pieter Uys with his adherents now determined to coalesce with Retief, but dissatisfied with some proceedings of Maritz decided to cross the Quathlamba or Drakberg Range and settle down in the Natal territory, south of those mountains; but previous to their movement they put forth the following exposition of their sentiments:-

"Caledon, 14th August, 1837.

"Resolutions adopted by us, the undermentioned travellers and exiles .... Every person agreeing herewith will, therefore, attach hereto his signature, for the information of those who are still in doubt on this subject. (Signed) P.L. Uys,

J.J. Uys,  
J.P. Moolman,  
H.J. Potgieter,  
J. Landman.

and one hundred and sixty-five others."

In a former part of this compilation one of the chief grievances of the Dutch inhabitants, and which drove them into exile, has been stated - namely - the inadequate compensation for their property in slaves. To the Dutch inhabitants this suffering was principally confined; but let the reader now hear the complaints of an Englishman on the same subject, and then judge whether that act had not "established a raw" on the backs of the native-born Colonists. The writer is Major Parlby, who settled himself in the Eastern division of the Colony, but disgusted with the unrestrained habits of the servile population, and despairing of any amendment, after a successful trial of the capabilities of the Colony, abandoned it for ever:-

"Again, I earnestly solicit the serious attention of my fellow countrymen .... which the late journey of Captain Alexander will in no slight degree contribute to."

As evidence of what the Colony was suffering from its abandonment by the Boers, a statement was made in the month of October of this year of the emigration from one single Field-cornetcy, that of the old and formerly flourishing TARKA district, by which it appears that 115 persons had deserted that small tract alone, with 102,600 sheep and goats, 6,900 black cattle and 1,000 horses, depriving the Colony

of a productive capital in value of not less than £60,000 sterling, besides its best and ablest defenders.

Stung to the quick by the increasing migration from the Colony, the anti-Colonial press, which had desired the movement, now demanded the most stringent proceedings against the farmers on the part of the Colonial Government; and the South African Commercial Advertiser - the oracle of the soi-disant philanthropists - evoked the local government to pass "Bills of Pains and Penalties" against emigrants, whom it had previously declared were placed beyond our control. The absurdity of the intemperate Editor's views were thus happily placed in juxtaposition by the "Graham's Town Journal."

1836

As soon as they (i.e. the emigrant farmers,) are beyond our jurisdiction ... destruction hovering over them.

1837

What then is the course indicated by these proceedings and events ... as in the case of declared enemies.

The incessant and harassing annoyance of Kafir Depredations, experienced by the inhabitants of the Frontier Districts, which forms a chief item of the grievances alleged to have been suffered by the emigrant Farmers, and a cause of their removal, was once more forcibly brought before the notice of influential persons in England, but still with no satisfactory result. A body of the British settlers of 1820, known as the Clumber Party, located in the District of Albany, about this time addressed the Duke of Newcastle on the subject, of which the following notice was given at the moment:-

"It may not be generally known, that a large party amongst the emigrants of 1820 .... Signed by all the members of the Clumber party still resident in the settlement of Albany."

The progress making by Retief while at his encampment at the Sand River, his views regarding a settlement in Dingaan's country, and his moderate intentions towards Matsellikatse, are stated in a letter from him, dated from his camp, on the 7th Sept. In the documents appended to this communication, it appears that the Griquas had been instigated to molest the emigrants, and it was generally believed in the colony at the time, that this instigation emanated from influential

persons there, who were in constant correspondence with Waterboer and his chief advisers. It is to be hoped that this was mere calumny; but, if a malicious fiction, it bore so strong an impress of probability that it met with an easy admission into the minds of large numbers of the colonists. Retief not only warned the Griquas against aggression, while he propitiated peace and good-will with that people, but represented the matter to the Governor of the Colony:-

"Sand River, 9th Sept, 1837.

"Our religious services are by no means neglected, ...

"That, finally, we confidently hope that the British Government will permit us to receive all such claims and demands as may be lawfully due to us in the colony. ... (signed) P. Retief.

Sand River, July 21, 1837."

Another attempt was now again essayed to test the virtues of the notorious "CAPE PUNISHMENT BILL," with what effect and with what degree of credit for so very grave and important a piece of legislation, will be seen by the following Report of Proceedings:-

"Circuit Court, Graaff-Reinet. Saturday, 28th October, 1837. Plaatje Plaatjes, Jan Ambraal, Johannes Burman, Uithaalder Ambraal; these prisoners were placed at the bar for shooting a native residing at the Bethulie Institution, beyond the boundaries of the colony, .... the Colesberg magistrate, who had committed the prisoners for the different crimes, happened to be present, and no doubt will profit by it."

But while all this useless waste of word and ink was being made, His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Glenelg, the ready instrument of the soi-disant philanthropic party, in a despatch, dated the 29th of October, cleared the subject of much of its difficulty; he expressly denied all claim upon Natal - all intention to Colonize, and, more than all the utter inapplicability of the Cape Punishment Bill, that abortive act, to any place beyond the borders of the Colony, and even when he starts at the idea of the assumption of independence on the part of the Emigrants, and says it will never be admitted, he is met by the same difficulty which he acknowledged the Cape Punishment Bill had to suffer, namely, the want of "a police and ministers of justice," "at a point so distant as Port Natal."

Capt. Gardiner, who had been armed with that piece of "waste paper", the "Punishment Bill," and was created a justice of the peace under it, seems to have conceived the government was pledged to carry

out the whole of its provisions, but the secretary soon disabused him of his error, as will be seen by the following extract from the Despatch in question:-

"His Majesty's government were of course aware, that the statute in question ..... by the chiefs of the rude tribes with whom they are living."

Commandant Retief having broken up his Camp at the Sand River, proceeded towards Natal, where he arrived on the 19th of October, having first opened a correspondence with Dingaan, the particulars of which are given by the various actors in the scenes in the following documents:-

"Port Natal, 24th October, 1837.

"To the Editor of the Graham's Town Journal: ... A. Biggar, Esq., and other gentleman who signed the address."

Retief's own account of his proceedings will be found in the letter below:-

"Port Natal, October 23rd, 1837.

"With much pleasure I inform you, that after a very arduous journey of 90 hours, .... he has robbed Dingaan of these cattle."

That the Kafir invasion of 1834 - the neglect of compensating the sufferers for their losses by the savages, and the actual permission of the Lieut. Governor Stockenstrom, were the causes of the extension of the abandonment of the colony by our "yeomen," unquestionably "the finest peasantry in the world," may be seen by the annexed letter from one of the most respectable and opulent farmers who resided in the District of Uitenhage, but who joined his fellow sufferers across the boundary:-

"Sterrenberg Spruit, Dec. 4, 1837.

"The acts of my countryman Stockenstrom was my greatest reason for quitting the colony. ... from whence comes it, then, that we are now blamed for doing so?"

The following remarks of the Editor of the "Mediator", a Cape Town periodical, may well conclude this part of the compilation of "The Natal Papers":-

"Whence is it that the emigration is not confined to a small party of contemptible adventurers, who have nothing to lose ... may find it expedient to adopt at the present juncture."

The numbers of wagons between the Orange River and the Draakberg range of Mountains, which skirt the country of Natal, is estimated at this time at 1,500, and certainly the number of souls could not be less than Fifteen Thousand, all in the highest spirits as they neared the goal, and delighted with the country, which they stated far exceeded the celebrated Oliphant's Hoek in the District of Uitenhage.

Retief preceded his party in order to open relations with the King Dingaan, who had been the first to suggest to a party of Dutch Farmers, while hunting in his dominions, the idea of an emigration to Natal. The following is an account of Retief's reception, as given by himself, and published in the "Graham's Town Journal" :-

"Extract of a letter from Mr. P. Retief, dated Port Natal, Nov. 18, 1837.  
Dingaan received me with much kindness .... I enclose for the King's information, a statement of persons murdered, and cattle plundered from the Emigrant Farmers by Matsellikatse, as follows ... .. Signed, P. Retief."

During the course of these proceedings, and especially on the appearance of the manifesto of Retief, some hot and angry discussions took place as to the claims of the British Government to the allegiance of the self-expatriated Boers. The following hard sentences from Vattel were hurled at the heads of those who attacked the doctrine of independence, and altogether the disputants got up "a very pretty quarrel." Some argued that there was a law to prevent departure - others that the Governor had authority to issue a proclamation, "ne exeat requo," and some that if there was no law to prevent migration there was one to prevent return, and that the severe penalty of fifty Rix-dollars of £3 15 0 (!) could be exacted from each Boer who came back. Whether the Colony had "failed to discharge its obligations," referred to by Vattel, I leave the Jurists to decide - but at all events such was alleged by the leading Boers as an excuse for their emigration. The English settlers, however, much more wisely awaited the effect of a constitutional representation of grievances, which, if is excepted the case of the slave compensation, they equally suffered with the Dutch farmers:-

Vattel, B.1, Ch. 19, 223 - "There are cases in which a citizen has an absolute right to renounce his country and abandon it entirely ... If the Sovereign attempts to molest those who have a right to emigrate he does them an injury, and the injured individuals may law fully, &c. "



Left: J.C. Chase as a young man.

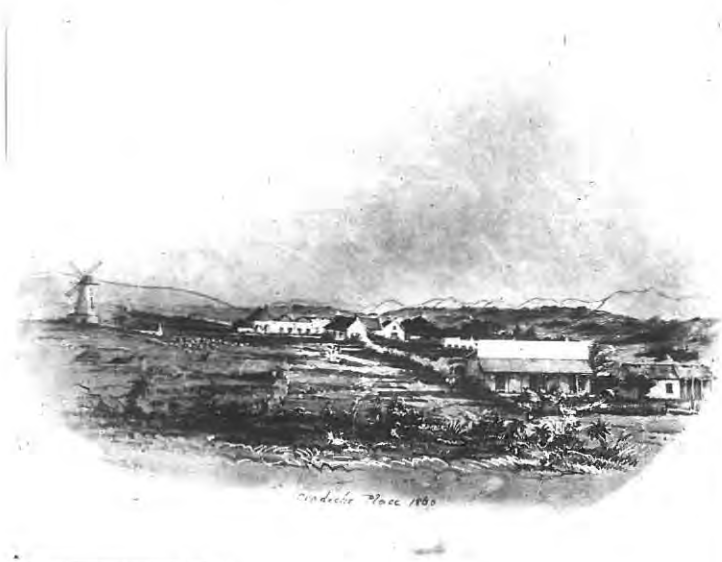
(By an unknown painter.

Original presented to the 1820  
Settlers Memorial Museum,  
Grahamstown, by the late  
Dr G.J.C. Smyth.)

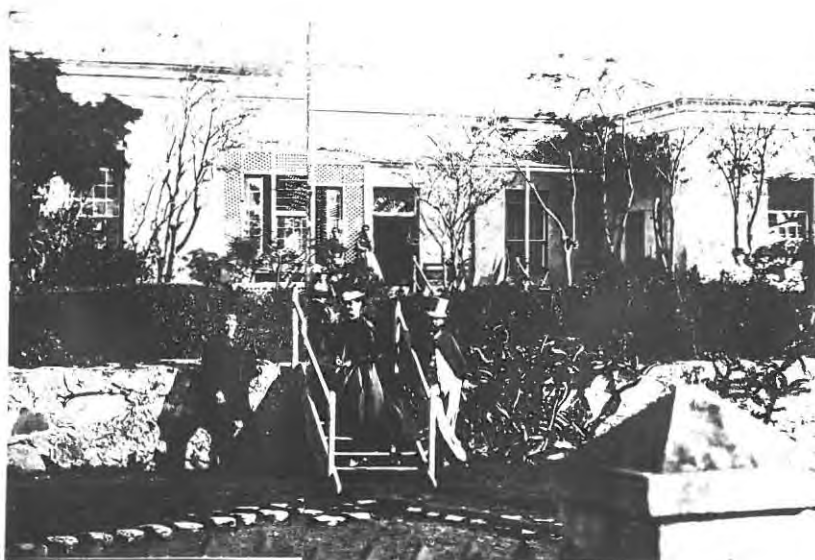
Right: J.C. Chase in the 1870's.

(From a photograph in the Wood  
Family Album, Cory Library.)





Cradock Place. (From a painting by W.A. Farries. Original in the 1320 Settlers Memorial Museum, Grahamstown.)



Cradock Place in the 1860's. The figure in the left foreground is probably J.C. Chase. (From a photograph in the Port Elizabeth Public Library.)