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BAILIE'S PARTY OF 1820 SETTLERS

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PREFACE

This study of the British settlers of 1820 in South Africa uses one party of emigrants as a unit of historical research. In unfolding their story, it attempts to discover how far the standard assumptions about the 1820 settlement are borne out by the historical facts. No systematic set of hypotheses for investigation was established in advance; instead, the structure of the thesis has been determined by the course of the narrative, and the main issues have emerged spontaneously as it has progressed. Although the chronology has been maintained as far as possible, the narrative itself does not follow an entirely straightforward course. The emigrant party of eighty-four men and their families under the leadership of John Bailie which is the subject of the study was officially subdivided five weeks after landing at Algoa Bay, and the dispersal of its members to the established towns of the colony began even sooner. At the end of the three-year period laid down as a residential qualification by Government, less than a third remained to claim land on the party's location in Albany.

The first chapter of this thesis sketches the background to the Cape emigration scheme of 1819, and attempts to explain and clarify the terms of the scheme itself as a necessary introduction to the making of Bailie's party. The main narrative covers the history of the party between 1819 and 1827, the period during which it may be said to have retained some claim to existence. Its official dissolution took place in 1820, less than a year after its formation, but its members in Albany retained an artificial cohesion as joint claimants to their land until it was finally measured for them individually in 1827. The concluding chapter rounds off the narrative by summarising the subsequent career of all the individual members of the party as far as they have been traced.

Two important and generally-neglected issues have emerged in the course of this study. One is the significance of the joint-stock parties in the history of the Albany settlement; the other, the social and political divisions between the settlers.

Like the majority of the emigrants under the 1819 scheme, the members of Bailie's party were organised on a joint-stock basis under a nominal leader. The importance of the phenomenon of these joint-stock parties has hitherto been ignored or overlooked. The colonial authorities expected to maintain the status quo, both economic and political, at the Cape, by introducing a limited number of capitalists with their own labour force to occupy large farms on the eastern frontier. Instead of that, the unprecedented and apparently unplanned introduction of joint-stock parties of potential small-holders, with some capital and claim to social standing, precipitated change and contributed to the creation of an unforeseen set of problems for the Albany settlement.

Until the end of the nineteenth century most settler historiography was either polemical or celebratory, and eighty years later, in spite of the recognised diversity of their national and social origins, the settlers are still conveniently regarded as a more or less homogeneous unit, with the assumption that they shared a common commitment to such libertarian principles as a free Press, and a common determination to "take root or die". This idealised general view of their public values and private virtues does not take into account inter-settler conflicts, and it dismisses from consideration the majority of emigrants who did not stay in Albany. Orthodox assumptions of the homogeneity of other South African population groups are currently being revised; this one too needs to be tested by a systematic study.

Historians have paid considerable attention to the relations between the settlers and the Cape authorities, but have neglected to enquire into the relations among the settlers themselves. The Albany settlers' struggle against the tyranny of colonial authority has become something of a stereotype, although without examining class attitudes and distinctions and the political divisions within the settlement it is not possible to assess the actual extent of the opposition to either Governor or Landdrost. It is open to question whether opposition to Lord Charles Somerset in Albany really expressed "the voice of the people", or the Society for the Relief of Distressed Settlers became "the mouthpiece of most of the settlers", or the fight for the freedom of the Press in Cape Town was "enthusiastically supported throughout by the settlers as a body". The propaganda of the Society for the Relief of Distressed Settlers is still having its effect, while the

adverse reaction to it among the settlers themselves has been consistently underestimated. It is not within the scope of this thesis to attempt to replace the stereotyped picture of settler political attitudes with a fully-drawn alternative, but a fairly detailed sketch of Albany politics in 1823-24 has been provided as a context for the activities of members of Bailie's party at that time.

The myth-making aspect of settler historiography during the past hundred years has extended to individuals as well as to the overall picture of the settlement. John Bailie provides a striking example of this process; his children and grandchildren ensured that the facts of his life were bowdlerised before publication in the 1880s and 1890s, and Sir George Cory in The Rise of South Africa transformed him into "Lieutenant John Bailie R.N.", and gave him credit - wrongly - for raising the British flag at the mouth of the Buffalo River. Contemporary versions of Bailie's biography, including the entry in the Dictionary of South African Biography, still reflect that heritage of inaccuracy and omission. The inclusion in this study of a biographical index of the eighty-four men of Bailie's party, compiled mainly from information in their own letters and memorials, may help to set the record straight in addition to serving the primary purpose of a reference aid.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to a great many people for their help in the research and preparation for this thesis. Much of the source material I wished to consult for the early chapters and the biographical index lay beyond my reach in Europe; the generous assistance I received from fellow researchers and officials in charge of document collections has overcome "the tyranny of distance" to a remarkable extent. My particular thanks are due in this regard to Mr Thomas Pakenham, Mrs Carinne Bevan and Dr Marianne Elliott, who put me on the track of Thomas Bailie's connection with the United Irishmen; Mr Clive Burton, who examined the Claims Commission records in the Public Record Office for me; Mr Ian Baxter of the India Office Records, and Mr Pieter van der Merwe of the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich. The Superintendent of the British Library's Newspaper Library was exceptionally kind in arranging a search on my behalf for references to the Cape emigration scheme of 1819.

My pursuit of biographical data led me to Sir Stuart Biddulph of Queensland and Major F.C. Pipe Wolferstan of Tamworth, Staffordshire, both of whom supplied me with valuable information about the Biddulph family. Nearer home, Colonel L.H. Bailie of Grahamstown and the late Major C.C. Chase of Vereeniging put their collections of family papers at my disposal, and gave me hospitality and friendship as well as help. Mrs Doris Craib obtained information from descendants of the Marillier family in Somerset East at my request; Mrs Shelagh Spencer in Pietermaritzburg provided biographical data about settlers of Bailie's party with Natal connections, including John Bailie himself; and Mr R.R. Langham-Carter searched the early registers of St George's Cathedral, Cape Town, for relevant entries.

The most important single source of information for this thesis has been the Cape Archives Depot. I have much cause for gratitude to the Chief and his staff, whose patience and efficiency in dealing with queries, whether by correspondence or face to face, appear to be limitless.

On the many occasions when a personal search for a particular reference was unavoidable and urgent and I was unable to visit the Archives myself, my daughter and elder son, Jane Clayton and Andrew Nash, spared time from their own studies to assist with mine. When I have needed to make

use of documentary material from the South African Library I have called on the help of Miss Margaret Cartwright, and Mr W.B.N. Viljoen has aided my enquiries at the Deeds Office.

It has been my good fortune to have the special collections of the Port Elizabeth Library close at hand, with a wealth of material that deserves to be more widely known and used. While the Librarian and his staff have all been unfailingly helpful, I owe particular thanks to Mr Porter and his successor Mrs Margaret Harradene of the Africana section, and Mrs Moulton of the reference section.

Working at a distance from Rhodes University has presented obvious difficulties. My supervisor, Professor K.S. Hunt, has helped to overcome them by providing continuous encouragement and sympathy in addition to academic guidance, and Mr Michael Berning and his staff have ensured that my visits to the Cory Library have borne the maximum fruit. Professor W.A. Maxwell, formerly head of the Department of History, suggested the theme and title for my final chapter and was kind enough to read and comment on the first draft.

I am afraid that I have made unconscionable demands on the time, patience and scholarship of many of my friends while researching and writing this thesis; I owe a special debt of gratitude to Professor Guy Butler, Mrs Margaret Rainier and Dr Ida Bell.

Most of all, and for a multitude of reasons, I must thank my husband.

ABBREVIATIONS AND EXPLANATORY NOTES

CA	Cape Archives Depot
d.n.	death notice
DNB	<u>Dictionary of National Biography</u>
DSAB	<u>Dictionary of South African Biography</u>
PRO	Public Record Office, London
RCC	<u>Records of the Cape Colony</u>

(Standard abbreviations such as *ibid.*, *n.d.*, etc., have not been listed.)

Value of the Cape Rixdollar

The sterling value of the rixdollar was 1s.9d. in 1820 and 1s.8d. in 1821. Over the next four years it averaged 1s.6d. with slight variations, and was finally pegged to sterling at an exchange rate of 1s.6d. in June 1825.

Artisan, tradesman, mechanic

The terms "artisan", "tradesman" and "mechanic" are confusingly close in meaning. In this study, they have been used to denote:

Artisan: one who is employed in any of the industrial arts, a mechanic, handicraftsman, artificer.

Tradesman: one who is skilled in and follows one of the industrial arts; a workman who has learned a trade. (The term has not been used to denote a merchant, but restricted to a handicraftsman, as in Scots usage.)

Mechanic: one who is employed in a manual occupation, an unskilled workman of low standing.

CHAPTER ONE

EMIGRATION TO THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, 1815-1819

In 1819 the British Government promulgated a scheme to assist approximately 4 000 emigrants to settle at the Cape of Good Hope. Although this was not the first time that the Government had aided emigration from Britain to one of her colonies, the 1819 scheme was on a bigger scale than anything that had been attempted before, and was remarkable not only for the number of would-be settlers that it attracted but for the class of society from which many of them were drawn.

If one accepts Wilmot Horton's¹ distinction between emigration and colonisation - that emigration is the movement of labourers without capital, and colonisation the movement of emigrants with capital for the development of land² - then the 1819 scheme as it was proposed by the Colonial Department was essentially a scheme of colonisation, designed to benefit the colony itself. The colonial authorities in London and at the Cape had earlier agreed on the desirability of settling the unstable eastern frontier with British emigrants wealthy enough to supply the capital and the labour force to develop large grants of land. The government vote of £50 000 to assist emigration to the Cape in 1819 was not made to benefit the colony, however, but to relieve political tensions caused by postwar unemployment at home; emigration not colonisation was the motivating force behind it. The amount of money voted by Parliament reflects the magnitude of the political gesture it was making, not the number of emigrants the Colonial Department was geared to select and organise, or the Cape was ready to receive. As it turned out, the colonial authorities in both countries were overwhelmed by the response to the scheme, and frequently forced to sacrifice principle to expediency in implementing it.

1. Robert John Wilmot Horton (1784-1841) succeeded Henry Goulburn as Under-Secretary of State for War and the Colonies in 1821. He was admitted to the Privy Council in May 1827 and resigned office with Huskisson in 1828. He published a number of pamphlets on colonial affairs in the 1820s and 1830s.

2. H.J.M. Johnston, British Emigration Policy 1815-1830, p.109.

Although in theory the Colonial Department offered free passages and grants of land only to men of sufficient means to sponsor and settle a work-force of ten or more labourers, the actual selection of emigrants was dictated largely by political expediency. In contradiction to established policy, pauper parties were admitted to the scheme, although in very limited numbers; the great majority of emigrants, however, fell somewhere between the two categories of substantial capitalists and paupers. Men who could afford to pay the required deposit for themselves and their families to emigrate, who were not of the labouring class but who lacked the capital to employ labourers, applied in their hundreds. When they were informed that no applications from individual settlers would be taken into consideration they banded together in groups of the required number and selected a nominal head to apply on their behalf. The land grant their leader received in the colony was to be divided among them. These joint-stock parties were contrary to both the letter and the spirit of the emigration circular; nonetheless, they made up the bulk of the settlers who landed at Algoa Bay in 1820, and played a major part in determining the character of the Albany settlement and shaping the direction of its history.

Earlier schemes to assist emigration from Britain to her colonies had been conceived on a small scale and cautiously implemented both through lack of funds and lack of conviction on the part of the Colonial Department. At the end of the Napoleonic Wars the working population of the British Isles, hard-pressed by "the distress of the times and the badness of trade",³ showed a growing interest in emigration. Government gave little support to promoting it either as a relief measure for distress at home or as the means of strengthening its colonies abroad, although from 1813 the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, Earl Bathurst,⁴ accepted the principle that if British subjects were determined to emigrate it was better to direct them to British possessions than to lose them to the

3. PRO CO 48/43, Harrop to Bathurst, 27.9.1819, quoted in Isobel Eirlys Edwards, The 1820 Settlers in South Africa, p.35.

4. Henry, 3rd Earl Bathurst (1762-1834), a middle-of-the-road Tory, held office from 1804 as Master of the Mint, Secretary for Foreign Affairs and President of the Board of Trade before being appointed Secretary for War and the Colonies, 1812-1827.

United States of America. Such attempts as were made to divert, rather than encourage, prospective emigrants focused on Canada;⁵ little attention was given to the Cape of Good Hope, which had been occupied and subsequently retained by Britain as a means of securing the sea-route to India and not as a colony of settlement.

To encourage emigrants to settle in Canada rather than the United States, the Colonial Department in 1815 offered free passages, cheap rations and land-grants of 100 acres each to individual settlers and their families who could raise the required deposits of £16 to £18. Parliament was not called upon to finance the scheme, as it was proposed to use troop-ships and war-surplus stores to transport and feed the emigrants. The resumption of the war in Europe disrupted these plans; after a six-month delay only 700 settlers, instead of the 4 000 originally envisaged, were sent to Canada and eventually located near the Rideau Lakes. In spite of the attempt to exclude settlers who could not afford to support themselves, the Rideau Lakes scheme in the event entailed considerable expense to Government as well as considerable hardship for the emigrants.⁶

Consequently the Colonial Department's next experiments in assisted emigration were approached with caution, and restricted to emigrants who could afford to sponsor and settle groups of labourers at their own financial risk.

Soon after he took office in 1814 the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, Lord Charles Somerset,⁷ had stressed the desirability of increasing the population of the colony by immigration.⁸ In spite of that, the handful of prospective emigrants who approached the Colonial Department during

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5. Johnston, British Emigration Policy, p.17. The Colonial Department's attitude towards emigration and the Rideau Lakes settlement are discussed fully in Chapter ii (pp.10-31).
 6. Ibid, p.21.
 7. Lord Charles Henry Somerset (1767-1831), second son of the 5th Duke of Beaufort, was Governor of the Cape of Good Hope from April 1814 to March 1826 except for a period of leave in England, January 1820-November 1821.
 8. Records of the Cape Colony from 1793 to 1828, ed. George McCall Theal. X, 242, Somerset to Bathurst, 20.1.1815.

1816 and 1817 with enquiries about settlement at the Cape received unenthusiastic replies. "Persons of respectable character" were informed that they might apply to the Governor for a grant of land "proportioned to the means they might possess of cultivating the same", but no other encouragement (signifying practical as well as moral support, in the Colonial Department's use of the word) was offered them.⁹ An exception was made for Benjamin Moodie,¹⁰ who was recommended¹¹ in 1816 to Bathurst's Under-Secretary, Henry Goulburn,¹² for a grant of land at the Cape on which he proposed to settle a large number of Scots labourers to be taken out entirely at his own expense. This was a speculative venture: they were to repay him the cost of their passage with their labour over a period of years. Moodie was permitted to dispense with the usual security bonds required for immigrants, and during 1817 he introduced approximately 200 mechanics and labourers to the Cape, in most cases selling their indentures to other employers. Land was granted him in the Swellendam district, at Grootvadersbosch. These immigrants were almost without exception young unmarried men, who adapted easily to a new environment, and although Moodie did not find his speculation as profitable as he had hoped, his settlers made a valuable addition to the Cape's scanty labour force without creating any major problem for the colonial

9. Public Record Office, London. See correspondence from Colonial Department to prospective settlers in CO 49/11, i.a. p.150, Goulburn to McIlwraith, 14.8.1818, and p.194, Goulburn to Franks, 29.4.1819.

10. Benjamin Moodie (1789-1856), eldest son of James Moodie, ninth laird of Melsetter, Orkney, took a party of labourers to the Cape in 1817, where he was later joined by his brothers Donald and John. All three participated in the military settlement of Fredericksburg. (See p.93 below.)

11. RCC XI, 189, Moodie to Alexander Macleay, 26.9.1816. Macleay was at that time Secretary to the Transport Board: he was appointed Colonial Secretary to New South Wales in 1825 at Earl Bathurst's request. He introduced Moodie to Goulburn.

12. Henry Goulburn (1784-1856), entered politics as a Tory in 1807, was appointed Under-Secretary for the Home Department in 1810, and succeeded Peel as Under-Secretary for War and the Colonies in August, 1812. He resigned his post when he became a member of the Privy Council in 1821.

government.¹³

In July 1817 Earl Bathurst asked Lord Charles Somerset's opinion about the probable success of "an extensive settlement of European Cultivators at the Cape". The Colonial Department had received a number of enquiries from would-be emigrants, but Bathurst was reluctant to encourage or even discuss such applications without a detailed knowledge of local conditions. Prospective emigrants could not be fobbed off indefinitely, however, and Somerset was asked what arrangements could be made for settlers from Britain, and in particular

...whether in granting lands it would be advisable to make a considerable Grant to one Individual who might procure subordinate labourers for its cultivation, or whether small grants to individual cultivators would not be preferable.¹⁴

Neither the Colonial Department nor the officials at the Cape wished to encourage the emigration of paupers to the colonies. Under-Secretary Henry Goulburn thought that assisting paupers to emigrate might hide their sufferings from their countrymen, but would serve no other purpose.¹⁵ Henry Ellis,¹⁶ Deputy Colonial Secretary at the Cape, commented that "the poor house would be transferred, but with this disadvantage that pauperism would be sent to prey upon poverty".¹⁷ The colonies needed new capital, and the Rideau Lakes settlement had shown that even a compulsory deposit was not sufficient guarantee that a settler would be able to support himself and his family without becoming a financial burden to Government. Many of the emigrants to Canada had sold everything they possessed to raise the necessary deposit money, and delays in sailing

13. RCC XII, 22-24, McIlwraith to Bathurst, July 1818.
RC XVIII, 259-264, Moodie's evidence before Commissioners of Enquiry, 28.8.1824. Cape Archives CO 2626 contains a copy of Moodie's agreement with his settlers.

14. RCC XI, 363, Bathurst to Somerset, 28.7.1817.

15. Johnston, British Emigration Policy, p.14.

16. Henry Ellis was appointed Deputy Colonial Secretary at the Cape in March 1819 on Earl Bathurst's recommendation. He acted as Collector of Customs at the same time. He was granted six months' leave of absence from March 1821, but did not return to the Cape.

17. RCC XII, 349, Ellis to Goulburn, 13.10.1819.

schedules had necessitated their being supported at government expense even before they left Britain. By mid-1817 the disadvantages of sending out emigrants with no means of support to fall back on were already evident, and some of the Rideau Lakes settlers were to continue to receive government assistance as late as 1819.¹⁸ As his dispatch to Somerset had indicated, Earl Bathurst was now considering a cautious experiment in assisted emigration for groups of settlers, incorporating a capital requirement that was intended to protect the colonies from an unwanted influx of paupers. No assistance other than a grant of 25 acres of land was to be given to individual emigrants, but land grants in the proportion of 100 acres for each settler were offered either in Canada or at the Cape to capitalists who would engage to take out and locate at least ten subordinate labourers. Government would supply free passages (although with no provision of victuals) for settlers and their families. The applicant for the grant was required to put down a deposit of £10 per man, repayable after he had located his settlers on the land assigned. The onus was on him to keep the group together for three years, or forfeit his land.¹⁹

Without waiting to hear Somerset's views²⁰ Earl Bathurst approached the Treasury for approval of this scheme at the end of 1817, and it was tentatively introduced in the following year. A printed circular setting out the conditions of the scheme was sent in reply to enquiries from prospective emigrants, but little attempt seems to have been made to bring it to the attention of the general public.²¹ The circular was reproduced in The Times of September 5, 1818, but by early December applicants were being told that no further proposals for emigrating to the Cape of Good Hope would be taken into consideration.²²

18. Johnston, British Emigration Policy, pp.20-21.

19. RCC XI, 388, Colonial Office circular, ---1817.

20. Johnston, British Emigration Policy, p.28 fn. 59. Somerset's dispatch, dated 18.12.1817, was received in Downing Street on 9.2.1818.

21. Ibid, p.29. PRO CO 48/38, p.362, Hadley to Goulburn, 26.2.1818 (minute on) makes reference to "the new circular".

22. PRO CO 49/11, p.170, Goulburn to Atkinson, 11.12.1818, and other correspondence in this volume.

Four large parties, comprising about 600 emigrants altogether, were given free passages to Canada under this scheme in 1818.²³ Applications were approved from two of the dozen or so people who proposed to take parties to the Cape; one of them, Thomas Beale, failed to produce his settlers when their sailing date was set;²⁴ the other, Peter Tait, who had planned originally to take out at least 200 families, eventually settled 26 in the George district in 1819.²⁵ A party of "respectable Mechanics" was turned down because Bathurst considered them less well-suited for the clearing and cultivation of land than emigrants who were accustomed to agricultural labour.²⁶ It is significant that the Colonial Department showed no interest in the internal arrangements of the parties that applicants proposed to take out: they were informed that the director of a group of settlers was free to make whatever agreement with them he saw fit.²⁷ An enquirer from Greenock wished to take out one or two hundred young men as indentured servants with a clause permitting the transfer of their indentures - an arrangement similar to Benjamin Moodie's, which fell outside the assisted emigration scheme - and was told,

Lord Bathurst will be always ready to give to persons of respectable character such as Mr. Moodie the same degree of encouragement which that gentleman received...[but] begs not to enter into any discussion of the terms which settlers may make with the persons employed by them, these being private transactions with which so long as they are not contrary to law Lord Bathurst has officially no concern.²⁸

Independently of Earl Bathurst's enquiries, Lord Charles Somerset had in the meantime made strong and reiterated recommendations for settlement on a large scale in the Suurveld, the harassed eastern frontier area lying east of the Sundays River, between the curve of the Great Fish River and

23. Johnston, British Emigration Policy, p.29.

24. PRO CO 49/11, p.189, Goulburn to Beale, 20.4.1819.

25. PRO CO 48/38, p.469, Tait to Goulburn, 24.2.1818; and RCC XIX, 140 and 355, Tait to Wilmot Horton, 18.11.1824 and Tait to Bathurst, 27.12.1824.

26. PRO CO 49/11, p.123, Goulburn to Horsley, 27.5.1818.

27. PRO CO 49/11, p.126, Goulburn to Kingdom, 11.6.1818.

28. PRO CO 49/11, p.150, Goulburn to McIlwraith, 14.8.1818.

the sea. In 1780 the Great Fish River had been proclaimed as the Cape's eastern boundary, in an attempt by the Dutch East India Company to limit the further dispersal of the scattered Boer farming population, as well as to prevent the encroachment of the land- and cattle-hungry Xhosa. Continued cattle-raiding during the first years of British occupation of the Cape was temporarily halted by a combined operation of Dutch farmers and British regular soldiers in 1812, when Grahamstown was established as a permanent garrison centre, and a fortified line of blockhouses built along the line of the Great Fish River. In 1814 the Suurveld was proclaimed under the name of Albany as a sub-drostdy of the district of Uitenhage.²⁹

Border depredations soon recurred, with increasing cost in lives and cattle, and Albany had been abandoned by the majority of frontier farmers before March 1817 when Somerset made his first visit to the eastern districts. At the beginning of April he held a conference with the Xhosa chief Ngqika,³⁰

to demand his aid in repressing the outrages committed by his people, and those of the chiefs under him, and at the same time to notify to him the vigorous measures His Lordship was determined to adopt in future, and the retribution he should henceforth require for any depredation committed.³¹

Ngqika was in no position to give such an undertaking, and was making trouble for himself in doing so. Somerset credited him with the authority of a paramount chief which he did not in fact possess. He gave his agreement, however, to the introduction of a reprisals system whereby the kraal to which stolen cattle were traced would be held responsible for the

29. George E. Cory, The Rise of South Africa, I, 272 for the proclamation of the sub-district of Albany. The early history of Albany is covered in Chapter viii.

30. Ngqika (c.1780-1829) was Chief of the Rharabe Xhosa and an uneasy ally of the colonial government.

31. RCC XI, 296, Government Advertisement of 18.4.1817. See J.B. Peires, "A History of the Xhosa c.1700-1835", p.118: this Kat River Conference of 1817 put Ngqika in the uncomfortable and dangerous position of being forced to chastise his allies, the minor chiefs, in order to satisfy the colony. The preferential treatment given to Ngqika was a major cause of the battle of Amalinde in October 1818, when he was routed by his rival Ndhlambe.

punishment of the robbers and the compensation of the owners. Somerset was confident that this reprisals system combined with increased military protection would put an end to border raids, and set about re-establishing and increasing the population of the Suurveld as the most effective measure for ensuring its continued security. He instructed the Landdrost of Uitenhage to do his utmost to convince colonists who had abandoned their frontier farms that they could now return to them in safety, and to persuade young farmers of the advantages they would gain by establishing themselves in a most fertile part of the colony upon most favourable terms. The Landdrost was given authority to make grants of land without prior reference to the Governor, of a size "adapted to the wants and means of the applicant", which would be increased if several adult male members of the family were located close together: a measure calculated to provide the greatest security against molestation. After a family had occupied their land for three years it would be surveyed at government expense, and title granted on perpetual quitrent. Rent was to be remitted for the first ten years as an additional incentive.³²

Immediately on his return from the frontier, in April 1817, Somerset wrote to Earl Bathurst eulogising the Suurveld as the most beautiful and fertile part of the colony.³³ In June he reported that the new reprisals system was working successfully. Benjamin Moodie had recently arrived in the colony with his first party of indentured mechanics, and Somerset informed Bathurst that after finding employment for them without difficulty, Moodie was about to visit the Suurveld with a view to the settlement of future emigrants. Somerset referred in high spirits to "the prospect which begins to open of having the border settled by immigration from Great Britain".³⁴

Somerset's hopes for the peaceful settlement of the frontier received a considerable setback when he was instructed that the Cape garrison was to be drastically reduced in the interests of economy, and that the small military force left to him was to include two regiments made up

32. RCC XI, 297-299, Bird to Landdrost of Uitenhage, 29.3.1817.

33. Ibid, 305, Somerset to Bathurst, 24.5.1817.

34. Ibid, 358, Somerset to Bathurst, 23.6.1817.

largely of deserters. He wrote to Bathurst in November 1817 to protest against these measures, and once again raised the question of settlement by emigrants from Britain:

I must again repeat to your Lordship that upon the tranquillization and settlement of the Eastern Border depends in the greatest measure the future welfare of this Colony... It is understood that many of our countrymen are anxious to emigrate, it might therefore be worthy of your Lordship's consideration whether the attainment of this object would not be cheaply secured even at some national expense, in giving aid and encouragement to Settlers who would shortly be sufficiently strong to protect themselves against our wily Neighbours and by constantly repressing their Incursions, added to the advantages they would derive from friendly intercourse with our people, gradually incline them to the adoption of more regular courses.³⁵

Earl Bathurst's dispatch of July 18, 1817 was received at the Cape in December, and gave Somerset the welcome opportunity to put forward in detail his arguments and recommendations in favour of the "extensive settlement of European Cultivators" that Bathurst had suggested. Once again, he laid great emphasis on the potential of the Suurveld, which in his opinion was the only land available and suitable for the settlement of a large number of emigrants. He did not attempt to disguise the danger that new settlers would face from Xhosa depredations, but was confident that locating them in small groups would not only enable them to defend themselves effectively, but would eventually make it possible to withdraw military support entirely from the frontier. Against the drawback of exposure to Xhosa forays must be set the advantages of a fertile soil and a healthy and temperate climate. Somerset enclosed in his letter a copy of his instructions to the Landdrost of Uitenhage setting out the terms on which grants were to be made in that district, and added that in his opinion the local authorities were best qualified to judge the extent of land to be granted to each settler on the basis of his assets in money, labour and stock.

...It would be most advisable to make a considerable grant to an individual who should procure subordinate labourers for its cultivation, rather than to encourage insulated cultivators, as such individual would be enabled to guide the inferior settlers and to establish such a system of mutual support among them as should ensure their perfect security. Thus an

35. Ibid, 404, Somerset to Bathurst, 12.11.1817.

individual, bringing with him families which should contain from 25 to 50 male labourers amongst which there should be a proportion of Artificers, would be allowed to occupy... 4000 English acres in the first instance, according to the regulations at present in force...

...Should it appear expedient afterwards to extend the establishment, a larger grant would then be made...³⁶

In addition to giving assistance to agriculturalists who brought out parties of subordinate labourers, Somerset recommended the granting of free passages to emigrant labourers and artificers who could be absorbed into the labouring community in the older districts. The example of Moodie's settlers had shown how useful such an influx of workmen was likely to be to the colony, if they had been carefully selected from a class notoriously lacking in "industrious and orderly habits", and were set to work immediately upon arrival.

Bathurst had not waited to hear Somerset's views before drafting his scheme of December 1817, but they were in complete agreement about the desirability of granting land only to settlers with the means to employ and maintain a number of labourers. The Colonial Department approved Somerset's choice of the Suurveld for settlement: in May his exact words were used to inform a prospective settler that

the particular situations where it will be most advisable to establish settlement...will be found in the District situated between the Great Fish River the boundary of the Caffer Country and the Sunday River in the Uitenhage District.³⁷

It must be presumed that Somerset expected Bathurst to implement his plan for "an extensive settlement of European Cultivators at the Cape" as soon as he was able to do so. W.M. Macmillan cites a letter from Dr John Philip³⁸ to the Governor on the subject of the expected immigration written in September 1819,³⁹ a month before news reached the Cape that

36. Ibid., 429, Somerset to Bathurst, 18.12.1817.

37. PRO CO 49/11, p.124, Goulburn to Synnot, 27.5.1818.

38. Dr John Philip (1775-1851) came to South Africa for the London Missionary Society in 1819 and was made superintendent of all its Cape stations in 1822. His daughter married John Fairbairn, editor of the South African Commercial Advertiser.

39. W.M. Macmillan, The Cape Colour Question, p.109.

Parliament had granted the necessary funds. The two-year delay between the suggestion and its execution was not excessive in an age of slow communications, and the announcement that the scheme was under way did not take Somerset by surprise.

The Colonial Department and the Governor of the Cape viewed emigration in the light of its possible benefit to the colony. In other quarters, emigration to the Cape was under consideration as a poor-relief measure for Britain. In 1817 papers by Robert Torrens and W.G. Hayter,⁴⁰ proposing state-aided emigration as a temporary solution to over-population and under-employment, were laid before the Select Committee of the Commons on the Poor Laws. Hayter in particular recommended the Cape as the most eligible colony for settlement, but the proposals had little effect on the Committee's subsequent report, apart from a passing reference to the advisability of removing obstacles that prevented the movement of labour to the colonies.⁴¹ A merchant with long-established interests at the Cape, Henry Nourse,⁴² submitted to the Home Secretary in January 1818 a plan for combining philanthropy with profit to the colony, by sending out from Britain unemployed workmen ("the numerous distressed objects which crowd our streets") at public expense, under articles of indenture which would be sold to employers at the Cape. Although there was land available for settlement, he did not think it desirable to send out paupers as independent settlers without the control of a master. His intention was to increase the colony's inadequate labour supply, and by so doing to reduce the exorbitantly high rate of wages.⁴³ Nourse's plan was referred to the Colonial Department, and through the agent for the Cape he was introduced to the chairman of the 1819 Select Committee on the Poor Laws.⁴⁴

40. Robert Torrens, an economist, later played an important part in the history of Australian colonisation; W.G. Hayter was a law student who entered politics.

41. Johnston, British Emigration Policy, pp.13-14.

42. Henry Nourse (1779-1834), a London merchant who had commercial links with Cape Town from 1806, established the firm of Nourse, Christian and Co. at the Cape in partnership with his brother-in-law in 1815.

43. RCC XI, 445, Nourse to Sidmouth, 12.1.1818.

44. RCC XVII, 27, Nourse to Commissioners of Enquiry, 30.1.1824.

A month before Nourse was called on to address the Select Committee, public attention was drawn to a more ambitious project for pauper emigration to the Cape. In May 1819 three "respectable and enterprising" gentlemen - George Vernon, the Hon. E. Harberd and E. Stracey - submitted a proposal to Earl Bathurst for the formation of a limited liability company, incorporated by Royal Charter, with the object of settling a large number of pauper emigrants on unoccupied land from Plettenberg Bay to the Great Fish River. The scheme was on an alarmingly bold scale, and Earl Bathurst considered that it would be highly dangerous to leave the settlement of so extensive an area in the hands of a few individuals. His rejection of the proposal was tempered, however, by sending its promoters a copy of Somerset's regulations and conditions for grants of land in the Suurveld. If they were willing to accept a grant of land on those terms, the Colonial Department would be pleased to recommend either the principals in the scheme or their agents to the Governor of the colony. Although Somerset had recommended leaving the size of the grant to the discretion of the local authority, the Colonial Department was more specific:

Any individual who will procure and convey to the colony subordinate labourers, and either reside or appoint an agent to reside with them in the colony, will be entitled to receive under the usual conditions, land in the proportion of 100 acres for every male of above 17 actually settled on the land granted.⁴⁵

On June 1, 1819 the promoters of the scheme published the details of their proposal and its rejection in a pamphlet entitled Observations on the Colonization of the Cape of Good Hope, designed to call public attention to the growing crisis of over-population and under-employment in Britain, for which they saw emigration as the only remedy. The climate and fertility of the Cape were glowingly described, and emphasis was given to the advantageous terms on which land-grants would be made. The pamphlet was particularly directed at men with a small amount of capital, who could afford to pay the expenses of the passage to the Cape and settle themselves and a number of impecunious labourers.

The Public cannot fail to see the very great advantages which may be derived by a person enjoying a certain portion of capital, and enabled thereby to hire and retain a proportionate number of

45. RCC XII, 217, "Observations on the Colonization of the Cape of Good Hope", 1.6.1819.

able-bodied men, to be employed as agriculturists, masons, blacksmiths, carpenters, etc.

Any individual with such means would receive a tract of country extensive in proportion to the number of hands employed by him, by which in a short space of time he might double or treble his capital.

...To small capitalists, say of £100, an opportunity is presented of employing it most advantageously, and thereby acquiring a handsome independence for themselves and families.⁴⁶

This advice found receptive ears, and "small capitalists" were to respond in overwhelming numbers to the offer of government-assisted emigration that was advertised little more than a month later. The Observations on Colonization drew enough attention to be quoted in the Annual Register,⁴⁷ and on June 18 The Times, that stern critic of the Government, made it the subject of an editorial on emigration.

We are much pleased with a document which...proves that the spirit of many of our enlightened countrymen is alive to means of refuge for the indigent, which have never yet been resorted to. We shall at the same time advance our firm persuasion, that for colonization to become an effectual source of relief to this country, it must be powerfully aided and supported by the state...Our noble station at the Cape of Good Hope has the finest soil and climate in the world...⁴⁸

At the beginning of July, Henry Nourse was called before the Select Committee on the Poor Laws to give evidence about conditions at the Cape, and persuaded the traveller William Burchell⁴⁹ to accompany him to speak from his experience of five years in Africa. Burchell unhesitatingly recommended Albany as the most beautiful and probably the most productive part of the colony, well suited for an extensive settlement of British emigrants. Its

46. Ibid, 212-218. See also pp.184 and 191, Vernon, Harberd and Stracey to Bathurst, 12.5.1819 and 17.5.1819; and PRO CO 49/11, p.200, Goulburn to Vernon, Harberd and Stracey, 21.5.1819.

47. The Annual Register, or a View of the History, Politics and Literature for the year 1819, pp.37-38.

48. The Times (London), 18.6.1819.

49. William John Burchell (1781-1863), naturalist, traveller, artist and author, was in South Africa from 1810 to 1815 and returned to England with some 60 000 natural history specimens and 500 drawings. Two volumes of his Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa were published in London in 1822 and 1824.

proximity to the unstable frontier was not a serious drawback, as an extensive white population would in itself provide a sufficient deterrent against Xhosa cattle-raiders. South Africa was in every way preferable to North America for settlement; Burchell suggested that about 300 emigrants should be sent out initially, to prepare the way for a larger influx soon afterwards.⁵⁰

The Committee's report came out strongly in favour of assisted emigration as an answer to the pressing problem of unemployment. It repeated its earlier recommendation that encouragement should be given to those wishing to emigrate in search of employment in a British colony.⁵¹ Burchell's evidence had confirmed that the fertile soil and favourable climate of the Cape held out every prospect of success.

During May and June of 1819, enquiries to the Colonial Department from prospective emigrants received increasingly encouraging replies; an indication, perhaps, that further assistance for emigration to the Cape was under discussion. Suitable applicants were recommended to consider the superior advantages of the Cape over other colonies, although no practical help was offered apart from a free grant of land when they arrived there.⁵² However, influences from outside his department were about to make Bathurst's "extensive settlement of European Cultivators at the Cape" a reality - possibly more precipitately and on a larger scale than he had intended.

Unemployment in Britain caused increasing unrest in the spring of 1819. Asa Briggs has called it "the worst of all years".⁵³ In the manufacturing districts of Scotland and the north of England political tension grew with mass outdoor meetings, strikes and threatened riots, particularly among framework knitters and cotton weavers and spinners. On May 11 an unruly mob of Carlisle cotton weavers held a meeting at which they

50. Annual Register for 1819, pp.331-336. Guy Butler (ed.), The 1820 Settlers, p.54.

51. Annual Register for 1819, p.324.

52. PRO CO 49/11, i.a. p.204, Goulburn to M'Lean, 28.5.1819; p.204, Goulburn to Savage, 3.6.1819; p.208, Goulburn to Banks, 8.6.1819.

53. Asa Briggs, The Age of Improvement, p.210.

resolved to appeal for government assistance to emigrate to Canada. A fortnight later the Member for Carlisle laid their petition, signed by 12 000 people, before the House of Commons, with the prediction that it would be only the first of many such appeals. With the manufacture of cotton goods almost at a standstill, the condition of the workmen was desperate. At the end of May, after another mass meeting, the Carlisle weavers organised a successful strike for higher wages, while a detachment of the 18th Hussars remained on standby in the neighbourhood to keep the peace at the urgent request of the mayor and magistrate. On June 16 more than 35 000 weavers met in Glasgow to petition for the means to emigrate to the colonies. Radical speakers argued that not emigration but political reform was needed. On June 21 a meeting at Manchester called for amelioration of present conditions or help to emigrate to North America. The assembly on St Peter's Field - the scene of Peterloo, two months later - was told that emigration equalled transportation: what was wanted was reform at home.⁵⁴ Faced with the threat of Radical insurrection, and harshly criticised by the Whig opposition, the Government attempted not only to subdue, but to placate, the disaffected. On the last working day of the session, July 12 1819, the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed a vote of £50 000 "to assist persons disposed to settle in His Majesty's Colony of the Cape of Good Hope", and the motion was passed with general approval.⁵⁵

The emigration motion was intended to serve two political purposes: to protect the country from the Radicals, and to protect the Government from the Opposition. From the beginning of the session the Whigs had threatened to topple the Government, and might have succeeded if they had not forced the issue in May by introducing a motion on the state of the nation that urged the dismissal of the ministers. It was too extreme a measure; it frightened off the moderates and new members on whose vote its success depended. Narrowly reprieved, the Government rallied to

54. Ibid, pp.208-210. See also Johnston, British Emigration Policy, pp.35-36; Annual Register for 1819 (for the Carlisle weavers), pp.31, 35-37; Joyce Marlow, The Peterloo Massacre, p.91.

55. Parliamentary Debates from the Year 1803 to the Present Time, published under the superintendence of T.C. Hansard, Vol. XL, p.1549 (also in RCC XII, 250), and The Times, 13.7.1819.

strengthen itself. It was politic for the ministers at the close of the session to introduce a "popular" issue in which they would have the support of many of the Whigs and waverers in Parliament. A vote of £50 000 to assist approximately a thousand families to emigrate would not resolve the economic crisis, but might serve as an effective safety-valve for the political one.⁵⁶

For the government's purposes, the announcement of the decision to promote emigration was more important than its subsequent execution.⁵⁷ The "show of doing something for the people",⁵⁸ together with the recent publicity the Cape had received as a potential "refuge for the indigent",⁵⁹ gave Earl Bathurst the opportunity and the means to implement his 1817 scheme for settlement at the Cape with a minimum of alteration.

Professor H.J.M. Johnston has shown in his study of British emigration policy that the decision to sponsor emigration was a hasty one. He suggests that it took Earl Bathurst by surprise,⁶⁰ and that in sanctioning assistance for indigent emigrants Parliament overruled the Colonial Department's established policy of encouraging only settlers who would be able to support themselves. He sees the emigration scheme of 1819 as a departure from earlier experiments, and not as a development of the efforts of 1817-1818.⁶¹ The Hansard account of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's speech to introduce the motion gives support to his view:

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he had to propose a grant for the purpose of enabling his majesty's government to assist

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56. Austin Mitchell, The Whigs in Opposition 1815-1830, pp.122-125. See also Charles Arbuthnot, The Correspondence of Charles Arbuthnot, ed. A. Aspinall, p.16, Arbuthnot to Castlereagh, 14.3.1819. Robert Godlonton suggested in 1870 that the Government of the day had seen the emigration vote as "a safety-valve by which a good deal of the public effervescence might be let off". Graham's Town Journal, 23.5.1870.
57. Johnston, British Emigration Policy, p.37.
58. [W. Wilberforce Bird], The State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822, p.179.
59. The Times, 18.6.1819.
60. Johnston, British Emigration Policy, p.34.
61. Ibid, pp.30-31.

unemployed workmen of this country in removing to one of our colonies...The colony selected was that of the Cape of Good Hope...It was proposed to pay the expense of the passage, and at the same time to secure to the settler the means of employing his industry to advantage on his landing at the destined spot. But a small advance of money would be required from each settler before embarking, to be repaid him in necessaries at the Cape...⁶²

It should be remembered that the reports that appeared in Hansard's Parliamentary Debates at this time were neither official nor verbatim; they were compiled at second-hand from newspaper reports, and published at intervals.⁶³ The account of the debate of July 12, 1819 was reprinted from the Morning Chronicle, with the omission of an unfavourable allusion to the Prince Regent.⁶⁴ The Times account of the emigration debate differs significantly from the better-known Hansard report, and on the face of it is more likely to be accurate.

Like the circular that was issued from the Colonial Office a few days later, setting out the terms of the scheme, The Times report made it clear that this was not intended to be an experiment in pauper emigration. On Parliament's part, the decision to aid emigration may have been prompted by growing public concern about unemployment: a politically-expedient gesture to ensure the country's stability in a time of domestic crisis. For Earl Bathurst, however, the short-term effect was only a beginning; his department had to put the scheme into execution and take responsibility for its long-term effects on the colony. The grant was made in a hurry, but he was influential and experienced enough as a politician to ensure that it would be employed in accordance with his long-established emigration policy. The proposal to assist emigration was not made by the Whig opposition, but by the Government, which could be relied upon to support the views of the Secretary of State for the Colonies; paupers might be sent out to the Cape as subordinate labourers, but they were not acceptable as independent emigrants.

62. RCC XII, 250.

63. L.A. Abraham and S.C. Hawtrey, A Parliamentary Dictionary, p.99. Information confirmed by Librarian of the House of Commons.

64. Morning Chronicle (London), 13.7.1819.

As The Times reported it, no mention was made in the Parliamentary debate of "unemployed workmen" (although that phrase was used in a leading article on July 14), and the government proposal was entirely in accordance with the established Colonial Department policy of encouraging only self-sufficient emigrants.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he had to propose another address, to the object of which he should briefly call the attention of the house. The right hon. gent. then adverted to the attempts which had been made to induce persons disposed to emigrate to settle at the Cape of Good Hope; and stated that he proposed the present address for the purpose of enabling government to give that encouragement on a larger scale. He conceived that this colony held out greater inducements to emigrants than any of the colonies in North America...It certainly was not proposed to carry out persons wholly destitute of the means of providing for themselves. That experiment had been tried, but had been found to be attended with great inconvenience. A small deposit would therefore be required from them before leaving this country, as a security for their providing for themselves when they arrived at the colony.⁶⁵

A suggestion that direct encouragement should be given to paupers as well as to more desirable emigrants came from the Opposition benches:

Mr HUME approved of the motion, but regretted that it did not go further. He thought that the parishes should be obliged to subscribe, in order to send out able-bodied men who could not get employment in this country. He conceived it would be no great relief to the country, in its present distressed state, if only persons of capital were sent out of it.⁶⁶

The Chancellor of the Exchequer in reply trod a cautious line between offending the Whigs and committing the Colonial Department to a policy it would be reluctant to adopt.

It was part of the plan that parishes should be allowed to subscribe; but any thing like compulsory subscription could not be thought of.

A proposal that people such as the distressed labourers and manufacturers of Cork, who lacked the means to make any deposit at all, should be exempted

65. The Times, 13.7.1819.

66. Ibid. (The Morning Post reported Hume as saying that if able-bodied paupers were unwilling to emigrate, it might be advisable to transport them without their consent.)

from doing so, prompted no discussion. The only criticism of the motion came from Joseph Hume and Alderman Wood,⁶⁷ both extreme Radicals, and understandably unwilling to have public opinion bought off by a political gesture with little real meaning.

The Times report of Parliament's decision to provide state assistance for emigration to the Cape of Good Hope appeared on July 13, 1819. Within two days, letters of application were arriving at the Colonial Office in Downing Street. A printed circular, specifying the conditions upon which Government was prepared to help prospective emigrants, was sent in answer to all enquiries and widely published in the London and Edinburgh papers, beginning with the Evening Mail of 16 July and The Times, Morning Post and Courier of the 17th.

The terms of the circular followed closely the conditions laid down for assisted emigrants in 1817. Government assistance would be given only to emigrants with capital enough to take out a party of at least ten able-bodied male settlers above the age of eighteen, with or without families. This stipulation would avoid repeating the sufferings ("very afflicting to themselves, and equally burthensome to the colonies") which had been experienced by the Rideau Lakes settlers, who had left Britain "unconnected and unprovided with any capital". Government reserved the right to select the most suitable applicants, although that right was actually exercised only in choosing directors of parties. It preserved a policy of lofty non-involvement with any internal arrangements they might make in engaging their subordinate labourers.

Land was to be granted to each director in the proportion of 100 acres for every adult male he took out, under the conditions that Somerset had laid down in his instructions to the Landdrost of Uitenhage in March 1817. Quit-rent (not to exceed an improbable maximum of £2 per 100 acres) would be remitted for ten years, and after three years' residence the estate would be measured at government expense and title granted. A forfeiture

67. Joseph Hume (1777-1855) was Member of Parliament for the Border burghs, a leader of the Radicals and an active reformer. Alderman Matthew Wood (1768-1843), Lord Mayor of London 1815-1817, was returned as Member of Parliament for the City in June 1817 and retained his seat until his death. A consistent Radical, he was a staunch supporter of Queen Caroline.

clause would be invoked if the estate were abandoned or not brought into cultivation within a set period.

Free passages would be provided by Government, as well as victuals from the time of embarkation until the settlers were landed - a generous addition to the terms offered in 1817. The directors were required to deposit £10 for each family they took out, which could include a man, his wife and two children under fourteen. This deposit would rise by £5 for each child over fourteen, and £2.10.0. for any additional child between two and fourteen. Deposit money would be repaid in three instalments, the first on landing in the colony, the second after locating, and the third three months later. The staggered repayment periods for deposits, and the additional deposit requirements for large families, had not been stipulated in the 1817 circular; their introduction was presumably indicated by the experience of the Rideau Lakes settlement.

A special provision was made for large parties of settlers that might be recruited under the scheme. Any group of 100 families could submit for the Colonial Secretary's approval the name of a clergyman of their own denomination to accompany them, who would be given a government appointment in the colony.

The 1819 terms departed in only one major particular from the 1817 offer: parishes that were burdened with large numbers of unemployed labourers were invited to select "an intelligent individual" to take out under his direction able-bodied settlers for whom the parish could advance the deposits. A land grant on the usual terms would be made to the director of such a party,

...leaving the Parish at liberty to make such conditions with the Individual, or the Settlers, as may be calculated to prevent the Parish becoming again chargeable with the maintenance of such settlers, in the event of their return to this country.⁶⁸

It was stressed that no such application would be considered unless the prospective settlers were willing volunteers: the Government was not laying itself open to any accusation of shovelling out paupers.

68. See RCC XII, 225-227, for the text of the circular.

With the exception of the clause admitting parish parties, the terms of the 1819 scheme were admirably clear. There was a confusing discrepancy, however, between the generally understood purpose of Parliament's gesture in voting money to assist emigration, and the scheme for which the £50 000 was to be employed. It was difficult to reconcile the terms set out in the Colonial Department circular with the idea of emigration as a form of poor relief. William Burchell, who had been consulted by the Select Committee on the Poor Laws about the settlement of "persons destitute of the means of support", saw the Parliamentary grant as a direct result of that committee's recommendations. In his Hints on Emigration to the Cape of Good Hope, hurriedly published to meet the demand for information about the colony, he quoted the terms of the circular but was disturbed by its lack of provision for the lower classes of society.

As it is evidently the intention of Government, in the application of that grant of money, to afford immediate relief to such distressed persons of this country as may desire to emigrate to the Cape, the plan of making the business find its own way by leaving it to the chance of private individuals of some responsibility carrying out with them parties of emigrants, consisting of not fewer than ten persons, does not appear best calculated to answer this kind intention.⁶⁹

He was understandably taken aback that a grant made for pauper relief was being employed to assist capitalists, whose aim in emigrating was their own profit and not the welfare of the labourers they took out. Pauper relief, either in the sense of alleviating the sufferings of the unemployed labourer, or as a reduction of the burden on the parish, was a possible secondary effect of the emigration scheme instead of its primary object.

The parish clause in the emigration scheme was a reluctant concession to political expediency on the part of an executive that would not commit itself to the principle of pauper emigration. (One of the emigrant party leaders subsequently declared that Government had been "imposed upon by Parliamentary interest" in admitting paupers at all.⁷⁰) The

69. William J. Burchell, Hints on Emigration to the Cape of Good Hope, p.14.

70. Thomas Philipps, Philipps, 1820 Settler, ed. A. Keppel-Jones, p.24.

conditions laid down by the Colonial Department did not make it easy for parishes to take advantage of the scheme. In the first place, they were not allowed to draw on the poor rates to provide deposits for paupers who wished to emigrate. The Guardians of the Poor in Leeds were told,

It is desirable that the sums which may be raised for assisting the emigration of the poor should, in the first instance, be rather by Subscription than by an application of the Poor Rates, the present measure being in the nature of an experiment upon the success of which the Legislative may hereafter have the means of deciding as to the extent to which it may be expedient to carry it.⁷¹

Their second difficulty lay in finding men of sufficient capital who were prepared to take responsibility for the maintenance of pauper parties. Earl Bathurst's instructions to Somerset, in a dispatch of July 20, 1819, stressed that Government would not undertake any further expense once the settlers were landed in the colony. From that time on, directors of parties would be entirely responsible for maintaining them until the first crops were harvested and they became self-supporting⁷² - a much longer period than the deposit repayments could be expected to cover.

An influx of paupers, and more particularly of pauper land-owners, was not considered desirable by either colonists or colonial officials. Deputy-Secretary Henry Ellis's immediate reaction to the Colonial Department circular was that the extra deposits stipulated for young children were too low, since parishes might use the opportunity to off-load large families by shipping them to the Cape. He pointed out that to a labourer with six small children and "a wife of undiminished fecundity" a grant of 100 acres would be useless: all he required was employment.⁷³ Ellis's anxieties were to some extent relieved when he learnt from Earl Bathurst's dispatch of July 20 that the offer of land in the colony applied only to the directors of parties.⁷⁴ No separate 100-acre grants were to be made

71. RCC XII, 263, Cawood to Bathurst, 21.7.1819; and PRO CO 49/11, p.221, Goulburn to Cawood, 24.7.1819.

72. RCC XII, 259, Bathurst to Somerset, 20.7.1819.

73. Ibid, 348, Ellis to Goulburn, 19.10.1819.

74. Ibid, 259, Bathurst to Somerset, 20.7.1819.

to paupers or other subordinate settlers, and the directors who were responsible for parish parties could be expected, in their own interests, to make a careful selection of the families they took out.

The Colonial Department scheme of granting land only to capitalists with a number of subordinate labourers had much to be said for it, in theory at least. It was already formulated, and had been tested on a small scale since 1817; it eased the otherwise impossibly heavy administrative burden on Colonial Department and local authorities; it held out the expectation of stability in binding upper and lower classes in a legally-enforceable master-servant relationship; and it kept the ownership of land in upper-class hands, while avoiding either flooding the colony with "an inundation of idle persons" or making new demands on the already inadequate labour-supply.

William Burchell recognised that there would be difficulties in putting the scheme into practice.

Few persons of independent property may be found inclined to engage in such an undertaking, and those of smaller means may be fearful of entering on...an uncertain speculation; whilst there may be many single families, or individuals, very desirous of emigrating on their own responsibility, to whom the offers of Government are rendered unavailable, by fixing the number of ten adult persons as the minimum of each application.⁷⁵

There was no shortage of applicants. "The spirit of emigration" that led artisans and mechanics to save the price of their passage to Baltimore through a weekly subscription society⁷⁶ was affecting all classes in Britain. Not only the poor were unsettled. Respectable people faced the prospect of reduced circumstances for their own families as well as the threat of a revolution in the social order from those experiencing even harder times. The fears of Miles Bowker,⁷⁷ a Wiltshire farmer and one of the first to apply to take out a party of labourers under the scheme, were shared by many others.

75. Burchell, Hints on Emigration, p.14.

76. Annual Register for 1819, "Chronicle", pp.25-26.

77. Miles Bowker (1759-1839) was the leader of a proprietary party of settlers from Wiltshire under the emigration scheme of 1819.

Presently upon a large farm...where I can make a living, but cannot provide for a family of eight sons and one daughter without reducing them to the lowest ranks in Society, which ill accords with the previous knowledge of being descended from the first, we are unanimous in the decision to emigrate.⁷⁸

Miles Bowker was afraid that his family would sink lower in the social scale if they remained in Britain; Thomas Pringle,⁷⁹ another prospective party leader, saw no hope of rising higher.

I see little or no prospect of materially improving my circumstances in this country...I cannot and will not endure it while a prospect remains of extricating myself by any exertion or sacrifice that can be made with honour and a good conscience.⁸⁰

As Burchell had predicted, a great number of applicants were single families or individuals, many of them from the middle ranks of society. One of them described the circumstances under which he and others like him had joined the emigration, in a letter writtem on the eve of his departure for the Cape.

The distress of all persons except the rich in this country is so great that immediately on the intention of the government being publicly notified, the Colonial Minister received applications from not less than the enormous number of ninety thousand persons. Not indeed the sort of persons contemplated but broken-down tradesmen and others of small capital, which could not be advantageously employed in this country. These individual applications were, of course, but little attended to, as not being in conformity to the plan proposed. Others, therefore, joined themselves into parties of not less than ten heads of families, some of one hundred, appointing one as their leader who should be their representative with the Colonial Minister to treat with him and obtain the land on account of the whole, who held him bound by a legal instrument (each one making good to him the sum deposited and providing for the maintenance of their families and servants) to share among them in equal proportions on their arrival in the Colony the land which should be granted to the said principal.⁸¹

78. RCC XII, 253, Bowker to Bathurst, 15.7.1819.

79. Thomas Pringle (1789-1834), poet, journalist and philanthropist, was head of a small party of Scots settlers who emigrated under the 1819 scheme.

80. Jane Meiring, Thomas Pringle, his Life and Times, pp.17-18.

81. Philip Marillier's letter to his brother, 1.11.1819. (Copy in the possession of Mrs R.C. Brown, Somerset East.) The Observer of 10.10.1819 estimated the number of applications to emigrate as between 80 and 90 000. Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, in the same month, gave the more modest figure of 10 000 "on pretty good authority".

The Colonial Department sent a stock reply to all individual applicants, stating that under the terms of the emigration scheme their applications could not be considered.⁸² Its officials may have foreseen - and certainly did not prevent - would-be emigrants organising themselves into groups under nominal directors in order to qualify for assistance to emigrate. A radical-Whig Member of Parliament, Henry Grey Bennet,⁸³ was deputed by the representative of one such group to ascertain the reaction of the Colonial Under-Secretary to this arrangement. Bennet was an active worker for reform, and had attacked the Government on its conduct of colonial affairs during the stormy session of 1819.⁸⁴ If there was Whig pressure behind the proposal of the emigration grant, Bennet was a good tactical choice as go-between.

Goulburn's reply confirmed once again the Colonial Department policy of non-involvement with the internal arrangements of emigrant parties.

There is no objection to any number of individuals uniting together and subscribing ten pounds each for the purpose of entitling themselves to a passage to and a grant of land at the Cape of Good Hope. But if they do so, they must fix upon one individual as their chief with whom alone the Government can communicate, and any arrangement which the several individuals may wish to make for securing the due execution of the agreement with him must be made among themselves. With this however the Government have nothing to do, and all that is necessary in order to ensure the consideration of a proposal for emigration is that some one individual should declare himself prepared to go out with ten families and to pay the requisite deposit money.⁸⁵

82. RCC XII, 231, Circular letter from colonial office.

83. The Hon. Henry Grey Bennet (1777-1836), second son of the 4th Earl of Tankerville, was married to the eldest daughter of Lord William Russell. He was Member of Parliament for Shrewsbury and an enthusiastic worker for poor-law and humanitarian reforms. He and his brother, Lord Ossulston, were among the small group of radical-Whigs who formed a channel of contact between Parliament and Westminster and Middlesex radicalism. (See Mitchell, The Whigs in Opposition, pp.20, 53, 94.)

84. Helen Taft Manning, British Colonial Government after the American Revolution, pp.535-538.

85. PRO CO 49/11, p.228, Goulburn to Hon. H.G. Bennet, 30.7.1819.

In giving a degree of sanction, although no official recognition, to the formation of joint-stock parties the Colonial Department opened the door to settlers of education and some means, "persons of a higher class than had been originally intended",⁸⁶ as constituent members of emigrant parties. Deputy-Secretary Ellis had warned that the party directors, if they were men of capital, would not take kindly to colonial laws "which are in many points founded upon principles abhorrent to English practice".⁸⁷ It was equally predictable that a large influx of politically aware, articulate and in some cases influential new colonists with a strong sense of class identity would clash with the totally autocratic system of colonial government. In addition, they exacerbated the Cape's prevalent labour problem by increasing the number of potential employers without introducing a proportionate number of labourers, in a district where slaves were prohibited.

Further down the social scale, parish parties took advantage of the same lack of control over their internal arrangements. Their respectable fellow-settlers subsequently complained that they were organised under a nominal director who was a pauper himself, and permitted to emigrate with no means at all apart from the compulsory deposit that had been contributed by the parish in order to get rid of them.⁸⁸ The difficulty of raising their deposit money limited the number of such parties (I.E. Edwards identified only four, besides the Nottingham party who were subsidised by a private subscription), but they had an unsettling effect on others. One of Miles Bowker's indentured labourers whose deposit had been paid by the parish made an eleventh-hour appeal to Earl Bathurst when actually aboard the transport that was to carry him to the Cape. With his companions, he had accepted Bowker's offer of ten acres

...not knowing at the time he was to receive 100 acres of land in my name...I wish to know from your Lordship if I am not entitled to 100 acres of land agreeable to Government regulations.

86. Butler, The 1820 Settlers, p.72, quoting the 1820 edition of Burchell's Hints on Emigration. The term "joint-stock" was used in the Articles of Agreement of Cock's party, PRO CO 48/43, p.534.

87. RCC XII, 351, Ellis to Goulburn, 19.10.1819.

88. Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.123; and Bird, State of the Cape, pp.240-241.

...There are many Families on board who have been sent out by the Parish and has the Priviledge of 100 acres and why not me the same?⁸⁹

The Articles of Agreement binding the members of joint-stock parties to mutual assistance varied from party to party, but as it turned out, were hopelessly ineffectual in holding together the self-styled independent emigrants who subscribed to them. The philosophy on which their agreements were based was as vague and far removed from reality as the emigrants' expectation of their promised land, with its "climate and fertility known only in romance".⁹⁰ Emigration committees were elected at public meetings, although not without opposition from Radical demagogues, who tried to persuade the intending emigrants to stay at home and fight for reform instead.⁹¹ Although the Colonial Department claimed that the emigration scheme was solely designed to settle farmers and their families at the Cape for the cultivation of waste land,⁹² parties of townsmen were formed that were criticised by a contemporary observer as consisting of

...all descriptions of persons but the right one; broken tradesmen, disappointed artists, and not one husbandman; not an individual accustomed to field labour, or acquainted with agricultural work.⁹³

The professional men and half-pay officers who threw in their lot with the tradesmen and artisans were in most cases no better qualified to be farmers.

Among the members of the joint-stock parties were some who took out their own servants under articles of indenture. Apart from these, formal master-servant agreements existed only in the small number of proprietary parties constituted in accordance with the intention of the scheme.

89. Cape Archives CO 6138 vol. II, Stanford to Bathurst, n.d. The "families on board" were James's party on the Weymouth.

90. Bird, State of the Cape, p.233.

91. Port Elizabeth Telegraph, 14.9.1848, Letter from "An Old Settler" (J.C. Chase).

92. PRO CO 49/11, p.226, Goulburn to Mrs Moriarty, 30.7.1819.

93. Bird, State of the Cape, p.375.

Thomas Philipps,⁹⁴ the head of one such party, estimated that there were not more than twelve of them altogether.⁹⁵ The party leaders carried a heavy burden of responsibility, as Somerset recognised when he wrote to Earl Bathurst that the success of the settlement would depend to a great extent on their ability and integrity.⁹⁶ In the case of the joint-stock parties, however, the directors had responsibility without concomittant authority: the independent emigrants soon objected to taking orders from one of themselves. Several of the upper-class emigrants requested official appointments in the colony, but the Colonial Department was firm in its refusal to make any such distinction among them.⁹⁷ Some of this reluctance to give authority to individual settlers may have stemmed from its admitted ignorance about them;⁹⁸ personal interviews were kept to a minimum, a necessary expedient for an understaffed department.⁹⁹

All arrangements for receiving the emigrants at the Cape were left entirely in the Governor's hands. Bathurst gave Somerset guidelines for the provision of rations and transport, and suggested that some flexibility might be employed in allowing artisans among the emigrants to find employment in the older towns of the colony,¹⁰⁰ but he left the details of preparation to the man on the spot. Somerset was required to make

94. Thomas Philipps (1776-1859) belonged to a well-connected Pembroke-shire family and held strong Whig political views. He was leader of a small proprietary party of settlers from Pembroke-shire under the 1819 scheme.

95. Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.122.

96. RCC XII, 368, Somerset to Bathurst, 6.11.1819.

97. For example RCC XII, 277, Pigot to Bathurst, 1.8.1819; and PRO CO 48/41, pp.299-300, Burnett to Goulburn, 2.8.1819; PRO CO 48/45, p.360, R. Penn to Lady Mansfield, 30.10.1819.

98. PRO CO 49/13, Goulburn to W.R. Cartwright, 8.9.1819.

99. Some heads of parties were interviewed by senior clerks at the colonial office after selection, Thomas Philipps among them (see Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.92). Goulburn intervened personally in a quarrel between Bishop Burnett and his party head John Bailie (see correspondence in PRO CO 48/41 and CO 49/13).

100. RCC XII, 259, Bathurst to Somerset, 20.7.1819.

his plans for the new settlement on what strikes a modern eye as remarkably little information and very short notice. The size of the Parliamentary grant was at first his only indication as to how many settlers to expect (he estimated 2000,¹⁰¹ approximately half the actual number), and he was not sent more specific information about the number of families emigrating until a month before the first transports were due to sail.¹⁰² Even then he was not given the total number of settlers, which changed from week to week with the fluctuation of the party lists.

The first lists of aspirant settlers were submitted to the Colonial Department in August, a month after the scheme was advertised, but changes of heart or circumstances were to cause numerous subsequent alterations. As late as October, parties that had been accepted to emigrate were advertising for additional members - families "of pleasing manners and respectability", and "accomplished individuals of character", as well as artisans and labourers.¹⁰³

By early November the final selection of emigrant parties had been made, and the Colonial Department was able to take some sort of overall view of the settlers and consider how best to dispose them. The recommendations were passed on to Somerset so that their land could be surveyed and divided into lots before they arrived, to avoid any delay and consequent expense in locating them. Bathurst was anxious that English, Irish and Scots parties should be located separately, to avoid any friction between different racial groups. Three large parties from London, all formed on the joint-stock principle, had been selected to emigrate under Messrs. Bailie, Willson and Sephton, who had each been given permission to take out 100 families. Bathurst suggested that these large parties should be located in villages, and the smaller parties settled on land adjoining one or other of them. Each of the large parties was to include a minister of religion and a medical practitioner, as well as a variety of tradesmen, and this arrangement would permit the smaller settler parties to share

101. Ibid, 368, Somerset to Bathurst, 6.11.1819.

102. Ibid, 363-364, Bathurst to Somerset, 6.11.1819 (enclosure).

103. Observer (London), 10.10.1819.

their services.¹⁰⁴

Although the emigration scheme as originally promulgated had made provision for clergymen to accompany large groups of settlers, Bathurst's instructions to Somerset in his dispatch of July 20 had contained no recommendation for the foundation of village centres. At that time he had not envisaged the new settlement as holding out many opportunities for the employment of artisans. The unexpected numbers of emigrants with capital, the composition of the large parties, whose members included a wide variety of tradesmen and artisans, and Bailie's party's proposal to lay out a village (with amenities which included a library),¹⁰⁵ may all have altered his concept of the settlement. The character that the emigration of 1819 was taking on made it probable that the settlers' requirements would be comparatively sophisticated. There was no suggestion, however, that the village centres would serve an additional purpose in contributing to the settlers' security.

In proposing the emigration motion, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had specified that "the principal place chosen for the reception of emigrants was on the south-east coast, and possessed a good harbour".¹⁰⁶ The Colonial Department was even less exact in informing prospective emigrants of their destination; they would be located in the interior of the colony, not far from the coast.¹⁰⁷ One enquirer was told that the Government's particular aim in promoting emigration to the Cape was to increase the population of a district some distance from Cape Town; a direct reference to Somerset's appeal for the settlement of the Suurveld.¹⁰⁸ The selection of the actual situations in which the settlers were to be located was left to Somerset's discretion, and it is fair to assume that the Colonial Department was noncommittal because of its own uncertainty about

104. RCC XII, 361, Bathurst to Somerset, 6.11.1819.

105. Ibid, 352, Articles of Agreement of Bailie's party submitted to Earl Bathurst 21.10.1819. See also Burchell, Hints on Emigration, pp.15-17.

106. The Times, 12.7.1819.

107. RCC XII, 225, Circular letter from colonial office.

108. PRO CO 48/42, Darling to Bathurst, 29.11.1819 (minute on).

his arrangements, rather than from any attempt to deceive the emigrants about the dangers of their future home.

That this was likely to be the frontier districts was common knowledge. The contemporary Press reported that the emigrants were to be located between the Sundays and the Great Fish Rivers,¹⁰⁹ and the possibility of establishing a harbour at the mouth of the Great Fish was discussed among the settlers before they left Britain.¹¹⁰ The theory that the emigration scheme was primarily designed as a cheap expedient for frontier defence has been widely propounded,¹¹¹ but there is no evidence that either the home or the colonial government expected the settlers to have to fight for their land, or that the settlement was intended to be anything more than a peaceful consolidation of the eastern frontier. Somerset's faith in the effectiveness of his treaty with the Xhosa was badly shaken in April 1819, when Grahamstown was attacked by a war-party of some 9 000 warriors led by the witchdoctor Nxele¹¹² and Ngqika's rival and former regent, Ndhlambe.¹¹³ The Xhosa warriors were routed with heavy casualties, and Somerset carried the war into their own territory. Once again he over-estimated Ngqika's authority in obtaining a new concession from him as the price of peace. All the land between the Great

109. For example, Observer, 10.10.1819 and 24.10.1819; Blackwoods Edinburgh Magazine, October 1819, p.81; Burchell, Hints on Emigration, pp.106, 108; [C.G. Curtis], An Account of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, with a View to the Information of Emigrants, p.171.

110. Alexander Wilmot and J.C. Chase, History of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, p.274 and footnote.

111. For instance, in Edwards, The 1820 Settlers in South Africa, and Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson (ed.), The Oxford History of South Africa, vol. I.

112. Nxele (also called Makanda), a powerful war-doctor and diviner who supported Ndhlambe against Ngqika, led the amaNdhlambe armies in their attack on the colony in 1819, culminating in the battle of Grahamstown. He gave himself up after their defeat and died attempting to escape from Robben Island in August 1820.

113. Ndhlambe (c.1740-1828) had been Regent of the Rharabe chiefdom and was the ambitious rival of his nephew and former ward Ngqika, whom he defeated at Amalinde in 1818. Colonial reprisals against Ndhlambe precipitated his unsuccessful attack on Grahamstown in 1819.

Fish and the Keiskamma Rivers was to be vacated by the Xhosa, and left unoccupied as a buffer strip or neutral territory under the surveillance of a permanently-manned post at Fort Willshire.¹¹⁴ By the time Somerset heard of the emigrants' impending arrival the frontier was quiet, and he was confident that the neutral territory would effectively ensure their safety. He told Earl Bathurst in November that he welcomed the opportunity to prove the great advantage of the new boundary with "a peculiar satisfaction - almost a triumphant reflection".¹¹⁵

The news of the battle of Grahamstown reached London in August, and caused the Morning Chronicle, the most uncompromising of the Opposition papers, to protest on the emigrants' behalf that "the place chosen for experiment has not been judiciously selected. Algoa Bay is certainly too near the seat of war".¹¹⁶ The Times pooh-poohed any idea of a Xhosa threat to the proposed settlement.

If any one be inclined to consider the late irruption of the Caffre hordes as an argument against...the Cape, let him reflect, ...how certain is the immediate overthrow of that feeble enemy, and how manifestly it is within the means of the Government of Great Britain to repress and then conciliate an uncivilized people, whose character is for the most part as inoffensive as their powers of annoyance are unworthy of serious notice.¹¹⁷

However, at least one Radical pamphleteer suggested that the emigrants were being sent out to form a barrier between the colony and the warlike tribes beyond its eastern boundary.¹¹⁸ The warnings of the Radical press prompted a prospective settler to write to Earl Bathurst,

If the whole is only a political measure intended to form a barrier against the Caffres in order to enable Government to

114. Butler, The 1820 Settlers, pp.49-50; and Cory, The Rise of South Africa, I, 385-402. See also Peires, "History of the Xhosa", pp.183-5; the "neutral territory" plan was foisted upon Ngqika, and in fact made enemies of the colony's former allies.

115. RCC XII, 368, Somerset to Bathurst, 6.11.1819.

116. Morning Chronicle, 20.10.1819.

117. The Times, 10.8.1819.

118. James Griffin, The Real Facts Disclosed, or the Only Real Guide to the Cape, p.11.

lessen or withdraw altogether the military posts on the frontier ...it would be only justice in your Lordship to give the people going out a hint of it, in order that they may not lay out all their little fortune in domestic and farming necessaries but reserve a part to furnish munitions of war so that when their Caffre neighbours pay them a visit, more efficient weapons than pitchforks may be at hand.¹¹⁹

The Colonial Department was singularly reticent about telling the intending settlers what conditions they could expect to encounter. Its own ignorance of the Cape would have made it difficult for it to act otherwise, even without the practical impossibility of preparing individual answers to innumerable questions. Particular queries were answered by a stock letter¹²⁰ that served to reduce the department's burden of correspondence but provided little practical guidance for prospective emigrants. It advised them, in effect, to wait and see. They were warned that they would have to build their own dwellings in the colony, and that they should take agricultural implements with them from Britain. Party leaders were told that they were at liberty to secure the services of their people by any legal agreement that it suited them to enter into, and it was left to them to decide how much capital they would need to establish and maintain their settlers.

Many of the problems that the Albany settlement encountered at its outset can be blamed on the lack of adequate information all round. The emigrants had to rely almost entirely on newspaper articles and pamphlets, varying in accuracy and political bias, for their foreknowledge of the Cape. Added to this lack of information was an understandable failure of imagination. Miles Bowker, an experienced sheep-farmer in Wiltshire, specifically asked for a grant of 1 000 acres to run "a considerable merino flock";¹²¹ an area that might have been generous in the south of England but was hopelessly inadequate as pasturage in the Suurveld. Lord Charles Somerset was told nothing about the sort of settlers the colony might expect. He had applied for home leave before he learnt that

119. PRO CO 48/43, p.74, "A proposed emigrant" to Bathurst, 19.9.1819.

120. RCC XII, 230-231, printed letter sent out by colonial office.

121. Ibid, 253, Bowker to Bathurst, 15.7.1819.

his hopes for large-scale emigration were about to be realised, and the Acting Governor who took over his duties two months before the first settlers arrived had little or no experience of the colony. Above all, the authorities responsible for planning the emigration in both London and Cape Town acted on a completely false impression of the fertility and promise of the Albany district.

For everyone concerned, the 1819 emigration scheme was a leap in the dark.

To all who are willing to Emigrate
TO THE
Cape of Good Hope.



A Meeting will be held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, on Monday Evening next, August 9, at 8 o'Clock, in Order to form into a Society, and adopt such Rules as may be for the mutual good of each, and agreeable to the *Circular* for Colonizing the Cape of Good Hope and to Effect the same, a weekly subscription, as a Fund, to be lodged in the Bank, in the Name of the whole Society, or to make Amendments or Additions, as shall be approved by the Majority.

An Advertisement lately appeared from a Mr. A. B. wishing to associate with a few respectable Persons to emigrate to the Cape of Good Hope, Letters were addressed to 14, Suffolk Street, or to 17, Hercules Buildings, Lambeth, and from the numerous Applicants Letters, many was disappointed as appears by Mr. A. B's Answer, which will be read on the above Evening.

An Advertisement will appear in the Morning Advertiser of Saturday next.

CHAPTER TWO

"SUCH A MIXTURE OF PEOPLE NEVER COULD AGREE."¹

BAILLIE'S PARTY, AUGUST 1819 - MAY 1820

Although the original intention behind the 1819 emigration scheme was to send only agricultural settlers to the Cape, Earl Bathurst recognised from the outset that some artisans who would be better suited to urban than rural life would emigrate as subordinate labourers. He recommended the Governor to allow them to leave Albany and settle in the towns of the older districts if they wished it and their party heads agreed to release them.²

William Burchell was aware that the desire to emigrate was as prevalent among the middle classes as the labouring classes in Britain, and that there were many tradesmen eager to go to the Cape who would not be prepared to engage themselves as servants. In his Hints on Emigration he censured the emigration scheme's restriction only to applicants who would take out parties of ten or more subsidiary settlers. He suggested that Government should alter the terms of the scheme so as to admit single families or individuals of good standing who were anxious to emigrate on their own responsibility and were at present excluded. They could be sent to Algoa Bay a shipload at a time and settled in and around villages where a variety of tradesmen could be employed.³

A similar plan was put forward by John Bailie,⁴ a civil servant with an interest in Cape emigration who submitted a memorandum to Earl Bathurst towards the end of July.⁵ He urged Government to grant land at the Cape

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1. RCC XIII, 478, Pigot to Goulburn, 6.5.1821: "All the large parties of 100 are broken up, such a mixture of people never could agree."
 2. Ibid, 262, Bathurst to Somerset, 20.7.1819.
 3. Burchell, Hints on Emigration, pp.15-16.
 4. Brief biographies of John Bailie and all the members of his party are included in the Biographical Index (pp.226-266 below).
 5. PRO CO 48/41, pp.251-254, J. Bailie's Memorandum on the Circular, 27.7.1819.

to individual emigrants, not only to encourage settlers of respectability but to avoid abuse by speculators of the scheme as it stood. Bailie had accompanied his father into political exile after the Irish rebellion of 1798, and had grown up in France. He returned to England in 1805 at the age of seventeen, and after a spell in the merchant navy and some experience of shipbuilding he turned to the study of the law. In 1814 he became Secretary to the Commissioners appointed for the liquidation of British war claims against the French government, a post he still held at the time the emigration scheme was promulgated, although by then the work of the commission was close to completion. To bring his "Memorandum on the Circular" to Earl Bathurst's attention he employed the powerful influence of William Huskisson,⁶ the Commissioner of Woods and Forests and a former Under-Secretary to the Colonial Department and Secretary to the Treasury.

Bailie strongly recommended that 100-acre grants should be made to every settler individually. He feared that the granting of land to heads of parties only would "openly countenance the white slave trade" in encouraging the exploitation of indentured labourers by speculators; earlier emigrants sent to the Cape under the same system had been sold to Dutch colonists as "White Negroes".⁷

To prevent all idea of this disgraceful traffic, I beseech Government in the name of humanity, to withdraw this condition, and to receive individual offers, whether from Fathers of Families or single men. The superintendant and surveyor at the Colony have only to locate the settlers in such situations as will admit of their forming Villages, and point out to them where they are to build so as to be near enough to assist one

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6. RCC XII, 271, Bailie to Huskisson, 27.7.1819. William Huskisson (1770-1830) was educated in Paris, and appointed Under-Secretary in the Colonial Department in 1795. He was Secretary of the Treasury from 1804 and Commissioner of Woods and Forests from 1814. In 1823 he became President of the Board of Trade and Treasurer of the Navy, and in 1827 Colonial Secretary.
7. The source of Bailie's information, and its accuracy, are not known. He was probably alluding to Moodie's settlers, of whom he would have had some knowledge through colleagues in the civil service. Moodie was initially recommended to the Colonial Department by Archibald Macleay, the secretary to the Transport Board, with offices in the same building as Bailie at 44 Parliament Street, whose son William Macleay was the Paris-based secretary to the Claims Commission.

another or work together on joint stock if they thought proper. Such superintendant should also take care that each Village might contain artisans of different trades...

The Nation is at this moment bent on emigrating and the more respectable people that are allowed to go to the Cape in the outset, the better, in the first place to be enabled to commence operations with people easy to be governed, and whose example will lead the lower orders, and in the second place because the paupers will always easily be found in any quantity Government may think proper to send out. ...I can assure Government...that the lower orders are not perhaps the most unfortunate nor the most to be pitied.⁸

Lord Bathurst made a courteous acknowledgement of the memorandum, but was not moved to alter the terms of the emigration scheme.⁹ Whether Bailie's memorandum, or William Huskisson's support for it, had any influence on the Colonial Department's acceptance of joint-stock parties remains a matter for speculation.

The vast majority of applications to emigrate following the announcement of the Cape scheme came from individuals or single families. The Colonial Department was neither willing nor able to assist individuals to emigrate, but through Henry Grey Bennet it gave the green light at the end of July for independent emigrants to organise themselves into acceptable groups. Advertisements were placed in the London papers by "respectable persons" wishing to join forces with other would-be emigrants, and one unidentified advertiser, overwhelmed by the response he received, called a meeting for the second week in August to discuss the formation of an emigration society with a weekly subscription fund.¹⁰ On August 9 at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand, "a very numerous and respectable meeting"¹¹ soon deteriorated into confusion when its principal instigator failed to appear. Eventually a substitute chairman was

8. PRO CO 48/41, p.253, J. Bailie's Memorandum, 27.7.1819.

9. PRO CO 49/11, p.229, Goulburn to Bailie, 3.8.1819.

10. PRO CO 48/41, p.313, leaflet advertising August 9 meeting. For a semi-fictional account of the same or a similar emigration meeting, see John Ayliff, The Journal of "Harry Hastings", Albany Settler, ed. L.A. Hewson and F.G. van der Riet, p.28.

11. PRO CO 48/41, p.361, Bailie, Baruk, Elliott, Mandy and Beacall to Goulburn, 11.8.1819.

appointed and a committee elected, including against much opposition the Radical agitator Dr James Watson.¹² The Crown and Anchor was one of the London taverns between the West End and the City where "the self-educated journeyman might rub shoulders with the printer, the shopkeeper, the engraver or the young attorney",¹³ and an acknowledged centre for organised Radical activity. It was the headquarters of the Westminster "Reformers" and had housed the great national convention of Hampden Club delegates in 1817.¹⁴ Emigration was a warm political issue, and the intervention of Henry Grey Bennet in clearing the way for joint-stock parties indicates that the radical-Whigs were as interested in promoting the success of the scheme as the extreme Radicals were in opposing it. J.C. Chase, who acted as secretary to Bailie's emigrant party, recalled in later years that not only Dr Watson but the popular demagogue "Orator" Hunt and the Radical printer Carlile attempted to enrol the would-be emigrants "as Rebels against the Government rather than allow them to seek the repose and protection offered by the Ministers in the Cape Colony".¹⁵

The proposals put forward by the first committee failed to satisfy the meeting. A second committee was called for, to correspond with Earl Bathurst and obtain and disseminate information about the new settlement at the Cape. The reporter who was covering the meeting for the Morning Advertiser seized with evident relief upon a speech by John Bailie, which brought some sort of order into the confusion of the proceedings.

Mr. Bailey enlarged with much good sense on the plan, of which he expressed a most favourable opinion, and deprecated the mixing politics with the question, in which sentiment the Meeting, which was extremely numerous, perfectly concurred. The Committee of Correspondence having been appointed, the assemblage of persons separated about midnight.¹⁶

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12. Morning Advertiser (London), 13.8.1819.
Dr James Watson (c.1766-1838) was active as a Radical agitator from 1815, and was tried for treason and acquitted in 1817. His son was subsequently implicated in the Cato Street conspiracy.
13. E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class, p.23.
14. Ibid, pp.678, 761; and Briggs, The Age of Improvement, p.131.
15. Port Elizabeth Telegraph, 14.9.1848.
16. Morning Advertiser (London), 13.8.1819.

The newly-elected Committee of Correspondence included Bailie, John Beacall, on whose behalf Henry Grey Bennet had made his earlier approach to the Colonial Department, Dr Daniel Baruk and John Mandy.¹⁷ Mandy had already submitted an application to take a party of eleven emigrants to the Cape, which was subsequently approved;¹⁸ Dr Baruk's application to take out a small party was unsuccessful.¹⁹

On August 11 the committee wrote to the Colonial Department, requesting a supply of circulars for distribution and offering to act as the London medium through which information could be disseminated. The official reply was discouragingly cool.²⁰ John Bailie's appearance at the meeting of August 9 had made him the focus for prospective emigrants with a small amount of capital; he applied to Earl Bathurst on his own account for permission to take to the Cape a party of 115 men with their families, selected from some 600 who had approached him. Between them they had a variety of mechanical skills, as well as the necessary knowledge of agriculture; they possessed altogether a capital of about £18 000.²¹ By August 17, when he submitted a list of their names and occupations, the party had grown to 126 men in addition to Bailie himself.²²

Bailie's proposal received a stock reply, requiring a full statement of the names and ages of all his prospective settlers, including the children.²³ His earlier criticism of the emigration scheme had not been forgotten: an office minute on his letter of application reads, "Bailie is the person who told some of the settlers that they were fools to go to the Cape, as

17. PRO CO 48/41, p.361, Messrs. Bailie and others to Goulburn, 11.8.1819.

18. PRO CO 48/44, p.571, J. Mandy to Colonial Department, 7.8.1819.

19. PRO CO 48/41, pp.550, 629, Baruk to Colonial Department, 28.9.1819 and 15.10.1819.

20. PRO CO 49/13, p.9, Goulburn to Bailie and others, 16.8.1819.

21. PRO CO 48/41, p.349, Bailie to Bathurst, 11.8.1819.

22. Ibid, p.397, Bailie to Bathurst, 17.8.1819.

23. See PRO CO 48/46, p.430, for a copy of the printed circular letter from the Colonial Department.

Govt. only wished to make white slaves of them".²⁴

A further list with details of the emigrants' families was submitted to the Colonial Department on August 25.²⁵ The party had in the meantime undergone considerable alteration. Fifty-four of the original 127 names were omitted, although six of them (Gunning, T.W. and E. Hewson, Roberts, Rose and Walker)²⁶ were to reappear on the later embarkation list. Three men (Dr Robert Holditch, Dr William Clarke and Captain Alexander Biggar)²⁷ had withdrawn to form their own small parties. To the 73 men who remained from the list of August 17 had been added Dr Daniel O'Flinn, a personal acquaintance of Bailie's who was appointed medical officer to the party,²⁸ and Simon Biddulph with three adult sons, who had been introduced to Bailie through a mutual acquaintance in the office of the Claims Commission.²⁹ In addition seventeen labourers, probably recruited through their parish authorities,³⁰ were to be taken out at the joint expense of the party, making up a total of 96 men.

24. PRO CO 48/41, p.350, Bailie to Bathurst, 11.8.1819 (minute on).

25. Ibid, p.435, Bailie to Bathurst, 25.8.1819.

26. These six men, and all other members of Bailie's party as it reached Algoa Bay, are included in the Biographical Index (pp.226-266 below).

27. Dr Robert Holditch emigrated with the Irish settlers on the East Indian. He was appointed medical officer at Clanwilliam, but soon moved to Paarl where he died in 1822. William Hone, the Radical publisher, advertised The Emigrant's Guide to the United States of America, by Robert Holditch, Esq., of the Royal College of Surgeons, under his imprint in 1819.

Dr William Clarke led a party that emigrated on the Northampton; Captain Alexander Biggar emigrated with a small proprietary party of twelve artisans and labourers and their families on the Weymouth.

28. RCC XII, 345, Bailie to Goulburn, 16.10.1819.

29. Staffordshire Record Office, Journal of Samuel Pipe Wolferstan, entry for 21.8.1819. Wolferstan was Simon Biddulph's brother-in-law, and noted in his journal that John Burnet Biddulph planned to make a special journey to London from Staffordshire to consult an acquaintance in the civil service, Mr C. Baldwin, about the advisability of emigrating. The Imperial Calendar for 1819 lists Charles Baldwin as Bailie's under-secretary in the office of the Claims Commissioners.

30. Graham's Town Journal, 16.9.1841: John Bailie referred in a letter to the editor to the correspondence he had with many parishes in 1819, and the help they gave him.

On September 30 Bailie was informed that his application had been approved, and that he would be permitted to proceed to the Cape with one hundred settlers and their families.

In his haste to return his amended list of August 25 Bailie had omitted the names of a number of families from lack of detailed information. He asked permission on October 7 to add thirty more to his party, but was refused.³¹ Perhaps as a result of this the seventeen labourers who were to have been taken out at the party's joint expense were excluded from the subsequent embarkation list, with the exception of James Low, who was engaged as a servant by John Bailie. Three of them eventually emigrated in the party led by William Parker.³² Only eleven names on the embarkation list have been positively identified as indentured labourers, all employed by individual members of the party.³³ John Bailie, J.C. Chase, J.E. Ford and Simon Biddulph, and probably William Reed, took out indentured men servants, and in addition the families of J.C. Chase and Captain Henry Crause were each accompanied by a female servant. A young woman engaged by John Bailie failed in the event to emigrate.

The frequent alterations and fluctuations that occurred in the emigrant lists up to the time of sailing (and even after it: Bailie put several of his people ashore at the Downs suffering from seasickness)³⁴ were common to all parties. Death, illness, marriage, and most commonly, second thoughts among the emigrants, created problems for all party heads and confusion for later historians. In addition, lists were sometimes altered or falsified to avoid payment of deposit money. On the evidence of the returns, nine men of Bailie's party appear to have left wives in England. William Forbes' family were prevented by illness from sailing with him, but made their own way to the Cape later. James Somerville and E.J. Cox probably returned to England to rejoin their families in 1820. What

31. PRO CO 48/41, p.594, Bailie to Goulburn, 7.10.1819.

32. Matthew Nelson and John and Thomas Smith. See E. Morse-Jones, Roll of the British Settlers in South Africa, pp.50, 58-59.

33. W. Ball, H. Belmour, C. Franz, W. Gray, T. Hezell, J. Leech, J. Low, W. Low, A.T. Mathew, J. Shortman, F. Whittal.

34. PRO CO 48/41, p.746, Bailie to Goulburn, 9.12.1819.

became of George King's wife is not known. The other "wives" who stayed in England seem to have been single women who planned to emigrate with their relatives or as servants, and were entered in the returns as the nominal wives of single men in an attempt to avoid paying separate deposits.

The Observer reported in November, shortly before the first transports sailed, that last-minute vacancies in the emigration lists were due to "prejudices to which recent events have given rise";³⁵ an explanation that might refer equally well to the anti-Government reaction after Peterloo and the Six Acts, and the publicity that the dangers of the Cape frontier had been given by the Radical Press. Cruikshank's brutally satirical cartoons³⁶ were published in September, and a lengthy article pointing out the folly of the emigration scheme appeared in the Colonial Journal of October 1 and was reprinted in both the Observer and the Morning Chronicle.³⁷ Four lists of Bailie's party are on record: the preliminary lists of August 17³⁸ and August 25;³⁹ the official return submitted to the colonial office on October 21, which with subsequent alterations served as an embarkation list;⁴⁰ and the final return of the party on board the Chapman transport, which Bailie submitted to the Cape authorities on his arrival in Table Bay on March 17, 1820.⁴¹ Only 34 of the men on the first list were among the 84 settlers who, together with their families, made up Bailie's party as it finally reached Algoa Bay.⁴²

35. Observer (London), 21.11.1819.

36. These two well-known etchings, "A strong proof of the flourishing state of the country exemplified in the proposed emigration to the Cape of Good Hope!" and "All among the Hottentots capering ashore" were published by Tegg in London, 7.9.1819. They are reproduced as illustrations to Butler, The 1820 Settlers, pp.72 and 58.

37. Observer (London), 10.10.1819; Morning Chronicle (London), 14.10.1819.

38. PRO CO 48/41, pp.352, 359-360.

39. Ibid, pp.353-358.

40. PRO CO 48/47, pp.5-7, Return No. 33.

41. CA CO 6138, vol. I, pp.94-97. (See Appendix A below.)

42. See Appendix B below.

Bailie's party was one of the first to be accepted by the Colonial Department, owing its selection, in the view of the Observer, to the combination of experience and ability with adequate capital.⁴³ Bailie's "Memorandum on the Circular" could hardly have counted in his favour, but his proposal to take out a large party fitted in with Bathurst's plan to establish village centres in the new settlement.

Professor W.A. Maxwell has concluded from her study of the Colonial Department records that would-be heads of parties with powerful backing were not necessarily accepted,⁴⁴ but patronage undoubtedly played a large part in the selections. Those aspirant party leaders who stood high enough in the social scale to have influential connections hastened to use them. Bailie had been brought to Bathurst's notice by William Huskisson, and must have had important friends to have obtained the secretaryship to the Claims Commission in 1814. Thomas Philipps used the influence of the Lord-Lieutenant of Pembroke to put forward his application to emigrate, Lord Pembroke spoke for his tenant Miles Bowker, and Major George Pigot, in a last-minute panic before the selections were made known, appealed to the Member for Berkshire to intercede on his behalf.⁴⁵ Thomas Willson's application actually seems to have been approved in error, through confusion with another Wilson who had been influentially recommended.⁴⁶ The exemplary patience shown by the Colonial Department to the importunate William Parker⁴⁷ can only be

43. Observer (London), 10.10.1819. The Bristol Mirror of 30.10.1819 reported that the party had a capital of £25 000 altogether.

44. Winifred A. Maxwell, Reconsiderations, p.10.

45. PRO CO 48/45, p.129, Philipps to Goulburn, 14.8.1819; PRO CO 48/41, p.427, Bowker to Goulburn (minute on), 24.7.1819; PRO CO 48/45, p.169, Pigot to Dundas, 31.8.1819. See also M.D. Nash, "Interest at Work: Mr Croker recommends Thomas Pringle to Mr Goulburn's notice", in Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library XXXIII no.2 (December 1978), pp.57-58.

46. PRO CO 48/45, p.334, draft reply, Goulburn to Powell, 20.10.1819.

47. William Parker, who emigrated as head of a large Irish party on the East Indian, proposed to found a city of "New Cork" at Saldanha Bay. He was a religious bigot with pretensions verging on paranoia, and an indefatigable letter-writer. He was a thorn in the flesh to both the Donkin and the Somerset administrations, as well as the Colonial Department.

ascribed to its reluctance to offend his friends. Parker even went so far as to approach the Prince Regent for his patronage.⁴⁸

Articles of Agreement between Bailie and the members of his party⁴⁹ were drawn up a week after his application to emigrate had been approved. The agreement embodied the ideas suggested in his "Memorandum on the Circular", in allocating shares of land to individual settlers and in providing for the establishment of a village where different trades would be followed. There were two different versions of the Articles of Agreement: one signed by the original members of the party which stipulated that each man was to receive 100 acres of land, the other signed by late-comers to the party which allowed them only fifty acres. Bailie's indentured servants were entitled to land on their own account, but shares for labourers employed by other members of the party were to be allotted to their respective masters.

The individual allotments were to be laid out as a village, with provision made for a church or place of public worship, a community hall, and an open recreation ground and market-place. The community was to be established on a basis of mutual help. Public works, a house or hut for each family with four acres of cleared and fenced garden ground, folds for livestock and wells to ensure an adequate water supply were to be provided at the outset by communal labour. Tools and implements would be held in common stock, as well as a library. The purchase or employment of slaves and the sale of spirituous liquor were strictly forbidden, and transgressors would be heavily penalised by fines or forfeiture of land. Penalties for breaches of the agreement would be imposed by a jury of twelve settlers chosen by lot. John Bailie reserved to himself the sole direction of the settlement, and was to be indemnified for any expense he might incur,

...in consideration of the great trouble which he...hath been at in the formation of this Society, and in consequence of the reliance which the Parties...repose in his judgement.⁵⁰

48. PRO CO 48/45, p.267, Sir B. Bloomfield to Goulburn, 16.9.1819.

49. Copies of the two different versions of Bailie's Articles of Agreement may be found in PRO CO 48/41 (also in RCC XII, 352-356) and CA CO 8541. The latter is reproduced as Appendix C below.

50. RCC XII, 355, Articles of Agreement of Bailie's party, 6.10.1819.

Under the agreement he was entitled to retain 1650 acres of the land he would be granted by Government, in addition to his own 100-acre share.

E.P. Thompson has remarked on the intellectual and "ideal" motivation of London popular movements.⁵¹ The conditions under which Bailie's people agreed to establish themselves at the Cape share the same characteristics. Intending emigrants had been warned by the liberal Press that the form of government they would find at the Cape allowed nothing in common with English liberties;

...no house of assembly, no freedom of the press, and no trial by jury; no consent of the governed to laws either of police or of revenue.⁵²

Within their own small community Bailie's party planned to secure for themselves what they regarded as the traditional liberties of the free-born Englishman, as far as they could do so without coming into conflict with the existing laws of the colony.⁵³

Their Articles of Agreement assured the independent status of the individual members through ownership of property; a communal library would afford them equal opportunities for education. Offenders against the community's self-imposed rules would be entitled to a jury trial. Religious toleration was implied in the carefully non-denominational provision for a "Church or place of public worship". Although the emigration scheme made provision for a clergyman, none was included in the party, among whom were dissenters and possibly Roman Catholics as well as members of the Established Church. The use of slave labour would be altogether prohibited as "repugnant to the feelings of humanity and contrary to the principles

51. Thompson, Making of the English Working Class, p.23.

52. Observer (London), 10.10.1819.

53. See Thompson, Making of the English Working Class, p.86. The Englishman's conception of his "birthright" comprised, in addition to freedom from foreign domination and security of property, "freedom from absolutism..., freedom from arbitrary arrest, trial by jury, equality before the law, the freedom of the home from arbitrary entrance and search, some limited liberty of thought, of speech, and of conscience, the vicarious participation in liberty ...afforded by the right of parliamentary opposition and by elections and election tumults (although the people had no vote they had the right to parade, huzza and jeer on the hustings), as well as freedom to travel, trade, and sell one's own labour."

in which all Englishment have been reared". Bailie's Articles of Agreement were in advance of the Government edict that forbade slavery; Bathurst instructed the Acting Governor of the Cape only in May of the following year that no predial slaves were to be permitted in the new settlement.⁵⁴ The restriction on the sale of spirits was probably intended not as an ideal but as a practical precaution, in the light of the English labouring man's reputation for drunkenness. The Acting Governor of the Cape was equally aware of the demoralising effect a freely-available supply of liquor was likely to have on the new settlement. His instruction to the Landdrost of Uitenhage to prohibit the sale of liquor "in the strongest manner" was sent to Algoa Bay from Cape Town by the Chapman transport, which carried the first shipload of emigrants. The prohibition was not effective for long.⁵⁵

William Burchell, in his Hints on Emigration, recommended that the Albany settlement should be provided with a printing-press.⁵⁶ The battle for the freedom of the Press was still being fought in England, by outspoken and frequently scurrilous political journalists and pamphleteers.⁵⁷ Bailie's party included two printers equipped with a press, which was prevented, in the event, from going further than Cape Town.

Bailie submitted a copy of his Articles of Agreement to the Colonial Department on October 21 with the formal return of his party, for which the deposit money of £1240 was ready and awaiting payment. He reported that he had "assembled artisans of nearly every description, besides

54. RCC XIII, 135-136, Bathurst to Donkin, 20.5.1820. James Stephen's arguments against permitting slavery in the new Cape settlement were set out in a letter to Earl Bathurst on 16.8.1819. See Historical Monuments Commission, Report on the Manuscripts of Earl Bathurst, p.473.

55. (Bird), State of the Cape in 1822, p.197. For some of the numerous references to the insobriety of the settlers, see ibid, p.377; Jeremiah Goldswain, The Chronicle of Jeremiah Goldswain, ed. Una Long, I, 36; Cowper Rose, Four Years in Southern Africa, pp.117-118.

56. Burchell, Hints on Emigration, p.15.

57. See Thompson, Making of the English Working Class, chapter xv, and W.H. Wickwar, The Struggle for the Freedom of the Press 1819-1832.

thirty farmers".⁵⁸ Any consideration of the emigrants' occupations must make allowance for the numerous contradictions between the information given in the party lists and the statements made at different times by the individuals themselves. Their occupations appear to have been listed either by the settlers or by the director of the party to suit the requirements of their ideal society - or the Colonial Department - with little regard for their actual qualifications or experience. A solicitor who applied for permission to emigrate in July recognised that his professional training would probably count against his selection.

I am well aware...that when the grant was made by Parliament it was particularly alluded to Mechanics and Workmen; but surely...it is not thereby intended to exclude those who have⁵⁹ been unfortunately brought up to the more liberal Professions.

He was subsequently entered in the list of Bailie's party as a gardener.

Even at a generous estimate it is unlikely that more than a dozen of Bailie's "thirty farmers" could have been employed in agricultural pursuits before emigrating. On the evidence of their applications to leave the settlement after their first unhappy experiences of pioneering, the "farmers" included salesmen, several clerks, a silversmith, a baker and a bookbinder. They may have falsified the facts in their anxiety to obtain colonial passes, but on the face of it one tends to believe the settler who claimed, after two months in Albany, that he had spent the greatest part of his life in a counting-house and consequently found himself "inadequate to the present undertaking".⁶⁰

Several of the old soldiers in the party were listed as tradesmen, and one of Bailie's indentured servants was variously described as a wheelwright and a watchmaker. The repeal of the Statute of Artificers in 1814 had made it easy to lay claim to a trade without formal qualification, by permitting the employment of men who had not served apprenticeships.⁶¹

58. RCC XII, 351, Bailie to Bathurst, 21.10.1819. The figure of £1230 deposit money as given in this letter was subsequently amended to £1240, the actual amount paid.

59. PRO CO 48/43, p.626, Heath to Sidmouth, 30.7.1819.

60. CA CO 2629, Memorial of Richard King, 24.6.1820.

61. 5 Eliz.I, c4 (1563). See Thompson, Making of the English Working Class, p.565, and Harold Perkin, The Origins of Modern English Society 1780-1880, p.189.

The articles of indenture drawn up for Benjamin Moodie's settlers in 1817 indicate that the claims of self-styled artisans were frequently questionable; Moodie stipulated that "Tailors, shoemakers, ploughmen, gardeners and other Artisans who cannot show that they are completely qualified as such" should be employed on the same terms as labourers.⁶²

John Rowles, "born of respectable though humble parents in the County of Oxford" and employed as a City brokers' clerk for fifteen years,⁶³ was probably only one of many emigrants who listed themselves as farmers on the strength of a rural upbringing. London's rapid population growth in the early nineteenth century was largely due to an influx of countrymen, particularly from the southern counties. It is not easy to assess what proportion of Bailie's people came from London, and to what extent his party (as Professor Maxwell has suggested) acted as a shock-absorber, picking up from all over Britain numbers which had been rejected by the colonial office.⁶⁴ Bailie himself referred to his "numerous country settlers",⁶⁵ who included several gentleman emigrants - his wife's brother Captain Henry Crause from Kent and Robert Bovey from Devon, as well as the Biddulph family from Staffordshire. On the evidence of the fifteen individual applications to emigrate that have been traced in the colonial office records from men who later joined Bailie's party, it appears that the solid core of the party was made up of Londoners, mostly living north of the river and east of the Tottenham Court Road. The resident missionary at Bethelsdorp who met the party on their arrival at Algoa Bay "found them almost all from London...Men of the first trades in England, half pay officers etc."⁶⁶ The Landdrost of Uitenhage expressed his opinion of the party's unsuitability as settlers in almost the same words

62. CA CO 2626, printed copy of "The Terms on which Mr Moodie carries out Mechanics and Labourers to the Cape of Good Hope", dated 14.5.1817.

63. PRO CO 48/45, p.460, Rowles to Bathurst, 23.7.1819.

64. Maxwell, Reconsiderations, p.11.

65. RCC XII, 345, Bailie to Goulburn, 16.10.1819.

66. Cory Library, Journal of the Rev. George Barker, 1815-1828, entry for 13.4.1820.

but with a different emphasis: "Unfortunately almost to a man Londoners, and several of them the first rate tradespeople of their line".⁶⁷

Professor Maxwell's "shock-absorber" theory is borne out by the late addition to the party of six Irishmen, who chose to be located together in Albany and who may have been attached originally to some other emigrant group. (One of them, John Duffy, was included in the list of Willson's party in September.)⁶⁸ Members of two separate small London parties were absorbed into Bailie's party before the October returns were submitted. James Hoole and Joseph Oldham had each applied to the colonial office to take out a group of ten men and their families.⁶⁹ Either their applications were rejected or some of their settlers dropped out; they joined Bailie's party with eight of the men who were originally to have accompanied them.

Besides Hoole's and Oldham's parties, a number of small units of friends, family or associates have been identified within Bailie's party, whose relationships help to throw some light on the way in which it was recruited. James Ford and Philip Marillier were close friends, and were acquainted with Dr Roberts. Roberts in turn knew the employer of the two printers, Stringfellow and Godlonton, who had been fellow-workmen for five years. (It is tempting to surmise that J.C. Chase, a bookseller by trade, had at least a professional acquaintance with the printers: he referred to Godlonton in 1825 as "of late my tradesman".)⁷⁰ John Bailie and Captain Henry Crause were brothers-in-law; Crause and William Hart had been officers in the same regiment for several years. Dr O'Flinn was a personal friend of John Bailie, and the Biddulph family were introduced to Bailie by a mutual acquaintance, an under-secretary to the Claims Commission whom they approached for advice about emigrating. Saunders and Mills were neighbours in the New Road as well as friends. In addition,

67. CA CO 2626 no.37, Cuyler to Bird, 29.4.1820.

68. PRO CO 48/46, p.457, List of Willson's proposed party, 20.9.1819.

69. PRO CO 48/43, p.729, List of J. Hoole's proposed party, 18.8.1819; PRO CO 48/44, p.962, List of J. Oldham's proposed party, 18.8.1819.

70. CA CO 249 no.266, Chase to Plasket, 8.11.1825. (The italics are Chase's.)

the party included seven family groups made up of fathers and adult sons (the Andersons, the Reeds, the Hewsons, the Biddulphs), brothers (John and Joseph Goodes, the Oldhams), and uncle and nephew (Michael and Thomas Plowman).

J.C. Chase, the secretary to Bailie's party, in later years described the emigrants as "intelligent and feeling men...fleeing with their offspring from actual penury, or its gradual yet certain approach".⁷¹ There is no doubt that economic necessity was the driving force behind the emigration of most of the party. About a quarter of them were London tradesmen who had felt their status and standard of living threatened or deteriorating since 1815, under the impact of technical innovation and with cut-price labour competing for a depressed market.⁷² Many independent tradesmen "reduced under Providence by misfortune and losses"⁷³ were attracted by the idea of emigration, but prevented by lack of sufficient capital or confidence from making up parties of subordinate labourers in order to qualify under the terms of the scheme. By joining forces with other would-be emigrants in similar circumstances they were able to make up the required numbers without jeopardising their social status. Men of a higher rank, merchants, professional men or half-pay officers, with limited funds or a disinclination to commit themselves to the responsibility of taking out and maintaining a party, were equally anxious to enrol on a joint-stock basis. Three of the gentleman-settlers who joined Bailie's party at its outset had suffered serious financial losses: T.P. Adams and James Ford, both formerly respectable merchants, and William Hart, who had sold out as a lieutenant-colonel after the war, but rejoined the army as a junior officer at the age of forty, after the loss of all his capital. Poverty and respectability,⁷⁴ in early nineteenth

71. J.C. Chase, The Cape of Good Hope and the Eastern Province of Algoa Bay, p.84.

72. Thompson, Making of the English Working Class, p.289.

73. RCC XII, 272, Hockly to Goulburn, 28.7.1819.

74. "Respectability" in early nineteenth century usage implied the possession of social position and worldly goods - rank and property - and not moral qualities, the meaning the word acquired in the Victorian era. Thomas Philipps commented in his letters to his relatives that settlers in Van Diemen's Land must necessarily be "respectable" because it cost so much to get there.

century society, were contradictory terms; if a ruined man did not retrieve his fortunes in the colony, he could at least bear his disgrace out of sight of his friends. At a lower social level, something of the same thought was expressed by the unemployed Bloomsbury cabinet maker, George Anderson:

Always having been respectable and in the same house for near 20 years the near prospect of absolute poverty is the more dreaded.⁷⁵

The respectability of Bailie's party - "the aim and idol of the English middle classes", according to Sir Harold Nicolson⁷⁶ - was frequently emphasised. At different social levels the goldsmith who enquired with the "solicitude of a husband and father...whether there will be an indiscriminate mixture of all persons applying",⁷⁷ and the half-pay officer who pointed out that "gentlemen or females of delicate habits altho' reduced in life cannot expose themselves to an association with Labourers and Mechanics",⁷⁸ were both aware that emigration threatened the gradations of rank, and were equally anxious to preserve them. It was an ambition that did not accord with the equalitarian principles of the party's Articles of Agreement.

On November 8 the Navy Office reported that the first two transports, the Chapman⁷⁹ and the Nautilus, were preparing to receive emigrants at Deptford.⁸⁰ Tonnage for conveying the emigrants' baggage was allowed at the rate of one ton (40 cubic feet) for each single man, and two tons for a man with a family.⁸¹ It was originally intended that the Chapman

75. PRO CO 48/41, p.120, G. Anderson to Bathurst, 27.9.1819.

76. Harold Nicolson, Good Behaviour, p.232.

77. RCC XII, 272, Hockly to Goulburn, 28.7.1819.

78. PRO CO 48/41, p.300, Burnett to Goulburn, 2.8.1819.

79. The Chapman, 542 tons, was built at Whitby in 1777. Originally named Sybilla, she was entirely rebuilt in 1811 for use as a troop transport and renamed for one of her owners. John Milbank, her chief mate, was made Master in January 1819. (From Dr Coulton's notes in the Port Elizabeth Library.)

80. PRO CO 48/48, pp.169, 175, Navy Office to Goulburn, 8.11.1819, 16.11.1819.

81. Morning Herald (London), 2.10.1819.

should carry Bailie's party only, but the reduced numbers made it possible to accommodate the small party from Staffordshire led by John Carlisle.⁸²

Last-minute arrangements were made for five of Bailie's party to sail in other vessels because of disagreements or domestic crises. All of them joined other parties or were located independently on arrival in the colony. Henry Lovemore was prevented by unexplained domestic circumstances from sailing on the Chapman, and it was arranged that he should travel later on the Northampton. In the event he delayed his departure further still to sail on the Sir George Osborn in March 1820. He purchased a large estate near Algoa Bay as soon as he reached the colony.⁸³

The egregious Mr Bishop Burnett⁸⁴ clashed with John Bailie and was threatened with expulsion from the party. After he had appealed to the Colonial Department with limited success against Bailie's "arbitrary conduct" - the quarrel was acrimonious enough to call for Goulburn's intervention - he arranged through influential friends to travel as an independent settler on the Ocean transport.⁸⁵ Still smarting from his encounter with Bailie, he wrote to the secretary of the party to recommend

82. PRO CO 48/48, p.185, Navy Office to Goulburn, 19.11.1819.

83. PRO CO 48/44, p.466, Lovemore to Goulburn, n.d.; PRO CO 49/13, p.234, Goulburn to Navy Office, 30.11.1819.
Henry Lovemore (1777-1851), a wine merchant in London, emigrated with his family and domestic servants. He purchased Klaas Kraal (renamed Bushy Park) for £1 000 on his arrival at Algoa Bay in June 1820.

84. Bishop Burnett, clever, eloquent, unbalanced and quarrelsome, was summed up by Thomas Pringle as a "gentleman swindler". He was mistrusted and disliked as a troublemaker by his fellow settlers as well as the colonial authorities, and involved in litigation up to the time of his banishment from the Cape in 1824. His wild accusations against the colonial government became the subject of a parliamentary enquiry.

85. PRO CO 48/41, pp.694-696, 712, Burnett to Goulburn, 18.11.1819, 23.11.1819; PRO CO 49/13, p.219, Goulburn to Burnett, 22.11.1819. Under the pressure of late applications the Colonial Department reverted to its former practice of providing "gentleman settlers" with recommendations to the Governor of the Cape. This was done in addition to, rather than as a departure from, the emigration scheme: individuals not connected with any party, who paid for their own passages, were granted land in the colony in proportion to their means and the number of their servants. See RCC XII, 417, Bathurst to Somerset, 4.1.1820.

"the propriety of ascertaining the extent of this person's power before you sail":⁸⁶ a piece of advice that might have saved a good deal of trouble if it had been acted upon. John Goodwin,⁸⁷ a relative of Burnett's, cited his case as a precedent after he too separated from the party, and he was reluctantly permitted to travel to the Cape on the Sir George Osborn. He pleaded at the time that his son's dangerous illness had prevented his sailing on the Chapman,⁸⁸ but claimed when he arrived in the colony that he had withdrawn from the party from choice, "not approving the proceedings of those persons".⁸⁹ Dr Peter Campbell,⁹⁰ who was irked by Bailie's refusal to allow him to substitute another man in place of a defaulting servant, applied for an appointment as medical officer on some other settler transport. He was permitted to sail on the Aurora with Sephton's party, with which he eventually chose to be located.⁹¹ Patrick Bagley,⁹² an old soldier and shoemaker who missed the Chapman's sailing, was allowed to join Willson's party on La Belle Alliance instead.⁹³

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86. PRO CO 48/41, p.691, Burnett to Chase, 17.11.1819. Burnett's version of the quarrel in his Reply to the Report of the Commissioners of Enquiry, pp.60-61, shows him in a much more favourable light than does the original correspondence.
87. John Foulis Goodwin (1772-1841) emigrated with his family and domestic servants, and arranged on his arrival at the Cape to be located separately from Bailie's party on a land grant near Grahamstown. He was also granted an erf at Bathurst. He was appointed secretary in the Residency at Simonstown in January 1822. His son John Francis Goodwin was killed in action in 1835.
88. PRO CO 48/43, pp.516, 520, Goodwin to Goulburn, 13.12.1819 and 16.12.1819.
89. CA CO 178 no.293, Goodwin to Donkin, n.d.
90. Dr Peter Campbell (1777-1837) was a member of the Royal College of Surgeons, and licensed to practise medicine in the colony from December 1820. He lived in Grahamstown from 1821. His daughter Margaret married Thomas Cockcroft, third son of John Bailie.
91. CA CO 2629, Campbell to Donkin, 6.9.1820, and RCC XII, 360, Campbell to Goulburn, 5.11.1819.
92. Patrick Bagley had served through the peninsular campaign with the 40th Regiment of Foot. He applied unsuccessfully to emigrate with a party of fifteen able-bodied men before joining Bailie's party in London. He was located with Willson's party in Albany.
93. CA CO 178, 20.12.1822, Memorial of Patrick Bagley.

Once embarkation lists had been forwarded to the Navy Board, in theory at least no further alterations could be made to them. Although last-minute additions and substitutions undoubtedly did take place, the Colonial Department refused to consider a late application to emigrate with Bailie's party from Mary Anne Crause, sister of Captain Henry Crause and of John Bailie's wife Amelia; she presumably remained in England.⁹⁴

The Chapman transport left Gravesend on December 3, 1819⁹⁵ and dropped her pilot, as well as several seasick passengers, at the Downs on December 9.⁹⁶ The transports were meant to sail in pairs, but the Chapman's consort, the Nautilus, ran into trouble on the Goodwin Sands, and the ships were separated during several weeks of rough weather before sighting each other again off Palma on January 8, 1820.⁹⁷

Dr O'Flinn was appointed medical officer to the Chapman emigrants,⁹⁸ and had to deal with an outbreak of whooping-cough that kept the ship in quarantine while she lay at anchor in Table Bay.⁹⁹ Six births during the voyage made up in numbers for the deaths of six children of Bailie's party¹⁰⁰ - a modest count compared with eighteen on the measles-plagued Kennersley Castle and twenty on the Weymouth.¹⁰¹ The record is the more creditable in the light of J.C. Chase's comment that the Chapman was an exceptionally unwholesome ship because of her lowness between decks.¹⁰² Two accidents that occurred during the voyage have been recorded in settler

94. PRO CO 48/42, p.486, Mary Anne Crause to Bathurst, 3.11.1819; PRO CO 49/13, p.165, Goulburn to Miss Crause, 4.11.1819.

95. Wilmot and Chase, History of the Colony, p.273.

96. PRO CO 48/41, p.746, Bailie to Goulburn, 9.12.1819.

97. Souvenir in Commemoration of the Centenary of the 1820 Settlers, pp.55-56, "John Mandy's story aboard the Nautilus, 1820".

98. PRO CO 48/48, p.175, Navy Office to Goulburn, 16.11.1819.

99. PRO CO 48/49 no.10, Donkin to Bathurst, 26.3.1820.

100. CA CO 6138 vol. I, p.97, List of Bailie's party, 17.3.1820.

101. Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.44; and Cory Library, Journal of Hon. W. Cock.

102. Chase, The Cape of Good Hope, p.219.

reminiscences: Mary Ann Godlonton, aged four, fell twenty-five feet into the lower hold from the main hatch with no ill effects,¹⁰³ and Elizabeth, the daughter of William Reed, was badly scalded by the party's cook, Christopher Franz.¹⁰⁴

J.C. Chase recalled in later years two incidents that interrupted the monotony of the voyage. The Chapman and the Nautilus reached the Cape Verde Islands in the middle of January, and dropped anchor in Porto Praya harbour to re-provision. Once on shore the emigrants, "sea-sick and land-longing", were reluctant to resume their voyage. Some of the "ignorant portion" of the passengers of the two vessels conceived a wild plan to seize the virtually undefended island of Santiago and hold it for the British crown, and approached John Bailie with their suggestion. As tactfully as might be, he pointed out the probable consequences and dissuaded them from any such ill-judged course of action. The frustrated fillibusters had to set sail again after all, in ships so laden with tropical fruit and small livestock that they appeared like a combined greengrocer's shop and menagerie.¹⁰⁵

Less than a week later Bailie was required to assert his authority again, when a case of suspected theft was tried by a jury chosen by lot, in accordance with the party's Articles of Agreement.

It was on the 22nd January, 1820, on board the Chapman, that a case of theft was brought to the notice of the Head of the Party of Settlers. - A meeting of the cabin passengers was held immediately after, to consider what proceedings should be taken, and it was at once agreed to try the case in the old and true English manner by a jury of twelve men. On the following day... the case was brought before the Head of the Party, John Bailie as Judge, the writer of this reminiscence as Recorder of the Court, and Messrs. Stringfellow, Hewson, Goodes, Saunders, Biddulph, Taylor, Leader, Lloyd, Plowman, Fulgon, Gunning and Dixon, as Jury. The case broke down for want of evidence, and

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103. "Memorial of the late Mrs M.A. Shepperson", typescript copy in the possession of Col. L.H. Bailie, Grahamstown, original source unknown.
104. Cory Library, Reminiscences of W.J. Reed of Port Elizabeth given to Professor Cory, March 1918.
105. J.C. Chase, "How some of the First British Settlers very nearly became Fillibusters", Graham's Town Journal, 25.5.1870.

the accused, whose name, of course, may not appear, was acquitted. This assumption of authority by the Settlers had a salutary effect while the emigrants remained on board.¹⁰⁶

Shipboard conditions tend to exaggerate social distinctions as well as providing a breeding-ground for personal differences. The division of accommodation between cabin and lower-deck passengers¹⁰⁷ encouraged separation into two social classes, and the theory of a co-operative community that had looked well on paper in London, did not stand up to the practical test of insufficient occupation and close quarters during the emigrants' five months at sea. The Santiago incident and the circumstances of the trial on board the Chapman indicate that both lower and upper classes of the party were closing their ranks, with on the one hand the suggestion - however unrealistic - by the less sophisticated emigrants to defy the rule of law, and on the other the decision of the cabin passengers to impose it. The assumption of authority by one group among the settlers was bound to provoke resentment among others who had joined the party on the same footing. The spectators whom Chase lists as crowding the cabin during the trial - T.P. Adams, Simon Biddulph and his sons, James Ford, William Reed, Dr Roberts, Captain Henry Crause, William Hart, Philip Marillier and Dr O'Flinn - were all educated men with a claim to social superiority. Others among the party may have been equally concerned to see justice done, but were not equally accustomed to frequent the cuddy.

Bartholomew Gunning, a London journeyman-hatter and a lower-deck passenger, was present at the trial as a member of the jury, but was less satisfied than the cabin passengers that it served any salutary purpose.

We were nearly five months on shipboard: during the time many quarrels ensued, and the people, or ship's crew, robbed the trunks and boxes; my boxes were opened and robbed of many things.

106. Port Elizabeth Telegraph, 14.9.1848, "A Page from the Recollections of a British Settler of 1820." The author's name is not given but content, style and place of publication make it clearly Chase's work. His memory was at fault in including Dixon, who was not a Chapman passenger.

107. See Butler, 1820 Settlers, p.90, for an illustration of the plans of the Weymouth, a settler transport of the same class as the Chapman, and Sophia Pigot, The Journals of Sophia Pigot 1819-1821, ed. Margaret Rainier, p.135, for description of accommodation on a settler ship.

Our leader never troubled himself about it or any thing, and the result was that many respectable families left us the moment we landed.¹⁰⁸

Gunning's bitterness is understandable. He had spent £100 - the greater part of his capital - in preparing to emigrate, and on the party's arrival in Albany he discovered that more than a third of his property had been stolen.¹⁰⁹

In the cramped emigrant accommodation on board the Chapman it became increasingly clear that with no more effective binding force than the goodwill of its individual members, the party was unlikely to succeed in its original intention of establishing a co-operative community. Baillie's attempts to impose his authority upon the emigrants were resented and resisted. Complaints were subsequently made to the colonial officials of his

...acts of arbitrary power...which evidently manifested either a total misconception of the nature of the situation in which he stood towards those persons or a determination to force them into the measure of altogether abandoning...their mutual agreement.¹¹⁰

Before the Chapman reached the Cape, the party and its director had agreed on the expediency of dividing the party into smaller sections, with a corresponding division of its joint stock.¹¹¹

The Chapman and the Nautilus anchored in Table Bay on March 17, 1820.¹¹² To the great disappointment of the settlers both ships were placed under quarantine for the duration of their stay in harbour, and only the heads of parties were allowed to land.¹¹³ The few exceptions to this rule were made in special circumstances: Dr O'Flinn needed to stock up with medical supplies in Cape Town,¹¹⁴ and Miss Reed, escorted by her father,

108. RCC XIII, 233, Gunning to Moore, 4.5.1820.

109. CA CO 8482, Memorial of B. Gunning, n.d.

110. CA CO 121 no.34, Ellis to Donkin, 20.5.1820.

111. CA 1/AY 8/69, Affidavit of T.P. Adams, G. Anderson and T.W. Hewson, 18.5.1820.

112. Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser, 25.3.1820.

113. PRO CO 48/49 no.10, Donkin to Bathurst, 26.3.1820.

114. CA CO 2629, O'Flinn to Trappes, 25.9.1820.

was "allowed to come on shore after being well fumigated, married [to Captain Milbank of the Chapman] and hurried on board again as soon as possible".¹¹⁵ An application from seven of Bailie's settlers to land at Cape Town to purchase necessary tools and provisions and present the letters of introduction they had brought with them was refused.¹¹⁶ Thomas Stringfellow, however, went ashore with the printing press he had brought out in partnership with Robert Godlonton and Dr Roberts. In the opinion of the Acting Governor of the Cape, Sir Rufane Donkin,¹¹⁷ the introduction of a privately-owned press in Albany would be tantamount to "scattering firebrands along the eastern frontier", and he ordered its confiscation.¹¹⁸ The disconsolate Stringfellow took the opportunity while ashore in Cape Town to shop for carpenter's tools, but even in that transaction he was disappointed - his purchases were paid for but never delivered.¹¹⁹

It came as a shock to the emigrants to learn that they were to be landed more than a hundred miles from their final destination, and would themselves have to bear the considerable expense of their transport overland.¹²⁰

115. Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.40; Cape Town Gazette, 25.3.1820.

116. CA CO 3917 vol.I no.139, T.P. Adams and others to Governor, 20.3.1820.

117. General Sir Rufane Shaw Donkin (1773-1841) was made Major General in 1811, after military service in the Peninsula, and transferred to India in 1815. His wife Elizabeth, nee Markham, eldest daughter of the Dean of York and niece of the Countess of Mansfield, died in India in 1818. Donkin was invalided to the Cape, where he was appointed Acting Governor during Lord Charles Somerset's absence on leave, January 1820 - November 1821.

118. L.H. Meurant, Sixty Years Ago, pp.76-77, and CA CO 158 no.97, Stringfellow to Donkin, 4.6.1821. The press was the gift of the manager of the King's Printing Office, Shacklewell (London), where Godlonton and Stringfellow had been employed. It was to be paid for if it proved profitable. (The colonial government refunded its value.) By coincidence the same press was used to print the first Eastern Province newspaper, the Graham's Town Journal, of which Godlonton became editor. The part played by Dr Roberts in the arrangement is not clear, but a printer named Roberts of Shoe Lane, Fleet Street, printed the handbill advertising the meeting at the Crown and Anchor Tavern on August 9, 1819.

119. CA CO 2629, Affidavit of T. Stringfellow, 20.6.1820.

120. CA CO 3917 no.173, Memorial of the Independent Settlers associated with Mr Bailie, n.d.

Bailie requested in Cape Town that his party should be located as near to the mouth of the Great Fish River as possible.¹²¹ Its potential for shipping had not yet been ascertained, but the emigrants believed on the evidence of Lieut. Wily's 1816 map of the frontier that it was likely to be navigable.¹²²

With the arrival of the Chapman and the Nautilus in Table Bay the Cape authorities learnt for the first time how the emigrant parties were constituted, and the difficulties that their leaders were already experiencing. The Acting Governor, Sir Rufane Donkin, had been appointed at short notice to fill Lord Charles Somerset's place during his absence on home leave. He interviewed the heads of parties in Cape Town and gained a favourable first impression; it was "impossible for people to be more reasonable or better disposed".¹²³ It was an opinion that events in the Albany settlement would soon give him cause to alter.

The Chapman sailed from Table Bay on March 26, 1820,¹²⁴ and on the evening of April 10,¹²⁵ five months almost to the day since leaving England, dropped her anchors in Algoa Bay. Twenty years later one of her passengers recalled "the desolateness of the prospect, the savage and unpromising appearance of the country" that spread itself before them. There was no harbour town, only "a range of sand-hills covered with bush, with one single path, three houses and a few reed huts".¹²⁶

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121. Wilmot and Chase, History of the Colony, p.274. See also Henry Hare Dugmore, The Reminiscences of an Albany Settler, pp.16-17.
122. Wilmot and Chase, History of the Colony, p.274. Wily's map, published by W. Faden, London, in 1818, includes a description of the Great Fish River as "navigable for vessels of considerable burthen", and with "a good situation for a town or settlement" three miles from the mouth.
123. Sir Rufane Shaw Donkin, Letter Book of Sir Rufane Shaw Donkin, ed. J.B. Scott, p.3, Donkin to Sir H. Torrens, 30.3.1820.
124. Cape Town Gazette, 1.4.1820.
125. CA CO 2626 no.35, Cuyler to Bird, 16.4.1820. J.C. Chase gave the date of the Chapman's arrival in Algoa Bay as April 9, 1820, and the date of the settlers' landing as April 10. See R. Godlonton, Memorials of the British Settlers of South Africa, p.53.
126. Graham's Town Journal, 30.4.1840, speeches by Bailie and Chase.

Before they disembarked about half the men of the party signed a letter to the Captain of the Chapman, drafted by James Ford, to express their thanks for the attention and forbearance he and his crew had shown the emigrants during their long voyage from England.¹²⁷ One of the party, William Low, an indentured servant to John Bailie, elected to stay on board as a sailor and was released from his engagement to do so.¹²⁸

The debarkation of the settlers and their possessions was carried out in surf-boats under the supervision of the Agent of Transports, who had travelled with them on the Chapman, and the Commandant of the Fort Frederick garrison, Captain Francis Evatt.¹²⁹ Evatt himself was often knee-deep in water with the soldiers of the 72nd Regiment, helping women and children from the surf-boats to the shore.¹³⁰ Among the several members of Bailie's party who subsequently claimed the honour of having been the first emigrant to land were William Collen¹³¹ and James Reed, then a seven-year-old boy, whose father jumped into the surf to lift him from the boat on to dry sand.¹³²

Once ashore, the emigrants were provided with tents as a temporary shelter.¹³³ In accordance with the terms of the emigration circular, heads of parties were refunded a third of their deposit money on landing. The members of his party who had paid their own deposits received their

127. Port Elizabeth Library, letter of James Ford and others to Captain Milbank, 11.4.1820.

128. CA CO 136 no.54, Bailie to Ellis.

129. Captain Francis Evatt (1770-1850) has been called "the father of Port Elizabeth". He was commissioned in the Light Dragoons and served at the Cape from 1806, becoming Commandant of Fort Frederick from 1817, and Government Resident of Port Elizabeth from 1825.

130. (Bird), State of the Cape, p.196, Bird to Cuyler, 22.3.1820; Graham's Town Journal, 30.4.1820, Chase's speech.

131. T. Sheffield, The Story of the Settlement, p.125.

132. Cory Library, Reminiscences of W.J. Reed. Professor Cory knew of four settlers who claimed this distinction.

133. For arrangements to receive the emigrants at Algoa Bay see (Bird), State of the Cape, p.195, Bird to Cuyler, 22.3.1820; and Donkin, Letter Book, pp.5-8, Donkin to Rogerson, 2.4.1820.

shares from Bailie,¹³⁴ but perhaps from reluctance to tie themselves to their as yet unseen locations they did not act on the recommendation of the local authorities to buy waggons, oxen and milch-cows from the farmers assembled at the Bay. A month's supply of rations - meat on the hoof, and flour - was issued by the commissariat against the balance of the deposit money.¹³⁵

The resident missionary from Bethelsdorp, who visited the settlers a few days after their arrival, recorded in his journal the first death and the first birth among them on South African soil.

April 13 1820. ...A poor woman had died the preceding day whose funeral I was requested to attend. I read the Church of England form of burial service and then addressed the spectators in few words. One woman was put to bed this morning in one of the tents.¹³⁶

The government surveyor for the Uitenhage district had been engaged since November 1819 in preparing a survey of the vacant land between Grahamstown and the Great Fish River. From this plan the Acting Governor had selected the situations which the various parties were to occupy. The three large parties under Bailie, Sephton and Willson, which Earl Bathurst had recommended should form villages, were allotted land at some distance from one another, at the Great Fish River, the Kariega River and the Blaauwkrantz River respectively.¹³⁷

The Acting Governor had found out from his meeting with the first emigrant leaders in Cape Town that their parties contained a high proportion of independent settlers.¹³⁸ He warned the Landdrost of Uitenhage, Colonel Cuyler,¹³⁹ that the policy of Government was to deal with the directors

134. CA CO 136, p.160, Bailie to Johnstone, 8.10.1820.

135. CA CO 2626 no.37, Cuyler to Bird, 29.4.1820.

136. Cory Library, Journal of the Rev. George Barker. Unfortunately he does not name the settlers concerned.

137. (Bird), State of the Cape, p.191, Bird to Cuyler, 12.11.1819, and pp.194-195, Bird to Cuyler, 22.3.1819.

138. Donkin, Letter Book, pp.2-3, Donkin to Torrens, 30.3.1820.

139. Colonel Jacob Glen Cuyler (1775-1854) was a member of an American Loyalist family. He was commissioned in the British Army and came to the Cape in 1806, when he was appointed Commandant of Fort

only, and that they alone of the emigrants would receive land grants. If they had agreed to share their grants with the members of their parties they could arrange for subdivision after they had been granted title, and when the other provisions of the various Articles of Agreement had been satisfied.¹⁴⁰

The differences that had developed in Bailie's party during their voyage from England came to a head soon after they landed. The dispersal began before the party set out for the location. William Reed and his sons elected to stay at Algoa Bay, where they were to engage in a variety of commercial enterprises.¹⁴¹ Christopher Franz was allowed to transfer his services from John Bailie to Frederick Korsten¹⁴² at Cradock Place. W.D. Cowper settled in Uitenhage, and Daniel Hockly and John Leonard applied for the Landdrost's permission to do the same.¹⁴³ Simon Biddulph and his sons were "induced by the contentious and dissatisfied disposition of the party to withdraw...entirely from them"¹⁴⁴ and remained at Algoa Bay awaiting the arrival of HMS Menai. The 26-gun frigate Menai, on the Cape station under the command of Captain Fairfax Moresby,¹⁴⁵ had arrived

Frederick and Acting Landdrost of Uitenhage. In 1814 he bought the farm Doornkloof (later called Cuyler Manor).

140. (Bird), State of the Cape, pp.193-197, Bird to Cuyler, 22.3.1820.

141. Cory Library, Reminiscences of W.J. Reed.

142. CO 136, p.54, Bailie to Ellis, 28.5.1820. Frederick Korsten (1772-1839) was a pioneer businessman in the Eastern Cape. He was a naval cadet in the Dutch fleet when it surrendered in Table Bay in 1796. He settled first in Cape Town where he became a member of the burgher senate, and in 1811 he bought Papenkuylsfontein on the Swartkops River, which he renamed Cradock Place. He established himself there as farmer, shipowner and entrepreneur on a large scale.

143. Cory Library, Journal of Rev. George Barker; CA CO 2626 no.36, Cuyler to Bird, 18.4.1820.

144. CA CO 249 no.264, S. Biddulph to Plasket, 7.11.1825.

145. Captain Fairfax Moresby (1786-1877), of Stow House, Lichfield, Staffs., entered the Royal Navy in 1799, and was made Post-Captain in 1819, commanding HMS Menai. He was ordered to the Cape as Senior Officer under the Naval Commissioner Sir Jahleel Brenton in December 1819. After assisting in the settlers' landing, Moresby made a survey of the south-eastern coast from Cape Recife to the Keiskamma.

in Table Bay three days after the Chapman with Lieutenant Edward Biddulph, eldest son of Simon Biddulph, among her officers.¹⁴⁶ Captain Moresby had volunteered his services to the Acting Governor to assist in the debarkation of the settlers at Algoa Bay.¹⁴⁷ He was a neighbour of the Biddulph family in Staffordshire, and his influence and that of the Deputy Colonial Secretary, Henry Ellis, who reached Algoa Bay aboard the Menai on April 29, were instrumental in obtaining a separate grant of land for Simon Biddulph in Albany.¹⁴⁸

Bailie's plan of founding a co-operative community failed before it began. Of the gentleman settlers who should have formed its upper echelon and provided much of its capital, Burnett, Goodwin and Lovemore had separated from the party before it sailed. The Biddulph family received a separate land grant at the outset. William Reed and Daniel Hockly did not proceed to Albany but established businesses employing labour in the Uitenhage district. Reed, as a settler "with some capital and much industry", was granted land at Port Elizabeth by the Acting Governor in June 1820.¹⁴⁹ John Bailie himself was equally anxious to distance himself from the complaints and cavilling of his settlers, although he had no intention of giving up his claim to his land:

Mr. Bailie being disgusted with the party...recommended them to remain at Algoa Bay and purchase a Farm with their joint capital while he continued his route.¹⁵⁰

All the available ox-waggons in the district had been assembled at Algoa Bay in expectation of the emigrants' arrival. Ninety-six waggons were needed to transport the Chapman passengers and their baggage, including tents, camp-kettles, rations and tools purchased from the commissariat.¹⁵¹

146. Cape Town Gazette, 25.3.1820; CA CO 8448 no.138, Memorial of Lt. E. Biddulph, 26.5.1820.

147. Donkin, Letter Book, p.10, Donkin to Bathurst, 22.5.1820.

148. CA CO 8478, Memorial of S. Biddulph, n.d.

149. RCC XV, 98, Explanation by Sir R.S. Donkin.

150. CA CO 8541, Adams to Hayward, 12.10.1824.

151. Wilmot and Chase, History of the Colony, p.274, and CA CO 293 No.91, Bailie to Plasket, 25.3.1826.

The stores that the party brought from England as joint stock may be presumed to have included agricultural implements as well as gunpowder. Joseph Oldham brought a portable threshing machine as his own property,¹⁵² and some at least of the tradesmen in the party must have brought their tools, as they began to practise their trades soon after reaching Albany. The personal baggage of the majority of Bailie's emigrants was probably much like that of the semi-fictitious settler "Harry Hastings",¹⁵³ containing clothes, bedding, medicines and books, and for the married emigrants, basic household utensils of earthenware and pewter. The upper ranks of the party would have been required to provide their own cabin furniture for the voyage from England, to be landed with them at Algoa Bay. In addition to sofas, wash-hand-stands and workboxes, gentlemen's families took with them - even into the wilderness - china, glass, plate, pictures, looking glasses and the accessories of civilised recreation: flutes, violins, paint-boxes, playing-cards and pearl card-counters.¹⁵⁴

The main body of the party set out for their location near the Great Fish River mouth on April 17, by-passing the village of Uitenhage to avoid any risk of infecting its inhabitants with whooping-cough.¹⁵⁵ Bailie, J.C. Chase and Captain Henry Crause spent the night at the Uitenhage Drostdy as guests of the Landdrost, Colonel Cuyler, calling at the Bethelsdorp mission station on the way.¹⁵⁶ They continued their journey in company with the government surveyor and Colonel Cuyler, who had been

152. RCC XXVII, 147, Somerset to Hay, 26.7.1826, refers to Oldham's threshing machine which was purchased for the Groote Post government farm.

153. (Ayliff), "Harry Hastings", pp.34-35.

154. Pigot, Journals, pp.135-136. All the small items listed here were among the contents of Captain Henry Crause's house at Walsingham, burnt by the Xhosa in 1834. (CA LG 20, pp.138-143.) See also Lantern XX no.1 (Sept. 1970) for articles on settler furniture.

155. (Bird), State of the Cape, p.196, Bird to Cuyler, 22.3.1820; and CA CO 2626 no.37, Cuyler to Bird, 29.4.1820.

156. Cory Library, Journal of Rev. George Barker. There is an interesting entry in J.C. Chase's pocket diary for 18.9.1872 when he was Resident Magistrate at Uitenhage: "The contrast 18 Apr. 1820 - The Cuyler family at the Drostdy - the Chase family here today!" (Diary in possession of Major C.C. Chase.)

instructed to supervise the locating of the first settlers in person.¹⁵⁷

The emigrants arrived at their location on the morning of April 25. One of them, Bartholomew Gunning, complained that they were dumped by their carriers "like so much rubbish".¹⁵⁸ Robert Godlonton remembered with less bitterness and perhaps more justice

the moment when the kind-hearted Dutch farmer - the owner of the wagon which conveyed him and his family to the spot intended for their future home - bade them, in a tone of mingled compassion and surprise, farewell - leaving them without the smallest shelter from the weather, with their luggage strewed upon the long grass.¹⁵⁹

It took the emigrants two days to make up their minds to settle on a stream near the ruins of an abandoned farmhouse, where the surveyor laid out sixty-four one-acre lots as the start of a village. They named it Cuyler Town. John Bailie, J.C. Chase and Captain Crause, with their families and seven indentured labourers, insisted on being located separately more than two miles from the rest of the party.¹⁶⁰ Bailie called his land The Hope.

Colonel Cuyler was concerned that this separation would endanger the security of the emigrants, and did his best to dissuade them from it. Although neither the Colonial Department in Downing Street nor the colonial officials in Cape Town considered the new settlers' situation as one of potential danger from Xhosa attack, Colonel Cuyler, the man on the spot, did not share this optimism. He was as unhappy as the emigrants with the Acting Governor's instruction to retain their gunpowder in store at Fort Frederick, rather than allow them to transport it with them to their locations. Bailie's party had brought out a joint stock of approximately 6 lbs. per man, which Cuyler begged permission to issue to them not only for their peace of mind, but because they might need it to protect themselves against attack. He suggested as an additional safeguard for

157. (Bird), State of the Cape, p.193, Bird to Cuyler, 25.2.1820.

158. RCC XIII, 233, Gunning to Moore, 4.5.1820.

159. Godlonton, Memorials of the British Settlers, p.44.

160. CA CO 2626 no.37, Cuyler to Bird, 29.4.1820.

"these advanced and exposed settlers" that a detachment of the Cape Corps should be posted near them to patrol the country while they built their first houses in safety.¹⁶¹ Twenty-five men were assigned to this duty, and to give practical help in hutting.¹⁶²

Bailie's people had lost confidence in his leadership, and they were not easily persuaded to follow the recommendations of even an experienced frontiersman like Cuyler. They wished to form separate settlements, or to leave the location altogether, and Cuyler reported that they showed "the greatest dissatisfaction and want of Unity" amongst themselves. He considered that if they were permitted to do so, many of them would leave to look for work or set up as tradesmen in the established towns of the colony. While waiting to locate the emigrants from the Nautilus - the next transport to arrive - he wrote to the Colonial Secretary,

I hope the succeeding parties are of a different stamp from Mr. Bailey's, for I doubt if the half of his are at their Location this day one month.¹⁶³

Cuyler's parting advice to Bailie's settlers was still remembered thirty years later:

The worthy Colonel...desired us, until we became well acquainted with the country, never to leave home alone or unarmed, to lay our clothes where we could find them in the dark, and our loaded guns to be so stood that we could put our hands upon them, even without getting out of bed. ...I am now living where I believe myself to be in safety; yet the habit of so many years' continuance has so grown upon me, that...I still dispose my clothes and arms as I was then advised to do.¹⁶⁴

The Ocean transport had anchored in Algoa Bay soon after the Chapman and the Nautilus. All three ships had landed their passengers and sailed

161. CA CO 2626 no.35, Cuyler to Bird, 16.4.1820.

162. CA CO 2626 no.37, Cuyler to Bird, 29.4.1820. The suggestion that soldiers should be attached to each emigrant party to assist them in hutting was made by Bathurst to Somerset (RCC XII, 362, 6.11.1819) but it was intended for convenience not defence.

163. CA 1/AY 8/69, Cuyler to Bird, 2.5.1820.

164. D'Urban Observer, 31.10.1851, "Reminiscences of a Settler of 1820." The author may well have been John Bailie, who was living in Durban at the time and had a financial interest in the Observer.

for the Cape again in ballast by the time the Kennersley Castle, the Northampton and HMS Menai reached Algoa Bay at the end of April.¹⁶⁵ The disembarking of the second wave of emigrants began on May 1 under the supervision of Captain Moresby. These later settlers were not transported to their locations as promptly as the Chapman passengers, but had to wait in some cases for weeks before waggons were available, while new arrivals continued to swell the temporary community at "Canvas Town".¹⁶⁶

The Acting Governor, Sir Rufane Donkin, planned to visit the frontier in May to encourage the new settlers and oversee their location in person. He was preceded by the Deputy Colonial Secretary, Henry Ellis, who had reached Algoa Bay from Cape Town aboard HMS Menai.¹⁶⁷ Ellis lost no time in issuing a circular letter to the heads of parties, notifying them of the practical arrangements made on their behalf. Free government supplies would cease from the time they landed, but rations, tents, agricultural implements and seed were available to them from the commissariat stores at prime cost, and could be debited, with the expense of waggon-hire, against the remaining deposit money. The circular added a patriotic exhortation to the emigrants in general to uphold the Englishman's reputation for "public and private virtue", and to display "genuine British industry, good order, and perseverance". In the view of Government, the success of the settlement depended on the members of parties combining their exertions to work together, and having chosen to place themselves under the direction of one individual, they were committed to obeying him. The authorities would deal directly with the heads of parties only, so that the settlers' reliance upon their leaders would not be a matter of choice but one of compulsion.¹⁶⁸

Ellis's earlier misgivings about the emigration scheme had arisen from his fear that indigent labourers would be placed on small-holdings where

165. Cape Town Gazette, 22.4.1820 - 27.5.1820, shipping reports.

166. Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.47. See also Thomas Pringle's well-known description of the settler camp after he arrived on the Brilliant in May, Thomas Pringle, Narrative of a Residence in South Africa, pp.12-13.

167. Donkin, Letter Book, p.3, Donkin to Torrens, 30.3.1820.

168. CA CO 4843 no.308, Ellis to heads of parties, 1.5.1820.

they would be unable to support their families. He had been reassured by the belief that only men of capital and the labourers employed by them would be accepted as emigrants, but the unexpected introduction of joint-stock parties with independent settlers under a nominal head had created a new set of problems and complications for the Cape officials.

As director of his party John Bailie had been responsible for making up the full amount of the deposit money when the Colonial Department called for its payment early in November 1819. Of the total £1240 paid, more than a third - £355 - had come out of his own pocket. In addition to £15 for his own family he had paid deposits for six servants, of whom one had not left England, one had joined the crew of the Chapman, and one had entered the employ of Frederick Korsten (who refunded the amount of his debt). Seventeen men for whom deposit money had been paid dropped out of the party too late to be replaced before the Chapman sailed. Eight families who emigrated with the party had been unable to raise the money required for their deposits and still stood in Bailie's debt.¹⁶⁹

After the first instalment of deposit money had been refunded at Algoa Bay two-thirds of the total amount still remained as a credit in Bailie's name. Against this, however, would be set the high cost (£7 per ton)¹⁷⁰ of transporting the party to its location, as well as that of any rations or implements supplied to its members. The settlers would continue to need rations until they could support themselves with their own produce; it was evident that their deposit money alone would not come close to covering their expenses during the intervening months.

With the disruption of his party, the indemnity guaranteed to Bailie under the Articles of Agreement would no longer be enforceable, and his already heavy financial burden was likely to be increased by further liabilities. Those people who had left or were planning to leave the party and had paid their own deposits looked to him for repayment. As head of the party he alone was entitled to draw rations for its members. Henry Ellis arrived at the location of Bailie's party on May 9, and according to one of its members

169. CA CO 136 no.54, Bailie to Ellis, 28.5.1820.

170. Bishop Burnett, A Reply to the Report of the Commissioners of Enquiry, p.72.

.....found the party in great confusion, Mr. Bailie having taken himself to what he then styled his private farm the Hope to prevent others locating near him, refusing rations to those who had not paid him any deposit money, many were near starving depending on their neighbours for a part of their scanty subsistence or getting those who had paid deposit to become guarantee for them.¹⁷¹

Ellis instructed the members of the party to hold a meeting with Bailie and attempt to resolve their differences. They were issued with a circular letter that emphasised the head of party's paramount authority over them, and also his concomitant obligations.

Much disunion and discontent appearing to exist among you, you are hereby informed that no permission will be given to any individual whatsoever to separate from the party, until satisfactory proof can be adduced that such separation does not interfere with the general design of His Majesty's Government in providing a gratuitous passage. You are further informed that as the deposits stand to the credit of Mr. J. Bailie, the same will be paid into his hands for distribution to the respective owners. The grant of land will also be made out in his name for subdivision, according to mutual agreement. No credit for rations or agricultural implements will be given by Government except to the individual in whose name the deposit has been, or may be, credited; at the same time the issue of rations received from the Commissary is not optional, but peremptory with the person, who may draw them, in the name of the party, the sole reason for his obtaining the same, being the wants of the individuals on the location.¹⁷²

After this firm beginning, Ellis's recognition of the weakness of the government's position in enforcing joint-stock agreements becomes apparent. With more optimism than conviction he appealed to the settlers' moral and patriotic feelings.

Heads of parties independently constituted, can only obtain confidence by zealous attention to the wants of the persons under their direction and the latter are bound to repay exertion by cordiality and friendly deference.

You are also further to recollect, that the display of such unsocial feeling is highly discreditable to your national character as Englishmen, and must necessarily lower you, from

171. CA CO 8541, Adams to Hayward, 12.10.1824. For a similar situation in Sephton's party, see A.E. Makin, The 1820 Settlers of Salem, p.30.

172. CA CO 4843 no.315, Ellis to persons who came out from England under the charge of Mr John Bailie, 14.5.1820.

whom superior conduct and knowledge might have been expected, in the estimation of the resident colonists.¹⁷³

Ellis's circular letter had the immediate effect of throwing the party into worse confusion. In face-to-face discussions with its members he had already advocated subdivision into smaller parties, and they interpreted this new communication as a contradiction of his former advice.

Bailie wrote to Ellis that the party had held two meetings and wished to subdivide, but was much disturbed at the apparent prohibition against its doing so.¹⁷⁴ His formal letter was accompanied by a private one, which affronted Ellis even more than the accusation that he had contradicted himself; he complained that it was "couched in language very unbecoming our relative situations". He did not deign to reply, but made a damning report on Bailie's conduct to the Acting Governor.¹⁷⁵ He obtained a formal affidavit from T.P. Adams, George Anderson and Thomas Hewson, declaring that the party had agreed to subdivide while still on board the Chapman, with Bailie's consent.¹⁷⁶ Bailie had made subsequent attempts to enforce the Articles of Agreement, but in Ellis's opinion, these had been only for the purpose of furthering his own ends or gratifying his personal enmities. The party was now completely disorganised, and its members had given up any attempt to establish themselves; there was so much ill-feeling among them that Ellis feared an outbreak of violence. He strongly recommended that the party be allowed to subdivide into groups of not less than ten men, under directors of their own choosing.

In the third week of May the Acting Governor himself arrived in Albany, and acceded to the request of Messrs. T.P. Adams, J.E. Ford, William Harrison and Thomas Wakeford to form separate small parties. Harrison was replaced almost immediately by George Anderson. Wakeford, at thirty-five, was the youngest of the new party heads and the only one with a considerable amount of capital; Ford and Anderson, both over fifty, were

173. Ibid.

174. CA CO 121 no.34, enclosure 4, Bailie to Ellis, 15.5.1820.

175. CA CO 121 no.34, Ellis to Donkin, 20.5.1820.

176. CA 1/AY 8/69, Affidavit of Adams, Anderson and Hewson, 18.5.1820.

the oldest men still with the party.¹⁷⁷ These sub-directors were to be credited with the remaining two-thirds of the deposit money for the members of their subdivisions, and would eventually be granted titles to proportionate shares of the party's location. It was specifically stated, however, that the 50-acre clause in the party's Articles of Agreement would still be enforced, and Bailie would receive fifty acres of land for every man who had subscribed to it and who remained for three years on the location.¹⁷⁸

Bailie himself was severely reprimanded for his "contempuous language and acts of arbitrary power", and threatened with removal from the colony if they were continued. He was to remain the nominal head of a small party of fourteen men: his brother-in-law Captain Henry Crause, J.C. Chase, Robert Bovey, Dr Edward Roberts, Simon Biddulph and his two sons, and seven indentured labourers.¹⁷⁹ This small party did not take long to break up, although it appears to have done so without acrimony. The Biddulph family was located separately on a grant of land adjoining Bailie's "private farm" The Hope; Captain Crause was promised a grant of his own by the Acting Governor in June, as was J.C. Chase in the following year; Dr Edward Roberts moved to Cape Town almost at once where he married Simon Biddulph's daughter Louisa; and Robert Bovey attempted to establish a fishery near the mouth of the Great Fish River.

The different factions that made up the rest of the original party continued to fluctuate, and at the end of May it was still impossible to compile final lists of the subdivisions. It is doubtful, in fact, whether this was ever done. In 1824 lists of the subdivisions were drawn up by T.P. Adams for the information of the Special Commissioner appointed for settler affairs, but they contain obvious inaccuracies.¹⁸⁰ The

177. The average age of the adult males in Bailie's party was 29, with the actual ages of approximately 50% of them falling into the 25 to 35 age group. Less than 10% were over 40.

178. CA CO 4843 no.318, Ellis to Bailie, 19.5.1820, and no.320, Ellis to Adams etc., 19.5.1820.

179. CA CO 136 no.54, Bailie to Ellis, 28.5.1820.

180. CA CO 8541. See Appendix D below.

memorials requesting permission to subdivide and listing the original members of the different subdivisions have not been traced; they were presumably the basis on which the Commissariat Department reassigned the remainder of the party's deposit money in the proportions: Ford £275, Adams £190, Anderson £137.10.0, Wakeford £105, and the balance of £532.10.0 to Bailie.¹⁸¹

With their major differences temporarily resolved, the emigrants could turn their attention to building more weatherproof shelters than their tents. The Acting Governor had removed all restrictions on the cutting of wood or thatch for a twelve-month period,¹⁸² but T.P. Adams complained that with the dissolution of their mutual-help agreement, those settlers who were unaccustomed to manual labour had to struggle to build their own houses. His own subdivision was singularly ill-equipped for such work, containing not a single exponent of "the country trades".¹⁸³ Bailie himself and the wealthier members of the party were better situated.

Our first care was to get up our huts, and such as had brought out servants with them, or possessed the means of hiring labourers, built houses - that is, wattle and dab ones...We had no cattle to trouble us for a few weeks, so that our undivided attention was given to building. We had no black labour to assist us; although some Hottentots were to be seen, we never dreamt of asking any of them to hire as servants. If we wanted planks, we bought of them, and we used to hire their wagons...¹⁸⁴

Cuyler Town, with its name altered to Cuylerville, started to take shape as a rudimentary village, and its inhabitants chose small-holdings for cultivation and grazing within the limits of the location.¹⁸⁵ At the end of June T.P. Adams' subdivision was sufficiently cohesive for most of its members to join in expressing their satisfaction and thanks in an

181. CA CO 253 no.35/3, J. Bailie's account with the Commissariat Dept.

182. (Bird), State of the Cape, p.197, Ellis to settlers, 14.5.1820.

183. CA CO 8541, Adams to Hayward, 12.10.1824.

184. D'Urban Observer, 31.10.1851. See fn.164 above.

185. CA CO 8541, Adams to Hayward, 12.10.1824.

address to the Acting Governor.¹⁸⁶ Two other of Adams' people, Richard King and William Wade, had already applied to return to England at their own expense.¹⁸⁷ Members of other subdivisions of Bailie's party were requesting permission to leave the settlement and seek work in Cape Town; some took themselves off without approval from the authorities.

Permitting Bailie's party to subdivide at its members' request was a complete departure from government policy towards the settlers as laid down by Earl Bathurst and relayed through Ellis's circulars. In July of the previous year Earl Bathurst had instructed Somerset to have direct dealings with the heads of parties only. If subordinate settlers laid complaints against their directors they would have to be heard, but any official interference in such cases should aim at ensuring that both parties fulfilled the terms of their engagement: subordinate settlers should be encouraged to defer to their directors, and directors to treat their settlers with the consideration called for by their "dependent state".¹⁸⁸ This policy was straightforward enough when applied to agreements between indentured servants and their masters which could be enforced by law, but the "dependent state" of members of joint-stock parties was an artificial one. For the majority of them the head of the party was in the position of their appointed agent, not their employer. Unlike the subordinate settlers in proprietary parties they gained no corresponding benefits of protection and patronage from their leader's squirearchical position. Deference was not a characteristic of the middle-rank Londoner, and although Bailie's authority had been comparatively easily tolerated while the party was in the process of forming, it was resented as soon as it was more heavily imposed.

If "disunion and discontent" had been confined to Bailie's people alone the Acting Governor might have hoped to reconcile them, but by the time he reached Albany it was distressingly apparent that most of the joint-

186. CA CO 136 no.64, Address signed by Adams, Griffin, Blair, Walker, Seymour, Hoole, Harrison, Hart, Forbes, Stokes, Harden and Fulgon, 30.6.1820.

187. CA CO 2629, Memorials of Richard King, 24.6.1820, and William Wade, 30.6.1820.

188. RCC XII, 261-262, Bathurst to Somerset, 20.7.1819.

stock parties were headed for trouble. The small party that had sailed on the Nautilus under the direction of John Bailie's brother-in-law Lieutenant Charles Crause was clamouring to subdivide;¹⁸⁹ the large London party led by Thomas Willson had arrived at Algoa Bay on La Belle Alliance in a state of near-mutiny.¹⁹⁰ The subdivision of Bailie's virtually leaderless party was an emergency concession made by the authorities in an attempt to restore order and to keep its members on their location, but measures were needed with wider-reaching effects for the settlement as a whole. Two such measures were almost immediately forthcoming. Before the end of May the Acting Governor had appointed a provisional magistrate for Albany to preserve the peace and settle disputes among the emigrants,¹⁹¹ and had imposed severe restrictions on their freedom of movement in order to retain them on their locations.¹⁹²

189. CA 1/AY 8/69, Ellis to Crause's party, 14.5.1820.

190. CA CO 2626, Willson to Bird, 2.7.1820. See also Ayliff, "Harry Hastings", pp.42-45.

191. (Bird), State of the Cape, pp.198-200, Ellis to Trappes, 23.5.1820.

192. CA CO 4843 no.331, Ellis to settlers, 24.5.1820.

CHAPTER THREE

THE GRAND INNOVATION. SIR RUFANE DONKIN
AND THE ALBANY SETTLEMENT, 1820-1821

The arrival of the British emigrants had fired the interest and the imagination of the Acting Governor. Sir Rufane Donkin had taken over a smooth-running administrative machine at the Cape, and was expected to follow Somerset's established policies during his temporary tenure of office. The emigrants, however, "being themselves a grand innovation", could be managed entirely in accordance with Donkin's own views.¹ Earl Bathurst's instructions about their reception constituted "a great and general outline" only;² Donkin interpreted the intention of the emigration scheme as the permanent settlement of unoccupied land, particularly in the Suurveld, and recognised that Government was not prepared to foot any further bills for the settlers once they were disembarked, but within that framework he was free to make whatever arrangements he thought best. He was optimistic about the future of the settlement, although he recognised it as a social experiment that would at first entail a great deal of individual suffering.

Some who came out as Chiefs, must be content to become Servants, great and disagreeable changes must take place in regard to many of the particles now floating in the heaving mass of Colonists, while it is working and arranging itself into social strata... These Settlers will require a pretty constant, tho' not a rude pressure of the hand of authority to keep them together.³

On Donkin's instructions the emigrants were located as they arrived in Albany in a roughly triangular area with its apex at Grahamstown and its base extending along the line of the coast from the Great Fish River mouth to the Kariega River mouth. In the approximate centre of this area, on a site selected by Colonel Cuyler and Deputy Colonial Secretary Ellis, Donkin founded a town which he named Bathurst, to provide a market and

1. Donkin, Letter Book, p.30, Donkin to Torrens, 14.10.1820.

2. Ibid, p.3, Donkin to Torrens, 30.3.1820.

3. Ibid, p.30, Donkin to Torrens, 14.10.1820.

ration-depot for the settlers as well as a seat for the administration of justice.⁴ He took the opportunity offered by his temporary governorship to compliment not only the Secretary of State but also the influential family connections of his late wife, and attempted at the same time to secure their patronage for the settlement.⁵ He named the Mansfield River after his wife's uncle⁶ and he was granted erven in the new town to Earl Bathurst and Earl Mansfield, as well as to the Colonial Secretary, Colonel Bird,⁷ and his deputy Henry Ellis. Captain Charles Trappes⁸ of the 72nd Regiment, a relative and protégé of Colonel Bird, was appointed to act as provisional magistrate, to preserve the peace and to resolve the frequent altercations "likely to arise between individuals placed in such novel circumstances of social relation".⁹

The new magistrate had two immediate problems to contend with: the retention of the emigrants upon the lands assigned to them, and the settlement of disputes between party leaders and their people. In the proprietary parties, constituted on the basis of personal service to the director for a certain time, formal agreements could be enforced under the colony's apprenticeship laws. In the last resort a tyrannical party head could be dismissed from the colony, or his recalcitrant servants imprisoned, although Captain Trappes was instructed to use his authority with discretion. Donkin desired "the exhibition of the power of controul and punishment, rather than the actual exercise".¹⁰

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4. Ibid, pp.8-9, Donkin to Bathurst, 22.5.1820.
 5. Ibid, p.33, Donkin to Trappes, 20.10.1820, and p.39, Donkin to Bathurst, 4.12.1820.
 6. David William, 3rd Earl of Mansfield and 8th Viscount Stormont, married Frederica Markham, sister of Donkin's father-in-law George Markham, Dean of York.
 7. Colonel Christopher Chapman Bird (1769-1861) was Assistant Quartermaster-General at the Cape during the First British Occupation. He became Deputy Colonial Secretary in 1807 and Colonial Secretary 1818-1824.
 8. Captain Charles Trappes, 72nd Regiment, was second-in-charge to Colonel Willshire at Grahamstown when he was appointed Provisional Magistrate at Bathurst on 23.5.1820. He was subsequently appointed Landdrost of Tulbagh.
 9. (Bird), State of the Cape, p.198, Ellis to Trappes, 23.5.1820.
 10. Ibid, p.199.

The agreements entered into by the joint-stock parties were not enforceable by the ordinary process of law. The only means for keeping such groups together were the colonial pass laws originally designed to control vagrancy. Earl Bathurst had recommended that some of the artificers and mechanics among the emigrants should be allowed to seek employment in the older towns of the colony, but Donkin instructed Trappes that if any emigrant wished to separate from his party, specific permission must be obtained from the Colonial Office in Cape Town. Exceptions to this rule could be made only in the case of artificers required for public works.

On May 24, 1820 a circular was distributed to the Albany settlers to inform them that any departure from their locations, however temporary, would have to be officially approved. To visit Grahamstown a settler would require written authority from his party head, as well as a town pass issued by the deputy landdrost on his arrival. The landdrost of Uitenhage, the deputy landdrost of Grahamstown, and the provisional magistrate at Bathurst could authorise settlers to remain in the areas under their jurisdiction for a period of not more than a month.¹¹ In addition, a proclamation by the Acting Governor was gazetted on May 27, stipulating that settlers who had emigrated under articles of agreement and wished to separate permanently from their parties to practise their trades in different parts of the colony must apply through their party heads to the local magistrate. The settler would have to renounce any claim to land before he could obtain a district pass, which would be valid for three months only and subject to the Acting Governor's approval. If one-fifth or more of its members separated from a party, Government would be entitled to resume a proportionate amount of the land granted to its director - an obvious incentive to him to keep his party together. The proclamation made provision, however, for heads of parties to hire out their indentured labourers, or to allow tradesmen to employ their skills temporarily away from their own locations, if this did not contravene their articles of agreement. An emigrant found wandering about the colony without an official pass would be liable to arrest and imprisonment under the vagrancy laws.¹²

11. CA CO 4843, p.331, Ellis to heads of parties, 24.5.1820.

12. Cape Town Gazette, 27.5.1820.

Within six months of Captain Trappes' appointment all the joint-stock parties were showing signs of disintegration or revolt. Willson's party "having turbulently expressed a desire to separate" (and by his own account, threatened to put a bullet through his head) were deserted by their leader on arrival at the location. His place was taken by the Reverend William Boardman.¹³ Early in June Captain Trappes reported that Stanley and Erith's parties were in a state of anarchy.¹⁴ Hayhurst's party was permitted to subdivide;¹⁵ Draper, who had succeeded the deceased Dr Calton as head of the Nottingham party, was replaced by Pike.¹⁶ The remnants of the Irish parties drifted to Albany from Clanwilliam, where they had been located separately in accordance with Earl Bathurst's instructions.¹⁷ Even the Salem party, staunch Methodists remarkable for the order with which they conducted both their spiritual and temporal affairs, applied in September for Sephton, their elected representative, to be removed from his position and four others appointed in his place.¹⁸ Donkin reported to Earl Bathurst in July that the disruption of the parties could be blamed in almost every case on

...the dishonesty and bad faith of the persons at the head of them, who have endeavoured in many instances, to impose on and oppress those who have confided themselves to their guidance.¹⁹

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13. CA CO 2626, Willson to Bird, 2.7.1820. Willson's party, recruited in London, originally comprised 102 families.
 14. CA CO 2629, Trappes to Bird, 13.6.1820. Stanley's party consisted originally of 11 families from Lancashire; Erith's, of 10 families from Surrey.
 15. CA CO 2629, Trappes to Bird, 13.6.1820. Hayhurst's party comprised 32 families from Lancashire.
 16. E. Morse Jones, Roll of the British Settlers in South Africa, p.8. The Nottingham party consisted originally of 60 men and their families (see Clive M. Burton, Settlers to the Cape of Good Hope: Organisation of the Nottinghamshire Party, p.19). The party was a late addition and does not appear in the list of 6.11.1819 sent to the Cape by the Colonial Department (RCC XII, pp.363-364).
 17. See G.D. Dickason, Irish Settlers to the Cape, for the break-up of the Clanwilliam parties.
 18. RCC XIV, 190, letter of John Bailie (taken from an unidentified newspaper), and CA CO 2629, Memorial of James Hancock, 30.9.1820. The Salem party, like Bailie's, consisted originally of 101 families.
 19. PRO CO 48/49, Donkin to Bathurst, 20.7.1820 (and minute on).

John Bailie was one of the three heads of parties whom he singled out for particular censure.

The proprietary parties were equally unsettled. Indentured servants who had found on their arrival that labour was much in demand and wages high were reluctant to work out their time on the conditions they had accepted in England. Within a few days of reaching their location all Thomas Philipps' men

...mutinied and struck, alledging that I ought to pay them wages from the day they were hired. Some went to work, others marched off, but in a few days were sent back, having been put in prison at Graham's Town, the enormous wages given in the Country tempted them as well as every other of the parties.²⁰

Heavy fines were imposed as a deterrent to illicit employers of settler labour.

Disputes between party leaders and their people were exacerbated by the system of government rationing. At the outset, the distribution of rations was necessary to keep the emigrants from starvation. Once they were located, and heads of parties were anxious to set their labourers to work, the continuance of a compulsory ration issue to each man and his family became a matter for bitter resentment. It was a widely-held opinion among the upper classes that hunger was the best spur to industry, and the "natural dependence of servants upon their master"²¹ stabilised the social order and discouraged disobedience. In opposition to their own convictions and interests, party heads were compelled to draw rations for the settlers nominally under their leadership, whether or not they received labour in return. The cost of rations was charged initially against the deposit money that remained in government hands; in August the party heads' credit balance was exhausted, and at Captain Trappes' urgent request it was arranged that the Commissariat would continue to supply rations against the security of the land-grants until the first harvest was in.²² The

20. Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.54.

21. South African Commercial Advertiser, Editorial, 14.12.1825. See also RCC XI, 431, Somerset to Bathurst, 18.12.1817, and (Bird), State of the Cape, pp.214-215, Bird to Trappes, 21.12.1820, and pp.238 and 376.

22. CA CO 2629, Trappes to Johnstone, 26.8.1820, and (Bird), State of the Cape, p.202, Bird to Trappes, 8.9.1820.

continuance of a food supply for the settlement was essential, but the scheme of distribution and payment was a heavy burden on the heads of parties. They were given no option about carrying the cost of feeding the emigrants, which if they had been able to enforce labour in return might have been regarded as an investment in cultivating and improving their land. In the event, it frequently proved to be nothing more than an inescapable and reluctant act of charity. Rations to feed the labourers were supplied on credit, but wages had to be paid in cash or kind; those heads of parties who could afford to employ labour found their capital rapidly diminishing while the debts mounted.

Even at the height of Donkin's first optimism about the prospects of the settlement he had recognised that its first year would be "a year of Difficulty and Discomfort".²³ He set Trappes an impossible task in requiring him to preserve order during that time, while riding the settlers on a loose enough rein to avoid discouraging or antagonising either the members or heads of parties. Lack of labour bedevilled the settlement from the outset, and labour relations were a major cause of friction between upper-class emigrants and local authorities as well as between employers and employed. If ninety per cent or more of the male emigrants had been "subordinate labourers", in accordance with the Colonial Department's original intention, the pass laws and the apprenticeship laws between them might have kept enough labourers on the locations for wages to be stabilised at a reasonable level. As it was, much time was wasted by both masters and men in bringing complaints before the magistrates, and Captain Trappes was criticised for giving "too much facility...to the recission of engagements between the emigrants and their leaders".²⁴ Since the most articulate and vociferous section of the settler community was the employers of labour, settler records tend to give a one-sided view of the magistrate's failure to support them in disputes with their idle or recalcitrant servants. The journal of Jeremiah Goldswain, a labourer of Wait's party, is unusual in presenting the labouring man's side of the story.²⁵

23. Donkin, Letter Book, p.3, Donkin to Torrens, 30.3.1820.

24. (Bird), State of the Cape, p.376; Donkin, Letter Book, p.73, letter of Cypress Messer, 28.1.1821; Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.89.

25. Jeremiah Goldswain (1802-1871), a sawyer from Great Marlow in Buckinghamshire, left a vigorous record of forty years' experiences

The Acting Governor's own assessment of the problem of labour relations in the settlement was remarkably fair-minded:

The fact is, the leader of a party has but little power over his people. The Instruments of Agreement under which most of them have come out have been so loosely drawn that they cannot be enforced legally - but, on the other hand, many of the heads of Parties have shamefully violated their agreements, have defrauded the poor people who trusted them, and have left many of them in the greatest distress... The reciprocal complaints of heads of Parties and their followers are almost endless, and must be very difficult to disentangle, where all is sturdy assertion on one side, and obdurate denial on the other, without proof, oral or written ...

The men find they can get higher wages than they engaged in England for, and strive to leave those who brought them out... The Magistrates here have no more power to put their own construction on, or to enforce the fulfilment of an agreement not correctly or legally drawn, than a Justice of the Peace has in England - the Government here appears to have done all that could be done to prevent the separation and dissolution of parties; but, it cannot vest the Magistrates with arbitrary and undefined powers to enforce the fulfilment of agreements which the complaining party cannot substantiate.²⁶

While he accepted that the upheaval of a large-scale emigration must produce some social change, Donkin was not prepared to leave the social stratification of the settlement entirely to the forces of "moral chemistry". He attempted to influence the process by making land grants

...to persons of property, enterprize and industry, to raise a sort of aristocracy or gentry who might lead and encourage the labouring classes...and who should form the intermediate and necessary link between the Government and those who earned their daily bread.²⁷

He did not share Earl Bathurst's reluctance to single out individuals among the settlers for preference. His grants of land, whether confirmed or merely promised, and his appointment of magistrates from among the emigrants, promoted rivalries and aspirations that contributed to the formation of opposing political factions in Albany.

as a settler. His Chronicle has been edited by Una Long, retaining the phonetic spelling of the original, and published by the Van Riebeeck Society.

26. Donkin, Letter Book, p.75, Donkin to Courtenay, 24.2.1821.

27. RCC XV, 104, Explanation by Sir R. Donkin, 29.9.1822.

In September 1820 a court for matrimonial affairs and petty cases was established at Grahamstown, presided over by the Deputy Landdrost sitting with two heemraden. At the same time Captain Trappes' appointment as Provisional Magistrate at Bathurst with augmented powers was officially promulgated. Two additional heemraden for Grahamstown, Major George Pigot²⁸ and Captain Duncan Campbell,²⁹ were appointed from among the settlers, and a Special Heemraad, Thomas Philipps, for Bathurst. All three were heads of proprietary parties. No case concerning an English settler was to be heard without one of them being present. Philipps as Special Heemraad was empowered in Trappes' absence to investigate and decide upon complaints between masters and servants, and if reconciliation was impossible, to pass sentence.³⁰ The heemraden's appointments were unpaid, but carried with them both status and the hope of preferment to more lucrative office. John Bailie, who had acquired a knowledge of the Dutch language, applied successfully for the post of clerk to Captain Trappes at a salary of £60 a year³¹ - an amount not to be sneezed at, when even Thomas Philipps felt that "living in the Country, a very small salary would be a very great thing".³² On Captain Trappes' recommendation, Bailie was given the additional appointment of postmaster at Bathurst soon afterwards, but he did not hold either situation for long.³³ John Goodwin was appointed

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28. Major George Pigot (1773-1830) was a natural son of George, Lord Pigot, one-time Governor of Madras. After campaigning in the West Indies and South America he retired from active service as a Major of Dragoons in 1808, and farmed in Staffordshire and Berkshire. He emigrated at the head of a proprietary party of 20 men and their families, and was located in the Blaaukrantz Valley. He named his estate Pigot Park.
29. Captain Duncan Campbell R.M. (1782-1856) emigrated at the head of a proprietary party from Hampshire, consisting originally of 13 men and their families. Donkin considered him "one of the most respectable of the settlers by birth, rank and education". He was appointed Resident Magistrate for Albany in 1828.
30. (Bird), State of the Cape, p.203, Bird to Trappes, 15.9.1820, and p.204, Bird to Cuyler, 15.9.1820.
31. CA CO 2629, Trappes to Bird, 15.10.1820.
32. Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.82.
33. CA CO 2637, Trappes to Bird, 8.1.1821, and draft reply. George Dyason, leader of a joint-stock party of 20 families from London and a rival candidate for the Bathurst clerkship, had replaced Bailie by April 1821 (see correspondence in CA 1/AY 8/70) and was postmaster and field cornet at Bathurst in 1822 (CA CO 2645).

clerk to the Acting Deputy Landdrost at Grahamstown, Captain Henry Somerset,³⁴ with whom he had struck up a profitable friendship.

At the beginning of the summer of 1820 all the settlers' hopes of a good harvest were dashed by the discovery that the entire wheat crop was blighted by rust. Almost as soon as it became evident that the settlement would have to continue to rely on government rations to avoid starvation, new and stringent regulations were promulgated by the colonial office and interpreted by the settlers as a threat to discontinue the ration issue altogether.

The blighted harvest had affected the entire colony, and the consequent shortage of grain necessitated a drastic overall reduction in the ration issues. At the same time the Acting Governor attempted to "constrain the able-bodied to labour" by withdrawing rations entirely from any settler who was not usefully employed, on the principle that "if men will not work, they shall not be fed".³⁵ Accounts with the commissariat department were to be closed on December 31, 1820, when heads of parties would be debited with the expense of all stores, provisions and waggon hire for their people, against the deposits paid in England. From the beginning of 1821 applications to purchase stores would require the approval of the local magistrate and payment would have to be made in cash. Heads of parties were to draw rations only for the industrious; credit would be allowed for rations, but the debts incurred would eventually be converted into mortgages on their land, buildings and stock.³⁶

The circular letter notifying heads of parties of these measures was somewhat ambiguously worded, and its tenor alarming. A rumour gained ground

34. Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Somerset (1794-1862), eldest son of Lord Charles Somerset, served in the peninsular campaign and at Waterloo. He came to the Cape in 1818 as a Captain in the Cape Corps, and was posted to the frontier at the outbreak of war in 1819. He was appointed Acting Deputy Landdrost at Grahamstown towards the end of 1819, and Commandant and Resident at Simonstown in June 1821, returning to frontier service after purchasing his Majority in October 1823.

35. (Bird), State of the Cape, p.214, Bird to landdrosts, 14.12.1820, and p.215, Bird to Deputy Landdrost, Grahamstown, and Provisional Magistrate, Bathurst, 21.12.1820.

36. Ibid, pp.215-217, Bird to heads of parties, 21.12.1820.

among the settlers that ration issues were to be stopped altogether, and the commissariat officials became the target for such hostility that Donkin feared it would turn to violence. The news that the emigrants who had been located originally at Clanwilliam and Riviersonderend and subsequently moved to Albany were to receive rations at government expense was a further cause for resentment.³⁷

Donkin had been kept aware by a series of complaints, both official and unofficial, of constant and increasing friction between civil and military officials on the frontier.³⁸ Captain Trappes was continually at loggerheads with the commandant of the frontier forces, and was accused of stirring up trouble between the settlers and the commissariat officials. A month after the promulgation of Trappes' post as Provisional Magistrate, he was informed that Albany, hitherto a sub-drostdy of Uitenhage, was to be given the status of an independent district with its drostdy situated at Bathurst.³⁹ To promote "vigour, effect, and unity of action", and to put an end to official bickering, Donkin proposed to combine the civil and military administration of Albany and the eastern frontier in the hands of one man.⁴⁰ His choice for the new Landdrost of Albany, to Trappes' manifest disappointment, was the commandant of Simonstown (and founder of Grahamstown) Colonel John Graham.⁴¹

Colonel Graham was prevented from taking up his new appointment by ill-health, which forced his resignation in November 1820. He died in the following March. Even before his resignation had been announced it was evident that another appointment would have to be made. Captain Trappes

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37. Donkin, Letter Book, pp.45-46, Donkin to Trappes, 17.1.1821; pp.55-56, Donkin to A.C.G., 18.1.1821; pp.57-59, Donkin to Bird, 17.1.1821 and 20.1.1821. See also Philipps, 1820 Settler, pp.89-90.
38. CA CO 2629, Trappes to D.A.C.G., 26.8.1820, and Trappes to Bird, 7.11.1820.
39. CA 1/AY 8/2, Bird to Trappes, 15.9.1820.
40. RCC XV, 104, Explanation by Sir Rufane Donkin, 29.9.1822.
41. Philipps, 1820 Settler, pp.83-84; Donkin, Letter Book, p.29, Donkin to Torrens, 14.10.1820. Colonel John Graham (1778-1821) commanded the Cape Corps from 1806. For the founding of Grahams-town as a military headquarters and village in 1812, see Cory, Rise of South Africa, I, 247-250.

had been passed over once, but it was rumoured in Albany that he was likely to become Landdrost after all, through Colonel Bird's influence. Donkin, in fact, was only too acutely aware of the "marked hostility and ill feeling" existing between Trappes and many of the settlers as well as the frontier officials, and was eager to effect his removal from Albany as soon as possible.⁴²

The upper-class settlers came from a section of society in Britain that maintained its position through privilege and patronage. Place-seeking went hand in hand with political allegiance. Several of the settler leaders had tried prior to emigrating to obtain official posts in the colony, and although they had not succeeded, Donkin's appointment of unpaid magistrates from among them had revived their hopes. Two of Major Pigot's brothers tried to obtain the Landdrostship of Albany for him by an approach to Earl Bathurst,⁴³ and Thomas Philipps wrote to his sister in England, only partly in jest,

Use all your influence to get the 72nd Regt. removed, when perhaps Capt. Trappes will be obliged to leave also, and the fine Government House he is now building at Bathurst for me to finish and inhabit. My acquaintance here are fully satisfied I shall succeed [to Captain Trappes' position], but I dread the arrival of Lord Charles Somerset, he is so fond of the army that he will put another military man in...⁴⁴

By the beginning of 1821 two distinct political cliques had formed in Albany: the supporters of the Acting Governor and Colonel Bird, together with his protégé Captain Trappes; and in opposition to them, those who pinned their hopes of preferment on the return of Lord Charles Somerset. Lord Charles's eldest son, Captain Henry Somerset, the Acting Deputy Landdrost at Grahamstown, was the natural focus for the supporters of the Somerset party. There was little love lost between the frontier officers and Captain Trappes, and Captain Somerset harboured a strong resentment towards both Donkin and Colonel Bird.

42. Donkin, Letter Book, pp.58 and 91, Donkin to Bird, 20.1.1821 and 19.4.1821; Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.91.

43. RCC XIII, 443, Capt. Hugh Pigot to Bathurst, 17.3.1821.

44. Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.72.

The Henry Somersets and the Philipps family became particular friends, and Thomas Philipps prided himself on exercising considerable influence over the younger man.

I was constantly at the Somersets,...he...would always submit to me and was constantly sending for me.⁴⁵

At the same time, Somerset contributed a great deal to Philipps' knowledge of "the arcana of the politics of the Colony".⁴⁶

The aura surrounding the Somerset name, and the attention paid him by the Cape Corps officers he met in Grahamstown, seem to have gone to Thomas Philipps's head. Encouraged by the promise of Henry Somerset's support, and with less than his usual political caution, Philipps challenged Captain Trappes in a bid for the Landdrostship of Albany, and by doing so put an end to any further hope of holding office under Donkin.

Donkin had been informed of dissatisfaction among the settlers following the distribution of the ration circular. He put much of the blame for it on Trappes, whose conduct had been the subject of correspondence between Thomas Philipps and the far from discreet Henry Ellis.⁴⁷ Donkin wrote to Trappes to reprimand him for permitting hostility and resentment to develop towards the commissariat officials; in private letters to Colonel Bird he expressed his fear of a possible outbreak of violence.⁴⁸

In the middle of January a meeting of leading settlers was held in the marquee occupied by John Bailie as magistrate's clerk at Bathurst, to consider

the propriety of forming a society for the encouragement of culture in all its branches, by communicating observations and experiments to one another, and by making us known to each other, to give us what we all feel the want of so much, a little society.⁴⁹

45. Ibid, p.88.

46. Ibid, p.90.

47. Ibid, p.92.

48. Donkin, Letter Book, pp.45-56, Donkin to Trappes, 17.1.1821; pp.57-59, Donkin to Bird, 17.1.1821 and 20.1.1821.

49. CA CO 2637 no.10, Bailie to Trappes, 24.1.1821. All correspondence relating to the Cultural Society meeting is enclosed with a letter

The business of the meeting did not stop at agriculture. After agreeing to meet again in two weeks' time to name the society and frame its regulations, fourteen of those present "adjourned to the canteen to take a chop". The Reverend Mr Boardman,⁵⁰ who had taken the chair originally, was replaced by John Bailie. After a good deal of wine had been drunk, Arthur Barker⁵¹ and Thomas Philipps produced for signature a petition to the Acting Governor, praying that "a man of character, penetration and general knowledge;...a Civilian who by birth, Education and abilities is qualified to fill that important Situation", should be appointed as chief magistrate of Albany. Trappes was not mentioned by name, but it was clear that he and his rumoured promotion were under attack.

At a distance from our native land we looked for consolation and partiality for ourselves and families from those who might govern us. In your Exy. we are not deceived... We feel ourselves called upon for the general good of the Colony, to make this humble appeal to your Exy., and cannot forbear to remark that the many instances of illjudged decisions has caused the greatest trouble and disappointment to the interests of the Settlers generally.⁵²

Though "the present irritated state of the Settlers" had made it inadvisable to call a public meeting, the petitioners were confident that they represented the voice of the majority of the settlers: a debatable point, as the "illjudged decisions" of which they complained had in most cases favoured the labouring men against their masters, and the "partiality" they hoped for was presumably expected to operate to the advantage of the upper classes only. "In the heated state of weak heads" eight signatures were obtained.

from Trappes to Bird, 30.1.1821, under the same reference. "Culture" in this context refers to agriculture, its usual contemporary meaning, not to intellectual improvement.

50. Rev. William Boardman (1776-1825), a member of Willson's party, took over its leadership after location in Albany. He was appointed master of the Bathurst Grammar School in 1825, but died soon afterwards.
51. Arthur Barker and Christopher Thornhill both directed divisions of the Middlesex party formed by William Wait and consisting originally of 56 families.
52. CA CO 2637 no.10, unsigned copy of a memorial to Donkin, n.d. [15.1.1821].

Trappes took this as an outright declaration of war. Philipps and Bailie were both called upon for an account of the meeting, and produced contradictory statements, Philipps denying any connection with the petition while Bailie averred that Philipps had not only written it but had overruled the objections to its circulation. Trappes accepted Bailie's version, and reported the whole matter to Donkin with the unlikely assurance that "the best feelings appear to exist among the settlers". However, in another letter of the same date (January 30) he admitted that on his recent visits to the locations it had been evident that "some designing person had been endeavouring to lead the minds of many of the settlers into error".⁵³

The activities of the Cultural Society were to continue for a little while longer. On February 19 Captain Trappes reported to Colonel Bird that political discussions were again being held "under the mask of a Cultural Society", this time in Grahamstown, by "a set of people who endeavour to disseminate principles tending to raise discontent among the lower orders". John Goodwin, Captain Somerset's clerk, had been actively engaged in circulating letters for the Society, and in making arrangements on its behalf for the presentation of an address and a silver cup to Captain Somerset, who had given notice of his resignation as Acting Deputy Landdrost and was preparing to leave for Cape Town to await his father's return.⁵⁴

The Acting Governor had already withdrawn Thomas Philipps' warrant as Special Heemraad.⁵⁵ He now terminated John Goodwin's services, and informed Captain Somerset through Colonel Bird that

disapproving entirely of the meetings which have lately been convened at Grahams Town under the pretext of discussing agricultural subjects, His Excellency desires you will in future discountenance such altogether.⁵⁶

53. CA 1/AY 8/70, Trappes to Donkin, 30.1.1821.

54. CA CO 2637 no.30, Trappes to Bird, 19.2.1821.

55. CA CO 4844, p.237, Bird to Philipps, 16.2.1821.

56. Abstract of Documents Relative to the Cape of Good Hope (Lord Charles Somerset's observations addressed to the Commissioners of Enquiry, Sept. 18, 1824), p.43, Annexure No. 1, Bird to Capt. H. Somerset, 7.3.1821.

Captain Trappes was required to attend before the Board of Landdrost and Heemraden in Grahamstown on April 2, at what must have been one of the last courts presided over by Captain Somerset as Acting Deputy Landdrost, and to bring with him "the written statement made by Mr. John Bailey... reflecting upon the conduct of Mr. Philipps and Mr. Barker".⁵⁷ It is unfortunate that no record of the proceedings survives. Thomas Philipps' uncharacteristic reticence about the whole Cultural Society episode in his letters to England suggests that even he was not able to make his part in it appear creditable.⁵⁸ Donkin can have been in little doubt after this about Henry Somerset's active partisanship in Albany politics. The well-publicised quarrel between the two men on the road to Rondebosch shortly before Lord Charles Somerset's return took place against a background of long-standing resentment on both sides.⁵⁹

The Acting Governor paid his second visit to the Albany settlement at the end of May 1821, while the question of Lord Charles's return to resume the government of the colony was still in some doubt.⁶⁰ On May 26 Major James Jones,⁶¹ a veteran of the Peninsula campaign who had served under Donkin for twelve years, was gazetted as commandant of the frontier and landdrost of Albany. Besides satisfying Donkin's desire to combine the civil and military commands in one man, the appointment must have brought him much-needed peace of mind by providing him with an administrator in

57. CA 1/AY 8/71, Onkruyt to Trappes, 19.3.1821.

58. See Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.91. Philipps was involved in the establishment of an Agricultural Society at Somerset in April 1826 that was manifestly political in intention (ibid, p.306). In the correspondence relating to the Cultural Society meeting at Bathurst it was never suggested that public meetings without official sanction were illegal.

59. See Anthony Kendal Millar, Plantagenet in South Africa, p.135, for an account of this incident.

60. Donkin, Letter Book, p.100, Donkin to Bird, 5.6.1821.

61. After spending twelve years as Lieutenant-Colonel in the Spanish service, Major James Jones came to the Cape under Donkin's patronage to take up an appointment as Town Major, but was made Commandant of the Frontier and Landdrost of Albany instead. He returned to Europe when the Colonial Department refused to sanction his appointment.

whom he could place his complete trust.⁶²

In spite of the calamity of the first crop failure there was still optimism about the settlement's future, and Donkin was delighted with the progress that had been made in the year since its inception. In the village of Bathurst an inn, a bakehouse and a forge were already in use, and building was going ahead on an expensive drostdy house under the foremanship of Timothy Devine of Bailie's party. Sixteen other houses, most of them temporary structures, had been built or begun, one of them belonging to Dr Daniel O'Flinn who had been appointed provisional medical officer to the settlers.⁶³ To get Bathurst off to a good start by an immediate injection of activity and spending money, Donkin had arranged for two companies of the line to be posted there.⁶⁴ He had authorised the grant of eight building lots to settlers who would develop them within a limited time and could contribute either as tradesmen or consumers to the business life of the village.⁶⁵ Simon Biddulph was granted one of these erven to build a store, but arranged instead to occupy the land granted to Henry Ellis, which was more conveniently placed adjoining the site of the drostdy house. Ellis contributed 500 rixdollars towards the Biddulphs' building costs, but the arrangement turned out in the end to be both complicated and troublesome, defeating the kind intention that had prompted it.⁶⁶

Two tradesmen of Bailie's party were granted erven at Bathurst to establish businesses. Thomas Hewson, a master gunsmith with two sons in the same trade, was anxious to move away from the unruly neighbourhood of Cuylerville, and had selected another spot for cultivation when

62. Donkin, Letter Book, p.102. Donkin to Bathurst, 5.6.1821, and p.105, Donkin to Sir H. Taylor, 7.6.1821.

63. Ibid, p.101, Donkin to Bathurst, 5.6.1821; CA CO 2637, statement made of the advance towards building at Bathurst, n.d.; CA CO 8449 no.194, Memorial of T. Devine, 4.6.1821; CA CO 2629 no.11, Memorial of D. O'Flinn, n.d.

64. Donkin, Letter Book, p.38, Donkin to Trappes, 15.11.1820.

65. Cory, Rise of South Africa, II, 62-63.

66. CA CO 249 no.264, S. Biddulph to Plasket, 7.11.1825; CA 1/AY 8/71, Ellis to Trappes, 14.7.1820.

Captain Trappes persuaded him to apply for an erf at Bathurst instead. Hewson moved his family to the new village in November 1820, but attempted to retain his claim in the party's location by letting his allotment to his neighbour, Timothy Devine, at an annual peppercorn rent of one muid of Indian corn.⁶⁷ The Andersons, a family of cabinet makers from Bloomsbury, were also prompted to move to Bathurst at Captain Trappes' suggestion. An additional incentive for them to leave Cuylerville was the death of George Anderson's eldest son Robert in January 1821. He was waylaid and murdered on his way home from a visit to Stubbs' location one night and his body hidden. His fate remained a mystery for years, until the Xhosa murderer made a dying confession to a missionary in Kaffirland.⁶⁸

With the Biddulph family's capital staked on the commercial development of Bathurst, John Burnet Biddulph made the first survey of the Kowie river in October 1820, after interesting the Uitenhage entrepreneur Frederick Korsten in its potential as a harbour for Albany.⁶⁹ In May 1821 ten settlers, including J.B. Biddulph and John Bailie, applied for official permission to form a company for the navigation of the Kowie.⁷⁰ Donkin would not agree to grant them a monopoly for the landing of goods and stores from all vessels anchoring off the Kowie mouth, but he was infected by their belief in the river's potential as a harbour, and on his return to Cape Town he ordered the construction of a government schooner of light draught to ply between Algoa Bay and the Kowie. The fifty-ton schooner, the Elizabeth, was launched in September 1821,⁷¹ and John Bailie was one of the settlers who hailed her first entry into the Kowie river in November as the signal for the opening of commerce in Albany.⁷²

67. CA CO 8541, Memorial of T.W. Hewson, 1.9.1824.

68. CA CO 249 no.54, Memorial of G. Anderson, 15.2.1825. See also Thomas Stubbs, The Reminiscences of Thomas Stubbs, ed. W.A. Maxwell and R.T. McGeogh, p.81, and Goldswain, Chronicle, I, 68.

69. CA CO 136 no.142, J.B. Biddulph to Ellis, 23.10.1820.

70. CA CO 158 no.62, Memorial of G. Pigot and others, 14.5.1821.

71. Cory, Rise of South Africa, II, 83-84.

72. RCC XIV, 189, letter of J. Bailie, 3.12.1821.

While he was in Albany, Donkin informed Earl Bathurst of the new measures he was introducing for the defence of the frontier. He had curtailed Lord Charles Somerset's ambitious plan for Fort Willshire, and reduced it to a fortified barrack only; and to provide a defensive flank for the posts on the Great Fish River he planned to establish a military village in the vacant territory between the Great Fish and the Keiskamma rivers. This would be settled by officers and men of the recently-disbanded Royal African Corps.⁷³ The scheme not only violated Somerset's 1819 treaty with the Xhosa, but it relied on dubious human material for its success: the African Corps was a penal regiment with a deservedly unsavoury reputation. Ten officers of the African Corps accepted land-grants at Fredericksburg, with seventy-eight men indentured to them for a three-year period. Six half-pay officers among the Albany settlers, including Captain Henry Crause of Bailie's party and his brothers Lieutenant Charles Crause R.M. and Lieutenant John Crause were admitted on the same terms as the regular officers.⁷⁴ In spite of Donkin's stern injunction against the inclusion of civilian settlers, J.C. Chase purchased an erf in the village from Charles Crause, and established himself along with the military settlers in June 1821. Surprisingly, this irregularity seems to have escaped official notice.⁷⁵ Shortly before the Fredericksburg scheme was put into operation, Chase had made successful application for a separate 500-acre grant of land in Albany,⁷⁶ but he did not take steps to have it measured until after Fredericksburg was abandoned a year later.

A number of Albany settlers applied in 1821 for increased land grants; it had become evident in the year since their arrival that the poverty of

73. Donkin, Letter Book, pp.101-103, Donkin to Bathurst, 5.6.1821.

74. RCC XIV, 148, Landdrost of Albany to officers of the R.A.C., 26.10.1821, and p.345, Landdrost of Albany to Colonial Secretary, 17.4.1822. See also Cory, Rise of South Africa, II, 110, and J.W.D. Moodie, Ten Years in South Africa, II, chapters v and vi. (Lieut. Charles Crause and Lieut. John Crause have been included in the Biographical Index, pp.226-266 below.)

75. CA CO 8452 no.48, Memorial of Lt. C. Crause, 7.10.1822; and RCC XIV, 345, Landdrost of Albany to Colonial Secretary, 17.4.1822, stating that the stipulation forbidding Albany settlers to join the scheme had not been infringed.

76. CA CO 8480 no.17, Memorial of J.C. Chase, 1.6.1821.

the soil and the scarcity of water made Somerset's policy of intensive agriculture impracticable. Donkin had demonstrated his willingness to make independent grants to respectable settlers; Thomas Philipps commented, probably with more spite than justice, that Donkin promised "all and every thing without an intention of performing any".⁷⁷ He acceded to John Bailie's request for the grant of 1 000 morgen of land at The Hope, independent of his party's location,

...in consideration of the heavy loss he sustained by detention of his money to answer for maintenance of a number of persons from whom he derives no advantage.⁷⁸

Bailie was encouraged to apply for an additional grant, but received no answer to his application.⁷⁹

An address was presented to Donkin by heads of parties and other leading settlers at Bathurst on June 1, to express the gratitude of the emigrants for Government's "fostering influence and protection". The thirty-eight signatories included John Bailie and five members of his original party: J.C. Chase, Dr Peter Campbell, Dr O'Flinn, Thomas Hewson and George Anderson.⁸⁰ Before Donkin left the frontier he made the welcome announcement that Government itself would bear the cost of waggon-hire for transporting the emigrants from Algoa Bay to their locations. He took the opportunity to exhort the settlers to a further exertion of industry, although he was not content to leave it to their "sense of duty and gratitude" to reduce their dependence on government rationing.⁸¹ The fear that the ration system would encourage idleness among the lower classes was a constantly recurring theme both with government officials and upper-class settlers.⁸² In an effort to withdraw the "patronage to idleness" and bring down the high cost of labour, Donkin ruled that

77. Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.105.

78. CA CO 8541, Memorial of J. Bailie, 1.6.1821.

79. Ibid, Memorial of J. Bailie, 5.6.1821.

80. RCC XIII, 495-496, Address to Sir R. Donkin, 1.6.1821.

81. (Bird), State of the Cape, pp.221-222, Circular of 22.6.1821.

82. For example, see ibid, pp.202, 214, 218, Bird to Trappes, 8.9.1820, 21.12.1820, 19.1.1821, and p.238; also Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.125.

labourers and building trade artisans would be entitled to draw rations only if they accepted work on government building projects at a fixed wage, well below the current rate. Their refusal would be taken as evidence that they could support themselves and their families unaided, and they would be struck off the rations list permanently.⁸³ Robert Godlonton recalled in later years that this attempt at "despotic authority" - or blackmail - was met with scorn.

An endeavour was made by the then Liberal-Whig Acting Governor to compel the artisans and labouring hands among the settlers to work at a fixed rate, which had been reduced to a scale, and was printed and circulated by authority. This was indignantly opposed...⁸⁴

Even after being relieved of the expense of waggon-hire, the party heads were still in debt to the Commissariat Department, and their accounts in some cases appeared to be hopelessly confused. John Bailie had attempted in October 1820 to obtain a refund of the deposit money he had paid for members of his original party who had remained in England or left the party when they reached Algoa Bay. He was informed that the state of his account did not permit any such refund, as all expenses for the entire party prior to its formal dissolution on May 19, 1820 - which at that time still included the cost of transport to the location - stood as a debit in his name. Heads of the individual subdivisions were only to be debited separately for expenses incurred after that date.⁸⁵

Bailie was left to sort out his complicated financial affairs with the members of his original party as best he could. Early in 1821 he summonsed thirty-six men for debt before the Court of Landdrost and Heemraden at Grahamstown. Subheads of the various divisions of the party were held responsible for money owed by their people who had already left the location. Most of the amounts claimed were small - five rixdollars in the case of a single man, eight rixdollars for a man with a family - but in addition Bailie obtained judgement against Dr O'Flinn, John Goodwin, Thomas Plowman, John Duffy and George King for repayment of

83. Cory, Rise of South Africa, II, 117, Proclamation of 10.6.1821.

84. Godlonton, Memorials of the British Settlers, p.106.

85. CA CO 136 no.160, Bailie to Bird, 27.11.1820, enclosing correspondence with commissariat.

the outstanding two-thirds of the deposit money he had paid out on their behalf in England.⁸⁶

One of the primary duties assigned to Captain Trappes when he was appointed provisional magistrate at Bathurst was the settlement of disputes between the settlers. He could hardly have foreseen to what extent "a spirit of litigation"⁸⁷ was to prevail among them. Quarrels between the settlers of Baillie's party were not restricted to financial matters. The discomforts of living under primitive conditions and the frustrations of their first unaccustomed attempts to cultivate their allotments at Cuylerville were exacerbated by their difficulties with their neighbours. Captain Trappes' patience and sympathy appear on the evidence of his official letters to have held up surprisingly well under the barrage of settlers' complaints. The small stock of cows, goats and sheep, newly acquired and inexpertly handled, did considerable damage to unprotected gardens and cornfields. The susceptibilities of the gently-bred were offended by close contact with their less refined neighbours, who no doubt increased their persecution in proportion to the reaction it provoked. J.E. Ford's subdivision of Baillie's party was a particular source of trouble, including as it did a truculent group of Irishmen and their adherents. Captain Trappes was called on to intervene when Timothy Flanagan and his wife threatened and vilified William Hart after he had shot at their goats in his cornfield; and Flanagan and Henry Belmour combined to terrorise John Lawler and his womenfolk, and insulted Mrs Lawler and her sister with scurrilous language - "damned Whore" and "Pox'd Bitch" were regarded as particularly offensive epithets. The obstreperous Irish faction complained about Ford's failure to supply them with their full rations. The party was kept short of meat and flour while Ford demanded the payment of money he claimed they owed him, and he was accused of withholding the free issue of spirits which Donkin had ordered for the settlers as preventive medicine against bowel complaints. John Walker of T.P. Adams's subdivision was appointed to examine the ration accounts, although a complaint he had brought against Ford for damaging his corn by riding through it made him a less than impartial arbitrator. Before the rights and wrongs of the case had been

86. CA 1/AY 8/71, Onkruyt to Trappes, 13.2.1821; and CA CO 8541.
The Landdrost's records do not state what these sums represent.

87. See RCC XVI, 292, Major Jones to R.W. Horton, 21.9.1823.

sorted out, Timothy Flanagan, Timothy Devine, John Duffy, John Lawler Michael Plowman, John Rowles, Thomas Mills and the would-be arbitrator John Walker requested and received permission to form a subdivision of their own under Flanagan's leadership.⁸⁸ There was a further crisis in Ford's subdivision at about the same time, when Richard Taylor was reported to have "from unknown causes, become lunatic". The lack of any suitable place where a madman could be restrained and attended posed an additional problem for Captain Trappes, which was solved by Taylor's death a fortnight later.⁸⁹

The Bathurst magistrate's intervention was required in the Cuylerville settlers' domestic difficulties as well as their quarrels with their neighbours. William Hart's twenty-year-old daughter Eliza ran away from her family and placed herself under the protection of J.H. Heath and his wife at Upper Kaffir Drift Post, where Heath had opened a canteen to sell wines and spirits. Eliza's father declared that rather than see his daughter so degraded, he would have preferred to follow her to her grave, and he appealed to Captain Trappes to enforce her return to his parental care.⁹⁰ This domestic drama appears to have resolved itself with Eliza Hart's marriage in December 1821 to Captain George Scott,⁹¹ a proprietary party leader whose location was conveniently close to Upper Kaffir Drift. Her father and younger brother moved to her husband's location to live with her when she was widowed a few months later.⁹² J.H. Heath, who had practised as an attorney in England, was no more successful as a canteen-keeper than he had been as a farmer. He got into difficulties almost at once over his credit arrangements with the holder of the liquor

88. CA 1/AY 8/70, CA 1/AY 8/71, and CA 1/AY 13/1 (Records of the Landdrost of Albany) contain letters and depositions concerning the difficulties in Ford's party, September 1820 - February 1821.

89. CA 1/AY 8/70, Trappes to Cuyler, 13.1.1821, and J. Oldham to Trappes, 27.1.1821.

90. CA 1/AY 8/71, Hart to Trappes, 7.5.1821,

91. Captain George Scott (1784-1822) was the leader of a small proprietary party from Surrey originally consisting of 10 men and their families, who emigrated on the Nautilus.

92. Eastern Province Herald, 26.3.1908, reminiscences of Gen. Henry Hart, quoted in a speech by Maj.-Gen. Sir Reginald Clare Hart V.C.

pacht for the district, and to his indignation was arrested and lodged in jail in Grahamstown.⁹³ The magistrate's powers were invoked again when Mary Evenden, a young woman who had emigrated as a servant with the family of Captain Henry Crause, gave birth to an illegitimate baby and applied for an affiliation order against James Low. Captain Trappes had to find out from the Deputy Landdrost's office what procedure he should follow; there had been no similar case at Bathurst to give him a precedent.⁹⁴ Low managed to shed his responsibilities a year later by leaving Albany for Cape Town.⁹⁵

As early as June 1820 members of Bailie's party were applying for permission to leave their location. John Thompson, a pastrycook "not in the least acquainted with husbandry of any sort", James Somerville, a baker, and John Goodes, a painter and glazier, all members of Wakeford's subdivision, applied for colonial passes. Thompson and Goodes wanted to look for work in Cape Town and Somerville to rejoin his wife and children in England, "not finding the Colony to answer to his expectations".⁹⁶ They all appear to have left Albany before the end of 1820, with or without official permission. George Futter, a shoemaker, and Thomas Plowman, a cabinet-maker, were actually encouraged by the authorities to remove themselves to Grahamstown to follow their respective trades under the patronage of the military. Captain Henry Somerset arranged for Futter to work for the Cape Corps, and Plowman was employed by the officers of the Royal African Corps on Henry Ellis's recommendation.⁹⁷

The regulations controlling colonial passes were erratically imposed and frequently evaded. After the failure of the settlers' first harvest Donkin instructed the landdrosts that restrictions were to be relaxed for

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93. CA CO 158 no.80, Memorial of J.H. Heath, n.d. Under the Cape system the pachter purchased by tender the monopoly of the district's liquor sales, which he was then entitled to sub-let to retailers.
94. CA 1/AY 8/70, Dyason to Onkruyt, 21.5.1821.
95. CA CO 178, Memorial of J. Low, 9.9.1822.
96. CA CO 2629, Memorials of John Goodes, 20.6.1820, John Thompson, n.d., and James Quaile Somerville, 1.7.1820.
97. CA CO 8481, Memorial of George Futter, 22.5.1821; CA CO 8448 no.211, Plowman to Ellis, 29.8.1820.

those men engaged in "ornamental trades" and wishing to seek work in the towns.⁹⁸ Six months later, on his second visit to Albany, the depleted state of the settlement prompted another attempt to enforce the pass laws and to return settlers to their locations unless they were already satisfactorily established in urban centres.⁹⁹ The dispersion of the settlers of Bailie's party continued during 1821. Joseph and Edwin Oldham, Henry Belmour, Henry Tucker, John Rose and George Stokes all made their way to Cape Town. Joseph Oldham, a former naval officer of the East India Company who had introductions to several influential residents of Cape Town, was granted a colonial pass to leave Albany; his younger brother Edwin deserted his employer to accompany him.¹⁰⁰ In their application for passes Rose and Stokes gave their occupations as silversmith and bookbinder respectively, but neither practised his "ornamental trade" at the Cape. Michael Plowman moved to Grahamstown, where his nephew was already established, and so did John Saunders, a shoemaker, who complained that the town was overstocked with artisans of the same trade. Bartholomew Gunning and Robert Godlonton were appointed to the government service as police constables at Bathurst.¹⁰¹ Both Godlonton and his fellow-printer Thomas Stringfellow requested government posts on the grounds that the confiscation of their printing materials, besides "suppressing a liberal art",¹⁰² had deprived them of a livelihood. Godlonton had a particular incentive to move to Bathurst; he claimed that his wife, a straw- and chip-hat manufacturer in London, had brought "the Palm Tree, or native straw of the Colony to the greatest perfection",¹⁰³ but was situated too far from her prospective clientele to build up a useful business.

98. CA CO 4877, Bird to Trappes, 20.12.1820.

99. Donkin, Letter Book, p.98, Draft proclamation, 1.6.1821.

100. CA 1/AY 8/70, Dyason to Cuyler, 26.4.1821.

101. Among other duties, Godlonton and Gunning had to evict a fellow-settler, J.T. Erith, from his house and set fire to it. See RCC XXXII, 221.

102. CA CO 158 no.97, Memorial of T. Stringfellow, 4.6.1821.

103. CA CO 8482, Memorial of R. Godlonton, n.d.

From Wakeford's subdivision James Leader moved to a rented farm near Grahamstown in May 1821, where he was joined some months later by William Forbes. Forbes' mother, wife and four children under the age of seven had made their own way from England to join him in August 1821, selling everything they owned to pay their passage. Both Leader and Forbes, defeated by two years of high rents, the high cost of provisions and repeated crop failures, moved to Cape Town in 1823.¹⁰⁴

The blight of rust made its reappearance in the wheat in September 1821, signalling the second failure of the settlers' crops. Thomas Philipps reported the calamity in a letter to England:

Gloom and despair appear in all ranks here, but chiefly with people like myself who derive income from our land. Mechanics are doing well and getting up in the world while we are sinking fast - this year I looked to deriving £300, but all will be gone and subsistence is now precarious.¹⁰⁵

Sir Rufane Donkin made his final arrangement for the settlers' welfare in November, when he dispatched a cargo of rice to Algoa Bay for free distribution - although to the industrious only - during the next three months.¹⁰⁶ On December 1, 1821 his two-year rule of the colony came to an abrupt end with the return of Lord Charles Somerset from home leave.

Donkin's good intentions towards the settlers during his term of office are unquestionable. He was disarmingly honest in admitting his own ignorance of local conditions when he took on the government of the colony.

No account extant of this Colony conveys to the reader a just or adequate idea of what it really is. The first six months of my Government here was employed in getting rid of wrong impressions, and at the end of that period I found I knew much less of this Colony than I thought I did the first day I was in office here.¹⁰⁷

104. CA CO 201 no.169, Memorial of James Leader, 24.4.1823; CA CO 158 no.145, Memorial of Ann Forbes, 28.8.1821; CA CO 8452 no.19, Memorial of William Forbes, 20.7.1822. Leader and Forbes rented a farm from the widow Broekhuisen (see Knobel's map of Albany).

105. Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.106.

106. (Bird), State of the Cape, p.228, Bird to Major Jones, 15.11.1821.

107. RCC XIV, 42, Donkin to Goulburn, 7.7.1821.

He lacked statesmanship and detachment,¹⁰⁸ and placed as he was in a position that required him to make decisions without adequate preparation or information, it is not surprising that some of them were the wrong ones. They did not necessarily seem so at the time. Earl Bathurst gave his approval to the founding of Bathurst and Fredericksburg,¹⁰⁹ which were later hotly criticised by Somerset as "the most unwise, the most unpolitic, and the most improvident measures...that could have been devised".¹¹⁰

The frontier appeared misleadingly stable during Donkin's tenure of office, and neither he nor the settlers saw any particular threat in the close proximity of their black neighbours, and no reason to view them as enemies. The unexpected appearance of a large group of Xhosa near Mahony's and Brown's locations¹¹¹ in Albany at the beginning of 1821 created a brief panic, but it turned out that they were on a peaceable and legitimate errand, collecting red clay for cosmetic purposes with the permission of the commandant of the frontier.¹¹² Donkin interpreted the occasional pilfering of settler cattle as a bad habit, not a danger sign, and in July 1821 announced the introduction of an annual trade fair on the Keiskamma to encourage the transformation of "a thieving nation into a commercial one".¹¹³ The plan was dropped when Donkin left the colony, although subsequently resuscitated by Somerset when it became apparent that if legal trading with the Xhosa were not permitted, illegal trading would continue and be more difficult to control.

Although inadequately briefed, Donkin did his best to manage the settlers

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108. Henry Ellis considered Donkin injudicious and prone to reduce every issue to a personal level. See RCC XIV, 327, Ellis to Wilmot, n.d. (April 1822).
109. RCC XIV, 124, Bathurst to Somerset, 29.9.1821.
110. RCC XVIII, 301, Somerset's observations on the address of the British settlers, 18.9.1824.
111. Near the Red Clay Pits. See Stubbs, Reminiscences, pp.9-12, for an account of the trade in clay and its consequences for the settlers in that area.
112. CA CO 2637, Trappes to Bird, 11.1.1821.
113. RCC XV, 104, Explanation by Sir R. Donkin, 29.9.1822; and (Bird), State of the Cape, pp.225-228, Proclamation of 20.7.1821.

"in the spirit of Earl Bathurst's instructions".¹¹⁴ He attempted to lay a sound foundation for the settlement of some 4 000 emigrants¹¹⁵ for whom he had been made responsible, and whose numbers overwhelmed the administrative authorities of the frontier districts.

Sufficient credit has not been given to the local officials who were immediately concerned in establishing the settlers. The Provisional Magistrate, Captain Trappes, was bombarded with complaints; the commissariat had difficulty in procuring rations and in distributing them to fragmented parties. The government surveyors, of whom there were only two in Albany, had been given inadequate notice to measure the locations for the new arrivals.¹¹⁶ The practical help that could be given the settlers was limited by the Colonial Department's repeated emphasis on economy, and its insistence that they must be self-supporting.

There was no time for careful planning. Donkin departed from laid-down policy where it appeared expedient to do so in the light of a new situation. His land-grants to the army and navy officers among the settlers are a case in point. When the Chapman arrived in Table Bay the three Crause brothers, all half-pay officers, applied for grants of land "according to their ranks", on the same terms that had been offered to officers settling in Canada. Donkin "deeply regretted that the instructions relating to this colony did not authorize him to comply",¹¹⁷ following the Colonial Department's dictum that officers could have "no particular distinction made for them"¹¹⁸ under the 1819 emigration scheme. Two months later, however, Lieutenant Edward Biddulph of the

114. RCC XV, 88, Explanation by Sir R. Donkin, 29.9.1822.

115. The confusion of the emigrant lists makes it impossible to arrive at an exact total of the number of emigrants. (See Chapter ii above.) J.C. Chase, "the statistician of the colony", estimated the number at 3 760 (The Cape of Good Hope, p.225).

116. CA 1/AY 8/71, Ellis to Trappes, 14.7.1820, and Cuyler to Trappes, 7.10.1820.

117. CA CO 8448 no.112, Memorial of Messrs Crause, 24.3.1820, and minute on. See PRO 49/11, Goulburn to M'Lean, 28.5.1819, for Canadian grants to half-pay officers.

118. PRO CO 49/11, p.238, Goulburn to Lt. Hardy, 3.8.1819, and p.241, Goulburn to Lt. James, 3.8.1819.

Menai, with the influential backing of Henry Ellis and Captain Moresby, applied for and was promised a 500-acre grant of land near Bathurst "according to his rank in the Service".¹¹⁹ On his first visit to Albany Donkin reversed his former ruling for the Messrs Crause and gave instructions that 500-acre grants should be measured for each of them.¹²⁰

Donkin's visits to the frontier in May and June of 1820 and 1821 gave him a first-hand impression of the country and an opportunity to meet and assess the settlers themselves. He justified the granting of land to upper-class settlers, whether or not they had the men and the means to qualify as large-scale land-holders, as an attempt to secure a necessary and desirable stratification of settler society.

I was always glad to settle and establish gentlemen, particularly officers of the Army and Navy on half-pay, in the remote district of Albany, so as to generate by degrees a sort of aristocracy or intermediate class between the Government and the labourers.¹²¹

By the end of 1821, when Lord Charles Somerset returned to the colony, Donkin had approved independent grants of land for most of the "gentlemen" of Bailie's party. Captain Henry Crause had accepted a grant at Fredericksburg in lieu of the land promised him in Albany, and grants had been approved for Lieutenant George King, William Hart, and among the civilians of the party, J.C. Chase and J.E. Ford who had brought out "respectable letters of introduction".¹²² Dr O'Flinn, who had been granted an erf at Bathurst, was unsuccessful in his request for 2 000 morgen of land, but Simon Biddulph was in possession of 1 131 morgen north-west of Bailie's location.¹²³ John Bailie was the only member

119. CA CO 8448, Memorial of Lt. E. Biddulph and minute on, 26.5.1820.

120. CA CO 8480, Memorials of Capt. H. Crause, 23.7.1820, and Messrs Crause, 6.6.1821, and minutes on.

121. RCC XV, 97, Explanation by Sir R. Donkin. See also Chapter vi below.

122. CA CO 8540, Bird to Landdrost of Albany, 11.10.1821; CA CO 8448 no.234, Memorial of W. Hart, 2.10.1820; CA CO 8541, Chase to Hayward, 15.9.1824; CA CO 8449 no.165, Memorial of J.E. Ford, n.d.

123. CA CO 8450 no.5, Memorial of Dr O'Flinn, 9.7.1821; CA CO 8478, Memorial of S. Biddulph, n.d.

of the party whose grant had actually been measured for him before Somerset's return.

The fact that Sir Rufane Donkin had been at the Cape in 1819, and available to act as Governor during Somerset's absence on home leave, had seemed at the time of his appointment to be fortunate as well as fortuitous. It could not be foreseen that his brief term of office, and Somerset's reaction to it, would generate a bitter and destructive feud between the two men. Not only the protagonists were to suffer by it. Colonel Bird was mistrusted and victimised by Somerset because he was on terms of friendship with Donkin, and the favour that his old commanding officer tried to do Major Jones in appointing him Landdrost of Albany turned out to be no favour at all. At the end of 1821 Jones found himself out of a job and considerably out of pocket.¹²⁴

For the emigrants in Albany, Somerset's return heralded three years of conflict. The Governor's antagonism towards Donkin and all his works extended, it appeared, to encompass the whole "grand innovation" of the Albany settlement.

124. RCC XVI, 338, Jones to Bathurst, 16.4.1822, and p.454, Donkin to Wilmot, 7.7.1822.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE HAND OF AUTHORITY.

LORD CHARLES SOMERSET'S RETURN, 1822

Lord Charles Somerset's inability to recognise or adjust to the need for change at the Cape was part and parcel of the short-sighted conservatism that had brought Britain herself to the edge of revolution in 1819. He was a High Tory both by inheritance and conviction,¹ which his two years away from the Cape had done nothing to modify. Sir Rufane Donkin was a Whig, in itself a cause for mistrust to Somerset, who believed that Donkin and the Colonial Secretary, Colonel Bird, had conspired against him in his absence to reverse his policies and betray his family's interest. He set his face against anything or anyone Donkin had introduced or favoured.² At Somerset's prompting the Colonial Department refused to confirm Major Jones's appointment as Landdrost of Albany and Commandant of the Frontier, on the pretext that it was "not desirable to appoint any officer so recently arrived from Europe".³ A week after Somerset's return he appointed Harry Rivers, the wharfmaster of Simonstown and a close friend of Captain Henry Somerset,⁴ as Landdrost, and Lieutenant Colonel Scott⁵ of the 6th Regiment, although new to the frontier, as Commandant.

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1. See Michael Roberts, "Lord Charles Somerset and the Beaufort Influence", Archives Year Book for South African History 1951, II.
 2. RCC XVI, 208, Col. Bird's evidence before the Commissioners of Enquiry, 20.8.1823.
 3. RCC XIV, 99, Bathurst to Donkin, 27.8.1821.
 4. Cape Town Gazette, 8.12.1821. Harry Rivers (1785-1861) was in the employ of the East India Company before coming to the Cape in 1816 at the instigation of his brother-in-law Henry Alexander, then Colonial Secretary. Rivers was appointed wharfmaster at Simonstown in 1819, and Landdrost of Albany in 1821. He was transferred to Swellendam in 1825, and although suspended for a time from the colonial service while his conduct in Albany was under investigation, he eventually became Treasurer-General of the Cape and a member of the Executive Council.
 5. Lieutenant-Colonel H. Maurice Scott landed at Cape Town in November 1821 in command of the 6th Regiment. He resigned the command of the frontier in October 1823, and was replaced by Major Henry Somerset.

Captain Henry Somerset had been gazetted Resident and Commandant of Simonstown in mid-1821, an appointment made by Donkin with great reluctance and after considerable vacillation.⁶ In January 1822 Captain Somerset's protégé John Goodwin requested and received from the Governor an additional grant of land near Grahamstown which Donkin had twice refused him.⁷ Goodwin's appointment as Secretary in the Residency at Simonstown was announced in the same month, and he shook the dust of Albany off his feet for good.⁸ His daughter married Mrs Henry Somerset's brother, William Lovel Heathcote, in Cape Town in the following year.⁹

In February 1822, to the consternation of the settlers still in Albany, it was announced that not Bathurst but Grahamstown would be made the capital town and drostdy of the district.¹⁰ Almost all the members of Bailie's party still living at Cuylerville, as well as those who had moved to Bathurst, put their names to a petition to the Governor protesting against the injury and inconvenience that must result to them.¹¹ With the removal of the government offices, the commissariat and the troops, the growing prosperity of the village was suddenly halted.

The merchants and tradesmen at Bathurst were hard hit. The Biddulph family were among the worst sufferers, with no sale for their stocks of perishable merchandise bought on credit, and a large house nearing completion which they had hoped to let to Major Jones.¹² John Bailie made an ill-timed venture into business by taking out a liquor retailer's licence in January. There was still no love lost between him and Thomas Philipps, who commented,

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6. Donkin, Letter Book, pp.28, 34, 93, Donkin to Somerset, 13.10.1820, 20.10.1820, 1.5.1821, and p.100, Donkin to Bird, 5.6.1821.
 7. CA CO 8449 no.150, Memorial of J. Goodwin, 24.5.1821; CA CO 8451 no.9, Memorial of J. Goodwin, 8.1.1822.
 8. Cape Town Gazette, 26.1.1822.
 9. Ibid, 5.7.1823.
 10. Cory, Rise of South Africa, II, 133, Proclamation of 8.2.1822.
 11. RCC XIV, 282-283, Petition of Settlers in Albany, n.d.
 12. CA CO 249 no.264, S. Biddulph to Somerset, 7.11.1825.

The celebrated Mr. Bailey who took out such a large party in the Chapman now keeps a common public House selling drums of brandy, but he is a bad character public and private.¹³

With the removal of the troops the sale of liquor at Bathurst dropped almost to nothing.¹⁴

The members of Bailie's party who had government posts at Bathurst found their future uncertain or their employment terminated. Bartholomew Gunning had been promoted from constable to wood ranger under Major Jones, but his post was abolished when the drostdy was removed. He built a cottage on the erf allotted him by government, and continued to live there, acting as general factotum to the village - postmaster, messenger and sexton.¹⁵ Robert Godlonton was more successful in transferring his services and his loyalties to the new Landdrost, as messenger in the government offices in Grahamstown.¹⁶ Dr Daniel O'Flinn gave up his appointment as District Surgeon in March, sold his house and left for the Western Districts to seek his fortune - with considerable success, as it turned out.¹⁷

The unsympathetic treatment they received from the new Landdrost, Harry Rivers, did nothing to alleviate the difficulties of the settlers who remained at Bathurst. George Anderson had been permitted to employ two soldiers to help build his house, and had supplied them with a regular ration of brandy. When he gave, or sold, liquor to a soldier's wife "in the hour of nature's sorrow" he was reported for illicit liquor-

13. Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.113.

14. CA CO 2645, Rivers to Bird, 9.3.1822.

15. CA CO 8451 no.136, Memorial of B. Gunning, 6.6.1822. A humorous article describing Gunning's experiences during "A Night in the Fish River Bush" was published anonymously in the South African Magazine, vol. I no.10 (October 1867), pp.626-647. J.C. Chase's attention was drawn to it by Robert Godlonton, who was probably the author. (University of the Witwatersrand Library, Godlonton papers no.1053, Chase to Godlonton, 8.11.1867.)

16. CA CO 6139. Godlonton was appointed 1st Messenger, Albany Division, 22.8.1822.

17. Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.119; South African Commercial Advertiser, 10.7.1852, advertisement for sale of property and effects of late Dr D. O'Flinn.

dealing and heavily fined. In addition, it was shown that he had mistaken the boundaries of his erf and had built his house encroaching on government land. The Landdrost declared that Anderson had been given repeated warnings that he was building out of bounds, and had him forcibly evicted.¹⁸

Another clash over boundaries occurred between the Landdrost and the Biddulphs. Rivers threatened Simon Biddulph with prosecution for trespass, for illegally enclosing government land to use as an orchard, and diverting the Drostdy Stream to irrigate his garden. John Burnet Biddulph called on Rivers to try and sort out the situation, but was met with a reception that he considered "not only haughty and imperious but extremely insulting". J.B. Biddulph appealed for the Governor's support against the Landdrost,

who instead of supporting and encouraging...does everything in his power not only to annoy and thwart, but to ruin the future prospects and peace of those individuals who by their indefatigable industry and exertions have been endeavouring to ensure to themselves a comfortable home and livelihood.¹⁹

Under the present system life in Albany was "not only disagreeable and unpleasant but most disgusting to the feelings of a British subject", and the Biddulph family requested permission to return to England. The Governor - standing firmly behind his Landdrost - granted it without comment.²⁰ The Biddulphs did not in the event leave the colony or the district, but they were antagonists of Rivers for as long as he remained in office. In fairness to Rivers it should be mentioned that the Biddulphs had clashed even more severely with his generally popular predecessor Major Jones, when Simon Biddulph refused to pay the poundmaster's fee for strayed cattle, and dared the Court of Landdrost and Heemraden to take action against him. In consequence he spent eight days in prison in Grahamstown in November 1821, much to the indignation of his children.²¹

18. CA CO 8451 no.82, Memorial of George Anderson, 15.4.1822; CA CO 249 no.54, Memorial of George Anderson, 15.2.1825.

19. CA CO 178 no.181, S. Biddulph to Somerset, 1.9.1822.

20. CA CO 4880, Bird to Biddulph, 9.9.1822.

21. RCC XVI, 209, Lt. E. Biddulph to Bathurst, 20.8.1823.

The Landdrost's influence in Albany was all-important. All requests for land or loans were referred to him for report, and the paper-work in connection with all grants went through his hands. It was left to him to make subordinate appointments in the government service for the district, and to report on, and make recommendations for, the settlers' welfare. Donkin had made two visits to Albany while Acting Governor and had taken a personal interest in the settlers. He was kept unofficially informed of their situation by the Deputy Colonial Secretary, Henry Ellis, who was a friend of Philipps and the Biddulphs. Somerset, with no first-hand knowledge of the settlement, relied entirely on Rivers' reports. He was a singularly unsympathetic source of information; the Commissioners of Enquiry subsequently said of him that he

...flattered the prejudices that his Lordship had imbibed against the Settlers, and was the principal cause of the delays with which all measures for their relief were attended.²²

Rivers was naturally indolent, but the settlers who fell foul of him considered that he made a deliberate effort to obstruct and persecute them. One of them wrote to Donkin,

[Lord Charles Somerset] was particularly fortunate in finding a man so fit for his purpose as [Rivers], who is never satisfied with the dull letter of the law, but who has the power and disposition of rendering every obnoxious measure infinitely more so by his manner of carrying it into execution.²³

Rivers exercised his authority with a high hand. According to Thomas Philipps the Special Heemraden, Captain Campbell and Major Pigot, were "received very coolly by their new Master - Captain Somerset hated them, which accounts for it".²⁴ In March Philipps reported that both Campbell and Pigot had been deprived of their heemraadships, and the Landdrost refused to consult them about anything.²⁵ They were in and out of office

22. RCC XXIV, 189, Second report of Commissioners of Enquiry on differences between Somerset and Donkin, 27.12.1825.

23. Lt.Gen. Sir Rufane Donkin, A Letter on the Government of the Cape of Good Hope, p.28, quoting a letter from an unnamed settler dated 10.12.1823.

24. Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.113.

25. Ibid, p.118.

again before the end of the year.

Thomas Philipps had Captain Somerset's friendship to recommend him, and was invited by Rivers to produce a brief history of the first two years of the settlement for the information of the newly-returned Governor as well as the new Landdrost.²⁶ Philipps used the opportunity to voice the principal grievances of the proprietary party leaders, and to criticise the admission of joint-stock parties to the emigration scheme as the cause of many of the settlement's difficulties.

He complained that instead of the head of the party being in every case "a Master, and the individuals who accompany him Servants who are to look to him for support", mechanics, labourers and paupers had been allowed to evade the conditions laid down in the government circular and to emigrate as independent settlers. This threat to social stability had been exacerbated by the continued issue of rations, which had kept wages artificially high and stopped many labourers from working at all. The locations of the joint-stock parties had been divided into hopelessly inadequate allotments; while "the Pauper continued at his 100 acres, vainly expecting he would reap without sowing", those "respectable Individuals" with some property who had emigrated as members of the large parties - Sephton's, Willson's and Bailie's - were wasting their capital in attempting to cultivate their meagre shares of the general locations.

Drought and the failure of two successive wheat-crops from rust, together with their labour problems, had reduced the heads of proprietary parties to near-ruin.

After all his exertions, at the end of two seasons, the Agriculturist remains without a single return - his Capital wasted, his Spirits depressed, and worse than all he finds himself in debt to Government for expended rations to Servants and Labourers who have scarcely done him a days service.

...A Crisis has now arrived, when it becomes absolutely necessary that a new organisation of the Inhabitants of Albany should take place. The attempt of placing Mechanics, Labourers and Paupers on Locations in order to become Farmers and independent Proprietors of 100 Acres African land has proved abortive. It is certain that without gradation in society it

26. Ibid. For the text of Philipps' "Memorandum", see pp.120-128.

never can be long maintained, and it would have been better for themselves, for the larger landed Proprietors, and for the Country at large, to have allowed them to fall at once into that scale in which they were intended to remain by habit and by profession, and to have empowered employers to hire and to support them.²⁷

Philipps urged Government to resolve the crisis by giving its support to "the larger landed proprietors" before it was too late. He suggested that they be issued with titles to their land immediately, to enable them to recoup their lost capital by raising money on mortgage. Two-thirds of their original deposit money should be returned to them and their ration debts cancelled; they would then be in a position to employ those labourers who were willing to work "at moderate wages". The remainder of the settler population should not be forced to stay on their locations but encouraged to leave and find work in towns, where they would swell the consumer market for farm produce.

Philipps was not optimistic that his suggestions would be acted upon, and in fact his "Memorandum", so far from invoking Somerset's sympathy for the upper-class settlers, probably helped to alienate it. An autocratic Governor was unlikely to welcome either presumptuous criticism or peremptory demands from a settler, and both could be interpreted as threats to authority. The "Memorandum" prompted no direct reaction from Somerset, but it found its way indirectly into the public eye: the anonymous author of The State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822 borrowed its arguments almost word for word in his chapter on "Emigrants", without acknowledgement of his debt.²⁸ It was a first attempt to focus attention on the plight of the upper-class settlers in particular; a cause that was to be taken up by the Settlers Fund Society in the following year.

Somerset's return had signalled the decline of Bathurst, but the village of Fredericksburg was doomed to disappear altogether. Its establishment in the supposedly neutral territory between the Great Fish and the Keiskamma Rivers had been a flagrant breach of Somerset's frontier policy,

27. Ibid, pp.126-127.

28. The author is known to be Wilberforce Bird, Controller of Customs at Cape Town. Philipps made no reference in his letters to Bird's use of his work, but mentioned corresponding with him in December 1823 (Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.207).

and predictably enough he refused to support it. The grants of land that had been promised to the officers of the Royal African Corps and the six half-pay officers who had joined them on the same terms failed to materialise. Government rations for the men were stopped, and the military post that had been established for the protection of the little settlement was withdrawn.²⁹ By the middle of 1822 Fredericksburg's abandoned houses had been burnt by Xhosa, and its gardens trampled by elephants.³⁰

When Fredericksburg was abandoned both Captain Henry Crause and J.C. Chase returned to Bailie's party's location, settling temporarily near the mouth of the Great Fish River while they appealed to Somerset for compensatory grants of land in Albany.³¹ Captain Crause was "indebted to a friend" - possibly Captain Henry Somerset³² - for the loan of "Bush Cottage" at the river mouth while he built a house of his own, near enough to the sea-shore for Mrs Crause and her friend Mrs Thomas Philipps to enjoy the benefits of sea-bathing.³³ J.C. Chase, with Rivers' approval but without Somerset's confirmation of the grant, moved in June to the land between the two Kleinemonden Rivers. He uprooted his family again a year later when he rented a farm in the Graaff Reinet district, but that speculation was to prove no more successful than his earlier attempts at agriculture.³⁴

The state of the party's location in 1822 is shown in the field-cornet's Opgaaf Roll for that year.³⁵ John Rowles, who had not left the location,

29. RCC XIV, 257, Memorial of Officers at Fredericksburg to Lord C. Somerset, n.d. See Moodie, Ten Years in South Africa, chapters v and vi.

30. Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.137.

31. CA CO 8451 no.114, Memorial of Capt. H. Crause, 18.5.1822; CA CO 8541, Memorial of J.C. Chase, 3.5.1824.

32. CA CO 8451 no.114, Memorial of Capt. H. Crause, 18.5.1822. Henry Somerset had a holiday house at the mouth of the river, which was used to accommodate a surveying party from HMS Pelican in 1836 (South African Library MSS. 268, Records of the Province of Queen Adelaide).

33. Philipps, 1820 Settler, pp.165, 175, 214.

34. CA CO 8541, Chase to Hayward, 15.9.1824.

35. CA 1/AY 13/8a. See Appendix E below.

was unaccountably omitted from the roll, but including him there were twenty-four of the original families still living at Cuylerville. Kemp Knott, who subsequently claimed to have come from England with Bailie's party³⁶ but who seems in fact to have joined them some time during 1821,³⁷ brought the number to twenty-five. Three families had acquired waggons and draught oxen, Flanagan and Garland each owned a horse, and they had over a hundred head of cattle among them. Apart from a few acres of barley and rye their agricultural land - about 25 acres altogether - had all been planted to wheat for the second time. For many of them the failure of this crop coincided with the expenditure of the last of their small capital. Bailie at The Hope had a herd of sixty-eight breeding cattle.

John Bailie was still employing four men at The Hope in 1822, but three of them at least - Matthew Adams, James Low and A.T. Mathew, all young and unmarried - left Albany towards the end of the year to follow their various trades, and eventually settled in Cape Town. Alexander Byrne and his family went with them.³⁸ J.C. Chase's indentured servants had left his employment when he moved to Fredericksburg; William Ball vanished from the location altogether, but Francis Whittal remained to cultivate a share of the party's land on his own account. Many of the upper-class settlers throughout Albany were without domestic servants or

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36. CA CO 8483, Memorials of Kemp Knott, n.d. (received 24.9.1828), and 6.11.1830. Kemp Knott (1790?-1857) and his wife Ann have not been traced in any of the emigrant lists. According to his death notice, his place of birth was Ramsgate, Kent. He claimed to be a miller by trade, with experience of fishing and laying oyster beds. After the death of William Harden (see Chapter v, p.150 below) Mrs Harden and her children lived with the Knotts, according to Robert Godlonton "a family of notoriously bad character". Knott was granted a share of Bailie's party's location, and was farming at Botha's Post in the 1850s. (CA MOOC 6/9/78, death notice 4461/1859; Documents Originally Published at the Cape of Good Hope, p.14; CA CO 8541; Directory, 1850.)
37. Knott's name appears on the memorial of the Albany settlers objecting to the removal of the magistracy from Bathurst at the end of 1821 (CA CO 158 no.233, n.d.). T.P. Adams did not list him among the settlers in the original subdivision of Bailie's party, but his claim to land on the location after three years' residence was generally admitted in 1824.
38. CA CO 178, Memorials of Low, Adams and Byrne, 9.9.1822; CA CO 201 no.92, Memorial of A.T. Mathew, 3.1.1823.

labourers from the difficulty of obtaining them and the expense of keeping them.³⁹ James Ford released his servant, William Gray, from his indentures when he moved to Grahamstown early in 1822. Ford was ruined as a farmer, but turned a youthful hobby into a precarious livelihood by painting portrait miniatures,⁴⁰ eventually opening a studio in Cape Town.

After the failure of the second season's crops and the end of government rationing, the restrictions that prevented settlers leaving their locations were generally relaxed.⁴¹ Labourers sought work where they could get wages; tradesmen moved to the towns. J.W. Goodes found work as a brickmaker in Grahamstown;⁴² John Walker, whose classical education fitted him for "establishing an Academy rather than following the plough", began his teaching career as private tutor to an officer's family.⁴³ Thomas Stringfellow obtained a junior post in the Landdrost's office from which he was soon promoted,⁴⁴ and William Harden worked for some months as a cabinet-maker in Grahamstown before high house-rent and the "extravagant price" of provisions sent him back to the location.⁴⁵

Grahamstown was expensive and overcrowded with work-seekers, but it had the advantage of being near enough to the locations for the joint-stock settlers to retain some sort of foothold on their land. Although forced by necessity to leave before completing three years' residence, some of them still hoped to obtain title to their locations and return to them in better times. Two settlers of Bailie's party who abandoned their claims to their locations and moved to Algoa Bay - Thomas Griffin,

39. Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.183.

40. CA CO 178 no.244, Memorial of W. Gray, n.d.; CA CO 223 no.260, Memorial of J.E. Ford, n.d.; Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.159.

41. RCC XVII, 141, Rivers to Commissioners of Enquiry, 11.3.1824.

42. CA CO 223 no.33, Memorial of J.W. Goodes, 13.4.1824.

43. CA CO 201 no.13, Memorial of J. Walker, 12.3.1823; CA CO 8450 no.36, Memorial of J. Walker, 14.8.1821.

44. CA CO 223 no.88, Memorial of T. Stringfellow, 21.9.1824.

45. Documents Originally Published at the Cape of Good Hope: Comprising "Authentic Copies of a Correspondence", etc. etc., p.47, Letter of Maria Harden to Settlers Fund Committee.

a gunsmith with a large family of young children, and T.W. Oldham - were both subsequently granted land on the outskirts of Port Elizabeth.⁴⁶

"Gentleman settlers" who still had some capital could afford to pay for a passage home to England, or to move on to a more hospitable colony. George Fulgon, who had been a planter in Antigua and emigrated in the belief that sugar-cane could be grown in Albany, applied to leave the country to try his luck elsewhere.⁴⁷ Lieutenant George King left Albany and may be presumed to have returned to England. John Bailie applied for permission to leave the colony in April, when he was offered a direct passage to Europe from Algoa Bay.⁴⁸ It was an opportunity he had to miss: as nominal head of the party he was still held responsible for all its debts to government, and the delay in preparing the commissariat accounts for settlement dragged on until 1826.⁴⁹

The rainless autumn of 1822 intensified the distress of the settlement. The authorities were forced to continue the issue of free rice, but when it was finally stopped Thomas Philipps reported that "the majority of the settlers are in downright want."⁵⁰ They could not believe that the Governor had been informed of the full seriousness of their situation by the intermediary officials, Rivers and Colonel Bird, through whom their appeals were channelled. A meeting of the "principal and most respectable settlers" was called for May 24⁵¹ by Philipps, Frederick Carlisle⁵² and Lieutenant Crause, to organise a deputation to

46. CA CO 178 no.150, Memorial of T. Griffin, 14.7.1822; CA CO 8452 No.49, Memorial of T.W. Oldham, 8.10.1822; CA CO 8458 no.119, Memorial of inhabitants of Port Elizabeth, 30.8.1825.

47. CA CO 178 no.270, Memorial of G. Fulgon, 18.12.1822.

48. CA CO 178 no.94, Bailie to Somerset, 13.5.1822.

49. CA CO 293 no.91, Bailie to Plasket, 25.3.1826.

50. Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.129.

51. RCC XXI, 367, evidence of Thomas Philipps to the Commissioners of Enquiry, 26.2.1824. It appears from this that official opposition to the meeting was entirely unexpected.

52. Frederick Carlisle (1801-1863) emigrated in a proprietary party of 11 families from Staffordshire under the leadership of his brother John. They sailed together with Bailie's party on the Chapman. John Carlisle married Thomas Philipps' daughter Catherine in 1826.

visit Cape Town and interview Somerset in person. The meeting was stopped by the Landdrost on the day it was to have taken place.

Rivers issued a peremptory warning that unauthorised public meetings were strictly forbidden by colonial law.⁵³ This was reinforced almost immediately with a formal proclamation which confirmed that meetings held to discuss politics or public matters without the express authority of the Governor or chief local magistrate were "contrary to the laws and usage of the colony", and that convening or attending such a meeting would constitute a "high misdemeanour".⁵⁴ The proclamation added the unconvincing assurance that all petitions addressed to the Cape authorities received the attention of the Governor himself, who was concerned about the distress of the settlers but at the same time determined to put down any attempt to disturb the public peace.

The extreme reaction of the authorities to the proposed meeting was partly provoked by a number of "inflammatory writings" that had been circulated among the settlers. Satire was a familiar political weapon for Radical pamphleteers in Britain, but it was new to the Cape. The "libellous and scurrilous writings...insulting to the local authorities"⁵⁵ (and generally attributed to the pen of the fiery Mr Bishop Burnett)⁵⁶ that

53. RCC XIV, 378 and 379, Fiscal to Carlisle, 24.5.1822, and Landdrost of Albany to Colonial Secretary, 25.5.1822. Unauthorised assemblies for the discussion of public matters were prohibited under Roman Law (Pandects of Justinian lib.47), and Sir George Yonge as Governor of the Cape enacted by a proclamation of 19.2.1800 that no club or society was to meet without government sanction.

54. RCC XIV, 377, Proclamation of 24.5.1822.

55. RCC XVIII, 307, observations made by Somerset to Commissioners of Enquiry, 18.9.1824.

56. Burnett's reputation made him a focus of suspicion when an obscene placard depicting Somerset and Dr James Barry was displayed in Cape Town in 1824 (see Chapter ii, fn.84 above). Burnett was in Cape Town at that time to stand trial for libelling the Fiscal. A search of his papers revealed "a few couplets...said to be personal on Mr Rivers the Landdrost":

IMPROMPTU

(On reading a very inflated account of the Rivers in South Africa.)

While floods unfathomed o'er the globe abound,
Our Afric rivers still are shallow found,
But here, each stream assumes an upstart flow,

[stanza continued]

were finding a ready circulation in Albany, served the dangerous purpose of rallying public opinion against the Landdrost, and damaging his authority as well as his amour propre. In Somerset's eyes all settler complaints or protests carried the stigma of Radicalism and its accompanying threat of violent action.

Seven months later the settlers made another attempt to call a public meeting, "to lay a statement of their condition, and the causes which have rendered it insupportable, before His Majesty's Government". This time a formal application for permission to meet was submitted to the Governor through the Senior Heemraad, Major Pigot. Philipps and his friends determined that if it were not acceded to they would draw up a statement of their grievances in their own homes, to send to Earl Bathurst. They were confident they would not be "suffered to perish for want of an additional vote of capital" once their situation was made known in Parliament.⁵⁷

Somerset refused permission for the meeting on the thin pretext that its objects had not been sufficiently clearly stated. He wrote to Earl Bathurst,

I can best describe to your Lordship the characteristics and disposition of the major part of the settlers...by attaching to them the familiar appellation of Radical...their chief object is to oppose and render odious all authority, to magnify all difficulties and to promote and sow the seeds of discontent.⁵⁸

From puddles, - brooks, from brooks what rivers grow!
The Great Fish swells with Amazonian pride,
And Kowie rolls a Mississippi tide.

Delightful fancy! That can thus bewitch
And pour a Ganges through a stagnant ditch;
Spread a vast lake where turbid vleys arise,
And give to wastes the bounty of the skies,
Bait a camp-kettle for a fry of fish,
And p-ss an irrigation at a wish!

(Government blue book, Copies of Letters or Papers Addressed to the Colonial Department by Mr Bishop Burnett, 1826, XXV (431), p.27.) Colonel Bird considered the Albany libels "quite unworthy of notice" (Edwards, 1820 Settlers in South Africa, p.197).

57. Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.153.

58. RCC XV, 159, Somerset to Bathurst, 16.12.1822.

As feeling against the Governor and the Landdrost hardened in Albany during the next two years, the proprietary party leaders who headed the opposition - in particular Thomas Philipps, Captain Duncan Campbell, Major George Pigot and Frederick Carlisle - styled themselves, with conscious irony, the "Albany Radicals".⁵⁹ The principal issues that concerned them excluded the "lower orders" and had little that was radical about them: land grants, advances of capital and personal aspirations to office were matters that affected "gentleman settlers" only. Although Thomas Philipps commented when government rationing ended, "the mobility here are as violent as at home; if I was inclined to be a Leader I could get many followers, they consider me as Head of the Opposition",⁶⁰ he and his friends would have opposed any movement for popular reform. They supported the principle of aristocratic government; their quarrel lay only with its practical application when it failed to favour them. They were not attacking the patronage system but those officials who denied them its benefits.

The depredations of Xhosa cattle-raiders in Albany grew more frequent and daring during the course of 1822. The Governor's refusal to send extra troops from Cape Town to patrol the frontier was interpreted by the settlers as further evidence of his deliberate neglect of their welfare. In the second half of the year an armed settler force, known as the Albany Levy, was enrolled at the suggestion of the Landdrost, and excited the indignation and opposition of the "lower orders" as well as the Albany Radicals.

Rivers' original suggestion, which he claimed had been prompted by the settlers themselves, was to enrol and arm five or six hundred volunteers from among the young unmarried labourers, mechanics and tradesmen as a force to defend the settlement while the regular troops

59. The principal supporters of the "Albany Radicals" were Alexander Biggar, head of a proprietary party; Donald Moodie, an independent settler who married Major Pigot's younger daughter in 1824; Charles Dalgairns, head of a proprietary party, who left Albany for Somerset in 1823; James Collis of Willson's party; J.C. Chase and J.B. Biddulph of Bailie's party; and Bishop Burnett. They were joined by Miles Bowker, head of a proprietary party, during 1824.

60. Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.107. "Mobility" is a now-archaic form of "mob".

were engaged elsewhere. In addition, he proposed to form a mounted troop of fifty yeomen, drawn from the upper-class settlers and in particular the half-pay officers, most of whom owned horses, to be employed as auxiliaries to the regular army.⁶¹

Somerset approved the plan, and the Albany Levy was officially promulgated on October 4, 1822, in terms which provoked an immediate outcry from the "Radicals". Enrolment was to be compulsory, not voluntary, under another of the "ancient laws and usages of the colony", which empowered the Landdrost to enforce commando service from any male colonist in his district between the ages of 16 and 60.⁶² The settlers were required - although many of them refused - to swear what they considered to be an objectionable oath of allegiance, and to attend regular fortnightly muster-drills. The names of almost all the settlers of Bailie's party still in Albany were included in the muster-rolls, regardless of age or family responsibilities. The only exceptions were Blair, Seymour, Whittal, the 61-year-old Simon Biddulph, Robert Godlonton and John Bailie himself. John Lawler was among the pensioned non-commissioned officers who were attached to the Levy as sergeants.⁶³

With the Landdrost as nominal Commandant and his clerk George Dyason, "an upholdsterer in England",⁶⁴ as Adjutant, five half-pay officers

61. RCC XV, 14 and 51, Rivers to Bird, 12.8.1822 and 16.9.1822.

62. Cape Town Gazette, 5.10.1822. The colonial laws prohibiting unauthorised meetings (see fn.53 above) and enforcing commando service are set out in RCC XVI, 438 and 439, Fiscal to Commissioners of Enquiry, 18.11.1823. Laws binding inhabitants of the colony to assist in defence of the country when called upon were: Proclamation of Governor Zwellengrebel, 21.3.1741; Regulations for the discipline of the Cape Militia under the government of General Janssens, 15.10.1804; and Ordinance for the Government of the Country Districts promulgated 24.10.1805.

63. CA CO 2653, Muster Rolls of Albany Levy. The name "John Bailie" appears on the muster roll of the third division of infantry under Capt. Crause, but probably refers to John Bayley, a labourer of Willson's party. The party leader John Bailie would not have served in the ranks of infantrymen.

64. Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.149. George Dyason (1790-1862) led a joint-stock party of 20 settler families, including his brothers Isaac and Joseph, from London. He was clerk to the provisional magistrate at Bathurst in 1821, and was subsequently appointed postmaster and field-cornet.

were made paid Lieutenants of Division or cornets of the mounted troops. Captain Henry Crause and his two brothers were all appointed, possibly as some compensation for their losses at Fredericksburg. Other settler officers, including William Hart, a former field officer of dragoons, were understandably resentful about serving in the ranks as troopers under the orders of two civilians and a Lieutenant of Marines.⁶⁵

Inefficient organisation and settler opposition made the Albany Levy almost as short-lived as it was ineffective. Thomas Philipps commented in October 1822 that it was "at a standstill and most likely will fall to the ground",⁶⁶ and it was finally disbanded by Somerset in March 1825.⁶⁷ The men who came closest to seeing active service during its brief existence were the "non-jurors" who refused to take the oath of allegiance, and were set to beating the Kap River bush in search of stolen cattle.⁶⁸

In March 1822 the commandant of the frontier had made a punitive raid on the kraal of the Xhosa chief Ngqika, with the intention of taking the chief himself hostage. The raid had failed, but relations between the chiefdoms and the colony deteriorated.⁶⁹ At the end of 1822 Philipps reported that

...the Caffres are going on with impunity, not a step is taken to intimidate them, all the line of the Kap River down to the junction with the Fish River is infested.⁷⁰

Cattle-theft was an almost nightly occurrence. William Hart and his daughter, the widow Scott, at Upper Kaffir Drift were in the direct path of the Xhosa raiding parties, who stole not only their livestock but the iron teeth from their harrows.⁷¹

65. Eastern Province Herald, 26.3.1908, reminiscences of Gen. Henry Hart.

66. Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.184.

67. Cape Town Gazette, 19.3.1825.

68. Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.207; Goldswain, Chronicle, I, 51.

69. Peires, "History of the Xhosa", p.187.

70. Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.149.

71. Ibid, p.152.

Rumours of warlike preparations in Kaffirland caused anxiety over the loss of cattle and crops to take second place to the fear of a large-scale Xhosa invasion of the Suurveld.⁷² The rumours proved to be without foundation, but the future of Albany looked so insecure that Philipps and a group of his friends talked of appealing to the British government to resettle them in Van Diemen's Land.⁷³ The group included Captain Henry Crause, who had been there with his regiment, Lieutenant Charles Crause and several of the Albany Radicals. Their unity of purpose was not long lived, as the Crause brothers and the Radicals were shortly to find themselves in political opposition to each other.

Friends and relatives in England were kept informed of the emigrants' situation by newspaper reports, often heavily biased, as well as personal letters. Acting Governor Donkin had submitted his own account of the settlement's progress in February 1821 for publication in the English papers, in an effort to offset "the gross misrepresentations which have gone forth".⁷⁴ A vituperative attack on the Somerset regime appeared in the Whig Morning Chronicle during 1822 in a series of four letters signed "Longinus", and drove Lord Charles Somerset to defend himself in print.⁷⁵ The opposition Press in Britain used the settlers' grievances as a stick to beat the Government, and the Albany Radicals grasped the opportunity to publicise the hardships of their situation.⁷⁶ At the same time Major Pigot, Captain Campbell and Thomas Philipps all used what influence they and their friends possessed to plead their case on a personal level with officials of the Colonial Department.⁷⁷ Such pressure as the Albany Radicals could bring to bear was unlikely in itself to have had much effect on the government at the Cape.

72. Ibid, p.150.

73. Ibid, p.147.

74. Donkin, Letter Book, p.72, Donkin to T.P. Courtenay, 26.2.1821.

75. See RCC XV, 219-225, for the second of these letters and Somerset's reply.

76. Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.148.

77. Ibid, p.92; RCC XV, 347 and 352, Maj. Gen. Pigot to Wilmot, 22.3.1823, and Bathurst to Somerset, 31.3.1823; RCC XVI, 72 and 127, Geo. Pigot to Wilmot, 20.6.1823, and R. Harries to Wilmot Horton, 15.7.1823.

However, Somerset's rule was about to be subjected to a close and critical examination from an unexpected outside source. On July 25, 1822 the Under-secretary for War and the Colonies moved in the House of Commons that a commission be appointed "to enquire into the state of the settlements of the Cape of Good Hope, the Mauritius and Ceylon". The scope of the commissioners' investigation would include the civil government, the official establishment, the state of the laws and the practical administration of justice in each colony.⁷⁸ The news of this "glorious commission" reached the Cape in October,⁷⁹ and gave the anti-Somerset faction its first reason to hope for reform. At the same time it signalled the start of a bitterly-fought political battle in Albany that split the settlement into two hostile camps.

78. RCC XIV, 486-487, Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 25.7.1822.

79. Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.147.

CHAPTER FIVE

RADICALS AND SERVILES. ALBANY POLITICS, 1823-1824

Those settlers who were still on their locations in the summer of 1822-23 could look forward to obtaining legal title to their land on the completion of the stipulated three-year residence period. That prospect weighed against the discouragements of drought, locusts and a third partial crop failure. Much of the land originally allocated to the settlers had been abandoned as they left Albany; those who remained hoped to benefit by augmented grants. P.R. Marillier of Bailie's party petitioned for five hundred acres of unoccupied grazing land on the party's location,¹ but his memorial, with more than two hundred others, lay unanswered in the landdrost's office. Somerset had decided to defer making any additional grants until the three-year residence period was up and the original locations could be granted to those settlers who had stayed on them. Rivers made this his excuse for leaving the great majority of applications to gather dust.²

In December 1822 Rivers was instructed to assess the number of settlers still on their locations and to report what they had achieved. His inspection was cursory, and the report that he submitted to Colonel Bird in May 1823³ was based on prejudice rather than fact.⁴ He had little good to say of Bailie's party, "an idle Party who have done nothing on the location, with the exception of two or three Individuals".⁵

Rivers' report on the settlement in general was far from favourable, and his detractors claimed that it "emanated entirely from party feeling".⁶

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1. CA CO 8452 no.128, Memorial of P.R. Marillier, December 1822.
 2. RCC XXI, 200, Report of the Commissioners of Enquiry, 25.5.1825.
 3. CA CO 8431 no.118, Rivers to Bird, Returns of parties on locations, 24.5.1823.
 4. RCC XVI, 208, Evidence of Col. Bird to Commissioners, 20.8.1823.
 5. CA CO 8431 no.118, Rivers to Bird, 24.5.1823.
 6. RCC XVI, 208, Evidence of Col. Bird to Commissioners, 20.8.1823.

Only five heads of parties, with none of the Albany Radicals among them, were considered industrious enough to deserve additional grants of land besides their original locations. Twenty-seven others were recommended for their full grants, and the remaining twenty-four parties listed in the report were to obtain only part of their original locations or else to forfeit them entirely because of non-occupation. Rivers' discretion was the only yardstick used for assessing the state of the locations and the settlers' consequent entitlement to land.

Even Somerset's senior officials in Cape Town protested that this placed the settlers completely at the mercy of the Landdrost.⁷ Those settlers who mistrusted the quality of his mercy were spurred into taking action on their own behalf. In March 1823 Thomas Philipps, Major Pigot and Captain Campbell carried out their earlier intention of preparing a statement of the settlers' grievances to lay before Earl Bathurst, and obtained a total of 171 signatures to lend it weight.⁸ Not all the settlers were willing to put their names to it; Christopher Thornhill,⁹ a party leader of some influence, located near the Kowie, and a staunch supporter of the Governor and the Landdrost, conscientiously declined on the grounds that he "differed in the sentiments that the statement expressed, and did not feel the hardships of which it complained".¹⁰ Somerset himself subsequently claimed that signatures were obtained from people who did not know the contents of the address, and were assured that its sole object was the establishment of a port at the mouth of

7. RCC XVI, 421-3, Memorandum from Inspector of Lands and Woods, 30.10.1823.

8. CA CO 224, Address of the British Settlers to Earl Bathurst, 20.3.1823.

9. Christopher Thornhill (1773-) planned to bring a party of labourers to the Cape under the 1819 emigration scheme in partnership with William Wait. The partnership was dissolved before the party sailed, and fifteen men placed themselves under Thornhill's leadership, including his nephew Adam Gilfillan. The party was located at the mouth of the Kowie River, which Thornhill was actively interested in developing as a harbour. He was a respected merchant, and a friend of George Thompson, partner in the Cape Town house of Thompson and Borrodaile, who visited him in Albany in 1823. (See George Thompson, Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa, ed. Vernon S. Forbes, II, 20.) Thornhill moved to Cape Town in 1835 as a partner in the firm of Herbert and Thornhill.

10. CA CO 223 no.68, Thornhill to Colonial Secretary, 26.7.1824.

the Kowie.¹¹ Two months later a counter-memorial was got up in support of Somerset, which laid particular emphasis on the benefits a port at the Kowie would bring to the settlement. Among its signatories were nine settlers who protested that they had been "decoyed...by the most delusive arts" into signing the first petition, and who now took the opportunity to recant.¹²

Copies of the March 1823 address were forwarded to the Commissioners of Enquiry, J.T. Bigge and Major W.G.M. Colebrooke,¹³ after their arrival in the colony in July 1823. The Commissioners investigated its complaints on the spot when they visited Albany in the following year. Their reports, with evidence collected from Somerset's supporters as well as his adversaries, allow the address to be assessed at rather more than its face value. It was not representative of the "voice of the people"; in a society with sharply divided interests it spoke for one section of the settlers, and even in that section it gained only limited support.

It was a statement geared to the interests of the upper-class settlers who had made an investment in their land and intended to stay on it, and not of the labouring classes. It made no complaint of widespread destitution or individual hardship among the settlers; its purpose was to ask for the removal of hindrances to future progress rather than measures for immediate relief. The authors of the address claimed that "the weightiest artificial obstacles" were impeding the settlement's progress. Under "the unlimited control of one Individual" the settlers' situation was misrepresented and misunderstood, their safety endangered and the right of appeal denied them. They had welcomed Sir Rufane Donkin's arrangements for their welfare - the founding of Bathurst as a central town, his system of military defence and his encouragement of peaceful trade with the Xhosa. They expressed gratitude for the issue

11. RCC XVIII, 301, Observations of Lord C. Somerset, 18.9.1824.

12. RCC XVI, 10, Memorial of Albany Settlers, 13.5.1823.

13. John Thomas Bigge (1780-1843), a barrister of the Inner Temple, was Chief Justice of Trinidad in 1814 and a Commissioner in New South Wales in 1818. Major William Macbean George Colebrooke (1787-1870) was commissioned as a Major, Royal Artillery, in 1813 and served in the Indies. After leaving the Cape he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Bahamas in 1834.

of government rations, although they blamed the continuance of rationing and the ready dissolution of service agreements for the settlement's labour troubles. Somerset's return had blighted all the hopes that Donkin had raised; among them, the promise of extended land-grants to enable the settlers to engage in pastoral farming on a profitable scale.

The evidence collected by the Commissioners of Enquiry makes it clear that much of the dissatisfaction of the authors of the address was related to the structure of settler society. They had hoped to recreate in Albany the traditional pattern of English rural life, with tenant farmers, artisans and labourers subject to the authority of landlord-magistrates. Donkin had encouraged this squirearchical system; Somerset had stopped it, by dismissing the Special Heemraden and refusing to increase the land grants of party leaders. They admitted that they had the use of large areas of unoccupied government land for grazing their cattle, but they wanted the security of tenure and the potential for profit that went with ownership. All were equal under the rule of the Landdrost, against whose decisions - frequently prejudice - there was no effective appeal. He was accused of possessing neither the knowledge nor the inclination to represent the true situation of the settlers to the Governor.

Outside the domestic concerns of the settlement, Somerset's policy of frontier defence presented "at once an appearance of enmity and weakness" to the neighbouring Xhosa chiefdoms. It was the increasingly frequent and daring depredations of the Xhosa that had prompted, as a last resort, this direct appeal by the settlers to Earl Bathurst.¹⁴

The 171 signatories to the Settlers' Address, apart from the Albany Radicals themselves, were something of a job lot. A high proportion of the members of Bailie's party who still remained in Albany were among them, although whether moved to sign by political principle, self-interest or coercion must remain unknown. Captain Henry Crause (who subsequently opposed the Radicals) and J.C. Chase were friends of Thomas Philipps; the Biddulphs and William Hart were declared enemies

14. CA CO 224, Substance of information received by Commissioners of Enquiry in Albany, 20.7.1824, and RCC XXI, 363-372, evidence of Thomas Philipps, 26.2.1824.

of the Landdrost. John Saunders in Grahamstown, Thomas Hewson at Bathurst, and with the exception of the Irish group, all the settlers still living at Cuylerville - P.R. Marillier, T.P. Adams, Wakeford, Mills, Blair, Vokins, Seymour, Whittal and J.H. Heath - subscribed their names. John Bailie signed neither the March 1823 address nor the counter-memorial that followed it.

Somerset dismissed the entire list of grievances as a tissue of lies. He justified his own measures and condemned Donkin's at length, in two sets of "Observations" addressed to the Commissioners.¹⁵ He was supported by Christopher Thornhill, who when he gave evidence before the Commissioners in Cape Town claimed that distress among the settlers was only "partial". Thornhill conceded that their prospects in general were gloomy, but blamed this entirely on crop failures, "a dispensation of Providence which no human hand could have prevented".¹⁶ The authors of the Settlers' Address and their opponents were in entire agreement on one point only: they had not a good word among them for the labouring classes. Thornhill complained that his own servants had turned out to be insolent, useless and burdensome, and that the lower class of independent settlers had remained idle on their locations and refused to hire themselves for as long as they could draw government rations. The Albany Radicals complained that the lower classes were idle and insubordinate, and that the ration issue had made servants entirely independent of the control of their masters. Somerset condemned all the settlers roundly and indiscriminately for "an absence of industry and an unbounded propensity for inebriety",¹⁷ which in his opinion characterised the lower class of Englishman at the Cape.

The May counter-memorial to Earl Bathurst in support of Somerset carried a preponderance of signatures from the settlers located near the Kowie mouth, where harbour plans had created considerable optimism and there had been little trouble from Xhosa cattle raiders. Three prominent

15. RCC XVIII, 301-310, Observations of Lord C. Somerset, 18.9.1824.

16. RCC XXI, 373-377, Evidence of C. Thornhill, 23.9.1824.

17. RCC XVIII, Observations of Lord C. Somerset, 18.9.1824.

party leaders among the signatories were Christopher Thornhill, William Cock¹⁸ and Miles Bowker (who subsequently sided with the Radicals). The settlers near the Great Fish River either refused to sign or were not offered the chance: the only members of Bailie's party who subscribed to the pro-Somerset memorial were Joseph Garland, then employed as a shipwright at the Kowie, and Robert Godlonton, second clerk to the Landdrost in Grahamstown.

While the Albany settlers were making their appeal to Earl Bathurst the efforts of their friends in England were beginning to bear fruit. In March 1823 Earl Bathurst wrote to Somerset with instructions to ameliorate the condition of heads of parties by extending their land grants and in certain cases by appointing them to salaried public offices. Major Pigot, Captain Campbell and Captain Thomas Butler were named as meriting special consideration.¹⁹ The three were in very different circumstances, but all had friends who had succeeded in reaching the ear of the Colonial Department. Somerset, at a distance of six thousand miles, chose to ignore the recommendation.

In Cape Town, a charitable fund had been launched as early as July 1820 to give aid to poor settlers in distressed circumstances. Founded at the suggestion of the officers of HMS Menai and Deputy Colonial Secretary Henry Ellis, the fund was originally intended to provide clothing and comforts for the wives and children of poor settlers on landing at Algoa Bay. As the need increased the Settlers Fund extended its scope, and employed the money subscribed to it to assist any cases of extreme hardship. The Reverend William Shaw²⁰ of Salem was chiefly responsible for

18. William Cock (1793-1876) emigrated as leader of a party of 40 families from Oxfordshire, recruited originally by John Hawkins who failed to embark. He was located next to Christopher Thornhill near the Kowie River and formed a business partnership with him. He was subsequently a partner in the firm of Cock and Lee, army butchers, supplying salt beef to the Cape and Mauritius.

19. RCC XV, 352-353, Bathurst to Somerset, 31.3.1823. Captain Thomas Butler brought a small proprietary party to the Cape from County Wicklow, Ireland, and before the end of 1822 was appealing for help as he and his family were "half famished and half naked" (RCC XV, 146-149, Butler to Peel, 28.11.1822).

20. The Rev. William Shaw emigrated as Methodist minister to Sephton's party of settlers. In 1823 he left Albany to establish a mission station in Kaffraria.

distributing charity in Albany, and a considerable part of the money collected was used to relieve distress in Cape Town among settlers and their families who had left their parties and failed to find work.²¹ In 1821 the secretary of the fund was acting as an employment agency for "the poor creatures deserting their wicked conductors from England",²² besides dispensing charity. Sir Rufane Donkin associated himself with the fund from its inception, and at his request a sermon preached by the Colonial Chaplain (on the apposite text, "Speak not evil, one of another") was published in Cape Town and sold for the settlers' benefit.²³ Colonel Bird, Henry Ellis and Dr John Philip were all members of the original management committee which met monthly at Dr Philip's house on Church Square.²⁴

In May 1822 the Settlers Fund committee decided to make a further drive for subscriptions to relieve the widespread distress in Albany after the second failure of the settlers' crops. They approached Lord Charles Somerset for his patronage and requested that he take the chair at the forthcoming General Meeting of subscribers. No answer was ever given, and a few days later the proclamation of May 24 forbidding all public meetings was published. In June a notice appeared in the Cape Town Gazette announcing that a relief fund under official sponsorship had been opened for the Albany settlers. Its distribution would be in the hands of the Landdrost of Albany and one heemraad, and the Established Church clergyman in Grahamstown. The subscription list was headed by the Governor, Lady Charles Somerset and Colonel Bird, and no mention was made of the earlier fund.²⁵ Some 5 000 rixdollars was raised for the Governor's Fund, of which half remained in the bank and the rest

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21. For the history of the Settlers Fund, see the Appendix to Documents Originally Published at the Cape of Good Hope, and the annual Report of the Committee of the Society for the Relief of Distressed Settlers in South Africa, 1823-1825.
22. RCC XIV, 18, W. Dunn to Bathurst, 16.6.1821.
23. Cape Town Gazette, 22.9.1821.
24. Ibid, monthly notices of meetings of the Society from 2.6.1821 to 30.3.1822.
25. Ibid, 22.6.1822.

was never satisfactorily accounted for.²⁶

The outgoing committee of the original Settlers Fund made a substantial contribution to the Governor's Fund,²⁷ and with some difficulty obtained Somerset's permission to hold a belated General Meeting of subscribers to elect a new committee for the ensuing year. The Settlers Fund continued to distribute charity through 1822-23, its disbursements for the year amounting to over 3 000 rixdollars. The Commissioners of Enquiry called for its books after their arrival at the Cape, and returned them with a generous personal donation. Prompted by their example, Lord Charles Somerset made a contribution which was received on the day of the subscribers' General Meeting in September 1823, held this time without official hindrance.

Somerset's initial antagonism towards the Settlers Fund has never been satisfactorily explained. He demonstrated his sympathy with its objects by sponsoring the Governor's Fund to the same end. In mid-1822 there was no open hostility between him and Dr John Philip, whose "grand push upon corruption" had not yet made itself felt, and the Albany Radicals had at that time little or no connection with the distribution of the fund. The only obvious reasons for his high-handed treatment are Sir Rufane Donkin's support of the Settlers Fund, its independence of official administration, and Somerset's own suspicions of conspiracy against him.

The presence of the Commissioners of Enquiry in Cape Town encouraged outspokenness on the part of the settlers' champions and restraint in Lord Charles Somerset. At the General Meeting of the Settlers Fund - now renamed the Society for the Relief of Distressed Settlers in South Africa - in September 1823, Dr John Philip delivered a long and emotional speech on the state of the Albany settlement.²⁸

His address was skilfully designed to open his audience's purse-strings while quieting any misgivings they might have about the worthiness of

26. Documents Originally Published at the Cape of Good Hope, p.69.

27. Cape Town Gazette, 6.7.1822.

28. RCC XVI, 270-277, "Report of the Committee of the Society for the Relief of Distressed Settlers in South Africa...1823."

the cause. He assured them that the settlers were not Radicals and their distress was real, as he had seen for himself when he made a visit to Albany at the end of 1821. He was careful not to lay the blame for the settlers' sufferings at the door of the authorities.

It seems to be with men as with vegetables, - they must suffer, after being transplanted, before they can take root.

Philip quoted Malthus at reassuring length as his authority for extending short-term relief to the "industrious, prudent and virtuous poor" suffering under undeserved calamities. Aid for the "idle and improvident", however dire their circumstances, should be given with much greater caution.

We may, perhaps, take upon ourselves...to mitigate the punishments which they are suffering from the laws of nature, but on no account to remove them entirely. They are deservedly at the bottom in the scale of Society, and if we raise them from this situation, we not only palpably defeat the ends of benevolence, but commit a most glaring injustice on those who are above them. They should on no account be enabled to command so much of the necessaries of life as can be obtained by the worst paid common labourer.²⁹

The scanty relief afforded to William Harden of Bailie's party, an "idle and improvident" artisan who died at Cuylerville a month before Dr Philip made his speech, was exactly in accordance with this principle. A year later the circumstances of Harden's deathbed were to be a focal point in the stormy confrontation between Dr Philip and the Landdrost of Albany.

In his speech Dr Philip went on to appeal to the romantic susceptibilities of his audience in describing those more interesting and legitimate objects of pity, the distressed gentlefolk among the emigrants.

You may see the fingers, which seldom moved but to paint for the eye, or to charm the ear, tying up cattle, or stopping the gaps of their enclosure: females, on whom, in England, the wind was scarcely allowed to blow, exposed to all the rage of the pitiless storm; mothers with large families, who used to have a servant to each child, without an individual to assist them in the drudgery of the house, the labour of the dairy, or the care of their children; families who used to sleep upon down, with scarcely a sufficient number of boards, or a sufficient quantity of

29. Ibid, 272.

straw, to keep them from an earthen floor; young females, possessed of every accomplishment, reduced to feed a few cows, almost the sole dependance of the family; men, who have held the ranks of Captains and Paymasters in the army, driving waggons, without shoes or stockings!

...To ascribe all the heads of the parties I met under similar circumstances, would be to enumerate the greater part of them.³⁰

Dr Philip's listeners were "powerfully affected" by his reading aloud a harrowing selection of letters from settlers themselves, describing their sufferings in their own words. The subsequent readers of the published proceedings of the meeting were no doubt equally moved. Dr Philip's use of the letters added considerable dramatic impact to his appeal, but his selection was distinctly disingenuous. Four letters appear on examination to relate to the pathetic situation of one man, an unnamed ex-Captain who can only have been Thomas Butler. Butler's experiences, however pitiable, were not typical of settlers of his social class, any more than William Harden's reflected those of the majority of artisans. Both were extreme examples used by Dr Philip for propaganda purposes, the one to invoke sympathy and the other to prove the Landdrost guilty of inhumane neglect. It is unarguable that all "respectable" heads of parties suffered extensive losses of property, and had to make do without many of what they had previously taken for granted as the necessities of life. Their wives and daughters were all "obliged to lay aside the accomplishments of the Drawing Room for those of the kitchen and farm yard".³¹ However, there were few complaints of actual physical distress among "respectable" settlers, although many of the party leaders had to leave their locations to avoid it. They accepted that hardship and hard work were part of pioneering.³² The impression left by Dr Philip's speech - that heads of parties and other "respectable" emigrants were reduced to starvation and rags throughout the Albany settlement - is not borne out by the evidence of surviving letters and journals,³³ and was

30. Ibid, 275-276.

31. Pigot, Journals, p.93.

32. Holden Bowker subsequently commented that he and his brothers "knew nothing about tea, coffee, brandy, wine, sugar" until they were grown men, "and were none the worse for it". Ivan Mitford-Barborton, Comdt. Holden Bowker, p.44.

33. See for example Thomas Philipps' description of a "party of pleasure" enjoyed by the Philipps, Crause, Carlisle and Chase

hotly denied by many of the settlers themselves. Dr Philip's highly-coloured version of the settlers' genuine hardships laid the Society open to the subsequent accusation that it had collected money under false pretences.

Dr Philip's speech laid the groundwork for the main resolution of the meeting. It was agreed that a major fund-raising appeal should be launched in England and India on behalf of the two classes of emigrants who had suffered most severely: the heads of parties and the joint-stock settlers, who had spent their capital and been reduced to penury by the failure of the crops on which their income depended. The agricultural servants and mechanics among the settlers belonged to the wage-earning classes and were not considered to be in need of further help.

The Settlers Fund had changed not only its name but its object. Its activities over the next eighteen months, until the last of its money was distributed and its books finally closed, were to be primarily directed at replacing the capital that had been expended without return by "respectable" settlers. It was unfortunate that the publicity given to the settlers' sufferings should have got out of hand in the process. The exaggerated accounts that appeared in the English Press were accused (probably with justice) of discouraging further emigration to the Cape, and provoked equally exaggerated denials that any distress existed in Albany at all.

In October 1823 the settlers were visited by a further calamity. Torrential rains caused devastating floods throughout Albany, with the loss of crops and soil, livestock and personal possessions. Among the members of Bailie's party the consistently unfortunate Thomas Price Adams, Henry Lloyd, John Duffy and John Rowles were the worst sufferers. Adams moved to the vacant house of a neighbour, Robert Bovey;³⁴ John Rowles was forced to rebuild his house singlehanded after the foundations were washed away, "not having had the means to obtain help without

families, and his reference to a "grand dance" held at Pigot Park in January 1823. Philipps, 1820 Settler, pp.165-170.

34. Documents Originally Published at the Cape of Good Hope, pp.92-93, and CA CO 8541.

distressing his family in their subsistence during the time".³⁵ Henry Lloyd lost most of his small stock of sheep and pigs, besides suffering damage to his house.³⁶

The offer of "storm loans" from the government for rebuilding or restocking, to be given on the security of land and personal sureties alone, was seen by the Radicals as "an attempt to please now that the Commissioners are coming up".³⁷ T.P. Adams, Lloyd, Rowles and Thomas Stringfellow were among the settlers who applied successfully for small loans. Adams, whose situation was desperate - he and his family were living mainly on shellfish gathered from the rocks at the Great Fish River mouth - was advanced money in December 1823, from the first funds at the Landdrost's disposal, but the other applicants from Bailie's party were not paid out until more than a year later.³⁸

As far as can be gathered from the confusing and very biased evidence that is available, Rivers deliberately discouraged the settlers from regarding his office as a potential source of charity. Such government aid as the settlers received, whether in the form of rations, agricultural implements or money, was given on a loan basis and was an essential investment for the settlement's survival. The free issue of rice had been an exceptional measure, necessitated by the food shortage throughout the settlement, but it is quite evident that Rivers gave little help to individual cases of distress, and that he did not have adequate resources to draw on even if he had wished to do so. Publicity was given to the fact that 2 400 rixdollars of the Governor's Fund for settler relief had remained in the bank during a period of great hardship, but if Rivers knew of it - which he denied - he would probably have recognised that by giving assistance to the few he would increase the importunities of the many. The contemporary attitude to public charity in England was to render poor relief "so irksome and disagree-

35. CA CO 223 no.26, Memorial of John Rowles, 25.3.1824.

36. CA CO 223 no.111, Memorial of Henry Lloyd, 14.10.1824.

37. Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.208.

38. RCC XVIII, 235, Landdrost of Albany to Commissioners of Enquiry, 16.8.1824.

able that none would consent to receive it who could possibly do without it".³⁹ In that context, Rivers' neglect of the settlers' distress was unremarkable. He played into his enemies' hands, however, in trying to disprove the charge when it was brought against him.

Not only the October floods were responsible for losses to the settlers' livestock. Packs of the fierce spotted hyena, now extinct but once common in the Eastern Province, reduced the small flocks of sheep and goats belonging to Henry Lloyd and T.P. Adams, both living near the eastern limits of Bailie's party's location. Thomas Wakeford, who had more to lose, complained that these predators cost him over fifty sheep in one night.⁴⁰

John Bailie at The Hope and John Duffy living near its southern boundary were the only settlers of Bailie's party to report stock losses from Xhosa cattle raids at this time.⁴¹ The size of the herd at The Hope and its proximity to Lower Kaffir Drift combined temptation and opportunity. Protection of the frontier against stock theft was not only inadequate towards the end of 1823 but almost non-existent. The field officers and most of the men of the 6th Regiment had been withdrawn from the frontier,⁴² to be replaced eventually by two additional troops of Cape Corps cavalry under the command of Henry Somerset, who had recently purchased his majority. Major Somerset promptly led a combined force of regular troops and burghers on a successful punitive expedition into Kaffirland in December 1823, and followed this show of strength by holding an indaba with the chiefs a month later. This meeting, and the introduction from July 1824 of thrice-weekly fairs at Fort Willshire for licensed barter,

39. Norman Longmate, The Workhouse, p.45, quoting the Rector of Bingham near Nottingham in 1818.

40. CA CO 223 no.111, Memorial of H.J. Lloyd, 14.10.1824; CA CO 8541, Memorial of T.P. Adams, n.d.; CA CO 223 no.124, Memorial of T. Wakeford, 4.11.1824. See also Macmillan, Cape Colour Question, p.117.

41. CA CO 249 no.7, Memorial of J. Duffy, 4.1.1825; CA CO 249 no.55, Bailie to Somerset, 14.2.1825.

42. CA CO 201, Pigot and Campbell to Somerset, 10.10.1823.

introduced a period of comparatively peaceful relations between tribesmen and settlers.⁴³

At the close of 1823 Dr John Philip and H.E. Rutherfoord,⁴⁴ the Honorary Secretary of the Society for the Relief of Distressed Settlers, visited Albany to see the state of the settlement for themselves. Dr Philip later claimed that he had taken care not to involve himself in the settlers' complaints against the local authorities, and had given Grahamstown a wide berth because he knew political feeling there was running high. He was struck by the deterioration in the morale of the settlement since his previous visit in 1821: all hopes of a prosperous future seemed to have given way to apathy. The settlers who had been most in need of assistance in 1821 had been those who emigrated as indentured servants. By the end of 1823 they had disappeared, and the heads of parties and joint-stock settlers who had brought out capital of their own were almost the only men left on the locations.

I did not find a single individual, who had originally come out as a servant...calling for aid from the Committee; but I found many of those who came to the Colony, with from fifty to five hundred pounds sterling, standing in need of assistance.⁴⁵

A private letter written by Miles Bowker in February 1824 gave a more optimistic picture of the settlement.⁴⁶ In spite of crop failures, hyenas and Xhosa cattle rustlers, he considered his family's prospects far better than anything they could have hoped for in England. Land prices were going up in Albany "as many people are now satisfied with the means of living here. ...It is a family's own fault rich or poor if they do not thrive". In his opinion, the many half-pay officers among the emigrants "do as well as they endeavour". Bowker, with eight sons

43. Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.218; Cory, Rise of South Africa, II, 178-179.

44. Howson Edwards Rutherfoord (1795-1862) was a leading merchant and philanthropist in Cape Town, and a member of the Legislative Council from 1854. He came to the Cape from London in 1818, and established the firm of H.E. Rutherfoord and Brother, general merchants and shipping agents.

45. Documents Originally Published at the Cape of Good Hope, p.59.

46. RCC XVII, 102-104, Bowker to Lieut. R.S. Haly, 24.2.1824.

to constitute an independent labour force, could afford to congratulate himself on his progress, although he admitted that many of the settlers were complaining. He still held the appointment of heemraad, having so far steered clear of settlement politics. That happy state was not to last for much longer, however; he was involved in the confrontation between the Albany Radicals and the Landdrost before the end of the year.

Miles Bowker was located between Bailie's party and the settlers in the vicinity of the Kowie mouth, and shared the current optimism about the Kowie's potential as a seaport. So did an anonymous correspondent of the recently-launched South African Commercial Advertiser, who reported the successful sale of building erven in the village near the river mouth, the encouraging progress of the harbour establishment, and the salubrity of the climate. He thought the settlers in that neighbourhood the most prosperous in Albany.⁴⁷

John Bailie was eager to invest in Port Kowie and petitioned the Governor for the grant of a morgen or two of level ground near the river, to build an inn for the accommodation of ships' passengers. He proposed to cater for invalids in need of sea-bathing, by providing "a proper floating bath".⁴⁸ Bailie's memorial was sent under cover of a personal letter to Colonel Bird, explaining that he had received generous financial help from his mother in England and had given up any idea of leaving the colony.⁴⁹ The sponsorship was ill-chosen and Bailie's plans came to nothing: Somerset had already appealed to have Bird removed from office, and his services as Colonial Secretary were terminated a few months later.⁵⁰

The brightening prospects of the Kowie held out little comfort to the dozen or so erf-holders still residing in the diminished village of Bathurst, including the Biddulphs, Hewsons and Andersons of Bailie's party. With trade almost at a standstill they had turned to stock breeding and feeding on the extensive and well-watered commonage south

47. South African Commercial Advertiser, 24.3.1824.

48. CA CO 8455 no.20, Memorial of J. Bailie, 25.1.1824.

49. CA CO 8455 no.21, Bailie to Bird, 25.1.1824.

50. Cory, Rise of South Africa, II, 315.

of the village, and had acquired 500 head of cattle among them, with Thomas Hewson as the largest single owner.⁵¹ To their dismay and indignation, 2 000 morgen of their grazing ground was granted on the Landdrost's recommendation to Lieutenant Charles Crause, in compensation for his losses at Fredericksburg.⁵² This final blow decided Hewson and Anderson to move their businesses to Grahamstown, and J.B. Biddulph to buy land at Upper Kaffir Drift from George Scott's widow, Eliza Hart. Biddulph's and Hewson's petitions for individual land grants were added to the pile of disregarded memorials in the landdrost's office.⁵³

The long-looked-for arrival in Grahamstown of the Commissioners of Enquiry detonated the first public explosion of hostility between the local authorities and the Albany Radicals. The enthusiasm with which the inhabitants welcomed Colebrooke and Bigge's arrival on the evening of February 4, 1824 was less than flattering to the Landdrost. Grahamstown was illuminated with tallow candles in the windows, and a colonial touch was added to the celebrations with the firing of a feu-de-joie by some over-enthusiastic revellers late in the evening.

A troop of the Cape Cavalry turned out to investigate the cause of the shooting, and was ordered by the Landdrost to "disperse the mob". During the fracas that followed, Thomas Philipps and another of the Albany Radicals, Captain Alexander Biggar, exchanged hot words with Rivers and Major Somerset. Unwisely, the official Cape Town Gazette published a malicious "account of the late Riots in Graham's Town", with an unnecessary allusion to the court-martial for embezzlement that had led to Biggar's leaving England. Less wisely still, the Governor in his capacity as Commander of the Forces commended the troops in General Orders for their assistance in quelling "a Tumult of a most dangerous character".⁵⁴

51. CA CO 8541, T. Hewson to Hayward, 29.9.1824.

52. CA CO 8455 no.127, Memorial of the inhabitants of Bathurst, 5.4.1824.

53. CA CO 8455 no.137, Memorial of J.B. Biddulph, 12.4.1824; CA CO 223 no.241, Memorial of G. Anderson, 30.12.1824; CA CO 8541, Memorial of T. Hewson, 17.3.1823. George Anderson bought land in Grahams-town but did not live there until the outbreak of the Sixth Frontier War.

54. Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.208; and Cape Town Gazette, 21.2.1824 and 13.3.1824. Alexander Biggar was Paymaster of the 85th

The Commissioners of Enquiry spent two months in Albany after this dramatic introduction to local politics, and lent an encouragingly sympathetic ear to the Radicals' complaints. Philipps, Pigot and Campbell, the authors of the March 1823 address to Earl Bathurst, all took the opportunity to enlarge on the points which it had raised.⁵⁵ None of the Landdrost's supporters is known to have been invited to give evidence before the Commissioners in Albany, although Christopher Thornhill was subsequently interviewed in Cape Town.⁵⁶ The Commissioners attempted to patch up a truce between the principal antagonists, and succeeded to the point where they left Thomas Philipps and the Landdrost "not at variance altho' not quite amiable".⁵⁷

Rivers by this time was as anxious to leave Albany as the settlers were to see him go. He made repeated applications to Somerset to be transferred elsewhere.⁵⁸

On their return to Cape Town Bigge and Colebrooke persuaded the Governor that the huge backlog of settler affairs awaiting official attention in Albany called for the appointment of a special commissioner to arbitrate and adjust claims, in particular those to do with land. His recommendations rather than Rivers' should provide the basis for making land allocations. Somerset defended Rivers' integrity and "nice sense of honour", but admitted that he was not without faults; he agreed to send the Assistant Commissary General, William Hayward,⁵⁹ as Special

Regt., and was found guilty at a General Court Martial held at Plymouth, May 5, 1819, of embezzling £1 300 from War Office funds and suborning a clerk who was to give evidence against him. He was cashiered and ordered to repay the money.

55. Philipps, 1820 Settler, pp.209-212; CA CO 224, Substance of the information received by the Commissioners of Enquiry, 20.7.1824.
56. RCC XXI, 373, Evidence of C. Thornhill, 23.9.1824.
57. Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.213.
58. Millar, Plantagenet in South Africa, p.179.
59. William Hayward was appointed Assistant Commissary General of Accounts at the Cape in September 1815. He was appointed Special Commissioner to investigate and arbitrate matters concerning the British settlers in the Albany district on 24.5.1825. He acted as Auditor of Accounts for the colonial government in 1826 and 1827.

Commissioner to Albany.⁶⁰ The choice was a good one; Hayward proved both tactful and conscientious. In writing to Thomas Philipps to tell him of the appointment, Bigge made it clear that the government had abandoned any idea of Albany's becoming an agricultural settlement. Hayward's appointment was intended

...to relieve the settlers from the pressure of their difficulties of which they have most complained, and to give them a chance of recovery from the effects of uncertain seasons by devoting themselves to the augmentation of their stock.⁶¹

While Somerset recognised that it was not possible for the settlers to maintain themselves in Albany by agriculture alone, he made an attempt to retain some degree of close settlement by recommending that pasture land be allocated only in proportion to arable land brought into cultivation. In preference to giving extensions of land to party heads, Hayward should allocate commonage to entire parties.⁶² Donkin had envisaged the "respectable" settlers constituting "a sort of aristocracy" for Albany, but Somerset's attitude towards them was swayed by neither sentiment nor sympathy. He wrote privately to the Commissioners:

I do not think it wise to make Dukes of Bedford of Heads of Parties. I fear the power we should give them would be used to increase their rapacity not like the Duke's to bless and comfort his vassals.⁶³

Not only the heads of parties were greedy for additional land. Somerset pointed out in his instructions to Hayward that the practice of making 500-acre grants to half-pay officers by virtue of their commissions had never been officially sanctioned at the Cape. Although some exceptions had been made by Sir Rufane Donkin, no more land was to be allocated on this basis. Somerset considered it "worthy of remark that the individuals who advanced the claim have had no intention of confining their views to the possession of such limited grants".⁶⁴

60. RCC XVII, 339-340, Somerset to Bathurst, 21.5.1824.

61. Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.217.

62. RCC XVII, 348, Instructions for the Commissioner appointed to Investigate the Claims of the Settlers, Article 18, 21.5.1824.

63. Millar, Plantagenet in South Africa, p.180.

64. RCC XVII, 349, Instructions for the Commissioner, Article 23, 21.5.1824.

Besides giving consideration to land claims, Special Commissioner Hayward was to review the allocation of ration debts, which had been charged first against deposit money, and when this credit ran out, against the security of the land itself. Land titles, particularly for proprietary party heads, were likely to be heavily encumbered. The large amounts owed to government and the extreme poverty of the settlers made repayment of debts so precarious that Hayward was instructed to give the most liberal consideration to claims for remission.⁶⁵ In the event, the recovery of ration debts proved impossible, and on Somerset's recommendation Earl Bathurst agreed to waive them entirely in 1825.⁶⁶

Special Commissioner William Hayward left Table Bay aboard the government brig Locust on June 1, 1824. He had an uncomfortable voyage: the Locust was blown off the Kowie mouth where she was meant to land her passengers, and was forced to seek shelter in Algoa Bay before returning to the Kowie anchorage on June 23.⁶⁷ The state of affairs he left behind him in Cape Town was equally turbulent. The South African Commercial Advertiser and the South African Journal had both stopped publication, and battle had been joined with Somerset for the freedom of the Press. Attacks on the character of the Governor and the unpopular Fiscal had led to a series of notorious trials for defamation, and culminated in the "Placard Incident".⁶⁸ Colonel Bird had been dismissed as Colonial Secretary, but Somerset had acquired a more vociferous opponent in the Inspector of Lands and Woods. He was soon to have to contend with Dr Philip and the Society for the Relief of Distressed Settlers as well.

The Society had been remarkably successful in its appeal for funds overseas. The wretched state of the "starving and naked" population of Albany had been widely publicised in England, Scotland and India, through highly-coloured newspaper reports and by speakers at fund-raising meetings. By April 1824 the London subscription list alone had reached £2 000.⁶⁹ With

65. Ibid, 344-348, especially article 18.

66. RCC XX, 405, Somerset to Bathurst, 31.3.1825; RCC XXII, 499, Bathurst to Somerset, 20.8.1825; RCC XXV, 367-8, Government Minute of 26.1.1826.

67. Cape Town Gazette, 5.6.1824 and 3.7.1824.

68. See Chapter iv, fn.56 above.

69. Cape Town Gazette, 17.7.1824.

the contributions from sympathisers in India, nearly £10 000 had been collected by the end of the year.⁷⁰

A report that had appeared in the British and Indian Observer was reprinted on the front page of the Cape Town Gazette in August, and raised a storm of indignation among the settlers in Albany.

At the Cape, English women are starving; English women are naked; - English women are compelled to purchase with the sacrifice of their virtue, from the hands of the sailors who happen to stop there, a handful of rice to support a miserable existence.⁷¹

The editor of the Gazette hastened to defend the settlers' morals, and to point out the distance of their locations from any major seaport. He presumed that the object of this calumny was to touch the hearts and the pockets of potential benefactors, but was confident that no English settlers would accept charity at the expense of their reputations.

The same edition of the Gazette carried two notices inserted by the Society for the Relief of Distressed Settlers; one advertising the forthcoming Annual General Meeting of subscribers, and the other inviting settlers in Albany to state their claims for relief before a newly-formed local subcommittee, appointed to investigate cases of hardship and make recommendations to the distributors of the Society's funds.

The "Radical" South African Commercial Advertiser had been replaced by a government-approved newspaper, the South African Chronicle and Mercantile Advertiser, fated to have a very limited life. An anonymous "Settler" - identified as Walter Currie,⁷² in a letter from Somerset to Earl Bathurst - used its correspondence columns to refute not only the

70. Report of the Committee of the Society for the Relief of Distressed Settlers...1825, p.3.

71. Cape Town Gazette, 14.8.1824.

72. Walter Currie (1784-1836), a purser in the Royal Navy, applied to take out a small party to the Cape in 1819 and was refused. He joined Willson's party, but requested a separate grant of land as he was taking out three servants and a capital of £1 300 in addition to his half-pay. (PRO CO 48/42, p.467, Currie to Goulburn, 27.10.1819.) He opened a shop at Bathurst soon after his arrival in Albany, and was appointed a Field-Cornet in 1823.

"infamous aspersions" in the British and Indian Observer, but the false and exaggerated reports of the settlers' distress that had been generally circulated by their would-be benefactors. In two long and well-reasoned letters to the Editor he argued that while work was plentiful and wages proportionate to the price of food, there could be no general and deep distress in Albany, and every "industrious and sober" family must do well.

Had money been solicited and granted for the purpose of assisting those speculators who had failed in their enterprises, which, frequently, they had neither capital or experience to conduct, or to aid the industrious man who was beginning to prosper, but whose prosperity would be accelerated by an increase of capital, the undertaking would have been praiseworthy and honest; but to collect large sums under the plea of rescuing females from prostitution, forced upon them by extreme hunger, and a body of men from general and appalling distress, where no such prostitution exists, and where distress is only very partial, appears to me (to say the least of it) obtaining money under false pretences.⁷³

Currie was convinced that the country's greatest need was labour, but the propaganda that had been circulated about the wretched state of the settlers would stop any further emigration to the Cape. A group of over-zealous philanthropists was allowing the interests of a few individuals who stood to gain immediate benefit to jeopardise the future prosperity of the whole colony.

Thomas Pringle, editor of the defunct South African Journal and author of the article on the state of the British settlers which had resulted indirectly in its demise, rushed into print to defend both the Society for the Relief of Distressed Settlers and the need of the upper-class emigrants for its help. He contended that the Society had in no way raised money under false pretences; it had publicly stated that the wage-earning classes were no longer in want, although they had escaped great distress only by leaving Albany. Its recent appeal had not been made on their behalf, but for the heads of parties and small capitalists who could no longer afford to pay the labourers, now prospering, whom they had originally employed.

73. South African Chronicle and Mercantile Advertiser, 22.9.1824.

The multitudes who might have starved on their locations, are now widely dispersed over a country where the absolute necessities of life are cheap and plentiful. Some have even begun to prosper in the Zuureveld. Industrious and sober mechanics are saving money at Graham's Town; expert hawkers are collecting stock; persons who came out absolute paupers, and had their deposits paid by their parishes, are beginning to thrive. The success of these classes is fortunate, and clearly exhibits the natural resources of the country. But it is nevertheless a melancholy consideration, that while the pyramid of civil society is thus turned topsey-turvey, the classes who once occupied the upper grades - and from whose resources (fruitlessly, although not improvidently expended), the lower orders have been enriched, - that these classes if not speedily and efficiently supported, must necessarily sink, and are now fast sinking, into poverty, and will, ere long...be degraded into the servants and dependants of the more fortunate mechanics and mendicants who came out under them.⁷⁴

In his reply to Pringle's letter Walter Currie pointed out that however clearly the Society might have defined the true objects of its charity, its appeal had become confused in the public mind with "the idea of general misery and wretchedness". The emigrants who by Pringle's definition stood in need of compensation for losses or relief from real distress were very few. There were not more than fourteen or fifteen heads of parties who had brought out labourers at their own expense, and the majority of joint-stock settlers who could be classed as "small capitalists" were tradesmen, and as such were not considered to need assistance. Others had found employment in government service or commerce. As for Pringle's prediction of the imminent disruption of the social order,

Money granted for the purpose of relieving real and positive distress, should be applied to that purpose, and to that purpose alone, and not to the maintaining this or that class of men, to the neglecting of others, because they have once been, and still fancy themselves to be, superior; a doctrine which seems better adapted to the ages and countries of "Privileged Classes", than to those in which we live. Within the circle of my acquaintance, I do not know of one respectable man, who may still be considered so, (estimating by conduct, not riches), who has any the least prospect of being obliged to become a servant to labourers or mechanics. With Mr. Pringle's extensive acquaintance on the subject, how many can he reckon?⁷⁵

74. South African Chronicle, 29.9.1824.

75. South African Chronicle, 3.11.1824.

On paper at least, the round went against the Radicals. Walter Currie had put his finger on the basic anomalies in the arguments put forward by the Society. However welcome and necessary its contributions may have been in Albany, they were collected after the settlement had succeeded in weathering its worst years. The fund-raising appeal generated exaggerated reports of the settlers' hardships, which the Society's spokesmen alternately defended and denied, and which were believed by others besides Currie to have discouraged further emigration and the flow of capital to the Cape.⁷⁶ The categories into which the Society divided the settlers were inconsistent as well as over-simple, and altered to suit the argument of the moment. The eventual distribution of funds was made on a selective basis, but not one that matched up with the Society's stated policy.

The Annual General Meeting of the Society for the Relief of Distressed Settlers precipitated a war of words on a much larger scale than Currie and Pringle's skirmish in the columns of the South African Chronicle. For some time past Miles Bowker, Thomas Philipps and the Methodist minister at Salem⁷⁷ had acted as "Correspondents" of the Society, to inform the committee of needy cases in Albany and to distribute aid. It was decided to expand this small group, by the inclusion of Major Pigot, Captain Campbell and another Albany Radical, Donald Moodie,⁷⁸ into a subcommittee to investigate the circumstances of all the settlers still in Albany and to make recommendations for the general allocation of the Society's funds.

The Controller of Customs at Cape Town, a long-serving member of the parent committee, proposed that the Albany local authorities - the

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76. RCC XIX, 355, Peter Tait to Bathurst, 27.12.1824: "...Owing to the unfavourable (but in my opinion unfounded) reports inculcated by the disappointed and inexperienced settlers, but few British farmers would be induced to embark their capital in the colony..."
77. Initially the Rev. William Shaw, and after his departure for Wesleyville, the Rev. Stephen Kay.
78. Donald Moodie (1794-1861), one of four sons of the laird of Melsetter, Orkney, retired from the Royal Navy on half-pay soon after being made Lieutenant in December 1815. He joined his brother Benjamin at the Cape (see Chapter i, fn.10 above). He married Sophia Pigot in 1824, and was appointed Government Resident at Port Frances in January 1825.

Landdrost, Heemraden and the Grahamstown Anglican clergyman - should be appointed to the subcommittee as additional members. This suggestion was strongly opposed by Dr Philip, first in private and then publicly at the Society's General Meeting. He argued that the Landdrost's duties did not allow him time to attend to the Society's business, which would be complicated by the ill-feeling that already existed between the authorities and the settlers. He pointed out that half the money in the Governor's Fund was still undistributed after two years, and cited the specific case of a settler family in desperate circumstances whose sufferings had been reported to the Landdrost by one of the officers on the frontier without result. H.E. Rutherfoord confirmed Dr Philip's story and added that "he knew that the Landdrost had neither time to permit him to attend to the objects of the Society, - nor had he the inclination."⁷⁹

This was an open declaration of war. Somerset reacted at once by calling for an investigation of the story by Rivers and an explanation from Dr Philip, who was reluctant to disclose his source of information and vague about the name of the settler family concerned. Rivers was prompt to inform the Governor that Dr Philip's description pointed to William Harden and his family of Bailie's party; that he had afforded them relief immediately their situation was brought to his notice; and that Rutherfoord's assertion was entirely groundless. In evidence of this he forwarded testimonials to his humanity and prompt attention to distress that he had obtained from a minister of religion, three doctors, his own subordinate officials, and some of his warmest supporters among the settlers. Even Special Commissioner William Hayward was called on to testify that he had heard no complaints of Rivers' neglect. Although he was a newcomer to Albany, Hayward's support was sought by both sides in the dispute: the Society for the Relief of Distressed Settlers, after giving its veto to the Landdrost, had invited the Special Commissioner to assist its subcommittee.⁸⁰

A second batch of testimonials on Rivers' behalf followed soon after the first. Among them were two round-robins which had been circulated by

79. Documents Originally Published at the Cape of Good Hope, p.2.

80. CA CO 8541, Rutherfoord to Hayward, 27.8.1824.

the Landdrost's friends and signed by more than 250 settlers. They included twelve members of Bailie's party: Stringfellow, Vokins, Devine, Anderson, Duffy, Heath, Marillier, Rowles, Seymour, Whittal, Blair and Benjamin Hewson. Besides defending Rivers, his supporters attacked "the junto" and complained that the characters of the settlers were being

...shamefully traduced, and their magistrates libelled and calumniated, to gratify the personal hostility or party spirit of a self-elected committee.⁸¹

According to Robert Godlonton, William Harden was a workman of "improvident and thoughtless character" who had earned good money but had squandered it on drink. He had died on Bailie's party's location in miserable circumstances after some months of illness, leaving a wife and three small children. Godlonton, who was Rivers' clerk, claimed that Harden's appeal for help from the Governor's Fund had been made through him; that the Landdrost had authorised a supply of groceries, and that Godlonton himself, as a fellow-emigrant of the same party, had collected small donations from his friends in Grahamstown. John Lawlor, Thomas Plowman and J.E. Ford of Bailie's party had all contributed.

Godlonton's rôle in the Harden story is not admirable, but his assumption that as Harden was an undeserving case, he had no legitimate claim to public charity, was a fair reflection of the attitude of the time. It was irrelevant to criticise the quality or quantity of the help the Hardens had received, since it was commendable in the donors, and fortunate for the Hardens, that they received any at all.

John Bailie confirmed that the family had been given help by the authorities and by the medical officer from Kaffir Drift Post, who had provided food, comforts and medicines. Subsequent evidence made it clear that there was little factual basis for Bailie's claim that the family was never in want. As for the Landdrost's concern for distressed settlers in general, Bailie asserted that only three members of his former party - Mrs Harden, Henry Lloyd and T.P. Adams - had ever applied to the authorities for aid, and all three had received it.

81. Documents Originally Published at the Cape of Good Hope, p.26, letter of R. Godlonton, 4.9.1824.

The Governor made full use both of Dr Philip's attack on the Landdrost, which he interpreted as an attempt to bring the colonial government into disrepute, and of Rivers' defence. He wrote to Earl Bathurst denouncing the Society for the Relief of Distressed Settlers and in particular Dr Philip who "mingles himself in everything that can give him political influence",⁸² and recommended that pressure be applied to the London Missionary Society to remove him from the colony. In addition, the government printer was instructed to publish in pamphlet form Authentic copies of a correspondence which took place in consequence of a statement made at the Annual General Meeting of the Society for the Relief of Distressed Settlers, in Cape Town, August 18, 1824, reflecting on the conduct and character of the Landdrost of Albany, including all the testimonials in Rivers' favour.

The evidence against Dr Philip in Authentic Copies of a Correspondence disturbed his friends while it delighted his enemies. The resident missionary at Theopolis commented in his diary that

it would have been better if he had had nothing to do with the settlers, and for all if that Society had not been made a political thing of.⁸³

A Cape Town notary who had supported Dr Philip's stand at the General Meeting used the South African Chronicle to express disgust and disillusionment at what now appeared to be an unmerited attack on the Landdrost. He challenged Philip to produce proof of his allegations or else apologise publicly.⁸⁴ Philip in reply published an appeal for help addressed to the Settlers Fund committee by "a respectable person in behalf of the widow Harden" two months after her husband's death. It stated that she and her three infant children would have perished from want during William Harden's last illness had it not been for their friends; they had no means of support in the colony, and wanted to return to England where Harden's family could provide for them. This was not the only proof of the family's distress that Dr Philip could produce:

82. RCC XVIII, 345, Somerset to Bathurst, 11.10.1824.

83. Cory Library, Journal of the Rev. George Barker, 25.10.1824.

84. South African Chronicle, 20.10.1824, Open Letter from H. Pugh to Dr Philip.

if the Chronicle's readers would have a little patience, they would see "others of a similar character".⁸⁵ He was engaged in preparing a crushing reply to the Governor's pamphlet which he published at the end of 1824.

Dr Philip's Reply to a Pamphlet Printed at the Government Press was followed by another anti-Rivers pamphlet from H.E. Rutherfoord. They were less hastily compiled than the Governor's pamphlet; the Albany Radicals took time to collect statements from the settlers who considered they had been unsympathetically treated by the Landdrost, and to examine in detail the accounts for such part of the Governor's Fund as he claimed to have dispensed. Rivers was undoubtedly guilty of gross inefficiency and negligence, but Dr Philip edited his material to give the impression of fraudulence and corruption to boot. Rivers protested with understandable bitterness that he stood accused of sacrificing his place in society and his position in life "for the fraudulent gain of the sum of Eleven pounds and four shillings sterling".⁸⁶

The Albany Radicals claimed that many of the settlers had been intimidated into signing the round-robin in favour of the Landdrost that had been published in the Governor's pamphlet. Lieutenant Charles Crause was chiefly blamed; he had used the power of the Landdrost as a stick to make the settlers sign. Rutherfoord's pamphlet included a "Recantation Paper" with the signatures of some forty settlers, who may have felt that the Landdrost's displeasure was less important than the approval of the Society for the Relief of Distressed Settlers.

The pamphlet war was a propaganda campaign on both sides; neither comes out of it with credit. As a source of information it is equally suspect about conditions in Albany and the character of the Landdrost and his subordinates. Dr Philip's primary interest was in the future of the Hottentot people, not Albany local government, but he believed that "the missions and the rights of the people must stand or fall together",⁸⁷ and once Somerset and Rivers had taken up the challenge that was issued

85. South African Chronicle, 27.10.1824.

86. RCC XXIV, 151, Rivers to Secretary to Government, 22.12.1825.

87. Macmillan, Cape Colour Question, p.200.

at the Society's Annual General Meeting, Philip made the best use of the situation. Even his supporters recognised that "the Doctor is not a scrupulous man and is pretty well versed in the methods of managing the people",⁸⁸ and one suspects that he relished the exercise for its own sake, quite apart from the ends he hoped to gain by his sometimes dubious means.

The story of the unfortunate Harden family was at the centre of the pamphlet war, but its publication did them little good; it was used to bring opprobrium on Rivers, not to get help for the Hardens. William Harden was originally a cabinetmaker from Bishopsgate. He was located with the other members of Bailie's party at Cuylerville, but after struggling for more than two years on his allotment he gave up and moved to Grahamstown to follow his trade. Work was scarce and house-rent high, and in February 1823 he returned to the location and occupied a cottage built by Robert Godlonton. Two months later Harden sustained a serious injury through lifting a bag of pumpkins, and became bedridden. His youngest child died soon afterwards, both other children were very ill and his wife was in an advanced state of pregnancy. Harden died a few weeks after the baby's birth. The family was completely destitute, and Mrs Harden travelled to Grahamstown to appeal for help. When she returned she found the cottage they had been living in had collapsed in the October rains. She and her children were taken in by neighbours until she remarried and moved back to Harden's allotment in June of the following year.

The evidence of the Hardens' friends and neighbours helps to throw some light on the relations between the Cuylerville settlers. Although John Bailie was no longer formally connected with his party he evidently continued to take some responsibility for its members' welfare. He obtained medical attention for Harden from Kaffir Drift Post, and interested the philanthropically-inclined officers of the 6th Regiment in the suffering family. Mrs Harden could not write; he addressed memorials on her behalf to the Distressed Settlers Fund and the Governor, appealing for relief and a passage home to England, and persuaded her to go to Grahamstown in his waggon to apply to the Landdrost for help.

88. RCC XIX, 491, Fairbairn to Pringle, 20.10.1824.

(Thomas Price Adams subsequently told Special Commissioner Hayward that Bailie had assisted "many distressed individuals" of the party, of whom he was one.)⁸⁹ It appears from the statements by Bailie and others that he kept a store from which he supplied Mrs Harden with groceries, and Mrs Bailie could well have been the distressed gentlewoman described in the 1825 Report of the Society for the Relief of Distressed Settlers:

A lady of highly respectable family and connexions, in addition to "all the drudgery of the household, the labour of the dairy and the care of her children", has had to attend to the concerns of a petty shop, and to serve out liquor at the bar of a common canteen.⁹⁰

If so, it was ironic - perhaps intentionally so - that she should have been cited as "an instance of privation" when John Bailie himself was contending that upper-class settlers stood in no need of pity or charity.

The Hardens' neighbours combined to give them what help they could, and to ensure that they did not starve. Mrs Wakeford, wife of "the most opulent person in the immediate neighbourhood", supplied the family with milk for which she saw no prospect of being paid. On one occasion she acted as intermediary with the Landdrost. John Duffy also called at the landdrost's office on Mrs Harden's behalf to ask for bedding, and although the aid they were given was not generous neither messenger returned empty-handed. John Rowles frequently rode to Upper Kaffir Drift on Harden's horse to fetch food and comforts from the philanthropic Captain Clark, the officer in command of the post, whose contributions were the Hardens' chief support.⁹¹ Neighbourly concern went further than food: Mrs Seymour, Mrs Whittal and Mrs Blair assisted at Maria Harden's confinement, J.H. Heath sat up at night with the sick man who "would not

89. CA CO 8541, T.P. Adams to Hayward, 12.10.1824.

90. Report of the Committee of the Society for the Relief of Distressed Settlers...1825, p.37.

91. My attention was drawn by Mrs M. Rainier to a pamphlet published in London (n.d.) entitled Copy of a Letter from Capt. William Clark Late of the 6th Foot to the Rev. John Philip D.D. Relative to a Statement Made at a Public Meeting Respecting the Distress of the Harden Family, giving details of Harden's last illness and the subsequent post-mortem findings. Capt. Clark interested himself in the sufferings of Thomas Price Adams and his family as well as the Hardens; see Documents Originally Published at the Cape of Good Hope, pp.92-93.

be composed unless he was there", and Mrs Heath cared for the children in their mother's absence. When Harden and the child died, "kind neighbours" made coffins and dug graves, and their wives laid out the bodies.⁹² Private consciences were evidently more tender than public ones, and there was a strong bond between fellow-emigrants who had travelled from England in the same ship.⁹³

The public victory of the Albany Radicals over their opponents did not have to wait for the publication of Dr Philip's pamphlet. The Landdrost's supporters were confident enough to call a meeting at Bathurst "in vindication of the general character of the colonists", to refute the unfavourable English Press reports on the state of the settlement, and

to endeavour to undeceive a generous and unsuspecting public and to prevent its feelings and its liberality from being imposed upon by a series of highly coloured tales of general distress which are circulated greatly to the injury of this colony generally and of this settlement particularly, and tend to deter Emigrants from seeking in it an asylum where there is a great demand for labour, very high wages, the necessaries of life easy to be obtained and a most healthy and congenial climate.⁹⁴

Rivers readily obtained the Governor's sanction for the meeting, which was held at short notice on November 1, 1824. The Radicals hastily drummed up their supporters and drafted their amendments to the resolutions they expected the enemy to propose. The meeting, according to Thomas Philipps, was attended by two or three hundred people, mostly supporters of the Radicals.⁹⁵ George Dyason of the Landdrost's party, on the other hand, estimated the attendance at "about 150 settlers, of whom

92. See Documents Originally Published at the Cape of Good Hope, pp.46-52, 71-72, 78, 86-88, for the story of the Hardens.

93. W.A. Maxwell has noted that "shipboard friendships seemed to endure" among the emigrants (Stubbs, Reminiscences, p.270, n.226). The bond of fellowship between fellow-emigrants from the same ship is remarked by Mary Durack in her study of Swan River settlers, To Be Heirs Forever. J.C. Chase referred to Godlonton as "an old friend and fellow-passenger on the Chapman" as late as 1876. (University of the Witwatersrand Library, Godlonton Papers no.1601.)

94. CA CO 2662, Draft Resolutions for the Bathurst Meeting.

95. Philipps, 1820 Settler, pp.223-4.

very few could be considered other than as labourers".⁹⁶ The proposal that one of the heemraden should take the chair was loudly resisted, and Miles Bowker installed in his place. The resolutions were then read, and all determinedly opposed; their supporters were shouted down and a set of amended resolutions were proposed and summarily carried. It was a complete defeat for the Landdrost's supporters, whom Thomas Philipps triumphantly nicknamed the "Serviles".⁹⁷ Instead of the original resolutions, it was agreed by an overwhelming majority that unless the settlers received some financial help to replace their exhausted capital, they would have no chance of "reaping the fruits of their industry and the reward of their sufferings".⁹⁸ Gratitude was expressed to those who had promoted and contributed to the relief fund by which those sufferings would be to some extent alleviated. A resolution to thank the Landdrost for obtaining permission for the meeting was proposed by the Serviles, and provoked such a stormy reaction that Thomas Philipps and Lieutenant Charles Crause came close to exchanging blows.⁹⁹

Mrs Philipps wrote to her family in England,

The Friends of the Settlers as they are termed...obtained a complete triumph, the people proved to be all on their side and the others had not a word to say for themselves. What they want chiefly to prove is that there is no real distress amongst us, and that the subscription raised is quite unnecessary and ought to be appropriated to other uses.¹⁰⁰

If the Landdrost's party had hoped to get public support for a plan to use the settlers' relief fund to build a hospital, they were optimists indeed. The majority of the settlers found the prospect of a cash distribution altogether more attractive, regardless of whether it "furthered the delusion created by the Settlers Fund".¹⁰¹

96. CA CO 223, Dyason to Plasket, 2.11.1824.

97. Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.226.

98. CA CO 2662, Bowker to Rivers, 1.11.1824, Resolutions of the Bathurst Meeting.

99. CA CO 223, Dyason to Plasket, 2.11.1824.

100. Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.222.

101. Graham's Town Journal, 11.12.1834, Report of a public meeting about the Vagrancy Law, speech of J. Bailie.

John Bailie's name was not mentioned in Dyason's account of the meeting, but he was evidently closely concerned. Part of the original draft of the resolutions is in his handwriting,¹⁰² and in Grahamstown ten years later he made a bitter public reference to the occasion when the settlers had voted to betray their own interests.¹⁰³

On this wave of success the Albany Radicals applied to the Governor for permission to hold another meeting, to give the community a chance to express its true opinion of the local authorities. More than 300 signatures were obtained for their petition, among them those of Seymour, Blair and Heath of Bailie's party, the Biddulphs and T.P. Adams.¹⁰⁴ Somerset refused to sanction the meeting - he "considered it his duty to shield from unfair attack the characters of the public officers serving under him"¹⁰⁵ - but his tone was conciliatory, and Rivers was given his long-desired transfer to Swellendam in January 1825.¹⁰⁶

The Cape Town committee of the Society for the Relief of Distressed Settlers was disturbed by the published denials of the existence of distress in Albany. Several of its members visited the settlement at the end of 1824 for a first-hand inspection before the actual distribution of funds was made. The visits were a success from the standpoint of the Radicals; the gentlemen of the committee were eager to sympathise, and the settlers equally eager to show them their sores. The visitors were quickly convinced of the need for aid after finding "not one but several instances" of respectable families wearing tattered clothes and performing menial duties. They reported that most of the lower orders still on the location were independent settlers who had chosen poverty in preference to servitude, and that some of them were in great want.¹⁰⁷

102. CA CO 2662, Draft Resolutions for the Bathurst Meeting.

103. Graham's Town Journal, 11.12.1834, Report of a public meeting about the Vagrancy Law, speech of J. Bailie.

104. Documents Originally Published at the Cape of Good Hope, p.103.

105. CA CO 223, Campbell to Plasket, 24.12.1824 (and minute on).

106. Cape Town Gazette, 22.1.1825.

107. Report of the Committee of the Society for the Relief of Distressed Settlers...1825, pp.32-43.

The situation revealed by the Albany subcommittee in their final report on the state of the settlement was less heartrending. They had been joined by Christopher Thornhill, a supporter of the Landdrost, and their evidence was both balanced and sensible. It was based on information from questionnaires that had been completed by all party heads, as well as from individual settlers, and is probably the most reliable account of the settlers' situation at the close of 1824.¹⁰⁸

In approximate figures, 1 000 men had originally been located in Albany, 240 were still on the land, 350 employed in the district and 250 elsewhere in the colony. About fifty had returned to Britain and fifty others had died. The poorer classes had been hardest hit initially by the unforeseen calamities of blight, floods, cattle theft and the ravages of wild animals, but they had been the fastest to recover. Those settlers who had had the means to try and ride out their difficulties had suffered the most lasting consequences, and were now unable to afford to employ the labour on which their ultimate success depended.

The settlement now showed no outward sign of distress and want, and in the case of the small farmer, perseverance and economy were gradually overcoming misfortune and privation. Stock was increasing and the land starting to bear as knowledge of local conditions improved. The emigrants had learnt an expensive lesson in land-management, and while their prospects were good, they had no means at present of replacing worn-out domestic articles and agricultural implements, or of purchasing cattle. Some small farmers had been forced to leave the land and find clerical or other work to support their families, but were anxious to return. The Society's distribution of funds would bring relief in the short term, but the subcommittee strongly recommended an appeal to Earl Bathurst for the injection of further capital in the form of government loans, to be followed by the supply of labour through continued emigration.

The major part of the money in the Society's hands - an amount of 102 000 rixdollars, or approximately £7 500 - was distributed in Albany in January 1825.¹⁰⁹ It was given on an informal basis, and left to

108. Ibid, pp.17-29.

109. Ibid, pp.3-13.

individual "honour and discretion" to refund it, when circumstances permitted, for "purposes of public utility". The Society itself was disbanded once distribution was completed.

After all the heat generated by the collection and distribution of the relief fund, it is interesting to see who ultimately benefited. The distribution was based on one of the Committee's imprecise classification tables, with the bulk of the money allocated to those settlers who had expended considerable capital, including some "gentlemen of great respectability". They were considered most likely to employ capital for the benefit of the settlement as a whole, and its future prosperity was largely dependent upon them. The biggest individual amounts, 2 000 rixdollars each, were given to nine "capitalists", while another thirty-eight received on average 1 000 rixdollars each. 127 settlers who had brought out and lost "small capitals" were awarded two or three hundred rixdollars, and 167 mechanics and farming men who had invested nothing more than their own deposit money received one hundred rixdollars.¹¹⁰

Payments were graded according to the social standing of the settlers and the capital they had brought out. The heads of proprietary parties were judged to have suffered the most; further down the social scale, the "middling class" of settlers were "undoubtedly entitled to a greater degree of consideration" than the mere labouring men: their distress was "not to be estimated by the same standard of comparison". The Landdrost's party had contended that the Society's real aim was recompense for losses, not relief from suffering, and the method of distribution suggests that they were right.

The Committee was pleased to notice in its final report that the distribution of funds, combined with a better harvest and the trade carried on at Fort Willshire, had brought about a perceptible revival of industry and perseverance in Albany. Thomas Pringle, who had been

110. Ibid, pp.14-15, "Account of Receipts, Disbursements and Appropriations." The names of the recipients are not given, but among Bailie's party, John Bailie, Capt. Henry Crause and George Anderson subsequently denied receiving help from the fund (CA CO 8460 no.6½, Memorial of George Anderson, 5.8.1827, and fn.115 and 116 below). J.B. Biddulph and T.P. Adams applied for help and presumably received it (Macmillan, Cape Colour Question, p.117).

an active member of the Society, was equally ready to give it credit for turning the tide of the settlement's prosperity.¹¹¹ It is difficult to assess the real value of the distribution: the Society's opponents protested that it had done more harm than good because of its inequity.

The industrious man, who is making improvements on his land, received 100. The half-pay officers, who are carrying on nothing, received 1100 rixdollars; about five of them had half the money to do no good. They have bought horses, new saddles and bridles, and ride about for pleasure...¹¹²

Thomas Stubbs¹¹³ expressed much the same view. "Those who were always looking out for the loaves and fishes, got the lion's share, while the greater part of the poorer class got nothing".¹¹⁴ 100 000 rixdollars, particularly when related to the wage of a labouring man -- two rixdollars a day - or the price of a cow - ten rixdollars - was a large enough sum to buy both friends and enemies for its distributors.

The bitterness generated by party feeling in Albany continued to rankle long after the propitiatory visit of the Governor at the beginning of 1825 signalled an official truce. Walter Currie and Henry and John Crause publicly denied receiving help from the Settlers Fund,¹¹⁵ and John Bailie claimed to have preserved his character "unimpeached" by refusing any dealings with it.¹¹⁶ Lieutenant Charles Crause sold up and returned to England in 1826, and his brother put much of the blame on "that Patriot Mr. Philipps", in an indignant letter to the Colonial Secretary.

What, may I ask, has turned the current of emigration from this Colony...but the exaggerated scenes of distress which

111. Pringle, Narrative of a Residence in South Africa, p.209.

112. South African Chronicle, 14.2.1826.

113. Thomas Stubbs came to the Cape in 1820 as a ten-year-old boy; his father was co-leader of a division of Dr Clarke's party, located near the Clay Pits. Thomas was apprenticed to a saddler in Grahamstown after his father was murdered by Xhosa in 1823. He raised and commanded an irregular military unit known during the war of 1846-47 as the "Sporting Club", and in 1850-53 as the "Mounted Rangers".

114. Thomas Stubbs, The Reminiscences of Thomas Stubbs, Graham's Town Series No.4, ed. W.A. Maxwell and R.T. McGeogh, p.69.

115. Letter to the South African Chronicle, 4.4.1826.

116. CA CO 249 no.101, Bailie to Plasket, 24.4.1825.

have been so eloquently described and so industriously circulated. It was policy in certain individuals to promote this outcry to get heavy debts wiped off which they had incurred with the Government. This ruinous policy has left the Settlement without labourers, and it must be galling to the feelings of those who had not this end to answer and who have borne privations without murmuring to see themselves innocently suffering from the schemes and faults of others.¹¹⁷

It was the complaint of a "respectable" joint-stock settler who felt his interests had been sacrificed to those of the proprietary party leaders, and as such it throws revealing light on the two opposing factions in Albany politics.

The conflict in Albany was essentially the concern of the upper classes, except for those occasions when it suited the protagonists on either side to claim that they represented the mass of the settlers. The issues at stake excluded the labouring man, whose support on paper seems to have been given or withdrawn almost on request. The counter-petition tactic employed by the Landdrost's friends in 1823 was used in turn by the Radicals in the following year. Both parties' attitude to labour was that of the employer class: to increase the supply by immigration, and consequently bring down wages. During the course of 1824 the Radicals Thomas Philipps, Frederick Carlisle, Donald Moodie and D.P. Francis¹¹⁸ all stressed the urgency of the need for more labour in reports to the Commissioners of Enquiry.¹¹⁹ Walter Currie of the opposing party submitted a memorandum on the labour shortage to Somerset at the beginning of the following year, emphasising that favourable publicity for the settlement would be the best guarantee of a constant supply. The Governor forwarded it to the Colonial Department with his

117. CA CO 293 no.120, John Crause to Plasket, 1.5.1826.

118. David Polley Francis (1784-1854) initially applied to emigrate as a member of Dr Daniel Baruk's proposed party which was rejected by the Colonial Department. (PRO CO 48/41, p.550, Baruk to Goulburn, 28.9.1819, and p.40 above.) Francis subsequently joined Scanlen's party and was located at Clanwilliam before coming to Albany. Colonel Strutt, M.P. for Malden, used his influence with the Colonial Department on Francis' behalf.

119. RCC XVIII, 36, Philipps to Wilmot Horton, 27.6.1824; pp.43 and 194, Carlisle to Commissioners, 29.6.1824 and 27.7.1824; p.46, Moodie and Francis to Commissioners, 30.6.1824.

own recommendation for the encouragement of future emigration to the Cape.¹²⁰ The members of both Albany political factions put their signatures to a joint memorial in support of Frederick Carlisle's scheme to import labour in April 1825.¹²¹

Historians tend to see Albany politics as a struggle between the settlers and Somerset. The political furore on the Eastern frontier was something of a storm in a domestic teacup, which Dr Philip utilised to add to the Governor's discomfiture but which made no very effective contribution to his downfall. The Albany Radicals were disengaged from the Western Cape colonists' real struggle to modify the autocracy of the government, and showed more tenderness for their personal interests than statesmanship or grasp of the fundamental needs of the colony as a whole.¹²² Little attention has been paid to the part played by the pro-Somerset party in Albany, or to the intensity of party warfare between the two settler factions, but the Albany political conflict was largely one of settlers against settlers. The Serviles were not only for the Landdrost: they were fiercely against the Radicals. It is unfortunate that there is no surviving first-hand account of the Servile's side of the fight, to balance the invaluable letters of Thomas Philipps from the Radical camp.

Classification of settler society was attempted on several occasions by the Society for the Relief of Distressed Settlers. The dividing lines were always drawn horizontally. In fact, settler stratification was not so simple; the upper ranks were vertically divided, since the settler elite included heads of proprietary parties and some, but by no means all, heads and constituent members of joint-stock parties. Although it cannot be regarded as conclusive, there is enough evidence to suggest that the upper-class settlers of the two different types of party can in general be equated with the two Albany political factions, allowing for the exceptions caused by factors such as personal feuds or allegiances.

120. RCC XX, 49, Walter Currie to Somerset, 17.2.1825.

121. RCC XXI, 58-62, Memorial of inhabitants of Albany, 20.4.1825.

122. See Macmillan, Cape Colour Question, p.118.

Exactly which of the party leaders brought out proprietary parties has not been established.¹²³ Thomas Philipps and Major Pigot were certainly among them. The other Albany Radicals may not all have shared their proprietary status, but they shared their political aspirations. They were all members of a privileged class which saw its privileges as rights, and fought to retain them. They challenged constituted authority when it withheld the fruits of patronage - office, land-grants, capital loans - but they were willing enough to accept them from whoever offered them. They aspired to becoming the landed gentry of the settlement, the "sort of aristocracy" that Donkin had wanted to promote. Emigration for them was a means to land-ownership and its accompanying status and perquisites.

On the opposite side of the political fence John Bailie, Walter Currie, the Crauses, Alexander Bisset,¹²⁴ William Cock and George Dyason all emigrated with joint-stock parties. Christopher Thornhill had originally been a partner of William Wait in sponsoring a proprietary party as a business venture. All were "respectable" members of settler society; Captain Henry Crause and his family were among the few emigrants whom Thomas Philipps considered his social equals. Holden Bowker, the fourth son of Miles Bowker, listed the "big" families of Lower Albany who formed the social circle of his boyhood as the Bailies, Bissets, Crauses and Curries.¹²⁵ This comes close to being a roll-call of the Serviles, and indicates that they had social as well as political affinities. As joint-stock settlers their financial investment in the emigration was in most cases less than that of the proprietary heads. Their original land allocations were smaller, their commitments lighter, and they were

123. A tentative list of proprietary party heads may be made from the "sole proprietors" left in possession of land grants, named in Special Commissioner Hayward's "Arrangement of Locations...in Albany" (RCC XXII, 114-116). Those landowners included in Hayward's list who do not seem on the evidence to have been heads of proprietary parties have been omitted. Biggar, Bowker, Butler, Capt. Campbell, Gen. Campbell, Carlisle, Dalgairns, Philipps, Pigot, Scott, White. Barker and Thornhill led divisions of Wait's party, which seems to have consisted of indentured labourers.

124. Alexander Bisset was a Lieutenant of the Royal Navy on half-pay who emigrated with Willson's party.

125. Mitford-Barborton, Comdt. Holden Bowker, p.49.

not burdened with heavy debts to government for servants' rations. They were less dependent on the land than the Radicals, and Bailie, Currie and Cock engaged in mercantile or commercial activities soon after their arrival in the colony. William Cock, Christopher Thornhill and the Dyasons were all actively involved in attempts to develop the Kowie mouth; Bailie and the Crauses had ambitious plans for a harbour at the Great Fish River. The rivalry between landed and commercial interests in nineteenth-century English politics was reflected on a small scale in the political divisions in Albany.¹²⁶

Thomas Pringle's gloomy assertion that "the pyramid of civil society" was crumbling and that masters were being reduced to servants was a flight of literary fancy. It was not the servant class but the joint-stock settlers who offered competition to the would-be "aristocracy" of Albany and threatened to upset the delicate gradations of middle-class hierarchy. Perhaps because they lacked the pretensions of proprietary party heads, they had obtained positions under government, while the Radicals had been excluded from office. Cory has pointed out (following Dr Philip) that most of the Landdrost's supporters were in government service in one capacity or another.¹²⁷ Their political allegiance may equally well have been the cause of this as the effect, although it suited Philip to imply that Rivers had bought their loyalty; the mutual support of patron and protégé was integral to the patronage system. The salaries involved were mostly small; Walter Currie as a field cornet, and the Crauses as officers of the Albany Levy, were paid only two hundred rixdollars a year. It was not particularly lucrative to "bask in the sunshine of magisterial favour".¹²⁸ However, the Crauses' break with the Radicals did occur at much the same time as the Landdrost's recommendation of extensive land grants for both Lieutenant

126. See W.D. Rubinstein, "Wealth, Elites and the Class Structure of Modern Britain", Past and Present no.76, pp.99-126; and W.D. Brock, Lord Liverpool and Liberal Toryism.

127. Cory, Rise of South Africa, II, 168; Documents Originally Published at the Cape of Good Hope, pp.56-57.

128. Documents Originally Published at the Cape of Good Hope, p.63. For salaries of officials in Albany, see RCC XIX, 55 and 127, List of Officers in the Colony, and Somerset to Bathurst, 12.11.1824.

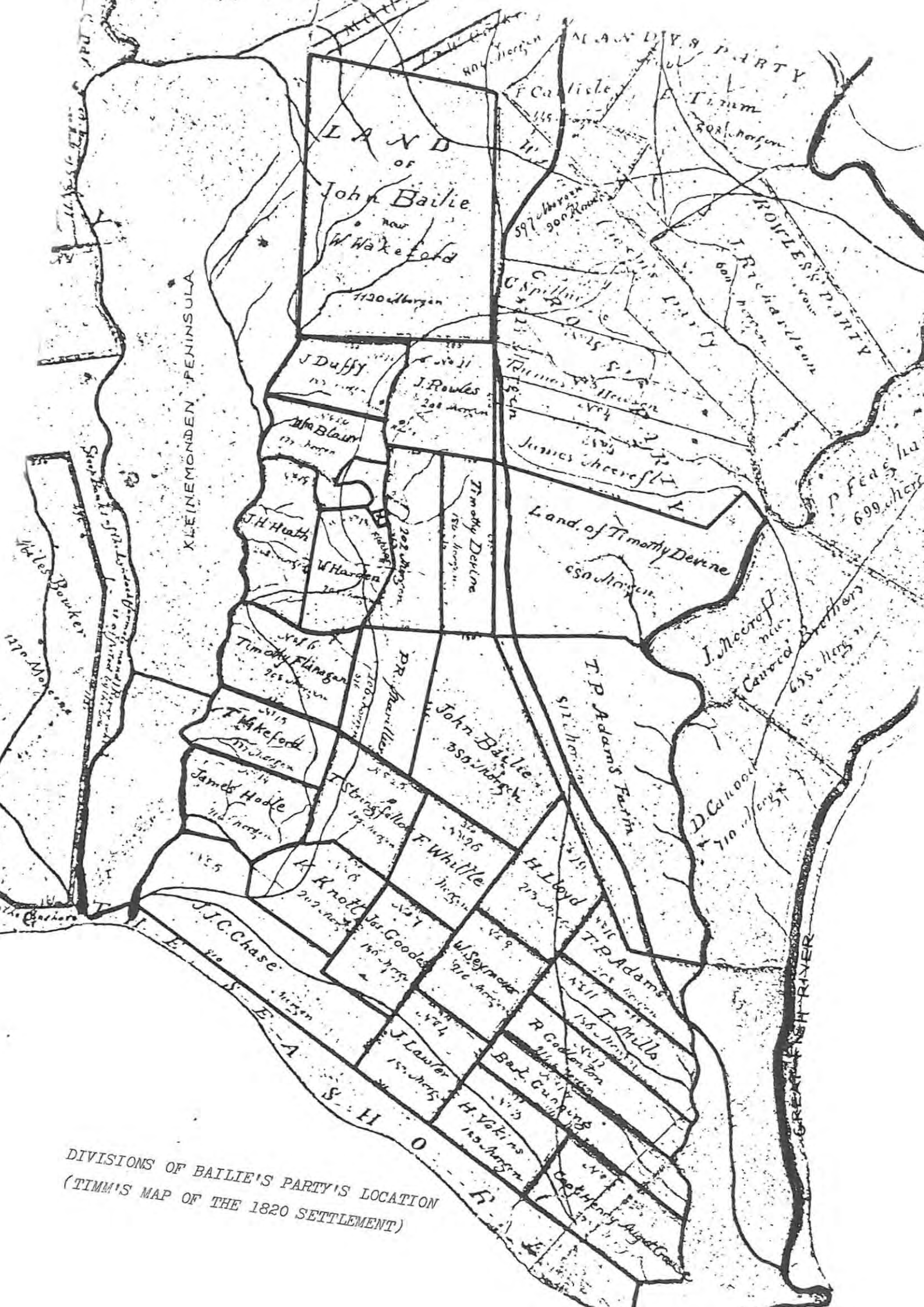
Charles Crause and Captain Henry Crause.¹²⁹

W.M. Macmillan found among the Philip papers a revealing reference to the changing social stratification of the settlement, and the Radicals' reaction to it. In a letter to the chairman of the Society for the Relief of Distressed Settlers, Donald Moodie complained that "the lower classes" in Grahamstown had become "too uppish". The chief opposition to the Radicals had come from "those who had so far prospered, were now anxious to better their social position, and accused the distributors of caring chiefly for the 'decayed gentry'". One of these members of the lower classes aspiring to a higher rank in society was Robert Godlonton, then clerk to the Landdrost.¹³⁰

Donald Moodie's complaint may have touched upon the major issue underlying the political conflict between Radicals and Serviles. It was repeatedly stated that the proprietary party heads had been hardest hit by the unfavourable farming conditions that the settlers encountered in their first four years in Albany. They had been the losers when engagements with their indentured servants were broken. The simple social structure of masters and servants that had originally been envisaged for the Albany settlement had been complicated by the inclusion of joint-stock parties among the emigrants. They provided a rival group of potential leaders: men with the education and enterprise to compete with the proprietary party heads, without their handicap of extensive farming commitments, and with far greater flexibility. Albany politics in the first half of the 1820s may well have centered in a clash between these two groups and their opposed interests.

129. CA CO 8431 no.119, Rivers to Colonial Secretary, 27.3.1823.

130. Macmillan, Cape Colour Question, p.117.



DIVISIONS OF BAILIE'S PARTY'S LOCATION
 (TIMM'S MAP OF THE 1820 SETTLEMENT)

CHAPTER SIX

TAKING ROOT. LAND GRANTS TO BAILIE'S SETTLERS,

1820-1827

The intention of making this an agricultural district having completely failed, it can only be a grazing one, and it remains yet to be seen, whether it can be, from its rivers, a commercial one.

- John Bailie to Earl Bathurst, 26 May 1824.

Land was the emigrants' chief object. Heads of proprietary parties emigrated in the expectation of receiving individual grants of at least a thousand acres; members of joint-stock parties had more modest prospects. Before they had become disillusioned about the fertility of the Suurveld, fifty or a hundred acres of their own seemed a desirable starting point for a new life in a new country. Some hoped to acquire additional land by grant or purchase as soon as they reached the Cape.

In the terms of the 1819 emigration scheme, John Bailie would be entitled to one hundred acres of land at the Cape of Good Hope for every adult male in the party under his direction; approximately 10 000 acres altogether. The subsequent division of this land grant among the members of the party would be an entirely internal arrangement. The party's Articles of Agreement stipulated that thirty-three men, including Bailie's indentured servants, would each receive fifty acres as his share, while the other "independent" members of the party were to receive one hundred acres. Chase, Biddulph and Ford could claim an additional hundred acres on account of each of their indentured servants, who were not entitled to land in their own right. The rest was to be Bailie's.¹

In accordance with his policy of granting land to gentleman settlers, the Acting Governor of the Cape, Sir Rufane Donkin, approved separate 500-acre grants for six members of Bailie's party during 1820-21: Captain Henry Crause, Lieutenant George King, William Hart, Simon Biddulph, J.C. Chase and J.E. Ford.² Dr Daniel O'Flinn and Thomas

1. See Chapter ii above.

2. See Chapter iii above.

Price Adams petitioned for individual grants but Donkin found "no grounds for compliance"; either they failed to meet the requirements for the "sort of aristocracy" he planned to promote, or their lack of means for the development of land was a disqualifier.³ Thomas Hewson, a master gunsmith who had emigrated with a capital of £1 000, applied for a grant of land in Trappes Valley after he had left the party's location and set up in business at Bathurst. He evidently made a favourable impression on Donkin; he was the only tradesman of the party for whom a separate grant was authorised.⁴ In 1821 John Bailie was granted in his own right the thousand-morgen allotment of land on which his subdivision of the party had originally been located.⁵

Simon Biddulph, with the influential backing of Henry Ellis and Captain Moresby, took possession of his land without delay and was granted an additional 750 morgen soon afterwards.⁶ He and John Bailie were the only two men of the party to obtain land and not just the promise of it before the Acting Governor left the colony. After Lord Charles Somerset's return, William Hart went to Graaff Reinet, J.E. Ford to Cape Town, and Lieutenant King presumably returned to Britain. Chase and Crause were eventually granted land; Hewson was refused.

Donkin's attempts to expedite land grants for the Albany settlers by cutting through the cumbersome process of reports and references⁷ were ineffectual against the shortage of surveyors, the pressure (or neglect) of work in the landdrost's office, and the vast backlog of applications for land in the office of the Inspector of Lands and Woods in Cape Town, who was responsible for assessing quit-rents.⁸ The granting of town

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3. CA CO 8450 no.5, Memorial of D. O'Flinn (and minute on), 9.7.1821; CA CO 8449 no.191, Memorial of T.P. Adams (and minute on), 2.6.1821.
 4. CA CO 8482, Memorial of Thomas Hewson (and minute on), 6.6.1821.
 5. CA CO 8541, Memorial of John Bailie (and minute on), 1.6.1821.
 6. CA CO 8478, Memorial of Simon Biddulph, n.d. [1820].
 7. Donkin was subsequently accused of disregarding "all the Regulations for the granting of Government Lands". (RCC XV, 87, explanation of Sir R. Donkin, 29.9.1822.)
 8. There were only two government surveyors in the Albany and Uitenhage districts, one of whom was on leave in the second half

erven was comparatively simple. Emigrants of Bailie's party were granted erven in each of the three villages sponsored by Donkin: Port Elizabeth, Bathurst and Fredericksburg. Donkin named Port Elizabeth after his wife, and encouraged settlers with capital to build there "in order to have a point of export for...produce from Albany".⁹ William Reed was granted an erf in June 1820, as "a settler with some capital and much industry", and another erf in the following year to enable him to build a warehouse near the landing-place.¹⁰ His son was granted land at the mouth of the Ferreira's River where he planned to establish a salt-works.¹¹ Christopher Franz, who emigrated as a servant to John Bailie but left him soon after reaching Algoa Bay, was granted a small piece of land to support his family on the outskirts of the town. Franz, a Hanoverian ex-soldier, had to make a second appeal to Donkin to confirm his grant, as the landdrost of Uitenhage objected on the grounds that he was "not a native of Great Britain".¹² In 1823 Somerset granted erven at Port Elizabeth to two more of Bailie's settlers, T.W. Oldham and Thomas Griffin, who had left Albany after applying unsuccessfully for grants of land outside the party's location.¹³

of 1820. (CA 1/AY 8/71, Cuyler to Trappes, 7.10.1820.)
 For an account of the system of granting land at the Cape, and the delay and inefficiency in which it was bogged down, see Leslie Clement Duly, British Land Policy at the Cape, 1795-1844. After the incompetent Inspector of Lands and Woods had been replaced by a surveyor general and land board, it was discovered in 1830 that more than 4 500 applications for land made between 1813 and 1828 had not been acted on. There were delays of more than twenty years in the issuing of title deeds. (Ibid, pp.104, 113.)

9. RCC XV, 72, Explanation by Sir R. Donkin, 29.9.1822.
10. CA CO 8449 no.111, Memorial of W. Reed (and minute on), 17.5.1821.
11. Now known as "Smelly Creek". CA MOIB 2/517 no.27, sequestered estate of W. Reed, 1840.
12. CA CO 8449 no.99, Memorial of C. Franz, 14.5.1821.
13. CA CO 8451 no.11, Memorial of T.W. Oldham, 1.8.1821; CA CO 8452 no.49, Memorial of T.W. Oldham, 8.10.1822; CA 8450 no.110, Memorial of T. Griffin, 29.10.1821; CA 8452 no.91, Memorial of T. Griffin, 15.11.1822.

The village of Bathurst was a pet project of Donkin's.

I determined on founding the town, and the only means of carrying that determination into effect was to give people the ground to build upon... The persons to whom I gave building lots at Bathurst were either Magistrates, persons having capital, artizans, or persons wishing to engage in trade.¹⁴

He granted erven to five former members of Bailie's party - John Goodwin, Simon Biddulph, who used his capital to set up as a merchant, George Anderson and Thomas Hewson, both master tradesmen, and Dr O'Flinn as government medical officer.¹⁵ The grants of free erven at Bathurst stopped at the beginning of 1821, and Timothy Devine, Robert Godlonton and J.H. Heath were informed that they could only obtain erven by purchase.¹⁶ Thomas Plowman and John Walker's requests for building land in Grahamstown met with the same answer.¹⁷ Some town erven were still granted in exceptional circumstances, however. George Futter had moved to Grahamstown in 1820 as shoemaker to a company of the Cape Corps, and Captain Henry Somerset, then Acting Deputy Landdrost, had given him permission to build a house near the barracks. Futter petitioned successfully in 1822 for the grant of a morgen and a half of ground where he had built and cultivated.¹⁸ Another special case was Bartholomew Gunning, who was granted the erf at Bathurst on which he had built a house when employed as government woodman.¹⁹

The delay in measuring Captain Henry Crause's grant of land, as well as those of his two brothers, lost them the first planting season. Neither the Crauses nor Donkin could guess at the time that this delay

14. RCC XV, 76, Explanation by Sir R. Donkin, 29.9.1822.

15. See Chapter iii above.

16. CA CO 8540, Colonial Office to Provisional Magistrate, Bathurst, 26.1.1821 and 15.2.1821; CA CO 8449 no.194, Memorial of T. Devine (and minute on), 4.6.1821; CA CO 8482, Memorial of R. Godlonton, n.d.; CA CO 8449 no.261, Memorial of J.H. Heath and minute on, n.d.

17. CA CO 8485, Memorial of T. Plowman, n.d.; CA CO 8450 no.36, Memorial of J. Walker (and minute on), 14.8.1821.

18. CA CO 8451 no.101, Memorial of G. Futter, n.d.; CA CO 8431 no.95, Rivers to Bird, 11.7.1822.

19. CA CO 8451 no.136, Memorial of B. Gunning, 6.6.1822.

would save the expense and disappointment of a failed wheat crop. Donkin authorised additional grants for the Crauses in compensation, and emphasised that "these gentlemen must be looked after".²⁰ However, they chose instead to accept land on the same terms as the officers of the Royal African Corps, in the military settlement of Fredericksburg which Donkin founded on the Gualana River in 1821. J.C. Chase moved with them to an erf in the new village, and as he subsequently recalled, had the exotic experience of dining on baked elephant's foot by the light of elephant-tallow candles. Fredericksburg was abandoned less than a year later and all four men reapplied for land grants in Albany.²¹

In theory, heads of emigrant parties were entitled to land only in proportion to the number of men who remained on the locations for three years. In practice, it proved impossible for the settlers to make a living by agriculture, and although only a third of them stayed on their locations, they needed all the land originally allocated to the parties if they were to support themselves by cattle-farming. As the stipulated three-year residence period neared its end, Somerset called for a report from the Landdrost of Albany on the state of the locations. Whether the remaining settlers were granted the whole of their original locations or not would depend on the industry they had shown, of which the landdrost was to be the only judge.²²

The Opgaaf Roll of 1822 had listed twenty-four men of Bailie's party still living on the general location.²³ A twenty-fifth man, John Rowles, seems to have been omitted from the list in error. Byrne, Griffin, Walker and Ford left during 1822, Byrne for Graaff Reinet, Griffin for Port Elizabeth and Walker and Ford for Grahamstown. None of them returned to the location; Byrne and Ford eventually moved on to Cape Town and Walker to Cradock.²⁴ The Landdrost's report of May 1823,

20. CA CO 8480, Memorial of Messrs Crause (and minute on), 6.6.1821.

21. See Chapter iii above; and Chase, Cape of Good Hope and the Eastern Province, p.69 (footnote).

22. RCC XVI, 421, Memorandum by the Inspector of Lands and Woods, 30.10.1823.

23. CA 1/AY 13/8a. See Appendix E.

24. See Chapter iv above.

on which the land grants were to depend, showed twenty-one men, seventeen women and thirty-four children on the party's location. There were twenty wattle-and-daub houses, each with its quarter-acre of garden. Fifty-odd acres of ground had been sown during the last season and had produced a fair crop of pumpkins but little else. Since the 1822 Opgaaf count the party's cattle had increased to more than 450, in addition to 150 sheep and fourteen horses. The Landdrost considered them an idle party, and reported that only two or three of them had made any worth-while attempt to cultivate their location.²⁵

On the basis of Rivers' report on the state of the settlement the Governor gave instructions in October that thirty-two heads of parties were to receive title to their full locations, five of them with the grant of additional land, while sixteen heads of parties were to retain part of their original locations only. The eight other parties on the Landdrost's list, with Bailie's among them, were no longer under their original leaders, and in most cases the locations were to be divided among the remaining members. In the case of Bailie's party, however, only the two or three individuals who had merited the Landdrost's good opinion were to have land measured for them, and he was to decide the size of their grants. The rest of the party would remain landless.²⁶

Rivers submitted a recommendation in December for more generous treatment for Bailie's party.

With respect to Mr. Bailie's party, the twenty-one adults who have resided upon the location during the three years are entitled to their respective allotments. Mr. Bailie himself has cultivated as much as in his power, and I submit he should be granted land for himself and the number of servants he brought out.²⁷

In the event the final allocation of land to the settlers was not to depend on Rivers' recommendations but on those of Special Commissioner William Hayward. He came to Albany in 1824 with no evident political bias, and with Somerset's instructions to view the settlers' claims

25. CA CO 8431 no.118, Rivers to Bird, 24.5.1823.

26. RCC XVI, 408, Bird to Rivers, 22.10.1823.

27. RCC XVI, 475, Claims recommended by Landdrost, 24.12.1823.

with sympathy.

In making your decision, the construction most favourable to the Settler should in all cases be adopted, the severe visitations of successive Blights and Tempests entitling him to that indulgence.²⁸

The concern for the emigrants' welfare that had been expressed by the Commissioners of Enquiry and by Earl Bathurst had had its effect on the Governor's attitude.

Hayward's instructions were prolix and complicated, drawn up by Somerset in consultation with Bigge and Colebrooke. He was to give first consideration to those settlers who had persevered with agriculture, however unsuccessfully. Men who had been forced by hardship to leave their locations before fulfilling the three-year residence qualification might be readmitted, particularly if they returned with improved means, but mechanics and labourers who had found employment in Grahamstown should be encouraged to remain there, with the offer of building erven as an incentive. Members of the joint-stock parties had shared out their locations themselves, but disputes had arisen over the sub-divisions and Hayward was to attempt to settle them with the help of the surveyor.²⁹

On the whole Hayward was remarkably successful in his mission. His decisions satisfied the great majority of the settlers, joint-stock or otherwise, but the complicated circumstances of Bailie's party and the conflicting claims of its members presented difficulties that his "best endeavours" failed to adjust. He reached Bailie's party early in October 1824, and left a month later with a letter of appreciation for his fair and impartial treatment, but with no final agreement reached about the division of the location.

The party was to be granted the entire 11 000 acres on which it had originally been located, but it failed to agree either on the rights of the individual claimants or the method by which the land was to be divided. Twenty-one men had been listed in the Landdrost's report of May 1823 as still resident on the location. In addition, John Bailie

28. RCC XVII, 357, Brink to Hayward, 24.5.1824.

29. RCC XVII, 340-350, Instructions to the Special Commissioner, 21.5.1824.

now submitted claims for shares for himself and the five servants he had brought from England, J.C. Chase and two servants, and Captain Crause. Bailie's suggestion that the title deed for the whole location should be made out to him, as the party's original head, and that the individual claimants should be allowed homesteads at Cuylerville and common grazing rights, received short shrift. He next proposed that The Hope and the party's general location should be lumped together for subdivision among all the legitimate claimants. In addition to his own shares he considered himself entitled to fifty acres of land for each remaining member of the party who had subscribed to the fifty-acre clause in the Articles of Agreement. Special Commissioner Hayward as arbitrator put the suggestion to the party and came up against an uncompromising refusal.

The Party peremptorily protests against Mr. Bailie having any connection whatsoever with or claim upon the Location - Insisting that the Party was dissolved by authority and that Mr. Bailie received the separate grant of 2 000 acres for his Division of the Party and in compensation of his 50 Acre Agreement. - That Mr. Bailie brought actions against the SubHeads for Debts due to him by individuals of their parties and made the SubHeads pay. - That he always resided and cultivated on the separate grant and never on the Location. - Nor will the Party allow Mr. Bailie now to throw his separate Grant into the General Location and make his claims thereon.³⁰

Discussions were "interminable, and led to no conclusion".

When the party had split into five subdivisions in May 1820 the location had not been correspondingly subdivided. There was doubt four years later about who had joined which subdivision, and consequently about the amount of land each subhead could claim for distribution among his remaining people. As head of a subdivision, T.P. Adams claimed and was refused 1 700 acres and a proportionate amount of commonage in his own name. Stringfellow and Vokins claimed the land due to Anderson's subdivision, as its only remaining members. Captain Crause, Bovey and Chase were reluctantly admitted as claimants to shares of the general location by virtue of having built houses and spent a considerable amount of money. Francis Whittal, although originally an indentured servant with no entitlement to land, had established a claim in his own right

30. CA CO 8541, Drafts relating to Special Commissioner Hayward's mission.

by building and cultivating. The widow and children of William Harden were admitted as claimants, and so was one Kemp Knott, who seems to have attached himself to the Cuylerville settlement about 1821.

Michael Plowman, Bartholomew Gunning, John Walker, Thomas Hewson, George Anderson and Robert Godlonton all applied for readmission to the location. Walker and Anderson were refused; so was Thomas Hewson, whose application for a grant of land between the Kleinemonden Rivers was turned down on the grounds that "there were preferent claims, and he was profitably exercising his trade".³¹ It was understood that Special Commissioner Hayward would not grant farms to any settlers who could maintain themselves by a trade or profession,³² but this yardstick was not invariably applied: Timothy Devine, a carpenter who merited consideration as "an industrious and deserving man with a large family", was recommended for a grant of land in addition to his share of the general location. Devine's employment on public works probably influenced Hayward's recommendation.³³

Separate grants of land were recommended for all the gentleman settlers of Bailie's party who applied for them. John Bailie had submitted a memorial for extra land to Earl Bathurst through the agency of his mother in London, which was referred to Hayward for consideration. Bailie asked for an extension of a thousand morgen to his "private Grant" The Hope, and applied again - and again unsuccessfully - for an erf at the Kowie.

The intention of making this an agricultural district having completely failed, it can only be a grazing one, and it remains yet to be seen, whether it can be, from its rivers, a commercial one. Your Memorialist is eager to use his humble endeavours to that end.³⁴

Captain Crause had already been promised a grant in compensation for his losses at Fredericksburg. J.C. Chase, on a rented farm at Graaff Reinet,

31. CA CO 8482, Memorial of T. Hewson, 9.12.1828.

32. Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.220.

33. CA CO 8541; and CA CO 8460 no.169, Memorial of T.P. Adams, 12.9.1827, which states that Devine received favourable treatment through being "a carpenter of Mr Rivers".

34. RCC XVII, 298, Memorial of Anne Bailie, 6.5.1824. (Referred by Wilmot Horton through Commissioners of Enquiry to Hayward, 8.10.1824.)

applied for the grant that had been approved by Donkin but never measured for him, and an additional thousand acres. Hayward noted that Chase had money to develop the land if it were granted him. Thomas Price Adams requested 2 000 morgen to the north of the party's location across the Kap River. His pitiable situation had won Hayward's sympathy, and a grant was recommended "in consideration of this Gentleman's sufferings and losses", although not of the extent to which Adams considered his rank entitled him.³⁵ Robert Bovey applied for a grant at the Kasouga River mouth, lying between Theopolis mission station and the sea. The mission authorities had already made application for this land, and protested that if they lost it their people would be prevented from collecting shells to burn for lime - an important source of income. Justly or not, the grant was confirmed to Bovey on Lord Charles Somerset's visit to the frontier; a decision reported by Thomas Pringle to Dr John Philip with considerable indignation.

This land has moreover been given to a Mr B[ovey] who has no claims whatever on it: he belongs to a party of settlers located at a distance, and, indeed, since his arrival in the colony, has never resided permanently on any location, but has been generally ranging about for his amusement with the surveying officers on the frontier. He has been recommended for the present grant, merely from personal favour, by Captain Hope, a military heemraad of Albany.³⁶

Special Commissioner Hayward's interest in the settlers went further than the arbitration of disputed boundaries. He advised the families living between the Fish and Kleinemonden Rivers, and Bailie's party in particular, to appeal to the Governor to appoint a clergyman and schoolmaster for the area.³⁷ Their children were growing up "without either education or the knowledge of religion",³⁸ and the community could not afford to build a church or pay the stipend of a minister of the Established Church unaided. There were other practical obstacles to education to be overcome besides the lack of schools. It is evident from Hayward's field

35. CA CO 8541.

36. CA CO 8455 no.112, Memorial of R. Bovey, n.d.; and Rev. John Philip, Researches in South Africa, I, 205.

37. Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.220.

38. CA CO 223 no.264, Memorial of persons located between the Fish and Kleinemonden Rivers, n.d.

notes that he considered the shortage of labour the most urgent problem facing the settlement, not least because of the probable effect on the children of the settlers.

From the present high price and scarcity of Labour in the District the Settlers are compelled to send out their young children to attend their Flocks and Herds. The children can ill be spared from these duties...to give that daily attendance at the Schools without which their progress in Education must be slow...

It is to be regretted that while the Sons and Daughters of our Countrymen are engaged in these labours, a zealous attention is bestowed on the Hottentots who are supposed to be receiving at their School of Theopolis that religious and moral instruction so much required by the Children of the Settlers, who may be fairly considered to have stronger and prior claims on the Benevolence and Philanthropy of their countrymen and of the Government.³⁹

Government aid was not forthcoming for either minister or building, however. The Cuylerville community had to fall back in the end on its own resources for its school and church. Two of John Bailie's sons, Charles and John Amelius, converted an old house for use as a chapel and school in 1831, where Charles Bailie preached and taught. It was not replaced by a more permanent building until the end of the decade, when funds were raised to erect a building "for instruction and public worship in connection with the Church of England" on land donated by Robert Godlonton.⁴⁰

Lord Charles Somerset set out at the end of January 1825 to pay his first visit to the eastern frontier since the arrival of the emigrants. His purpose, as he informed Earl Bathurst, was "to ascertain what more it is in the power of Government to do for them".⁴¹ The marked change in Somerset's attitude towards the settlers led Thomas Pringle to conclude

...that the Governor had either received imperative orders from the Home Government to alter his ruinous policy...or,

39. CA CO 8541.

40. CA LG 540 no.1235, Memorial of Trustees of Cuylerville School, 26.6.1843; and Cory Library, Journal of the Rev. George Porter, entries for 1831.

41. RCC XIX, Somerset to Bathurst, 18.1.1825.

that the remonstrances of his Majesty's Commissioners had at length opened his eyes to the pit which he was digging for his own destruction.⁴²

His overtures of conciliation, which largely took the form of land grants, were met more than half-way by the Albany Radicals. Thomas Philipps drew up an address of welcome which was presented to the Governor at the Kowie mouth by Christopher Thornhill, and signed by both Radicals and Serviles. It asked that the developing harbour be named Port Frances in honour of Mrs Henry Somerset, and to this the Governor was pleased to assent.⁴³ He appointed Lieutenant Donald Moodie, one of the foremost Radicals, as Port Frances's resident magistrate,⁴⁴ with J.H. Heath of Bailie's party as his clerk.⁴⁵

Somerset confirmed the grants that had been recommended by the Special Commissioner for John Bailie, Robert Bovey, J.C. Chase and Captain Henry Crause, who was now heemraad for Albany, as well as T.P. Adams and Timothy Devine. J.B. Biddulph was given the Old Kap River Farm in exchange for the farm he had purchased from the widow of George Scott, which was required for the use of the military at Kaffir Drift Post.⁴⁶ The social elite of Bailie's party were now established as possessors of individual land grants far in excess of their entitlement as joint-stock settlers.

The general location of Bailie's party was less easily disposed of. The Governor ruled that The Hope should be added to the party's general location for purposes of subdivision, but he otherwise declined to interfere in settling individual claims. That was left to the members themselves, who were to have separate diagrams of their respective allotments made out for them once they had reached agreement.⁴⁷ It was a judgement of Solomon: if Bailie's people wanted titles to their land, they would

42. Pringle, Narrative of a Residence in South Africa, p.208.

43. CA CO 249 no.59, Address of the Inhabitants of Albany, 18.2.1825.

44. RCC XX, 402, Somerset to Bathurst, 31.3.1825.

45. CA CO 6139, List of civil servants in the colony.

46. RCC XXII, 158-173, Governor's decision on claims, 23.2.1825.

47. RCC XXII, 163.

first have to settle amongst themselves the conflicting claims which Special Commissioner Hayward's "best endeavours" had failed to adjust.

Somerset's visit to Albany "with an olive branch in his hand"⁴⁸ had the intended effect: there was little more opposition from the settlers to him or his local officials, although his troubles in Cape Town continued until his recall to England early in 1826. Rivers had been removed from Albany, and his former supporters were encouraged to forget past grievances.⁴⁹ Somerset's support for Port Frances and his establishment of a grammar school at Bathurst were taken as evidence of his good intentions for the settlers' future welfare. The disbanding of the Albany Levy and the closing down of the government farm at Somerset, which the settlers had regarded as unfair competition for their limited produce market, removed two major causes of complaint. A better harvest and the success of the trade fairs at Fort Willshire created a climate of optimism in which the settlers were willing to believe, with Somerset, that they would "ultimately succeed beyond the expectation even of the Projectors of the measure of Emigration".⁵⁰ In the short space of five months, traders at Fort Willshire had acquired nearly 10 000 rix-dollars' worth of ivory and gum.⁵¹ Five members of Bailie's party - Joseph Goodes, Henry Vokins, Thomas Wakeford, James Hoole and Thomas Hewson - were among the first settlers to take out trading licences.⁵²

The Albany settlement's immediate need for money was met to some extent by the distribution of the settlers' relief fund early in 1825, augmented by government loans. The colonial treasury was itself hard-pressed; Somerset had to resort to the transfer of Orphan Chamber funds and an unauthorised loan from the East India Company to find money to lend

48. Millar, Plantagenet in South Africa, p.204.

49. Philipps, 1820 Settler, pp.224, 227, 229.

50. RCC XX, 405, Somerset to Bathurst, 31.3.1825; and Philipps, 1820 Settler, pp.224-239.

51. RCC XX, 405, Somerset to Bathurst, 31.3.1825.

52. Cape Town Gazette, 13.11.1824 and 18.12.1824.

the settlers.⁵³ In the opinion of the Commissioners of Enquiry the government loans were too little and too late to be really effective, but they were eagerly sought after.⁵⁴

The Albany district board of landdrost and heemraden was empowered in December 1824 to advance small sums as loans against adequate security.⁵⁵ Ten members of Bailie's party applied for amounts of approximately 500 rixdollars;⁵⁶ George Anderson, Blair, Flanagan, Seymour, Vokins, Duffy, Wakeford and Godlonton were refused, and only Whittal and Hewson succeeded in obtaining them.⁵⁷ Heads of parties and large landholders were eligible for more generous loans of up to 5 000 rixdollars from the Lombard Bank, against the security of their land titles.⁵⁸ John Bailie applied to Somerset for a loan of 4 000 rixdollars to build a seaworthy boat in which he proposed to make a detailed survey of the Great Fish River mouth.⁵⁹ He believed that the vision "of innumerable vessels...anchored in that estuary"⁶⁰ which he and his fellow-emigrants had shared before they left England could be turned into reality. A preliminary inspection had convinced him that the river would be practicable even for vessels of considerable draught, and would provide a safer harbour than the Kowie. His enthusiasm infected both the Landdrost, who gave the scheme his backing,⁶¹ and Special Commissioner Hayward, who thought the Great Fish River more promising than either the

53. Basil James Trewin Leverton, "Government Finance and Political Development in the Cape, 1806-1834", in Archives Year Book for South African History 1961, pp.343-344; RCC XXII, 219, Somerset to Bathurst, 14.7.1825.

54. RCC XXI, 84, Report of the Commissioners of Enquiry, 21.4.1825.

55. RCC XXI, 64-65, Report of the Commissioners of Enquiry, 21.4.1825.

56. CA CO 223 and CA CO 249, November 1824 - January 1825.

57. CA 1/AY 12/1, Storm Loans, 4.2.1825 and 17.3.1825.

58. E.H.D. Arndt, Banking and Currency Development in South Africa (1652-1927), p.35; and CA CO 4853, p.41, Plasket to Directors of Lombard Bank, 29.4.1825.

59. CA CO 223 no.223, Memorial of J. Bailie, 23.12.1824.

60. Wilmot and Chase, History of the Colony, p.274 (footnote).

61. CA CO 2662 no.175, Rivers to Bailie and Rivers to Brink, 17.11.1824.

Kowie or Algoa Bay and recommended that the government should reserve land near the mouth for a possible harbour establishment.⁶²

Somerset and his new Colonial Secretary, Sir Richard Plasket,⁶³ inspected the Fish River mouth and discussed its potential with Bailie on their tour of Albany in February 1825.⁶⁴ They were sufficiently impressed to instruct the Kowie harbourmaster to make a survey of the river as soon as possible.⁶⁵ A lifeboat was transported overland for this purpose early in April, and although the crew failed to cross the bar into the open sea they took soundings as far as the surf line. Bailie, who was present while the survey was made, was more confident than ever of the river's navigability.⁶⁶

The claimants for land on Bailie's party's location met again in April to settle the details of its subdivision. The arrangements for the division of the general location do not appear to have been concluded, but the party agreed that Bailie himself should retain the whole of The Hope, and receive in addition a share of the general location on "the great flat adjoining the sea".⁶⁷

With The Hope assured to him, Bailie now submitted an ambitious proposal to the Colonial Government. He and two of his brothers-in-law, Captain Henry Crause and Lieutenant John Crause, were eager to form a company to build a sea-going vessel for use as a coastal trader. Bailie asked for a grant of land on the west bank of the Great Fish River in the area reserved for Government, a mile and a half from the mouth, large enough for an establishment that would include "slips, wharf, warehouse,

62. CA CO 8541; and RCC XXI, 385, Evidence of William Hayward, 16.2.1825.

63. Sir Richard Plasket, former Secretary to the Government of Malta, was appointed Colonial Secretary at the Cape in place of Colonel Bird in August 1824, and took up his post in the following November. He left the colony in January 1828 on leave pending retirement.

64. CA CO 249 no.101, Bailie to Plasket, 24.4.1825.

65. CA CO 245 no.92, Johnson to Plasket, 27.6.1825.

66. CA CO 249 no.101, Bailie to Plasket, 24.4.1825.

67. CA CO 8458 no.161, Bailie to Plasket, 7.11.1825.

smith's forge, work shops for carpenters &c, dwelling house and counting house".⁶⁸ He undertook to begin shipbuilding within two years of receiving title to the land. To finance this scheme, he proposed that the company's shareholders should lodge with the government the title-deeds of their landed property, and be permitted to issue "good-fors" - notes of hand for small sums, which had been commonly used as currency in the Eastern Districts until 1822 - for up to two-thirds of its value. This would provide a secure currency for local circulation. Labour requirements would be met by the new supply of emigrant labour which Frederick Carlisle was proposing to introduce to the colony. Bailie guaranteed employment under Carlisle's scheme for two shipwrights, two masons, a wheelwright, blacksmith and carpenter, as well as two labourers and four female servants.⁶⁹ He had an adequate supply of timber on his own land, and the necessary experience and knowledge to oversee the work himself, having been "bred to the sea in the merchant service and generally in mercantile pursuits and connected with ship building".⁷⁰

Somerset would not approve the currency scheme, but agreed to add Bailie's name to the list of party heads he had forwarded to the Lombard Bank with his recommendation for loans of 5 000 rixdollars.⁷¹ The authorities in Cape Town and in Albany were equally willing to support the settlers' efforts to promote the coasting trade. In August 1825 the subscribers to a proposed Albany Shipping Company met at Port Frances under the chairmanship of the Government Resident, and both Bailie and the new Landdrost of Albany, Major W.B. Dundas,⁷² were elected to the provisional committee. The company's object was the purchase and employment of small coasting vessels "to carry freights

68. CA CO 249 no.101, Bailie to Plasket, 24.4.1825.

69. CA CO 249 no.99, Memorial of Albany settlers, 20.4.1825; Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.314.

70. CA CO 8479 no.139, Memorial of J. Bailie, 1.6.1825.

71. CA CO 4853 p.306, Plasket to Directors of Lombard Bank, 14.7.1825.

72. Major William Bolden Dundas (1785-1858) served in the peninsular campaign, in which he lost his left hand, and was subsequently made Assistant Inspector of Small Arms. He came to the Cape in 1822, and was made Landdrost of Albany in 1825 and Civil Commissioner of Albany and Somerset in 1828.

to and from such ports as may be determined upon"; Somerset agreed to give it his patronage.⁷³ Its activities appear to have begun and ended with an unsuccessful attempt to purchase the government schooner Buck Bay Packet a year later.⁷⁴

With Major Dundas' help Bailie arranged to borrow the seven-ton decked boat Thomas from the Port Frances harbour establishment for a further examination of the Great Fish River mouth. He provided his own crew, and put the navigability of the river to a practical and successful trial by sailing the Thomas from the Kowie to an anchorage within the Great Fish River in the short time of two and a half hours. He reported in triumph to both Somerset and the Colonial Secretary that "the entrance into the River in point of safety surpasses my most sanguine expectations". He hoped to use the Thomas not only to take further soundings of the river but to survey the coast eastwards as far as the Keiskamma River, and had already obtained the Landdrost's pass to enable him to make a preliminary examination of the coast by land.⁷⁵

Robert Godlonton was equally enthusiastic about the Great Fish River's prospects. He wrote to the South African Chronicle to applaud Bailie's "public spirit and perseverance" and to point out the advantages of a port so close to Xhosa territory. Not only would it accelerate the rising prosperity of Albany but it would promote peaceful trade with "the immense horde which are known to inhabit the eastern coast". Godlonton was to reprint the same letter in his own newspaper, the Graham's Town Journal, when the plan for a harbour was revived in 1846.⁷⁶

Before he could go further with his plans Bailie had two obstacles to overcome. Lack of money was the more serious, and was to prove in the

73. CA CO 245 no.142, Minutes of a meeting of the Albany Shipping Company held on 11.8.1825.

74. CA CO 4886, Plasket to Moodie, 2.6.1826; CA CO 285 no.28, Moodie to Plasket, 26.6.1826.

75. CA CO 8458 no.130, Bailie to Plasket, 21.9.1825; CA CO 249 no. 150, Bailie to Plasket, 21.9.1825.

76. South African Chronicle, 11.10.1825; and Graham's Town Journal, 4.7.1846.

event insuperable. The lesser of the two was the opposition of his old political enemy Donald Moodie, whom Somerset had appointed Government Resident at Port Frances. After making an inspection of the Great Fish River mouth at the end of 1825, Moodie reported to the Colonial Secretary,

Though I can say nothing positively until I can examine the entrance with the life boat, I have seen enough to unsettle my opinions as to the future prospects of Port Frances. The Fish River is either quite unfit for navigation or it is so much superior to the Kowie that the latter would soon be deserted. ...It is of so much greater magnitude - and the appearances to Landsmen so much more prepossessing - that no attempt to procure public support to any shipping concern at the Kowie will succeed until it is fully demonstrated that the Fish cannot compete with it.⁷⁷

The antagonism between Bailie and Moodie evidently went deeper than a clash of interests over the rival merits of the two river mouths. They bombarded the Colonial Secretary with complaints about each other. Bailie reported that the Thomas, the decked boat from the Port Frances establishment, was unseaworthy in spite of her successful performance in entering the Fish River, and that he was unable to go on using her. Moodie was instructed from Cape Town to have the boat repaired. He resented Bailie's proprietary attitude towards the Thomas: "he seems to consider that she is at his disposal". Moodie refused to spare boatmen from the Port Frances establishment to go to Bailie's assistance, and with the superiority of a retired naval officer announced his intention of making "a proper survey of the Fish River". Instead of being chastened, Bailie reacted with scorn. Six months were wasted before the Thomas was ready for sea again, and by then Moodie had recommended that she be disposed of.⁷⁸ Somerset's unauthorised expenditure had provoked severe criticism from the Colonial Department, and the Port Frances establishment was undergoing a drastic reduction and was soon to be given up altogether. The wreck of the government schooner Frances in June 1826, and the sale of another government vessel, the Buck Bay Packet, at a loss, "brought colonial nautical aspirations to an unhappy close".⁷⁹

77. CA CO 246 no.254, Moodie to Plasket, 26.12.1825.

78. CA CO 249 no.301, Bailie to Plasket, 4.12.1825; CO 285, Moodie to Plasket, 23.1.1826 and 26.6.1826.

79. Leverton, "Government Finance", p.323; RCC XXVIII, 273, Bourke to Bathurst, 25.10.1826.

Frederick Carlisle's attempt to bring out emigrants to the Cape was unsuccessful, and Bailie's supply of labour was consequently not forthcoming.⁸⁰ Neither was his loan from the Lombard Bank. He had not yet been able to obtain the title deed to The Hope which he was required to lodge as security. He complained to the Colonial Secretary in September 1825 that his examination of the Great Fish River had already cost him a year of his time and more than 1 500 rixdollars of his own money, and that he had sold off stock to meet his expenses. Without additional funds he could not hope to proceed with his plans.⁸¹ Early in December he reported that he had been forced by financial difficulties to break up his establishment at the river entirely, and was now devoting himself to his neglected domestic affairs.⁸²

No individual titles to land on the general location of Bailie's party could be issued until the subdivisions had been surveyed. Although The Hope had been separately measured for Bailie in 1821, he had forfeited his title by adding his land to the party's general location. The decision taken at the party's April meeting had restored The Hope to Bailie's sole ownership, but the colonial office had no formal record of this. Before the title could be issued it was necessary to call another meeting of the party and submit its decision in writing to Government.⁸³

Bailie's party met formally for the last time at The Hope on February 5, 1826, under the chairmanship of its original head.⁸⁴ Its first secretary, J.C. Chase, was not present; Robert Godlonton acted in his place. Fifteen other members of the party attended: Captain Crause, Devine, Rowles, Vokins, Whittal, Flanagan, Gunning, Blair, Garland, Duffy, Lawler, Stringfellow, Heath, Marillier and Seymour.

The meeting agreed to divide all the party's land - approximately 13 000 acres inclusive of The Hope - into thirty-one equal shares. Bailie was

80. Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.314.

81. CA CO 8458 no.130, Bailie to Plasket, 21.9.1825.

82. CA CO 249 no.301, Bailie to Plasket, 4.12.1825.

83. CA CO 8537 p.341, Plasket to Bailie, 25.12.1825.

84. CA CO 8459 no.48, Godlonton to Plasket, 20.2.1826, enclosing the minutes of the meeting.

to have five shares for himself and his servants, and an additional 450 acres in accordance with the 50-acre clause in the party's Articles of Agreement. His entitlement covered The Hope and an allotment of land on the general location. The rest of the claimants were allotted one share each. A list showing the situation of individual homesteads was compiled for the information of the colonial office, and ultimately the government surveyor who would measure the grants.

Before they left England in 1819 Bailie, Chase and their friends had pored over Wily's military map of the eastern frontier, which indicated that the Great Fish River could be "navigable for ships of considerable burthen", with "a good situation for a town or settlement" three miles from its mouth.⁸⁵ There the party had hoped to found a seaport town, and their Articles of Agreement had laid down the principles of mutual co-operation on which it was to be established.⁸⁶ After six years of dissension and discouragement, and with little more than a quarter of the party left together, they still responded with enthusiasm to Bailie's conviction that the Great Fish River would be developed as a harbour.

The meeting gave unanimous approval to the proposal that a thousand acres of land on the Brak Fontein, near the mouth of the Great Fish River, should be set aside from the general location for a harbour township. It was to be bounded north and east by the curve of the Brak Fontein stream, and on the south by the sand-drift edging the seashore. A plan for a town of fifty-three erven was submitted to the meeting and adopted by a majority vote. The dream town, however, never materialised. The land earmarked for it was shown on Timm's undated map of the Albany settlement⁸⁷ as four separate allotments, marked R. Godlonton, H. Vokins, Bart. Gunning and Capt. Henry August Crause respectively, and it was finally acquired as one farm by Robert Godlonton in 1836.

85. Wilmot and Chase, History of the Cape, p.274 (footnote).
 "A Military Sketch of that Part of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope Bordering on the Caffres, ...1816", by Lieut. Wily of His Majesty's 83rd Regiment, was published by W. Faden in London in 1818.

86. See Chapter ii above.

87. See illustration preceding page 163 above.

John Bailie approached the Deputy Governor, Major-General Richard Bourke⁸⁸ in August 1826 with a new proposal to form a company "for opening the mouth of the Great Fish River and forming an establishment on its right bank", but he was informed that no financial aid would be forthcoming and he does not seem to have pursued the matter.⁸⁹

Towards the end of 1827 the news that the harbour establishment at the Kowie was to be given up revived another flicker of hope for the Great Fish River. A memorial asking Government to consider establishing a port at the mouth of either the Great Fish or the Keiskamma Rivers was drafted by J.C. Chase and signed by Bailie, Captain Crause, Hewson, Marillier, Godlonton and Stringfellow, among other inhabitants of Albany.⁹⁰ In reply, the Lieutenant Governor stated his intention of having a survey made as soon as "a person capable of executing it" could be found,⁹¹ but no further official interest in the Great Fish River was shown until 1836. At the end of the Sixth Frontier War the need for a new harbour where supplies could be landed for troops in the Province of Queen Adelaide focused the attention of the authorities on both the Great Fish and the Buffalo Rivers.⁹² A surveying party from HMS Pelican made a discouraging report on the Great Fish River; ironically enough, a favourable survey of the Buffalo River was carried out by John Bailie, then serving as a Captain with the Provisional Colonial Infantry. Under Bailie's super-

88. Major-General Richard Bourke (1777-1855) was appointed in August 1825 as Lieutenant-Governor of the Cape, in accordance with the recommendation of the Commissioners of Enquiry that the eastern districts should be placed under a separate government. He arrived at the Cape in February 1826 and was sworn in as Acting Governor in March, on Somerset's departure for England. Bourke visited the frontier in 1827 after receiving alarming reports of the advance of the Ngwane tribe. His Acting Governorship ended in September 1828 with the appointment of Somerset's successor, Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole; the Lieutenant-Governorship, which was never more than a dead letter, was abandoned on grounds of expense and a commissioner-general for the eastern districts was appointed instead.

89. CA CO 4895 p.53, Plasket to Bailie, 16.8.1826.

90. CA CO 8460 no.226, Memorial of the inhabitants of Albany, n.d.

91. CA CO 8538 p.377, Plasket to Chase, 12.11.1827.

92. South African Library MSS.268, Records of the Province of Queen Adelaide (correspondence of Sir Benjamin D'Urban and Sir Harry Smith), i.a. pp.329 and 379, D'Urban to Smith, 29.1.1836 and 12.2.1836.

vision the brig Knysna discharged and took on cargoes at the Buffalo mouth in 1836-37.⁹³

Bailie did not alter his belief in the potential of the Great Fish River. It was as a direct result of his recommendation that the bay east of the river mouth was brought into use as a harbour in 1846,⁹⁴ to land commissariat supplies for the troops of another frontier war. It was named Waterloo Bay after the first vessel to discharge her cargo there; Robert Godlonton reminded the readers of the Graham's Town Journal that the settlers of Bailie's party had given it the earlier name of Chapman's Bay.⁹⁵ It became a busy harbour but a short-lived one. In May 1847 the surf-boats and plant were removed overland to Fort Glamorgan, afterwards called East London, on the Buffalo River, which became the chief port of Kaffraria.⁹⁶

The general location of Bailie's party was finally surveyed in September 1827 for twenty-three members of the original party and one latecomer, Kemp Knott. John Bailie, J.C. Chase, Thomas Price Adams and the "industrious tradesman" Timothy Devine were given title to additional land besides their shares of the general location. Captain Henry Crause's estate, Walsingham, and Robert Bovey's grant at the Kasouga River mouth, were measured for them a year earlier; Simon Biddulph's Birbury a year later.⁹⁷ The majority of the gentleman settlers who remained in or returned to Albany ended up with extensive individual land grants, whether they had emigrated on joint-stock or as leaders of proprietary parties. The Distressed Settlers Fund controversy had given publicity

93. M.D. Nash, "John Bailie at the Buffalo River Mouth", Africana Notes and News, XXIII, no.8 (December 1979), pp.338-342.

94. Cory Library MSS.1712, Bailie to Cuyler, 10.6.1846; CA CO 4384 no.5, Maitland to Gladstone, 1.10.1846.

95. Graham's Town Journal, 1.8.1846.

96. Cory, Rise of South Africa, IV, 463.

97. Deeds Office records: see Appendix F. Duly, British Land Policy at the Cape, p.87 fn.22, states that "the land claims of the settlers were not settled until 1844, illustrating once more the government's inability to act swiftly in land matters". The actual deeds of grant for the subdivisions of Bailie's party's location were issued in September 1841, by which time many of them had already changed hands.

to the plight of the "respectable" settlers, and in an expedient reversal of his established policy, Somerset granted them additional land in proportion not so much to their means of cultivation as to their social superiority.

The tenacity with which they held on to their land was a remarkable feature of the families of whatever social class who had emigrated on a joint-stock basis. They were not the settlers Somerset had asked for, nor were they the settlers the Colonial Department had originally planned to send. Nonetheless, they formed the backbone of the Albany settlement, and the Commissioners of Enquiry gave due recognition to the fact in their report to Earl Bathurst in 1825.

The permanent settlement of Parties associated for cultivation and defence upon a Frontier so open to the inroads of the Caffres, may at length have been effected by the British Emigrants after the failure of repeated attempts to accomplish this object by means of the older Colonists. We take this opportunity of remarking to Your Lordship that this important principle, which was the basis of the original plan, upon which the Emigration was suggested and undertaken, has been accomplished in no instance by the Parties consisting of articed Servants, but exclusively by those which were composed of Settlers, who by advancing the Sums required to be deposited, possessed a title to the independent acquirement of an allotment of Land upon the location of the Party; and their direct interest in the possession, induced many to persevere under circumstances of discouragement which led to the early dispersion of the Servants, either from their misconduct or the inability of the Masters to support them.⁹⁸

98. RCC XXI, 303, Report of the Commissioners of Enquiry, 25.5.1825.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FULFILMENT OR FAILURE: WHAT BECAME OF BAILIE'S SETTLERS

The 1819 experiment in assisted emigration effected the permanent settlement of the Suurveld, but it did not give the eastern frontier the peace and stability that the colonial government had anticipated. In strategic terms the experiment may be said to have failed, but that is a narrow judgement, ignoring the individual achievements and experiences of the settlers themselves. In human terms, how successful was the transposition of nearly 4 000 people to a new and unknown country? The answer lies in the facts of their lives in the colony as far as they are known.

It would be difficult to try to estimate whether the settlers would have fared better if they had remained in Britain. Emigration held out the hope of an improved quality of life, with broader horizons, greater social flexibility and new opportunities for those who desired them and were tough and capable enough to grasp them. Courage, tenacity, resilience, adaptability were indispensable requirements for success. Lack of money or education were not insuperable handicaps, nor was lack of youth. On the whole, those men - and women - who were equipped for life in a new country, in Miles Bowker's phrase, "did as well as they endeavoured". Others came to the colony as failed men, or brought the seeds of failure with them in their own personalities.

One must look for the real history of Bailie's settlers, and the basis on which to assess their fulfilment or failure as emigrants, in the lives of John Bailie himself and the eighty-three men and their families who landed at Algoa Bay under his leadership.¹ Perhaps the first criterion of failure or success that should be applied to them is the simplest: how many of the party stayed to make permanent homes in their new country?

It has not been possible to trace the movements after 1823 of seventeen men of the party, so even that is a matter for surmise. Some may have died in South Africa; others may have returned to Britain. No mention

1. See pp.226 to 266, Biographical Index of Bailie's party, for outline biographies and lists of sources.

has been found of Barton, Cox or Cooper from the time of landing;² Thompson, Mead and Harrison were located with the party but there is no evidence that they were still in South Africa after 1820. Fulgon, Richard King, Ball, Wade and Somerville applied for permission to leave the Cape at their own expense and may have succeeded in doing so. Leech, an army pensioner, and Shortman, a young labourer, emigrated as indentured servants and it seems likely that they were absorbed into the colony's labour force after they were released from their engagements. Belmour and Tucker were in Cape Town in 1821; Hezell was in Graaff Reinet in 1822. What happened to them after that is not known. George King, a half-pay officer of Marines, appeared on the muster-roll of the Albany Levy in 1823 but no further mention of him has been found in South African records. His death was reported in the United Service Journal in 1845,³ and it is presumed that he too returned to England.

John Goodes and William Hex, Robert Godlonton's young ward, were issued with permits to leave the colony and sailed for England in 1824. In the same year John Saunders' parents petitioned Earl Bathurst for permission for their son to return home.⁴ Henry Crause obtained a commission as Major in the Cape Mounted Rifles in 1836, but retired to England about 1845.

No record has been traced of the deaths of Joseph Oldham, Henry and William Reed, William Anderson, William Blair and William Forbes. All of them put down roots and probably lived out their lives in South Africa.

Six men of the party are known to have died during the first five years of the settlement; Robert Anderson was killed by a Xhosa assegai, and James Biddulph, William Harden, James Leader, William Seymour and Richard Taylor presumably died natural or accidental deaths. All six were men in their twenties or early thirties. J.C. Chase claimed that in the

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2. William Collins, who would otherwise have been included here, has been tentatively identified with W.T. Collen who died in Grahamstown in 1883. (See Biographical Index.)
 3. Information from Royal Marines Museum, Southsea, England.
 4. RCC XVII, 12, joint memorial of the fathers of John Saunders and Thomas Mills, 24.1.1824. Mills remained in the colony until his death in 1867.

first ten years of the settlement only twenty-one adults and three children of Bailie's party died, and 123 children were born.⁵ His figures may not be reliable, but the evidence does suggest that the mortality rate among the settlers was surprisingly low.

The members of Bailie's party who settled in South Africa contributed in widely different ways to their adopted country and its future. Their most valuable collective asset was education, backed by initiative. Very few were illiterate,⁶ and a high proportion possessed specialised skills. This held even for the indentured servants at the bottom of the party's social scale, who were mostly pensioned non-commissioned officers or young adventurers who had been clerks or tradesmen before emigrating.

Gibbon Wakefield,⁷ the mid-nineteenth century theorist of systematic colonisation, believed that respectable emigrants - a term that embraced both the gentlemen and half-gentlemen of Bailie's party - were a colony's

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5. Chase, Cape of Good Hope and the Eastern Province, p.92. Chase gives the number of settlers landed in the party as 147 adults and 101 children, against the figures of 131 and 91 shown in the official landing list (see Appendix A). Adult members of the party known to have died before 1830 are: R. Anderson, R. Taylor, Mrs Ann Goodes, W. Harden, J.H. Biddulph, J. Leader, T. Flanagan, Mrs Ann Leader, W. Seymour, W. Reed, T.W. Oldham, Dr E. Roberts, Mrs Arabella Chase.
 6. The memorial of "the Independent Settlers associated with Mr. Bailie", asking that Government should bear the expense of waggon hire to their locations (CA CO 3917 no.173), has the signatures of the great majority of the men of the party on board the Chapman.
 7. Edward Gibbon Wakefield (1796-1862) expounded his theory of systematic colonisation in A Letter from Sydney (1829) and A View of the Art of Colonization (1849). To ensure the best management of land in the colonies he advocated its sale at a "sufficient price", high enough to hinder the immediate conversion of labourers into landed proprietors, and low enough to enable the labourer to purchase land with the wages he could earn by four or five years' work. Wakefield was not only a theorist; he was a founder of the National Colonization Society in 1830 and the moving spirit in forming the South Australian Association in 1834. He accompanied the newly-appointed Governor-General to Canada as an unofficial adviser in 1838. From 1839 to 1846 he was London agent of the New Zealand Land Company, and in 1852 he left England for the Canterbury settlement, where he spent the last years of his life.

most valuable acquisition.

They may become landowners in the colony, or owners of capital lent at interest, or farmers of their own land, merchants, clergymen, lawyers or doctors, so that they be respectable people in the sense of being honourable, of cultivated mind, and gifted with the right sort, and right proportion of self-respect. This is what I shall always mean, when calling them "respectable", whether or not they keep a carriage and a butler... These are the emigrants whose presence in a colony most beneficially affects its standards of morals and manners, and would supply the most beneficial element of colonial government.⁸

Most of the respectable settlers of Bailie's party appear to have adapted with surprising speed to unfamiliar hardships and harsh circumstances. Gentility could, however, be a handicap to successful adaptation as a settler, and clinging to the elegancies of social convention could become the last resort of the failure.

Thomas Price Adams, "the poor crack'd Poet",⁹ was one of the gentlemen (or near-gentry) of the party who was not flexible or resilient enough to weather the successive disasters of crop-failure, drought, flood and stock-losses. After quarrelling with his less genteel Cuylerville neighbours he settled his family in a hut near the Fish River, where Cowper Rose,¹⁰ a sharp-eyed and sharp-tongued subaltern of the Royal Engineers, chanced upon them and was both amused and disgusted by "the paltry affectations of society mingled with poverty and dirt".

Before Mrs Adams would receive her unexpected visitor she retired behind a ragged blanket to don "a tarnished white satin spencer, contrasting well with a face and bosom scorched by exposure to an African sun". Husband and wife, who had been living chiefly on shellfish they could gather from the rocks, entertained Rose with a pathetic parody of polite conversation.

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8. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, A View of the Art of Colonization, p.135.
 9. University of the Witwatersrand Library, Godlonton papers no.1258, Chase to Godlonton, 23.12.1870.
 10. Rose was a traveller and sportsman who published an account of his experiences in South Africa in 1829, some five years after his encounter with the Adams family.

The world, with all its mad follies, was discussed... We spoke of education, of the march of intellect, of music, when the lady informed me that she was teaching her children music, by making them play on the table, until an instrument could be procured.¹¹

Good-hearted, eccentric, ineffectual, tragi-comic and always badly off, Thomas Adams did not succeed as farmer, schoolmaster, law agent, language teacher or accountant, but he has his place in settler history as the first poet to have his work published on the eastern frontier. His Eulogy of Dr. Alexander Cowie and Mr. Benjamin Green appeared under Meurant's imprint in Grahamstown in 1830.¹² It seems that Adams, at one time a merchant in Lisbon, taught his children Portuguese as well as genteel accomplishments; it makes a romantic sequel to his story that his younger son John Henry grew up to become surgeon-general of the Brazilian army and a Knight of the Grand Cross, dying in Rio de Janeiro in 1901.¹³

Who formed the social elite of Bailie's party? In attempting to draw a line of convenience to separate the respectable emigrants from their social inferiors, one steps on to the delicate and debatable ground of the early nineteenth century English middle class with its innumerable gradations of rank. The extremes of English society were linked by an infinitely complex and widely distributed middle, where status was determined by family connections and property as well as occupation. Lack of education or talent did not detract from a man's position in society, but their possession could on occasion override the absence of other advantages.

The mobility of English society was the reason for its snobbery; where divisions of caste are not rigidly fixed, privilege and pretension are most in need of protection. Jane Austen's Frank Churchill was severely criticised for his "indifference to a confusion of rank" in a society where rank was vitally important and often confusingly ill-defined.¹⁴

11. Cowper Rose, Four Years in Southern Africa, p.120.

12. See Alfred Gordon-Brown, The Settlers' Press, pp.15, 62.

13. University of the Witwatersrand Library, Godlonton papers no.1258, Chase to Godlonton, 23.12.1870; Graham's Town Journal, 23.1.1902, obituary of Dr J.H. Adams.

14. Jane Austen published Emma in 1815.

It was as difficult to distinguish the "labour aristocracy" of highly-paid tradesmen from the lower echelons of the middle ranks as it was to know exactly where the trades left off and the professions began. Apothecaries, surgeons and physicians were at different social levels; so were agents, attorneys and barristers. The civil service, the Church and the Army were careers reserved for men of gentle birth and, in the case of the Army, wealth enough to purchase their commissions and supplement their pay. On the other hand, entrance to the Navy as a midshipman required only the good offices of a commander. Patronage counted for more than ability in obtaining promotion in any career.

One can employ only arbitrary criteria in attempting to distinguish the gentlemen or near-gentlemen ("half-sirs" is the useful Irish term) from the rest of Bailie's party, after a gap of more than a century and a half and a revolution in social conventions. Even to their contemporaries the distinction would not have been cut and dried. John Bailie himself was a gentleman by birth, and the position he held in the English civil service indicates that his unconventional background had not compromised his social status. It is not known how Simon Biddulph made his living before he came to South Africa, but he was the great-grandson of Sir Theophilus Biddulph, 1st Baronet, and his wife was a descendant of Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury. (A great-grandson of Simon Biddulph, who was also a grand-nephew of J.C. Chase, succeeded to the title as 9th Baronet in 1948.)¹⁵ Robert Michelmore Bovey was descended from two old Devonshire families; his father owned land at Staverton,¹⁶ and Bovey was educated at both Oxford and Cambridge although he did not take a degree. William Hart, who had held a Lieutenant-Colonel's commission and commanded a regiment, was certainly a gentleman. Captain Henry Crause, Dr O'Flinn and John Centlivres Chase were all accepted on terms of social equality by the arch-snob Thomas Philipps.¹⁷

James Ford, a wool-dealer from Homerton near London, Philip Marillier, a businessman of Swiss-French extraction, and Edward Roberts, a young

15. Burke's Peerage and Baronetage, 1978 edition.

16. Information from Devon County Librarian.

17. For example, see Philipps, 1820 Settler, pp.94 and 165-170; all four families shared in "parties of pleasure" at the Fish River.

surgeon from Leeds, joined the emigrant party together on a friendly footing. Marillier described the Ford family as "most respectable, well-informed persons",¹⁸ and married the eldest daughter as soon as she was old enough. William Reed had a naval background; John Walker was an educated man of the professional class. John Henry Heath, the son of a writer in the East India Company's service, was a solicitor "regularly brought up to the profession of the law". None of them would have found himself out of place at an evening party at Emma Woodhouse's Hartfield.

Whether emigration fulfilled or failed the expectations of the respectable men of Bailie's party is not easy to gauge. The answer must depend on their individual motives for emigrating. Some, like William Hart and T.P. Adams, left England to escape from failure, but in the event took it with them. Others, like Philip Marillier who had recently suffered bereavement, tried with more success to escape from personal sorrow. Robert Bovey and other young bachelors probably looked for adventure. In J.C. Chase's opinion, the majority emigrated because of financial difficulties, actual or anticipated.¹⁹ However, dissatisfaction in postwar Britain was a matter of politics as well as economics, and William Hone,²⁰ the Radical publisher and poet, suggested in 1819 that "a man of talent and virtue may adduce moral reasons for quitting the land of his birth, which are probably as weighty as the pecuniary".²¹ The Articles of Agreement of Bailie's party were a social contract with a basis of mutual goodwill and democratic principle that did not countenance "the follies and vices" of England denounced by Hone. Lord Charles Somerset's allegation that the settlers were all Radicals was a

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18. Letter of P.R. Marillier to his brother, 15.11.1819. (Copy in the possession of Mrs R.C. Brown, Somerset East.)
19. Chase, Cape of Good Hope and the Eastern Province, p.82.
20. William Hone (1780-1842), Radical author, publisher and book-seller, was prosecuted for the publication of blasphemous libels in 1817. His acquittal marked an important step towards the freedom of the Press in Britain, and from then on political parodies and lampoons - even the brilliant and biting satires produced by Hone and Cruikshank after Peterloo - were immune from prosecution.
21. William Hone, Emigration, a Poem in Imitation of the Third Satire of Juvenal, Preface.

gross exaggeration, but if one accepts that his use of the term embraced all would-be reformers then the allegation contained at least a grain of truth.

For settlers like Bailie and Chase, the Crauses and the Biddulphs, with high hopes and some capital, emigration was much more than an escape from their difficulties or dislikes in England; it was the choice of a new and better life. Their expectations were probably unrealistically optimistic; a sensible and much-tried relative of the Biddulphs, on hearing of their plan to emigrate, commented tartly that they would "never confine themselves to a plan of living on what they had; always throwing it up and dashing at something better..."²²

Gibbon Wakefield believed that gentleman emigrants, in leaving Britain,

...go, every one of them, under the influence of some great delusion. One expects to grow rich fast; another, to be of great importance in the colony; a third, to enjoy a great domain as a great domain is enjoyed here.²³

There can be little doubt that to gentlemen and near-gentlemen settlers land was the strongest single incentive to emigrate. None of the settlers of 1820 is known to have owned land in Britain, although a number of the party leaders came from the land-owning classes. Emigration was seen as the means to the acquisition of landed estates by men of limited capital, Wakefield's "great domains" that would provide their owners with the social standing and the way of life they were afraid of losing or had never succeeded in acquiring in England.

Heads of proprietary parties were entitled to land grants in proportion to the number of labourers they took with them to the Cape. Members of joint-stock parties such as Bailie's were entitled, by mutual agreement among themselves, to shares of the land granted to their nominal leaders. The joint-stock system opened the door to the colony for would-be emigrants who lacked the capital to take out their own proprietary parties, or the influence to ensure the success of their applications. Those members of Bailie's party whose aspirations to land ownership exceeded

22. Staffordshire County Record Office, Wolferstan Papers, Journal of Samuel Pipe Wolferstan, 22.8.1819.

23. Wakefield, Art of Colonization, p.221.

their entitlement of fifty or one hundred acres per man could hope to extend their acreage by purchase or grant once they actually reached the colony.²⁴

In accordance with Sir Rufane Donkin's plan to "raise a sort of aristocracy or gentry" in Albany by granting land to gentleman settlers, he made large land grants in 1820 and 1821 to Simon Biddulph and John Bailie. On Lord Charles Somerset's visit to Albany in 1825 he granted additional land to Bailie and estates to Robert Bovey, Captain Henry Crause, J.C. Chase and T.P. Adams. Unlike Donkin, Somerset's intention was to conciliate rather than elevate; by 1825 the colonial authorities' pipe-dream of an Albany divided into squirearchical estates, cultivated by emigrant labourers and tenant-farmers, had dissipated. The Suurveld had proved unsuitable for agriculture and most of the emigrant labour-force had already dispersed. The gentlemen of Bailie's party attained their object of becoming landowners, but with little prospect, in a comparatively unstratified and egalitarian society, of ever "enjoying a great domain as a great domain is enjoyed" in Britain.

The lure of free land turned out to be a fata morgana, and very few of the respectable settlers who ultimately achieved prosperity in the colony did so through land ownership. The land that was granted to the emigrants lay close to the disputed eastern frontier, and as the herds of cattle increased, so did the temptation to the neighbouring Xhosa to raid them. John Bailie's farm The Hope was close enough to the crossing at Lower Kaffir Drift to attract cattle thieves from the other side of the Great Fish River as early as August 1820. When the desultory skirmishing on the frontier flared into war in 1834, the homesteads on Bailie's three farms, The Hope, Harewood and Layton were destroyed by fire and his livestock driven off. Land in Albany was practically valueless in the first years after the war; in 1837 the declared policy of the Guardian Fund was to refuse all mortgage applications from the frontier districts,²⁵ and the highest bid offered at auction for The Hope

24. Henry Lovemore, who joined Bailie's party in London but did not sail with them, arrived at Algoa Bay on the Sir George Osborn in June 1820 and bought a nearby farm, Klaas Kraal (which he renamed Bushy Park) for £1 000. His family remained in peaceful and prosperous occupation of the estate for generations.

25. Graham's Town Journal, 10.8.1837.

was £125, against its pre-war valuation of £1 200.²⁶

Bailie left Albany in 1839, financially ruined. Both he and his brother-in-law Captain Henry Crause had commanded companies of the Provisional Colonial Infantry throughout the war; his eldest son, a subaltern in the same battalion, was killed in action in June 1835. When the Provisionals were disbanded in 1836 Captain Crause, who had suffered severe losses on his farm Walsingham, applied to be appointed to regular regimental duties, and put his land up for sale.

J.C. Chase moved to Cape Town in 1830 to take up a post with the Orphan Chamber. He sold his farm Seafield, and although he returned to the Eastern Province some years later, he did not again own land in Albany. Robert Bovey was granted one of the first residential plots in Fort Beaufort in 1837, and subsequently had a farm in that district. He never lived on his land at the Kasouga River mouth. T.P. Adams opened a school in Grahamstown in 1830; the land he had been granted "in consideration of his suffering and losses" during the early settlement years was still in his possession at the time of his death in 1843, but with nothing on it besides "a never failing supply of wood and water".²⁷ Of all the respectable settlers of Bailie's party who had received large grants in Albany, the Biddulphs occupied theirs the longest. By 1841 the frontier appeared peaceful and Albany's future promising. In a Will drawn in December 1841, shortly before his death, the patriarch Simon Biddulph enjoined his children and grandchildren and their descendants "to reside together and live in peace and amity with each other" upon his original grant (named Birbury after his grandfather's estate in Warwickshire) which was to be perpetuated in his family for ever.²⁸ His wishes were not realised; Birbury was fired and pillaged during the Xhosa invasion of Lower Albany in 1846, and the last of John Burnet Biddulph's sons left Bathurst for the diamond fields in the 1870s.²⁹

26. Graham's Town Journal, 26.1.1837.

27. Graham's Town Journal, 1.2.1844.

28. CA MOOC 7/1/168 no.58, 21.12.1841, Will of Simon Biddulph.

29. Graham's Town Journal, 23.5.1846; and information from Sir Stuart Biddulph, Queensland, Australia.

Although land ownership was still a social necessity for full acceptance as a member of the upper classes in early nineteenth century Britain, an emergent middle class was entering into competition with the traditional landed society for the benefits of wealth, status and power. The Biddulph family at Bathurst and the Reeds at Algoa Bay were initially more interested in the commercial potential of the new settler towns than in the promise of the soil. A new settlement with an instant population of 1 500 families held evident possibilities for men prepared to supply their wants and market their produce. Drawn by the "great delusion" that they would "grow rich fast", the Biddulphs employed their capital from the outset in commercial speculation rather than in stocking and developing their land. Soon after their arrival in Albany they built and stocked a general store at Bathurst "with a view of ultimately establishing themselves in a merchantile line of life".³⁰ John Burnet Biddulph surveyed the mouth of the Kowie River in September 1820 to see whether the river could be used as a commercial waterway. However, there was little chance of quick profit in an infant settlement, short of money and markets, and Simon Biddulph's small capital of £500 was not adequate to tide him over a prolonged period of slow returns while the settlers established themselves. Few of them could afford to buy consumer goods during the early years, and their essential tools and rations were obtained at prime cost from the commissariat stores. The army and civil authorities provided the settlement's only outside cash supply, and the removal of the magistracy, the troops and the commissariat from Bathurst early in 1822 put a swift end to the Biddulphs' business prospects. John Burnet Biddulph's attempts to recoup their fortunes during the next three years included a scheme to breed horses for the Cape cavalry, and negotiations for a government contract to carry mail between Port Elizabeth and the Kowie mouth, but they were frustrated by the necessity of selling most of the family's assets to meet creditors' demands in 1825. The Old Kaffir Drift farm, which J.B. Biddulph had purchased after the sudden death of Captain George Scott in 1822, seems to have been saved from a forced sale only with the help of the Distressed Settlers Relief Fund.³¹

30. CA CO 223 no.154, Biddulph to Somerset, 25.11.1824.

31. Macmillan, Cape Colour Question, p.117; and CA CO 249 no.264, Biddulph to Plasket, 7.11.1825.

William Reed and his sons left the rest of Bailie's party as soon as they reached Algoa Bay, to employ their energies and capital in commerce and industry. Like the Biddulphs, the Reeds overspent on building, and their ambitious ventures into trading, brick and tile manufacture and sea-salt processing were probably premature in a sparsely-populated new village. A disastrous mercantile speculation forced William Reed into bankruptcy, which was followed soon afterwards by an illness that led to his death. His grown-up sons William and Henry made their way to Cape Town, and seem to have gone into business as printers and bookbinders;³² his widow remained in Port Elizabeth with her younger children. James and George Reed were both apprenticed to trades, and eventually became prominent and respected members of the community. Both served on Port Elizabeth's first Town Council in 1860.

Gibbon Wakefield's "respectable emigrants" included professional men as well as merchants and landowners. Two doctors, Daniel O'Flinn M.D. and Edward Roberts M.R.C.S., sailed on the Chapman with Bailie's party. Neither of them attempted to farm or stayed in Albany for long. Dr Roberts moved to Cape Town in 1820, where he established himself as surgeon and accoucheur, opened an apothecary's shop and was a founder-member of the South African Medical Society. He died in Cape Town in modest circumstances in 1830, "too honest and independent to seek wealth or favour".³³ He evidently lacked the Irish charm of Dr O'Flinn, who was appointed government medical officer at Bathurst in May 1820, but resigned and left Albany for the Western Districts in 1822. After a short period as superintendent of the leper hospital at Hemel en Aarde he set up a profitable practice in Stellenbosch, where he became in time a Justice of the Peace as well as a school and municipal commissioner of that predominantly Dutch-speaking town. The writer of his obituary commented on his social charm and "singularly agreeable manners",³⁴

32. CA MOIC 2/269, Insolvent estate of W. Reed, snr. Henry Reed was reported to be in Cape Town with George Greig the printer in 1828; when William Reed jnr. was declared bankrupt in 1839 his stock in trade consisted of printing and bookbinding materials (MOIB 2/517 no.27).

33. South African Commercial Advertiser, 20.2.1830, obituary of Dr E. Roberts.

34. Ibid, 7.7.1852, obituary of Dr D. O'Flinn.

which no doubt contributed to his considerable worldly success. O'Flinn and Roberts seem to have shared their political views as well as their profession. Both signed the anti-Somerset petition for a free Press in Cape Town in May 1824 (as did a third member of Bailie's party, Joseph Oldham).³⁵ Roberts stood by Bishop Burnett in the "placard incident",³⁶ and was a member of Dr Philip's Union Chapel congregation;³⁷ O'Flinn was a friend and supporter of Philip's son-in-law John Fairbairn, the liberal editor of the South African Commercial Advertiser.³⁸

The only qualified lawyer of Bailie's party, John Henry Heath, complained when he applied to emigrate that "situations are at this time so scarce that it is almost considered as a favour to employ persons".³⁹ He entered himself on the emigration list as a gardener, and spent his first year in Albany trying unsuccessfully to cultivate his location. He turned from farming to keeping a canteen at the Upper Kaffir Drift military post, but obtained an appointment better suited to his legal training in 1825 as government clerk and notary public at Port Frances. Heath's law practice did not ever prove particularly lucrative. His estate was valued at under £150 on his death in 1845,⁴⁰ although this might be ascribed to a contentious disposition⁴¹ and a family of nine children rather than to lack of professional opportunity or the pitfalls of Roman-Dutch law.

The social standing of the three Oldham brothers among the members of Bailie's party is problematic; as a family they fall somewhere in the twilight zone between respectable emigrants and tradesmen. Joseph Oldham

35. RCC XVII, 362-367, Petition for a free Press, 26.5.1824.

36. RCC XVIII, 81. See Chapter iv, fn.56 above.

37. M.G. Ashworth, The Life and Fortunes of John Pocock of Cape Town; and CA MOOC 7/1/110 no.63, 15.2.1830, Will of Edward Roberts.

38. P.W. Laidler and W. Gelfand, South Africa: its Medical History 1652-1898, p.230.

39. PRO CO 48/43 no.626, Heath to Sidmouth, 30.7.1819.

40. CA MOOC 6/9/35, death notice 7770/1845.

41. See Graham's Town Journal, 27.7.1832, 6.6.1833, 26.9.1833, for reports of civil actions involving Heath.

had been an officer in the East India Company's navy and master of a merchant ship. He originally applied to emigrate at the head of his own small party of settlers, including his two younger brothers, both described as shopkeepers. In the event all three of them joined Bailie's party. After he was located in Albany, Thomas Oldham claimed to be a tanner, and worked for a time at that trade in Port Elizabeth. The youngest brother, Edwin Oldham, hired himself as a servant, but deserted his master to accompany Joseph Oldham and his family to Cape Town. After an unsuccessful attempt to farm at Wynberg, Joseph and Edwin Oldham both set up as shopkeepers. Thomas Oldham bought the wreck of the Dutch corvette Zeepaard at auction in Port Elizabeth in 1823, and used her timbers and fittings to build a nine-ton schooner which he licensed for fishing and coasting.⁴² He opened a trading store at the mouth of the Kromme River in partnership with his brother Joseph and a Port Elizabeth merchant, but the venture ended with Thomas's death in 1827 and Joseph's subsequent bankruptcy.⁴³ Edwin Oldham died in the general infirmary on Robben Island in 1859.⁴⁴

The respectable settlers of Bailie's party may have emigrated "under the influence of some great delusion", but most of the tradesmen and artisans emigrated from economic necessity. George Anderson stated the situation of the unemployed tradesman in a letter to the Colonial Department in 1819:

What little property we are possessed of...would make us comfortable in that colony with our own active exertions which are now paralyzed in this country through the extreme deadness of trade and having so fallen off that we have not been able to get any work for more than two years past.⁴⁵

Professor Winifred Maxwell has suggested that townsmen as well as countrymen among the 1820 settlers were encouraged to emigrate by the bait of land as much as by the pressure of financial distress. Many London artisans were still close to their country roots and eager for an

42. CA CO 3929 no.534, Memorial of T.W. Oldham, 30.9.1825.

43. CA MOIB 2/472 no.39, insolvent estate J. Oldham.

44. CA MOOC 6/9/86, death notice 5915½/1859.

45. PRO CO 48/41, p.120, G. Anderson to Bathurst, 27.9.1819.

opportunity to return to them. In evidence of this she points out that many of the settlers who abandoned their locations in despair during the first years of the settlement "amassed a little capital in the town then, later, turned back to their thwarted ambitions and bought land".⁴⁶ However, it is arguable whether the bulk of the tradesmen, clerks and shopkeepers of Bailie's party ever had much more than a romantic interest in living on the land. Daniel Hockly, a silversmith, left the party to set up as a "general mechanic" in Uitenhage as soon as he landed at Algoa Bay. He applied for permission to buy smith's tools from the commissariat stores as he had brought none of his own, "not having had the intention of following mechanical pursuits".⁴⁷ Nonetheless he grasped the first opportunity to set up as a tradesman, and made no subsequent attempt to turn to agriculture instead. Hockly moved to Bathurst, Grahamstown and Graaff Reinet, practising his trade as a silversmith,⁴⁸ but financial "misfortune and losses" continued to dog his career in the colony as they had done in England, and he died penniless.

Only one member of Bailie's party, George Stokes, originally from Odiham in Hampshire, went back to the land after leaving Albany and finding work in town. He applied for permission to return to England in 1822, but when he reached Cape Town he found employment with Dr Edward Roberts and decided to remain in the colony after all. Stokes married a settler's daughter in Albany in 1827 and became a successful stock farmer, first on the Baviaans River and finally at Sephton Manor, near Fort Beaufort.

If the tradesmen and clerks of Bailie's party were attracted at first by the idea of living on their own land, the reality soon discouraged them. George Futter, a shoemaker, established himself in Grahamstown; so did John Leonard, a tanner, and Thomas and Michael Plowman, cabinet makers. Thomas Hewson and George Anderson and their sons set up in business

46. Maxwell, Reconsiderations, pp.7-8.

47. CA CO 136, Hockly to Donkin, 18.12.1820.

48. Hockly is listed as a Cape silversmith by Stephan Welz, Cape Silver and Silversmiths, and David Heller, Further Researches in Cape Silver. There are examples of his work in the Albany Museum, Grahamstown.

first at Bathurst and later in Grahamstown as gunsmiths and cabinet makers respectively. James Low, a carpenter, Matthew Adams, a clock-maker, John Goodes, a painter and glazier, and William Forbes and Alexander Byrne, both shoemakers, moved to Cape Town; Thomas Griffin, a gunsmith, settled in Port Elizabeth, where his wife practised as a mid-wife. All forfeited their claims to land in Albany, and all except Byrne, who became a schoolmaster, and Thomas Plowman, who chose the more adventurous and profitable life of an itinerant trader, continued to practise their trades with varying success for the rest of their working lives in the colony. Anderson, Byrne, Forbes, Hockly, Leonard and Low were all declared bankrupt at some time - a common fate of the small businessman at the Cape. Thomas Hewson in Grahamstown was the most prosperous of the party's tradesmen. His Piccadilly address and the amount of capital he brought to the colony suggest that he had done well in London before he emigrated. He was elected one of Grahamstown's first municipal commissioners in 1837⁴⁹ and died a wealthy man in 1851, leaving his second son, Frederick William, to carry on his trade. He owned several farms, one of which, Spanish Reeds adjoining Bailie's location, was occupied by his elder son Edwin Hewson.

Thomas Plowman, a young Irish cabinet maker, left Grahamstown at the end of 1823 and moved northward to Somerset, Graaff Reinet and Colesberg, carrying on

...an intermediate traffic or barter between the inhabitants of the more civilised parts and the more northern natives, a dangerous employment though productive of considerable gain.⁵⁰

He founded a prominent Colesberg family; his eldest son Thomas John inherited his enterprise and business acumen, and became an affluent merchant-rancher and Justice of the Peace.⁵¹

A man with some education could easily find employment in town even if he did not have a trade to fall back on. John Rose, who claimed at

49. See Keith S. Hunt, "The Development of Municipal Government in the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope", Archives Year Book for South African History 1961.

50. PRO CO 48/64, O'Gallagher to Colonial Department (letter of enquiry from relatives of Thomas Plewman), 29.4.1835. This reference was supplied by Professor W.A. Maxwell.

51. See Thelma Gutsche, The Microcosm.

various times to be a salesman, a farmer and a silversmith, and who probably worked in a London shop before emigrating, moved to Cape Town in 1821. By 1830 he was Clerk to the Commercial Exchange, a post he held until his death in 1855. A.T. Mathew, a draper's assistant in England, was a teacher of English in Cape Town. John Walker, who had had a classical education and served part of his apprenticeship to a surgeon, became tutor to an officer's family in Grahamstown and subsequently a government schoolteacher. Christopher Franz, an old soldier from Hanover who worked for some time as a shoemaker in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage, was a schoolmaster at Somerset at the time of his death in 1847 - a surprising profession for an ill-educated foreigner, until one considers the Cape rural tradition of semi-literate "meesters". Mrs Franz was a midwife in Uitenhage.

It is ironic that the only member of Bailie's party who came to the Cape as a schoolmaster was unable to find a job. Henry Tucker arrived in Albany expecting to become master of a school founded by the Mendicity Society of London "upon Dr. Bell's plan of education for the instruction of one thousand children, natives of this country".⁵² His disappointment at finding that the school and house he had been promised did not in fact exist was compounded by the loss of his case of books, and by an injury to his leg that kept him in hospital in Grahamstown for three months. He made his way to Cape Town and appealed to the Governor for help in October 1821, penniless and out of work; what became of him after that is not recorded.

There were few acceptable professions to which the women of Bailie's party could turn when they had to provide financial assistance or support

52. The Picture of London 1822, pp.243-245, gives a detailed description of Dr Bell's system of education for the children of the poor. It was a development of the Lancasterian system of 1798, with the inclusion of religious instruction on Established Church principles. The children were placed in aisles according to their standard of achievement, and each aisle was divided into classes of not more than 40 pupils under the direction of a "teacher" from the aisle immediately above. One usher presided over the whole school. The subjects taught to the classes in rotation were religious exercises, ciphering, arithmetical tables, needlework (for the girls), reading and writing. Beginners learnt to write in sand-trays, progressing to slates and eventually to copy-books. The expense of schoolbooks under this system was calculated at less than a penny a child.

for their families. Mrs Thomas Griffin and Mrs Christopher Franz were midwives; Mrs Robert Godlonton was a milliner. John Lawler's widow became a sempstress. Women with a superior standard of education could teach; three who had emigrated with Bailie's party opened girls' schools. Mrs Daniel Hockly pioneered female education in the frontier districts by opening a girls' school in Uitenhage before July 1820. She carried on with her teaching when the family moved to Bathurst and Graaff Reinet, and after her husband's death in 1835 she opened a school in Grahamstown. Mrs James Ford augmented her husband's precarious income as a painter of portrait miniatures⁵³ by keeping a seminary for young ladies in Cape Town. James Ford died in 1840, and she too moved to Grahamstown and opened a school with the assistance of her daughter Jane. Mrs Ford became a convert to Catholicism in middle age, and her school was handed over to the first Roman Catholic sisterhood to reach Grahamstown, to form the nucleus of the Convent of the Assumption.⁵⁴ The third schoolmistress of the party was Mrs Edward Roberts, who opened a school in Cape Town after Dr Roberts' death in 1830. She inherited her father's house in Bathurst in 1841, and moved back to Albany to keep a school with the assistance of Joseph Oldham's elder daughter Lucretia.⁵⁵

* * * * *

What became of the twenty-six settlers from all social levels of Bailie's party who remained together long enough to qualify for shares of the general location in 1824?⁵⁶ They constituted the hard core of the party, along with the Biddulphs at Birbury and William Gray, who emigrated as an indentured servant and was not entitled to claim land

53. James Edward Ford is listed as a South African artist in Alfred Gordon-Brown, Pictorial Africana. There are examples of his work in the Africana Museum, Johannesburg. His son George Henry Ford also made a name for himself as a professional artist.

54. Alban O'Riley, Notre Mère, pp.282-284.

55. Looking Back IX no.2 (June 1969), p.59, letter from E. Morse Jones.

56. See Appendix F, Land Grants to Members of Bailie's Party.

on the location. Some of the group did not hold on to their land for long - Thomas Wakeford sold his share before the party had agreed on the final subdivisions⁵⁷ - but all of them were to remain on the frontier or beyond it for the greater part of their lives, as farmers, explorers and traders, writers, soldiers and administrators.

The Albany settlers had discovered that a few hundred acres of Suurveld soil could not provide a family with a living. The settlers who stayed to farm at Cuylerville - Francis Whittal, Henry Lloyd, Timothy Devine, William Lawler and the children of William Harden and Timothy Flanegan - extended their land by the purchase of other allotments on the location.⁵⁸ Those who could afford it looked further for their farms. Thomas Mills bought Proctorsfontein, near Assegai Bush, in 1834. Thomas Wakeford's son William bought John Bailie's farm The Hope, and William Gray did well enough as a forage contractor to buy Captain Henry Crause's Walsingham when the value of land slumped during the general exodus from Albany after the war of 1834-35. They stood their ground through two more frontier wars. In 1846 the schoolhouse at Cuylerville provided a laager for the scattered inhabitants of the district, while homesteads and stacks belonging to Devine, Flanegan, Lloyd and Whittal, and, further afield, Wakeford at The Hope, the Biddulphs at Birbury, and Edwin Hewson at Spanish Reeds, went up in flames.⁵⁹ In 1851, during the Eighth Frontier War, the defenders of Cuylerville included Francis Whittal and the sons of Timothy Devine, Timothy Flanegan, Henry Lloyd and J.B. Biddulph.⁶⁰ William Gray was serving as field cornet of the Southwell district when he was killed by rebel Hottentots near Theopolis in June 1851.⁶¹

Most of the settlers who were granted land at Cuylerville found alternative sources of income. Some had jobs in the government service; others

57. CA CO 8459 no.48, Minutes of the final meeting of Bailie's party, 5.2.1826.

58. See Appendix F.

59. Cory, Rise of South Africa, IV, 445; Graham's Town Journal, 23.5.1846; and the memorial in Cuylerville churchyard.

60. Edward Morse Jones, Lower Albany Chronicle, IV (1851-1855), pp.15-17.

61. Stubbs, Reminiscences, p.142.

made a living by trading across the frontier, illegally at first and by licence after 1824.

On his return to the Cape Lord Charles Somerset had put an end to all "friendly barter" between the colonists and the black chiefdoms, on a legitimate footing at least. The difficulty of controlling the illicit traffic between black and white was a principal reason for the reintroduction of trade fairs in 1824, under the eye of the military at Fort Willshire. Additional "Border Fairs" were inaugurated in 1826, and the subsequent opening-up of trade in the interior of the country offered a new source of profit to adventurous men with commercial ambitions.⁶² Grahamstown became the great entrepôt for dealings in ivory, gum, hides and skins. Thomas Hewson, James Hoole, Joseph Goodes, Thomas Wakeford and Henry Vokins were among the first settlers to obtain licences to trade at Fort Willshire. After all restrictions on trade beyond the borders of the colony were lifted in 1830, James Hoole and his sons and John Rowles established trading posts in Kaffraria. The posts had to be abandoned at the outbreak of the Sixth Frontier War in 1834;⁶³ before Rowles and his family could make their escape they were terrorised and robbed by Hintsa's petty chiefs.⁶⁴

In January 1825 permission was granted for licensed traders to travel beyond the northern boundary of the colony,⁶⁵ and J.C. Chase and his neighbour James Collis⁶⁶ were among the first to take advantage of

62. Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette, 22.9.1826. See Margaret E. Donaldson, "The Council of Advice at the Cape of Good Hope, 1825-1834", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Rhodes University, for the opening of transfrontier trade in 1824, 1826 and 1830.

63. CA IG 26, Memorial and war damage claim of J. Hoole, 8.7.1835; CA IG 35, War damage claim of J. Rowles.

64. Government blue book, Further Despatches Relative to the Last Caffre War, 1837, XLIII (503), pp.212-213. Hintsa (c.1790-1835) was chief of the amaGcaleka; his territory was invaded by colonial troops soon after the outbreak of the 1834 war. He was taken prisoner and shot while trying to escape. His death made him a hero to the Xhosa, and the Sixth Frontier War is known as Hintsa's War.

65. Cape Town Gazette, 29.1.1825.

66. James Collis (1795-1835) emigrated with Willson's party. He travelled to Port Natal in 1830 as a trader in partnership

this opportunity to combine exploration with a profitable business venture. In June 1825 they set out on a trading expedition that took them beyond Littakoo, the London Missionary Society's northernmost station. This journey was described by Chase in a series of articles published under the pen-name "Evitas" in the South African Commercial Advertiser during October and November 1825.⁶⁷

In May 1826 John Burnet Biddulph and Alexander Geddes Bain⁶⁸ set out together on a six months' trading expedition to the BaNgwaketse country, virtually unknown territory at that time, with the intention of collecting information as well as ivory. They travelled as far north as Dithubaruba (latitude 24° S) where their party combined with a Ngwaketse army in a victorious onslaught on the marauding "Mantatees" (MaKololo). Biddulph and Bain joined up again for a second expedition in 1829, after the eastern frontier had been opened to traders, and journeyed north-east to the Umzimvubu River.⁶⁹ J.B. Biddulph made

with J.B. Biddulph, and settled there; he was killed when his gunpowder magazine exploded in 1835 - according to Robert Godlonton, he was a victim "to African discovery and commercial enterprize". (R. Godlonton, Irruption of the Kaffir Hordes, Introductory Remarks, p.200A.)

67. "Notice on the Nature, Extent and Promise of the Trading Inter-course with the Transgariapine Nations", South African Commercial Advertiser, 12.10.1825 - 23.11.1825. See Percival R. Kirby, "John Centlivres Chase, Geographer and Cartographer", Africana Notes and News XVIII, no.4 (December 1968). Kirby failed to identify "Evitas" as Chase, but M.J. McGinn suggested the identification in her unpublished M.A. thesis, "J.C. Chase: 1820 Settler and Servant of the Colony". This is confirmed by letters from Chase to Fairbairn, 1.10.1826 (South African Library MSS.194) and Fairbairn to Chase, 9.12.1825 (cited by Macmillan, Cape Colour Question, p.116), which discuss the publication of the "Notice" in book form. Its forthcoming publication was announced by George Greig in December 1827, under the title Memoranda Made on Two Journeys into the Sichuana Territories during the Years 1825 and 1826, with Chase named as the author (Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette, 14.12.1827), but the book is not listed by Mendelssohn.
68. Andrew Geddes Bain (1797-1864) came to the Cape from Scotland in 1816, and made a notable contribution as trader, explorer, soldier, road engineer and geologist to the development of South Africa.
69. See Andrew Geddes Bain, Journals of Andrew Geddes Bain, Van Riebeeck Society XXX, ed. Margaret Hermina Lister.

further trading expeditions to both Bechuanaland and Zululand - where he encountered Dingaan - before setting up in business as a commission agent and gunpowder dealer at Graaff Reinet. The considerable property in his estate at the time of his early death in 1837 indicates that his trading and business ventures in the end paid off handsomely.⁷⁰

Both J.C. Chase and J.B. Biddulph deserve to be included in the long list of African travellers and explorers who made material contributions to knowledge of the subcontinent in the nineteenth century. J.B. Biddulph had learnt surveying and cartography during five years' service as a midshipman in the Royal Navy. His partner A.G. Bain gave him public credit in 1829 for

the pains he has taken in laying down the correct situation of every place of consequence we passed...which will make a complete revolution in most of the old maps of Caffraria.⁷¹

The protean J.C. Chase's intense interest in geographical discovery resulted in his appointment as joint secretary to the Association for Exploring Central Africa. In 1830 he compiled an important map of "the hitherto unknown extra colonial regions" of south-eastern Africa from information gathered by various traders, including Biddulph and Bain, which he sent to England the following year, and in 1834 he published a lengthy "Sketch of the Progress and Present State of Geographical Discovery in the African Continent" in the South African Quarterly Journal.⁷²

The colony's civil service provided a wide variety of short- or long-term employment for members of Bailie's party. In the heartbreaking early years of the Albany settlement any paid government post, however humble, was eagerly sought after, and several of Bailie's settlers held minor salaried posts under the successive Landdrosts. John Bailie was employed from November 1820 to January 1821 as clerk to the Provisional Magistrate at Bathurst, and was then appointed postmaster, although he evidently did not keep the job for long. Robert Godlonton, Thomas

70. CA MOOC 7/1/140 no.66, Will of John Burnet Biddulph.

71. Bain, Journals, p.111 (footnote).

72. Kirby, "John Centlivres Chase, Geographer and Cartographer".

Stringfellow and Bartholomew Gunning were all employed as constables. Dr O'Flinn was government medical officer at Bathurst, Timothy Devine was foreman on the Drostdy House building site, Captain Henry Crause was a heemraad from 1825, J.H. Heath was a government clerk at Port Frances, and Joseph Garland was a boatman on the harbour establishment.

Godlonton was promoted to messenger in the Albany landdrost's office in 1822, and became chief clerk in 1825, when J.C. Chase was offered the vacant post of second clerk as the result of much lobbying for a situation under Government. Chase protested at the inferiority of his position, but accepted it nonetheless, "to enable me by being kept under the eye of Government the more easily to procure promotion".⁷³ In the light of his affection for, and reliance on, Godlonton in later years when both were members of the Legislative Council,⁷⁴ Chase's comments about the relationship between them are revealing of the social changes that were to take place in Albany.

Chase wrote urgently to the Colonial Secretary,

I am persuaded that you will enter into my feelings and give me credit for the annoyance I must experience in being considered a subordinate to an individual but of late my tradesman, a Constable, and Messenger, who altho' I believe a worthy servant of Government, and an honest man, has certainly been used to a different grade of Society to myself.

...[The Landdrost] is kind enough to state that I am not subordinate, that I am independant of his other Clerk, has given me the title of Accountant to mark a distinction, and relieved me from the awkwardness of inferior association by taking me into his own office, for which I feel grateful but notwithstanding I must confess the present uncertainty is rather irksome.

I have therefore been emboldened to solicit the situation of Vendue Master...⁷⁵

Chase obtained the desired appointment as vendue-master, but the post was short-lived. It was abolished at the end of 1827. However, he had made influential friends, and his view of his future career was

73. CA CO 249 no.266, Chase to Plasket, 8.11.1825.

74. University of the Witwatersrand Library, Godlonton papers, letters from Chase to Godlonton, 1865 - 1876.

75. CA CO 249 no.266, Chase to Plasket, 8.11.1825.

consequently optimistic. He wrote to an uncle in England in December 1827,

I think that some other appointment will be offered... Luckily I have got the interest of the Commissioner General, the Civil Commissioner, the Secretary of Government 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.⁷⁶

He had additional reason to see his prospects in a favourable light. The abolition of the vendue-master's monopoly was only a small part of the change in colonial administration that was to result from the recommendations of the Commissioners of Enquiry.

The Settlement is rapidly improving, but we are now all absorbed in the great changes in our political state which are to take place in the New Year, the whole of the old system is to be abolished and to be assimilated to that of England as much as possible - we Settlers (and I say it proudly) have done this.⁷⁷

Perhaps Chase was being unduly self-congratulatory. The colony of conquest was now a colony of settlement, and military government no longer suited its changed circumstances.⁷⁸ Somerset's totalitarian rule had been made an anachronism by political changes in Britain as well as political changes at the Cape; the impact of the 1820 settlers served only to bring it to a precipitate and undignified end. It can be fairly claimed for the settlers, however, that they forced the pace of history by bringing to South Africa their conception of the rights of Englishmen, as well as the habit of association for public purposes. The latter - as Somerset realised when he forbade public meetings - was as effective in achieving change as the former. Harry Rivers' tenure of office as Landdrost of Albany was terminated by the power of hostile public opinion, not because his superiors deplored his neglect of duty.

76. South African Library MSS.195, Chase to James Sharp, 15.12.1827.

77. Ibid. See Donaldson, "Council of Advice at the Cape of Good Hope", for changes in the government of the Cape.

78. See Keith S. Hunt, Sir Lowry Cole: a Study in Colonial Administration.

The Charter of Justice of 1827 provided a new dispensation of colonial law, under the control of an independent Bench instead of in the hands of the Governor. The replacement of district boards of landdrosts and heemraden by civil commissioners and resident magistrates, and the use of the English language for all judicial purposes, provided the British settlers with new opportunities for employment and advancement in positions of authority. Gibbon Wakefield believed that gentleman settlers "would supply the most beneficial element of colonial government"; an impressive proportion of Bailie's party helped to administer the law, and eventually to make it, when representative and responsible government were introduced at the Cape.

During the 1840s and 1850s the Resident Magistrates and Civil Commissioners of three of the eastern frontier districts (four, if one includes J.C. Chase's year at Albert) were former members of Bailie's party. P.R. Marillier was at Somerset, J.C. Chase at Uitenhage, and Thomas Stringfellow at Fort Beaufort. Edward Stransham Ford, the third son of J.E. Ford, was Resident Magistrate and Civil Commissioner at Clanwilliam.

Few of the educated men who settled in the frontier districts failed to make a contribution to local government and administration, as municipal commissioners, members of road and school boards, and Justices of the Peace. Six colonists who came to the Cape with Bailie's party were listed in the Cape Almanac for 1866 as Justices of the Peace: Stringfellow, Marillier, Chase, Godlonton, J.C. Hoole and Robert Bovey. Bovey was criticised in his early years in the colony for "ranging about for his amusement" with the officers on the frontier, shooting and sketching instead of settling down to work.⁷⁹ In a developing country, hungry for educated and qualified men, this dilettante existence did not last. Bovey married and settled at Fort Beaufort in 1837 under the eye of his father-in-law, a surgeon with the Cape Mounted Rifles, and by 1850 was a Justice of the Peace and a member of the Kat River Land Commission. He was Captain of the Fort Beaufort Levy in 1851, and was granted a farm within the boundaries of the late Kat River Settlement in 1853 which he named Baddaford after his father's estate in Devon.

79. Philip, Researches, I, 205.

Robert Godlonton and J.C. Chase were among the most prominent public figures of their time in the Eastern Province. Writers and elder statesmen, they both lived into their eighties, having married twice and raised second families when well into middle age - perhaps an incentive to longevity. Godlonton, whose printing press had been confiscated on his arrival at the Cape, succeeded after all in "scattering firebrands along the Eastern frontier". He resigned from the civil service to become editor of the Graham's Town Journal in 1834, after contributing to it almost from its foundation two years earlier; through its columns he was spokesman for the colonial party and "architect of frontier opinion" for the next twenty-two years. Godlonton was an active participant in colonial politics as well as a commentator; he was nominated to the Legislative Council in 1850, and served for twenty-one years as an elected member of the Upper House after representative government was introduced at the Cape in 1854 and responsible government in 1872.⁸⁰

As articulate and almost as prolific a writer as Godlonton, and as fiercely partisan about the interests of the Eastern districts, J.C. Chase published several books and a number of pamphlets with a pro-colonist political bias. He represented Port Elizabeth in the House of Assembly in 1864 and 1865, before being elected to the Legislative Council where he remained for the next ten years.⁸¹ A member of the younger generation of Bailie's party also represented the Eastern Divisions in the Upper House: James Cotterell Hoole, second son of James Hoole, was a member of the Legislative Council from 1866.

The contribution made by Bailie's party to the colony was exceptional in its quality as well as its quantity. In addition to arbiters of public "morals and manners" the party provided South Africa with settlers who not only stood their ground but opened new vistas beyond it. The credit must be given in the first instance to their leader, who was responsible for recruiting this oddly-assorted group of

80. See Basil le Cordeur, "Robert Godlonton as Architect of Frontier Opinion, 1850-1857", Archives Year Book for South African History 1959, II.

81. See M.J. McGinn, "J.C. Chase, 1820 Settler and Servant of the Colony", unpublished M.A. thesis, Rhodes University.

independent settlers, and inspiring them to embark on a scheme of idealistic collectivism that proved unworkable from the outset. John Bailie was a visionary who believed so strongly in the impossible that his dreams almost succeeded in becoming realities. The later part of his life involved issues that lie outside the scope of this thesis;⁸² it was marked by a series of tragic events that would have defeated a less resilient man, and his death in a heroic sea-rescue attempt off the Natal coast in 1852 was the dramatic climax to a dramatic career. John Bailie was an extraordinary man, whose indomitable belief in himself makes his failure irrelevant.

How did Bailie's settlers themselves rate the success of the emigration experiment? Most of them received little financial return on the capital they brought with them; the few who became wealthy did so through talent, enterprise and energy. But their investment was of men, not money, made as much for their children as themselves.

In the final accounting, the emigrants who stayed in the colony did so from choice, and did not believe that their descendants would have cause for regret. J.C. Chase was looking back with pride on fifty years as a colonist, and looking forward with confidence to generations of South Africans to come, when he wrote on the eve of the settlers' jubilee to his friend Robert Godlonton,

Possibly some time in the next century our memories may crop up again and your Ghost and mine with some other respectable shades may hover around the Chair of some great, great, great grandchild while as president he begs that generation to drink in solemn silence "the immortal memory of the adventurers of 1820" to settle "among the Hottentots all capering ashore".⁸³

82. See Biographical Index below for an outline biography of John Bailie.

83. University of the Witwatersrand Library, Godlonton papers no.1163, Chase to Godlonton, 24.3.1869.

APPENDIX A

RETURN OF SETTLERS PROCEEDING TO THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE UNDER THE DIRECTION OF JOHN BAILIE ESQRE.
OF 7 MANCHESTER BUILDINGS, WESTMINSTER (FROM CAPE ARCHIVES CO 6138 vol.1)

Names of the Men	Their Age	Profession or Trade	Names of the Women	Their Age	Names of the Male Children	Their Age	Names of the Female Children	Their Age
Goodes John	25	Plumber	Anna (his wife)	24			Sarah Charlotte	3 1
Goodes Joseph	29	do	Ann (his wife)	28			Mary Ann Elizabeth	3 2
Flanegan Timy.	38	GunSmith	Mary (his wife)	40	Jas.Frederick Arthr.Stephn.	10 7	Mary Anne Elizabeth	15 3
King Richard	27	Farmer						
Plowman Michl.	40	Pensioner Sergt.of Marines Portsmouth Divisn.	Isabella (his wife)	37				
Plowman Thos.	23	Cabinetmaker						
Biddulph Simon	50	Farmer	Ann (his wife) Louisa (daughter)	48 24	William	14	Frances	12
Biddulph John Burnet	22	Farmer						
Biddulph Jas. Hy.	20	Grocer						
Gunning Barthw.	42	Hatter	Mary (his wife)	32				
Adams Thos. P.	39	Merchant	Mary (his wife)	30			Mary Frances	4 1
Leader James	28	Farmer	Ann (his wife)	30	James	1	Ann	3
Hoole James	31	Farmer and harnessmaker	Jane (his wife)	32	Abel James	8 4	Jane	1
Forbes William	27	Shoemaker						
Godlonton Robt.	25	Printer	Mary Ann (his wife)	27	Hex William	17	Mary Ann	4
Stringfellow Thos.	30	do	Anne (his wife)	30			Anne Mary Sarah	5 3 1
Vokins Henry	38	Shoemaker	Lucy (his wife)	36			Mary Anne	17
Ball William	31	Pensioner 24th Regt. of Foot						
Lawler John	32	Sawyer	Anne (his wife) Mary McNamara	30 28			Mary	
Mathew Augustus Thomas	19	Laborer						
Bellmore Henry	29	do	Ann (his wife)	28				
Duffy John	42	Pensioner 80th Regt. of Foot	Ann (his wife)	44	Charles George	10 4		
Cox Edwd. John	25	Watchmaker						
Barton George	21	Farmer						
Rose John	27	do						
Hockley Danl.	32	General Mechanic	Elizabeth (his wife)	29	Daniel	6	Elizabeth Harriet Frances	4 3
Griffin Thos.	34	GunSmith	Sarah (his wife)	31	Thomas Joseph James	8 3 2	Sarah Elizabeth Harriett Margaret	9 6 4
Gray Willm.	19	Laborer						
Cowper Wm. D.	21	Farmer			James	10		
Low James	20	Carpenter						
Low Willm.	19	do						
Franz Christopher	29	Vine Dresser	Ann (his wife)	25	A boy (nameless)		Ann Helen	7 4
Rowles John	29	Farmer	Sarah (his wife)	27	John	1	Amelia	2
Garland Joseph	44	Pensioned Warrant Officer Royal Navy	Ann (his wife)	42				
Nobbs Willm.	31	Farmer						
Mills Thos.	21	Corn Dealer						
Saunders John	22	Shoemaker						

Names of the Men	Their Age	Profession or Trade	Names of the Women	Their Age	Names of the Male Children	Their Age	Names of the Female Children	Their Age
Mead Thos.	19	Wheelwright						
Adams Mattw.	20	do						
King George	31	2nd Lieut. Royal Marines ½ Pay						
Blair Willm.	47	Baker and Mealman	Jane (his wife)	50				
Reed Willm.	45	Farmer	Elizabeth (His wife) Eliza	37 20	Charles James George	11 7 1	Louisa	9
Reed Willm.	22	do						
Reed Henry	18	do						
Walker John	21	Surgeon						
Thompson John	26	Baker	Mary (his wife)	29	John James	6		
Oldham Thos.	27	Farmer						
Oldham Edwin	21	do						
Taylor Richd.	30	do						
Oldham Joseph	33	Mariner	Dorcas (his wife)	30			Harriet Mary Anne Lucretia Joseph	12 7 3 1
Heath John H.	26	Gardener	Maria (his wife)	23	John Henry	2		
Byrne Alexr.	36	Shoemaker	Elizabeth (his wife)	33	Robert Alexander	4 2	Rhoda Jane	11 6
Roberts Edwd.	27	Surgeon						
Anderson Geo	48	Carpenter	Isabella (his wife)	45	Benjamin	14	Isabella	8
Anderson Robt.	26	do						
Anderson Geo.	24	do						
Anderson Wm.	21	do						
Harrison Wm.	30	Farmer and Miller	Ann (his wife)	30	George	2	Mary	
Harden Willm.	25	Cabinetmaker	Maria (his wife)	25			Jane	4
Seymour Wm.	32	Baker	Sarah (his wife)	29			Maria	2
Wade Wm.	20	Druggist						
Shortman Jas.	19	Laborer						
Hezell Thos.	19	do						
Hewson Thos. Wm.	42	GunSmith	Elizth (his wife)	38	Frederick Wm.	3	Emma Eliza Isabella	8 11 14
Hewson Ed. Benj.	19	do						
Leonard John	29	Farmer	Elizabeth (his wife)	25			Mary Anne Elizabeth	3 2
Wakeford Thos.	34	Gardener	Mary (his wife)	36	Thomas William	13 12		
Futter George	38	Shoemaker	Sarah (his wife)	35	George John	9 7	Sarah Elizabeth	5 2
Tucker Henry	31	Druggist						
Lloyd Henry	28	Worsted twister	Rebecca (his wife)	26	Henry William Charles	6 4 1		
Somerville Jas.	29	Farmer						
Whittal Fras.	22	do						
Leech John	39	Pensioned as Corpl. from 22nd Light Dragoons						
Crause Henry	29	Capt. half pay 2nd Garrison Battalion	Helen (his wife) Mary Evenden (servant)	25 17	Charles	6		
Chase John Centlivres	24	General Merchant	Arabella (his wife) Mary Williams (servant)	21 30			Louisa	1
Marillier Philip Richard	27	Farmer						
Hart William	46	Cornet ½ pay Royal Waggon Train	Eliza (daughter)	19	Henry Geo.	10		
Ford Jas. Edwd.	50	Woolstapler	Frances (wife)	40	Jas. Saml. Geo. Henry Edwd. Stransham John Henry	13 11 9 3	Frances Jane Adelaide Eliz. Jean Murray	14 3 6

Names of the Men	Their Age	Profession or Trade	Names of the Women	Their Age	Names of the Male Children	Their Age	Names of the Female Children	Their Age
O'Flinn Danl.	27	Physician and Surgeon	Margaret (his wife)	28				
Bailie John	31		Amelia (his wife)	28	Chas.Theodore Archibald Hope Thos.Cockburn John Amelius	10 8 6 4		
Bovey Robt.	27	Farmer						
Divine Timothy	33	Carpenter	Eleanor (wife)	30	John Jeremiah	11 4	Bridget Katherine	6 2
Fulgon George	23	Farmer						
Collins Wm.	19	Laborer						

Born on the passage belonging to the following persons

Griffin, Thos	Margaret	9th December 1819
Franz Christr.	a boy	10th " "
Lawler John	Mary	18th " "
Hockley, Danl.	Frances	14th Janry. 1820
Thompson, John	James	8th Febry. "
Harrison, Wm.	Mary	27th " "

Died on the passage belonging to the following persons

Hockley, Danl.	Danl. Jnr.	4th December 1819
Adams, T.P.	Frances	23rd " "
Chase, J.C.	Louisa	25th " "
Goodes, John	Charlotte	2nd Janry. 1820
Hoole Jas.	Jane	28th Febry. "
Rowles John	John Jnr.	8th March "

NOTE: Total number of men listed: 84 (George Stokes is unaccountably omitted from the list; William Low, who
women: 47 did not disembark at Algoa Bay, is included.)
children over 14: 7
children under 14: 84
Listed total of party: 222

APPENDIX B

ANALYSIS OF PARTY LISTS

The early lists of Bailie's party include the names of a large number of men who did not in the event emigrate. It has not been considered necessary to reproduce these lists in full. This study deals specifically with the eighty-four settlers who constituted Bailie's party as it landed at Algoa Bay (Appendix A), and the following analysis shows at what stage their names first appeared on the party lists. Men who were listed at some time as members of Bailie's party, but who emigrated to the Cape with other parties or as independent settlers, have been noted separately.

*indicates men from whom individual letters (usually applications to emigrate) have been traced in Colonial Department records.

SETTLERS WHOSE NAMES WERE FIRST ENTERED ON THE PARTY LIST OF AUGUST 17 1819
(THE FULL LIST INCLUDES THE NAMES OF 127 MEN.)

PRO CO 48/41, pp.352, 359-60.

* T.P. Adams	* C. Franz	R. King
* G. Anderson snr.	R. Godlonton	P.R. Marillier
G. Anderson jnr.	J. Garland	H. Reed
* R. Anderson	B. Gunning	* W. Reed snr.
W. Anderson	* W. Harden	W. Reed jnr.
* J. Bailie	W. Harrison	E. Roberts
* J.C. Chase	* W. Hart	J. Rose
W.D. Cowper	* J.H. Heath	* J. Rowles
H.A. Crause	E. Hewson	T.K. Stringfellow
T. Flanagan	* T.W. Hewson	H. Walker
W. Forbes	* D. Hockly	
* J.E. Ford	G. King	

A. Biggar, W. Clarke and R. Holditch, whose names were on this list, withdrew to form separate parties. J. Goodwin and H. Lovemore were prevented from sailing on the Chapman. They reached the Cape much later than the rest of Bailie's party and did not rejoin it.

SETTLERS WHOSE NAMES WERE FIRST ENTERED ON THE PARTY LIST OF AUGUST 25 1819

(THE FULL LIST INCLUDES THE NAMES OF 96 MEN.)

PRO CO 48/41, pp.353-358.

J.B. Biddulph	S. Biddulph	D. O'Flinn
J.H. Biddulph	J. Low	

Three labourers, Matthew Nelson, John Smith and Thomas Smith, whose names were on this list, emigrated with Parker's party on the East Indian.

(Note: The names of B. Gunning, E. Hewson, T.W. Hewson, E. Roberts, J. Rose and J. Walker, all entered on the list of August 17, were omitted from the list of August 25 but reappeared on the later list of October 21 1819.)

SETTLERS WHOSE NAMES WERE FIRST ENTERED ON THE PARTY LIST OF OCTOBER 21 1819

(THIS LIST ORIGINALLY INCLUDED THE NAMES OF 101 MEN, SEVENTEEN OF WHOM DROPPED OUT BEFORE THE PARTY SAILED.)

PRO CO 48/47, pp.5 -7.

M. Adams	T. Griffin	M. Plowman
W. Ball	T. Hezell	T. Plowman
G. Barton	* J. Hoole	J. Saunders
* H. Belmour	J. Lawler	W. Seymour
W. Blair	J. Leader	J. Shortman
A. Byrne	J. Leech	J. Somerville
E.J. Cox	J. Leonard	J. Thompson
T. Devine	H.J. Lloyd	R. Taylor
J. Duffy	A.T. Mathew	H. Tucker
G. Fulgon	T. Mead	H. Vokins
G. Futter	T. Mills	W. Wade
J. Goodes	W. Nobbs	T. Wakeford
J.W. Goodes	E. Oldham	F. Whittal
W. Gray	* J. Oldham	
	T.W. Oldham	

B. Burnett withdrew from the party shortly before the Chapman sailed and emigrated as an independent settler.

P. Bagley and P. Campbell sailed on La Belle Alliance and the Aurora, and were located with Willson's party and at Salem respectively.

LAST-MINUTE ADDITIONS TO THE LIST OF OCTOBER 21 1819

PRO CO 48/47, pp.5-7.

R. Bovey

W. Collins

G. Stokes

APPENDIX C

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT, 6th October 1819 (FACSIMILE, CAPE ARCHIVES)

Articles of Agreement *made this 6th day of October, 1819, between JOHN BAILIE, of Manchester Buillings, Westminster, in the County of Middlesex, Esq. of the one part, and the several other Persons whose names are hereunder written, of the other part.*

WHEREAS the said JOHN BAILIE hath proposed to the Government of *Great Britain*, to take a party of One Hundred able-bodied Settlers with their Families to the *Cape of Good Hope*. And whereas, His Majesty's Government have accepted of such proposal of the said John Bailie, and propose and intend to make to the said John Bailie, a Grant of Land, to be assigned to him on his arrival at the said Colony of the *Cape of Good Hope*, in conformity with the regulations laid down by His Majesty's Government. And, whereas, the several Persons whose hands and names are hereunder written, have severally and respectively agreed to and with the said John Bailie, to proceed with him to the said intended Settlement in the Colony of the *Cape of Good Hope*, upon the terms, conditions, and stipulations, hereinafter expressed and contained :

I.

That he, the said John Bailie, his Heirs, Executors, or Administrators, shall and will distribute to the undersigned Persons, their Wives or Children, such allotment of Land as shall, on calculation, be their fair proportion of the Grant of Land which he, the said John Bailie, his Heirs or Representatives, shall or may receive from his Majesty's Government; provided always that such allotment to each of the said undersigned Persons shall not, in any case, exceed One Hundred Acres, such several allotments to be subject to a proportional share of the Quit-rent, Taxes, and other charges to be imposed thereon by His Majesty's Government for the time being of the said Colony. And it is hereby mutually agreed between all the said Parties hereto, that the said several allotments of Land so to be made by the said John Bailie, to the several other Persons parties hereto, shall be laid out by him the said John Bailie, in one or more Towns or Villages as the position or form of the Land so to be granted to him the said John Bailie, by His Majesty's Government may require, or admit of, for the more convenient location, and for the benefit and safety of all the Parties hereto.

II.

That such Town or Towns, Village or Villages (should it be so found necessary), shall each contain a Church, or place of Public Worship, a Hall to be subdivided into whatever Rooms or Compartments the circumstances of such Town or Village may require, and a space of Ground not less than Ten Acres as a place for Recreation and for a Market.

III. That

III.

That the Ground required to be employed for the above-mentioned public purposes, and for such Streets and Roads as may be required for the convenience of such Towns or Villages as may be laid out, shall be in deduction from the allotment of Land to be made by the said John Bailie to the said undersigned Persons rateably and in proportion to their several allotments.

IV.

That the undersigned Persons bind themselves each for himself, his Wife, Children, Family, and Dependants, unto the said John Bailie, his Heirs, Executors, or Administrators, to guarantee and indemnify him the said John Bailie, for all and every expence he, the said John Bailie, shall incur, sustain, or be put unto, on account of, or for the Maintenance, Clothing, or Transport of the said undersigned Persons, their Wives, Children, Families, and Dependants; and generally for their Armament and Equip-ment, whensoever or wheresoever; the respective allotments of Land which may have been made to the said undersigned Parties hereto of the second part, by the said John Bailie, being chargeable with all such expences, and revertible to the said John Bailie in case of failure of such Guarantee and Indemnity.

V.

That the undersigned Persons do hereby bind themselves severally and respectively to assist each other, and all the Party, in labour in whatever way they can severally and respectively be rendered most serviceable and available until the Public Works hereinbefore mentioned, shall be fully completed; a House or Hut be erected and built for each and every one of the Parties hereto, the said Houses or Huts to be erected and built of equal dimensions, and four Acres of Land to be cleared and fenced for each of the Parties hereto, and a Fold therein made, calculated to shelter the Cattle of each of the undersigned, and shall and will also assist each other in digging such Wells as may be found requisite for supplying sufficient quantities of Water for the use of all the Parties hereto.

VI.

It is hereby further mutually agreed, by, and between the several Persons parties hereto, of the second part, and the said John Bailie, that if they, or any, or either of them, shall, or do neglect, or refuse to comply with the stipulations and conditions contained in the above recited Fifth Article, he or they so refusing to comply therewith shall forfeit and pay the sum of 20*l*. British sterling, or such sum in the currency of the Colony as may be of equal value, and also that he or they so offending shall be deprived of the gratuitous services of the other and others of the

the Parties hereto, in building, clearing, and fencing, his, her, or their allotments, and shall also be deprived of the use of the common stock of Tools, Implements, and Library. And further, that should the Parties or Party so offending not be possessed of such pecuniary means as will enable them to pay such forfeiture of 20*l.* British sterling, then, he or they so offending, shall respectively forfeit in lieu thereof a certain portion of their allotment of Land, not more than Twenty Acres nor less than Ten Acres, to be taken from his or their respective Allotments, such forfeiture, to be adjudged by the finding and award of a Jury, to be composed of twelve of the undersigned Parties hereto of the second part, to be selected and appointed by lot.

VII.

And, whereas, it is necessary for the preservation of good order, and moral and industrious habits, that Shops, or Stores, or Houses, or Booths, of whatsoever description, whether errant or stationary, be totally prohibited from selling, retailing, or serving out, in any shape or quantity whatsoever, Spirituous Liquors, of all and every denomination within the Precincts, Boundaries, Limits, and Premises, of the Grant of Land, which may be made by His Majesty's Government to the said John Bailie, for himself, or for the use and benefit of the aforesaid undersigned Parties hereto of the second part, such prohibition to be enforced by the forfeiture of the Stock or quantity of Spirituous Liquors which shall or may be found in the possession of either of the said Parties, which Spirits so to be found in the possession of either of the said Parties for the purposes of sale, shall be poured out and scattered on the Earth, and a forfeiture of 100*l.* colonial currency (if such currency shall exist) or 50*l.* British sterling, shall be incurred and levied for every such offence, or failing, the pecuniary means of the Party or Parties so offending, such other forfeiture of Land shall be incurred as may be ordered by the finding and award of a Jury of twelve of the Parties hereto of the second part, to be selected and appointed by lot.

VIII.

And whereas, it is repugnant to the feelings of humanity, and contrary to the principles in which all Englishmen have been reared, to tolerate or admit of slavery, therefore it is hereby mutually and respectively agreed between all the Parties hereto, that any, or either of them, shall not nor will either, directly or indirectly, be concerned in the purchase or employment of Slaves within the Precincts, Boundaries, and limits of the Premises of all and every the Grant or Grants of Land, which may be made by His Majesty's Government to the aforesaid John Bailie, for himself, or for the use and benefit of the other Parties hereto, under the penalty of the restoration to liberty of the Slave or Slaves so to be found in the possession of any or either of the Parties hereto, their Heirs, Executors, Administrators, or Assigns. And further, a penalty shall be paid by the Party or Parties so offending, of a sum of Money equal to the value of the Slave or Slaves so to be found in his, her, or their possession.

IX. That

IX.

That all forfeitures and Penalties hereby imposed, whether in Money, Land, or otherwise, shall be paid and received for the benefit of the Fund of the Town or Village where the offence or offences may have been committed, or which may have occasioned the infliction of such forfeitures.

X.

And it is hereby further mutually agreed by and between all the Parties to these presents, that in consideration of the great trouble which he, the said John Bailie, hath been at in the formation of this Society, and in consequence of the reliance which the Parties hereto of the second part, have and repose in his judgment for the regulation and formation of such Settlement as may be formed for their mutual benefit and advantage. It is hereby agreed that the said John Bailie shall reserve to himself the sole direction of the intended Settlement; and the nomination of such Committee or Committees of Management as he may deem necessary to assist him in the superintendance of the same, and also the nomination to such vacancies as shall or may occur from time to time in such Committee or Committees, and generally every thing appertaining thereto.

XI.

It is hereby further fully understood and agreed that these Articles can only be of force and available, inasmuch as they may be found in conformity with the existing Laws in the Colony or Settlement, or with such Laws as may in future be established and enacted in the Colony or Settlement in which it may please His Majesty's Government to locate the undersigned Parties hereto, and in as far as these Articles of Agreement may meet the approbation of His Majesty's Government.

APPENDIX D

T.P. ADAMS' LIST OF THE SUBDIVISIONS OF BAILIE'S PARTY,
 DRAWN UP IN OCTOBER 1824 FOR THE INFORMATION OF
 SPECIAL COMMISSIONER WILLIAM HAYWARD
 (FROM CAPE ARCHIVES CO 8541)

1st SUBDIVISION

Bailie
 Low
 Adams
 Shortman
 Mead
 Mathew
 Franz
 Chase
 Ball
 Whittal
 Crause
 Bovey

3rd SUBDIVISION

5 Andersons
 Collins
 3 Oldhams
 Taylor
 Gunning
 Campbell
 Bellmore
 Bagley
 Stringfellow
 Futter
 Vokins

2nd SUBDIVISION

T.P. Adams
 King
 Fulgon
 Hart
 Walker
 Seymour
 Blair
 H. Lloyd
 Byrne
 Wm. Lloyd
 Griffin
 Hoole
 Harrison
 Harden
 Stokes
 Wade
 Forbes

4th SUBDIVISION

Wakeford
 Heath
 Godlonton
 2 Goodes
 Thompson
 Rose
 Leader
 Nobbs
 Somerville

5th SUBDIVISION

Ford
 Marillier
 Devine
 Duffy
 Garland
 Flanagan
 Rowles
 Lawler
 Plowman
 Saunders
 Mills
 2 Hewsons

APPENDIX E

OPGAAF ROLL OF G. DYASON, FIELD CORNET, 1822, INCLUDING THE WHOLE OF THE SETTLERS LOCATED IN ALBANY

CAPE ARCHIVES: 1/AY 13/8a

EXTRACT:- SETTLERS OF BAILIE'S PARTY ON THE GENERAL LOCATION & AT THE HOPE

		CHILDREN	EUROPEAN SERVANTS	HOTTENTOT SERVANTS	WAGGONS	SADDLE HORSES	BREEDING HORSES	DRAUGHT OXEN	BREEDING CATTLE	GOATS	PIGS	ACRES WHEAT	ACRES BARLEY	ACRES RYE	SHEEP	ACRES OATS
H. Vokins	Lucy									10				1		
William Blair	Jane													3	10	
T. Stringfellow	Ann	3												1	11	4
H. Lloyd	Mary	5						2	2		4	1/2				
F. Whittle	[Mary]	1							6			1				
W. Seymour	Sarah								12		2	1/2				
J.H. Heath	Maria	2			1			8	1							
Thomas Mills					1			7				1				
Joseph Goodes	Mary	2							4		1	1				
Thomas Adams	Mary	3			1			12	16		3	1	1			
W. Harding [Harden]	Jane	3							3		2	1/2				
Alexander Byrne	Ann	5							3		2					
T. Griffin	Sarah	8							10			2			12	
James Hoole	Jane	3							11	5			1/6		20	
T. Flanagan	Mary	3				1			10	4	3	1			12	
K. Knott	Ann							8	8			1/2				
J. Duffy	Ann	3							2							
P. Marillier	Francis															
James Ford	Isabella	(7)						4	7	14	14	9			66	
T. Divine	Helen	(4)							9		16	1				
J. Garland	Ann						1		1		1	1/2			3	
J. Lawler	Ann	1						2	3			1/8				
J. Walker								3	1			2	1		1	
T. Wakeford	Mary	2						8	3		5	1			50	
[J. Rowles]	[Sarah]															
J. Bailie	Amelia	5	4		1	1	1	16	68	30	7	3 1/2	1/2			

NUMBER OF SETTLERS OF BAILIE'S PARTY STILL ON THE GENERAL LOCATION: MEN: 25; WOMEN: 23; CHILDREN: 59

NUMBER OF SETTLERS AT THE HOPE: MEN: 5; WOMEN: 1; CHILDREN: 5

TOTAL NUMBER OF SETTLERS REMAINING IN ALBANY: MEN: 278; WOMEN: 243; CHILDREN: 603

APPENDIX F

LAND GRANTS IN ALBANY TO MEMBERS OF BAILLIE'S PARTY

(DEEDS OFFICE RECORDS)

Name of grantee	Size of grant in morgen	Date of grant	Surveyor-General's Diagram number	Remarks
<u>ALBANY QUITRENTS VOL.II (7.1.1826 - 27.11.1827)</u>				
11 Robert M. Bovey	1931	6.9.1826	175/1825	FAIRVIEW tfr. 2.3.1827 to J. Hope.
13 Capt. Henry Crause	2666	6.9.1826	177/1825	WALSINGHAM. In remuneration for losses at Fredericksburg. Tfr. 15.12.1842 to W. Gray.
35 John Baillie	1010	6.7.1827	187/1821	THE HOPE.
<u>ALBANY QUITRENTS VOL.III (24.9.1829 - 4.12.1833)</u>				
1 John Burnet Biddulph	2456		96/1827	KAP RIVER FARM. In exchange for Upper Kaffir Drift Farm.
<u>ALBANY QUITRENTS VOL.IV (7.1.1834 - 1.9.1837)</u>				
17 Robt. Godlonton	870	28.7.1836	197/1827	PALMIET FARM. Tfr. 5.5.1837 to J.Richards.
23 Thos. Price Adams	812	31.12.1836	198/1827	RED HILL.
32 Simon Biddulph	1131		76/1828	BIRBURY.
<u>ALBANY QUITRENTS VOL.V (27.6.1838 - 12.9.1842)</u>				
12 John Baillie	385	15.9.1841	206/1827	Tfr. 3.2.1843 to T. Devine.
13 William Harden	208	15.9.1841	207/1827	Tfr. 1.10.1862 to M.A. Devine (born Harden).
14 Joseph Garland	202	15.9.1841	208/1827	Tfr. 30.8.1842 to J. Moorcroft.
15 James Hoole	206	15.9.1841	209/1827	
16 John Rowles	211	15.9.1841	210/1827	Tfr. 13.8.1860 to N. Cock.
17 John Duffy	183	15.9.1841	211/1827	Tfr. 17.11.1847 to F. Whittal.
18 P.R. Marillier	206	15.9.1841	212/1827	Tfr. 20.7.1843 to W. Rowe.
19 John Lawler	183	15.9.1841	213/1827	Tfr. 16.5.1843 to M. Bowker.
20 Kemp Knott	202	15.9.1841	214/1827	Tfr. 8.9.1846 to W. Clayton.
21 Henry James Lloyd	213	15.9.1841	215/1827	Tfr. 2.10.1860 to H. Lloyd.
22 Timothy Flanagan	208	15.9.1841	216/1827	
23 Thomas Wakeford	177	15.9.1841	217/1827	Tfr. 1.3.1844 to R. Webb.
24 William Seymour	210	15.9.1841	218/1827	Tfr. 15.12.1842 to G. Clayton.
25 Francis Whittle	180	15.9.1841	219/1827	
26 Thos. Stringfellow	205	15.9.1841	220/1827	Tfr. 21.2.1843 to L. Norton.
27 Henry Vokins	18	15.9.1841	221/1827	Tfr. 19.8.1842 to W. Estment.
28 William Blair	179	15.9.1841	222/1827	Tfr. 2.3.1865 to J. Moorcroft.
29 John Henry Heath	208	15.9.1841	223/1827	Tfr. 11.8.1842 to W. Fletcher.
30 Thomas Mills	186	15.9.1841	224/1827	
31 Joseph Goodes	186	15.9.1841	225/1827	Tfr. 21.7.1842 to W. Clayton.
32 Francis Whittle	25	15.9.1841	226/1827	
33 J.J.C. Chase	825	1.11.1841	227/1827	SEAFIELD. Tfr. 28.11.1842 to Miles Bowker.
<u>ALBANY QUITRENTS VOL.VI (26.7.1843 - 13.12.1844)</u>				
23 Estate late Miles Bowker	2100	30.11.1843	232/1827	KLEINEMONDEN RIVIER. Originally granted to John Baillie. Tfr. 28.11.1849 to J.F. Flanagan and M.B. Bowker.
<u>ALBANY QUITRENTS VOL.X PART II (1.9.1852 - 26.9.1857)</u>				
47 Timothy Devine	980	8.5.1854	251/1827	THURLESBY. Tfr. 13.12.1861 to Cawood Brothers.

NOTES: Vol.IV no.17 is shown on Timm's map of the Albany settlement as four separate allotments marked Capt. H.A. Crause, H. Vokins, R. Godlonton, B. Gunning.

Vol.V nos.27 and 32 were "homestead" allotments granted in addition to shares of grazing ground to make up full shares for Vokins and Whittal respectively.

BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX OF MEMBERS OF BAILIE'S PARTY

Alternative spellings of settlers' names are given in brackets, as are the married names of settlers' daughters. Occupations prior to emigrating, and dates of birth, have been taken from the emigrant lists, unless other information has been obtained from what appear to be more accurate sources.

References have been given in as concise a form as possible. All Public Record Office references are prefixed PRO; Cape Archives references are given without a prefix (1/AY, CO, LG, MOIB, MOIC, MOOC). Unless otherwise stated, the archival references from series CO and LG denote letters or memorials from the settler concerned to Government. The abbreviation d.n. denotes death notice. The general abbreviation Directory covers all the Cape Directories from 1823 to 1850 listed in the bibliography; the abbreviation Gazette is used for both the Cape Town Gazette (1820-1826) and the Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette (1826-1870). St George's Church, Cape Town, St George's Church, Grahamstown, and St Mary's Church, Port Elizabeth, are denoted by St George's CT, St George's GT and St Mary's PE respectively. GTJ denotes Graham's Town Journal. Other abbreviations correspond to those used throughout this work.

* * * * *

ADAMS, Matthew. 1799-1852. Watchmaker.

He was born in Hackney, near London. He was originally located with Bailie's subdivision at The Hope, probably as a servant of John Bailie or Henry Crause, but he left the party in August 1822 and subsequently established himself as a watch- and clock-maker in Cape Town. He married Rhoda Byrne, eldest daughter of his fellow-emigrant Alexander Byrne, in 1825. After her death he married Jane Nicholson. He installed the tower clock in St George's Church, Cape Town, in 1834. He died at his own house in Grave Street, leaving a widow and five children, Elizabeth, Matthew, James, Rhoda and Ellen. His estate included a house and movable property.

CO 136 no.54, Bailie to Ellis, 28.5.1820; CO 178, 9.9.1822; Gazette, 12.8.1825, 14.4.1837; MOOC 7/1/213 no.20, Will, 9.8.1852; MOOC 6/9/60 d.n. 1631/1852.

ADAMS, Thomas Price. 1780-1843. Wine merchant.

He was born in Hayden Square, Minories, London, the son of George Adams and Sarah Price, and married Mary Barker at St Mary Islington in 1813. He lived in Lisbon and Madeira as a general merchant, wine dealer and viticulturist, but suffered heavy business losses during the wars with France and America. He joined the City Light Horse in London. He applied to emigrate from 32 Trinity Square, Tower, London, and submitted to the Colonial Department a printed prospectus of his plan for managing emigrant paupers. He emigrated with £300 capital and was elected head of a subdivision of Bailie's party. He and his family were reduced to dire poverty and suffered great distress on the location. He was granted land in addition to his share of the location in 1825 (Red Hill farm). He moved to Grahamstown where he opened a school in 1830, and practised as an accountant and legal agent as well as a language teacher, but without success. He lived in Port Elizabeth in 1837-38, but returned to Grahamstown where he died in 1843, leaving his wife and five children, Mary Price, Thomas Charles Price, John Henry Price, Helen Emma Price and Elizabeth Sarah Price. His estate comprised Red Hill farm, an erf in Port Elizabeth and a number of manuscripts. Mrs Mary Adams died in Grahamstown in 1864.

PRO CO 48/41 pp.28 and 40, 27.7.1819 and 31.7.1819; CO 4843 no.320, 19.5.1820; CO 8541 n.d.; CO 3968 no.25, 26.2.1834; LG 551 no.516, 17.3.1838; CO 223 no.72, 2.8.1824; GTJ 4.7.1833, 5.9.1833, 2.11.1843, 1.2.1844; Cory Library, Adams papers; MOOC 6/9/32 d.n. 7013½/1843; St George's GT burial registers.

ANDERSON, George. 1762-1836. Cabinet maker and upholsterer.

He was born in Ormiston, Scotland. He married Isabella Oliphant, and carried on his own business at 23 Everett Street, Russell Square, Bloomsbury, London for nearly twenty years. He applied to emigrate after two years without employment, and left England with £500 capital. He replaced William Harrison as head of a subdivision of Bailie's party. In November 1820 he was granted erf 31 at Bathurst, where he built a house and followed his trade, assisted by his sons. The eldest, Robert, was murdered by a Xhosa in 1821. George Anderson was field cornet of Bathurst in 1834, and forced to abandon his property at the outbreak of war. The family re-established their business in Grahamstown where George Anderson died in 1836, leaving a widow and four children, George, William, Benjamin and Isabella. His estate was declared insolvent after his death, the assets comprising three erven with a house at Bathurst and his carpenter's tools. Mrs Isabella Anderson died at Grahamstown in 1841.

PRO CO 48/41 p.120, 27.9.1819; CO 8541, Hayward's notes; 1/AY 8/70, Trappes to Bird, 30.11.1820; CO 8460 no.6, 5.8.1827; LG 528 no.332, 18.12.1837; MOIB 2/609 no.91; GTJ 5.5.1836; St George's GT burial registers; MOOC 6/9/9 d.n. 1606/1836.

ANDERSON, George. 1795-1843. Cabinet maker.

The second son of George Anderson senior, he emigrated with his parents from Bloomsbury, and lived in Bathurst and then Grahamstown. He died at Grahamstown.

Directory 1838, St George's GT burial register.

ANDERSON, Robert. 1793-1821. Cabinet maker.

The eldest son of George Anderson senior, he applied to emigrate from his father's address at 23 Everett Street, Russell Square, Bloomsbury. He was murdered by a Xhosa on his way from the Clay Pits to Cuylerville early in 1821.

PRO CO 48/41 pp.16 and 26, 21.7.1819, 27.7.1819; CO 223 no.241, memorial of G. Anderson, 30.12.1824; Stubbs, p.81; Goldswain I, p.68.

ANDERSON, William. 1798- . Cabinet maker.

The third son of George Anderson senior, he emigrated with his parents from Bloomsbury, but was living separately from them in Bathurst at the outbreak of war in 1834. He established a business in Grahamstown with his brothers.

LG 16, war damage claim, 1835; Directory 1838.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE ANDERSON FAMILY:

George Anderson senior's youngest son Benjamin (1805-1863) was in business with his brothers as a cabinet maker in Grahamstown in 1838. He subsequently moved to Somerset, where he died in 1863 leaving a widow (Harriet Anne Hewson, granddaughter of Thomas Hewson) and two minor children, Jane Embleton and Robert Embleton.

Directory 1838; MOOC 6/9/105 d.n. 831/1863.

BAILIE, John. 1788-1852. Civil servant.

He was born in Ongole, Madras, the son of Thomas Bailie, a subaltern in the East India Company's army temporarily attached to the service of the Nawab of Arcot, and his wife Anne Hope. Both families were well-connected; the Bailies were minor Irish landed gentry who had owned the

townlands of Inishargy, County Down, from the time of the Ulster Plantation until 1767, and the Hopes were eminent in the legal profession in Scotland. Thomas Bailie and his family left India to return to England about 1790, and he was granted a pension from the Lord Clive Fund in consideration of wounds and imprisonment he had suffered during the Mysore War of 1780-84. They were living in Lambeth when a second son was born in 1796.

In 1798 Thomas Bailie fled to France to avoid arrest as a member of the revolutionary movement known as the United Irishmen. His wife and two sons joined him in exile in Paris in 1799, and returned to England in 1805 when he was arrested and imprisoned by the French police on suspicion of spying for the British government. Thomas Bailie was released from prison in 1807 without standing trial, and died in London in 1814.

Contrary to popular tradition, John Bailie never served in the Royal Navy, but by his own statement "was bred to the sea in the merchant service and generally in mercantile pursuits and connected with ship building". He turned from the sea to the study of law, and in July 1814 he became Secretary to the Commissioners for the liquidation of British claims against the French government, appointed to award compensation to British subjects who had suffered by the violation of the Treaty of Commerce of 1786. He held this post until he resigned to emigrate in 1819. He married Amelia Crause, daughter of Charles Crause of Spring Grove and Manor House, Pembury, Kent, in 1809; their eldest son, Charles Theodore, was baptised at the church of St George the Martyr, Southwark, in 1811, and three other sons, Archibald Hope, Thomas Cockburn and John Amelius, were born between 1812 and 1816 and baptised at St Mary at Lambeth. The name of a fifth son, Maurice, was entered on the emigration list of Bailie's party in August 1819, but was omitted from the later lists.

When the Cape of Good Hope emigration scheme was advertised in 1819, Bailie applied to emigrate at the head of a large party of independent settlers, constituted on a joint-stock basis. His proposal was accepted, and his party of 84 men and their families reached Algoa Bay on the Chapman transport in May 1820. Their plans to establish a co-operative settlement did not survive the voyage, and the party broke up almost immediately upon landing. John Bailie was separately located with a small group of friends and their servants on a 1 000-morgen farm in Lower Albany which he was subsequently granted in his own right, and which he named The Hope. He built "the best and most substantial farm house in the settlement" where he resided until 1832.

Between 1824 and 1826 Bailie was actively engaged in promoting a scheme for establishing a harbour and shipyard at the mouth of the Great Fish River. He himself entered the river in a decked boat in September 1825, thereby demonstrating that it was navigable for small craft at least. Lack of funds prevented his proceeding with the scheme, and in 1832 he moved to Grahamstown to practise as a general agent.

At the outbreak of the Sixth Frontier War Bailie had acquired considerable property in the Albany district by purchase. The homesteads on all three of his farms, The Hope, Harewood and Layton, were burnt in December 1834 and January 1835, and his stock driven off; he and his family were plunged from prosperity to destitution. To provide them with a liveli-

hood, John Bailie and his eldest son Charles, who had been actively engaged against the enemy from the outbreak of the war, were commissioned as Captain and Lieutenant respectively in the newly-formed First Battalion, Provisional Colonial Infantry. Both served with distinction under Sir Benjamin D'Urban and Colonel Harry Smith. Charles Bailie was ambushed and killed while on patrol near the Ungqesha River in June 1835; his body was found and buried by his father after months of searching.

In 1836 John Bailie surveyed the mouth of the Buffalo River, which he had suggested as a potential harbour to land stores for troops in the Province of Queen Adelaide, and supervised the off-loading of the cargo carried on the brig Knysna. When the Provisional Colonial Infantry was disbanded in 1837 he acquired land on the east bank of the Buffalo where he intended to settle, but he was forced to return to Albany through illness. In July 1839 he was appointed Secretary to the Port Elizabeth Jetty Company, and lived in Port Elizabeth while supervising the building of the jetty, which was destroyed by storm only five months after its completion. The company was wound up in March 1844.

In May 1844 John Bailie left the colony to join his son Thomas, who had settled among the emigrant Boers in the Caledon River district. A few months later Robert Godlonton, the editor of the Graham's Town Journal, published a letter from John Bailie reporting conditions north of the Orange River, which incurred the resentment of the Boer farmers. Both John and Thomas Bailie were brought before the elected Commandant of the Boers, Jacobus du Plooy of Roode Kuil, to answer a charge of malicious libel, as well as an action for damages brought by a trader named McDonald. Both Bailies were heavily and, as they asserted, illegally fined. Their appeals to the colonial authorities and to Moshesh for intervention were ineffectual, and in July 1845 they visited du Plooy to demand redress. A quarrel ensued, and du Plooy was shot dead. John Bailie took the money he considered owing to him, and rode to Colesberg to report that he had killed du Plooy in self-defence. John Bailie and his son Thomas were arrested for murder and robbery, under the rarely-invoked Cape of Good Hope Punishment Act of 1836. Their trial was scheduled to be held before the Circuit Court in Colesberg in October 1845, but local feeling against the Bailies ran so high that the trial was removed to Uitenhage, where they were found guilty and sentenced to death on March 30, 1846. Public opinion among the English-speaking inhabitants of the eastern districts was strongly in favour of the Bailies, and a spate of memorials praying for remission of sentence reached the Governor, including one from Sir Benjamin D'Urban. J.C. Chase was instrumental in organising the Bailies' defence as well as several mass petitions for mercy.

In September 1846 the Bailies' sentence was commuted to life imprisonment with hard labour. Further appeals for remission of sentence were unsuccessful, and in November they were transferred from Uitenhage gaol to the convict station at George. The case of the Bailies was a cause célèbre, and created embarrassment for two Governors, Maitland and Pottinger. It took a third, Sir Harry Smith, to resolve the situation. He arrived at the Cape as Governor and High Commissioner early in December 1847, and left Cape Town for the frontier almost immediately. On December 17 he reached Grahamstown, and the Graham's Town Journal on the following day carried the news that a free pardon had been granted to the Bailies. (As far as can be traced, this act of clemency was never officially

recorded.) Sir Harry's subsequent recommendation of John Bailie to J.B. Ebden, chairman of the newly-formed Natal Cotton Company, resulted in Bailie's appointment in May 1848 as supervisor of the company's plantation on the Umhloti River.

The Natal Cotton Company was a failure almost from the outset. Bailie was dismissed in January 1849, and the company's affairs were wound up in the following year. By that time John Bailie had established himself as a general agent in Durban, where his involvement in public affairs included standing surety for the editor of a new newspaper, the D'Urban Observer.

In 1852 Bailie purchased and fitted out a small yacht, the Haidee, formerly the lifeboat of the emigrant ship of that name. He had previously visited the Umtata River area, and formed a high opinion of its potential for trade and settlement, and at the end of June he set out on an exploratory voyage with a cargo of trade goods. The Haidee entered the mouth of the Umgazi River, and her cargo was satisfactorily bartered for gum. On her return voyage she encountered the barque Hector of London, flying distress signals after springing a leak; Bailie and the crew of the Haidee boarded her to assist at the pumps. When it became evident that the Hector was foundering she was run ashore, and the Haidee, with only the captain and one seaman aboard, made for Durban. The captain and most of the crew of the Hector managed to reach the shore in safety, but Bailie and five of the hands were trapped on the wreck and drowned.

Bailie's assets were inadequate to meet the expenses of the Haidee's voyage, and his estate was declared insolvent. He died intestate, and appears to have broken off all contact with his family by the time of his death.

Mrs Amelia Bailie died in Grahamstown in 1864.

Extensive research has been carried out into the family background and life of John Bailie, and it would not be practicable to list all the references on which this summary is based. The principal sources of information used are: India Office records; Archives Nationales, Paris; Public Record Office, London, CO 48/41 and T.78; Cape Archives, series CO, CSC, GH and LG; Natal Archives, CSO10 (Natal Cotton Company's records) and Insolvent Estates vol.1/19 no.82; Graham's Town Journal; South African Commercial Advertiser; Natal Times; Documents Relating to the Kaffir War of 1835; Basutoland Records; South African Library, Records of the Province of Queen Adelaide; Bailie family papers; information about Bailie's connection with the D'Urban Observer from Mrs S. Spencer; GTJ 28.6.1864.

BALL, William. 1788- . Pensioner, 24th Regiment of Foot.

A single man from London with an army pension of 5d per day, Ball emigrated as an indentured servant to J.C. Chase, and was located with Bailie's subdivision of the party at The Hope. He left Chase's service in September 1821 and applied for permission to return to England on grounds of ill health.

CO 136 no.54, Bailie to Ellis, 28.5.1820; CO 178 no.351, n.d. (1822); CO 8541, Hayward's notes.

BARTON, George. 1798- . Farmer.

This man's name appears on the final party list submitted to the Colonial Department in London, and on the list submitted to the authorities at Cape Town, but no other mention of him has been traced.

BELLMORE (or BELMOUR), Henry. 1790- . Labourer.

He was in service with a London surgeon (Mr Want of 13 Russell Place, Fitzroy Square) when he applied to emigrate, hoping to obtain employment with some emigrant family as he had no money to pay his own deposit. It is not known whether he entered into any service agreement. He was located at Cuylerville, but left Albany for Cape Town in 1821. His daughter Elizabeth Sarah, born in Albany on 6.5.1820, was baptised in Cape Town in 1821, and his son Henry John in 1822.

PRO CO 48/41 p.417, n.d.; 1/AY 8/71, Landdrost's report (Sept. 1820); Gazette, 19.5.1821, 28.7.1821, 17.8.1822.

BIDDULPH, John Burnet. 1796-1837. Midshipman, Royal Navy.

He was born in the village of Wigginton, near Tamworth, Staffordshire, the fifth son of Simon Biddulph and his wife Ann Burnet. He served as a midshipman in the Royal Navy for five years and was discharged from the service at the peace of 1814 without qualifying for a commission. He emigrated to the Cape of Good Hope with his parents and four of his brothers and sisters. On reaching Algoa Bay the Biddulphs separated from the rest of Bailie's party, and Simon Biddulph was granted a farm adjoining John Bailie's, as well as a building erf and ten morgen of land at Bathurst. J.B. Biddulph's request for a separate grant of land was not acceded to. In October 1820 he surveyed and sketched the Kowie River mouth, and recommended to the colonial authorities that it be brought into use as a harbour for Albany. In 1823 he purchased a farm at Kaffir Drift Post from the widow of Captain George Scott, but the land was subsequently requisitioned by Government and he was granted the Old Kap River Farm in exchange. In 1824 he negotiated for a government contract to provide a mail service from Uitenhage to Grahamstown and

the Kowie, but the scheme fell through because of financial difficulties. His attempts to obtain a government loan and a further grant of land were unsuccessful. He married Wilhelmina Theodora Elizabeth Wahlstrand at Graaff Reinet in 1825. In 1826 he made the first of a series of profitable trading expeditions beyond the colonial boundaries, travelling north as far as Dithubaruba in partnership with A.G. Bain. He made three expeditions to Natal between 1828 and 1830.

Continual stock thefts by Xhosa marauders caused J.B. Biddulph to leave the exposed Old Kat River Farm and rent Harewood, adjoining his father's farm Birbury, in 1828. In 1832 he offered his property in Albany for sale and moved to Graaff Reinet to set up in business as a commission agent. He became a dealer in gunpowder, and erected a private gunpowder magazine under government licence in 1834. He was appointed Captain in the Graaff Reinet Municipal Force in 1835, during the Sixth Frontier War. He died at Graaff Reinet in 1837 after a brief illness, leaving his wife and five young sons, Gilbert Burnet, Ernst Wahlstrand, Edward John, Thomas and Charles Henry. His estate included two farms in the Graaff Reinet district, his house on the Market Square, Graaff Reinet, and erven in Graaff Reinet and Colesberg, as well as household furniture. His widow died at Birbury in 1843.

MOOC 7/1/168 no.58, Will of Simon Biddulph, 24.12.1841; CO 8478, n.d. (1820); CO 8455 no.137, 12.4.1824; CO 136 no.142, 23.10.1820; CO 8479, 25.11.1828; RCC XIX, 357, Somerset to Bathurst, 28.12.1824; CO 2662, 31.8.1824; CO 249 no.135, 11.8.1825; Gazette, 23.4.1825; Journals of Andrew Geddes Bain; DSAB II; CO 8479, 25.11.1828; GTJ 4.5.1832, 8.6.1832, 4.7.1833, 31.8.1832; CO 3968 no.65, 24.2.1834; LG 546 no.176, 21.3.1837; GTJ 13.2.1835; MOOC 7/1/140 no.66, Will, 7.3.1830; MOOC 6/9/10 d.n. 2118/1837; GTJ 11.4.1843.

BIDDULPH, James Henry. 1799-1823. Grocer.

He was the sixth son of Simon Biddulph of Tamworth, Staffordshire. He emigrated with his parents and four of his brothers and sisters. He was enrolled in the Bathurst troop of the Albany Levy in 1822, and died at Bathurst in 1823.

CO 2653, muster roll of Albany Levy; MOOC 7/1/168 no.58, Will of Simon Biddulph, 24.12.1841.

BIDDULPH, Simon. 1761-1842. Farmer.

He was the son of Walter Biddulph and his wife Mary Adcock of Barton-under-Needwood, Staffordshire. He married Ann Burnet, daughter of Captain Thomas Burnet R.N., and lived at Tamworth and Uttoxeter, Staffordshire. He emigrated with his wife and five of their surviving eleven children, and a capital of £500. They withdrew from Bailie's party on arrival at Algoa Bay, and Simon Biddulph was granted a separate

farm which he called Birbury, as well as a building erf and ten morgen of land at Bathurst. He built a house and general store at Bathurst on land belonging to Henry Ellis, which was more centrally situated than his own, but he suffered heavy business losses when the magistracy was removed to Grahamstown, and he was forced to sell his cattle and breeding mares to pay his creditors. When Bathurst was evacuated at the outbreak of war in 1834, Simon Biddulph and his wife lived in Grahamstown for two months before moving to Graaff Reinet where their son John Burnet Biddulph had established himself. After the latter's death in 1837 Simon Biddulph was appointed storekeeper of his gunpowder magazine, but subsequently returned to Bathurst where he purchased a house from John Morris in May 1840. He died at Bathurst in January 1842, leaving his wife, three sons and a widowed daughter (Mrs Edward Roberts) living in the Cape Colony, a son and a married daughter living in New South Wales, and three married daughters in London. His estate included Birbury, his house at Bathurst, a mortgaged house at Graaff Reinet, and an erf at Bathurst given him by Colonel Bird, in addition to movable property and a trust fund that had been established for his children at the time of his marriage. Mrs Ann Biddulph died in 1844.

Chase family papers; CO 249 no.264, 7.11.1825; CO 8478 n.d. (1820); 1/AY 8/71, Ellis to Trappes, 14.7.1820; CO 223 no.154, 25.11.1824; LG 17, war damage claim, 25.6.1835; Gazette, 14.7.1837; LG 538 no.1093, T.J. Biddulph to Hare, 21.3.1842; MOOC 7/1/168 no.58, Will, 24.12.1841; MOOC 6/9/26, d.n. 5434/1842; GTJ 15.2.1844.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE BIDDULPH FAMILY:

Although only three sons of Simon Biddulph emigrated with Bailie's party in 1819 (John Burnet, James Henry, and William Burnet, aged 14), three others were in South Africa for varying periods between 1820 and 1860. Since the six Biddulph brothers are frequently confused with one another, biographical notes are included here for all of them. According to Simon Biddulph's Will (MOOC 7/1/168 no.58, 24.12.1841) three of his children, Simon, Gilbert Burnet and Anna Maria, died in England before 1819. Three of his daughters, Charlotte, Mary Burnet and Margaret Jane married and lived in London; a fourth, Louisa, married Edward Roberts of Bailie's party in Cape Town in 1820 (see biographical entry below), and the youngest, Frances Maria, who accompanied her parents to South Africa in 1819, subsequently emigrated to New South Wales.

Edward (1790-1851), third son of Simon Biddulph, entered the Royal Navy in 1803, was commissioned Lieutenant in 1809 and placed on half-pay in 1815. In May 1819 he was appointed First Lieutenant in HMS Menai, but he left his ship at Algoa Bay in May 1820 to join his parents as a settler in Albany. A grant of land was approved for him, but he left the Albany settlement in August to return to England. In February 1821 he married J.C. Chase's sister Mary Stuart Chase at St. James's, Westminster, and in the following month sailed for Cape Town to rejoin HMS Menai. He continued to serve in her until she was placed out of commission in 1823. Edward Biddulph emigrated with his wife and two children

to New South Wales in 1830, making the voyage from Plymouth to Sydney in a 154-ton single-decked steam packet, the Sophia Jane, of which he was Captain and owner.

O'Byrne, Naval Biographical Dictionary; CO 8448 no.138, 26.5.1820; 1/AY 8/71, Cuyler to Trappes, 19.6.1820; Gazette, 19.8.1820, 7.7.1821, 18.3.1831; Register of Shipping, 1833; Chase family papers; information from Sir Stuart Biddulph, Queensland.

George (1795-1857), fourth son of Simon Biddulph, was entered on Bailie's party list of August 25, 1819, but withdrew before the party emigrated. He subsequently joined his family in South Africa, and was in Graaff Reinet in 1836 and Albany in 1846. He died in England in 1857.

PRO CO 48/41 p.356, 25.8.1819; Blue book, Further Despatches Relative to the Last Caffre War, p.193, memorial of residents of Graaff Reinet, June 1836; CO 4384, memorial of inhabitants of Albany, 1846; information from Sir Stuart Biddulph, Queensland.

Thomas Jervis (1801-1879), seventh son of Simon Biddulph, joined his family in South Africa between 1830 and 1833, when he bought the drostdy house at Bathurst. He was commissioned as Lieutenant in the Provisional Colonial Infantry in February 1835, and served throughout the Sixth Frontier War. He was promoted Captain in 1836, and was in command of the military detachment stationed at the mouth of the Buffalo River while the brig Knysna was offloading her cargo at the end of that year. In 1837 he was executor of his brother John Burnet Biddulph's Will in Graaff Reinet, and in 1838 took out a licence there to deal in gunpowder. By 1841 he was living on his father's farm Birbury at Bathurst, with his widowed sister-in-law and her five children. He was steward of the settler commemorative celebrations at Bathurst in 1844. He served in the war of 1846, and was appointed civil superintendent of the Kat River Settlement in 1847, and Resident Magistrate of Stockenstrom in 1848 and Winburg from 1849 to 1854. He subsequently returned to England, and died at Leckhampton, near Cheltenham, in 1879.

GTJ, 5.9.1833, 7.2.1835; Nash, "John Bailie at the Buffalo River Mouth", Africana Notes and News XXIII (Dec.1979) pp.338-342; MOOC 7/1/140 no.66, Will of J.B. Biddulph, 7.3.1830; Gazette, 13.4.1838; MOOC 7/1/168 no.58, Will of S. Biddulph, 24.12.1841; Godlonton, Memorials of the British Settlers, p.108; CO 598, 27.4.1846; GH 24/6 no.204, Pottinger to Smith, 6.12.1847; Gazette, 20.1.1848; CO 4396 no.124, 12.8.1854; information from Sir Stuart Biddulph, Queensland.

William Burnet (1805-1870), eighth son of Simon Biddulph, emigrated to South Africa with his parents in 1819. He lived at Bathurst until the Sixth Frontier War of 1834-35, in which he served as

a commissariat officer. In 1837 he married Sophia Smith, daughter of a shipbuilder, James Smith, at George. He was postmaster at Colesberg in 1842 and owned the farm Sterkfontein in the Colesberg district. He subsequently lived in George, where he owned considerable landed property which was sold to meet his shares in the George Bank after his death. He had one adopted son, William Henry Biddulph.

LG 17, war damage claim, 14.7.1835; Goldswain, I, p.87; GTJ 19.10.1837; Directory, 1842; Gazette, 15.2.1849; MOOC 6/9/132 d.n. 6308/1870; MOIB 2/1347 no.155.

BLAIR, William. 1772- . Baker and mealman.

He was located at Cuylerville, and at the end of 1824 he had 3½ acres under cultivation and owned 50 head of cattle. He was granted a share of the party's location.

CO 223 no.177, 7.12.1824; CO 8541, Hayward's notes.

BOVEY, Robert Michelmore. 1793-1869. Farmer.

He was the eldest son of John Bovey and his wife Mary Michelmore of Baddaford Farm, Staverton, Devon. He matriculated at Wadham College, Oxford in 1812, and was admitted a pensioner at Peterhouse, Cambridge in 1814. He matriculated at Peterhouse at Easter 1816. He joined Bailie's subdivision of the party and in March 1821 attempted to establish a fishery near the mouth of the Great Fish River. In 1822 he accompanied Lt. Pettingal of the Royal Engineers on a surveying trip between the Great Fish and Keiskamma Rivers, and in 1823 he made a hunting trip to the Somerset district. He was granted a farm of 3 000 acres at the Kasouga River mouth in 1825. In 1837 he married Mary Anne Parrott, daughter of a surgeon in the Cape Mounted Rifles, and was granted one of the first residential plots in Fort Beaufort in the same year. He was a Justice of the Peace at Fort Beaufort and a member of the Kat River Commission in 1850, Captain of the Fort Beaufort Levy in 1851, and Deputy Sheriff in 1852. In 1853 he was granted a farm in the erstwhile Kat River Settlement which he named Baddaford, where he died in 1869 leaving four children, John William, Emily Susan (Morkel), Mary and Robert Berry.

Devon County Librarian; Alumni Cantabrigienses; CO 136 no.54, Bailie to Ellis, 28.5.1820; CO 8541, 4.10.1824; Philipps, pp.131, 188, 237; GTJ 23.3.1837, 15.3.1851; Cory, Rise of S.A. III, 425 and V, 330; Directory, 1850; Gazette, 24.11.1853; MOOC 6/9/129 d.n. 5636/1869.

BYRNE, Alexander. c.1778-1853. Shoemaker.

He was born in Dublin and married Elizabeth Harris. He left Albany in 1822, and applied without success for a grant of land to build a house at Graaff Reinet. He had settled in Cape Town by 1825, where he became a teacher first at the English Free School and subsequently at the infant school at Alphen Hill, Wynberg. He was declared insolvent in 1846. He died at Simon's Bay, leaving eight children: Robert, Sarah, Alexander, Richard, John, Elizabeth, Susan and Mary Ann. His eldest daughter Rhoda married a fellow-emigrant, Matthew Adams, in 1825.

CO 178, 9.9.1822; CO 8452 no.106, 25.11.1822; St George's CT baptismal registers; Directory, 1830, 1849; MOOC 7/1/215 no.72, Will, 16.9.1839; MOIB 2/659 no.37; MOOC 6/9/62 d.n. 1940 $\frac{1}{4}$ /1853.

CHASE, John James Centlivres. 1795-1877. Merchant.

He was the son of George Chase and his wife Elizabeth Matilda Centlivres of Smithfield, London. In 1818 he became a member of the Company of Founders and a Freeman of the City of London, entitling him to trade in the City. He married Arabella Broome Elliott in the same year. In July 1819 he applied to the Colonial Department from 21 Giltspur Street, West Smithfield, for information on the Cape emigration scheme, and subsequently became secretary to the emigrant party led by his old school-fellow John Bailie. He embarked on the Chapman with his wife, their infant daughter Louisa (who died on the voyage to the Cape) and three servants, Mary Williams, Francis Whittal and William Ball. Chase and his servants were initially located with Bailie's subdivision of the party at The Hope, but he applied for a separate grant of land in June 1821. The grant was approved but not measured for him at the time, as Chase moved to the newly-formed military village of Fredericksburg where he had bought an erf. When Fredericksburg was abandoned a year later Chase returned to Albany, then moved to a rented farm near Graaff Reinet. In 1825 he was granted land between the Kleinemonde Rivers in addition to his share of Bailie's party's location. He undertook a trading expedition to Klaarwater, north of the Orange River, in partnership with James Collis in June 1825. On his return he was appointed second clerk to the Landdrost of Albany, and in 1829 he became Agent to the Orphan Chamber. Mrs Arabella Chase died at Port Frances in 1830. Chase left Albany for Cape Town, where he lived for some years, first employed by the Orphan Chamber and later in private practice as a legal agent. In 1831 he married the widowed only daughter of Frederick Korsten, and in 1837 moved back to the Eastern Province as attorney and notary in Port Elizabeth and business partner to his father-in-law. Korsten's death in 1839 left Chase "well and handsomely established", but he rejoined the public service after the Seventh Frontier War in 1847, first as Secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor and then as Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate of the new division of Albert. He became Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate of Uitenhage in 1849, a post he held until he retired to live at Korsten's mansion at Cradock Place thirteen years later. He was a Member of the Legislative Assembly in 1864-65, and of the Legislative Council from 1866 to 1875. He died at Cradock Place in 1877, three years after the death of his second

wife, leaving three children of his first marriage, Henry Nuthall Centlivres, Frederick Augustus Centlivres, Helen Arabella Centlivres (Hoets); and six of his second, Johanna Cornelia Centlivres, Mary Stuart Centlivres, John Centlivres, Cornelia Wilhelmina Centlivres, George Andries Scheuble Centlivres, and Matilda Centlivres (Backwell).

Chase family papers; Kirby, "John Centlivres Chase, Geographer and Cartographer", Africana Notes and News XVIII (Dec.1968), pp.135-161; RCC XII, 273, Chase to Bathurst, 29.7.1819; CO 136 no.54, Bailie to Ellis, 28.5.1820; CO 8480 no.17, 1.6.1821; CO 8449 no.205, 9.6.1821; CO 8452 no.48, memorial of C. Crause, 7.10.1822; CO 8541, 3.5.1824; CO 249 no.266, 8.11.1825; Gazette, 3.9.1830; GTJ 19.9.1833; St Mary's PE marriage register; Gazette, 13.10.1837; S.A. Library MSS.195, Chase to Sharp, 15.5.1840; McGinn, "J.C. Chase" (M.A. thesis); MOOC 6/9/162 d.n. 4821/1877.

COLLINS (or COLLEN), William. 1801-1883? Labourer.

No William Collins has been traced, but one William Thomas Collen, born in Suffolk, died in Grahamstown at the age of 82 leaving a widow and eight children. He claimed to have been the first of the 1820 settlers to land, which suggests that he arrived at Algoa Bay as a member of Bailie's party.

Sheffield, Story of the Settlement, p.125; MOOC 6/9/212 d.n. 9066/1884.

COWPER, William Devereaux. 1798- . Farmer.

In his Journal for April 1820 the Reverend George Barker of Bethelsdorp mentions a Mr Cooper (sic) who left Bailie's party to settle in Uitenhage.

Cory Library, Journal of Rev. George Barker.

COX, Edward John. 1794- . Watchmaker.

This man's name appears on the final party list submitted to the Colonial Department in London, and on the list submitted to the authorities in Cape Town, but no other mention of him has been traced. The names of his wife and child appear on the London but not the Cape Town list; if he sailed without them, he may have rejoined them in England.

CRAUSE, Henry Augustus. 1790-1857. Captain, 2nd Garrison Battalion (half pay).

He was the second son of Charles Crause of Spring Grove and Manor House, Pembury, Kent, formerly Captain, 65th Regiment of Foot. Henry Crause was commissioned as Lieutenant, 20th Regiment of Foot in 1807 and Captain, 2nd Garrison Battalion in 1813. He was placed on half-pay in October 1816. He emigrated to the Cape in the party led by his brother-in-law John Bailie; his elder brother, Lieutenant Charles Crause, Royal Marines, led a separate small party of emigrants which included a third brother, Lieutenant John Crause. All three Crause brothers applied successfully for separate grants of land in Albany, but chose instead to accept land in the military settlement of Fredericksburg, between the Great Fish and the Keiskamma Rivers. When Fredericksburg was abandoned in 1822 they returned to Albany, and Henry Crause built a house at Palmietfontein near the mouth of the Great Fish River, on land which he subsequently claimed as his share of Bailie's party's location. He was appointed Lieutenant of the Third Division of the Albany Levy in 1822, and Heemraad of Albany in 1825 and 1826. In compensation for his losses at Fredericksburg he was granted a farm near Salem which he named Walsingham. At the outbreak of war in 1834 Walsingham was burnt and pillaged. Henry Crause served throughout the war as Captain, 1st Battalion, Provisional Colonial Infantry, and when the provisional forces were disbanded at the beginning of 1837 he rejoined the regular army as Captain, Cape Mounted Rifles. He was made Brevet-Major in 1839, and sold out in 1843. He lived in New Street, Grahamstown during 1844-45, then returned to England where he died at his home in Brixton, Surrey, in 1857.

Kent County Record Office; Tunbridge Wells Library; Army Lists, 1785-1856; CO 8448 no.112, 24.3.1820; CO 8451 no.114, 18.5.1822; CO 8431 no.119, Rivers to Bird, 27.3.1823; CO 2653 (1823), muster roll of Albany Levy; CO 8459 no.83, 16.4.1826, and no.164, 12.8.1826; LG 20, war damage claim, 8.7.1835; S.A. Library, Records of the Province of Queen Adelaide, Somerset to D'Urban, 16.12.1836; Directory, 1844 and 1845; GTJ 27.6.1857.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE CRAUSE FAMILY:

Charles Crause (1784-1867) was commissioned as Second Lieutenant, 19th Company (Chatham Division) Royal Marines in 1800, was made Lieutenant in 1804, and served on HMS Albion and HMS Irresistible. He was placed on half-pay in October 1814, and applied to emigrate from Borstal Court Farm, West Rochester, in July 1819, as head of a small party of ten families from Kent. His party was located at Spanish Reeds, adjoining Bailie's location, but broke up almost immediately. Charles Crause accepted a grant of land in the new military settlement of Fredericksburg, but returned to Albany when it was abandoned in 1822, and was granted a farm near Bathurst in compensation for his losses, which he named Summerhill. He was appointed Cornet of the Bathurst Troop of the Albany Levy. He left Albany with his wife and seven children to return to England in February 1826, and Summerhill was sold to

settle his debts, including a mortgage from the government bank. He died in 1867.

Royal Marines Museum, Southsea, England; PRO CO 48/42, p.77, 26.7.1819; CO 121 no.34, Ellis to members of Crause's party, 14.5.1820; CO 8431 no.119, Rivers to Bird, 27.3.1823; CO 2653 (1823), muster roll of the Albany Levy; CO 223 no.118, 24.10.1824; Gazette, 10.2.1826, 3.3.1826; MOIC 2/292.

John Anthony Crause (1793-1864) was appointed from the Royal Military College to an ensigncy in the 58th Regiment in 1808, and was made Lieutenant in 1811. He joined the 2nd Battalion in Portugal and fought at Badajos and Ciudad Rodrigo before being invalided home in 1812. He was transferred to the 1st Garrison Battalion in December 1812, and became Staff Adjutant at the Invalid Depot, Fort Pitt (Chatham). He was placed on half-pay in May 1817. He emigrated to the Cape in 1819 as a member of the small party from Kent led by his eldest brother Charles Crause, which broke up soon after its arrival. With his brothers he moved to the military settlement of Fredericksburg, but returned to Albany in 1822 and was granted a farm in compensation for his losses, which he named Spring Grove. He was made Lieutenant of the Fourth Division of the Albany Levy, and subsequently Field Commandant of the English inhabitants of Albany. In 1825 he married Sarah Hayes Boardman, daughter of the Reverend William Boardman. Spring Grove was burnt and pillaged at the outbreak of the Sixth Frontier War, in which he served as Adjutant to Major Gregory of the 98th Regiment and under Captain Selwyn. After the war Spring Grove was sold to pay the mortgage held by the government bank, and John Crause moved first to a rented farm at Cradock, and after 1840, to Porlock in the Graaff Reinet district. He died in Grahamstown in 1864, and Mrs Sarah Crause in 1892.

CO 8431 no.15, 30.1.1821; CO 8451 no.122, 29.5.1822; CO 2653 (1823), muster roll of the Albany Levy; Gazette, 16.12.1825; CO 8480, 6.11.1828; LG 536 no.889, 22.12.1840; GTJ 5.1.1850, 28.6.1864; MOOC 7/1/274 no.10, Will; MOOC 6/9/108 d.n. 1133/1864; GTJ 19.7.1892.

DEVINE (or DIVINE), Timothy. 1786-1865. Carpenter.

He was born in Thurles, Tipperary, Ireland. He joined Ford's subdivision of Bailie's party, which later came under the leadership of Timothy Flanagan, and was employed as foreman of works on the drostdy house at Bathurst. In addition to his share of the party's location he was granted 800 morgen of adjacent land which he named Thurlesby. He subsequently obtained other land by purchase, and was in prosperous circumstances at the outbreak of the Sixth Frontier War. He and his family took refuge in Grahamstown, where he bought a house on the market

square. He returned to his farm in July 1835. Mrs Ellen Devine died in 1857 and was buried at Thurlesby; Timothy Devine died in Grahamstown in 1865, leaving five children: John, Bridget, Jeremiah, Catherine and Ellen (Thomas).

1/AY 8/71, petition of T. Flanagan, 1.2.1821; CO 8449 no.194, 4.6.1821; CO 8541, 28.4.1823; LG 538 no.1121, 23.7.1842; LG 532 no.645, 27.11.1839; GTJ 14.11.1857; MOOC 6/9/112 d.n. 2044/1865.

DUFFY, John. 1777-1829? Pensioner, 47th/81st Regiment of Foot.

He was a soldier in the British Army for nineteen years, and served in the East Indies under General Lord Lake. He originally applied to emigrate with Willson's party, but subsequently joined Bailie's. His family as entered on Willson's party list consisted of his wife and three sons, Charles aged 10, John aged 8 and George aged 4. Although John's name was omitted from Bailie's party list, he evidently emigrated with the rest of the family, as he was in Albany in 1821. Duffy joined Ford's subdivision of Bailie's party, which later came under the leadership of T. Flanagan, and was granted a share of the party's location. He left the location to settle in Grahamstown in 1825. One "John Duffey, labourer", aged 56, was buried in Grahamstown in 1829, but it is not certain that this was the same man.

CO 249 no.7, 4.1.1825; PRO CO 48/46 p.457, list of Willson's party, 20.9.1819; 1/AY 8/71, petition of T. Flanagan, 1.2.1821; LG 22, war damage claim of Charles Duffy, 1835; St George's GT burial register.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE DUFFY FAMILY:

A Natal settler named Duffy, whose Christian name is variously given as George, John or Richard, survived the battle of Ndongakusuka in 1838 but was subsequently killed by Bushmen near the Umzimvubu River. He has been identified by E. Morse Jones as George, third son of John Duffy of Bailie's party, but this has not been satisfactorily established.

Information on the Natal settler from Mrs S. Spencer; Jones, Roll of the British Settlers, p.110.

FLANEGAN (or FLANAGAN, FLANNAGAN), Timothy. 1781-c.1826. Gunsmith.

Although described in the party lists as a gunsmith, there is no evidence that he practised this trade in the colony. He joined J.E. Ford's subdivision of Bailie's party but reorganised it under his own leadership in February 1821. By 1824 he had acquired a considerable herd of cattle. He was granted a share of the party's location. According to his death notice he was born in England, the son of Nicholas Flanagan, and died

during 1824. The notice was only filed in 1853 and its information about his date of death is incorrect: Flanegan was present at a meeting of Bailie's party in 1826. His daughter Mary Anne married W.O. Lloyd (see LLOYD, Henry) and died young. Mrs Mary Flanegan died before 1835, and Flanegan's share of the location, named St Ann's Vale, was inherited by his three surviving children, James, Arthur and Elizabeth (Moorcroft).

1/AY 8/71, petition of T. Flanegan, 1.2.1821; CO 223 no. 156, 26.11.1824; CO 8541, Hayward's notes; CO 8459 no.48, minutes of meeting of Bailie's party, 5.2.1826; IG 23, war damage claim, James Flanegan, 27.6.1835; Gazette, 21.5.1825; 1820 Settlers Memorial Museum, estate papers A.S. Flanegan; MOOC 6/9/64 d.n. 2209/1853.

FORBES, William. 1792- . Shoemaker.

He served a regular apprenticeship as a boot- and shoemaker before emigrating. His wife and family remained in England because of her ill-health and imminent confinement. He was located at Cuylerville, and appealed to the authorities for assistance to enable his family to join him; however, his mother, wife and four small children made their own way to the Cape in the Sappho, in August 1821. Forbes rented a farm near Grahamstown, and applied without success for a grant of farming land or an erf at Bathurst. In 1823 he moved to Cape Town to follow his trade. He set up in business on borrowed capital, and was declared insolvent twice. He is not listed in the Cape Town directories after 1845.

CO 8431 no.12, 8.1.1821; CO 158 no.115, n.d. (1821); CO 158 no.145, memorial of Ann Forbes, 28.8.1821; CO 8452 no.19, 20.7.1822; CO 8453 no.96, 21.4.1823; MOIC 2/333 no.142(d); MOIB 2/361 no.7; Directories 1830-34, 1845.

FORD, James Edward. 1761-1840. Wool merchant.

He applied to emigrate from Homerton, Hackney, near London, after the total failure of his business. He joined Bailie's party in company with his friends P.R. Marillier and Edward Roberts, and paid the deposit for an indentured servant, William Gray, as well as his own family. He was elected head of a subdivision of the party, but its members complained of his treatment and reorganised themselves under the leadership of Timothy Flanegan. Ford applied for a separate grant of land, but gave up farming altogether at the beginning of 1822 when he moved to Grahams-town as a professional miniature painter. After spending some time in Uitenhage he moved to Cape Town and opened a studio in Boquet Street. His wife conducted a ladies' seminary. He died in 1840, leaving his widow and eight children: Frances Jane (Marillier), James Samuel, George Henry, Edward Stransham, Adelaide Elizabeth (Wright), Jane Murray, John Henry and Elizabeth. His estate consisted of household furniture only.

The Ford family were originally Unitarians, but Mrs Frances Ford was converted to Roman Catholicism in Cape Town, and after her husband's death became housekeeper to a Catholic priest, Father Devereaux, in George and then in Grahamstown, where she opened a school. It was subsequently taken over by the nuns of the Community of the Resurrection, with whom she was closely associated until her death in Grahamstown in 1865.

PRO CO 48/43 p.113, 16.7.1819; letter of P.R. Marillier, 15.11.1819; 1/AY 8/70 and 8/71, complaints of Ford's party, Jan. and Feb. 1821; CO 8449 no.165, n.d.(May 1821); CO 223 no.260, n.d.(1824); S.A. Chronicle, 1.6.1825; Directories 1826-40; O'Riley, Notre Mère; GTJ 11.12.1865; MOOC 6/9/21 d.n. 4415/1840.

FRANZ (or FRANTZ), John Christopher. 1790-1847. Discharged soldier.

A native of Hanover, he served with the Duke of Brunswick's cavalry from 1809, and afterwards with the Royal Scots Guards as a non-commissioned officer. He was seriously wounded at Bergen-op-zoom in 1814, and granted a pension of 6d a day which he commuted into a lump sum of £30. He applied to emigrate in 1817, and applied again to go to the Cape in 1819, after being out of work for nearly three months. He was engaged as an indentured servant by John Bailie, and was entered on the emigrant lists as a vine-dresser. He was employed as cook on the Chapman's voyage from England. On arrival at Algoa Bay he left the party to work for Frederick Korsten. In 1821 he was granted a small piece of land at Port Elizabeth, and found work as a day-labourer and shoemaker. His eldest daughter Ann married a British settler, Thomas Sterley, in 1829; a younger daughter died from snakebite in 1831. By 1839 he and his wife had separated; Mrs Ann Franz lived in her own house at Uitenhage, where she practised as a midwife. Franz left the district, and died in poor circumstances as a schoolmaster at Somerset.

PRO CO 48/43 p.209, n.d.; CO 223 no.51, 1.6.1824; CO 136 no.54, Bailie to Ellis, 28.5.1820; Cory Library, Reminiscences of W.J. Reed; CO 8449 no.99, 14.5.1821; LG 554 no.864, memorial of Ann Franz, 17.10.1839; St Mary's PE marriage and burial registers; MOOC 6/9/44 d.n. 9327/1847.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON FRANZ FAMILY:

The death was reported in 1847 of "Lt. Frantz, a boy settler of 1820" serving with the Swellendam Native Levies at Fort Beaufort, and 1851 a Uitenhage baker named Frantz was killed in action against the Xhosa. Their Christian names are not known, but they may have been sons of Christopher Franz. Three of his sons, John Christopher, George Henry and Adam Alexander, were baptised in Port Elizabeth in 1826.

GTJ 30.1.1847, 15.2.1851; Gazette, 7.4.1826.

FULGON, George Vernon. 1796- . Sugar planter.

He was a sugar planter in Antigua, and emigrated to the Cape in the belief that sugar could be grown in Albany. He was located at Cuyler-ville and joined Ford's subdivision, which later came under the leadership of T. Flanagan. After applying unsuccessfully for a government post at the end of 1822, he requested permission to leave the colony and try his fortune elsewhere.

1/AY 8/71, petition of T. Flanagan, 1.2.1821; CO 158 no.131, July 1821; CO 178 no.270, 18.12.1822.

FUTTER, George. 1781-1865. Shoemaker.

He was born in Norfolk. He moved from Bailie's party's location to Grahamstown in July 1820, under the patronage of Captain Henry Somerset, to work as bootmaker for the Cape Corps. He was permitted to build a house in the valley between Grahamstown and Fort England barracks, and was subsequently granted the land on which it stood. His wife died in Grahamstown in 1849, and he in 1865, leaving eight children: George, John, Sarah Jane (Armstrong), William, Susannah (Elliott), Benjamin, Thomas and Mary Ann (Howell). His estate consisted of sundry plots of land near Grahamstown.

CO 8481, 22.5.1821; CO 8451 no.101, n.d.(1822); GTJ 19.5.1849; MOOC 6/9/125 d.n. 4704/1868.

GARLAND, Joseph. 1775-1834. Pensioned warrant officer, Royal Navy.

He served in the Navy for eighteen years, and was a pensioner of Greenwich Hospital. He applied in 1823 for a grant of land at the mouth of the Kowie River and permission to cut timber to build and repair small craft; this was refused, but he was given a government post as carpenter at the Kowie. He died in Grahamstown in 1834. His widow died in Grahamstown in poverty in 1848.

CO 8453 no.145, 23.6.1823; Gazette, 11.8.1821; CO 6139, list of civil servants; St George's GT burial registers; MOOC 6/9/45 d.n. 9514/48.

GODLONTON, Robert. 1794-1884. Printer.

Born in London, he was employed for five years as a printer in the King's Printing Office, Shacklewell, before emigrating in company with a fellow workman, Thomas Stringfellow. Their employer donated a printing press jointly to the two printers and Dr Edward Roberts for use in the colony, but it was confiscated on their arrival at Cape Town. Godlonton was located at Cuylerville, where he built a house. He applied

for a government post on the grounds that he had been prevented from following his trade, and in September 1821 he was appointed a constable at Bathurst. He was transferred to Grahamstown in 1822 as messenger in the landdrost's office, but retained his claim to a share of Bailie's party's location by arranging for William Harden to occupy his house. In 1825 he was promoted to first clerk to the landdrost, and from 1828 was first clerk to the civil commissioner of Albany and Somerset. He began his career as a journalist by contributing to the Graham's Town Journal almost from its inception, and he became editor in 1834, resigning from the civil service soon afterwards. He was part-owner of the Journal from 1834, and purchased it outright in 1839; in partnership with his nephew, Robert White, he subsequently founded a Dutch weekly newspaper in Grahamstown as well as newspapers in Bloemfontein, Kingwilliamstown, Queenstown, Uitenhage and Pietermaritzburg. He influenced public opinion as journalist, pamphleteer and historian, and in addition took an active part in local and colonial government. He was a member of the Albany Divisional Road Board and a Justice of the Peace for Albany and Fort Beaufort, and for 21 years a member of the Cape legislature. He was nominated by the Governor, Sir Harry Smith, to the Legislative Council in 1850, and after the introduction of representative government was returned to the Upper House as a member for the Eastern Districts. He resigned in 1857, but was re-elected after a break of several years and retained his seat until 1878.

Godlonton had a practical interest in farming; he became secretary to the Eastern Province Joint-Stock Sheep Farm Association, and a committee member of the Association for Introducing the Cultivation of Cotton. In 1836 he purchased the three allotments adjoining his share of Bailie's party's location, to make up Palmietfontein Farm, at the mouth of the Great Fish River. He donated the small homestead allotment that had originally belonged to Henry Vokins as the site for a church at Cuylerville. He subsequently owned farms in the Albany and Fort Beaufort districts. As a staunch convert to Methodism he was an office-bearer in the Grahamstown Wesleyan-Methodist Church. After the death of his first wife in 1844 he married a widow, Sarah Richards. His second wife and two eldest daughters, Mary Ann (Shepperson) and Matilda Barton (Booth) predeceased him; he died in Grahamstown in his ninetieth year, leaving the two children of his second marriage, Benjamin D'Urban and Sarah Harriet (Hoole). His estate included Beaumont House in Grahams-town and two farms in the Fort Beaufort district, Hammonds and Papenkuilsfontein.

CO 8482 n.d. (1821); 1/AY 8/72, 14.8.1821; CO 6139, list of civil servants; CO 8541, 9.8.1824; DSAB II, 263-266; GTJ 6.7.1832; Godlonton, Irruption of the Kaffir Hordes, introductory remarks, pp.187-8; Deeds Office records; IG 540 no.1235, memorial of trustees of Cuylerville Church, 26.6.1843; Grahamstown Methodist Church marriage registers; MOOC 6/9/209 d.n. 8623/1884.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE GODLONTON FAMILY:

A seventeen-year-old boy, William Hex, emigrated with Robert Godlonton's family in 1819. He may have been a younger brother of Mrs Mary Ann Godlonton (one of her granddaughters was christened Mary Ann Hex). William Hex left Albany for Cape Town in

February 1824, and in March was given permission to leave the colony and sailed in the Madras for London.

S.A. Commercial Advertiser, 11.2.1824; CO 6062 vol.I no.43, permits to leave the colony, 1824.

GOODES, John. 1794- . Painter and glazier.

From London, he joined Wakeford's subdivision of Bailie's party, and applied in June 1820 for permission to move to Cape Town. He advertised his services as a painter and glazier in Boom Street, Cape Town, in January 1821. His wife died in February 1822, and he married Mary Ann Garatty eighteen months later. He was given permission to leave the colony in March 1824.

CO 2629, 20.6.1820; Gazette, 6.1.1821, 9.2.1822, 4.10.1823; CO 6062 vol.I no.34, permits to leave the colony, 1824.

GOODES, Joseph William. 1790-1858. Plumber.

From London, he was unable to provide for his family on his location, and moved to Grahamstown in search of work early in 1823. He was employed as a labourer and brickmaker. Although he had not fulfilled the three-year residence qualification he was granted a share of the party's location. In October 1824 he obtained a licence to trade at Fort Willshire, and in 1829 he was appointed sexton of St George's Church. His wife Mary died in 1844, and he married Mary Ann Longland in the same year. He was still living in Grahamstown in 1853, but was subsequently employed as a constable in Somerset East, where he died. He left a widow and a young daughter, Rosetta, as well as two daughters of his first marriage, Mary Anne (Gardner) and Elizabeth (Martin). His three sons all died in childhood.

CO 201 no.204 n.d.(1823); CO 223 no.33, 13.4.1824; CO 8541, Hayward's notes; CO 2662, licences to traffic at Fort Willshire; Directories 1829-1848; GTJ 2.5.1844; St George's GT baptismal, burial and marriage registers; MOOC 6/9/84 d.n. 5461/1858.

GRAY, William. 1801-1851. Labourer.

Born in Essex, he emigrated as an indentured servant with J.E. Ford, hoping eventually to obtain his own land. He was released from Ford's service in 1822. He rented land in partnership with Henry Harper of Howard's party at Salem Hills, but after losing crops and stock in the Sixth Frontier War he became a cooper in Grahamstown. He married Elizabeth Marsden in 1830, and in 1840 bought Captain Henry Crause's farm Walsingham. He was a field cornet in 1850. He was killed by

Hottentot rebels near Theopolis during the Eighth Frontier War, leaving a widow and eight children, Eliza, Eleanor, George, Elizabeth, Emma, Jane, William Marsden and James Wakelyn. His widow was granted a pension of £75 a year, and died at Walsingham in 1886.

CO 178 no.244, n.d.(1822); CO 8482, 23.9.1829; LG 25, war damage claim, 12.6.1835; Directory, 1838; St George's GT marriage register; Stirk, Southwell Settlers; Directory, 1850; Stubbs, p.142; MOOC 6/9/54 d.n. 846/1851; GTJ 30.7.1886.

GRIFFIN, Thomas. 1785-1843. Gunsmith.

He was born in City Road, Islington, London, the son of James and Lydia Griffin. He joined the Royal Navy and fought on shore in the Egyptian campaign of 1801 until the surrender of Alexandria. In 1805 he served at Trafalgar in HMS Mars under Captain Duff. He married Sarah Yates at All Hallows Church, Tower, in 1809. He was located with the main body of Bailie's party at Cuylerville, but subsequently established himself outside the party's location between the Kleinemonden Rivers, where he was refused permission to remain. He moved to Port Elizabeth in 1822, where he obtained a small grant of land. He was court messenger in 1828. He died in his own house at Port Elizabeth in 1843, leaving a widow and nine children, Sarah (Lake), Thomas, Joseph, Elizabeth (Cato), Harriet (Cato), Margaret (Williams), Stephen William, Charles and Henry. His estate consisted of movable and immovable property. Mrs Sarah Griffin practised as a widwife in Port Elizabeth before moving to Natal where seven of her children eventually settled.

1820 Settlers Memorial Museum, Griffin family information; CO 8450 no.110, 29.10.1821; CO 178 no.150, 14.7.1822; CO 8452 no.91, 15.11.1822; Directory 1828; MOOC 6/9/31 d.n. 6411/1843; GTJ 18.11.1872; MOOC 6/9/141 d.n. 8811/1872; information about Natal settlers from Mrs S. Spencer.

GUNNING, Bartholomew. 1777-1850. Hatter.

He was born in London, the son of James and Mary Gunning, and was employed for many years by Bicknell and Moore of Old Bond Street as a military hat and cap maker. He emigrated because of his wife's ill-health, with £100 worth of property, but lost much of it when his boxes were broken into and robbed during the voyage from England. He was located at Cuylerville. He applied in 1821 for an erf at Bathurst where he could carry on his trade; this was refused, but he was given the post of constable and subsequently wood ranger. He built a cottage at Bathurst on government ground which was eventually granted to him. He became sexton of the Bathurst church, and village postmaster. He died at Bathurst in 1850; his widow died in Grahamstown in 1864.

CO 201 no.187, 28.11.1823; CO 8482, n.d.; CO 8431 no.10, 6.1.1821; CO 8451 no.136, 6.6.1822; LG 544 no.1393, July 1844; St George's GT burial register; MOOC 6/9/51 d.n. 388/1850.

HARDEN, William. 1794-1823. Cabinet maker.

He was a London cabinet maker and upholsterer who applied to emigrate from No.4 Camomile Mews, Camomile Street, Bishopsgate. After living for two years on Bailie's party's location he moved to Grahamstown to find work, but returned to Cuylerville in February 1823. He injured himself seriously in May and died three months later, leaving his widow and three children destitute. The sufferings of the unfortunate family were used by Dr John Philip as evidence of the landdrost of Albany's neglect of the settlers. Mrs Maria Harden married a discharged soldier of the Royal African Corps, William Fletcher, in 1824, and was granted a share of the party's location which she continued to farm after her second husband's death in 1831. She married a third husband, George Upton, in 1835, and died at Cuylerville in 1857.

PRO CO 48/43 p.568, 28.7.1819; CO 178 no.204, 3.10.1822; Documents Originally Published at the Cape of Good Hope; Gazette, 13.6.1824; CO 2662 no.71, Return of men of the R.A.C. discharged in 1821; CO 8541, Hayward's notes; LG 23, war damage claim of Maria Fletcher, 1835; dates of Maria Harden's third marriage and death supplied by Mrs M. Rainier.

HARRISON, William. 1790- . Farmer and miller.

He was elected to lead a subdivision of Bailie's party, but was replaced by George Anderson. He was at Cuylerville at the end of June 1820.

CO 4843 no.320, Ellis to Adams, Harrison etc., 19.5.1820; CO 8541, Hayward's notes; CO 136 no.64, address of the Cuylerville settlers, 30.6.1820.

HART, William. 1773-1848. Half-pay officer.

Born in Bristol, he served for two years at the Cape after its capture in 1795 as Cornet, 28th Light Dragoons. He married Jane Matson and lived at Netherby, Dorset. He was made Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel in January 1812, and commanded the 2nd Garrison Battalion. He sold out after the war, but the total failure of his business affairs led to his accepting a cornetcy in the Royal Waggon Train in May 1815, with half-pay of 3/- a day. He applied to emigrate in 1819 from 4 Granby Buildings, New Cut, Lambeth. Two of his children went with him to South Africa; his wife and four other children remained in England. He was located at Cuylerville, and was promised a separate grant of land by Donkin, which he did not receive. His daughter Elizabeth married the leader of an emigrant party, Captain George Scott, in December 1821. She was widowed in less than three months, and Hart lived with her at Scott's location at Upper Kaffir Drift until the theft of their cattle and implements by Xhosa raiders drove them to leave Albany in 1823. Scott's farm was sold to J.B. Biddulph; the Hart family moved to Graaff Reinet, and appealed to the Commissioners of Enquiry in 1824 for help to return to England. In the event they stayed in the colony and settled in Cape Town, where

William Hart's son Henry George married Frances Alicia Okes in 1833, and his widowed daughter Elizabeth Scott married Thomas Okes in 1836. William Hart died at Mrs Usher's boarding house in Wynberg, leaving no property.

PRO CO 48/43 p.544, 19.7.1819; Souvenir in Commemoration of the Centenary of the 1820 Settlers, p.22; Army Lists, 1812-1817; 1/AY 8/71, 7.5.1821; CO 8448 no.234, 2.10.1820; CO 8453 no.104, memorial of Elizabeth Scott, 28.4.1823; RCC VII, 242 and 272, 14.4.1824 and 24.4.1824; RCC XVIII, 62, report of Commissioners of Enquiry; St George's CT marriage registers; MOOC 6/9/46 d.n. 9695/1848.

HEATH, John Henry. 1794-1845. Attorney.

He was born in Bencoolen, Sumatra, the son of Henry Heath, a writer in the East India Company's service. He was trained as a lawyer and admitted as a solicitor in the High Court of Chancery and an attorney in the Court of King's Bench and Common Pleas. Heavy business losses and a dishonest partner ruined him financially; he applied to emigrate from 44 Mincing Lane, London, after trying without success to find a situation. After the first failure of the settlers' crops in Albany he opened a store, and in May 1821 he was keeping a canteen at Upper Kaffir Drift. He was granted a share of the party's location. In 1825 he was appointed government clerk and notary public at Port Frances, and in 1830 was practising as an attorney and notary in Grahamstown. He received an allowance of £100 a year from his father, which was discontinued in 1835; this reduction of income and the falling-off of his professional practice prompted him to apply for the grant of a farm, which was refused him. He died in Grahamstown, leaving an estate of under £150. He was survived by his wife and nine children: John Henry, Maria Cecelia (Daniel), Caroline Amelia, Elizabeth Rosina, Matthew George Thomas, Sarah Emily, Henry, Thomas Bailie, and Mary Angelina.

India Office Records; PRO CO 48/43 p.626, 30.7.1819; CO 8449 no.261, n.d.(1821); 1/AY 8/71, Hart to Trappes, 7.5.1821; CO 158 no.80, n.d.(1821); CO 8541, Hayward's notes; CO 6139, list of civil servants; Directory, 1830-45; LG 545 no.30, 7.9.1836; MOOC 6/9/35 d.n. 7770/1845.

HEWSON, Edwin Benjamin. 1801-1851. Gunsmith.

Born in London, the elder son of Thomas and Elizabeth Hewson, he emigrated with his parents. They were located at Cuylerville, but moved to Bathurst in 1821, where Thomas Hewson set up in business before moving to Grahamstown in 1824. Edwin Hewson married Anne Mouncey and managed his father's farm, Spanish Reeds, which adjoined Bailie's party's location. He incurred heavy losses of stock and property in the wars of 1834-35 and 1846, and was finally ruined by the war of 1851. He died at Melk River, Graaff Reinet, leaving his wife and four children, Sarah, Thomas Henry, Eliza Anne and Margaret Eliza.

LG 25, war damage claim, 1835; GTJ 23.5.1846; Albany Methodist Church registers; MOOC 6/9/60 d.n. 1757/1852.

HEWSON, Thomas William. 1777-1851. Gunsmith.

Born in London, he applied to emigrate from 36 Piccadilly with a capital of £1 000. He was located at Cuylerville in the subdivision led by J.E. Ford, but the dissension among the settlers prompted him to move to Bathurst in 1821, where he was granted an erf, and set up in business as a gunmaker. He tried to retain his claim to a share of the location by letting his allotment to Timothy Devine at a peppercorn rent, and he applied for a separate grant of land in his own right. Although the grant was supported by Donkin, both claims to land were subsequently disallowed. Hewson purchased land at Bathurst where he bred cattle; in 1824 he moved his business to Grahamstown and took out a licence to trade at Fort Willshire. He was a shareholder in the Eastern Province Joint-stock Sheep Farm Association in 1833, and was elected one of Grahamstown's first municipal commissioners in 1837. Mrs Elizabeth Hewson died in Grahamstown in 1842, and Thomas Hewson in 1851, leaving his second son, Frederick William, a partner in his business, and three daughters, Isabella, Eliza and Emma (Hart). His elder son Edwin Benjamin pre-deceased him by a few months. Thomas Hewson left a substantial estate; his landed property included Spanish Reeds farm and his house and business premises in Hill Street, Grahamstown.

PRO CO 48/43 no.556, 22.7.1819; CO 8431 no.1, 2.6.1820; CO 482, 6.6.1821; CO 8460 no.44, 6.3.1827; CO 8541, 1.9.1824; CO 223 no.113, 19.10.1824; Gazette, 18.12.1824; GTJ 9.5.1833, 25.5.1837, 13.1.1842; MOOC 7/1/210 no.65, Will, 26.1.1844; MOOC 6/9/56 d.n. 1189/1851.

HEZELL (or HAZELL), Thomas. 1800- . Tanner.

It seems probable that he emigrated as a servant to William Reed. He left Bailie's party on landing at Algoa Bay, and was in Graaff Reinet in November 1822.

CO 178, 22.11.1822.

HOCKLY, Daniel. 1787-1835. Goldsmith.

He was born in London, the son of Thomas Hockly and his wife Ann Poulter, and married Elizabeth Moore. He applied to emigrate from 9 Brooke Street, Holburn, after suffering severe business losses. On arrival at Algoa Bay he left the party and set up in business as tinsmith and general mechanic at Uitenhage, employing a number of apprentices. His wife opened a school for young ladies. He practised his trade of silver-smith in several towns in the eastern districts, but was dogged by

financial difficulties; in 1824 he applied unsuccessfully for a government loan on the security of his house and land at Uitenhage, and in 1826 he surrendered his estate to sequestration. He moved for a time to Bathurst where his wife kept a school. His property was auctioned in a forced sale in Grahamstown in 1832, and his estate declared insolvent for the second time after his death in Graaff Reinet in 1835. He left a widow and eight children, Elizabeth Ann (Mahony), Harriet, Frances Chapman, Alfred Moore, Richard, Daniel Thomas, Maria Isabella and William Henry. His estate comprised furniture, tools, and a small quantity of gold and silver for working. Mrs Elizabeth Hockly kept a school in Grahamstown after her husband's death.

RCC XII, 272, Hockly to Goulburn, 28.7.1819; CO 136 no.70, 18.7.1820; CO 223 no.226, n.d.(1824); Gazette, 8.9.1826; CO 8460 no.210, 4.10.1827; GTJ 6.12.1832; MOIC 2/285 no.93; MOIB 2/468 no.25; MOOC 6/9/5 d.n. 890/1835; Directory 1838.

HOOLE, James. 1789-1845. Dyer and straw plat dealer.

Born in Chester, he married Jane Cotterell at St Mary Abbots, Kensington, in 1810. He was living at Selby Place, New Road, London, when he applied to emigrate at the head of a small party of 10 settlers. His application was unsuccessful, but he and three other of his settlers subsequently joined Bailie's party. He was located at Cuylerville, and was granted a share of the party's location. He obtained a licence to trade at Fort Willshire in 1824, and after trading restrictions were lifted he built up an extensive trade in Kaffraria. The loss of three trading posts in the 1834-35 war cost him over £1 000 in goods and cattle. He was a ward-master in Grahamstown in 1842, and a member of the settler commemoration committee in 1844. He died in Grahamstown, leaving a widow and six children: Abel Worth, who married Elizabeth Price; James Cotterell, who married first Harriet Maria Rhodes and, after her death, Elizabeth Mary Cock; Henry Edward, who married Mary Wright; Jane Elizabeth (Powell), Harriet Sarah, and Frances Elizabeth (Wood). Mrs Jane Hoole died in 1853.

Bell, They Came from a Far Land; PRO CO 48/43 pp.713 and 729, 14.8.1819 and 18.8.1819; CO 136 no.64, address of Cuylerville settlers, 30.6.1820; CO 8541, Hayward's notes; Gazette, 18.12.1824; LG 26, war damage claim, 8.7.1835; Directory 1842; GTJ 15.2.1844, 18.12.1845; St George's GT marriage registers; Grahamstown Methodist Church marriage and baptismal registers.

KING, George. 1788-1845. 2nd Lieutenant Royal Marines, half-pay.

He was commissioned in the Royal Marines in January 1808 and appointed to the 43rd Company, Chatham Division. He served in HMS Namur and HMS Invincible, and was placed on half-pay in August 1814. He was located with the main body of Bailie's party, but applied for a separate grant of land in 1821 as he had inherited money in addition to his half-pay

and would be able to develop it. A grant of 500 acres was approved for him but never measured. He was listed in 1823 as belonging to the Grahamstown troop of the Albany Levy, but no later mention of him as a settler has been traced. His death was reported in the United Service Journal in 1846.

Royal Marines Museum, Southsea; CO 8450 no.2, 6.7.1821; CO 8431 no.54, Jones to Bird, 25.9.1821; CO 8540, Bird to Jones, 11.10.1821; CO 2653, muster roll of Albany Levy (1823).

KING, Richard. 1792- . Clerk.

In June 1820 he requested permission to seek employment in Cape Town or return to England at his own expense, as he had passed the greater part of his life in a counting house and knew nothing about agriculture.

CO 2629, 24.6.1820.

LAWLER, John. 1788-1837. Sawyer.

An Irishman, he joined J.E. Ford's subdivision of Bailie's party, which subsequently came under the leadership of T. Flanagan. He was appointed as sergeant in the Albany Levy. He worked as a carter in Grahamstown in 1822, but was granted a share of the party's location and returned to it to farm. He was running stock belonging to Charles Duffy and J.W. Goodes in addition to his own at the outbreak of war in 1834, when his homestead was burnt and the stock driven off. He served with the Grahams-town Volunteers until they were disbanded, and died at Cuylerville in 1837, leaving a widow and five children. Mrs Ann Lawler married Jesse Marsh in 1838.

Stubbs, p.209; 1/AY 8/71, petition of T. Flanagan, 1.2.1821; CO 2653, muster roll of Albany Levy (1823); CO 8541, Hayward's notes; LG 29, war damage claim, 1835; Blue book, Further Despatches Relative to the Last Caffre War, p.313; St George's GT burial register; Grahamstown Methodist Church marriage register.

LEADER, James. 1791-1824. Farmer.

Born in Norfolk, he was married to Ann Hart. He was one of a small party that proposed to emigrate under the leadership of James Hoole, but was subsequently absorbed by Bailie's party. He left the location after a year and rented a farm near Grahamstown, but after two crop failures he left Albany for Cape Town, where he died in 1824. Mrs Ann Leader died in Cape Town in 1825.

PRO CO 48/43 p.729, Hoole to Colonial Dept., 18.8.1819; CO 201 no.169, 24.4.1823; Gazette, 21.2.1824; Botha, Cape Archives, p.295.

LEECH, John. 1780- . Pensioner, Corporal 22nd Light Dragoons.

He emigrated as a servant to Simon Biddulph.

CO 249 no.264, Biddulph to Plasket, 7.11.1825.

LEONARD, John. 1790-1850. Tanner.

He was one of a small party that proposed to emigrate under the leadership of James Hoole, but was subsequently absorbed by Bailie's party. On arrival at Algoa Bay he was given permission to leave the party and settle in Uitenhage. He owned a tannery in Grahamstown in 1838, but was declared insolvent in 1841. Seven lots of ground belonging to him in Grahamstown were put up for sale. He became a carrier, and was killed in a waggon accident near Burghersdorp in 1850. Mrs Elizabeth Leonard (born Taylor) died at the farm Prospect, the home of her son H.P. Leonard, in 1874.

PRO CO 48/43 p.729, Hoole to Colonial Dept., 8.8.1819;
CO 2626 no.36, Cuyler to Bird, 18.4.1820; CO 2626 no.77,
Cuyler to Bird, 18.7.1820; Directory 1838; MOIB 2/559
no.97; Gazette, 26.3.1841; GTJ 29.6.1850, 19.10.1874.

LLOYD, Henry James. 1791-1863. Worsted twister.

Born in London, he was the son of William Lloyd and Dorcas Needham. He was located at Cuylerville, and suffered damage to his house and severe stock losses as a result of the 1823 floods. He was granted a share of the party's location. In 1835 he was occupying a rented farm near Grahamstown, but he returned to live at Cuylerville where he became treasurer of the church building fund and secretary to the trustees. He died at the home of his youngest daughter in Fort Beaufort, leaving a widow and nine children, Henry Thomas, William Richard, Charles, John, Robert, Harriet, Rebecca (Estment), Frances Dorcas (Holliday) and Caroline Mary (Warren). His estate comprised movable and immovable property. Mrs Rebecca Lloyd died at Fort Beaufort in 1874.

1/AY 12/1, storm loans, 18.12.1824; CO 223 no.111, 14.10.1824;
IG 29, war damage claim, 1835; IG 540 no.1235, memorial of
trustees of Cuylerville church, 26.6.1843; MOOC 6/9/105 d.n.
687/1864; GTJ 13.11.1874.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE LLOYD FAMILY:

William Oliver Lloyd, who may have been related to Henry James Lloyd, was living at Cuylerville in December 1820, and subsequently claimed to have come to the colony in Bailie's party. His name does not appear on the party lists, and he made no claim to a share of the party's location, although T.P. Adams listed him as a member of his subdivision. He married Mary

Anne Flanagan, daughter of Timothy Flanagan, in 1825, and after her death married Sarah Seymour, widow of William Seymour, in 1827. He was farming on Willson's party's location at the outbreak of war in 1834.

1/AY 8/70, landdrost's report, Dec. 1820; LG 29, war damage claim, 1835; Gazette, 21.5.1825; St George's GT marriage register.

LOW, James. 1799- . Carpenter.

From London, he emigrated as a servant to John Bailie. He left Albany in 1822 and moved first to Graaff Reinet and then to Cape Town, where he married Ellen Higham of Liverpool in 1825. He was clerk of works for the building of St George's Church in 1830. He set up in business as a builder, and owned property at Rondebosch which was sold in 1866 when he was declared insolvent.

CO 293 no.91, Bailie to Plasket, 25.3.1826; CO 178, 9.9.1822; Gazette, 2.9.1825; Directory 1849; MOOC 7/1/213 no.20, Will of M. Adams, Aug. 1852; MOIB 2/1114 no.190; information about St George's Church from R.R. Langham-Carter.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE LOW FAMILY:

William Low, also an indentured servant to John Bailie and a carpenter by trade, embarked with the other members of Bailie's party but did not land with them at Algoa Bay; he remained on board the Chapman as a sailor. It is probable that he was a younger brother of James Low. A lad with the same surname, John Low, was entered on the party list of October 21 1819 as a stepson of Joseph Garland, but his name was subsequently deleted and he did not emigrate.

CO 136 no.54, Bailie to Ellis, 28.5.1820; PRO CO 48/47 pp.5-7, list of Bailie's party, 21.10.1819.

MARILLIER, Philip Richard. 1792-1881. Businessman.

He was the second son of a Swiss businessman, Jean Frederick Marillier, who emigrated to England in 1783, married an English wife and settled at Homerton, Hackney, near London. Philip Marillier was employed in a family business in London, and decided to emigrate to the Cape after the death of his wife and child. He joined Bailie's party in company with the family of J.E. Ford, with whom he lodged, and a young surgeon of their acquaintance, probably Edward Roberts. Marillier married Ford's eldest daughter Frances Jane in 1822, and in the same year applied unsuccessfully for a separate grant of land in Albany. He was granted a share of the party's location in 1825. In 1827 he was appointed

clerk to the Landdrost of Albany, and became clerk at Somerset a year later when the two districts were combined. He remained at Somerset in badly-paid junior civil service posts until his eventual promotion to Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate in 1842. He resigned in 1844 after accepting a private offer of employment that failed in the event to materialise. A subsequent business venture in partnership with his son-in-law resulted in bankruptcy. Mrs Frances Marillier died at Somerset East in 1865, leaving eight children: Frances Louise, Harriet Elizabeth (Hart), Frederick James, Ellen Sarah, William Henry, Emily Jeannette (Wienand), Richard Edward and Caroline Jane (Miller). Philip Marillier died in 1881 at the home of his daughter, Mrs Robert Hart jnr., in Paulet Street, Somerset East.

Letter of P.R. Marillier, 15.11.1819; CO 8452 no.128, n.d. (Dec. 1822); CO 8541, Hayward's notes; LG 524 no.83, 8.2.1837; LG 541 no.1369, 4.6.1844; MOIB 2/1049 no.11; MOOC 6/9/113 d.n. 2283/1865.

MATHEW, Augustus Thomas. 1800-1867. Linen-draper.

He emigrated as an indentured servant to John Bailie, and applied for permission to return to England in 1823. Instead he settled in Cape Town and became a teacher of English. He married a daughter of Dr Endres of Stellenbosch in 1829; his sister Marion Mathew, a school-mistress at Rondebosch, married Major Parlby in 1837.

CO 293 no.91, Bailie to Plasket, 25.3.1826; CO 201 nos.92 and 100, 3.1.1823 and 15.3.1823; Directory 1842-1847; DSAB (Major Parlby); 1820 Settlers Memorial Museum MSS. SMD666; St George's CT burial registers.

MEAD, Thomas. 1800- . Wheelwright.

He was located with Bailie's subdivision of the party, possibly as a servant to John Bailie or Henry Crause.

CO 136 no.54, Bailie to Ellis, 28.5.1820.

MILLS, Thomas. 1798-1868. Corn dealer.

He was the son of Thomas Mills, corn chandler of New Road, St George's East, London, and was one of a small party that proposed to emigrate under the leadership of Joseph Oldham, but was subsequently absorbed by Bailie's party. He joined J.E. Ford's subdivision which later came under the leadership of T. Flanagan. He was granted a share of the party's location. In 1828 he married Elizabeth Hill, and in 1834 bought half the farm Proctorsfontein near Sidbury, where he died in 1868.

He left eight children, Charles, Thomas, John, Obadiah, Eliza, James, Henrietta and Isabella, and an estate comprising a house and land as well as furniture.

RCC XVII, 12, memorial of Thomas Mills and John Saunders snr., 24.1.1824; PRO CO 48/44 p.962, list of Oldham's party, 18.8.1819; 1/AY 8/71, petition of T. Flanagan, 1.2.1821; CO 8541, Hayward's notes; Albany Methodist Church marriage registers; LG 538 no.1046, 2.12.1841; MOOC 6/9/123 d.n. 4426½/1868.

NOBBS, William. 1788-1847. Farmer.

Born in Norfolk, he was one of a small party that proposed to emigrate under the leadership of James Hoole, but was subsequently absorbed by Bailie's party. In 1821 he assisted J.H. Heath in running a canteen at Upper Kaffir Drift, and in 1840 was a canteen keeper in Uitenhage. He died in Uitenhage, and is described in his death certificate as an unmarried labourer with no property.

PRO CO 48/43 p.729, list of Hoole's party, 18.8.1819; CO 158 no.80, memorial of J.H. Heath, n.d.(1821); MOOC 7/1/193 no.135, Will, 9.3.1840; MOOC 6/9/45 d.n. 9601/1848.

O'FLINN, Daniel. 1792-1852. Physician and surgeon.

He was born in Ireland, and received his medical training in Paris. His wife was the niece of the chaplain to the Irish Legion. He was a personal acquaintance of John Bailie, who engaged him to accompany Bailie's party as medical officer, and paid his deposit to emigrate. Dr O'Flinn acted as medical officer to the settlers on board the Chapman, and was permitted to land in Cape Town and purchase medicines. He was not located with the rest of the party, but was living in Grahamstown in 1820 when he was appointed Provisional Medical Officer at Bathurst. On August 15 1820 he was granted a licence to practise medicine, surgery and mid-wifery in the colony. He was granted erf 23 at Bathurst to build a house and surgery, and applied unsuccessfully in 1821 for the grant of 2 000 morgen of farming land. He resigned his appointment and sold his Bathurst property in 1822 when he left Albany for the Western Districts. His three-month-old son died on the voyage from Algoa Bay to Cape Town. Dr O'Flinn was superintendent of the leper hospital at Hemel-en-Aarde in 1822, and in private practice at Stellenbosch from 1823. He became a Justice of the Peace and a school and municipal commissioner, and died at his house on the corner of Dorp and van Ryneveld Streets in 1852. He was survived by his wife, and left a substantial estate consisting of both movable and immovable property.

Cory Library, T. Philipps' letters to his kinsfolk, I, 326; RCC XII, 345, Bailie to Goulburn, 16.10.1819; CO 2637, 12.3.1821; CO 2629 no.11, 25.9.1820; CO 136 no.54, Bailie

to Ellis, 28.5.1820; CO 4843 p.335, Ellis to O'Flinn, 26.5.1820; Gazette, 16.8.1820; CO 8450 no.5, 9.7.1821; Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.119; Gazette, 20.4.1822, 11.5.1822; Directory 1845; MOOC 7/1/212 no.29, Will, 21.4.1840; MOOC 6/9/59 d.n. 1524½/1852; S.A.Commercial Advertiser, 7.7.1852 (obituary), and 10.7.1852 (sale of property).

OLDHAM, Edwin. 1798-1859. Shopkeeper.

He was the son of Joseph Oldham and his wife Mary Wood of Melton, near Ipswich, Suffolk, and was one of a small party that proposed to emigrate under the leadership of his brother Joseph Oldham but was subsequently absorbed by Bailie's party. He joined J.E. Ford's subdivision, which later came under the leadership of T. Flanagan. He was in service with Charles Crause in 1821, but deserted him to accompany his brother Joseph and his family to Cape Town. Edwin Oldham opened a retail store in Berg Street, Cape Town in 1825, selling drapery and tableware. In 1829 he married Eliza Marianna Rogers. He died in the general infirmary on Robben Island, and was survived by his only child Mary Elizabeth (van der Schalk).

PRO CO 48/44 p.962, list of Joseph Oldham's party, 18.8.1819; 1/AY 8/71, memorial of T. Flanagan etc., n.d. (Jan.1821); 1/AY 8/70, Dyason to Cuyler, 26.4.1821; Gazette, 28.5.1825; St George's CT marriage registers; MOOC 7/1/243 no.107, Will, 29.3.1853; MOOC 6/9/86 d.n. 5915½/1859.

OLDHAM, Joseph. 1786- . Mariner.

He was born at Melton, near Ipswich, Suffolk, the son of Joseph Oldham and his wife Mary Wood. He entered the naval service of the East India Company as a midshipman, and was second officer of the Union on her voyage to Madras and Bengal in 1806-8. He transferred to the Royal Navy as second master on HM store ship Woolwich, but was invalided from the service after losing the sight of his left eye. He then obtained the command of a merchant ship, but was afterwards unemployed, and applied to emigrate from 71 Richard Street, Commercial Road, London as head of a small party of ten settlers. His application was unsuccessful, and he and five of his settlers, including his two brothers, joined Bailie's party. He obtained permission to leave Albany for Cape Town in 1821, and rented a small farm near Wynberg. His farming efforts failed, but he was saved from financial ruin when his portable threshing machine was purchased by Somerset in 1822 for the government farm at Groote Post. In 1823 he became a storekeeper in partnership with his brother T.W. Oldham, who was trading at the mouth of the Kromme River, and a Port Elizabeth merchant, James Scott. He became insolvent in 1833. He rented a store in Cape Town from Mrs Louisa Roberts, widow of Dr Edward Roberts; his daughter Lucretia was an assistant teacher at Mrs Roberts' school at Bathurst in the 1840s, and there married William Selwyn.

India Office Records; CO 178 no.295, n.d.(1822); PRO CO 48/44 pp.945, 957, 961, 965, 24.7.1819, 16.8.1819, 18.8.1819, 23.8.1819; CO 2637, n.d. (Mar.1821); RCC XXVII, 147, Somerset to Hay, 26.7.1826; MOIB 2/472 no.39; Looking Back IX (June 1969), p.59, letter from E. Morse Jones.

OLDHAM, Thomas Wesley. 1793-1827. Shopkeeper.

He was the son of Joseph Oldham and his wife Mary Wood of Melton, near Ipswich, Suffolk, and was one of a small party that proposed to emigrate under the leadership of his brother Joseph Oldham but was subsequently absorbed by Bailie's party. In 1821 he complained to the colonial office of the neglect of religious observances. He applied unsuccessfully for a grant of land on the Torrens River which was too woody for agriculture, but would supply enough bark for him to follow his trade as a tanner. In 1822 he moved to Algoa Bay where he opened a shop, and again submitted a petition for land where he could set up as a tanner. This time he obtained a small grant of land, but does not appear to have utilised it. In May 1823 he purchased the wreck of the Dutch ship Zeepaard, stranded at Cape Receife, from which he built a 9-ton decked schooner, the Perseverance. He licensed her in 1825 for fishing and trading. He settled at the mouth of the Kromme River as a trader in partnership with his brother Joseph Oldham, then a storekeeper in Cape Town, and a Port Elizabeth merchant, James Scott. Thomas Oldham died in 1827 and the Perseverance was offered for sale in his estate.

PRO CO 48/44 p.962, list of J. Oldham's party, 18.8.1819; CO 158 no.185, 29.10.1821; CO 8451 no.11, 1.8.1821; CO 8452 no.49, 8.10.1822; Port Elizabeth Library, Griffin Hawkins' list of inhabitants of P.E., 1822; CO 8458 no.119, 30.8.1825; Gazette, 3.5.1823; CO 3929 no.534, 30.9.1825; CO 240 no.62, Port Captain to Plasket, 4.10.1825; MOIB 2/472 no.39; Gazette, 8.6.1827.

PLOWMAN (or PLEWMAN), Michael. c.1770-1841. Pensioned Sergeant of Marines, Portsmouth Division.

He was an Irishman, and drew a pension of 9d a day after fourteen years' service in the Royal Marines. He emigrated in company with his nephew Thomas Plowman, and joined Ford's subdivision of Bailie's party, which subsequently came under the leadership of T. Flanagan. He spent his savings of £100 on the location without return, and moved to Grahamstown in 1822 to follow his trade as carpenter. He was granted an artificer's erf in Grahamstown in lieu of a share of the party's location. He died in March 1841; his widow, Mrs Isabella Plowman, died six months later, leaving a cottage in Allen's Row, Grahamstown.

PRO CO 48/64, O'Gallagher to Colonial Dept., 29.4.1835; CO 178 no.225, 26.10.1822; Gazette, 5.5.1821; 1/AY 8/71, petition of T. Flanagan, 1.2.1821; CO 249 no.60, 19.2.1825;

RCC XVII, 85, grants to settlers, 18.2.1824; St. George's
GT burial registers; MOOC 6/9/24 d.n. 5231/1841.

PLOWMAN (or PLEWMAN), Thomas. 1796-1867. Cabinet maker.

He came from Dunlavin, Ireland and emigrated with his uncle Michael Plowman. In May 1820 he left Bailie's party's location to live in Grahamstown and work as a cabinet maker for the officers of the Royal African Corps, under the patronage of Captain Sparks. His application for the grant of an erf of land in Grahamstown was unsuccessful, and in 1823 he requested a colonial pass to move to another part of the country. He was resident in Somerset in 1828, and moved from there to Graaff Reinet and finally Colesberg, where he established himself as a store-keeper and traded with the emigrant Boers in Transorangia and the chiefdoms further north. He married Louisa Rosa Robinson of Cradock and founded a prominent Colesberg family.

PRO CO 48/64, O'Gallagher to Colonial Dept., 29.4.1835
(reference supplied by Prof. W.A. Maxwell); Gutsche, The
Microcosm; CO 8448 no.211, 29.8.1820; CO 8485, n.d.(1821);
CO 201 no.152, 27.10.1823; CO 8461 no.67, memorial of
residents of Somerset, 26.9.1828.

REED, Henry. 1801- . Businessman.

From London, he emigrated with his father and went into business with him at Port Elizabeth on their arrival in the colony. In 1822 he submitted samples of bricks and tiles of their manufacture for government approval, but was unable to fulfil his contracts because of his father's illness. His repeated applications for a grant of land for a brickfield were refused. He left Port Elizabeth about 1825 and was employed by the printer George Greig in Cape Town in 1828.

PRO CO 48/45 p.440, W. Reed to Colonial Dept., 20.7.1819;
CO 201 no.3, memorial of W. Reed, 14.1.1823; CO 8452 no.79,
16.10.1822; CO 8453 no.8, 14.1.1823; CO 8454 no.62,
15.9.1823; RCC XXII, 419, petition of inhabitants of P.E.,
12.7.1825; MOIC 2/269 no.77b, insolvent estate W. Reed.

REED, William. 1775-1827. Businessman.

He served in the Royal Navy, and saw action on the "glorious first of June" under Lord Howe. He applied to emigrate from 4 Oxford Court, Cannon Street, London, and offered to pay the full deposit for ten families in order to take out his own family of eight people, including his three adult sons. He subsequently applied to take out a party of ten men, before finally joining Bailie's party. In the event only two of his sons over the age of eighteen emigrated. His daughter Sarah Eliza married Captain John Milbank of the Chapman in Cape Town on March

22 1820. The Reed family separated from Bailie's party on arriving at Algoa Bay, where William Reed was granted three lots of building land and purchased a fourth. Assisted by his sons, he set up as a contractor, brick manufacturer and shipping agent, and attempted to establish a saltworks. He applied for the grant of a farm, and a loan from government for shipbuilding, but ill-health and the loss of a cargo in which he had invested heavily brought him into severe financial difficulties in 1822. He offered his unfinished thirty-roomed stone house, movable property and livestock for sale with the intention of settling his debts and returning to England, but he was declared insolvent and sold up by the sequestrator in August 1823. He died at Port Elizabeth in 1827. His widow and younger children remained in Port Elizabeth, where James Samuel Reed (who married Elizabeth Elliott) and George Thomas Reed (who married Maria Susanna Potgieter) both became members of the first Town Council in 1860.

Cory Library, Reminiscences of J.S. Reed; PRO CO 48/45 pp.440 and 458, 20.7.1819 and 23.7.1819; Gazette, 25.3.1820; RCC XIV, 437 and 446, grants to W. Reed; CO 8449 no.111, 17.5.1821; CO 201 no.3, 14.1.1823; MOIC 2/269 no.77b; CO 178 no.219, 22.10.1822; CO 8450 no.99, 14.10.1821; Gazette, 6.7.1822, 20.7.1822, 16.11.1822, 24.8.1827; St Mary's PE burial and marriage registers.

REED, William. 1797- . Businessman.

From London, he emigrated with his father and went into business with him at Port Elizabeth on their arrival in the colony. He was granted land at the mouth of Ferreira's River for the purpose of establishing a saltworks, which proved a failure. He was called out on commando service in 1828. He subsequently moved to Cape Town, where he married Eliza Esther Cradock. In 1839 he was declared bankrupt, and his land at Port Elizabeth and his movable property, consisting mainly of printing and bookbinding equipment, were put up for sale.

MOIC 2/269, insolvent estate W. Reed snr.; Gazette, 3.4.1840; MOIB 2/517 no.27.

ROBERTS, Edward. 1792-1830. Surgeon.

Born in Armley, near Leeds, Yorkshire, he learnt surgery under Mr Hay of Leeds, and was a Member of the Royal College of Surgeons. He joined Bailie's party in company with J.E. Ford and P.R. Marillier. Together with two printers, T. Stringfellow and R. Godlonton, he was given a printing press to take to the colony which was confiscated when the Chapman reached Table Bay. The Cape government paid Roberts the value of the press. On the emigrants' arrival in Albany, Roberts was located with Bailie's subdivision at The Hope, but soon moved to Cape Town where he married Louisa Biddulph, daughter of Simon Biddulph, in August 1820. He was licensed to practise in the colony as surgeon, apothecary and accoucheur on August 26 1820. He opened an

apothecary's shop in Cape Town in addition to practising as a surgeon, and was a founder member of the South African Medical Association. He was attached to the Merchant Seamen's Hospital for a short time before his death in 1830. He left his wife and three sons, Alfred Brooksbank, Bevor Reyner and Richard Miles. Mrs Louisa Roberts kept girls' schools in Cape Town and Bathurst, where she inherited a house from her father in 1842. She died in Grahamstown in 1852.

RCC XII, 345, Bailie to Goulburn, 16.10.1819; letter of P.R. Marillier, 15.11.1819; CO 158 no.97, memorial of T. Stringfellow, 4.6.1821; CO 136 no.54, Bailie to Ellis, 28.5.1820; Gazette, 26.8.1820; RCC XVII, 270, evidence of W. Edwards; S.A. Commercial Advertiser, 20.2.1830, 17.3.1830; Burrows, History of Medicine in S.A., p.131; MOOC 7/1/110 no.63, Will, 15.2.1830; Directory, 1831; Looking Back IX (June 1969), p.59, letter from E. Morse Jones; MOOC 7/1/168 no.58, Will of Simon Biddulph, 24.12.1841; Cape Town Mail, 6.7.1852.

ROSE, John. 1792-1855. Silversmith.

He was born in the parish of St Margaret's, City of Westminster. He joined Wakeford's subdivision of Bailie's party, but in January 1821 he petitioned to move to Cape Town to follow his trade of silversmith. He married Ann Hughes of Liverpool in Cape Town in 1822, and in 1830 was clerk to the Commercial Exchange, a post he held until his death in 1855. He was survived by three children, John Edwin Benjamin, Ellen Ann and Thomas Walter, and left both movable and immovable property.

CO 2637, n.d. (Jan.1821); Gazette, 13.10.1821, 16.11.1822; Directory 1830, 1845; MOOC 7/1/224 no.71, Will, 24.5.1823; MOOC 6/9/71 d.n. 3258/1855.

ROWLES, John. 1790-1866. Clerk.

He was born in Oxfordshire, and worked for a London firm of brokers for fifteen years. He was unemployed when he applied to emigrate from 20 Norfolk Street, Commercial Road, London. He joined Ford's subdivision of Bailie's party, which later came under the leadership of T. Flanagan. His house and crops were badly damaged by the floods of October 1823. He was granted a share of the party's location. From 1832 he was employed by William Holder to run a trading station at Cantanee in Kaffraria, but on the eve of the 1834 war he and his family were terrorised by hostile Xhosa and forced to abandon their property and flee to the colony. Both he and his wife, Mrs Sarah Rowles, died at the home of their daughter Mrs Skea in Worcester Street, Grahamstown in 1866. Their elder daughter Amelia married J.T. Scriven; their son John, who was fluent in Xhosa from childhood, became a government interpreter.

PRO CO 48/45 no.460, 23.7.1819; 1/AY 8/71, petition of T. Flanagan, 1.2.1821; CO 223 no.26, 25.3.1824; 1/AY 12/1,

storm loans, 18.12.1824; CO 8541, Hayward's notes; IG 35, war damage claim, 1835; Blue book, Further Despatches Relative to the Last Caffre War, pp.212-3; GTJ 5.1.1866, 28.9.1866; St George's GT marriage registers; Directory 1845.

SAUNDERS, John. 1797- . Shoemaker.

He was the son of John Saunders, slop seller of New Road, St George's East, London, and with his friend and neighbour Thomas Mills joined a small party that proposed to emigrate under the leadership of Joseph Oldham but was subsequently absorbed by Bailie's party. He joined J.E. Ford's subdivision, which later came under the leadership of T. Flanagan. He moved to Grahamstown to follow his trade early in 1821, and applied for permission to return to England in 1823.

RCC XVII, 12, memorial of T. Mills and J. Saunders snr., 24.1.1824; PRO CO 48/44 p.962, list of J. Oldham's party, 18.8.1819; 1/AY 8/71, memorial of T. Flanagan etc., n.d. (Jan.1821); CO 201 no.175, 6.4.1823.

SEYMOUR, William. 1787-c.1826. Baker.

He was located at Cuylerville, and at the end of 1824 had nearly 4 acres of land under cultivation and owned 50 head of cattle. He was granted a share of the party's location. He was present at a meeting of Bailie's party in February 1826 but evidently died not long afterwards, as his widow married W.O. Lloyd in May 1827.

CO 223 no.174, 7.12.1824; CO 8541, Hayward's notes; CO 8459 no.48, minutes of meeting of Bailie's party, 5.2.1826; St George's GT marriage registers.

SHORTMAN, James. 1800- . Labourer.

He emigrated as an indentured servant to John Bailie, and was located with Bailie's subdivision at The Hope in May 1820.

CO 293 no.91, Bailie to Plasket, 25.3.1826; CO 136 no.54, Bailie to Ellis, 28.5.1820.

SOMERVILLE, James Quaile. 1790- . Baker.

His wife and children were entered on the list of Bailie's party in London, but did not emigrate. He joined Wakeford's subdivision, and applied in July and again in August 1820 for permission to return to his family in England at his own expense.

CO 2629, 1.7.1820 and 30.8.1820.

STOKES, George. 1794-1863. Bookbinder.

He was born in Odiham, Hampshire, the son of John and Dorothy Stokes. He joined Wakeford's subdivision of Bailie's party. He applied in 1821 and again in 1822 for permission to return to England, but changed his mind after obtaining employment with Dr Edward Roberts in Cape Town. He subsequently returned to Albany, where he married Jane Cecil Fell in 1827. He was living on the Baviaans River during the Eighth Frontier War (1851) and was forced to move his stock and abandon his farm. He died at Sephton Manor Farm, near Fort Beaufort, in 1863, leaving five children, George Frederick, Hatty Cecil, Jane Eliza, William Vickery and Charles Morris. His estate was valued at £2 400.

CO 2637, n.d.(1821); CO 178 no.332, n.d.(1822); Albany Methodist Church marriage registers; Richard Paver, pp.86, 90, 103; MOOC 6/9/102 d.n. 81/1863; MOOC 7/1/266 nos. 106 and 107, valuation of intestate estate.

STRINGFELLOW, Thomas King. 1789-1875. Printer.

He was born in Cambridge and married Ann Trott of Newport, Essex. He worked at the King's Printing Office, Shacklewell, near London for six years before emigrating. His employer donated a printing press jointly to Stringfellow, his fellow-printer Robert Godlonton, and Dr Edward Roberts for use in the colony, but it was confiscated on their arrival at Cape Town. Stringfellow joined Anderson's subdivision of Bailie's party, and applied in 1821 for a government post on the grounds that he had been prevented from earning a living as a tradesman. In 1823 he was appointed a constable, and subsequently promoted to clerk to the vendue master. He bought an erf in Grahamstown and obtained a government loan to build a house. He was granted a share of the party's location. At the end of 1834 he resigned from the civil service to farm, but suffered heavy stock losses in the Sixth Frontier War, in which he served with the Albany Sharpshooters. He rejoined the civil service as chief clerk to the Civil Commissioner, Albany, in 1841, was made a Justice of the Peace, and served on the settler commemoration committee in Grahamstown in 1844. He became Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate at Fort Beaufort in 1850. Mrs Ann Stringfellow died at Fort Beaufort in 1861, Thomas Stringfellow in 1875. They were survived by two daughters, Anne Maria and Sarah, and the children of their deceased daughter Mary Ann, wife of John Hancorn Smith. Thomas Stringfellow left a substantial estate, including houses in Grahamstown and Fort Beaufort.

CO 158 no.97, 4.6.1821; CO 2637, 13.2.1821; CO 223 no.88, 21.9.1824; 1/AY 12/1, storm loans, 18.12.1824; CO 8541, Hayward's notes; IG 37, war damage claims, 30.3.1835; Cory Library, Diary of T.K. Stringfellow; Directory 1841-5; GTJ 15.2.1844; MOOC 6/9/95 d.n. 8725/1861; MOOC 6/9/150 d.n. 1385/1875; St George's GT marriage registers; MOOC 7/1/343 no.29, Will, 16.1.1875.

TAYLOR, Richard. 1789-1821. Clerk.

He was one of a small party that proposed to emigrate under the leadership of Joseph Oldham, but was subsequently absorbed by Bailie's party. He joined J.E. Ford's subdivision, and in January 1821 he was reported to have become insane. Dr O'Flinn attended him but held out little hope for his recovery. He died at Cuylerville on January 27 1821.

PRO CO 48/44 p.962, list of Oldham's party, 18.8.1819; 1/AY 8/70, Trappes to Cuyler, 13.1.1821, and Oldham to Trappes, 27.1.1821.

THOMPSON, John. 1793- . Pastrycook and confectioner.

He joined Wakeford's subdivision of Bailie's party, and in 1820 applied for permission to move to Cape Town to carry on his trade, as he had no knowledge of agriculture. One John Thompson, with his wife and child, was given a permit to leave the colony for England in February 1821, but he was not described as a settler and it is not certain that he was the same man.

CO 2629 n.d.(1820); CO 6061 vol.I no.19, permit to leave the colony, 28.2.1821.

TUCKER, Henry. 1788- . Clerk.

He was employed in a counting house before he left England. He claimed that he had been promised the post of master in a school for a thousand native children which the Mendicity Society proposed to establish in South Africa, but on his arrival in Albany he found that no such school existed. He lost the case of stationery with which he had equipped himself, and a leg injury necessitated his spending three months in hospital in Grahamstown. He applied for a colonial pass to move to Cape Town, where he obtained temporary employment, but he appealed to the authorities for help in October 1821 as he was out of work and starving.

CO 158 no.39, 26.3.1821; CO 158 no.174, 20.10.1821.

VOKINS, Henry. 1781-1849. Shoemaker.

He joined Anderson's subdivision of Bailie's party, and remained on the location until October 1823, when he moved to Grahamstown to find work. He obtained a licence to trade at Fort Willshire in October 1824. He was granted a share of the party's location. He subsequently settled in Uitenhage, but sold his house and furniture in 1848 when he returned to Grahamstown. He died in the following year, leaving an only child, Mary Anne. His estate comprised movable and immovable property.

CO 8541, Hayward's notes; CO 8455 no.4, 6.1.1824; CO 223 no.183, 10.12.1824; CO 2662, licence to traffic at Fort Willshire, 20.10.1824; GTJ 25.3.1848; MOOC 6/9/48 d.n. 261/1849.

WADE, William. 1799- . Druggist.

He joined T.P. Adams' subdivision of Bailie's party, and applied in June 1820 for permission to return to England at his own expense. He was in Grahamstown in April 1823, when he signed a memorial objecting to the Albany Levy oath.

CO 2629, 30.6.1820; RCC XV, 366, memorial of the inhabitants of Grahamstown, 8.4.1823.

WAKEFORD, Thomas. 1785-1858. Gardener.

He emigrated with independent means, and was elected head of a subdivision of Bailie's party. In 1823 he was considered the most opulent of the Cuylerville settlers. He was granted a share of the party's location, but sold it to Robert Webb before he received title. In 1824 he moved to Grahamstown where he purchased Erf 39, New Street, and obtained a licence to trade at Fort Willshire. Mrs Mary Wakeford died in Grahams-town in 1838; Thomas Wakeford died at his younger son William's farm, The Hope, formerly the property of John Bailie, in 1858. William Wakeford married Mary Ann Keen; his elder brother Thomas married Jemima Cyrus and became a Wesleyan missionary.

CO 4843 no.320, Ellis to Adams, Wakeford etc., 19.5.1820; CO 223 no.124, 4.11.1824; Documents Originally Published at the Cape of Good Hope, p.78; CO 8541, Hayward's notes; CO 223 no.124, 4.11.1824; CO 8459 no.48, minutes of a meeting of Bailie's party, 5.2.1826; IG 526 no.1046, 26.7.1837; Gazette, 18.12.1824; St George's GT burial and marriage registers; GTJ 24.7.1858; Deeds Office records; Eveleigh, Settlers and Methodism, p.150.

WALKER, John. 1798-1879. Apothecary.

The son of a lawyer, he had a classical education, and was apprenticed to a surgeon in London but did not complete his training. He joined T.P. Adams' subdivision of Bailie's party, and acted as arbitrator in the dispute between J.E. Ford and his subdivision, subsequently joining the reorganised group led by T. Flanagan. In 1821 he applied unsuccessfully for an erf in Grahamstown on which to build a school. He was tutor to the family of Brigade Major O'Reilly in Grahamstown, and in 1823 moved first to Graaff Reinet and then to Cradock, where he was appointed master of the Free School. His claim to a share of Bailie's party's location was disallowed on grounds of non-residence. In 1829 he married Ann Wainwright in Grahamstown. He resigned his post at Cradock in 1831, and from January 1835 he was government schoolmaster at Grahamstown, struggling to support his family on an inadequate salary. He returned to Cradock, where he was again master of the Free School in 1848, besides acting as secretary and librarian of the Cradock Library and secretary of the Divisional Road Board. His wife died in 1878 and he in the following year, at their son's house in Tarkastad. They were survived by three children, Arthur Alexander, Lawrence Edward, and Wilhelmina Elizabeth who married Henry John Bailie, eldest grandson of John Bailie.

S.A. Chronicle, letter from T.P. Adams, 9.3.1825; 1/AY 8/71, 23.1.1821; CO 8450 no.36, 14.8.1821; CO 201 no.13, 12.3.1823; CO 8541, n.d.(1824); Directory 1830; St George's GT marriage register; IG 533 no.679, 21.3.1840; Directory 1848; MOOC 6/9/169 d.n. 6688/79 and 6689/79.

WHITTAL, Francis. 1798-1873. Farmer.

He was brought up to agriculture and the management of cattle in the county of Shropshire. He emigrated as an indentured servant to J.C. Chase, and married a fellow-servant, Mary Williams of Welshpool. He was originally located with Bailie's subdivision of the party at The Hope, but subsequently farmed a share of the general location, which he was granted in his own right. In addition, he purchased John Duffy's share of the location, which was transferred to him in 1847. He remarried about 1840, after the death of his first wife. He commanded the burgher forces at Cuylerville in the war of 1846, and died there in 1873 leaving a widow and twelve children: Elizabeth (Fairley), George, Mary Ann (Hulley), James, Charles, Walter, Harriet (Pittman), Sarah, William, Abigail, John and Joseph. His estate consisted of landed property at Cuylerville, and cattle.

CO 223 no.97, 1.10.1824; CO 136 no.54, Bailie to Ellis, 28.5.1820; Whittal, Record of Francis Whittal; CO 8541, Hayward's notes; Deeds Office records; GTJ 23.7.1873; MOOC 6/9/144 d.n. 9568/1873.

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ERRATA

- page viii line 8 For Harradene read Harradine.
- 61 6 For to do so read to enable him to do so.
- 72 14 For indentured labourers read labourers.
- 77 6 For he was granted read he granted.
- 92 19-24 The Elizabeth was not a government schooner but a privately-owned vessel chartered for the voyage by Henry Nourse. (Cape Town Gazette, 24.11.1821.)
- 96 26 For The party was kept read They had been kept.
- 99 12 For application read applications.
- 105 14-15 Footnote 4 relates to Henry Rivers not Henry Somerset.
- 113 1 For including him read if he is included.
- 27 For Chaper read Chapter.
- 124 36 For Borrodaile read Borradaile.
- 132 Footnote 32: for Holden Bowker read Bertram Bowker.
- 147 17 For Lawlor read Lawler.
- 170 9-10 For each remaining member read each of the nine remaining members.
- 204 19 For Lloyd and Whittal read Lloyd, Maria Harden and Whittal.
- 214 Maria, aged 2, was a daughter of William Harden not of William Seymour.
- 216 23 For H. Walker read J. Walker.
- 229 35 For May 1820 read April 1820.
- 241 14 For John's name read John junior's name.
- 243 5-6 For Community of the Resurrection read Convent of the Assumption.
- 245 38 For Beaumont House read Beaufort House.
- 247 23 For widwife read midwife.
- 276 2 For Journal of the Rev. John Ross read Journals of the Rev. John Ross.