

GERMAN IMMIGRATION TO THE CAPE

with special reference to

- (a) The German Military Settlement of 1857;
- (b) The Settlement of the German Immigrants of 1858.

by

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PREFACE.

South Africa is a multi-racial country in more than one sense. There are the broad divisions of Colour, but in addition, there are further divisions within each group. The European section is mostly of Dutch and British origin, but there are important other strains, notably the French and the German. The history of the Dutch and the British sections has been written, and that of the French too, but the story of the German element is still incomplete. G. C. de Villiers and H. T. Colenbrander incidentally drew attention to the strong German strain in the Afrikaner people; more recently, the intensive researches of Dr J. Hoge and Dr W. Schmidt-Pretoria have brought to light much valuable material of the period 1652 to 1806. After 1806, the field is still largely virgin. The half century 1806 to 1857, except for brief references to German missionaries, remains a closed book.

The important years 1857- 1859 have been dealt with only in the general histories of Dr Theal and Sir George Cory and in the minor works of Pastor J. Spanuth. In each case the treatment is inadequate. Dr Theal devotes only about eight pages to the Legionaries and the Immigrants, while Cory has a chapter of twenty-five pages; most of his material is taken from the Imperial Parliamentary Papers and deals more with the Imperial aspect than with the story of the Germans themselves. Pastor Spanuth himself makes no claim to an exhaustive treatment - his works are too small to allow more than the collection of a few data. The immigration movements of 1877 - 1883 are barely mentioned in any work. This work seeks to fill at least a few of the lacunae, but much remains to be done before a full and complete history can be written.

Then, too, the role of the German Legionaries and Immigrants has never been integrated into the wider field of frontier policy. Although they were not aware of it, the settlement of the Germans among the Xhosas was a new expedient, a further experiment to solve frontier problems. The success of the Immigrants contributed in no small measure towards perpetuating this new policy and shaping Cape Native policy.

My researches were commenced in 1921 and continued until 1930; various factors prevented the completion of the work until I was transferred to a university centre. In 1921, the volumes in the relevant section in the Cape Archives had possibly not been opened at all; little was known of what was available; nothing had been indexed and some sections hardly catalogued. In the course of my work, much valuable material has been brought to light. Thus a fuller account can now be presented.

Having grown up among the German Immigrants, or rather among their descendants, I was in a peculiarly favourable position. I grew up steeped in the oral tradition of their early life at the Cape; I had the privilege of knowing a few who themselves had migrated in 1858 and in 1877, and from conversation and their reminiscences, I built up a valuable background, which enabled me to assess the importance and significance of much of the material found subsequently. I may therefore claim that in this work emphasis is laid on what was regarded as important by the Immigrants themselves and their immediate descendants. It is trusted that this work will portray their coming and their early struggles, as they themselves saw their experiences in retrospect.

I am deeply indebted to my late father and to Professor I.J. Rousseau of Rhodes University College who suggested this

field of study to me; to the old Germans whom I questioned
and who gladly told me what they knew.

I wish to thank the many friends who assisted me with the loan of manuscripts and books, or drew my attention to available material. At the South African Public Library, the Rhodes University Library and the Albany Library, Grahamstown, I was treated with unfailing courtesy. At the Cape Archives willing help was given me, first, in the years 1921 to 1950, by Mr C. Graham Botha and his assistants, and then, more recently, by Dr P.J. Venter and his staff. The late Sir George Cory, with whom I often sat at the same table in the basement of the Houses of Parliament, was a continual inspiration to me. Finally I wish to record my indebtedness to my promoter, Professor M. Roberts of Rhodes University, whose keen criticism and wise guidance have made possible the production of a work of academic standard.

Grahamstown.

December, 1951.

E. G. Schreier

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ABBREVIATIONS.

For full titles, see Appendix - Bibliography.

BGL.	British German Legion.
BK. or B.K.	British Kaffraria.
BKRec.	British Kaffrarian Records.
CA.	Cape Archives.
Chief. Comm.	Chief Commissioner.
Christ. Miss.	Christian Missions in South Africa, J. du Plessis.
CO.	Colonial Office.
Comm.	Communication.
Crim. Court. Comm.	Criminal Court Commission.
Cr. Lands.	Crown Lands.
Cr. Reserve.	Crown Reserve.
D. S.-G.	Deputy Surveyor-General.
Diary.	Tagebuch des G. Steinbart.
E.L. Mag. Rec.	East London Magistrate's Records.
Emig.	Emigrants.
Encl.	Enclosure.
Festschrift.	Festschrift zum 50 jährigen Jubiläum, Spanuth.
Ger. Imm.	German Immigrants.
GHRec.	Government House Records.
GMS or G.M.S.	German Military Settlers.
Govt. Gaz.	Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette.
High Comm.	High Commissioner.
Imm.	Immigrants.
Imm. Bd.	Immigration Board.
Imp. Pap.	Imperial Papers.
Lieut. Gov. Rec.	Lieutenant-Governor's Records
Ludewig.	Geschichte der St. Johannis Gemeinde zu Wynberg.
Min. Bk.	Minute Book.
MSO or M.S.O.	Military Secretary's Office.
Nom.	Nominal.
Pan. Pap.	Panure Papers
Rec. C.C.	Records of the Cape Colony.
Res. Mag.	Resident Magistrate.
SAPL.	South African Public Library.
Surv. Gen.	Surveyor-General.
U.E.F. or UEF.	Unter Englands Fahnen
V.R.S.	Van Riebeeck Society.
Wagener.	50 jährige Jubelfeier.
G. St. Letters.	G. Steinbart: Briefe aus Helgoland, u. s. w.

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TO A PAGE OR TO PAGES IS GIVEN,
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N.B. For publication the reference Briefe will be used instead of the abbreviation G. St. Letters and Tagebuch instead of Diary.

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PART II.

BEFORE 1857.

CHAPTER I

GERMAN IMMIGRATION BEFORE 1857.

Of the great western powers Germany was probably the last to participate in the scramble for overseas dominions. Portugal and Spain, the pioneers, were soon ousted from the monopoly of trade and commerce by the nations of the North, England, Holland and France, with whom they were compelled to share the Non-European world.

For the German states there was as yet no "place in the sun"; nor could it have been otherwise.

"During the last few centuries and up to the borders of our own generation Germany has been in no position to devote attention and effort to matters of this kind; internal conditions and external relations have alike impeded the development of colonial activity in distant lands. Periodically through the earlier centuries and during part of the nineteenth, frequent, long-continued, and devastating wars reduced the population and destroyed accumulated wealth; industrial development was indefinitely postponed; political centralisation and national unity were rendered impossible in a continuous strife of petty local interests. External relations were such as to discourage and cripple the trade of a country whose geographical position was and is most unfavorable to the development of shipping and trans-oceanic commerce" (1)

In these words, Keller aptly and briefly points out how it was almost impossible for Germans to embark upon colonisation until late in the nineteenth century.

The one and only attempt on the part of a German prince, Frederick William, the Elector of Brandenburg, to found a colony on the Guinea coast of Africa at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century proved a dismal failure, and serves but to demonstrate "the utter hopelessness of trying to force a people out of its natural course of development."⁽²⁾

Nothing was done until late in the nineteenth century, when under the guidance of Bismarck, the unification of the numerous German states culminated in the establishment of the German Empire under the hegemony of Prussia. Only then did national pride, economic success and political consolidation make possible the growth of a colonising consciousness, a consciousness fostered

(1) Keller, Colonization, pp. 531-2.
(2) Ibid. pp. 533-4.

by the knowledge that foreign nations were gaining in strength, as the fatherland was weakened by the continual drain of emigrants and capital. Eventually the movement culminated in the policy of almost wholesale annexation, and practically within a year (1884-5) Germany became a colonial power.

An outlet for Germans desiring to emigrate had been found; but this does not mean that the desire on the part of individuals then arose for the first time. From the middle of the seventeenth century at least, as will be seen, there have been Germans eager to seek a fortune in newer lands beyond the seas. North America seems to have been the El Dorado of the majority. (3) Nevertheless there have not been wanting Germans who have settled elsewhere; and the Cape, too, had its German settlers from the beginning of its history.

Whether any Germans landed with van Riebeeck is of little importance, though it is interesting to note that as early as 1652 three Germans are mentioned, Michael Gieve of Stralsund, (4) Paulus Petkauw of Danzig (5) and Wilhelm Müller of Frankfort. (6) Of more consequence is that among the first Free Burghers to settle at the foot of Table Mountain there were Germans, Heinrich Elberts of Osnabruck (7) and Jacob Cloeten of Cologne. (8) Since then there has been a continuous influx of Germans into South Africa.

The extent of German immigration, 1652-1806, has been given attention by de Villiers in Gezlacht Register der Oude Kaapsche Familien, by Colenbrander in De Afkomst der Boeren, and more recently by Werner Schmidt-Pretoria in Der Kulturanteil des Deutschtums am Aufbau des Burenvolkes (1938), and Dr. J. Hoge in Personalia of the Germans at the Cape, 1652-1806, (Archives Year Book for S.A. History, 1946.) It is not the purpose of this work to cover the field again. Nevertheless the subject is sufficiently important to merit some consideration, particularly

(3) Imp. Pap. 389, p.2. Demaler's letter.

(4) Leibbrandt: Precis of Archives of C. of G.H. W. Schmidt-Pretoria, op cit p. 55
van Riebeeck's Journal. I. 49; W. Schmidt-Pretoria, op cit

(5) Leibbrandt: Resolutien van de Commandeur, etc., 1652-62, p.17

(6) Leibbrandt: Precis, Letters despatched from Cape, 1652-62, III, 283

(7) Ibid. III, p.262. Here the name is given as Hendrick Elbrechtsz, of Osenbrugge. Hoge in Personalia states however that the correct name is Heinrich Elbrechts.

(8) de Villiers, Colenbrander, Hoge Personalia, and W. Schmidt-Pretoria, passim.

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COLENBRANDER'S STATISTICS.

	1657-1687			1688-1717			1718-1747			1748-1777			1778-1807			Total		
	Men	Women	Child	M	W	Ch.	M	W	Ch.	M	W	Ch.	M	W	Ch.	M	W	Ch.
Dutch	70	64	134	130	126	256	105	88	193	99	68	167	125	67	192	529	413	942
German	18	2	20	97	7	104	178	10	188	330	26	356	218	50	268	842	95	936
French	4	3	7	66	57	123	3	3	6	4	4	8	9	1	10	86	68	154
Miscellaneous	8	11	19	20	11	31	20	10	30	37	32	69	52	20	72	137	84	221
Total	100	80	180	313	201	514	306	111	417	470	130	600	404	138	542	1593	660	2253

‡ * This should read 841. The mistake is Colenbranders.

in view of the history of the Germans who immigrated in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Using the Geslacht-Register as his basis, Colenbrander gives the figures in the accompanying table of parents born outside the Cape.
(9)

In comparing these figures, we cannot help noting that though the number of German fathers predominates after 1718 and maintains its supremacy until the British Occupation, the number of German women is remarkably small, constituting only ninety-five of a total of 936.

By a careful analysis of the figures at his disposal Colenbrander estimated that the population of the Cape doubled itself every thirty years, this being the reason for the division of the whole period into five sections, each of thirty years. In order, then, to be able to compute the proportion of every nationality in 1807, he multiplied the figures of the first period by sixteen, of the second by eight, of the third by four, of the fourth by two and he left the last as they were.
(10) Following a suggestion made by Theal (see infra) and in order to give what he considers a more accurate computation, Colenbrander multiplied the figures given for the French in the second period by ten instead of by eight.

Using the number of children as a basis, he arrived at the conclusion that 50.4% of the population in 1807 was of Dutch blood, 27% of German blood, 17½% of French and about 5½% of miscellaneous blood.
(10)

When he used the figures given for the parents, he arrived at a slightly different result, namely 54 $\frac{2}{3}$ % Dutch, 28 $\frac{1}{5}$ % German and 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ % French.
(11) He himself is inclined to think that the former are the more accurate proportions, but whichever is taken, we are still left with the fact that about 28% of the population was German, or to express it more accurately, that this proportion of the blood of the population of the Cape in 1807 was German.

Theal considers that the German contribution should be given

(9) Colenbrander, op.cit., p.113.

(10) Ibid. p.108.

(11) Colenbrander, op.cit., p.114.

less weight than the French. He says "(The French) came out to South Africa in early life and had never given way to dissipation in any form. Among the Germans were beyond doubt many men of unblemished character, but in general they belonged to the roving class and did not marry and settle down until the highest vigour of life was gone."⁽¹²⁾

The correctness of this statement, as well as the wisdom of Colenbrander's giving more weight to the French, has been questioned. Dr D.F. Bosman, in collaboration with Dr A. Geyer, set himself the specific task of examining the question whether this stigma cast on the Germans was justified by facts. Making use of the figures given by Colenbrander, he classified the men into three groups - Dutch, German, and French, and counted the number of children of each group. He arrived at the following figures:-

	<u>Dutch</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>French</u>
Fathers	473	758	80
Children	2511	4184	471
Average	5.32	5.52	5.89 (13)

"Uit hierdie syfers blyk dat die Duitse vaders in elke geval vrugbaarder was as die Nederlandse, en van onvrugbaarheid ten gevolge van uitspattinge, selfs in vergelykinge (sic) met die Hugenote, blyk niks nie. As in aanmerking geneem word dat die Franse totaal, in vergelyking met die Duitse en Nederlandse, te klein is om tot 'n betroubare resultaat te kom, dan lyk dit gewaag om selfs by die Franse groter vrugbaarheid as by die Duitsers aan te neem".

Hence Dr Bosman is led to the conclusion that Colenbrander is not justified in multiplying the figures for the second period by ten instead of eight, and he consequently makes the required correction. In addition, he finds it necessary to make a number of other corrections, mathematical in character, with the result that he obtains the following percentages of the proportion of blood:- Dutch 53%, German 28%, and French 15%. The result in percentages is but very little different from that obtained by Colenbrander, but it is satisfactory to note, as Dr Bosman says,

"Wat ook al ons Kaaps-Duitse voorvaders mag verwyrt word..... losbandigheid wat gelei het tot onvrugbaarheid word deur ons ondersoek nie gestaaf nie!"

(12) G. McC. Theal, A History of South Africa before 1795, III, 237

(13) Tydskrif vir Wetenskap en Kuns, 1922-23, pp. 206-214.

A fuller investigation into the validity of Theal's assertion has been made by Werner Schmidt-Pretoria in his Das Kulturanteil des Deutschtums am Aufbau des Burenvolkes. His researches enabled him to establish the age of arrival of about 90 settlers. Two were seventeen years of age, one was eighteen, two were nineteen and the rest were spread as follows:-

20 years	-	6 men	25	-	8	29	-	2	34	-	1
21	-	6	26	-	4	30	-	7	35	-	2
22	-	16	27	-	8	31	-	3	38	-	1
23	-	14	28	-	3	32	-	1			
24	-	9				33	-	1			

None arrived at the Cape aged 40 or over. To sum up, he states that 78 men were between seventeen and thirty, that is nearly 90%⁽¹⁴⁾.

He was also able to establish the marriage age of 111 Germans and found that 21 had not reached their 25th year, seventy married between their 26th and 35th year and 20 between their 36th and 45th year. None of the men married after their 45th year.⁽¹⁵⁾

Of course, it is not certain that these figures are fully representative of the Germans, but Schmidt-Pretoria maintains that his findings are sufficiently significant to disprove Theal's statement.⁽¹⁶⁾

Generally, he is not satisfied with Colenbrander's computations, but though examining them very carefully and critically, he makes no attempt at any new calculation of his own.

The researches of Dr. Hoge showed him that the Geelacht-Register was neither complete, nor entirely accurate; hence in the Personalia of the Germans at the Cape, 1652-1806, he gives a full list of Germans who migrated during this period, with such information about them, such as their place of origin, their marriage, and often the number of their children. This more correct information would allow for more accurate computation than was possible for Colenbrander, or Bosman and Geyer; to what extent their percentages would be modified it is difficult to say or estimate; this is not the purpose of this work. Nevertheless

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(14) W. Schmidt-Pretoria, p. 260.
 (15) W. Schmidt-Pretoria, p. 261.
 (16) Ibid., p. 262.

whatever the actual proportion of German blood in the Afrikaner nation, there can be no doubt that it is significant. Names such as Botha, Kotze, Kruger, Conradie, Lourens, Wagener, Badenhorst, Franke, Liebenberg - to mention only a few families well-known all over South Africa to-day, are easily recognised as German. Other well-known names, to-day considered non-German, have undergone modification, e.g. Cloete (either Cloeten or Kluthe) Visser (Fischer), Vlok (Flock) Vosloo (Vosloh).⁽¹⁷⁾ Families bearing these names are not considered, nor do they consider themselves, as Germans to-day. Sooner or later, mostly in the first generation, the Germans merged into the S.A. population and ceased to be Germans and became Afrikaners.

The advent of the British did not mean the cessation of German immigration to the Cape. Permission to Remain at the Cape was granted from 1806 onwards to large numbers of people with German names, such as Pflüger, Schön, von Buchenroder, though unfortunately the place of origin is not stated with the earlier names.⁽¹⁸⁾ From August, 1830, we have a fairly complete record of Germans who landed in South Africa and were given permission to remain. Thus for 1830 we have the following: Johann Jacob Schwartz of Marlenheim, Carl Petersen of Hamburg, Adolph Kohl of Brunswick, Simon Kilian of Frankenthal, Johan Heinrich Kieser of Wiswar, Mecklenburg.⁽¹⁹⁾ In 1831, we find Carl W. Ludwig Pappe of Hamburg, Friederich Heinrich Veyhl of Lörch, Württemberg, and Friederich August Riedeman. In 1832 we find Theodor Chr. Heinrich Kieser of Wismar, Mecklenburg, Jacob Watermeyer of Hamburg and Johan Bayerlein of Prussia.

Besides missionaries,^{*} we find in 1833 Carl Martin Gericke of Hamburg, Heinrich Höpfner of Prussia, Wilhelm Carl Schwann of Leipzig, Johan Freiderich Sieber of Württemberg. So the list continues, every year seeing the arrival of a few Germans. A few others who came out in this period were Alowies Reitz, of Rauenthal, Germany, Joachim Friederich Kahtz of Hamburg, Johan Heinrich Bode of Hannover, Carl Boehm of Heiligenbul, Prussia, and

(17) W. Schmidt-Pretoria, passim and Personalia, passim.

(18) CA. CO., No. 6055. Permission to Remain, 1806 et seq.

(19) Ibid.

* Missionaries are not listed here; they are mentioned in

(20)

Ferdinand von Sommer, M.D., of Brunswick.

Interesting is the arrival in December, 1835, of twenty-one men, two women and six children, who were introduced by Commander Goenrad Brandlight of the ship "Rhijn". He stated in a memorial to the Governor ⁽²¹⁾ that he had brought these people - labourers, mechanics, and gardeners, out at the request of some of the inhabitants of the Cape and that all of them were in service and thus not likely to be a burden to the Government at the Cape. He does not state their place of origin, saying only that he had brought them from the Continent, but the names leave no doubt that they were German. Among them are Philip Maul, Philip Jacob Freitag, Johannes Meder, Joseph Blomeke, August Lohrberg, Friederich Schubert.

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This list (Permission to Remain) stops on 20th August, 1842; but fortunately there is another list to supplement it. This is the list of the people to whom deeds of burghership were granted between 2nd June, 1817, and May, 1861. We find ^{that} 382 deeds of burghership were granted to Germans, 127 to Netherlanders, 36 to Frenchmen and 25 to persons of other countries. ⁽²²⁾ These figures indicate that approximately 63% were German, 21% were Dutch, 6 1/2% Scandinavians and 6% French. Of course, these figures do not include British subjects, as they were not required to obtain legal recognition of their nationality in South Africa.

This brief survey indicates that the influx of the Germans to South Africa, though never preponderant or en masse was nevertheless considerable from 1652 to the middle of the nineteenth century, when Germans came out in great numbers. Even to the superficial observer, it is apparent that none of those who came to this country during this period retained their nationality. Most of them merged into the Afrikaner people, though some of them were absorbed into the English section. Why and how this process took place needs special consideration.

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As has been seen, in the days of the D.E.I.Co., a relatively large number of Germans migrated to the Cape, mostly men

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(20) CA.CO., 6055, Permission to Remain.
 (21) CA.CO., 3976, Memorials, Vol. I, 1835.
 (22) CA.CO., 6133, Deeds of Burghership, 1817-1861.

unaccompanied by women. When these had served their time as servants of the Company, or in the ranks of the Garrison, or had established themselves as settlers at the Cape, they looked around for suitable wives, and not being able to find them of their own nation, they naturally chose Dutch girls. In this way, inter-marriage took place, the man always able to speak Dutch, the wife very seldom able to speak his language, with the natural result that the home language became Dutch - the family in effect became a Dutch family. The importance of this will be realised, when it is remembered that it is the family which transmits culture, the family which keeps alive the language, the habits and the traditions of the race.

then 8

Note logical reasoning

All the forces and circumstances of the time facilitated this process. Germanising influences there were none; German schools were obviously out of the question; German churches would hardly have been countenanced by a Company which did not even permit the compact body of French Huguenots to retain their own language. Nor was there at the time either German trade or a German maritime commerce, so that of the many ships which called at the Cape, very few were German and could recall to the minds of the German settlers their Germanic origin. In fact, everything tended to cut them off entirely from the fatherland, which became only a memory to the original immigrants and nothing but a name to their descendants.

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The first generation of German-Dutch South Africans was probably aware of its Germanic origin; it is doubtful whether the grandchildren of the German father gave much thought to this fact, when the language, worship, conversation, trade - indeed everything, bound them closely - not at all with Germany, a little with Holland, but most of all with the country in which they lived.

bound them closely

Nevertheless, it is not unimportant that later German arrivals would have felt some kinship with the people among whom they settled. Because of the earlier intermixture of blood and racial

(23) C. Beyers, Kaapse Patriotte, Bylaag G, p.237, et seq.

background, newcomers might have found a few pure Germans (with more in Cape Town itself); they would probably have found some whose fathers had been German; and they would certainly have found Afrikaners of German origin. The establishment of social contacts would therefore have been easy, and as in many cases, Afrikaners would have been the only people they met, by force of circumstance, they would have had to take on the character of their social and hence national environment.

In a limited degree, the process of merging with the Dutch may have been made easier by the fact that some of the Germans came from the western German States or from the Borderland, and that these may have been less German than the place of origin leads us to suppose. Theal considers this an important factor, but probably makes too much of it, for as subsequent research has shown, the Germans came from almost every part of Germany, and not exclusively or largely from the borderland.

To what extent the Company expedited the process of assimilation it is difficult to say. It is known that strenuous efforts were made to prevent the French from retaining their national language, culture and traditions, and that the Company adopted a policy which successfully caused the fusion of the newcomers with the already established Dutch population. The same was not improbable of the attitude of the Company towards its German subjects, though the methods adopted were implicit, rather than explicit; the process was easier, since, in this case, they were dealing only with German males, not German families, or a community. In one respect, however, there is evidence to show that the attitude of the Company was not without effect. This is its policy with regard to public worship and church membership.

To understand the importance of this, it is necessary to recount

(24) Ibid., p.168 and note ^{where Dr Beyers states that} Dr. J. L. M. Franken found that the term "Afrikaander" was used as early as 1707. Theal, op.cit., Before 1795, III, pp.285-6 states that this term was in common use at least as early as 1735.

(25) Ibid., p.283.

(26) Personalia and W. Schmidt-Pretoria, op.cit., passim. Places of origin mentioned are inter alia Stralsund, Danzig, Frankfurt, Lübeck, Marburg, Hannover, Hamburg, Breslau, Königsberg, Leipzig, Braunschweig, Bremen, Stettin.

very briefly the story of the Lutheran church at the Cape until the end of the eighteenth century.

Until about 1740 such Germans as were Lutherans, gave no evidence of discontent; they made use of the services of visiting ministers of their faith, or attended or joined the Dutch Reformed Church. Thus, for example, in May 1719, seven German Lutherans were accepted as members of the church at Cape Town.

this is correct

The movement for the establishment of a Lutheran Church began in 1740-42, when a petition was presented, in the first instance to the Governor and Council of Policy, asking for the appointment of a Lutheran minister, so that Lutherans at the Cape should be able to practice their own form of worship. The signatories to this petition, as well as to subsequent petitions, were mostly, but not all, Germans.

mostly means not all

This request was referred to the Chamber of Seventeen, with the recommendation that it be not granted. The local authorities wished to avoid any step which would result in religious differences at the Cape, especially as in most cases, the wives of the Lutherans were Dutch Reformed. Probably, too, there was jealousy on the part of the clergy of the established church,

desired

and active opposition by Ds. le Sueur, the minister of the Dutch Reformed Church in Cape Town. It is not surprising therefore that the Chamber of Seventeen refused the request.

to see

An interesting point to note here is that in none of the earlier petitions was there any reference to the need for services in the German language, or the desirability of maintaining German tradition and culture at the Cape.

early writings contain

At last after several other futile attempts, in 1776, the Lutherans appealed to the Lutheran 'Konsistorie' in Amsterdam to aid them to obtain their objective. They pointed out that they already had a suitable building (presented by Martin Melck), and they estimated that the number of the Lutherans at the Cape was about a thousand. The 'Konsistorie' took up their case and placed

1776 - in a number of letters to the Consistorie

(27) Hoge: Geschiedenis van die Lutherse Kerk aan die Kaap, R30 (Argief-Jaarboek, 1938, II). This will be referred to subsequently as Luth. Kerk.

(28) Ibid., p. 23, Notes, 8-9. (29) Ibid., pp. 30-31, 32-34, 43-44.
(30) Walker, History of SA, p. 97. (31) Luth. Kerk, pp. 34 and 51.
(32) Ibid., p. 49. (33) Ibid., p. 72.

the request before the Chamber of Seventeen. This referred the matter to the Cape, and after a favourable reply had been received from the Governor, van Plettenberg, permission was granted (dated 1st March, 1779). For the establishment of a Lutheran Church at the Cape. (34) Soon after, the first minister, Andreas Lutgerus Kolver, from the Rotterdam Church, was appointed. He arrived at Cape Town on 22nd November, 1780, and conducted his first service on 10th December, 1780. (35) The congregation consisted of 442 members, of whom only twenty-seven were women. (36) The great majority were German, probably no fewer than 372. Seven of the Kerkraad were German, the eighth being a Swede.

It must be noted that in spite of the preponderance of the Germans - immigrants or their descendants - this was not exclusively a German church. True, after 1783 a German hymn-book was used and it was stated that the children could all understand High German, (37) but the catechism was Nederlands (38) (published in Amsterdam) and the first teacher, appointed in 1791, was a Hollander, Lourens Erzey. It was not until 1819 that a German was appointed school master. (39)

This then is very briefly the story of the establishment of the Lutheran Church at the Cape, after nearly 130 years of Company rule, and after repeated efforts on the part of the Lutherans to obtain their own church had failed. To what extent the Company was guided by national as well as doctrinal interests, it is difficult to say, as we have no evidence on these points. That the Company was as unsympathetic to the establishment of a Lutheran church as it was towards the French, remains without doubt.

At this stage, it may naturally be asked what were the likely effects, first of the long delay and secondly of the eventual establishment of the Lutheran church, on the maintenance (or otherwise) of Germanism at the Cape.

First then let us consider how the long delay affected the Germans. They could hardly have been satisfied with the spasmodic

(34) Letter to Council of Policy 23rd Oct., 1779; Luth.Kerk, p.77
 (35) Luth. Kerk., p.80 (36) Ibid., p.81 and Appendix 2.
 (37) Ibid., p.83. (38) Ibid., p.84.
 (39) Ibid., pp.83-84. and Note 29

ministration of visiting clergymen. Until they had their own church, the obvious procedure was for them to attend and join the Dutch Reformed Church. This is all the more likely as most of the wives were Dutch Reformed and Dutch speaking. ⁽⁴⁰⁾ It can be assumed that in a Dutch environment with Dutch as their language, the children would be brought up as Dutch-speaking members of the Dutch Reformed Church.

In answer to the second question it may be said that it is doubtful whether the founding of the Lutheran Church effectually improved the position of the Germans qua Germans; in fact in some respects it deteriorated.

The first note of dissent was struck only a few years after the establishment of the church, because Kolver had baptised daughters of mothers who belonged to the Dutch Reformed Church. To this the Kerkraad of the D.R.C. objected and insisted that the Batavian regulations governing the baptism of such children were valid at the Cape and should be observed here too. ⁽⁴¹⁾ Generally these regulations were to the effect that sons were to be baptised in the church of the fathers and daughters in the church of the mothers; parents were however allowed to have ^{any of} their children baptised in the Dutch Reformed Church. ⁽⁴²⁾ The smallness of the number of women members of the Lutheran Church makes comment on the significance of these regulations for the D.R.C. - and the Lutherans, superfluous. We are not concerned with the dispute which lasted until the First British Occupation of the Cape, but we are concerned with the fact that these regulations, and even their partial observance, had the effect of breaking down the identity of the German group; though the father remained Lutheran, the daughters certainly and possibly the sons too, became members of the Dutch Reformed Church. True, the Lutheran Church in Cape Town was not a German church, but its members were mostly Germans and contact with the church and its members would at least act as a brake to the loss of German identity; on the other hand membership of the Dutch church would hasten the process of absorption.

(40) Luth. Kerk., pp. 98, 121. (41) Ibid., Chapter VIII.
 (42) Ibid., p. 16.

Handwritten notes:
 K. K. 15.
 Please see p. 15.

The attitude of the authorities to official appointments had a similar result. Prior to the establishment of the Lutheran Church, senior posts had frequently been held by Lutherans. (43) After its establishment, because of the attitude of the Dutch Reformed Kerkraad at the Cape, in 1783 the Chamber of Seventeen expressly forbade the appointment of Lutherans, and insisted that in future all vacancies on the Council of Policy and inferior chambers (Collegien) should be filled by no person, unless he was a member of the Reformed Church. (44) To this ruling the Council of Policy objected, and the order was subsequently somewhat modified; while adhering to the instruction that Lutherans should be excluded from the Council of Policy and the Council of Justice, the Chamber of Seventeen did permit Lutherans to fill vacancies in the lower chambers, though other things being equal, preference should be given to members of the Reformed Church. (45) Consequently the appointment of four Lutherans to senior posts was disallowed. (46) Other officials who otherwise had a claim for promotion, were ineligible because of their church membership.

These regulations, as could be expected, effectively encouraged assimilation. According to a report of the Kerkraad several Lutherans let their sons be prepared for confirmation in the Reformed Church, while Kolver had to write in 1787, "want wij moeten het nu reeds zien, dat kinderen van onze aanzienlijksten tot een andere gemeente overgaan". (47) As has been said, the Lutheran Church may not have been a German church as such, but it was, at the least, the church of the Germans, while the Reformed Church was the church of the Afrikaners. Severance of the tie with the Lutheran Church meant the breaking of another link with German origin; membership of the Reformed Church forging another link with the Afrikaner people. (48)

The effectiveness of the policy of the Company and the decline of the Lutheran Church are well shown by a report made in 1805 by

(43) Luth. Kerk, p.119. (44) C. Beyers, op.cit., p.47, and Luth. Kerk., p.120.

(45) C. Beyers, op.cit., p.77 and Luth. Kerk, p.121.

(46) Viz. F. G. Ronnenkamp as member of C. of Policy and C. L. Noethling, C. Matthiessen and Bletterman as members of the Council of Justice. Luth. Kerk. pp.128, 135, 140.

(47) Ibid., p.142.

(48) Ibid., p.142.

Two & a half
word Dr

a later minister, Dr. Hesse. Under the British and the Batavian Republic, there was no discrimination against the Lutherans or against any other church. Nevertheless Hesse wrote in 1805:

"In het jaar 1776 wierd het getal der Lutheran^{en} in deeze Colonie begroot op ruim 1,000 personen, thans wordt hetzelfde geschat op 4 á 500, hoewel deze berekening, de Ledemaaten der Gemeente over de geheele Colonie verstrooid en dus zeer onbekend zynde, niet volkomen naaukeurig kan gemaakt worden; in het jaar 1779 verscheenen bij de intekening tot de fondsen voor de kerk 303 Ledemaaten, meest inwoners van de stad, en thans kunnen bij de jaarlijksche huisbezoeken niet meer dan omtrent 150 tot aan 200 Ledemaaten opgevonden worden, en onder alle heeft men niet meer dan 18 of 20 Luthersche huisgezinnen, waarvan de man en de vrouw en de kinderen allemaal de Lutheran Kerk zijn toegedaan." (49)

According to Hesse the restrictive measures of the Dutch East India Company (reservation of senior posts to members of the Reformed Church and regulations governing baptism of infants by Lutherans) had not been without effect; these measures, together with the transfer of members into the interior, had caused the steady decline in the strength of the Lutheran congregation, and, it may be added, in the strength of the German element at the Cape. The natural process of assimilation had undoubtedly been effectively aided by the policy of the Company.

The degree to which the German members of the early Lutheran congregation had ceased to be Germans is clearly shown by the comparison of two lists of signatories, namely the membership roll of the congregation in 1780 and the list of 1860, when a number of Germans asked for more German in the church services. In the latter list 62 different surnames appear, and it is significant that no single surname is common to both lists. In other words, the earlier settlers or their descendants had either left the Lutheran church (and probably joined the Dutch Reformed Church), or they were content with Dutch services. It can therefore be assumed that they had largely lost their language and identity as Germans and had become absorbed into the South African population.

Before we leave the period of the Company, there is one other

(49) Luth. Kerk., pp. 162-163.

(50) See Ref. 36.

(51) Ibid., p. 203, Note 2.

factor which merits attention, namely the degree to which the assimilation of the Germans was made easier by the fact that they, together with the Dutch settlers and the French Huguenots, were co-founders and builders of a new nation.

Looking back to-day, we know that the South African nationhood was embryonically "in werden" in the days of the Company. Theal points out that though the mixture of blood may have helped to wean the colonists from attachment to the parent state, the isolated nature of their way of life, particularly in the interior, was a more potent factor. Easily losing contact with their country of origin and knowing little or nothing of their relatives abroad, they lost interest in their homeland. Instead, their interests were centred in South Africa, and as early as 1735, they called themselves Afrikaners. (52)

There can be little doubt that as early as this (1735), the colonists were hardly conscious of their incipient nationhood, but we cannot conceive of their not being aware that they formed a separate community, because of their isolation, mixture of blood and their way of life. By 1780, we know, a political consciousness had emerged. At least some of the colonists appealed to "natural rights"; they sought redress in representation and they had evolved the concept of the "Volkstem," the expression of the will of the people; (53) "In die denke en daad van die Kaapse Patriotte trië daar 'n ongekende patriotisme". (54) Although they recognised the authority of the Company and the suzerainty of the Dutch States General, they considered themselves Afrikaners, not Nederlanders. It was only in the nineteenth century that this consciousness of separate identity became a powerful force; nevertheless it had its beginning in the eighteenth century and was a factor we cannot neglect in our consideration. The Germans who became burghers at the Cape were undoubtedly aware, however dimly, that the people with whom they were throwing in their lot, were not Nederlanders, with strong links with their country of origin and its history and traditions. They were not a people

(52) Theal, op.cit., III, pp.285-6.

(53) G. Beyers, op.cit., p.168 and passim. (54) Ibid., p.168.

among whom they would long remain strangers, but among South Africans, people at least partly of their own blood. To cooperate and coalesce with such a people was manifestly easy - and this, as history has shown us, is what the Germans did. (55)

In fact, a fellow German, the traveller Lichtenstein, regretted their attitude. "I must however condemn them in this respect", he wrote, "that none seem more easily to forget their native country and its manners and customs. Even in the Cape Town, except one little circle in particular, of very amiable German families, the Germans associate very little together; they speak Dutch among each other With every succeeding year any recollections (of their native country) grow fainter and fainter; the intelligence from home is less and less frequent, and the ties which connected him with his native soil are proportionately weakened, as he forms others under the new sun to which he is transported". (56)

The advent of the British seems to have made little difference. The process, begun when the first Free Burgers settled as independent colonists and when the Germans among them merged with the Dutch, continued in the first half of the nineteenth century. Under British rule, Germans still continued to come; many of them were single men who followed the example of their predecessors and by intermarriage, also merged into one of the now two predominant races of South Africa. Many of the missionaries who came out during this period, it is true, brought their wives with them, but some married Dutch girls, and in the majority of the cases, their descendants, brought up among the Dutch-speaking (only in a few cases English-speaking) South Africans, intermarried with them, their children thus becoming Dutch, or better Afrikaners, or English-speaking South Africans.

(55) It is interesting to note that in both the movements - at the time of Willem Adriaan van der Stel and at the time of van Plettenberg, a German was one of the leaders, Henning Huisig in the earlier movement (W. Schmidt-Preporia, p.72) while Johannes Augustus Bresler in the later movement was the son of a German. (Kaapse Patriotte, p.105).

(56) Lichtenstein, Travels in S.A., I, 468, (V.R.S.10).

As example of the former, we may mention the Leipoldts, Luckhoffs and Alheits; of the latter the Schreiners and Gregorowakis.

Whether the Company or the British ruled at the Cape, we see therefore, that in every case, sooner or later, the Germans who came out, merged into the South African population and came to be regarded, and regarded themselves, as South Africans, rather than as Germans. This is not without importance in the history of South Africa and as will be seen later, it is an omen of what has happened in the first half of the twentieth century.

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The following extract from "Die Eiche" (November, 1952, p.76) notes a few examples of positions held by descendants of German Missionaries.

Immer wieder findet man in den Zeitungen die Namen von Söhnen oder Nachkommen deutscher Missionare, die wichtige Posten im öffentlichen Leben innehaben. Einige seien hier genannt; die Liste könnte gewiss um viele Namen vermehrt werden. Ernst Westphal, Lektor für Bantusprachen an der Universität London, macht eine Studienreise nach Süd- und Westafrika. Dr Theo Schumann, Enkelsohn von Missionar Schumann sen., der Direktor des südafrikanischen Wetterbüros ist, wurde zum Vorsitzenden der S.A. Akademie für Kunst und Wissenschaft gewählt. Dr Ernst Arnt ist Vizepräsident der S.A. Reservebank geworden. Dr Otto Bruze ist stellvertretender des Nationalen Physikalischen Laboratoriums in Pretoria. Georg Kusohke, bisher Sekretär des Volksgesundheitsamtes, wurde zum Vorsitzenden des Johannesburger Hilfsvereines gewählt. Dr Christian Schumann in Stellenbosch, Bruder des oben erwähnten Theo und Mitbegründer der Sparkasse Federale Volksbelegging Groep, ist jetzt Direktor dieser Firma geworden. Dr Arthur Petrick, Direktor des Forschungsamtes für Benzin in Pretoria, wurde zum diesjährigen Vorsitzenden des Chemischen Instituts für Südafrika gewählt. Dr Theo Scheffler ist Professor für Mathematik an der Universität Stellenbosch. (Die Brücke)

Herr Dr G.P.J. Trampelman von der Universität Pretoria ist als Vertreter Südafrikas zum Mitglied des Beirats des Goethe-Instituts in München ernannt worden.....

II

GERMAN MISSIONARIES.

No account of German immigration can be complete without at least a brief survey of German mission work in South Africa. Probably in no sphere have the Germans accomplished more than in the mission field. They were the pioneers and indicated by their work which methods were most suited to South African conditions; they were regarded with approval at a time when the Voortrekkers took a solemn oath that they would have nothing to do with "English Missionaries".* They gave to South Africa men who accomplished much in spheres other than those for which they originally came to this country, and they have left behind them descendants who to-day are often pioneers in other fields and leaders in South African thought and work.†

The Moravian Brethren.

When somewhere about 1700 two missionaries on their way to India called at the Cape, they were touched by the need of the Hottentots for spiritual teaching. This resulted in an appeal to Count von Zinsendorff, the leader of the "Unitas Fratrum", commonly known as the Moravian Brethren, who selected George Schmidt for the work.⁽¹⁾

George Schmidt left Holland in March, 1737, in "Huis to Rensburg"⁽²⁾ and landed at the Cape on 9th July, 1737. After a stay of several months in Cape Town and Zoetemelkevlief, he moved to Naviaanskloof. Here his work was up-hill; nevertheless he was able to see that it was not all in vain, for in March and April, 1742, he was able to baptise his first converts. This caused a certain amount of opposition towards him on the part of the clergy of the established church. To this Schmidt was sensitive, and he became convinced that it was impossible for him to accomplish any useful or valuable work while this hostility existed. He therefor applied for and was granted permission to return and left the sphere of his labours in March, 1744.

(1) du Plessis, Christ. Missions, p.50.

(2) Ibid., p52 ff, Chap. VII.

* It is generally accepted that they had in mind the missionaries of the L.M.S.

The work commenced by Schmidt was not lost sight of, but it was felt to be wise to wait for a more favourable opportunity. This came in November, 1792, when three Brethren landed at the Cape, one a Hollander and two Germans, Daniel Schwinn and Johann Ch. Kühnel. ⁽³⁾ On the 24th December, 1792, they arrived at Baviaanskloof, the scene of the labours of their forerunner.

They do not seem to have been too happy at first. One of the factors which made matters difficult for them was that the idea of religious uniformity still prevailed at the Cape, even though a Lutheran church had been established. Another factor was the attitude of the colonists, who themselves largely deprived of the benefits of spiritual ministrations and general education, could hardly have been expected to welcome these for their servants. In addition, the colonists feared that Baviaanskloof would become the haunt of the idle, the discontented and the thieving. Nevertheless progress could be reported and the seed of the gospel was not without fruit; by 1798 they were able to gather some 200 into the Church of Christ.

In May, 1798, the staff was augmented by the arrival of J. Ph. Kohhammer and his wife, and a little later brides came out for the Brothers already here. In 1800 another missionary, Christian Louis Rose, also arrived at Baviaanskloof, but unfortunately death claimed him before he had been many years at the Cape - the first missionary to lay down his life in South Africa.

The year 1806 was also important, for at the suggestion of the Governor, General Janssens, the name of the station was changed to Genadendal, a name that has become famous throughout the whole of the civilised world.

Two years later it was thought advisable to extend the activities of the Society. The locality selected was Groenskloof, ⁽⁴⁾

(3) du Plessis, Christ. Missions, p. 72; Theal, op.cit. Before 1795, III, 229. ff.

(4) Rec.G.C., IX, 262.

or as the Brethren called it, Mamre, where work was commenced by Kehrhammer and a recruit to the field, J. H. Schmidt.

In 1810 one of the pioneers, Kühnel died at the comparatively early age of forty-eight, but others came to take his place so that in 1814 the staff of the Moravian Brethren consisted of the following - J. G. Bonatz, D. Schwinn, J. H. Leitner, J. G. Schultz, J. H. Schmidt and J. Fritsch, as well as H. Marsveld, a Hollander. ⁽⁵⁾

In the year 1813 the Moravian Mission had attained its majority and with the strength of manhood, the work progressed rapidly under the guidance of J. P. Hallbeck (1817-1840). New stations were founded, one on the Sundays River, called Enon, the other a little south of Genadendal, called Blin, while a third, Shiloh, was established near what is to-day Whittlesea in the present Queenstown district. Adversity was often encountered; Enon had to be abandoned owing to Xhosa depredations, but the little band of workers struggled bravely on.

The methods of the Moravian Brethren were eminently suited to the needs of the Hottentots. Without loss of dignity, they won the confidence of their charges and without any form of punishment, except "being prohibited from attending divine service or being banished from the Society", ⁽⁶⁾ they obtained a real influence over the Hottentots and won the approbation of the authorities. Their strength lay in the fact that their religion was practical as well as spiritual. As Major Collins reported in 1808, "They (the Moravians) do not seem less anxious to render them (the Hottentots) useful in this life than to direct their attention to the life hereafter". ⁽⁷⁾ Or as Cloete reported after the circuit of 1812, "The principle adopted ^{have} by the teachers seems to be to encourage those people to industry, order, and subordination, and to practise those social virtues as essential religious duties." ⁽⁸⁾ Even to-day the Brethren are still busily engaged in ministering to the needs

(5) Rec. C. C., X, 188.

(6) VRB., X, Lichtenstein I, 192.

(7) Rec. C. C., VI, 347, ff

(8) Rec. C. C., IX, 74.

of the Coloured communities of the Cape.

Much has been made of the influence of humanitarianism and the religious revival of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries on the political history of South Africa. In another way these two movements exerted a profound effect on the future of South Africa, as they led to the formation of many missionary societies, among which there were several German, the most important of which will be surveyed, or rather such of their activities as led to the migration of Germans to South Africa.

But before dealing with the German organisations, it is necessary to refer to the London Missionary Society, which offered an opportunity for Germans to enter the mission field before their own societies ~~were~~ ^{had been} launched. Available records unfortunately neglect to state the country of origin of most of the non-British missionaries, many of whom bore names which are probably German. Among these are John (probably Johann) Gottfried Ullbricht who came to the Cape in 1805, Abraham and Christian Albrecht (1805), Seidenfaden (1809), Christopher Saas (1811), J. H. Schmolen (1811), Friederick Gottlob Kayser (1827), George Augustus Kölbe (1829), Gottlob Schreiner (1838) and Friederich W. Kölbe.

Two of the major German societies were practically contemporaneous, though the one slightly prior in time was the Rhenish Mission Society which had its origin in 1799 in Elberfeld in Germany. The movement spread until in 1828 the "Vereinigte Rheinische Missions Gesellschaft" was formed. When the time was ripe for sending missionaries into the field, the leaders of the Society got into touch with Dr. Philip, who was then in England. After a visit to Germany, he took back with him to the Cape four missionaries - the Baron von Wurmb, Revs. Gustav Zahn, Johann

(9) For full account of this movement, see C. P. Groves, The Planting of Christianity in Africa, Vol. 1, Chap. 10.

(10) Lovett, History of the London Miss. Society, p. 798 and passim. For Schreiner, see Walker, W. P. Schreiner, pp. 1-2. Several of these are also mentioned in Vedder, infra and Wangemann, infra.

(11) Du Plessis, Christ. Missions, p. 201 ff.

Or 20 Oct 1829
 Leipoldt and Paul Daniel Lückhoff. These obtained permission to
 (12)
 remain at the Cape on 24th October, 1829.

Their intention was to open up new fields and to combine mission work with practical handicrafts as the Moravian Brethren were doing, but persuaded by Dr. Philip, they remained in the Colony to work among the Hottentots. Zahn went to Tulbagh, Lückhoff to Stellenbosch and Leipoldt together with von Wurmb devoted himself to work at Wüpperthal.

Early in 1833 three more missionaries arrived, namely Gerhard Wachtendorf of Horsgen, Heinrich Kühler and his wife, of Hamburg
 (13)
 and Johann Georg Schröder of Harkhausen. In 1840 the work spread northwards, Franz Kleinschmidt and later J. F. Busler, Ferdinand Brecher, Lutz and Beinecke being the pioneers in this field.

Another step onwards was taken in 1847 when Christoph Alheit began working among the Xhosas whom the Government had settled at what is now Carnarvon. But the missionaries were not yet content; they had already penetrated far, but their aim was to get still further. Namaqualand was also annexed as a field for their endeavours and the men sent there were Samuel Hahn, Knudsen (a
 (14)
 Norwegian of the R.M.S.) and J. C. Krönlein.

What is now South-West Africa was also a field they wished to conquer. The real pioneer here was J. Heinrich Schmelen, a German of the London Missionary Society, who founded a station north
 (15)
 of the Orange as early as 1815 where he worked for a number of years. After his departure the work lapsed for some time, but in 1840 it was taken over by the Rhenish Mission Society. In 1841 G. Hugo Hahn and Heinrich Kleinschmidt were sent out and after various preliminary moves, Hahn settled among the Hereros, while Kleinschmidt settled among the Swartbooi tribe. They were joined by Rath, Scheppmann and later Kölbe. Later colleagues who joined

(12) CA. CG. 6055, Permission to Remain, 1829. (13) Ibid., 1833.

(14) Krönlein later became minister of the Wynberg Lutheran Church, Cape (1887-92) and Hugo Hahn of the Cape Town Lutheran Church, (1874-84). (Ludewig pp.24, 37).

(15) Vedder, South-West Africa in early times, p.171.

by Kalk, Schepman and, later, by Kölbe.

July is Ludwig
 etc. in Brackel.

then were Brincker, Eggert, and Heinrich Kreft. "So it was that the Rhenish Missionary Society extended in the short period of ten years a network of mission stations throughout that part of South^{West} Africa which was then known⁽¹⁶⁾". They found their self-imposed task difficult beyond expectation, at first quite unsuccessful, but they persevered until their efforts bore fruit.

The missionaries here were the explorers who gave what was often the first authentic account of the interior of that vast country. Their linguistic studies were truly remarkable and of incalculable value. Schmelen published the four Gospels in Namaqua, Knudsen improved thereon and Krönlein completed the work by translating the whole Bible into Namaqua.⁽¹⁷⁾ Hahn and Rath mastered the Herero language and in fact added to it words needed to express ideas for which no words existed. In addition, in the troubled times before the German annexation of this territory, the missionaries played a prominent part in the affairs of the country. They were frequently the advisors and guides of the chiefs, they acted as their emissaries and were often the peacemakers.⁽¹⁸⁾

The next German society to enter the field was the Berlin Mission Society.⁽¹⁹⁾ This erected its own training school, which in 1833 sent five men to South Africa, namely Gustav Adolph Kraut of Hamburg, August Ferdinand Lange of Rohrbeck, Reinhold Theodor Gregorowski of Marienburg, August Gebel of Gorlitz and Mr. Johann Schmidt of Hochkirch.⁽²⁰⁾ They reached Cape Town on 17th April, and were hospitably received by Mr. J. Watermeyr and Dr. Phillip, whom they consulted about their future activities. Eventually they decided to work in what is now the Orange Free State and, assisted by the Government with transport, they proceeded northwards. On

⁽¹⁶⁾ Vedder, ^{ob.cit.} pp. 221-22; Latourette, History of the Expansion of Christianity, Volume V, 379.

⁽¹⁷⁾ du Plessis, Christ. Missions, p. 209., Groves, Planting of Christ. in Africa, p. 270. ⁽¹⁸⁾ Vedder, passim.

⁽¹⁹⁾ Unless otherwise stated, account of Berlin Mission Society from Wangemann, Geschichte der Berliner Missions Gesellschaft in Südafrika, Vol. II, Part I, Die Berliner Mission im Koranna-Lande; Part II, Die Berliner Mission im Kaffer-Lande.

⁽²⁰⁾ Also CA. CO. 6055, 1834-36.

the advice of Kölbe of the L.M.S., they founded their station at Bethany, a few miles north of Philippolis. Here they were given a stretch of land by the Griqua chief Adam Kok, but whether he had the right to dispose of this land was somewhat doubtful, as subsequent events proved.

Soon afterwards they were joined by the missionaries C. F. Wuras (1836), Th. Radloff and L. Zerwick. Unfortunately Dis-
 sension caused a split; Kraut left for Morija, Gregorowski went back to the Colony and worked first at Franschhoek, later at Zoar for the S.A. Mission Society and subsequently for the L.M.S. at Somerset
 (21) East. Wuras, Radloff and Zerwick continued the work at Bethany and in due time were joined for varying periods by Ortlepp, Winter, Fichardt, Meyfarth, Lange, Zalzwann, Krause and Kallenberg and the
 artizan brothers Elfert and Kupfernagel. F. H. Fehmüller who came
 (20) out in 1834 was the superintendent of the Berlin Mission Society work in South Africa.

The work was difficult at first, partly because of the apathy of the Griquas, Bushmen and Korannas, and partly because of the unsettled state of the region between the Orange and Vaal Rivers during the middle years of the century. On several occasions they feared that they would be dispossessed of their land at Bethany and, in fact, had to abandon other stations started by them. Nevertheless by 1867-8 the question of the ownership of Bethany was at last settled and in 1869 a new church was completed. In the meanwhile
 several branch stations had been founded and a few years later a German church was founded at Bloemfontein and served by the
 (22) missionary Meyfarth.

Particularly interesting in view of subsequent history is the beginning of missionary work in the districts later settled by the German Legion and the German Immigrants.

(21) du Plessis, Christ. Missions, p.213 ff.

(22) Trümpelmann, Deutsches Schaffen in Oranje-Freistaat gives a useful account of the work of the Berlin Miss. Society and of German work and life in the Orange Free State.

In 1836 after a brief stay in the Western Province, J. L. Döhne ⁽¹⁹⁾ was persuaded by Kayser, a German missionary of the London Missionary Society, to devote himself to the Xhosas among whom very little had been done until then. He started work near the Gonubi River and, when less than a year in South Africa, preached his first sermon in Xhosa. This site proving unsuitable, he moved to what is now Stutterheim and founded Bethel, where he was ⁽¹⁹⁾ joined by G. F. Schultheiss, C. W. Posselt, L. Liefeldt and later Guldenspennig and Robert Lange and J. Schmidt. Additional stations were founded at Emmaus and Stembe.

In November, 1845, three new-comers, A. Kropf, Scholz and Heyfarth (later at Bethany), when travelling from Fort Elizabeth to the mission field, were attacked by Natives near Peddie, and Scholz was murdered.

The missionaries suffered severely during the Wars of 1846 and 1850; the stations were destroyed and they had to flee. Towards the end of the War of the Axe, a conference of all the Brethren took place at Bethany in the Orange Free State to determine the future policy of the Society. Schultheiss, Liefeldt and Kropf were designated for Kaffraria, Schmidt and Lange were to work among the Korannas, while Döhne, Posselt and Guldenspennig were set aside for further pioneer work in Natal. Döhne before long accepted an invitation to become the minister of the immigrant farmers at Pietermaritzburg. ⁽²³⁾ Several years later, he gave up active ministerial work, and under the auspices of the American Board he devoted himself to the study of the Zulu language, of which he published a dictionary, a lasting monument to his zeal and ability. ⁽²⁴⁾

After the 1850 War, Kropf, encouraged by Sir George Grey and Col. Maclean, rebuilt Bethel and was joined in this field by Rein and the lay helpers Strobel and Kupfernagel. As another community had opened a station near Itembe, which had been destroyed in the

(23) du Plessis, Christ. Missions, p. 217-18

(24) Copies in Cory Library, Rhodes University.

War, they concentrated on Bethel and Emmaus and later founded Wartburg, Petersburg and Etembani.

Kropf, like Döhne, devoted himself to linguistic studies and translated the whole of the Bible into Xhosa. (1887-89).⁽²⁵⁾ He will be referred to again, as he was for several years a chaplain of the Military Settlers and later a minister among the German Immigrants.

Like the other Societies, the Berlin Society also extended its activities. Two men, Merensky and Grütznor, failing to establish themselves in Swaziland, trekked to the Transvaal and in April, 1860, settled at Gerlachshoop, to be joined a little later by Endemann and Nachtigal. The work was difficult, but a footing was obtained during the decade following 1865.⁽²⁶⁾

Mashonaland was another field where work was commenced by this Society, namely by Benster, Meister and Wedephol, who were succeeded by Neitz and Dietrich. The work here never flourished and in 1907 it was transferred to the Dutch Reformed Church.

⁽²⁷⁾
The Hermannsburg and the Hanoverian Free Church Missions both of which originated from Hermannsburg, Hannover, Germany, have not founded any stations or engaged in mission work in the Cape, so that it is out of our domain to treat them fully. Their policy differed somewhat from that of their contemporaries; it was to found stations where German missionaries and German colonists could work side by side. Here is the mandate as given by the Founder, Louis Harns.

"Die ersten sollen zusammen an einen und denselben Ort bleiben und sich ansiedeln, um durch gemeinsame Anstrengung stark genug zu sein, an die Heiden zu arbeiten und ihren Lebensunterhalt zu verdienen; da sie im Landbau und allen nöthigen Handwerken geübt sind, und dazu manastark genug, etwa ähnlich, wie es die angelsächsichen Missionare in Deutschland machten, die zugleich im Geistlichen und Leiblichen die Lehrer unserer Väter waren. Bildet sich dann um sie eine Heidengemeinde, so sollen etwa 2-3 bei der

(25) du Plessis, Christ. Missions, p.352. (26) Ibid., pp.343-350.
 (27) Unless otherwise stated this account from F. Speckmann, Hermannsburg Mission in Afrika.

zurückbleiben, und die Uebrigen nicht hundert oder zehn, sondern 1, 2, oder 3 Meilen weiter ziehen und da ebendso anfangen, und die von hier nachrückenden haben dann gleich, wenn sie hinkommen, Beschäftigung und können um ihren Unterhalt arbeiten, bis sie die Sprache gelernt haben, und besetzen dann ihrerseits geeignete, nahe gelegne Stellen, sodass binnen kurzer Zeit ein ganzes Land mit einem Netz von Missions-Stationen umzogen wird, und Völker bekehrt und mit christlicher Sitte und Bildung gewappnet werden...." (28)

In 1853 the Hermannsburg Society took the first step, six ministers - Struve, Schutze, Schröder, K. Hohls, Moyer and Kohrs, two catechists - H. Hohls and Muller, and eight laymen - Schröder, Gathmann, Herbst, Benecke, Stolte, Freyer, Schutte and Beger set out with the object of starting work in Central Africa. Finding this impossible, they returned to Natal, but here too they failed to get permission to work in Zululand or settle on crown land. Hence, advised by Rev. C. W. Fosselt, formerly of British Kaffraria, they bought the farm "Perseverance," not far from Greytown. After spending a few weeks at an earlier German settlement ^{*} New Germany to learn the native language, they trekked to their new home and founded Hermannsburg in September, 1854. Two years later Ehlangeni (1856), then Etombeni and Muden (1859) were founded and thereafter a number of other stations. August Hardeland became superintendent in 1860.

By 1876 no fewer than sixteen mission stations or German churches had been established, where it was intended to preach the Gospel and engage in active colonisation. A number of these became the nuclei of thriving settlements, where large numbers of Germans settled. Hermannsburg had the distinction of having the

(28) Ibid., p. 14.

* Note. New Germany was founded by a number of Germans who were brought out in 1848 by Jonas Bergthell to cultivate cotton to the north and the west of Durban. There were about forty families and at the time of their landing there were probably 189 immigrants. The experiment of growing cotton failed, partly because the region was unsuitable and partly because the settlers knew nothing of cotton cultivation. They were however able to acquire small farms, and concentrating on potatoes, mealies and vegetables, were gradually able to establish themselves. They were served by the missionary Rev. C. W. Fosselt. (Hattersley, More Annals of Natal, pp. 18, 150, 159; W. C. Holden, History of the Colony of Natal, pp. 249, 288; Statement (1922) by Mrs. Laats of Dalton, Natal. Theol. Since 1795, III, 254.)

(29)
 first boarding school in Natal. The first principal was Pastor
 Müller, later minister at East London.

The Government of the South African Republic, unable to
 obtain the services of a Moravian Brother, approached the
 Hermannsburg Mission and asked it to undertake work in Bechuanaland.
 The result was that in 1858 Christopher Schultenberg commenced work
 at Liteyane and had the privilege of baptising Chief Khama,
 perhaps the best known of the Christian chiefs of South Africa.
 Unfortunately Dissension led to the loss of this field and the
 attempts of Rev. H. Wilhelm Behrens four years later to recover it
 were futile. Thereafter the two societies restricted themselves
 to Natal with a little work in the Transvaal. (30)

This brief account of the Hermannsburg Mission may well be
 concluded with a description of Hermannsburg scarcely ten years
 after it was founded. Travellers who visited the station in
 February, 1864, say, "...we reached a German mission station
 called Hermannsburg, Mr. Hohls, the superintendent, kindly
 led us all over the establishment which is a very large one and
 forms a kind of depot for all other branches of the same mission
 in South Africa. They have a nice little chapel and school both
 for the Kaffirs and for Germans; and a beautiful garden stretches
 all around the little settlement. All trades are here practised,
 wagon-makers, carpenters, smiths, etc.; and on coming up we saw
 many men and women busily engaged in sheep-shearing....." (31)

The work of the Baptist Missionary Society was also
 inaugurated by Germans, the founders being Rev. Hugo Gutsche, a
 clergyman working among the Germans in British Kaffraria and Carl
 Pape, a layman. Impressed by the need of preaching the Gospel to
 the Natives living around them, they started mission work at
 Tshabo near Berlin in (32)
 1869.

(29) Hattersley, More Annals of Natal, p.224.

(30) du Plessis, Christ. Missions, pp.375-378.

(31) Journal of Mrs. George Hamilton Gordon, February, 1864, in
 Hattersley, The Natalians, pp.115-116.

(32) Batts, History of Baptist Church in South Africa, p.131.

On the foundations laid by the pioneers strong organisations were built, served by a continuous stream of German missionaries. For the want of more recent statistics, these figures taken from a year book of South African missions, ⁽³³⁾ published in 1927 or 1928, are given. This lists the following number of ordained ministers of the several German bodies: Rhenish 43, Berlin 49, Hermannsburg 67, Hannoverian 7, and Moravian Mission 7, though this last does not include Brethren working among the Coloureds. With only a few exceptions, all the names appear to be German. A later directory ⁽³⁴⁾ (1938) gives the names of ministers and missionaries then active. The missionaries of the German societies are included but are classified geographically and not according to church organisations. During and after the World War II, the German societies were deprived of the financial assistance of their German supporters and had to hand over a few of their stations to the Dutch Reformed Church.

The contribution of the Germans in the sphere of mission work was notable. As has already been seen, they adopted a policy which on the whole was probably the best and most satisfactory, namely the combination of the preaching of the Gospel with the inculcation of ideas of cleanliness and industry. It is significant that those mission stations, whether German or otherwise, which have adopted this policy, have been the most successful and have maintained their position to this day. Important, too, is the scholarship of the German missionaries, as is exemplified by Schmelen, Hugo Hahn, Döhne and Kropf, each of whom rendered a notable contribution to the knowledge of the Native languages of South Africa.

(33) Christianity and the Natives of South Africa.

(34) The Christian Handbook of South Africa, XIII.

III

FRONTIER POLICY AND CLOSER SETTLEMENT.

When Sir George Grey became Governor of Cape Colony and High Commissioner for British Kaffraria, he was left a legacy of many difficult situations. True, by the Sand River and Bloemfontein Conventions the independence of the Boer Republics had been recognised, and some sort of "peace" had been made with the Xhosas on the eastern frontier and the Basuto in the North. His acquaintance with the peculiar difficulties of the Cape and his experience as a colonial administrator must have made it clear to him that neither the Conventions with the northern republics nor Cathcart's "settlement" of Basuto and Xhosa affairs held in themselves the probability, much less the certainty, of enduring peace. If there were to be more than a policy of refusing to accept responsibility for the welfare of South Africa as a whole, and the Natives of the eastern border in particular, more constructive measures would be needed. The problem of Boer and Basuto were pressing enough to warrant his attention, but British Kaffraria, too, could not wait. The danger of another "war", the expense of military occupation and the need of "civilising" the "Kaffirs", all made this his immediate concern.

There can be little doubt that Sir George Grey soon realised that his first need was to make himself fully acquainted with the country of the Xhosas, and more particularly, the recently annexed territory. It is therefore not surprising that in one of his earlier major despatches on the frontier problem, he should commence with a fairly comprehensive description of British Kaffraria. For him at least, it was self-evident that the problems of a country cannot be rightly understood without a knowledge of its geography. Sir George Grey's own description reads as follows:-

"This province, ~~the province~~ is bounded on its north-eastern or inland side by the Amatola Range of mountains, the highest peak of which is about 4000 feet high.* This range runs nearly parallel to the sea at a distance of about fifty miles from it. Inland of this range are high open grassy plains at present uninhabited, extending far

* Actually it is 6000.

inland..... The seaward side of this range is intersected by deep rocky kloofs, clothed with forests of large trees, in which many rivers rise; these kloofs open even in the mountain range, into wide and fertile valleys.

"From the base of the range an undulating country, sometimes rising into high ridges, falls away to the sea, which is cut through in some places by rocky kloofs containing forests. The country is generally clothed with rich grass, covered with clumps and woods of mimosa bushes; it is in every direction traversed by rivers or small streams. It is separated from the colony on the western side by the Keiskama River, which rises in the Amatola Range and runs between the Colony and British Kaffraria to the sea.... It is separated from Kaffraria Proper on the eastern side of the Kei (distant from the Keiskama about sixty miles), which likewise rises in the Amatola Mountains....

"From the foregoing description of British Kaffraria it will be seen that, although it is only a narrow strip of country of very limited extent (not more than 3050 square miles), it is yet fertile, well watered and richly grassed, and therefore capable of supporting a very dense population, and a large amount of stock". (1)

The Native population of British Kaffraria numbered well over 90,000, of whom only about 8000 were the peaceful and friendly Fingoes. The majority were Gaiikas or Ndlambies (T' Siambies). Altogether there were about fourteen tribes, living more or less in separate areas throughout the whole of this territory, except the Crown Reserve. They lived in "collections of huts termed kraals" and were ruled by hereditary chiefs aided by counsellors. The men were hunters and pastoralists, who left the greater part of the agricultural and manual work to be done by the women. Thus the men, estimated to be more than 16,000, were ready almost at any time to take part in wars and raids. Many were armed with fire-arms, some stolen, the majority bought at very high prices from unscrupulous traders.

Even after their defeat in the two wars of 1846 and 1850 and in spite of the measures taken by Cathcart, nothing was easier and quicker than collecting the tribes for the purpose of war. As Sir George Grey points out:-

..... "Several kraals are nearly always in sight of each other, and the war-cry being raised at any one of them, spreads from one to the other on every side with remarkable rapidity, and soon reaches the extremities of Kaffirland; so that continuous streams of warriors, led by their proper chiefs, coming from great distances, soon hurry from various directions towards any point which has been indicated in the alarm which was raised." (2)

(1) Imp. Pap., Aug., 1857, pp.36 ff. Grey to Labouchere 18th October, 1856.

(2) Imp. Pap., Aug., 1857, p.37 ff.

Thus the Kaffirs were "in a perfect state of organisation ready to take the field at a moment's notice, fond of war and practiced in that art by numerous campaigns."

Beyond the Kei lies Kaffraria Proper, or as we say to-day the Transkei. Here Kreli was chief with a potential army of 35,000 men. According to Sir George Grey's conviction, he was eager for war. "In fact," he says, "Kreli longs for war; he has hitherto never suffered by wars, in which he has taken no part, and all the evils of which fall on the tribes of British Kaffraria, who are in front, whilst the greater part of the booty invariably becomes his, as it is sent to the rear for safety."

Conditions such as these inevitably necessitated the maintenance of a strong military force. Thus in May, 1855, there were no fewer than ninety-one officers and 2713 men stationed in British Kaffraria, the majority being at Kingwilliamstown (893), Keiskama Hoek (506), Fort Hare (357), Tamacha Post (230). Smaller detachments were stationed at Fort Cox, Fort Murray, Dohne, Kabousie Nek, and various other places. The estimated cost of maintaining this force was £105,000 per annum, an amount the Government was naturally anxious to reduce.⁽³⁾

The civil population totalled only a little over a thousand inhabitants, of whom 424 were men. More than half were at Kingwilliamstown (626), while Keiskama Hoek, Fort Hare, Fort Murray, had only 35 to 50, and places like Mount Coke, even fewer. A few of the residents were at mission stations, such as Mount Coke, Peelson, Dohne, and Knapps Hope.⁽⁴⁾ East London itself, though the embryonic port for British Kaffraria, was part of the Cape Colony;⁽⁵⁾ its population then was only 24.

A few of these people were missionaries, the majority were traders, depending on the protection of the military and the support of the soldiers and Natives.

(3) Imp. Pap., No. 389, pp. 13 ff. Grey to Labouchere, 26th Dec., 1856.

(4) Imp. Pap., Aug., 1857, p. 41, Encl. I to Grey's Despatch of 18th October, 1856.

(5) Imp. Pap., July, 1848, p. 57. Proclamation, 14th January, 1848.

This then was the country which presented a challenge to Sir George Grey - a challenge to effect something better than military occupation or the rule of force. His acceptance of this challenge inevitably must have led him to a thorough study of what his predecessors had done or thought, as a preliminary to his thinking and doing.

Going back to the first meeting between White and Black, he would have noted that similar needs, the same urge to expand and find Lebensraum made conflict inevitable. He would have noted that in addition to the main antagonists - colonists and Xhosas, there were other parties too, friendly Kaffirs or Fingoes, Hottentots and new settlers. Land questions and the establishment of settlements along the frontier or within Native territory further complicated the picture. Over and above all was the dominant question whether Great Britain should continue to recognise the Xhosa tribes as independent sovereign states, or extend British authority over them and bring them under British control.

During the earlier periods there had been squatting in the border areas by isolated frontiersmen or trekkers. This was frowned upon by Company and British alike, as isolated farms in an empty country merely formed a tempting bait to marauding Kaffirs. It is not surprising therefore to find, as early as 1809, a plea for closer settlement. This was made by Col. Collins in a report to the Earl of Caledon. Finding the country to the west of the Fish River eminently suitable for compact settlement, he suggested that it be given out in small portions, of about 120 acres each, on the quit-rent basis. True, he anticipated some difficulty in obtaining a sufficient number of colonists and therefore suggested the introduction of a thousand persons from Europe. ⁽⁶⁾

Nothing came of this suggestion, nor of Col. Graham's proposal in 1813 that Highlanders should be sent out to the Cape and settled in the Zuurveld. Changes in the agricultural system in Scotland were forcing many small farmers to move to towns or to

(6) Rec., C.C., VII, 101 ff.

emigrate; some, he thought, would probably be attracted to the Cape by the prospect of being able to acquire their own land, and "would prove a most valuable acquisition to the Colony at large."⁽⁷⁾ This scheme received the support of Lord Charles Somerset in January, 1815,⁽⁸⁾ but the time had not yet come for aided emigration to the Cape. Moodie's introduction of artisans was not part of a scheme to populate the frontier area. He did contemplate organising settlements of Highlanders at the Cape, but apparently was not prepared to risk a settlement on the frontier and refused land in Albany because of the danger from the Kaffirs.⁽⁹⁾⁽¹⁰⁾

The establishment of the British Settlers in the Border area was the result of two movements. Partly it was due to distress and unemployment in the United Kingdom. As Cory puts it, "The ridding Britain of some of its superabundant and poverty-stricken population rather than the systematic colonisation of the distant parts of the Empire was the chief motive of the Ministers who so enthusiastically advocated emigration to the Cape."⁽¹¹⁾

On the other hand it was also due to the frontier problem at the Cape. As has been noted, Somerset supported Graham's scheme for settling the Zuurveld. After that he kept the possibility of settlement on the border in the mind of the home authorities. He wrote glowing descriptions of the country between the Bushmans and Fish Rivers and he held out the hope that the military could be withdrawn from the frontier when and "where the population is sufficiently numerous to afford itself protection from its own body" and where settlers "would be sufficiently strong to protect themselves against our wily Neighbours."⁽¹²⁾

When Bathurst was eventually moved by repeated inquiries to ask for the Governor's advice and guidance, in a "despatch in every sense worthy of a diplomat,"⁽¹³⁾ Somerset showed that the only available land for close settlement was the border region.

(7) Rec., G.C., IX, 183.

(8) Rec., G.C., X, 242.

(9) Rec., XI, 190 and XI, 358.

(10) I. E. Edwards, The 1820 Settlers in South Africa, p. 48.

(11) G. E. Cory, The Rise of South Africa, II, 2.

(12) Rec., G.C., XI, 308, 404, 425ff. (13) Edwards, op.cit., p. 32

True, it was in such proximity to the Kaffirs that settlers would be exposed to marauding and loss, but the terrain was a veritable paradise, and though at first, at least, a military force would be needed to protect the settlers, close settlement, vigilance and courage would aid considerably in protecting them and their property. He particularly commended the suggestion, as he wished that such a settlement would eventually make possible the withdrawal of the military forces. He ended by making the practical proposal of settlement in parties, which actually formed the basis for the 1820 scheme.⁽¹⁴⁾

That the English government acted on Somerset's recommendation and launched the scheme is in no small measure due to the problem of frontier defence⁽¹⁵⁾ and the desire to establish a settlement near the frontier.

It is not the purpose of this work to discuss this migration, but there are two aspects which require mention.

(1) The idea of strategic settlements on the frontier as a means of defence and lessening military expenditure had emerged. That the scheme did not fulfil these hopes (it did not lead to a diminution of raiding, nor was it effective in preventing another war, which came barely fifteen years later) is due to the fact that the time was not yet ripe for settlement as an effective means of solving the problem. It was still unilateral action on the part of one government which as yet had not obtained control over the people who allegedly were the cause of the trouble. Only after the extension of authority over the Kaffirs in 1848-50 and the subsequent settlements, was there a lessening of trouble in the border regions.

(2) It must be noted that the British Settlers were still a considerable distance from Kaffirland proper. The area between the Fish and the Keiskama Rivers was still largely a neutral belt, and except in the South the settlers were placed, not on the Fish River, but some distance away. In no respect did this settlement alter the policy of complete territorial segregation, nor, as time showed, did it bring to an end trouble with the Xhosas.

(14) Rec. C.C., XI, 425ff.

(15) Edwards, op.cit., p.42 ff.

Before attention is given to the next major move, we must turn aside to comment on two minor matters. Fredericksburg between the Fish and the Keiskama was the precursor of another system - military settlement, and like later attempts, a failure. Even if initial difficulties had not made impossible the establishment of the village, it is doubtful whether the very nature of the experiment would have led to its success.

In the 'Twenties the farmers continued to penetrate into the border area, and with the concurrence of Sir Lowry Cole, the territory to the west of the Kat River became populated by Dutch and English colonists. The Secretary of State, Viscount Coderich, agreed to the appropriation of the Ceded Territory for general purposes of settlement, but wished to exclude the "boers". By this time, however, it was too late, for, as Stockenstrom reported in 1836, great numbers of "boers" were actually in possession of farms here. The territory to the east of the Fish-Kat line, however, remained vacant and "no colonists of any class obtained authority to settle in the said tract."⁽¹⁶⁾ This was apparently not a systematic plan of settlement in accordance with government policy, but peaceful penetration by individuals, and in principle did not alter the system of complete territorial separation of Black and White.

The middle 'Thirties were marked by clashes, defeats and victories, not only on the battlefields of the eastern border, but also in the sphere of policies and points of view. The outline of events is well known. During the latter stages of the Sixth Kaffir War, in May, 1835, Sir Benjamin D'Urban extended the boundary of the Cape Colony to the Kei River, with the intention of expelling the hostile Native chiefs and their tribes from the Province of Queen Adelaide.⁽¹⁷⁾ Without a long and costly war, the expulsion of these chiefs was however impossible, and D'Urban realised that, if they were to remain in the annexed territory, it could be only as subjects of the crown.

(16) Imp. Pap., No. 503 of 12th July, 1837, pp. 2-3.
Stockenstrom to Glenelg, 8th March, 1836.

(17) Imp. Pap., No. 279 of 1836, p. 41.

Modification of his policy became inevitable, and therefore in September, 1835, treaties were made with the chiefs. By these they were brought under the jurisdiction of the Cape Government and settled on lands assigned to them within the Province of Queen Adelaide. ⁽¹⁸⁾ D'Urban anticipated that by the administrative measures he proposed to adopt, the power of the chiefs "will be at once broken up", while the maintenance of military forces would prevent any attempt to resist the authority of the Government. The rising generation, he assumed, would thus "be assimilated with the mass of the old colonists". ⁽¹⁹⁾ The role he assigned to the Fingoes, who were to be settled in the Ceded Territory, was that of a barrier between the Whites and the hostile Blacks. ⁽²⁰⁾

This experiment of a radically new policy was never put to the test. Lord Glenelg, at first ignorant and later disregarding the September modifications, repudiated his governor's actions and refused to ratify the annexation of the territory between the Keiskama and the Kei. Nevertheless, we should note several significant features of D'Urban's settlement; the first being his use of the liberated Fingoes as a barrier between the Colonists and the hostile Kaffirs. It is not inconceivable that without such actual or potential friends and allies, more consideration would have had to be given to compact European settlement on the Border. As it was, Stockenström had advocated the location of colonists on lands secured by treaty from the tribes ⁽²¹⁾ and the settlement of Hottentots alongside the Europeans in the border area. The missionary Boyce had made the suggestion that the compensation to be paid to Colonists, who had suffered during the war, should take the form of grants of land between the Keiskama and the Kei. ⁽²²⁾ D'Urban, too, must have given the matter some thought, for in a letter to Smith (2nd September, 1835) he wrote, "There must be sufficient intermediate space, to be filled as soon

²⁴⁹
 (18) *Imp., Pap.*, pp. 96 ff.

(19) *Ibid.*, pp. 102 ff.

(20) *Ibid.*, pp. 16 et passim.

(21) Report of Aborigines Committee, No. 538 of 1836, pp. 96-97 and 183 ff. Also Walker *op.cit.* p. 197.

(22) Macmillan, *Bantu, Boer and Briton*, p. 128.

as practicable with British locations, between Gaika's Western boundaries and the Western banks of the Chumie and Keiskama".⁽²³⁾
 In other words, for military reasons, he contemplated settling Europeans (i.e. British) in "locations" among the Natives, and like them, in "locations".

Like
 the
 1835

On the other hand, except for a parenthetical remark that large tracts of land were still left vacant for the occupation and speculation of Europeans, in neither of his major despatches (19th June and 7th November, 1835) did D'Urban make any serious suggestion for the peopling of the Province of Queen Adelaide or the Ceded Territory with European settlers. For him, it seems, close settlement was a matter of military expediency, and incidentally making use of vacant land, rather than an essential feature of his frontier policy, as it was later for Grey.

Interesting is his belief in "assimilation" of the rising generation of the Kaffirs with the mass of the old colonists. He did not define what he understood by this term, though it can be assumed that he attached only a limited connotation to it. That he was over-optimistic is certain; more than a century later, this is still a major political issue in South Africa.

The net result of all this "Sturm und Drang" was that the first attempt to initiate a new policy - departure from the principle of territorial separation, utilisation of the friendly Fingoes as buffers, extension of British power over the Kaffirs, and their eventual political assimilation - came to nothing.

The subsequent "Treaty System"⁽²⁴⁾ and Glenelg's refusal to countenance the settlement of any Europeans or Hottentots east of the Great Fish River (except those already in the Ceded Territory)⁽²⁵⁾ postponed the question of colonisation or location of Europeans in the border regions until after the War of the Axe.

The War of the Axe necessarily meant reconsideration of British policy towards the Kaffirs and re-examination of the D'Urban experiment. With a modified attitude in England towards

(23) Quoted by MacMillan, op.cit., p.129; Theal, Documents of Kaffir War, 1835, p.369.
 (24) Imp. Pap., 279 of 30th May, 1836, pp.59 ff (Glenelg's Despatch)
 (25) Ibid., p.72 and Imp. Pap., 503 of 1837, pp.1-2.

the colonies and the "aborigines", the Governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland, appears to have had no hesitation in advocating the extension of British authority over the Natives as far as the Kei River. For him this was the unavoidable result of the hostilities which had begun in 1846; the replacement of the hostile Kaffirs in the Ceded Territory and the Amatolas by Fingoes and Hottentots was a measure which would normally follow, and at the least merited careful consideration. To this extent, these proposals were a continuation of a revival of earlier policies, but Maitland himself did not take the further step of suggesting the settlement of Europeans on the border or in among the Natives.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies, Earl Grey, had also come to the realisation that the extension of British authority over part of Native territory was inevitable and necessary "not less for the sake of the Kaffirs themselves than for the safety of the British subjects inhabiting the frontier districts of the Colony." But, because he was not anxious to extend British responsibility in South Africa and as he anticipated considerable opposition in Parliament, he was reluctant to advocate outright annexation, and instead, suggested as a compromise some form of "protection". By this, the Queen would be acknowledged as protector by the chiefs who would retain some measure of authority, but real power in civil and military matters would rest with a British Officer. The continuation of the war, however, gave neither Maitland, nor his successor, Pottinger, the opportunity of carrying out Maitland's suggestion or Earl Grey's policy.

It remained for Sir Harry Smith to take the decisive measures which once and for all changed Native Policy in South Africa. On the 23rd December, 1847, he annexed the territory of British Kaffraria, not to the Cape, but to the crown as a separate

(26) MacMillan: op. cit., p.259.

(27) Bell & Morrell, Select Documents, pp.502-3; Morrell, Colonial Policy, pp.270-271; de Kiewit, British Colonial Policy, pp.30-31.

dependency, with the Governor of the Cape as its High Commissioner, (28) and he constituted the area between the Tyumie-Keiskama and the Fish Rivers as the Division of Victoria as part of the Colony. (29) His dramatic meeting with the chiefs on 7th January, 1848, (30) followed as part of the settlement and attempt to solve the frontier question. These were significant changes. As Brookes puts it: "When the British Government ratified the new arrangements on 31st March, 1848, it could definitely be said that the European races of South Africa had begun the long process of accepting the responsibility for the governance and civilisation of the Bantu races...." (31)

But there is another aspect which is perhaps equally important. The extension of British authority over the Natives meant that the responsibility for their disposal now rested with the British Government, acting through the High Commissioner at the Cape. Expulsion of the Natives from the Colony, or the newly annexed territory, was not regarded favourably; the only alternative was settling them in locations within the colonial territory; but restricting them to locations brought with it the corollary of filling up the 'spaces' between such locations with Europeans. This is what Earl Grey realised and this was the policy he advocated. "I am of the opinion that permanent locations of sufficient extent should be established within the colony; and, that, in selecting the sites of these locations, sufficient intervals should be left between each of them for the spread of white settlements." The fate of the natives of North America and Australia disposed him to reject the idea of separating the two races; for him it was important that the locations be judiciously placed in among European settlements "so that, in the course of time, the two races may, by their mutual wants, become amalgamated", (that is economically). (32)

This did not mean immediate commitment to a policy of opening

(28) Imp. Pap., July, 1848, p.25.

(29) *Ibid.*, p.28.

(30) *Ibid.*, p.48.

(31) E. Brookes, *Native Policy in South Africa*, p.34.

(32) Bell & Morrell, *op.cit.*, pp.516, 518-519.

the newly conquered territory to Europeans and the initiation of a policy of immigration to this area. Earl Grey, and with him Sir Harry Smith and similarly Shepstone in Natal, were primarily concerned with what to do with the Natives; but it did mean that the way was being prepared for the later developments in which we are interested - and in which Sir George Grey was interested, namely colonisation of the border area by European settlements in among the Natives of the Ciskei. This 'overlapping' of British power and Native races was a necessary preliminary for such a step. In the meanwhile, however, neither Sir Harry Smith, nor his successor, Sir George Cathcart, both more concerned with military problems, grasped fully the import or significance of Lord Grey's views with respect to their ultimate effect on the Bantu and the colonisation of the Border. Eight to ten years had to elapse before settlements - other than military, became a fact in British Kaffraria.

At the moment, the pressing need for Sir Harry Smith was military security; hence partially, but not wholly, in accordance with the views expressed by Earl Grey, he turned his attention to means for strengthening the frontier defences, if possible, without the need for heavy expenditure. Though the war was still in progress, he lost no time in taking preliminary steps for settling ex-soldiers along the border. On 24th December, 1847, he gave notice of his intention to establish military villages on the line between the Great Fish and the Keiskama Rivers, and a few days later he published details and set out the scheme fully. This scheme was the precursor of similar later schemes. Very briefly, the conditions set out were the following. Discharged pensioners, or those about to be discharged, were eligible; they would be given twelve acres of ground and would be supplied with implements for constructing huts, with implements for farming, with rations, seeds, and they would receive cash payments to enable them to purchase furniture. On active service they would receive pay at rates varying between 3/6 per day for sergeants and

(33) Imp. Pap., July, 1848, p.26. Govt. Notice of 24th December, 1847.

(34) Ibid., p.34. General Orders of 12th January, 1848.

2/6 for privates, and while exercising, between 3/- and 2/- per day. Settlers were to understand that the land was given them for the purpose of cultivation; failure to do so would mean its loss.

An officer would be appointed as superintendent of each village, and "the tenure upon which settlers will hold the lands being strictly military, they will be provided with arms..... and will parade when required, not exceeding twelve days in each year. "In time of war or excitement, they will be prepared to take⁶ the field for whatever period their services may be required, receiving the rate of pay established."

the 3 points are mentioned in the text

Three points must be emphasised here, the first being that the settlements were very definitely of a military nature and designed to lessen the burden of a standing military force on the crown; only in the second place was this an act of colonisation.

Then it must be noted that the settlements were to be in Victoria, that is, in the Colony and not in British Kaffraria; and finally we must note that the settlers were to be discharged soldiers already at the Cape, not new-comers who had been brought out specifically for this purpose. Actually these military settlers formed a sort of substitute for emigrants, for in April, 1848, to curtail expenditure and find funds for financing this scheme, aided emigration from England was stopped by Earl Grey. (35)

How were men, really?

Relatively few soldiers volunteered; but four villages were established. They were not a success as settlements, and as is well known, came to a tragic end at Christmas, 1850. (36)

Sir Harry Smith's experiment, then, must be regarded as a failure, nor was it an effective warning to his successors, as both Cathcart and Grey contemplated military settlements. Nevertheless, it was the first step in the series of events which led

(35) Imp. Pap., July, 1848, p.36.
(36) Cory, op.cit., IV, pp.130 ff, pp.311 ff.

to the coming of the German Legionaries and the German Immigrants less than ten years later.

Sir George Cathcart, who succeeded Sir Harry Smith and was left to complete his work, adopted a policy designed in the first place to give security, but at the same time, he was fully aware of the need of more constructive measures, even though these had to take a subordinate place.

The first task he set himself was to clear the Amatolas of the Natives. His experience, and that of his predecessors, had taught him only too fully that the strength of the Kaffirs in resisting the Europeans lay in the natural fastnesses of the border country, particularly the Amatola Mountains. Almost invariably expulsion from the Colony was followed by guerilla warfare in the country of the Upper Keiskama and the Upper Buffalo, where eluding the military forces was easy. Hence he expelled the Natives from this area and made it a crown reserve. His objects are best expressed in his own words. "Colonisation and full development of the small portion, the fifth part of the province, called the Crown Reserve, is entirely secondary, therefore no civil or political measure can be entertained by me which in the slightest degree militates against the primary object, that of military occupation..." Possibly under more favourable conditions there could be some relaxation, and additional villages, "calculated for self-defence, though not occupied by troops" could be allowed. (37)

time In the meanwhile he adamantly set his face "against the reckless propensity of colonists to straggle on beyond the bounds of legitimate and recognised colonisation, as detached squatters", and he would allow the granting of erven for building only in the neighbourhood of certain military posts; farms could be leased, but had to be enclosed, and no detached farm houses were to be

(37) Imp. Pap., July, 1855, pp.27-28, Cathcart to Maclean, 19th January, 1854.

allowed beyond one mile from the military post. Generally, all settlers in the Reserve were to be subject to the control of the military authorities. (38)

The rest of British Kaffraria was allocated to the Natives. The Gaikas, expelled from the Amatolas, were settled in the open country between these mountains and the Kei in the north-eastern part of the new territory, Toise in the country north-west of Kingwilliamstown, and other chiefs elsewhere. (39)

In the Ceded Territory or along the east bank of the Keiskama he placed the Fingoes "who have rendered the most willing and gallant services throughout the war". (40) Thus "a chain of trustworthy and loyal chiefs will be placed in contact with the colony, in the room of the lawless and restless occupants who have hitherto tenanted the woods and kloofs of the 'Keiskama'". (41)

In spite of these measures, he saw no prospect of lessening the military force which would have to be retained. In addition, he initiated measures for utilising small detachments of organised Fingoes to assist in repelling invasion, or quelling any Hottentot or other insurrection. (42)

His policy towards European settlers outside of the Crown Reserve was of two kinds. In the district of Victoria he hoped to establish a "cluster of farms". Such farms were to be small, leased on the quit-rent basis, and arranged in such a way that farmers could give one another mutual support.

He made no mention of European "settlements" as such within British Kaffraria; apparently he did not envisage colonisation here, as apart from the Crown Reserve and the rayons of the forts (including Kingwilliamstown), the country was "densely populated" by the Kaffirs. Such traders and other civil inhabitants as were needed, he wished to have under effective control; therefore he

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(38) Imp. Pap., pp. 27-28.

(39) Imp. Pap., 31st May, 1853, p. 226, Cathcart to Secretary of State, 11th February, 1853, (218 ff).

(40) Imp. Pap., May, 1853, pp. 224 ff; Cathcart to Secretary of State for Col., 11th February, 1853. (218 ff.)

(41) Imp. Pap., July, 1855, p. 6, Cathcart to Newcastle, 14th April, 1853.

(42) Ibid., pp. 5-6.

promulgated a set of regulations designed to achieve his object. The most important of these provided for the control of all persons by the military authorities. Further clauses dealt with the licensing of dealers in liquor and of traders, and with the sale of arms and ammunition. Building erven were to be sold on the quit-rent basis, and except in Kingwilliamstown, only to traders - which excluded farmer-colonists and speculators. Any person who wished to cultivate land had to apply to the commandant of British Kaffraria. In addition, there were many other clauses, all acting as restrictions on civil inhabitants and their activities.⁽⁴³⁾

Cathcart's attitude towards the Europeans in the new possession is summed up in a letter to Col. Maclean. He pointed out to him that it was his duty to attend to the welfare and interest of the European inhabitants, but he continued, "I must remind you that military control, not colonisation is the principal policy, which has induced me to advise the retention of British Kaffraria as a separate government, independent of the Colony of the Cape."⁽⁴⁴⁾

This, however, is only one side of the picture. To what extent Cathcart was aware of Earl Grey's despatch of 1849, recommending European settlements in among Native locations, is not known. His settlement was blatantly of a military character, and if he was aware of Earl Grey's despatch, he ignored it, probably because he thought it impracticable. The settlements of Europeans, which he did allow in British Kaffraria, can hardly be dignified by the term colonisation, and yet, in spite of all this, Cathcart was not unaware, already in 1852, that more positive, and in addition, less costly measures were required. He foresaw the need of some form of military occupation for an indefinite time, and yet he felt that, as an alternative, "occupation by colonists under some sufficient military organisation for mutual defence, with a comparatively small regular force", was worthy of consideration. In his opinion British military pensioners had proved a failure and

(43) Imp. Pap., May, 1853, pp. III ff. Proclamation, 3rd May, 1852.

(44) Imp. Pap., July, 1855, pp. 27-28.

ordinary settlers could not be brought together in villages or compact settlements. Hence he suggested the raising of two Swiss regiments of 700 to 1000 men each "with a view to colonisation after the war is ended"; but these too should be maintained as military settlers. ⁽⁴⁵⁾ Nothing came of this suggestion, but it is indicative of the trend of his thinking. He went further still and recommended that in certain areas the South African aborigines should be replaced by other occupants of sufficient energy and located densely enough to promote mutual support. His acquaintance with the border regions had shown him that with the possible exception of Bathurst, such settlements as already existed, were really dependent on the military garrisons and that a great deal of valuable garden ground, which could support a large population, was not being utilised. Hence "it is essential to establish compact villages, not for land jobbers, but for bona fide poor, industrious inhabitants," who could form a rural population and a working class. ⁽⁴⁶⁾ This is a significant advance, and as the military villages foreshadowed the German Legion, this policy foreshadowed the German Immigrants, who in almost every way fulfilled Cathcart's requirements.

In the meanwhile, actual steps were being taken in the area north of the Amatolas, the present district of Queenstown. This region had become vacant during the war and was available for European settlers. ⁽⁴⁷⁾ On the suggestion of Mr. T. H. Bowker, Cathcart agreed to the settlement here of Dutch and English farmers, sufficiently close for mutual support. He looked to them to provide for the defence of the eastern frontier north of the Amatolas by requiring of them limited military duties. Precautions were taken to prevent speculation and land-jobbing, the chief being personal occupation of farms and the payment of quit-rents. ⁽⁴⁸⁾ Eight hundred applications were soon received; and by March, 1853, in the newly established village of Queenstown, a

(45) Imp. Pap., May, 1853, pp. 109, 111, Cathcart to Secretary of State for Col., 20th May, 1852.

(46) Imp. Pap., July, 1855, pp. 9-10, Cathcart to Newcastle, 15th March, 1853.

(47) Cory, op. cit., V, p. 488.

(48) Imp. Pap., May, 1853, p. 223, Cathcart to Secretary of State for Col., 11th February, 1853.

hundred erven had been granted and eighteen houses had been completed, while by April, 198 farms had been granted. This settlement, though not in British Kaffraria proper, was the first new civil frontier scheme, and it is indicative that where military necessity did not prevent it and conditions were favourable, Cathcart was not adverse to "colonisation".

To appreciate Cathcart's policy to the full it is necessary to examine his attitude towards the Hottentots in the Kat River area. Here the loyal Hottentots were confirmed in the occupations of their lands, but he said, "I hope...to mix occupants of European origin in sufficient proportion among the community, which shall hereafter inhabit that rich and fertile district, to break up the exclusive nationality...." It is to be understood that he meant the exclusive nationality, or as we should say to-day, race, of the Hottentots in this region. This is most significant, as it definitely meant the abandonment of the policy of separate Coloured settlements, such as the original Kat River Settlement, on the border and instead, the intermixture of European and Coloured farms. In a way, it is the parallel to the idea of mixing European and Native settlements or locations in the frontier zone, as expounded by Earl Grey.

Reviewing the period from 1806 to 1853, then, Sir George Grey would have noted several important developments and seen the gradual emergence of some clearness of thought about settlement as a feature of frontier policy.

- (1) Though the Fingoes had been settled between the warlike Natives and the Colony proper, this was not sufficient as the only measure needed to effect security for the Colonists.
- (2) Probably because of the disloyalty of many of the Hottentots from the Kat River, no further thought was given to settling the Hottentots (or Coloureds) along the Border.
- (3) After the settlement of the 1820 British Settlers, the extension of British rule over the Natives was a necessary preliminary to further schemes of close settlement.

(49) Imp. Pap., July, 1855, pp.10-11. Report by J. W. Ebdon, 15th March, 1853.
 (50) Cory, op.cit., V, p.489.
 (51) Imp. Pap., May, 1853, p.225. (Imp. Pap., July, 1855, p.7.)
 Cathcart to Secretary of State, 11th Feb., 1853. ✓

- (4) Military settlements had not proved successful and the idea of close settlement of industrious colonists had revived. It is probable that Sir George Grey would have attributed the failure of military settlements, not to any inherent weakness in such a system of colonisation, but to the lack of effective control over the Xhosas in the areas contiguous to such settlements.
- (5) The policy of complete separation was gradually giving way to the concept of interspersing settlements of Europeans among the Natives, partly for the sake of security, partly as a measure of colonisation, but also partly as a means of "civilising the Kaffirs."

How he dealt with the problem of the Natives - his recognition of the powers of the chiefs, his establishment of schools and colleges and hospitals, his providing work for the Natives, is well known. His measures for increasing the population of Cape Colony generally and in particular his scheme for colonising British Kaffraria are largely the subject of this work.

NON-GERMAN IMMIGRATION.

In order to be able to see the German Immigration schemes in their correct perspective, it is as well to know that fairly large scale state-aided immigration had taken place in the period 1846 - 1848 and that further general immigration on an even larger scale was practically contemporaneous with the German schemes.

The earlier scheme, initiated by Sir Peregrine Maitland, was the result of acute shortage of labour in the Colony. Such was the lack of labour that on occasion public and private works had to be suspended. Hence in May and again in June, 1844, Maitland submitted to the Legislative Council schemes for the introduction of labourers, and the Council voted £10,000 for this purpose. (1) Shortly after, on the 12th July, 1844, regulations for the introduction of "mechanics, farm servants, labourers and others" were published in the Government Gazette. Briefly, this scheme was designed to enable employers at the Cape to bring out servants and labourers. Bounties would be paid in accordance with a definite scale, depending on the class of immigrant and ranged between £10 and £15 for single men, between £15 and £22/10/- for couples and between £3 and £5 for children. Contracts had to be made between employers and intending emigrants and various conditions were laid down to ensure that a desirable class of person was obtained. Though the co-operation of the Home Government was anticipated, the duty of selecting emigrants and sending them from England was or could be left to emigration agents. (2)

These regulations were submitted by the Governor to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Stanley, who in turn submitted them to the English Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners. Their report on these regulations and the scheme

(1) Maitland to Stanley, 22nd July, 1844; Gov. Gazette, 9th May, 1845.

(2) Gov. Gazette, 12th July, 1844.

* For a brief account of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, see Hattersley, The British Settlement of Natal, pp.96-97.



generally was most unfavourable, especially as regards method of selecting emigrants, and the lack of control over ships transporting them to the Cape. Alternative regulations, based on those applicable for New South Wales, were suggested. A Committee of the Legislative Council considered these suggestions and recommended the retention of the earlier (July, 1844) scheme, but at the same time it recommended that a thousand adults should be imported to the Cape in accordance with the New South Wales scheme as suggested by the Emigration Commissioners. (3)

Hence on 9th May, 1845, notice was given in the Government Gazette that though the regulations published in 1844 would remain in force, another system was being instituted for bringing immigrants to the Cape. This scheme did not leave it to individuals to take the first steps; the Government itself would introduce immigrants and the procedure would be that tenders would be invited by the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners for the importation to the Cape of bricklayers, carpenters, masons, agricultural labourers, etc. The contractors (or importers) would be responsible for selecting emigrants, transporting them to the Cape, feeding them and supplying suitable accommodation on board ship. The ages and types of emigrants were specified and various conditions laid down for their treatment and supervision en route. The rate of bounty per immigrant would be determined by public competition. Intending contractors were informed that at the port of disembarkation, local immigration boards would have to pass the immigrants before bounty would be paid for them, and they were warned that "the qualifications of emigrants will be strictly construed". (4)

A weakness in the system was that emigrants were not "screened" in the country of origin and hence subject to rejection at the Cape. At the suggestion of Earl Grey, in 1848 the procedure was modified, and the Colonial Land and Emigration

(3) Report Select Com. Leg. Council, 7th May, 1845; Gov. Gazette 9th May, 1845.

(4) Gov. Gazette, 9th May, 1845.

Commissioners then examined them before they embarked; the Cape authorities could, of course, then not reject them on arrival in the Colony. (5)

Neither for the 1844, nor for the 1845 schemes is full information available. Apparently only a few persons came out under the earlier regulations, at a cost of about £13 per statute adult. (6) Nor are all the figures available for the 1845 scheme, as one of the officials neglected to furnish the Government with returns, (7) but figures found show that batches of immigrants arrived in fourteen vessels between February, 1846, and about August, 1848. The number per vessel varied from 153 to 242, the total for nine ships about which we have figures, being 1729, and the average nearly 192. No details are available for five of the ships, but if we accept the average of 192 for these also and add it to the number, the known total of 1729, we arrive at the grand total of 2689. Bounty rates were between £8/10/- and £11/7/6. The majority disembarked at Cape Town, a few at Mossel Bay (possibly only eleven), and some (we know of 450) at Port Elizabeth. (8)

The War of the Axe was not without effect on this movement. Maitland had intended sending all the immigrants aboard one of the vessels, the "Simlah", to Algoa Bay, (arrived at the Cape on 7th May, 1846, with 192 persons), but because of the war, he decided (9) to land them at the Cape, that is, all except two families.

In England, too, intending emigrants, apprehensive about the war, were not anxious to proceed to the Cape. Because of this, some difficulty was experienced in keeping to the schedule, so that it was necessary to postpone the departure of one of the ships for a month. (10)

The immigrants, among whom there were domestic servants,

(5) Earl Grey to Smith, 8th January, 1848. House of Assembly, 1859, Annexure 172.

(6) House of Assembly, 1859, Annexure 160.

(7) Smith to Earl Grey, 30th March, 1850. House of Assembly, 1859, Annexure 172.

(8) Assembly, 1859, Annexure 172. (9) Ibid., Maitland to Gladstone, 29th July, 1846.

(10) Ibid. Assembly, 1859, Annexure 172. Letter of Marshalls to Emig. Commissioners, 26th August, 1846.

farm labourers, gardeners, smiths, carpenters, masons, etc., created a favourable impression and experienced little difficulty in obtaining employment. ⁽¹¹⁾ They formed no new "settlement," and there is no evidence that they played any part in frontier policy or events. Though they formed a useful addition to the population of the Cape, they were not intended to perform, nor did they in any way perform, the function for which the Germans were brought to the Cape.

The second phase of immigration in the 'Fifties' was more extensive than the earlier and had a more direct bearing on the introduction of the Germans to the Cape.

In a previous chapter we noted the growing realisation that more positive steps than mere military occupation were needed to bring about a permanent solution of frontier problems, and we also noted that two earlier attempts to form military settlements on the border had not met with success.

Conscious of the former, but unmindful of the latter, as early as March, 1855, Sir George Grey proposed a plan for the settlement of pensioners as military colonists in British Kaffraria. ⁽¹²⁾ The scheme was favourably received by both the Cape Parliament and the Home Government, although Earl Russel foresaw the difficulty of procuring a sufficient number of men fulfilling the conditions proposed by Grey and was hence dubious of the success of the scheme. Nevertheless, provided Cape Colony undertook its proper share in the task, he promised to do all in his power to forward Grey's scheme. ⁽¹³⁾

Shortly after, in June, 1855, printed copies of terms and conditions, ⁽¹⁴⁾ nearly in accordance with those proposed by Grey, were circulated in England, asking for volunteers and stating that candidates were to be medically fit, of good character and of industrious habits. Preference would be given to married men.

(11) House of Assembly, 1859, Annexure 160, passim, e.g. Report of Immig. Board, 3rd February, 1846.

(12) Imp. Pap., July, 1855, p.56 ff. Grey to Earl Grey, 17th March, 1855. Encl. I

(13) Imp. Pap., July, 1855, p.72; Russel to Grey, 3rd June, 1855-

(14) Also Bell & Morrell, Select Documents, p.537.

(14) Imp. Pap., June, 1856, p.43ff Molesworth to Grey, 12th August, 1855 and Encl.

They would be enrolled for seven years and would be given a free passage to the Cape and free rations. They would be assisted with advances to supply themselves with necessaries for the voyage and to buy furniture. At the Cape they would be put in possession of a cottage of two rooms and of one acre of land.

These pensioners were to be permitted to obtain private work, provided they did not remove more than five miles from the cottages. Failing this, the Government would find employment for them at 1/6 per day for the first year.

In return, they were to attend regularly for military exercises on twelve days a year and were to muster for church parades every Sunday. If called out for military services for more than twelve days a year, they were to receive pay at the regular scale laid down. After seven years they would obtain possession of the cottages and would not be liable to military service to which other colonists were not equally liable.

It is obvious that these conditions and the prospects they offered were hardly sufficiently enticing to attract a large number of men. In return for seven years' semi-military service, they would receive little besides a two-roomed cottage with an acre of land attached to it. Only in case of actual war, was there any possibility of their deriving special advantages. Nor were the prospects too bright. They knew they were to be sent to a thinly populated district, where it would be difficult for a large number of men to obtain employment. True, the Government guaranteed work for one year, but they were required to serve for seven.

Hence it is no surprise to find that on August 12th, 1855, the Secretary for State for Colonies was obliged to inform Grey that the number of candidates was only 107, of whom probably no more than eighty would be able to embark for the Cape. As Grey

had asked for a thousand men with the intention of increasing their number ultimately to 5000, the Secretary thought that such a small response did not warrant sending these men. (15)

In spite of the smallness of the number of volunteers, Grey was not prepared to abandon the scheme, especially as houses for a hundred had already been built at an estimated cost of £1,600. (16) But Lord Panmure, then Secretary for War, before whom the request was laid, was not in favour of continuing with this scheme and gave as his reason that the Government was contemplating settling the disbanded British German Legion in British Kaffraria. (17) This was the closing act of the movement for the settlement of pensioners on the frontier, except for a final effort on the part of Grey to secure married militiamen. He maintained that a body of Englishmen in a foreign force would render it more useful to the country and make it more acceptable to the colonists. (18) No answer to this request can be found, but it is highly improbable that any of the pensioners joined the German Legion, as no reference whatsoever was made to them in the subsequent correspondence about the German Military Settlers.

The failure of this scheme must in many respects be regarded as paving the way for the coming of the German Legion, because it brought before the British Government the possibility of military colonisation as a solution of the frontier problem of British Kaffraria. It is essentially the prelude of the settlement of the Germans in the Cape which forms the subject matter of this work.

Equally important is that the failure of the scheme to obtain military settlers was at least partly responsible for the resuscitation of large scale immigration to the Cape from Great Britain.

In his speech to Parliament on 15th March, 1856, Sir George Grey had to make known that his attempts to obtain military

(15) Imp. Pap., June, 1856, p.43, Molesworth to Grey, 12th August, 1855.

(16) Imp. Pap., June, 1856, p.13 and p.38, Grey to Molesworth, 7th December, 1855 and 17th January, 1856 and Encl.

(17) Imp. Pap., March, 1857, p.60. (18) Ibid., p.46.

settlers had not succeeded. After dealing with such matters as frontier defence, volunteer corps and Native policy, the Governor proposed a plan for introducing immigrants. It is true that he recognised the economic advantages of such a measure and that the subsequent legislation provided, not for a new settlement of independent farmers on the border, but for farm labourers and artisans for the Colony generally. It is equally true, however, that immigration was in Sir George Grey's mind not unconnected with the problem of defence, and more especially of the eastern border.

To finance such a scheme, he suggested that the Government should raise a loan of £200,000 by debentures and he was hopeful that additional population and increased revenue would make possible the redemption of these bonds. Committees of the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly reported favourably on these proposals and made valuable recommendations. As British Kaffraria was a separate dependency, they naturally excluded this province from their considerations. The result was that by Act No. 8 of 1857 the Governor was empowered to spend £50,000 by the end of 1858 on introducing immigrants from Europe. If public revenue was insufficient, the Governor could raise what he required by debentures. By similar acts in 1858, 1859, and 1860, further amounts of £30,000, £50,000 and £25,000 respectively were voted for the same purpose.

In terms of the acts and the regulations made to implement them, agricultural labourers, artisans, vine-dressers and wine-makers, etc., were to be selected or approved by an emigration commissioner responsible to the Cape Colonial Government. (Later the selection was left to the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners). A high standard was required. "They must be sober, industrious, of general good moral character, and have been in the habit of working for wages". Married couples were

(19) Votes and Proc. Legislative Council, 13th March, 1856, pp. 2-5.

(20) Gov. Gazette, 30th June, 1857.

(21) Gov. Gazettes, 8th June, 1858, 12th July, 1859, 20th July, 1860.

preferred, but provision was made for the introduction of single males and females too. Ships would be despatched to Table Bay and Algoa Bay, and local committees would be appointed to aid immigrants in finding employment. Other clauses dealt with the chartering of ships, and the welfare of emigrants en route to the Cape. Provision was also made to enable Cape residents to obtain financial aid in bringing out relatives and friends. (22) By a subsequent addition, application could also be made for the introduction of persons from the Continent. (23)

Only the approximate number of persons introduced can be ascertained. Complete lists are not available and totals given in various lists differ. Thus, for example, the number brought by the "Gypay Bride" is given in one place as 514 persons and in another as 498. Altogether twenty-three ships are mentioned, but there are figures for only seventeen; these transported 5400 persons. That this is not the total is shown by a summary made in 1863. This shows that in the period 1858-62, 4671 persons were landed at Table Bay, 4556 at Algoa Bay and 318 brought via British Kaffraria, giving a grand total of 9545. (24) Altogether an amount of £158,595/7/6 was expended at an average cost of £19/3/0½d. per statute adult. (25)

Though most of the immigrants hailed from Great Britain a few were from elsewhere. In the middle of 1855, a committee of prominent men, members of parliament and ministers of religion, was formed at the Cape with the purpose of introducing juveniles from Holland. This body financed the scheme and took charge of the juveniles at the Cape, while a subsidiary committee in the Netherlands was entrusted with the task of selecting and despatching them to the Cape. When approached for aid, the Governor hesitated, as he was not certain whether aiding this committee was strictly in accordance with the Act of 1857. Nevertheless, he agreed to pay £5

(22) G. 42 - '59 (Cape), p.3 ff. and Govt. Gazette, 28th July, 1857.

(23) G. 42 - '59 (Cape), p.7.

(24) Compiled from G. 29- '59, G. 51- '59, G. 34- '60, G. 29- '61 and most important of all G. 39- '63, p.3. (All Cape Blue Book)

(25) G. 39 - '63, (Cape), p.13.

for each of a limited number of juveniles and also agreed that this committee function as a local board empowered to recommend approval of the juveniles for the payment of the grant. It was due to this committee that the original regulations were amended to allow the introduction of persons from the Continent. (See supra amendment of 20th November, 1857).

The type of juvenile brought to the Cape seems to have been very satisfactory; their ages ranged from twelve to seventeen, the majority being between thirteen and fifteen years. Full figures are not available, but there is information that 154 boys and 39 girls were brought out; 112 boys and 19 girls were aided. Most of these were distributed in the western Cape and were usually apprenticed till their twenty-first year. (26)

To sum up, it is seen that aided immigration, apart from that of the German immigration to British Kaffraria, was considerable and that in the period 1846-48 an estimated number of 2689 persons was brought to this country and that in the period 1857-61, no fewer than 9555 persons migrated from the United Kingdom; in addition there were the Dutch juveniles - a total of about 12,000 persons.

If one may anticipate and compare these schemes with the German immigration schemes of 1857-58, it is seen that no major debts had to be incurred by the immigrants under the 1857 Act; that the arrangements for their disposal at the Cape made their first years easier for them, as they were in paid posts almost from the beginning; but useful and needed as they were, the British settlers and the Dutch juveniles, did not form a new settlement, and few, if any at all, were pioneers on the frontier. Thus they did not fulfil one of the needs which Sir George Grey and his predecessors had in mind - the settlement of a strong European population on the border. The addition of about 12,000 persons to the population of the Colony, the men nearly all

(26) A. 27 - '59, (Cape) passim. (Correspondence re Juveniles from Holland.

capable artisans and labourers, indubitably strengthened the economic life of the Cape, but the need remained for some bold act of colonisation to settle the border and to initiate a new policy towards the South African Natives. This act was the bold step of Sir George Grey in settling the Germans in British Kaffraria.

PART II.

THE GERMAN MILITARY SUPPLIERS.

1857.

V
LEGIONARIES BECOME SETTLERS.

(1)

During the Crimean War, when the Allies, England and France were delayed before the almost impregnable fortress of Sebastopol, and were suffering, not only from the severity of climatic conditions, but also from the ravages of disease, Lord Raglan, the British Commander in Chief continually asked for reinforcements of men. These the English Minister of War, Lord Panmure, found it difficult to obtain for him.

Remembering the service rendered by the King's German Legion in 1809-1815, Lord Panmure hoped that it would be possible for him to raise a similar force of foreigners. (1) To effect this, he induced Parliament to give him the necessary powers, and accordingly articles "for the Formation of a Foreign Legion for the Service of Her Britannic Majesty" were drawn up and circulated. (2) Men and officers of neutral countries were given the opportunity of enlisting for the duration of the war, but could be demobilised, if at any time the Queen desired to disband the Foreign Legion. All volunteers had to be passed at the depots at Heligoland and Shorncliffe. In the first instance, 5000 men were required, four battalions of Infantry and one of Rifles.

Each recruit was promised £6 on enlistment in cash and necessaries, while the recruiting agents were paid £975 for every 100 men finally accepted with proportionate pay for fewer; they themselves were responsible for all expenses incurred by them in their work of recruiting.

All officers and men enlisted were to be on exactly the same footing as British soldiers as regards privileges and duties. On disbandment the officers were to receive three month's pay, and the men a gratuity of a year's pay and a free passage, either to their homes or to North America.

During the War, Prussia, Austria and smaller countries, such

(1) C. C. Henkel, Emigration, the Missions and Colonisation in General (Kelvin Press Christmas Annual, 1912, p. 70.)
(2) CA., G.H. Rec., 39/1, p. 908 ff. Grant's Schedules.

as Switzerland, Belgium, and the majority of the Italian States remained neutral. It was from these countries that England hoped to draw her recruits for the British Foreign Legion. Nor were her hopes without foundation, for but little time elapsed before large numbers of men flocked to England - or Heligoland, (at that time a British possession), to enlist, so many, in fact, that separate German, Swiss and Italian Legions could be formed. For a time the Germans were still known as the British Foreign Legion. (3) At first it was intended to raise only infantry, but at the suggestion of the Duke of Cambridge a corps of German Light Cavalry (4) was also formed.

Officially Prussia maintained an attitude of strict neutrality, this, however, did not prevent a large number of young Germans, anti-Russian in their sympathies, from wanting to enlist. But such was the vigilance adopted by Prussia and the other German Governments, (5) that many were forced to leave Germany secretly for Heligoland. The following account, written by Sergeant G. Steinbart in letters home, is probably typical of the experience of many of the Legionaries:-

"Der ausserordentlichen Wachsamkeit der Behörden wusste ich dadurch zu entgehen, dass ich mich bei Tage - gleich einem Verbrecher - in Wäldern aufhielt und statt dessen des Nachts in grösster Stille und Vorzicht marschierte. Auf dieser Weise glückte es mir endlich nach Hamburg zu kommen und mich dort einem Werber anzuvertrauen, der mich sofort mit Speise und Trank versah und mir ein sicheres heimliches Logis verschaffte. Aber auch selbst nachdem ich Hamburg per Dampfschiff nebst einigen Unglücksgefährten verlassen hatte, mussten wir alle Vorsicht anwenden, dass wir nicht noch nahe am Ziele der Hamburger Polizei in die Hände fielen, da dieselbe, durch Berliner Schutzmannschaft verstärkt, alle nur möglichen Massregeln anwendet, die Werbungen auf Heligoland zu hintertreiben. Bei Glückstadt bestiegen wir ein kleines Boot, in welchem wir uns - neun Mann an der Zahl - zweimal vier und zwanzig Stunden auf der See umhertrieben, bis uns endlich das Dampfschiff "Heligoland" an Bord nahm, und wir noch selbigen Tages die ersehnte Insel erreichten." (6)

From Heligoland the volunteers, after being medically examined, were sent to England. The majority were adventurers of a good class,

(3) Panmure Papers, I, 372, Queen to Panmure, 3rd Sept., 1855.

(4) *Ibid.*, I, 133. Cambridge to Panmure, 29th March, 1855.

(5) G. C. Henkel, *op. cit.*, p. 70; Statements by Weineck and Gelschlig, late G.M.S. See p.

(6) G. Steinbart's Letters, A.2 (In subsequent references the abbreviation G. St. Letters will be used).

many of them the younger sons of noble families.

Owing to the neutrality of the various German Governments, some difficulty was at first experienced in obtaining a suitable commander for the British German Legion; but finally Baron Richard von Stutterheim, accepted the position. It was equally difficult to obtain suitable officers, so that, although the men were exclusively foreigners, quite a number of officers were English.

The British German Legion was stationed at Browdown,⁽⁷⁾ Aldershot and Colchester, or Schorncliffe, near Sandgate.⁽⁸⁾ Here, clothed in black uniforms and small round caps,⁽⁸⁾ it underwent the regular period of training, even although the vast majority of men had already spent several years in one or other of the numerous German Armies.⁽⁹⁾ During this period, Lord Pannure, anxiously anticipated the time when he would be able to use the foreign troops, and although the Legion had been in existence only for a few months, he was able to write to General Simpson in July, 1855,⁽¹⁰⁾ "I hope ere long to send you two fine German Battalions."

A month later, the I Brigade of the British German Legion⁽¹¹⁾ under Brigadier-General Wooldridge left England and disembarked at Scutari, where, and at Kulali, it was stationed, together with other regiments before being moved to the Crimea. The end of the war, however, came before the British German Legion, or that portion of it in the near East, could render active service. The I Brigade was sent back to Portsmouth in the "Himalaya",⁽¹²⁾ one of the fastest steamers then afloat. The rest of the Legion had not left England.

(7) Unter Englands Fahnen, II, 162. (In subsequent references, the abbreviation U.E.F. will be used).

(8) G. St. Letters, A, 1-11.

(9) Statements by Weineck and Gelschlig.

(10) Pannure Papers, I, pp. 275, 338.

(11) Pannure Papers, I, 492. Pannure to Queen, 17th November, 1855; c. c. Henkel, op. cit., p. 70.

(12) U.E.F., II, 134; Statements by Weineck and Gelschlig.

Once again at their old encampments, the Legionaries waited until they should be disbanded, nor did this period pass without several unpleasant incidents. At Colchester the rivalry between the English and the German troops became so keen that it led to a pitched battle between men of the Legion and of the 41st Infantry, and both sides used sticks and fists freely. Many were wounded and possibly some killed.

A special interest was taken in the Germans by the Queen, who gained their lasting respect and loyalty. On one occasion, when the Queen inspected the Legion, she was accompanied by the Prince Consort and by the Crown Prince of Prussia (afterwards the Emperor Frederick). It was said that her guest could hardly hide his chagrin at seeing such a number of Prussians, wearing Prussian medals and orders, in a British Regiment.

The final act was a review of the British German Legion by the Queen, after which General von Stutterheim bade an official farewell to the Legion as such and ended by calling for three cheers for the Queen.

In the meanwhile, however, those in authority were busily engaged in making arrangements for the disposal of the foreign troops in the British Army; the outcome of their negotiations was destined to effect not only the fate of the British German Legion, but also the history of the Cape of Good Hope.

(11)

Before any men were enlisted for the British Foreign Legion, the possibility of settling them, when disbanded, outside Europe, had already suggested itself to the Government. It appears, however, that it was Lord Panmure, who first entertained the idea of settling the British German Legion at the Cape, instead of North

(13) U.E.F. II, 165.

(14) G. St. Letters, A. 12.

(15) C. S. Henkel, *op cit.* p. 70; U.E.F. II, 158, 177; Statements by Weineck and Oelschlig.

(16) U.E.F. II, 158.

(17) CA. G.H. Rec., 39/1, MSO. BGL., p. 908 (Article IX).

who
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 America. Certainly their case was advocated by the Queen herself who said, "She trusts that there is no doubt that they will be provided for in the Colonies in the manner he (Lord Panmure) mentioned, as these poor men have many of them lost their nationality, and the Queen is certain that it would be very bad policy to act ungenerously towards them."⁽¹⁸⁾

Shortly after this, specific steps were taken for the disposal of the officers and men of the British German Legion. On 25th March, 1856, the Colonial Secretary, Mr. H. Labouchere, wrote to the Governor of the Cape, requesting his opinion regarding the advisability of settling the Germans on the frontiers of the British possessions in South Africa.⁽¹⁹⁾ At the same time, he informed Grey that a special steamer would be sent to the Cape with an officer charged to communicate with him in this matter and to furnish him with any information required.

(20)
 A few days later, Lord Panmure wrote to Major J. Grant and instructed him to proceed to the Cape and confer with the Governor, Sir George Grey, regarding the settlement of the British German Legion at the Cape. To assist him, he would have a Captain Hoffmann, an engineer officer, who would be able to represent the Germans. When the matter had been fully discussed with Grey, Grant was to return to England and lay before the Government the combined report of himself and the Governor.

In this introductory paragraph, Lord Panmure definitely assigns the urgent representations made by Grey for military colonists as the motive for the step, and the failure to induce a sufficient number of men to volunteer as the specific reason. This was a favourable opportunity for acceding to Grey's request, as the inevitable reduction of the army after the conclusion of peace would render the British German Legion available for this purpose.

(18) Panmure Papers, II, 150.

(19) Imp. Pap., March, 1857, p.59. Labouchere to Grey, 25th March, 1856.

(20) Ibid., p.74 ff.

Lord Pannure estimated that at least 8000 men would offer themselves for this service, and that the greater number would have wives and children; the unmarried men, he thought, "would be glad to enter that state with a prospect of fixed settlement." He emphasised the military character of the emigration; the settlers were to arrive at the Cape in full military organisation, and although the choice of the actual localities would be left to the Governor of the Cape, it was essential that the military aspect of the settlement should not be disregarded. The villages should be as large as practicable and as close together as possible.

In addition, Lord Pannure threw out a number of suggestions, such as the necessity of erecting temporary shelters, the supply of rations, the maintenance of the Legion for the first three years by the commutation of the promised gratuity into a daily pay of 6d., the providing of a block-house, a church, and a school at each settlement, and the government of the Legion by a system of magistracy.

Lord Pannure hoped that the local legislature would assist this scheme and suggested that a certain proportion of the revenue derived from the sale of land in the districts in which the Legion were to be settled, should be utilised for the military settlers.

The wisdom of Lord Pannure's choice of Major Grant is proved by subsequent events; Major Grant showed himself a most capable and painstaking officer who did his best to make the venture a success. Captain Hoffman, however, was ill-suited for the post, and entirely lacked the confidence of his colleagues and subordinates. One of his brother officers made the following remarks about him "The greatest fault rests here with General Stutterheim in that he entrusted his adjutant Hoffmann with this important mission, for which neither his character nor his knowledge qualified him. He had no idea of colonial conditions and requirements and was not even a sober person."⁽²¹⁾

(21) U.S.P. II, 172.

(22)

Arriving at the Cape on the 29th May, 1856, Major Grant immediately got into touch with Sir George Grey who was exceedingly pleased with the proposal; it was not only well adapted to the circumstances of the country, but would, as far as human foresight could see, put an end to the Kaffir Wars, thus relieving Great Britain of the large expenditure periodically incurred in South Africa. Grey anticipated no difficulty in carrying out this scheme of military settlement; the whole matter was most opportune as war clouds were again gathering on the horizon. ^{Headed that} The Kaffirs, believing that Great Britain had been defeated by the Russians, were becoming insolent and daring, so much so that a renewed outbreak of hostilities seemed certain. ⁽²³⁾ The episode known as "The Great Cattle Killing" - a vast manoeuvre intended to bring about a general rising, was even then in embryo, although more than half a year was to elapse before the intrigues already begun were to bear fruit.

As the Cape Parliament was sitting just at this time, Grey immediately sent a message to the two Houses acquainting them with the proposed scheme and giving an abstract of Lord Panmure's despatch. He dwelt upon the advantages of this settlement to the Country, and asked the House of Assembly to authorise him to appropriate £40,000 for this scheme. Anticipating that about 8000 men would come, mostly married, he also asked for a guarantee that an annual amount of about £6⁰⁰⁰ to £7000 should be at his disposal for the next few years for the purpose of building schools, etc., and for making advances to the settlers on their arrival in South Africa. ⁽²⁴⁾ This last amount was to be deducted from an amount of £14,000 reserved by the "Reserved Civil List Ordinance," ⁽²⁵⁾ a corrolary to the "Cape of Good Hope Constitution Ordinance" ⁽²⁶⁾

(22) Imp. Pap., March, 1857, p.75 ff.; CA. BK Rec. 39/1, pp.871 ff. Grant's Report to Panmure, 14th July, 1856.

(23) CA. G.H.Rec. 23/26, pp. 364 ff. Grey to Lab., 20th May, 1856.

(24) Imp. Pap., March, 1857, p.34. Message No. 39, Gov. to H. of Assembly. CA. G.H.Rec. 23/26, p.364.

(25) Eybers, Select Constitutional Doc. of S.A. History, p.57.

(26) Ibid., p.45.

(Representative Government) of 1853 for special expenses in the Border Department.

The The House of Assembly, not only granted the required sum and gave the guarantee asked for, but also sent a message to the Governor expressing its gratitude for the anxious solicitude of Her Majesty's Government; it assured him that it viewed the proposed plan in a most favourable light. (27) The Legislative Council was even more enthusiastic, considering "the contemplated measure as the precursor of peace" and "the beginning of bright and prosperous days for the country". (28)

This almost unexpected support of the Colonial legislatures was most gratifying to the Home Government, (29) which hastened the preparations for carrying out this scheme immediately after Grant's return.

As Major Grant's ship, the "Devastation", required refitting, there was sufficient time for him and Captain Hoffmann to visit the Frontier, ^{in company with Sir George Grey.} and inspect personally the localities to be selected as sites for the settlement. They arrived in Kingwilliamstown in the middle of June, visited the region lying between East London and Queenstown and the Amatola Mountains, and returned via Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth. (30)

It appears that the Government's intention was by no means kept secret, for according to the statement of one Legionary, the English newspapers actually mentioned the sites chosen for the settlement. (31)

On his return to Cape Town, Major Grant wrote his report for Lord Panmure. He suggested the conditions on which the British German Legion should be located in South Africa and ^{fully} dealt with a number of important matters. (32)

(27) Imp. Pap., March, 1857, p. 57. Message from H. of Assembly to Gov., 30th May, 1856.
(28) Ibid., p. 35. Message from Leg. Council to Gov., 30th May, 1856.
(29) Imp. Pap., March, 1857, p. 62. Lab. to Grey, 5th August, 1856.
(30) CA. G.H. Rec. 39/1, 1850. BGL., pp. 87 ff. Grant's Schedules
(31) U.R.P. II, 173f.
(32) Grant's Report.

Grant proposed that the Legion should embark in complete military organisation and receive full pay until its arrival at the various locations assigned to it. Legionaries were to be liable to military service for seven years, were to attend drill when required, and muster for church parades every Sunday. A reduced establishment of officers, receiving full pay for three years, should be sufficient to procure efficiency. Though responsible for a large number of men, the officers had only occasional military duties to perform, and the work of general supervision would not take up all their time.

Privates, he suggested, should be paid 6d. per day; he made no recommendation regarding the pay of the other ranks, but left this for the Imperial Government. Because of the many advantages conceded the Legionaries, no additional pay was considered necessary for them, when they were required for active service. If wounded when fighting, a military settler should be granted allowances in accordance with the regulations in force at the time.

During the seven years of service, every military settler should be liable to the provisions of the Mutiny Act and the Articles of War. During the whole of the period, they should be under the senior officer of Her Majesty's troops in the Colony. A system of magistracy should be introduced and magistrates drawn from the officers.

Regarding land, Grant recommended that the promises should be somewhat indefinite; he argued that the different values of land in town and country locations, the varying capabilities of the soil and other factors made definite statements and promises unjust and unsatisfactory. In addition, it had to be remembered that settlers in villages would need more land, as they would not be able to dispose of their labour and would be dependent on what they themselves produced. Hence he suggested that each man should be allotted a building site in the village or town in which he was settled and that additional lots should be granted to men settled in villages.

Dealing with the building of houses, he recommended that instead of the work being undertaken by the Government, a money payment should be made to each settler on a graduated scale. Field officers should receive £200, Captains, £150, Subalterns £100, Non-commissioned officers £20 and privates £18. He gave two reasons for this recommendation, the first being that such a scheme would prevent dissatisfaction on the part of the officers and men with the houses provided for them, and the second that in this way a considerable saving would be effected. Moreover, each man would be able to build according to his tastes, naturally subject to official approval. The cottages and land should be held rent free, provided the holders conformed to the rules laid down for their guidance. After seven years, the cottages and lands should become the absolute property of the military settlers. The widow and children should inherit the property of any settler who died within the seven years.

More generous assistance should be given to officers; they should be entitled to remission money in the purchase of land, namely Field Officers £300, Captains £200, and Subalterns £150.

These matters were considered of such importance that the Governor furnished a separate memorandum to explain each point in detail. He was particularly anxious that the settlers themselves should undertake the building of their houses; by doing so, they would take an active interest in the work instead of merely watching others - which would tend to create discontent, indolence and apathy.

In addition, he thought that the Government would find it extremely difficult to put up the required accommodation in the limited time at its disposal, nor was it possible to estimate to any degree of accuracy the cost of building all the houses. The sudden demand would make the price of materials, of skilled labour and transport, rise to such unprecedented heights that the expense would be enormous. He referred to his experience in New Zealand, where cottages built for military pensioners at a cost of £30 by

the government were less acceptable to the man than those they built themselves on an allowance of £15. Lastly Grey recommended that building allowances should be paid out one third at a time, in accordance with the progress of the building.

For the first year rations, or the equivalent in money, should be issued, but in Grant's opinion, the sooner the money equivalent could be paid to the men the better; this would obviate the necessity of transport and save the public the waste entailed in supplying perishable stores. It would encourage industry and self-reliance among the settlers who should find it possible to earn their subsistence before long. In such cases, rations in kind would be useless, while a regular sum of money would enable them to supply themselves with tools, stock, etc.

Grey, too favoured such an arrangement. Except for flour and biscuits, he thought that the resources of the country would suffice for the needs of the settlers, and these could be met by such of their number as were suited for trade. Grey anticipated no difficulty in this respect, as one line of settlers would be established in the vicinity of the posts already held by the military, while a good road, recently built, linked a new line of posts to be established further to the East.

In alluding to the question of finances, Grant mentioned the various sources from which funds would be obtained, namely the vote of £40,000 by the Cape Parliament, an amount of between £6,000 and £7,000 annually to be drawn from the Reserve Fund, as well as an amount of about £100,000 which would be derived from the sale of land in the vicinity of the new locations. The Governor too dealt fully with this question, and, together with Grant, estimated that a sum not far short of £200,000 would be raised in the Colony.

It was recommended that the grant of £40,000 made by the Cape Legislature should be used for making advances of £5 each to the military settlers for the purchase of agricultural implements and

stock. The money thus advanced could be recovered from the recipients in the course of the second and third years of service, when, it was hoped, they would be in a position to repay the advances.

One chaplain should be provided for every thousand men. Where there were no government schools in the neighbourhood, schools should be erected and probably competent Legionaries could be secured to undertake the work of conducting these schools.

Considerable space was devoted by Grant to the question of choosing suitable localities for the Germans. The paramount considerations were, he said, firstly, the selection of sites from a military point of view for the defence of the frontier, and secondly, the suitability of the sites as potentially prosperous settlements.

The first requisite was guaranteed by the fact that a large number of the suggested sites were already military posts, while the rest had been specially chosen with the object of covering unprotected points. After digressing considerably on the geography of the region which was to be occupied, Grant classified the posts suggested as settlements under three heads:-

- (1) Those to be created which were to be occupied exclusively by the military settlers.
- (2) Those already in existence which were to be occupied by regular troops and military settlers;
- (3) Those in which the military settlers would replace the regular troops.

Unless some unforeseen circumstance should arise, it was intended to occupy the posts in the order enumerated, the purpose being the establishment of a protective force in the unoccupied area as soon as possible. It would be possible for the settlers to familiarise themselves with the peculiarities of the country from the regular troops in adjacent posts and from the few ordinary settlers already in that area. Settlers in the second group would have at their disposal the benefit of the experience of the troops and settlers in the localities to be settled by them. As a final

step, the Germans were to replace regular troops which could then be safely withdrawn, as the earlier contingents would already have formed a barrier against frontier aggression. But Grant was careful to observe that the final arrangements could be made only when the actual number of men coming to the Cape was known. It must be remembered, too, that it was generally anticipated that about 8000 men, mostly married, would come.

At the new sites, of course, it would be necessary to erect defensible buildings; - in some cases, it could be reported, work had already been begun on such projects. At existing posts there would be some form of temporary accommodation for the newcomers, and there would also be a guard room, a commissariat store and stables; these could form a rallying point in case of attack.

Grant then enumerated the proposed locations and observed that minimum fortifications essential for the security of each settlement existed in most cases, as regular forces occupied many of the proposed localities. Where there was the need, temporary shelters, a church and a school would be erected; the cost of these would be borne by the grant from the Cape Parliament.

Major Grant's very voluminous report was accompanied by a letter from Grey, who assured Her Majesty's Government that Grant's statements were absolutely reliable, as they were backed by a personal knowledge of the country and by his (the Governor's) own opinions.

Referring to an item in Grant's report which recommended that officers struck off the strength of the Legion could accompany it with limited privileges, Grey said he thought it would be very advantageous to have these men, though it would be advisable to make sure that they had capital or some means of subsistence; the presence of a number of poor and idle men might endanger the success of the whole plan. As later events proved, Grey's warning was not ill-timed; many of these men, - known then as

"Gentlemen Cadets," subsequently found it very difficult to establish themselves at the Cape. ⁽³⁴⁾

The Governor wanted the Legion to arrive in November, as the usual time for Kaffir insurrections was the end of December; even at the time of writing (July, 1856), there were numerous signs of restlessness on the Border.

Another point he emphasised was, that, although it was his intention to establish the Legion on the eastern frontier, the settlers should understand quite clearly that they could be located in any part of South Africa.

Major Grant's Report, with the papers accompanying it, was placed before the Queen early in September. In replying, she not only declared herself extremely pleased with the progress of events, but also commented on the valuable services rendered by Sir George Grey and Major Grant. ⁽³⁵⁾ In the same letter, she made the valuable suggestion that General Stutterheim should accompany the settlers for at least one year. Labouchere was also in favour of appointing Stutterheim and was supported by Lord Palmerstone, who thought that as Stutterheim was himself a German, he would have more influence over the men. ⁽³⁶⁾

On Major Grant's return to England, at the suggestion of Pamure, a meeting was convened in September, 1856, to discuss matters relative to the German Legion. ⁽³⁷⁾ Lord Pamure with some of his officers represented the Department of War, Labouchere the Colonial Office, and Stutterheim the Germans; Grant was invited because of his ability to supply from personal knowledge particulars regarding circumstances in the Colony.

At this meeting, the "Conditions for the Formation of a Military Settlement in British South Africa" (see Appendix II) were drawn up. Substantially these followed the "Proposed

(34) GA. G.H. Rec. 39/1. MSO. BGL., pp. 152 ff. Stutterheim to Grey.

(35) Pamure Papers, II, 298.

(36) Ibid., p. 257.

(37) Imp. Pap., March, 1857, pp. 64 ff. Lab. to Grey, 5th Nov., 1856.

per Mills to Grant.

"Conditions" drawn up by Grey and Grant; the majority of the amendments were to ensure precision and brevity, though a few were not unimportant. These were briefly:-

1. The pay of all ranks was fixed, whereas the Proposed Conditions had mentioned only the pay to be drawn by privates;
2. Nothing was said about a system of magistracy such as had been suggested;
3. Officers were put on half-pay, only staff officers drawing full salaries;
4. Nothing was said about the renewal of clothing;
5. Nor was anything said about the appointment of chaplains and schoolmasters;
6. All reference to the legal status of the men was omitted, probably because this was to be left for further correspondence between the Colonial Secretary, the Governor and the Parliament of the Cape of Good Hope.

With these alterations, then, the "Conditions" were published on the 24th September, 1856, being followed by a declaration that the sum of £2 would be advanced to volunteers to enable them to discharge small debts.

(111)

Following the publication of the "Conditions", there arose a tremendous agitation. Numerous pamphlets and letters were circ⁽³⁸⁾ularised, some being so scurrilous that Lord Pannure contemplated taking legal proceed⁽³⁹⁾ings.

(40)

At the suggestion of Sir George Grey, Captain Hoffmann who had accompanied Grant to the Cape, returned to England to describe the Colony to his compatriots and to give them as much information as possible. Hoffmann faithfully carried out these instructions, and constituting himself a propangandist for the Government, portrayed the Cape as truly a paradise and endeavoured to secure volunteers for the proposed scheme.⁽⁴¹⁾

(38) U.E.F. II, passim.

(39) Pannure Papers, II. p. 316, Pannure to Queen. 4th November, 1856.

(40) Grant's Report, Appendix VII, Grey to Grant, 14th July, 1856.

(41) U.E.F. II, 173.

Contrary to expectation, - for the Government had no doubt that immigration to the Cape would be for the permanent advantage of men of steady character, there was much hesitation among the legionaries. They had fostered the hope that they would be able to remain together as a Corps, and had not been ignorant of the Government's intention regarding them. (42) They themselves attributed the scheme of sending them to the Cape to Prince Albert, (43) the Prince Consort.

Numerous causes may be found for this hesitation. One of the Legionaries, a staff officer, although saying "Perhaps never has a Government made more favourable and benevolent conditions of settlement," (44) had to admit that the Government erred, when it hoped that all would press forward to appropriate the benefits of these offers. He attributed the tardiness in volunteering to a desire to accept service for India, where, it was understood, the rate of pay was good. His references to Captain Hoffmann, at this point and subsequently, convey the impression that this officer, at no time held the confidence of the men. His statements evoked general suspicion, probably because of his too glowing descriptions of the country intended for settlement.

The Duke of Cambridge, referring to the same subject in a letter to Pamure, said that he feared the Baron von Stutterheim had made a mess of things, alienated the support of his officers and disobliged all parties. Had he got his officers on to his side in the first instance, he thought, with a little management, (45) he could have persuaded many to follow him to the Cape. This is probably true. In at least one instance there is evidence that a sergeant followed his officer. (46)

Labouchere himself ascribed the hesitation to the fact that

(42) Ibid., p. 169; G. St. Letters, A. 8.

(43) U. S. F. II, 170.

(44) Ibid., p. 175.

(45) Pamure Papers, II. 311.

(46) G. St. Letters, A. 14

intending settlers had to relinquish the receipt of a large sum of ready money which, would be paid to them on discharge, as had been promised by the terms of enlistment. ⁽⁴⁷⁾ Many, he thought, might have entered into engagements with their friends in expectation of this payment, and lastly he referred to the numerous external agencies desirous of procuring the men of the Legion on their release.

An illuminating Article which appeared in the "United Service Gazette" on 4th October, 1856, ⁽⁴⁸⁾ gives more information regarding these "external agencies" which prevented a large number of men from accepting an offer so joyously greeted at first.

According to the writer, the King of Naples was raising a troop and paying the volunteers 50 dollars a month, the Dutch were recruiting for their Army in Batavia, and France and the Argentine were likewise interested in the disbanding of the British German Legion. Finally, mention was made of the revolutionary factions of all countries, which were offering ⁽⁴⁹⁾ everything to secure the men of the Legion for their own purpose. This article also stated that the men were suspicious of the promises made by the Government which, instead of paying the promised enlistment bounty of £5, was paying only £3. They left out of account, of course, that an advance of two pounds sterling had already been made.

A letter written by a Captain Adolf Bliesener reveals the views of one section of the Legionaries. ⁽⁵⁰⁾ The entire letter, written in a most sarcastic tone, indulges in repeated gibes against Captain Hoffmann, of whom the writer seems to have had a profound distrust.

After a disparaging reference to the English Commissariat, he referred to Captain Hoffmann's statements regarding the healthiness of the Cape, and said that several English soldiers formerly

(47) Imp. Pap., March, 1857, p. 65.

(48) U. S. F. II, 176.

(49) Similar information in G. St. Letters, A. 13-14.

(50) U. S. F. II, 187-194; fully quoted.

stationed there, gave a different version.

The statement that the climate was excellent for consumptives he ridiculed, and sarcastically quoting Hoffmann, he maintained "The lovely green grassy carpets' through which 'the softly murmuring silver brooks wind' guarantee a sure sustenance for oxen."

He ironically referred to the danger from the Kaffirs and to the facility with which - according to Hoffmann's statements, the boundaries of lands could be extended, implying of course the absence of security of property. The high prices paid for horses, the bad means of communication and the prevalence of wild beasts and snakes, were all mentioned by him and utilised to discourage intending volunteers.

He showed how nothing had been achieved at the Cape in spite of the fact that for 250 years it had been nurtured in Portuguese, Dutch and English "Kultur." "Beware of the shackles, beware of the snake under the flower - beware of the Cape!" he ended. ⁽⁵¹⁾

The bitterness of the attack is partly explained by information from another source. ⁽⁵²⁾ Bliesner was one of a partnership of three who were endeavouring to secure Legionaries for a settlement on American soil. In an attempt to obtain volunteers for their project, they did all in their power to dissuade their comrades from migrating to the Cape. To what extent their efforts were successful is not known, but there can be little doubt that their propaganda could exert a profound influence on the men addressed and that, to a certain extent, it might explain the smallness of the proportion of volunteers for the Cape.

However, there were not wanting advocates of the Cape, and prominent among them was Dr. Paul Ingwersen, a former editor of a German newspaper, who on the 2nd October published a letter in ⁽⁵³⁾

(51) U.E.F.II, 187-194 (Or if on same page Ibid.)

(52) G.St. Letters, A.13.

(53) U.E.F.II, 178 ff.; fully quoted.

which he pleaded the cause of the Government and endeavoured to create an enthusiasm for the Cape.

Before discussing the actual "Conditions" offered, he dealt with the national importance of the question from a German point of view, saying that there was no doubt that the inevitable emigration from Germany on a large scale would tend to be whether a large settlement of military compatriots existed. This, he alleged, would tend to give the German Military Settlers an enviable position, as they would be able to assist their countrymen, and thus deserve well of the fatherland. What the Legionary sought was a sure existence - and in this respect, he affirmed, the conditions and prospects were of such a nature as had never before existed. (54)

"It seems to me" he continued "that in a consideration of the whole question, one is right in saying that never before has the inception of the foundation of a colony been attended by more glorious prospects."

The prospect he depicted was indeed a brilliant one. A large proportion of the colonists would be distributed in the towns where work was available for everyone. The artisan received a wage of six shillings a day, an income from which it would be possible to save a certain sum, which could be invested in land or a business. Equally enviable was the lot of the men settled on the land, for in the first year, when the Government supplied rations, they would be able to save the whole of their pay, while they would use their spare time in working for the already established land-owners. Thus, in the second year they would be in a position to invest in stock and farming implements and to buy more land at 3/- per acre - a price, fixed by the Government. For the grazing of stock they would be able to utilise the commonages and thus the settlers would soon be established.

IF
As the previous letter erred on the side of malevolence and pessimism, this letter errs on the side of optimism. Ingwersen's

estimation of the facility with which a livelihood was to be gained at the Cape was probably based on Hoffmann's account and not founded on a thorough knowledge of the economic conditions prevalent on the Frontier. He left out of calculation that the sudden addition of several thousands of workers to a sparsely populated area would necessarily render employment scarce.

From the above letters it may be concluded that the real explanation for the small number of the volunteers lay less in the nature of the scheme than in the effectiveness of the propaganda against it, and possibly, too, in the immediate attractiveness of rival schemes. Undoubtedly the character of Captain Hoffmann contributed largely towards deterring many, for he appears to have aroused the hostility and opposition of some of his colleagues, who did everything in their power to thwart his efforts to induce the Legionaries to volunteer for the Cape. All this led to a bitter campaign against the Government - a campaign in which some of the methods adopted to dissuade volunteers do not seem to have been strictly honourable.

It is difficult to estimate to what extent the external agencies referred to by Labouchere and enumerated in the United Service Gazette, contributed towards withholding volunteers, as no documents are at hand to cast any light on this question. Many of the Legionaries, it is known, settled permanently in England and were successful in establishing themselves comfortably. Some returned to Germany, some emigrated to Nova Scotia, but beyond this very little indeed is known of those who did not volunteer for the Cape.

Eventually well over two thousand men volunteered and arrangements were made for their transmission to the Cape.

(55) Statement by Mrs. John Hopper, Pietermaritzburg, late of Aldershot, England.

(56) U.E.F. II, passim.

(57) Pamphlet Papers, II. 319. Pamphlet to Queen, 10th Nov., 1856.

(iv)

Baron von Stutterheim, the General at the head of the British German Legion, was appointed to the command of what now became known as the "German Military Settlers" and was vested with a two-fold power, for correlated with his military office, was the semi-civil appointment of "Commissioner". General Wooldridge, now Colonel, was second in command and Assistant Commissioner, while several additional officers were chosen for the General Staff. Perhaps the most important appointment was that of Major Grant (58) (a little later Colonel) who on account of the valuable work he had done, was chosen for the responsible post of temporary Military Secretary. Attached to the Governor of the Cape, he was to superintend the disposal of lands reserved for the Military Settlers and to supervise all matters connected with their establishment.

As was anticipated by Grey, the proportion of officers volunteering for the Cape was greater than that of the men, for they experienced much greater difficulty in procuring suitable employment after their discharge. Indeed, it was regarded a favour to be designated for the Cape, and many were even prepared to sacrifice rank for the prospect of a definite settlement. The seriousness of the position was aggravated by the fact that it was the intention of the Government to reduce the number of officers accompanying the German Military Settlers (Art. 29 of the "Conditions"). Hence a large number of officers, not at first selected, were prepared to accept service in the ranks of the "German Military Settlers". Their case was favourably viewed. Thus the Duke of Cambridge, writing to Lord Pannure, said, "There can be no doubt that legally these men have no claim on the Government, but certainly the whole thing has turned out most unfortunately for them". (61) According to the Articles of Capitulation (Art. 12), in terms of which they had enlisted, they

(58) Imp. Pap., March, 1857, p.72.

(59) *Ibid.*, p.69.

(60) U.E.F.II, 195.

(61) Pannure Papers, II, 313, ff

were promised three months' pay on disbandment, but now it was found that this did not suffice to extricate them from debt and enable them to return home or emigrate. Consequently the suggestion was made to Pannure that a larger proportion of these officers should be granted a free passage to the Cape. This, it will be seen, almost corresponded with the proposal made by Sir George Grey that officers, struck off the strength of the British German Legion and yet desiring to emigrate, should be granted certain privileges, such as a free passage, a small pay, and the grant of a limited amount of land. Lord Pannure accordingly extended these privileges to a number of officers who gladly accepted them, and on doing so, were officially known as
(62)
"Gentlemen Cadets".

Certain matters were naturally left entirely to the War Office, one of these being the drawing up of the rate of pay for the officers of the military settlers.

Baron von Stutterheim received 37/11d. a day, a sum equal to the staff pay of a Major-General, and the allowance pertaining to that rank. Col. J. W. Wooldridge, the second in command, was granted 31/3d. per diem, while the pay of the subordinate staff officers ranged from 25/6d. to 11/7d. per day. The pay of the several classes of settlers was as follows:-

Field Officers, if Lieut-Col.	8/6d. per day.
Field Officers, if Majors	6/0d. " "
Captains, Infantry	5/9½d. " "
Captains, Cavalry	7/3½d. " "
Lieutenants, Infantry	5/3d. " "
Lieutenants, Cavalry	4/6d. " "
Ensigns	2/7½d. " "
Cornets	4/0d. " "
Surgeons, ranking as Captains	13/0d. " "

(62) Imp. Pap., March, 1857, p.73, Lab. to Grey, 15th Nov., 1856
Enclosure; U.E.F.II, 195.

Assistant Surgeons, ranking as Lieutenants	7/6d. per day
Paymaster and Quarter-Master, ranking as Captains	12/6d. " "
Chaplains, ranking as Majors. £100 per annum or	5/5½d. " "
Gentlemen Cadets	1/2d.

It will be noticed that only the staff officers received full pay, while the settlers in general had to be content with about half of the ordinary rate.

Regarding the other ranks, it will be remembered that by Article 9 of the "Conditions", the non-commissioned officers and men were granted the following rates of pay:—

Quarter-Master Sergeants	2/6d. per day	(63)
Pay or Colour Sergeants	1/2d. " "	
Sergeants	11d. " "	
Corporals	8d. " "	
Privates	6d. " "	(64)

The rate of allowances was settled only when the Germans were already at the Cape, but may well be given here. The Commanding officers of the Regiments were to receive 3/- a day whilst embodied and on full pay. Each officer in actual command of a company was to receive the same allowance as was drawn by other of Her Majesty's officers, and was to be responsible for (a) the repair of arms, (b) the providing of an arm chest for the safe custody and transport of spare arms, and (c) the purchase and renewal of Company books.

An application to have the pay of the Paymaster clerks raised was disallowed, as their rate of pay (1/10 per day) was already the full pay for that grade.⁽⁶³⁾

The question of the advances is an extremely complicated one. As has already been noted, at various times promises had been made and small advances paid. The men apparently did not seem quite

(63) GA. G.H. Reg. 39/1, N.S.O., B.G.L., 1856-58, p.112.

(64) Imp. Pap., March, 1887, p.66.

clear about the actual position and, as a result, were somewhat suspicious. ⁽⁶⁵⁾ Two statements made by a sergeant of the Legion who kept a diary, however, clarify the position. On the 26th of March, 1857, that is, ⁽⁶⁶⁾ about two months after landing at the Cape, he wrote:

"During the last few days of the past week, all those transported by the ship "Mersey" eventually received their pay for the voyage. Mine amounted to more than nine pounds sterling, but as the advance of two pounds received at Colchester and that of three pounds received at Browdown had to be deducted and "(as I had several small expenses on the voyage)", I received but little more than three pounds sterling". Again he wrote on the 14th July, 1857: "The long expected advance of £5...has at last been paid, for yesterday evening all the non-Commissioned officers were ordered to present themselves to the Captain to receive the money owing to us". ⁽⁶⁷⁾

It thus appears that three separate advances were made. Firstly, at their original stations in England the volunteers received £2. Secondly, to this was added a further sum varying between £3 for sergeants, and 15/- for privates, while lastly, when already at the Cape, the settlers were advanced the sum of £5. The first two amounts were recovered from the pay accumulated during the voyage, ⁽⁶⁸⁾ while the last-named was to be recovered from the pay of the second and third years. Altogether then the advances were as follows:

Sergeants	£10
Corporals	£3
Privates	£7. 15/-.

The officers, it seems, were simply granted the three months pay promised them by the terms of their enlistment in the British German Legion.

{65} U.E.P. II, 176.

{66} G. Steinbart's Diary, 26th March, 1857 (This will in subsequent references be referred to as Diary), G. St. Letters, B. 14-15.

{67} Diary, 14th July, 1857.

{68} Imp. Pap., March, 1857, p. 63.

The Character and Legal Status of the German Military Settlers was the next question to be settled. On their original enlistment, all members of the Foreign Legion were required to take the oath of allegiance to Her Majesty, and were "liable to serve wheresoever Her Majesty may think fit to employ them" (Art. 12 of Articles of Capitulation)⁽⁶⁹⁾, but this allegiance was limited to the duration of the Crimean War, that is, until the end of the first year "after the ratification of peace". As the Peace of Paris had been signed on the 26th February, 1856, this means that the Legionaries were liable to military control only until the 26th February, 1857, by which date they would either have to be disbanded, or would have to be subjected to some new legal control. Although the "Proposed Conditions" deal with the subject, the official "Conditions" completely omit any mention of the general nature of any permanent control to be exercised over the Legionaries, except to say "They will be liable to serve as military settlers" (Art. 3), that is, for a period of seven years. During this time, they were to obey such orders as were laid down for them by the Governor, who according to Art. 23 was able to expel them, fine them, and deprive them of house and lands. The term "military settlers" is legally a peculiar one, for as the one word necessitates martial control, so the other implies a civil status, and thus any legislation to be effective, necessarily had to take into account the dual nature of the German Military Settlers; in fact, had to provide for civil control as well as for military discipline.

The difficulty of the situation was realised by Labouchere, who wrote to Grey on the 5th November, 1856, saying: "Some provisions will then be necessary for properly establishing and defining by law their military status in their new capacity of military colonists"⁽⁷⁰⁾. In the meanwhile, he said, ~~that~~ Lord Panmure had authorised full pay for the voyage, as a doubt had arisen whether the men would be completely under the provisions of the

(69) QA. G.H. Rec. 39/1, M.S.O. B.C.L. pp. 908 ff.

(70) Imp. Pap., March, 1857, p. 65.

Mutiny Act, if during the voyage their pay was lessened or stopped. This means, then, that until their landing at the Cape, the German Military Settlers were soldiers and completely under military control. Labouchere intimated his intention of furnishing Sir George Grey with a detailed memorandum on the subject, which he did on the 10th of November, 1856.

In this second dispatch, Labouchere stated that he had been informed by the legal advisers of the Crown "that the Legion being embodied under that statute (18 and 19 Vict. Cap. 2, Art. of Capitulation) cannot be continued in the service of the Crown after the expiration of that period" - namely after the lapse of one year after the ratification of peace; but "it is competent to Her Majesty to send them to the Cape of Good Hope to serve until the end of the specified year, when they must be disbanded".

Next he pointed out that in British Kaffraria all Legislation was within the hands of the Governor, while the Cape Government could enact laws to clarify the legal status of the men within the Cape; uniformity, however, would be highly advisable. ⁽⁷¹⁾

He emphasized the importance of taking into consideration the dual character of the Legionaries; and to assist Grey, he quoted various acts which had met similar positions, and by which men, temporarily engaged in military activities, had been governed, such as the English and Canadian militia men were.

Grey and Grant had not neglected this matter, for by Clause 27 of their "Proposed Conditions" they had specified that "every military settler during his seven years of military service is to be liable to the provisions of the Mutiny Act and the Articles of War" that is, at all times. Labouchere, differed from them, considering that the settlers should be subject to Military Law only when actually engaged in military work. Moreover, the position was complicated by the fact that the seven years were divided into two distinct periods, - the first being that of three

(71) Ibid. . pp. 70-71

years during which the settlers received pay, the second period being that of four years during which the settlers received no pay, but only the tenure of the cottage and land.

One other point was mentioned by Labouchere, namely, the national status of these men, who were not British subjects, but aliens, and subjects of the Queen of England only until one year after the ratification of peace. Here, no difficulty was anticipated, as by the Act for the Naturalisation of Aliens, 10 and 11, Vict. Cap. 83, Colonial Legislatures had the power of conferring on aliens the privileges, or any of the privileges, of naturalisation. Complete naturalisation was not necessary, as the benefit of military service could be obtained from men not fully naturalised.

The result of this correspondence was the enactment on 29th June, 1857 of Act No. 5 of 1857 (Cape of Good Hope) "An Act for establishing more effectually the settlement in this Colony of certain Military Settlers"⁽⁷³⁾. The same Act was promulgated in British Kaffraria by the Governor as High Commissioner for British Kaffraria.

By this Act, the officers and men of the British German Legion settled in the Cape were, during the term of their engagement for military service, subject to the Articles of War and the Mutiny Act and all other Laws for the time applicable to troops in the Colony. It was left to the Governor to decide to what extent the German Military Settlers were subject to these laws, since he was empowered, either to promulgate additional enactments specifically for the Military Settlers, or to direct that certain particular laws and provisions should not be applicable to them. In addition, provision was made by which the Governor was empowered "to lay down such rules as he may deem necessary for the conduct and control of the settlers". The object of this provision was not so much the enactment of

(73) Imp. Pap. 339, pp. 27-28.

additional rules, but the ensurance of the administration of such rules, as had already been laid down.

This Act, it will be noticed, was a compromise. It ensured the permanent control of the settlers by military law, as Grey had originally desired, and in addition, it took account of Labouchere's opinion that, when not on active service, the men should be treated rather as settlers than as soldiers, for the Governor was able to permit a modified form of control whenever he desired. The complete absence of military control in time of peace was, in fact, manifestly impossible; the whole organisation, character and purpose of this settlement was a military one, and hence, at least to a certain extent, military control was required.

One more matter had to be arranged, namely, the organisation of the German Military Settlers into regiments. Provision had been made in the beginning for the formation of a number of regiments of 1,000 men each, and the personnel of the officers was arranged accordingly, but when only about 2,400 men volunteered instead of the expected 6,000 to 8,000, some difficulty was experienced, because this number was too large for the formation of two full regiments and too small for the formation of three full regiments. As effective control was highly advisable, and as there was a superfluous number of officers, Lord Panmure decided that the Volunteers should be organised into three regiments of about eight hundred men each, instead of a thousand each, as was originally contemplated.

The general arrangements for the German Military Settlers had now reached a fairly advanced stage, and by this time the desire was felt that they should be transmitted as soon as possible. Inactivity led to rioting and undesirable behaviour in the camps, which were urgently required by the War Office for other purposes. The sentiments of the Duke of Cambridge, who had previously shown

(73) Imp. Pap., March, 1857, p.73. Lab. to Grey, 18th Nov., 1856.
Encl.

himself a friend of the Legion, are typical: "We are anxious to get rid of them," he wrote, "and to see them well cleared out of Colchester, which we want entirely as a station, now that the winter is approaching,"⁽⁷⁴⁾ and again he wrote, "The sooner we can get the Military colonists off the better, for the long delay in their shipment is most inconvenient, and only gives rise to more discontent...."⁽⁷⁵⁾; while in a third letter to Pannure, he definitely referred to "much rioting at Colchester" and to an "unpleasant occurrence"⁽⁷⁶⁾ at Brownstown. Needless to say, by this time the War Office and the Colonial Office were also getting tired of the Legion, while Grey was anxious to have them in the Colony, as he feared that a Kaffir insurrection was imminent.⁽⁷⁷⁾ Final preparations were therefore hastily made for the transport of the German Military Settlers to the Cape.

(74) Pannure Papers, II. 502.

(75) *Ibid.*, p. 314.

(76) *Ibid.*, p. 311.

(77) Imp. Pap., March, 1857, p. 34. Grey to Lab., 30th May, 1856.

VI

THE TRANSMISSION OF THE GERMAN MILITARY SETTLERS TO THE
CAPE.

The general arrangements had now been made, but it was still necessary to make particular arrangements to satisfy the requirements of the settlers during the voyage and on their immediate arrival at the Cape. A list is at hand showing the number of the various articles granted to them. Thus for 2,000 men, 142 tents were shipped, 141 hatchets, 2000 blankets, the same number of rugs, 10 spades, 10 shovels, 10 pick axes, 10 saws, 167 camp kettles and bags, as well as a number of bill hooks, haversacks, hospital marquees, saddles and bridles. Subsequently, Lord Parnore sanctioned the supply of an additional equipage, namely 3000 extra axes, 3000 spades, 500 hand-barrows, and the same number of wheelbarrows. Moreover, owing to the marriage of a number of men, the supply of tents was found insufficient, with the result that 500 extra tents were shipped. (1)

Regarding food, Sir George Grey thought that the greater portion could be obtained locally, but fearing an insufficiency of flour and biscuits, he requested that an ample supply of these should be sent out with the settlers. (2) This request was granted, and orders were given that large supplies of these provisions should be sent out to the Cape. (3)

As of course any force is useless without a sufficient supply of ammunition, and as the German Military Settlers were armed with the newer Enfield Rifles, Grey asked that a complete supply of ammunition should be issued for the use of the Germans. (2) This request, too, was granted, for 300,000 rounds of ammunition were ordered to be shipped to the Cape by the two ships "Mersey" and

(1) Imp. Pap., March, 1857, p. 68. Mundy to Labouchere, 3rd Nov., 1856.
 (2) Imp. Pap., March, 1857, p. 45. Grey to Lab. No 2 Military of 11th July, 1856.
 (3) Imp. Pap., March, 1857, p. 71. Lab. to Grey; No 121 of 15th Nov., 1856.

"Abyssinian".⁽⁴⁾

It is a generally recognised principle that a settler, to be really efficient, must be a married man, because, without the tie of home and family, he is too inclined to embark on new ventures, instead of persevering in those he has already undertaken. Aware of this, the Government, therefore, directly and indirectly, advised the men to become married before proceeding to the Cape,⁽⁵⁾ and in fact encouraged marriage by granting free passages to wives and children, and even to affianced brides, whom they were prepared to bring over from Germany.⁽⁶⁾ Many were not loath to accept this advice. Some already engaged sent for fiancées from Germany,⁽⁷⁾ while a large number of others definitely set out to find wives in England. The result was a number of mass marriages, some taking place on land, others on some of the ships lying in harbour at Portsmouth.⁽⁸⁾

Subsequently there was some doubt regarding the legality of these marriages, and as was naturally to be expected, some confusion, since the couples were frequently not even able to converse with each other - the husband being German and the wife English. The "Military Settlers' Marriage Act"⁽⁹⁾ was therefore passed and proclaimed on the 12th August, 1857, in British Kaffraria. By it, the parties married were legally recognised as being so. Appended to this Act was a list of names, (203 couples) which proves conclusively the number of mass marriages. The almost wholesale marrying is well shown by the fact that on the 16th November, 1856, as many as fifty-two couples were married on H.M.S. "Britannia", and by a statement made by one of the chaplains in a bigamy case that he had joined together as many as 60 or 70 couples in one day.⁽¹⁰⁾

Numerous anecdotes were still afloat about these wedding

(4) Imp. Pap., March, 1857, p.75. Mundy to Lab. 12th November, 1856.
 (5) Imp. Pap., March, 1857, p.67. Lab. to Grey, 5th November, 1856
 Encl. I, and Statement by H. Weineck, late CMS; and UEF.II. 196.
 (6) UEF. II. 196, and statement by H. Weineck.
 (7) G. St. Letters, A.14.
 (8) UEF. II. 196, and Supplement to Germania, 12th August, 1857.
 (9) Supplement to Germania, 12th August, 1857.
 (10) K.N.T.Gazette, 11th September, 1853.

ceremonies sixty years after. Individually they cannot be proved, but indubitably their prevalence proves not only the fact, but also the ^{sub}sequent confusion. Indeed, it is doubtful whether a number of the settlers eventually lived with their rightful wives. (11) Certainly some were by no means sure. As can naturally be deducted, the majority of these English wives were not of the best class. True, many made good wives, but it is obvious that as a rule girls of good families, good social standing and sound character, would hesitate to marry men who could hardly speak their language, who were more or less strangers to them, and whose prospects were, to say the least, somewhat uncertain.

By this time it was possible to calculate the complete number of settlers. Of officers there were 59, of gentlemen cadets 42, of non-commissioned officers and men 2261, the grand total of all these being 2362. There were in addition 30 wives of officers and 331 wives of men in the other ranks, while the number of children totalled 155. Thus altogether there embarked for the Cape of Good Hope 2918 persons, many of whom were destined to accomplish good work in their adopted home. (12)

These 2918 people were transported in six sailing vessels - the "Sultana" of 1316 tons under Captain D. Taylor; the "Calloden", 1370 tons, under Captain D. Melchian; the "Abyssinian" of 1140 tons, commanded by Captain J. H. Heaton; the "Covenanter", 1270 tons, under Captain J. McLarty; the "Stamboul" of 1270 tons, under Captain J. Reid, and the "Mersey" of 823 tons, under Captain J. Dodd. In addition, H.M. Steamer "Vulcan" came out to the Cape bringing General von Stutterheim and his staff, and an escort of men, probably cavalry men. (13)

The dates of departure of these ships are in almost every case uncertain, for the various authorities give different dates. Nevertheless, it is possible to gauge correctly to within a few days when these ships left Portsmouth, where all the members and

(11) Statement by the late Rev. H. Gutschke, Kingwilliamstown. See also Cory, *The Rise of South Africa*, VI. p. 46.

(12) CA. GHRec. 39/1. MSO. B3L., p. 960. See Appendix IV.

(13) See Appendix V.

the attendants of the German Military Settlers embarked. Equally uncertain are the numbers of officers and men transported by the individual ships, for the original papers are not at hand - only the statement of the grand total. It is thus necessary to rely on secondary sources, the chief being newspaper reports, of which it seems that the most reliable are those given by the Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette.

The "Sultana" and the "Culloden" left together somewhere between the 8th and the 11th November, 1856, the most likely date being the 10th. The former had on board, either nine or ten officers, with either 564 or 576 men, who were accompanied by but twelve women, chiefly officers' wives, and twelve children. After arriving at Table Bay on the 30th December, 1856, she proceeded to East London, which was reached on the 15th January, 1857. In the race the "Culloden" had beaten her, for although reaching Cape Town a few days later than the "Sultana" (5th January, 1857), the "Culloden" arrived at East London three days before the "Sultana", namely, on the 12th January, 1857, when the first batch of German Settlers to Cape Colony was landed. The "Culloden" had on board somewhere between sixteen and twenty officers and between 560 and 570 men, who, as far as is known, were accompanied by but two women and three children. (14)

The references to the other four sailing vessels are not as copious as those to the first two ships. In some instances it is impossible to find the data. The "Abyssinian" according to the Gazette left Portsmouth as late as the 27th November, 1856, with twenty-eight officers on board, 96 men, 62 women and 35 children, and arrived at Cape Town on the 25th January, 1857, while from the King William's Town Gazette we learn that the "Abyssinian" reached the Buffalo Mouth on 6th February, 1857.

The "Covenanter" sailed about the 19th November, 1856 and arrived at Table Bay on the 9th February, 1857, having fourteen

(14) For references see Appendix V.

or fifteen officers on board and probably 228 men, although it was originally proposed to take 418 men. This ship had brought an unusually large number of women, of whom there were 133 accompanied by 33 children.

The "Stamboul", after leaving Portsmouth on the 18th November, arrived at East London on the 31st January, 1857, having, according to our only authority, the "Gazette", ten officers and 436 men on board, as well as 145 women and 27 children.

The smallest of the boats, the "Mersey", sailed also on or about the 19th November, 1856, and arrived in Table Bay on the 7th February, 1857, bringing twelve officers, 212 men, 102 women and 39 children, as well as a large supply of food and ammunition.

Although H.M.S. "Vulcan" left about the same time as the sailing vessels, she did not accomplish the voyage much more rapidly, reaching Cape Town only about ten days before the small "Mersey", namely, on the 28th January, 1857.⁽¹⁵⁾ She brought out General von Stutterheim, Colonel J. W. Wooldridge, and their staff. From Cape Town, the "Vulcan" proceeded to Simonstown arriving there on the 7th February. Here Sir George Grey, who had long been expected to visit British Kaffraria, joined the boat, and in company with General von Stutterheim, proceeded to East London, arriving there on the 23rd February, 1857. Thus the last of the German Military Settlers had reached their first destination - East London.

Generally the accounts of the behaviour of the men during the voyage are satisfactory,⁽¹⁶⁾ while they themselves speak highly of their treatment on board ship.⁽¹⁷⁾ The passengers of the "Stamboul" addressed a letter to Captain J. Reid, highly appreciating the consideration shown to them, and commending him on being able to give general satisfaction in spite of the numerous and real

{15} For references see Appendix V.

{16} CA. GHRec. 23/57, p. 21. ff.

{17} Statements by Weineck and Oelschlig; Diary, 23th February, 1857.

difficulties with which he had to contend. "We desire", they said, "to express our obligation for the kindness and consideration which we have experienced from you during our passage from England,"⁽¹⁸⁾ A passenger on the "Mersey" speaks of this ship as one "about which even in my old age I shall think with feelings of valued reminiscences".⁽¹⁹⁾

Two Legionaries, still alive in 1922, spoke with equal warmth of their voyage. One^a passenger of the "Stamboul",⁽²⁰⁾ emphasised the absence of trouble, and described how they were supplied with cocoa in nut form, which being strange to them, proved useless. Hence they exchanged it with the sailors for coffee, which proved equally useless, as they had no means of grinding and roasting it. Further, he described the arrangements for feeding the Legionaries, saying that their food was obtained from special military stores, which were issued by the Quartermaster. Food orderlies were appointed regularly and assisted the cooks in the preparation of the meals. Of food, he said, there was a sufficiency, nor had anyone any real cause for complaint.

Their stay at the Cape was not unduly prolonged. Permission to land was not easily obtained and then only a few men were given this privilege. All could at least enjoy the novelty of being at the "Tavern of the Seas" and make acquaintance with the good things the Cape had to offer. Here is a description:

"Leichte Boote tanzten geschäftig über die Bai dahin,
und einzelne ^{derselben} legten sich bei der "Mersey" an, um alle nur
mögliche Erfrischungen feil zu bieten. Die affen-
ähnliche negerartigen Hottentotten erkletterten behende
unsere Fallreepstreppe und lobten in einem Kauderwälsch von
Holländisch, Deutsch und Englisch verlockend aus ihren
Körben: Weintrauben, Obst und andere Früchte, Käse und
Seekrebse, frisches Gemüse u. Küchengewächse, Tabak, Cigarren

(18) Grahamstown Journal, 24th February, 1857.

(19) Diary, 23th February, 1857. G. St. Letters VII gives full account of voyage.

(20) Statement by H. Weineck.

und Pfeifen und viele andere Artikel zu mässig billigen Preisen. Auch die gebührenden Lieferungen von frischem Fleisch, Gemüse und süßem Wasser wurden noch im Laufe des Tages an Bord gebracht, und so war beim Beobachten, Staunen und Bewundern aller der nie gesehenen, fremdländischen Herrlichkeiten schneller wie je die Nacht hereingebrochen." (21)

From the sources at hand it appears that the "Vulcan" was the only ship which experienced any trouble. (22) Thus a Cape paper, the "Zuid Afrikaan" gave a list of accidents, the first being the falling overboard on the night of departure of a sailor, who was not recovered. Shortly afterwards, a cabin-boy met with a similar fate; even Baron von Statterheim did not escape, for during the voyage he was bitten by a favourite bulldog purchased from Sir Harry Smith. At the time of arriving at Cape Town, he was reported to be still suffering from the ill-effects of his experience.

Trouble was experienced with the Legionaries too. At Sierra Leone, a sergeant deserted and all attempts at his recapture failed. Crime too was not wanting; there was a case of stabbing and a case of refusal to obey orders. However, from what is known, it can be gathered that the behaviour of the men in general was satisfactory, for a report to this effect was made to the Governor. (23)

On their arrival at East London, the immigrants discovered that only smaller vessels of 120 tons could enter the river; large vessels had to anchor in the roadstead and land passengers and cargo by means of surf boats. These were attached to two ropes, one being connected with the ship, the other with the land, and were drawn to the shore, or back to the ship. An interesting and vivid description is given of this experience by one of the

(21) G. St. Letters, B.8-9.

(22) Zuid Afrikaan quoted by Grahamstown Journal, 7th February, 1857. 3APL.

(23) CA. GHRec. 23/27, p.21 ff.

settlers.

"Es was am Nachmittage. Sämmtliche Bagage war innerhalb 5 Tagen ans Land befördert, und nun endlich, nachdem ich hundert und fünf Tage auf dem unsicheren Meere zugebracht (seit dem 15. November v. Jahres), kam auch ich vom Bord der "Mersey".....Die brassenden Wogen tobten gewaltig und schlauderten mit fürchterlicher gewalt, meheremals des vermittelst eines Tauscs vorwärts strebende Boot zurück, bis der oft wiederholte Versuch glückte, und ich nebst meinen Gefährten von den Sturzwellen ziemlich durchnässt, ans Land gesetzt wurde. Die Feder ist zu schwach, dass unnenbar wonnige Gefühl zu beschreiben, welches bei diesem Augenblick meiner bemächtigte, wird mir aber gewiss stets in unvertilgbarer Erinnerung bleiben."⁽²⁴⁾

Thus after a long voyage all the settlers were landed and encamped at East London. Here they impatiently awaited orders to proceed to their respective localities.

(24) Diary, 23th February, 1857. G. St. Letters, B. 10 and 11 gives shorter account.

VII

TO AND AT FORT MURRAY.

East London, where the Legion was landed, did not strike them as possessing any remarkable features. A short street with a few mediocre dwellings on a wide open plain constituted the whole town; but even then its situation and suitability as a harbour induced the newcomers to predict a great future for it. It was at that time the port only for British Kaffraria, a still undeveloped territory, but one which promised to have a large export trade. Lieut-Col. Bisset prophesied that it would become a great mercantile centre when the interior was opened up, and especially when the Orange Free State made use of it.

Like all the settlements in British Kaffraria, it was under military protection, having a garrison of about 500 soldiers of the 89th Regiment. A badly built fort also existed and was described with derision by the Germans, who had not yet learnt to discriminate between the fighting capacity of European and Natives.

While the town itself did not strike the Legionaries as being anything remarkable, they could not help being fascinated by the Kaffirs, who, curious and half-afraid, ventured to approach the tents of the Germans in order to beg trifles from them. Easily scared, they retreated with all haste into the thickets bordering the banks of the Buffalo River, whenever they saw a gun directed towards them. It seems to have been their custom to cross the river at low tide in order to procure whatever possible at East London, but the English military force frequently drove them back through the river - always an interesting spectacle for the Germans.

The country lying round about East London, apparently fertile and capable of producing much in the way of crops, conveyed a

(1) Diary, 1st March, 1857.

(2) Imp. Pap., 21st March, 1857 p.84 et seq., Col. Bisset's Report.

favourable impression on the Germans, but they were struck by the absence of cultivation and the sparsity of human habitations. Instead of ploughed fields and crops, they saw only endless veld and cattle, peculiar for their long horns, grazing quietly.

Night life in camp appealed to them, partly because of the glamour of the unknown beyond the bounds of the fire light, partly because of the semi-military appearance of the laager. "Small bivouac fires around which men and women gathered in a kaleidoscopic mixture flickered spasmodically; among the tents the silhouetted figures of the foreign soldiers appeared and disappeared; the canteen was the centre of all the life of the camp. There German soldiers and British sailors congregated, the one to spend the advance granted by a liberal government, the other to waste the hard-earned pay of a long voyage. To this strange medley was added another element, less desirable, but perhaps inevitable wherever a large body of men is congregated, but gladly tolerated as enhancing the spirit of care-free frivolity so characteristic of the soldier of fortune."

Military regime however prevailed. Around the camp a guard was stationed and through the whole long night the sentries gazed intently into the sombre gloom of the bushes, half expecting an attack to be made by the "wild and barbarous tribes".⁽³⁾

The newspapers of Kingwilliamstown and Grahamstown gave prominence to the news of the arrival of the Germans and did not hesitate to express frank opinions about them, although there seems to have been some divergence in the reports. Thus they were described as a "comfortable and creditably ferocious looking body of men, and judging from their corporations, would make short of "eating up" the Kaffirs.⁽⁴⁾ They seemed to be healthy and strong and the pious hope was expressed that they would make excellent settlers.⁽⁵⁾ Their peccadilloes were described as nothing more than might be expected from persons just disembarked from a long

(3) Diary, 26th February, 1857; G. St. Letters, B.11 (Translated)

(4) Grahamstown Journal, 20th January, 1857.

(5) Kingwilliamstown Gazette, 3rd January, 1857.

sea voyage. The correspondent of a paper describes them as young, cleanfaced looking men with a tuft of beard attached to the chin, (6) smoking a cigar and dressed in the uniform of British soldiers.

The policy of the Government was to move them inland as soon as possible in order to prevent congestion at East London. The arrivals by the earlier boats were, in fact, already at Fort Murray when the last ships arrived.

This was in accordance with the commands of Sir George Grey. Before leaving for British Kaffraria he had instructed Lieut-General Sir James Jackson, to make all necessary arrangements for transporting the Legionaries, their stores and baggage, first to Fort Murray and then to their stations. He also asked him to arrange for the supply of rations to them in accordance with the terms under which they ^{had been} ~~were~~ ⁽⁷⁾ enrolled.

A detailed description of the trek of one party is extant.

"Den zweiten März machte sich auch das Detachement der Kersey auf den Weg, um sich der Haupt-Abteilung beizugesellen. Wir marschierten, höchstens zweihundert und fünfzig Mann stark, gut mit Munition versehen, mit den nöthigen militairischen Vorsichtsmaassregeln; doch nur langsam zog sich der lange Karavanenzug vorwärts. Mehr denn 30 Wagen, jeder mit zwölf Ochsen bespannt, waren mit unserer Bagage, mit Weibern und Kindern befrachtet und bildeten den originellen Beförderungszug, dem wir als Bedeckung beigegeben waren.

"So zogen wir langsam fort auf einer öden Heerstrasse, die weder Seitengräben, noch Baumpflanzungen aufzuweisen hatte. Kein anderer Weg durchschnitt unsere Strasse, und höchst selten zog sich ein nur wenig betretener Fusspfad dahin. Während wir für Heute noch stets die See in Sicht behielten, schlängelte sich unser Weg über die sanft sich erhebenden Anhöhen, allmählig höher steigend, so dass sich zuweilen weite Aussichten vor uns eröffneten. Aber überall war die Gegend öde und unbelebt, und nur selten zeigte sich in weiter Ferne ein Kraal oder eine einzeln stehende, von Rohr und Schilf, halb unter, halb über der Erde rundgebaute Kaffernhütte, die dem schweifenden Auge keinen erfreulichen Eindruck gewährte.

"Die wenigen uns begegnenden Kaffern waren - Männer wie Weiber - unbekleidet, oder sie hatten eine elende braunwollene Decke um ihren ähnlich braunen Körper nachlässig geworfen. Scheu wichen sie uns aus und musterten uns nur aus der Ferne. Gegen Mittag erreichten wir das kleine Fort Grey, welches mit einer schwachen englischen Besatzung belegt ist und in dessen Nähe wir auf offenem Felde unsere mitgeführten Lager aufschlugen, um bis zum andern Tage daselbst zu verbleiben.

(6) Grahamstown Journal, 7th February, 1857.
(7) Imp. Pap., 389, p. 26.

"Den dritten März marschirten wir auf ähnliche Weise bis zum Fort Pato, wo wir ^{wo} ebenfalls lagerten. Kaum hatten wir uns hier vor den brennenden Strahlen der Mittagssonne in die eben aufgeschlagenen Zelte geflüchtet, so umzingelten uns eine Menge nackter Kaffernweiber mit vielen ihrer auf den Rücken gebundener Säuglinge, denen sie die Muttermilch auf unbegreifliche Weise, unter den Armen hinweg, nach hinten reichten, um dürres Brennholz gegen Brod auszutauschen oder durch demütige Geberden andere Lebensmittel zu erlangen. Zahlreiche Gruppen ihrer Männer umgaben unser Lager in respectvoller Entfernung..... Auch ihre ungenirte Gefrässigkeit, mit welcher sie über alles herfielen, setzte mich in Erstaunen. Dort, wo für uns Rindvieh geschlachtet wurde, hielten sich mehrere Kaffern auf, um die warmen Eingeweide mit ihrem Inhalt sofort zu verschlingen. Knochen und Abfälle des Fleisches sammelten sie auf, rösteten sie wenige Minuten auf Kohlen und verschlangen sie mit grosser Gier.

Ein leichter, vier bis fünf ^{Fuss} langer Speer, den sie mit ungläublicher Kraft und Geschicklichkeit werfen, ist die gefährliche Waffe der rüstigen Männer, die stets von einer Menge schnellfüssiger grosser Hunde begleitet sind. Sowohl Männer als Frauen der Kaffern rauchen den Taback aus selbst geschnitzten hölzernen Pfeifen"(8)

For the voracious appetites and apparent greed of the Kaffirs there is an explanation. They had lost practically everything in obeying the injuctions of their chiefs to slaughter their cattle and burn their corn; they were starving and naturally could not curb their appetites when they did procure something to eat.

Fort Pato (with probably Fort Grey too) was the scene of a different kind of incident. The story was told in the Grahamstown Journal ⁽⁹⁾ that they were rather riotous on their way up from East London - though there was apparently some justification for their behaviour. The store-keepers at Fort Pato, and probably Fort Grey, too, realising that they had a monopoly, and that the demand was greater than the supply, began to put up their prices. When sugar, for instance, which had originally been sold at 6d. lb. rose to 9d., little was said and even when it was 1/- a lb. no action was taken, but when 1/3 was charged, patience was exhausted; the Legionaries expressed their indignation effectively, though illegally, by giving the store-keepers tremendous trouncings; even the interference of the wagon-drivers was insufficient to prevent the store-keepers from suffering what was probably a justifiable punishment.

(8) G. St. Letters, B. 12-13.

(9) Grahamstown Journal, 7th February, 1857.

(10)

The march from Fort Pato to Fort Murray proved the severest. The distance, computed by them to be about eighteen miles, had to be covered in the tropical heat of the late summer. In spite of being allowed every liberty, they suffered severely. They were permitted to place their bags on the wagons, to loosen their belts, to open their coats and to take off their neck wear, but in spite of all this, they suffered cruelly from the unaccustomed heat. After a three hours march, they were allowed a rest of two hours at a place where a little water was to be had, but no shade.

At last towards evening, they saw Fort Murray below them. Here a number of Germans who had arrived by earlier boats, were already encamped. By night-fall, the tents had been pitched, and they were able to rest from their weary trek. (11)

By the 9th March, 1857, all the Germans were congregated at Fort Murray, where they were detained until they should be located at their various settlements. They were organised into three regiments under Cols. Wooldridge, von Hacke and Kent Murray, and were regarded and retained as soldiers drawing full pay, though actually performing very few military duties. (12)

Fort Murray, around which they camped, is situated on the banks of the Buffalo River about eight miles below Kingwilliamstown. On the right-hand bank of the river, there is a sloping piece of ground, where the fort, of which the ruins are still standing, was situated. Round about and below it, were the tents in which the Germans were temporarily housed. The long rows of white tents stood in picturesque contrast with the otherwise bare country. Numerous footpaths seemed to afford evidence that Fort Murray was a place frequently visited, but even although the Legionaries noticed many Kaffirs fleeing past the Camp like shadows at a distance, they saw comparatively few of them actually nearby and attributed their absence to the presence of a large armed force. (13)

(10) Diary, 8th March, 1857.

(11) Diary, 9th March, 1857.

(12) Diary, 9th March, 1857.

(13) Diary, 13th March, 1857; G. St. Letters, B.14.

(14)

Fort Murray with its three officers and 33 men created a more favourable impression than the forts they had seen previously. It was described as resembling a massive and regularly-built German farmhouse, which would scarcely be regarded as a military centre in Europe, though for the Kaffirs, with their limited knowledge of warfare, it was certainly a stronghold. Behind and besides the fort there were several unostentatious cottages, where a few English and Dutch farmers lived, and where the soldiers could occasionally procure a few vegetables at prices which left them almost bankrupt!

The Legionaries were struck by the backwardness of the country

"Die Vegetation und die Beschaffenheit der Erde Oberfläche in den meisten Gegenden Süd Afrikas ist weder durch Kunst noch durch andere Ursachen verändert worden. Eine Generation hat die andere verdrängt, aber nichts zeigt uns an, dass durch dessen Wechsel Kultur oder Bildung in diesem Lande vorwärts geschritten wäre oder Veränderung erlitten hätte....."

"Weder Ruinen noch andere ehrwürdigen Alterthümer erinnern uns hier an eine thatenreiche längst verflossene Zeit, und man kann meilenweit herumsehnen ohne auch nur eine Spur von Kunst, Industrie, oder wenigstens den Fortschritt der Zeit zu bemerken, und der Mangel hieran ist es eben, der den sonst fruchtbaren Boden ein ödes, trauriges Ansehen gibt. Berg oder Thal, Wald oder Wiese, Ebene oder kuppirtes Terrain erscheinen in einem Zustande, als wären sie eben aus der Hand des Schöpfers in ihrem augenblicklichen Kleide und jetziger Beschaffenheit hervorgegangen (sind)....."

"Nicht der fette Boden eines Landes und die schöpferische Natur, die den eingestreuten Samen hundertfältige Früchte tragen heisst, auch nicht die Geschenke des heisseren Himmels machen irgend ein Land reich und glücklich. Diese Wahrheit drängt sich immer mehr dem Beobachtenden auf, je mehr er sich dem Innern von Kaffraria nähert oder sich von ihm entfernt. Keine Provinz von Deutschland kann sich an Fruchtbarkeit mit diesem Lande messen, und doch ist nirgends in Deutschland jemand so arm und elend als der hiesige Eingeborne. Es geht uns nahe wenn wir ... bedenken, dass auf diesem fruchtbaren Boden Raub und Mord zu Hause ist....." (15)

The military duties performed by them were but few. Nevertheless they were formally inspected by Col. Smith then in command of the detachment at Fort Murray. After the review, it is reported, the choristers of the Legion were ordered by one of their ^{own} officers to proceed to the residence of the Chief Commissioner of British Kaffraria, and to serenade him and his staff. This they were said

(14) Col. Bisset's Report. Ref. Cit. supra.

(15) Diary, 13th March, 1857.

to have done "delightfully".⁽¹⁶⁾

Speculations as to where the Legionaries were to be settled, and how they were to be distributed were now rife, not only among the newcomers themselves but also among the residents of British Kaffraria.⁽¹⁷⁾ The forecasts made were nowhere near correct. In any case, they were to be detained at Fort Murray until Sir George Grey and Baron von Stutterheim had arrived, when arrangements for their distribution and location were to be made. In the meanwhile, they were under the command of Col. Maclean, whose headquarters were at Fort Murray, and who allowed the Germans the freedom of his grounds and beautiful garden, an action which was much appreciated by them.⁽¹⁸⁾

As visits to Kingwilliamstown were not prohibited, many took the opportunity of visiting what was at that time the capital of British Kaffraria. Established in 1848, (although a mission station had existed here long before this) it contained a military garrison consisting of 32 officers and 948 men and a civil population of 626 souls.⁽¹⁹⁾ The landed property, exclusive of military buildings, etc., was then valued at nearly £70,000. As a town it progressed rapidly and rose to be an important military and mercantile centre. Around it there lay a wide extent of country suitable for agricultural and pastoral purposes - a district well suited for settling the newcomers. The greater part of the town was then situated around what is now known as "The Reserve", and contained but a few streets and squares which, though wide and extensive, were neither levelled nor paved. The buildings, still indicating the recentness of their erection, presented a pleasing appearance. It was here that the Government had ordered a number of huts to be erected to house the Pensioners who were to have been sent out. They were used at that time as temporary quarters by some of the officers of the Legion and later

(16) Grahamstown Journal, 14th February, 1857.

(17) Kingwilliamstown Gazette, 21st February, 1857.

(18) Grahamstown Journal, 28th February, 1857.

(19) Bisset's Report, Ref. cit. supra.

(20)
by the Immigrants.

Visits from Fort Murray to "Town" were responsible for the first tragedy which befell the Legion. Towards the end of February, 1857, the whole of the Eastern Province was startled by the news that Captain Heinrich Ohlsen, known to the Legionaries by the significant name of "Father" Ohlsen, an excellent officer and a popular man, had been murdered on his way to Fort Murray. ⁽²¹⁾ All that a very careful investigation revealed was that his body had been found early in the morning, not very far from the newer part of Kingwilliamstown, with one or two assegai wounds, a cut from an axe in the back of the head and with his clothes stained with ^{the} red clay commonly used by the Kaffirs. He was supposed to have left for Fort Murray a little after eight o'clock, and had been robbed of his watch and money, as well as of a revolver and a knife. His death in the prime of life, made a deep impression on the new-comers with whom he was very popular and filled them with a sense of keen indignation towards the "barbarous hordes" among whom they were to settle. ⁽²²⁾

Captain Ohlsen was buried at Kingwilliamstown on the 27th February, 1857; his funeral was attended not only by all the Military Settlers but also by the British soldiers and the civilians of Kingwilliamstown. ⁽²³⁾ Sir George Grey expressed his sympathy by writing to General Stutterheim, lamenting the loss of a man who could and would have rendered valuable service to South Africa. To mark his appreciation of Captain Ohlsen's merits, he ordered that the settlement to be planted at Kabusie Nek should be named Ohlsen. Furthermore the Governor said that he would give instructions that the land which Captain Ohlsen would have acquired, should be given to his heir.

A day or two later, another attack was made on Lieut. J. B. de Paekh, but he managed to beat off his assailants with his hunting whip. The murder of a German soldier, who was struck off his

(20) Diary, 26th March, 1857.

(21) Grahamstown Journal, 23th February, 1857, and Germania, 1st April, 1857.

(22) Diary, 29th February, 1857.

(23) Germania, 1st April, 1857.

horse and felled to the ground, was also reported. (24)

As a result of these attacks, stronger pickets were posted around the camp, while armed detachments of men were daily sent to Kingwilliamstown, partly to protect the Legionaries who visited the town and partly to prevent unseemly conduct. (25) These attacks had yet another result. They induced Col. J. W. MacLean to issue a proclamation in which he deplored the frequency of these attacks (26) and in which he warned the Natives against any further vagrancy or thieving. He said that those Natives who had already been captured would be transported and threatened those who, after his warning, should be found trespassing in the Crown Reserve with the severest punishment. If there were the slightest suspicion about them, they would immediately be captured - and if they resisted, they would be shot. Needy natives, who wanted to, could easily procure work, he added. Naturally such a proclamation was heartily welcomed, not perhaps by the Kaffirs, but certainly by the Germans who were glad to see that measures were taken for their protection.

In many ways South Africa seemed strange to the Germans. First of all they complained of the severe heat, and then of the storms. (27) Once they were really taken by surprise. Within a few minutes the whole camp seemed to be one great stream of water. Never had they experienced anything similar and they were afraid lest worse should befall them when the rainy season should commence in earnest. (28) A few days later, the camp was shifted a little higher up the hill, as the low situation was considered unhealthy and one of the factors for the continuance of dysentery among the Legionaries, (29) although the wine and the food were contributory causes. Whatever the causes, it now began to take a severer form - and deaths were frequent. By the 22nd March, 1857, three military colonists and one officer, Lieut. Hugo Heymann, had

(24) Grahamstown Journal, 23th February, 1857.

(25) Diary, 9th March, 1857.

(26) CA, MKRec. 109. Govt. Notices, p. 52.

(27) Germania, 1st April, 1857. (28) Diary, 13th March, 1857.

(29) Diary, 13th March, 1857. Germania, passim.

fallen victims to this epidemic. Our diarist reports towards the end of March that they frequently saw funeral processions leaving the laager and more often heard the funeral salvos. On the 2nd April, however, General von Statterheim was able to report in a private letter to Sir George Grey that the health of the Legion was improving, although during the previous week one man had died every day at Fort Murray. ⁽³⁰⁾

Towards the end of March, too, the Legionaries received the pay due to them at the date of landing, but when the advances paid to them at Browdown and Colchester had been subtracted and various expenses incurred during the voyage deducted, not much remained.

But although allowed much freedom and seldom required to perform any military duties, the Legionaries were growing tired of their lazy life and were impatient to be settled at their locations. Instead of the monotonous and expensive camp-life, which made them easy victims of the canteen- and shopkeepers, they wanted the peaceful occupations of citizens and earnestly longed for the time when they could be engaged in regular, interesting work. ⁽³¹⁾

Naturally speculations about the character of the Legionaries flourished during this time. Some of the incidents mentioned above, together with a serious quarrel between two men at Fort Murray, when one tried to stab the other, were used by many people to calumniate them. On the whole, the majority of reports were lenient, as a certain amount of rowdiness from a large number of men, with time hanging heavy on their hands, was expected. Generally they seem to have created a favourable opinion, being described as civil, well-behaved and young - but looking rather "raw". ⁽³²⁾

In view of what followed subsequently the report of Col. Maclean to the Governor is worth quoting and it must be remembered

(30) GA. GR Rec. 59/1. MSO. BGL. p. 154ff.

(31) Diary, 9th March, 1857.

(32) Grahamstown Journal, 14th February, 1857 and King Williamstown Gazette, passim.

that he was particularly qualified to form an opinion, as he was largely responsible for their control and behaviour. He said:—
 "The last detachment of the German Military Settlers having left Fort Murray, I deem it but right to take this opportunity of expressing to Your Excellency my sense of the very orderly and quiet manner in which so large a body of men have behaved during the period in which they have been encamped here. I am the more induced to express my opinion on this point, because I am well aware of the more than usually difficult position in which these men had been placed, for they had not only lately been freed from the monotony and restraint of a long voyage, and had received large arrears of pay accruing to them during that period, but while the necessary arrangements were being made ^{locating} for them, they had no means of occupying themselves, nor were they made to occupy themselves in the exercise and usual duties of the soldier.

My garden and the precincts of my house, were open to them, yet nothing within the garden, either flowers, fruit or vegetables, was touched, and their ^{general} behaviour on the post was of the same character".
 (33)

Finally Col. Maclean paid a special tribute to the officers of the German Military Settlers, expressing his thanks that the proximity of "so large a camp was attended with so little inconvenience" to his family or anyone residing at the post.

This letter seems to be conclusive proof that whatever may be said of the subsequent behaviour of the Legionaries, they behaved like gentlemen when still at Fort Murray.

VIII

DISTRIBUTION AND SETTLEMENT
IN TEMPORARY HUTS.

As far as is known Col. Grant was the first to tackle the problem as to where the settlers should be located, and according to a list ⁽¹⁾ (undated and found among his papers) the first regiment was to be settled at Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown, Theopolis, Fort Peddie, Tooi, Pato's Kraal, Keiskama Mouth, Mandy's Farm and East London, the second at Queenstown, Tylden, Morris's Farm, Thomas River, Keiskama Hoek, Fort Hare and Middle Drift, and the third Regiment at Dohne, Kabousis, Izeli, Yellowwood and Kingwilliamstown. (See Map.)

Before leaving Cape Town, Sir George Grey also gave thought to this problem, and though more or less accepting Col. Grant's lists, made several minor alterations, omitting Port Elizabeth and altering the numbers somewhat; thus, for instance, he lessened the number to be sent to Dohne and increased the number to be sent to Keiskama Hoek. ⁽²⁾ He intended leaving it to Stutterheim to detail the officers and men for the several detachments.

(3)

On the 20th February, 1857, Sir George Grey and General von Stutterheim arrived at Kingwilliamstown, where together with the local British Officers, they made final arrangements for the distribution of the Legion. Now being on the spot, they ~~were~~ able to tackle the problem more effectively.

In the meanwhile, before having had the opportunity of visiting the various stations, General Stutterheim addressed an official communication to the Governor ⁽⁴⁾ suggesting a distribution based upon Col. Grant's scheme. He suggested, too, that the head-

(1) CA. GHRec. 39/1, MSO. BGL. p.947.

(2) CA. BKRec. 98, Mil. Headquarters, 1854-1864.

(3) ^{Cape} Frontier Times, 24th February, 1857.

(4) CA. GHRec. 39/1, MSO. BGL. p.31.

quarters of the 1st Regiment under Col. Wooldridge should be at Keiskama Mouth, those of the 2nd Regiment under Lieut. Col. von Hacke at Keiskama Hoek and those of the 3rd Regiment under Lieut. Col. Kent Murray at Dohne. Col. Maclean ruled out Fort White, Baillie's Grave, Fort Pato and Fort Grey, and considerably cut down the numbers to be settled towards Queenstown. The principles on which he made the distribution were peace rather than war and the advantages of the Germans rather than military expediency. If war had to be considered, he thought it advisable to strengthen the centre - that is the Crown Reserve, rather than the flanks, for to quote Sir Harry Smith, in a Kaffir war there was neither front, rear, nor flank, every point being alike the front. Hence the advice he gave was to strengthen the centre. His advice, as will be seen, was probably followed. ⁽⁵⁾

The next list we have is that published in the "Germania" on the 8th April, 1857, ⁽⁶⁾ which seems substantially correct and is certainly the earliest one which in any way corresponds with the subsequent military returns, lists of officers, etc. Subsequently, of course, minor alterations were made, but these are of comparatively little importance.

Substantial alterations had been made; instead of a settlement extending as far east as Port Elizabeth and as far north as Queenstown, there was far more concentration - and what was equally important, the Legion was definitely placed on the border, either in the Crown Reserve or between it and the Kaffir locations. The 1st Regiment under Col. Wooldridge was settled along the coast at Pato's Kraal, now named Wooldridge, at Keiskama Mouth, where three settlements, Hamburg, Bodiam, and Bell were made, at Fort Peddie and at East London with stations at Panmure and at Cambridge in its neighbourhood (See Map.) The Second Regiment was distributed at Potsdam, Berlin, Hanover, Marienthal and Wiesbaden (in the neighbourhood of the Peelton of to-day), Breidbach and Kingwilliamstown. The 3rd Regiment was located in

(5) CA. BKRec. 40. GMS.
 (6) Germania, 8th April, 1857.

the uplands of the Amatola Mountains or the plateau bordering on them - namely Greytown, Stutterheim (the old Dohne Mission Station) Keiskama Hoek, Braunschweig, commonly known by the Kaffir name of Izeli, Frankfort, Ohlsen, and Kolding, of which the last two do not exist to-day. The Cavalry detachments were stationed at Greytown and Stutterheim. (7)

After having been detained at Fort Murray for a period varying from four to eight weeks, the Legionaries, thoroughly tired of their lazy camp life, were at last sent to their stations. The first detachment left the Camp on the 13th March, 1857, when about 400 men trekked to Pato's Kraal. (8) A few days later another detachment of 400 men left for what we take to be Frankfurt, (9) and then again on the 21st March a detachment of five companies set out for Stutterheim, (10) after which at regular intervals detachments set out, until by the 2nd April, Greytown, Izeli, Ohlsen, Kolding, Frankfurt, King-williamstown and Keiskama Hoek were occupied. (11) Finally, on the 12th April, 1857, General von Stutterheim was able to report to the Governor that Fort Murray had been entirely cleared of the Germans. (12)

A description of one of the marches enables us to accompany a body of men on the way to their new homes.

"Nach vierwöchentlichem Aufenthalte im Lager zu Fort Murray erhielt endlich unsere Compagnie den Befehl, sich nach den ihr angewiesenen Stationsort^{en} in der Nähe von Dohne-Post (jetzt Stutterheimstadt) zu begeben. Die Gesamtstärke möchte sich auf dreihundert und fünfzig Mann belaufen, und wurde deren Bagage auf mindestens vierzig Wagen mitgeführt.

Den ersten April Morgens acht Uhr durchwatete der lange Zug den Büffelfluss, schritt durch die hochebene dahin und hielt dann rechts von King-Williamstown eine zweistündige Rast. Bis hierher hatten wir noch hin und wieder Kaffernhütten erblickt, sowie den Stationsort einer deutschen Ansiedelung, aber als wir nun aufbrachen und durch das sogenannte Kron-Reserve-Land zogen, war die Gegend völlig unbewohnt und menschenleer. Wohlgemuth schritten wir auf der Heerstrasse, die sich in grossen Windungen dahin schlängelte. Stunde an Stunde verging, und immer noch wollte sich nicht der Platz zeigen, auf welchem wir das nächtliche Lager aufschlagen sollten, und wir wären der Anstrengung des Marsches erlegen, wenn es nicht zufällig ein ungewöhnlich kühler Tag gewesen wäre. Nachdem die Sonne lange schon mit

(7) CA. D. S-G., BK., 48.

(8) Diary, 13th March, 1857. (9) Diary, 18th March, 1857.

(10) Diary, 21st March, 1857. (11) CA. GHRec. 39/1. MSO. BGL., p. 156.

(12) CA. GHRec. 39/1 p. 167.

einem zandernden Scheidegrusse hinter dem Gebirge verschwunden war, leuchteten uns endlich zur rechten Seite aus der grauen Dämmerung die weissen Zelte der neuen Colonie Wiesbaden entgegen, und bald nachher machten wir an jenem Orte Halt, der den Namen Frankfurt a.M. führt, und wo sich nächstens einhundert Mann der deutschen Militair-Colonisten heimatlich niederlassen werden. Holz und Wasser waren zur Stelle, und bald war an vielen Feuern das ersuchte Nachtmahl gekocht und mit Hiess-hunger verzehrt, worauf wir uns ermüdet zur Ruhe begaben.

Am andern Tage setzten wir uns aufs Neue in Marsch, und unsere Strasse wand sich, vielfach verschlungen, eine schwindelnde Höhe hinan. Als wir aber den Berggipfel erreicht hatten die Aussicht begränzend, erhob sich in deutlicher Ferne vor uns das Amatola-Gebirge, von dessen Abhänge herab uns das freundlich gelene Dohne-Post sammt seinem nachbarlichen Zeltlager entgegen lächelte. Nun trennte sich die eine Hälfte unserer Compagnie, unter Führung des Capitains, von der Colonne, um den Seitenweg nach ihrem naheliegenden Stationsorte Goding einzuschlagen, während ich mit der andern Hälfte noch vorläufig in Marsch blieb.

Einige englischen Meilen weiter passirten wir eine breite Fuhr des Dohne-Flusses, und in unmittelbarer Nähe desselben wurde auch dieser Abteilung die Stelle angewiesen, wo das Dorf Ohlsen... gegründet werden soll. Die übrigen Truppen aber setzten ihren Marsch ungehindert nach dem nahen Dohne-Post weiter fort. Mit der mir anvertrauten Mannschaft blieb ich zurück, recognoscirte die Umgegend und verlebte dann mit der kleinen Schaar meiner Gefährten den ersten Abend in Ohlsen friedlich und still, wie die uns umgebende Natur, und während eine Schildwache andere fünf Zelte bewachte, schliefen wir ermüdet ein." (13)

The following day, they were permanently joined by their leader, Lieut. von Tempski, a bright, vivacious and active man, with whom they felt they could co-operate in the spirit of real fellowship, and full of eagerness and optimism, they looked forward to an active and prosperous future.

Another account described the joy of these strangers at finding a German Missionary in their neighbourhood and reveals the difference between the better and the less desirable elements in the Legion.

"Am Sonntag den 23. März 1857 rückte das 3. Regiment der deutschen Fremdenlegion in dem kaum zehn Minuten von unserer Station Bethel gelegenen Fort Döhne ein. Eine grosse Zahl der Leute dieses Regiments waren französisch redende Katholiken aus Belgien. Von den Deutschen kamen etliche zu unseren Missionaren* und redeten sie in gebrochenem

(13) Diary, 3rd April, 1857; G. St. Letters B. 16-17.

* The Senior missionary at Bethel, a station of the Berlin Missionary Society, was Rev. A. Kropf, while others who were at this station, or at neighbouring stations, were the Rev. W. Rein, and the lay helpers Kupfernagel and Strobel. Rev. A. Kropf soon after became a temporary chaplain to the Legionaries.

Englisch an. Wie gross war ihre Freude, als sie die Antwort in deutscher Sprache erhielten. Deutsche hatten sie hier nicht vermutet. Gleich am nächsten Sonntage musste unser Bruder Kropf, einer Aufforderung des Obristen folgend, den Leuten eine Predigt halten. Es war dies der Anfang, dem eine regelmässige Sonntagspredigt Nachmittags 3 Uhr folgte. Das Musikcorps blies dazu einen deutschen Choral.

Bald spann sich ein vertrauensvolles seelsorgerisches Band an. Unter den Legionären waren manche gebildete Leute, manche Sekundaner, die für die Theologie bestimmt, durch Lust nach Abenteuern in die Fremde getrieben, dort die Träger des verlorenen Sohnes geschmeckt hatten, und in denen die geheime Sehnsucht zur Rückkehr nach dem Vaterhause geweckt werden konnte, mancher thatendurstige Held, der in der Krim goldene Berge gesucht hatte, nun aber betrübt die Flügel hängen liess, mancher Unglückliche, der durch traurige Verhältnisse daheim genöthigt worden war, die Seinigen, vielleicht für immer zu verlassen. Diese kamen nun, hochofrennt, draussen einen deutschen Prediger zu finden und schlossen sich und ihre Hergensanliegen diesem offener auf, als sie vielleicht je in Vaterlande gethan haben würden,....

Unserm Bruder Kropf begneten alle, Offiziere und Gemeine, mit grosser Achtung. Die meisten der auf 300 Mann damals zu veranschlagenden Bewohner des Forts Döhne waren aus Hannover, Braunschweig, Preussen und gehörten der lutherischen Kirche an." (14)

A third description - that of the arrival of the Germans at Stutterheim, till then known as Döhne Post, gives us another side of the picture. "In a few hours the place was changed into a lively camp. It was a miserable, cold, wet Sunday, when they arrived, a dreary beginning for strangers in a strange land ---. Mr. Brownlee's house received as many of the ladies and children as it could hold. The quiet place soon became a busy scene, the sound of the hammer went on almost night and day and in a few months a flourishing little town covered the hillside and was called Stutterheim, after Baron von Stutterheim, General in Command of the Legion".⁽¹⁵⁾ § Before this stage was reached, many delays and difficulties had to be encountered, the first being the allocation of land. According to the "Conditions", it will be remembered, the men were to receive a building lot in the village at which they were to be settled and also an acre of garden ground, if placed in a rural district. The officers were also to receive an allotment for building and garden purposes at least double the extent of those of Non-commissioned officers and privates, and were

(14) Wangemann: Missionsarbeit im Kafferlande, p. 192.

(15) Brownlee, "Reminiscences", p. 8.

to be aided by the state in acquiring farms.

The Government's intention was to allocate the building lots first, but although the surveyors were busily engaged surveying the new settlements, some delay was occasioned before all the men received their ground. The Legionaries stationed at the villages already in existence seemed to have obtained their lots fairly quickly, but those at the newer settlements such as Izeli, Ohlsen, Kolding, and Frankfort were kept waiting. ⁽¹⁶⁾ The case of the settlement at Pato's Kraal seems typical. Leaving the camp at Fort Murray on the 18th March, 1857, ⁽¹⁷⁾ they would probably reach their destination the same day, ⁽¹⁸⁾ at the latest, the following day, but their building lots were assigned only a few days before the end of March. ⁽¹⁹⁾ At Ohlsen also a delay of about ten days took place before the men were able to commence building. With the exception of Breidbach, ⁽²⁰⁾ however, the Germans at all the locations received their building lots without undue delay and immediately commenced building temporary huts.

Nevertheless, while waiting, the Legionaries grew impatient at the delay; they complained that their lands - presumably building lots, had not been assigned to them and that it was impossible for them to proceed with the building of their huts.

In order to clarify matters and elucidate obscure and ambiguous points, Sir George Grey published a memorandum in the Germania on the 8th April, 1857. Surveyors, he said, were to be sent to all the new settlements as soon as possible and were to survey the locations as far as possible in accordance with the wishes of the senior officer of the place. Officers whose building allotments were on the edge of the settlement, were to be allowed to appropriate a reasonable, but not unlimited, extent of land for themselves, provided, of course, that this in no way interfered with the general plan of the village. Furthermore, in

(16) CA. GHRec. Vol. 39/1, MSO. BGL. p.154. ff.

(17) Diary, 18th March, 1857. (18) Germania, 1st April, 1857.

(19) Germania, 1st July, 1857. (20) CA. GHRec. 39/1. MSO. BGL., p.167.

order to expedite the building of the temporary huts, a labour commando of Natives would be sent to each of the new settlements and would assist in digging sods and cutting poles for building purposes.

In accordance with the suggestion of General von Stutterheim, the men were to build temporary huts at the back of their allotments, which were to form regular streets. The huts were to be 12 ft. by 9 ft. and, when the houses had been built, were to serve as store-rooms and stables. ⁽²¹⁾ When once the building lots had been assigned to the men, the villages began to take shape. Unfortunately, there was a scarcity of tools, so that only a few men could be busy at a time; the others had to wait patiently until they too could obtain a spade or hoe with which to do their work. ⁽²²⁾ Eventually, however, an ample supply of tools arrived, and when they had been issued to the Legionaries, the villages grew like mushrooms and the work ⁽²³⁾ progressed rapidly.

It was customary for the Legionaries to do most of the work themselves under the direction of a craftsman, who was paid 1/6 for a day of about six hours. General von Stutterheim, however, reported that he was paying masons, carpenters, etc., 3/- a day - a wage much lower than that fixed by the men themselves, but "I have told them that I would not allow them to work at all if I ever heard of their charging higher prices, in which case they would get plenty of drill instead of labour". ⁽²⁴⁾ His reason was that as the men were on full pay, were drawing rations and were working for fellow soldiers, the price he had fixed was adequate. Still, as the facts indicate, there was considerable variation in the price of labour, and probably General von Stutterheim was fully justified in laying down a maximum wage for the men, when they were working for one another, especially as this was a communal settlement.

When completed, the huts were described as consisting of four sod walls, covered with a sloping thatched roof; windows there were

(21) CA. GHRec. 39/1 M30. B3L., p.167.

(22) Diary, 18th April, 1857.

(23) Diary, 6th May, 1857.

(24) CA. GHRec. 39/1, M30. B3L., p.167.

none, nor does it seem that much attempt was made to plaster and whitewash the walls. The common everyday pieces of furniture such as table, chair and bedstead were wanting, at least at first. Yet, when comparing their huts with the tents they had only recently vacated, the settlers congratulated themselves on the exchange and considered themselves comfortably housed.

"Ich sitze in einer niedrigen, aber freundlichen Hütte oder Stube, was dasselbe sagen will, denn die ganze Hütte hat nur diesen einen Raum, welchem zwei kleine Fenster hinlängliche Beleuchtung geben, über mir wölbt sich ein Schilfdach, und zu meinen Füßen breiten sich einige Binsenmatten aus, die ich von Kafferweibern gegen Brot erhandelt habe. Rechts von meinem Tische über meinem Bette hängen an einem Rechen einige schwarze Uniformen und leichte Civilkleider friedlich neben der geladenen Büchse, Armatur und Jagdtasche. In der Ecke links stehen Spaten, Hacke, Art, Säge, Beil u. a. m. im auffallenden Contrast zum kriegerischen Schmucke.

"Auf einem Brette hinter mir stehen reinlich und in guter Ordnung einige Kochgeschirre, Teller, Tassen, Gläser und ähnliche Hausgeräte, während an der Wand über dem Tische als einziger Zierrath und Bilderschmuck eine Karte von Afrika aufgespannt ist. Im Kamin prasselt ein lustiges Feuer, an dem ich meine Mahlzeit zubereite...." (25)

These huts seem to have been put up without much delay, for all were now enthusiastic. From all stations reports of progress came in. At Berlin, early in April, 1857, General Stutterheim found the men busily engaged building their huts and making bricks, while Col. von Hacke had already planted potatoes and other vegetables. This report seems, however, to have been somewhat rosy, for a month later, it is learnt from another source, the men were still building their huts. Another source, more independent than either of these, draws attention to another aspect of the matter.

At some places the officers had superintended the erection of the huts, and had insisted on regularity and uniformity of structure. At Berlin, however, every variety and type of building was to be seen - from the Kaffir hut to the Irish hovel, some could be classified under no category whatsoever. This is

(25) Diary, 20th May, 1857, and G. St. Letters, B. 13.

(26) CA. GHRec. 39/1, MSO. BGL., p. 154.

(27) Germania, 6th May, 1857.

(28) Kingwilliamstown Gazette, 19th May, 1857.

rather surprising, as Berlin had two good men in charge. Count von Lillienstein was the officer in command of the station, while the Commander of the II Regiment, Lieut-Col. von Hacke was also stationed there, and thus indirectly responsible for the effective control of the men and a wise supervision of their labours. This officer, by no means a young man at the time, had an excellent record and was said to have been Field-Marshal Blücher's adjutant. He had fought at Jena and at the Battle of Waterloo, when he had two horses shot away from under him. (29) Possibly, however, this dual control was responsible for this state of affairs, as each officer left it to the other with the result that neither did anything.

At Wooldridge, too, there was life and activity; some were still building their huts at the end of April, others were making bricks, others again cutting timber in the forests, while others again were employed by Col. Wooldridge in building his house - (30) which meant work and money for them.

Of Ohlsen it was said that if anybody could have compared the locality with what it had been a fortnight before, he would have been amazed, and this in spite of the settlement being still in its initial stages. Houses and cultivated fields were not yet to be seen, but the temporary huts were rapidly nearing completion. The difficulty of building here was considerably lessened by the availability of timber easily procurable from Kolding a neighbouring station, subsequently abandoned. The officer in command there, Captain Schneider, had started a saw-mill and brickyard, so that there was no scarcity of building material. (31)

Of the founding and growth of Stutterheim we have fuller accounts. The camp of the Military Settlers was situated partly around but more behind Dohne Post, a fort somewhat superior to the

(29) Germania, 8th April, 1857.

(30) Germania, 29th April, 1857.

(31) Germania, 3rd June, 1857.

usual type. A little lower was a settlement comprising a number of Native huts and a few houses, the property of the missionaries and of a few traders and farmers. This village was then the most important place of the whole district, having a fairly large trade which grew much brisker with the arrival of the Germans. The situation of the village was most attractive and in every way made a most favourable impression. (32)

The building of the temporary huts commenced on the 13th April, under the personal supervision of General von Stutterheim, who insisted on regularity of design and situation. Valuable assistance was rendered by the Hon. Chas. Brownlee, the Gaika Commissioner, who placed all his knowledge and experience at the disposal of the new-comers. (33)

During the month the huts rose quickly; there was activity and keenness, which gave the settlement the appearance of a real village. Apparently before the regular period of building, a house had been built, by Col.-Serg. Spring who was universally praised for the excellent piece of useful, neat work accomplished by him. General Stutterheim's house, a "stately mansion", was nearing completion and gave promise of being the pride of the village. (34) By the end of the month such great progress had been made that the place was almost unrecognisable. Instead of bare grassy plains, a rising village was to be seen. The streets were actually named - naturally in honour of the eminent men of the time. (35) A stone building was also to be erected to house the artillery and ammunition, as the powder magazine at the Fort was too small. (36)

Keiskama Hoek was another place where the Germans settled. Situated on the banks of the Keiskama River in the heart of the Crown Reserve, it is surrounded by the Amatola Mountains whose forests abounded with timber and whose slopes gave excellent

(32) Diary, 9th April, 1857.
 (33) CA. GHRec. 39/1, MSO. BOL., p.154.
 (34) Germania, 27th May, 1857.
 (35) Germania, 27th May, 1857.
 (36) CA. GHRec. 39/1, MSO. BOL., p.154.

grazing for large herds of cattle. The richness of the land in the vicinity of the village and the abundance of the purest water, gave promise of making the place a really prosperous home of any who might settle there. Probably no district of British Kaffraria was more suited for a settlement of agriculturalists; not only was there ample scope for farming in the immediate vicinity of the village, but several valleys radiating in all directions, were capable of supporting a large number of families. At the time it was an important military centre, having fifteen officers and 494 men for whom market gardening could be carried on. The district, part of the Crown Reserve, was then practically uninhabited, as only a few Pingoos had been allowed to settle in the immediate neighbourhood. (37)

A detachment of the Legion was also stationed here and during the month of May, 1857, the temporary huts rose rapidly. They were built in regular lines, and mostly, according to General von Stutterheim's plan, of sods and thatch. The settlers were hard at work from early morn till late at night and by the middle of the month had managed to complete several of their huts; by the end of the month they hoped they could dispense entirely with their tents. The officer in command, Captain Lentz, and several of the sergeants built permanent houses, which, it was said, could well be placed next to those of the few English traders and farmers living there. Altogether Keiskama Hoek began to present quite a respectable appearance, for the barracks of the 500 soldiers stationed there, the homes of the English farmers and traders and the dwellings of the Germans, all contributed towards giving the little place an almost townlike appearance. (38)

At East London too, May was the month during which the temporary buildings were erected. By the 11th June all the huts had been completed, except a few belonging to some of the "Gentlemen Cadets". (39)

(37) Bisset's Report. Loc. cit.

(38) Germania, 27th May, 1857; UEF, II. 210.

(39) Germania, 1st July, 1857.

Of the settling down at Potsdam little is known, save that the correspondent of the Germania was able to report on the 24th May, 1857, that the building of the huts had been completed and that the men were beginning to dig up their plots and were anxious to begin work on their "farms".
(40)

At Peddie, much difficulty was experienced because wood was scarce; but nevertheless by the beginning of June, the majority of the men were fairly comfortably housed in their temporary huts - and, basing their hopes on the word of experts that the soil in the neighbourhood was excellent, were beginning to make arrangements for working their little plots. Here also two brickyards were commenced and kept continually busy. Furthermore they were aided by the inhabitants of Peddie, who readily employed those amongst them who were trained craftsmen.
(41)

At Greytown, even before the ground had been allotted, preparations had been made for building as soon as the ground was handed to them. Every day work-commandos were detailed to obtain supplies of timber, grass for thatch, etc. Probably because the ground was allocated only after a long delay, the men were still building their huts during June, when everyone was working with commendable energy. The difficulties experienced by the settlers are well described in a letter.
(42) "As often happens in life, theory at first prevailed over practice. Not huts, but palaces were to be built; the heavens took pity on us and for thirty-six hours poured down the bitterest tears. The huts survived, while the palaces collapsed". In spite of this set-back, the settlers were optimistic of a prosperous future and eagerly longed for the time when their lands should be allotted to them. In the meanwhile, they had one complaint - namely the high cost of transport and asked if it were not possible for the commissariat to send a wagon load of potatoes, meal and other articles every week

(40) Germania, 10th June, 1857.

(41) Ibid., 17th June, 1857.

(42) Ibid., 17th June, 1857. (Translated.)

or fortnight, so that they should not have to pay twice as much
for their requirements as their comrades at other stations. (43)

Hamburg, placed about two miles away from the mouth of the Keiskama River, was described as being one of the prettiest settlements in the Victoria district. Here too rapid progress was made with the building of the temporary huts. Under the leadership of Lieut. Göldener, the second in command, the Legionaries ~~had~~ set aside a certain section of the settlement as a park, and when not too busily engaged with their own work, devoted much of their spare time, to making promenades, footpaths, etc. Here too brickyards had been started, the one the property of Captain Baron de Fin, the other under the direction of Serg. Hessmann. Altogether, the Legionaries were highly satisfied, and indeed they had no cause to complain, for the pleasures of river and sea were added to the beauty and fertility of the station. (44)

Breidbach, near Kingwilliamstown, to-day little more than a collection of hovels, seems to have been the last place to have completed the building of the huts, but this may be attributed to the fact that the building-plots were not allocated before the first week of June had passed. The survey department was blamed for this delay, for the building lots were not handed over to the men until they had spent a considerable time at their station, doing nothing. When once, however, they had their ground, all worked hard and in a few weeks completely altered the appearance of the place. (45)

These sketches of the founding of some of the villages give a fair picture of the enthusiasm and activity prevalent at the time. Unfortunately nothing is known of what was done at the stations not mentioned here, but it may be concluded that things were very similar there.

As usual complaints were not absent. Col. Wooldridge

(43) Ibid., 20th May, 1857.

(44) Ibid., 27th May, 1857.

(45) Ibid., 1st July, 1857.

reported to Statterheim, as early as April, 1857, that Peddie was unsuitable for a settlement; the wood was too far away, the water bad and insufficient, and the pasturage remote. He asked that another location should be assigned to the men located there. (46)

Statterheim, in forwarding this petition to the Governor, supported it, although Charles Bell, the Surveyor-General did not. Nevertheless, Sir George Grey authorized a change, if the Surveyor-General could point out a fitting locality on Crown Land, but whether any change was made, cannot be said as no further reference to this petition can be found. However, in May, 1858, there were still one officer, two N.C.O's, and thirty-eight Privates there, (47) that nineteen houses had been erected there and 130 acres of land had been brought under cultivation. The military returns of February, 1861, (48) however, mention that only one soldier was stationed there at the time. Probably the facts are that the men stationed at Peddie were not transferred at the time, but that they dispersed as soon as opportunities to do so came their way.

In the middle of April, it was rumoured that the detachment at Golding-(or Kolding) was to be transferred to Ohlsen, the reason (49) being the unsuitability of the soil, which did not promise to give satisfactory crops. Although not actually dissatisfied, neither party welcomed the migration; the detachment at Golding was situated close to the forest, and hoped to be able to utilise the timber to be obtained there, not only for building purposes, but also as a means of lucrative employment; the Ohlsens were rather afraid that an influx of newcomers would destroy the harmony then existing at their station. Here each one had his work, each was satisfied and all mixed in a friendly and comradely manner. In spite of these objections, however, the transference took place (50) towards the middle of May, 1857. The settlers at Ohlsen had to give up their tents for the detachment from Golding and make themselves as comfortable as they could in their huts, some of which had not yet reached completion.

(46) CA. GHRec. 39/1, MSO. BOL., pp 191-196.

(48) CA. GHRec. 39/3, MSO., 1861.

(47) CA. GHRec. 40/1, MSO. Monthly State.

(49) Diary, 13th April, 1857.

(50) Diary, 14th May; Germania, 13th May, 1857.

The absence of a regular water-supply at Panmure (East London) was responsible for another transference. The 7th Company of the I Regiment under Captain Mischke was taken to Cambridge, a few miles further inland. (51)

More than two years later (November, 1859), there is another complaint - this time about the unsuitability of Bell, where the ground was said to be so stony that it was quite impossible to work it either by plough or spade. (52) Here the complaint was supported by the Deputy Surveyor-General, who said, "The whole situation of Bell is excessively ill-chosen, either for defence or for settlement. The building lots are laid out in a hollow surrounded on all sides by high rocky hills and the water is extremely brackish. It will, in fact, be an utter impossibility for the men to subsist in that locality as soon as their pay is ordered to be discontinued". (53) Here again we have no further reference to this complaint. Probably officially nothing was done. Nevertheless in the military returns, July, 1860, it is reported that only one cadet was living there, which seems to indicate that those who had not volunteered for India had "trekked". (54)

During the whole of this period, while the Legionaries were getting settled in their huts, General von Statterheim continued taking the keenest interest in his men, and in company with Lieut-Col. Kent Murray, Captain Hoffmann and Captain Mills visited all the locations during a tour of general inspection and was favourably impressed by what he saw. (55)

Shortly after the Legionaries had trekked to their stations, the state of health left much to be desired. Kingwilliamstown was hardest hit, for by the end of April no fewer than thirty-three deaths from dysentery were reported. (56) Two officers, Major Crompton and Major Wolfahrt, were also suffering badly, nor was much hope entertained at the time for the life of the former. (57)

(51) Germania, 17th June, 1857. (52) CA. GRRec. Vol. 39/2. MSO. GMS.
(53) CA. GRRec. 39/2. MSO. GMS. (54) CA. BKRec. Vol. 42. Capt. Mills, GMS.

(55) Germania, 27th May, 1857. (56) Ibid. 29th April, 1857.
(57) CA. GRRec. Vol. 39/1. MSO. BCL., p. 325.

(58)

Fortunately both recovered though Major Welfahrt never seems to have regained his full strength and died a few years later at a Sanatorium at Wiesbaden (Germany).⁽⁵⁹⁾ At Berlin the disease claimed two victims. On the occasion of the first funeral, the Rev. J. Wilmsen consecrated a cemetery, and in a touching address reminded the Legionaries that this ground would be the resting place of many of them.⁽⁶⁰⁾ After this, however, the health improved at all the stations; favourable reports were sent in from Stutterheim and Peddie, while from other letters it can be concluded that deaths at least had ceased. By the middle of winter, neither of these two places had any cases of dysentery to report, and attributed the excellent state of health to the very favourable climate, the abundance of pure water and to the general sense of contentment which prevailed among the settlers.⁽⁶¹⁾

Another matter which required attention was the payment of the advances.⁽⁶²⁾ Already on April 7th, General von Stutterheim requested that the advance of £5 for cooking utensils and tools should be paid to the men as early as possible; they were all settled at their stations and required the money for the purpose specified. On the 11th June he was able to intimate in his General Orders that this advance would be paid shortly.⁽⁶³⁾ By the end of the month, however, nothing had been done and the money was impatiently awaited by the Legionaries for whom it had almost become a matter of life and death.⁽⁶⁴⁾

Eventually in the middle of July the payment of advances was made. Only little cash, however, remained for the men, as the tradesmen received most for goods already supplied on credit.

During this time life was not without interest for the settlers, for a number of incidents gave scope for rumour and conversation. Early in April the monument to Captain Ohlsen had^{been} finished and erected, being paid for by subscriptions raised among

(58) CA. BRRec. Vol. 42, Capt. Mills. GMS. (59) URF. II. 236.

(60) Germania, 6th May, 1857. (61) Germania, 15th May, 24th May, 17th June, 1857.

(62) CA. BRRec. 39/1. MCO. DGL., p. 153.

(63) Germania, 24th June, 1857 (64) Diary, 25th June, 1857.

(65)
the settlers. This monument still stands outside of Kingwilliams-
town to-day on the spot where he was murdered.

At first the Kaffirs rigidly avoided the settlements of the
Germans, but later they pestered them by their assiduity and their
boldness. The eastern line of settlements was especially
plagued because the Kaffirs were trekking with their few
belongings in an eastward direction. (66) The probable explanation
for this is that there were still a number of natives in the Crown
Reserve who were being shifted into territory further east, while
another possible explanation is that the Kaffirs were trekking to
find winter grazing for their cattle.

Hunting seems to have been one of the chief pastimes of the
settlers, when they combined pleasure with utility, as their object
was certainly to bring back something. (67) Occasionally they found
real adventure, for there are several accounts of exciting con-
flicts with leopards which seem to have been plentiful in the
forests in those days. (68)

The Queen's birthday (24th May, 1857) was duly celebrated by
her new subjects. There are full accounts of festivities, sports
and speeches, at Ohlsen, Stutterheim and Berlin. (69) The keynote
was still one of happy satisfaction - and optimism, though the
fact that this was not general was proved by a case of desertion,
the first of many of its kind. (70) The details are given because in
outline they occurred frequently during the next few years.

Well supplied with arms and ammunition, three men of the
company stationed at Ohlsen, left the camp secretly with the
intention of seeking their fortunes in the neighbouring Boer
Republics. But when absent only a few days, they were recog-
nised and apprehended as deserters, not far from the boundary,
and sent back to their headquarters, Stutterheim, where they were
severely punished for their offence.

(65) CA. GHRoc. Vol. 59/1, 150. B.L., p. 154.

(66) Diary, 13th April, 1857. (67) Diary, 19th June, 1857.

(68) Germania, 24th June, 1857. (69) Germania, 3rd June, 1857.

(70) Diary, 7th June, 1857.

The comments on this case give a good insight into the attitude of the average legionary towards his prospects and work. The severe punishment was regarded not only as being justifiable, but also as an advisable deterrent against further attempts of the same kind. Here they were well looked after, their prospects were so rosy and a comfortable future so sure that even the most dissatisfied could with a little reflection realise that they should be satisfied. Only sheer hastiness and the absence of all reflection could alone have induced these men to desert. According to all military principles, desertion in itself was a serious crime and something unworthy of any man fit to be called a soldier, the action of a man without character, without insight, reckless, foolhardy.

The trouble was that the Legionaries presented a duality; as soldiers they had to settle down, and adhere to rules, largely military, and they had to obey commands with which they were hardly in sympathy. As settlers they regarded themselves as free to seek what they thought best for themselves, and they considered that they were fully entitled to leave their stations, if they could improve their positions by desertion.

Then, too, they had accepted certain conditions which were in the nature of a contract. The Government had contracted to transport them to the Cape, supply them with land and a house, and at first with food and clothing; on the other hand, they had contracted to serve for seven years under a system, which, if not entirely military, was certainly^a semi-military organisation in its nature. Hence desertion in their case was more than desertion - it was also a breach of contract, an offence not only against military law, but also against civil, and hence punishable under both codes.

Besides these comments on desertion, there are other sources (71) for determining the attitude adopted by the best of the Germans. These regarded will-power and a determination to settle down as

(71) Diary, 22nd April, 1857; Germania, 15th April, 1857.

essentials for success, especially as the work was difficult and the project strange for military men, many of them the scions of noble families. The same note was struck in an article written by one of them. They felt that, through hard and conscientious work, they could indicate that the trust in them had not been misplaced, and that the benefits they had obtained had not been received without gratitude. They had the opportunity of becoming free and independent, self-respecting citizens. All obstacles had to be overcome through energy, hard work and will power. Above all, the interests of individuals could not be allowed to impede the progress of all; the whole was greater than the parts, the common weal the greatest thing of all. (72)

Two other references, less philosophical and more practical indicate the same thing. The first was the eager desire to have full possession of the land so that a start could be made with the real work of farming, "for after all a good crop, the result of hard work, by far outweighs the friendliest word of the commander". (73) The other was a request for schools in which not only German but English too should be taught, a clear indication that some at least of the Legionaries were anxious to secure for themselves and their children every possible advantage. (74) Then, too, the appointment of the Rev. A. Kropf, the German Missionary at Dohne, as the chaplain for the III Regiment, was genuinely welcomed, as now the spiritual needs of the settlers could be more effectively ministered to.

It is difficult to decide to what extent expressions such as these were typical of the sentiments and attitude of the German Legionaries. It cannot reasonably be doubted that these were genuine, but on the other hand, comparatively little had been done during the period described, and a number of "incidents" lead to the justifiable conclusion, that there were some at least who did not take life as seriously as they might have done. Another con-

(72) Germania, 27th May, 1857.

(73) Ibid., 30th May, 1857.

(74) Ibid., 1st July, 1857.

sideration is that if there had existed a natural avidity for work and a genuine desire for progress, such reflections, either in a newspaper or in a private diary, would have been quite uncalled for. It seems, therefore, only right to conclude that there was a conflict; on the one hand there was an earnest desire to settle down to real hard work, but on the other hand there was a contrary tendency, perhaps a natural reluctance on the part of men for whom it was new and unaccustomed work, to dig and delve.

The Legionaries may be left here - settled on their building lots in their temporary huts - struggling on, conscious of the need of hard work, but finding it a weariness to the flesh.

 IX

SETTLING.

The Germans were left in their temporary huts on their building lots, but as yet very far from settled permanently as agriculturalists on their own garden allotments. Two steps had thus still to be taken - their ground had to be allotted to them and their permanent houses had to be built.

According to the "Conditions" § 13, the N.C.O's and privates settled in villages were each to be allowed an acre of ground in addition to a building lot; the officers were to be allowed remission of purchase money to enable them to acquire farms, this being in addition to an allotment of land in a village for the building of houses.

These gardens - they could hardly be dignified with the name of farms, were very small indeed, but in actual practice, more land was granted, for the N.C.O's and men were allowed to appropriate for themselves land not exceeding five acres in extent, provided that they obtained the approval of their officers for this, and provided that their doing so in no way proved incompatible with the general interests of the community.⁽¹⁾ The claims for title-deeds indicate that the garden-land was allotted in two parts, first the one acre lot promised by the "Conditions" and, in addition, another four acres lot, sometimes contiguous with the former, sometimes not.⁽²⁾ This ground was granted to the Settlers by Sir George Grey, presumably in his capacity as High Commissioner for British Kaffraria, who ruled that in a town no extra land need be given,

(1) Germania, 8th April, 1857.

(2) CA. BKRec. Vol. 43, SMS., Claims for Titles.

but that in a "distant place" the more land granted the better, though the maximum was to be five acres. "I would", he said, "give each man a good acre close to the village and four acres at some distance"⁽³⁾.

Another privilege allowed to the Legionaries was that they could let their lands to their comrades, but only if the Chief Commissioner (at the time Col. Maclean) approved of their doing so.

The position of the officers was somewhat different. Crown land could be obtained only by purchase, but in this they were assisted, as specified amounts, depending on rank, were remitted to them to enable them to acquire ground. The scale prevalent at the time, for all officers, whether members of the German Military Settlers or one of the other regiments, was as follows:-

Field-officer	£300
Captains	£200
Subalterns	£150

(4)

Every officer entitled to this privilege was granted what was popularly termed a "Remission Certificate,"⁽⁵⁾ in which the procedure for obtaining the remission money, and eventually the title deeds, was set out at length. The full conditions of service were not specified herein, as they had been promulgated by the "Conditions for the Formation of a Military Settlement in British South Africa", and were thus presumably well known to the officers. To ensure unbroken service, the following clause was to be added:- "Any land purchased under this Certificate will be forfeited, unless the officer receiving it serve with the German Military Settlers until the 1st day of January, 1860, on or after which date the Title Deeds will be issued"⁽⁶⁾. Care was taken that the Certificate should be sent to the Chief Commissioner of British Kaffraria, to the Civil Commissioner of the district, to the Surveyor-General or his Deputy and to the Colonial Secretary, and that it was duly endorsed by each. This may appear to be

(3) CA. HCRec. 40, GMS. (4) Conditions, App. II.
 (5) CA. GHRec. 39/1, M90. BGL., p.1016. (6) Ibid., p.139

another example of "red tape", but when it is considered that the state was actually granting money, or its equivalent in land, thereby depriving itself of considerable revenue, every precaution was necessary.

The conditions for obtaining title-deeds to the land were, as has already been said, clear enough, but in spite of their explicitness, a certain amount of confusion seems to have been prevalent, for only at this stage, did the officers become fully aware that they could not obtain possession of their lands, unless they actually served with the German Military Settlers for three years. ⁽⁷⁾ An exception was made only in the case of Baron von Stutterheim in whose favour the Governor waived the condition of service for the full period. ⁽⁸⁾

The principle of Remission Money, as contrasted with the principle of granting a fixed area of land, meant that the value of the farms obtained from the state was equal for all officers of the same rank, though it did not necessarily mean that the size of the farms was equal. This depended on the current value of the land. A list is extant showing the price of land at the various locations in 1857, the price stated being arrived at by reference to sales of land, valuation, ⁽⁹⁾ etc.

At Keiskama Hoek, the value of land was the highest, namely £1.10/- per acre; at Stutterheim, Braunschweig and Wooldridge it was £1 an acre, and at the other places it was 15/- or 10/-, though at Bell it was 12/6 per acre. Subsequently this list was revised, apparently because the officers found the prices too high and protested strongly. According to another (and later) list the prices were as follows:- at Keiskama Hoek and Izeli land was 17/6 per acre; at Stutterheim 16/-, at Frankfurt and Breidbach 15/-, at Wiesbaden, Hanover and Marienthal 12/6, Cambridge 9/-, Potsdam 7/- and at Berlin only 5/-. ⁽¹⁰⁾ It is difficult to say

⁽⁷⁾ CA. GHRec. 39/2, M30. GMS., Letter by Grant, 26th March, 1857.

⁽⁸⁾ *Ibid.*, Grant to Pohlenius, 25th March, 1857; GHRec., 39/1, p.217.

⁽⁹⁾ CA. GHRec. 39/1, M30. BGL., p.143.

⁽¹⁰⁾ CA. BKRec. 40, GMS.

which of these two lists was actually correct; nevertheless the later was the one followed when land was bought by officers on their Remission Certificates. The farms acquired by the officers were thus not very large, though the granting of grazing rights in addition improved matters somewhat; the officers could make a living, and only a bare living as farmers, the men hardly, though it was thought that they could supplement the income derived from their pay and their gardens by engaging in some form of profitable employment.

The worst off were the "Gentlemen Cadets" of whom there were forty-three. ⁽¹¹⁾ They were permitted to settle in South Africa, so to speak, only "by grace" and were dependent on the goodwill of the Governor for the rate of their pay, for building money and for land, all of which were not mentioned in the "Conditions" and only indefinitely in the clauses added subsequently. Though these were slightly better than those granted to the men, they did not even approximate to those granted to the officers of rank; thus, while not enjoying the privileges of officers, the cadets were precluded by their rank from undertaking such work as could ⁽¹²⁾ readily be accepted by the men.

Although matters had been regulated early enough, the practical difficulties in settling the Legionaries made delay inevitable. The staff of surveyors seems to have had more work than it could cope with, the Germans were fretting at the delays in the allocation of their land and complained to Col. Maclean. He again rapped the Deputy Surveyor-General over the knuckles, ⁽¹³⁾ wondering whether the surveyors were as energetic as they might be. Violent protests followed, but eventually the Germans got their ⁽¹⁴⁾ land. For some of them, this was in August, 1857, when the lands had been surveyed, though the others had to await their turns. The officers first of all had the privilege of choosing their land, then the N.C.O's, who usually chose theirs near the village; finally it was decided by lot where each man was to receive his

(11) CA. GRRec. 39/1 N80. BGL., p.158.

(12) Germania, 1st July, 1857.

(13) CA. BRRec. 17. Sur.Gen., 1853-58. The amount of work with which the surveyors had to cope is well shown in the papers of the Deputy Surveyor-General for British Kaffraria - CA., D.S.G. BK 11 and 42

garden allotment.

After this complaint was futile. A year later one of the Germans complained that his lot at Keiskama Hoek was gravelly, and he asked to be allowed to change, but the surveyor to whom the matter was referred replied quite simply. "These garden ervens were drawn for by lot, and I conceive that no one should be allowed to complain of that lot which happens to fall to him."⁽¹⁵⁾ A definite answer, but whether justifiable when there was no scarcity of land is another question!

A period of inactivity now set in for the Legionaries. During the winter they could do little on the lands, and they were advised to wait with their "ploughing" until the spring rains had set in. Nor did they really think it possible to begin agricultural work. True, some had spades, but neither oxen nor ploughs! And under such circumstances they certainly thought it impossible. Then, too, they considered it impracticable to begin with the building of their houses, for as yet they had received no advance, and without money how could they even commence to think of building! And accustomed to numerous delays, they certainly did not anticipate that the Government would sanction the payment of a part of the building money for at least some months. Moreover, they were in no hurry to begin, and indeed, why should they be? The construction of the temporary huts was such that one could live in them for years without being subjected to any of the ill-effects of the weather. To them, accustomed to nothing better than the cramped space afforded by a tent, or a small ship, their huts, each in its own grounds, were⁽¹⁶⁾ luxurious.

In the meanwhile, however, their officers thought differently. A general order was published in which the attention of the German Military Settlers was drawn to the fact that the erection

(14) Diary, 4th July, 1857.

(15) GA. BKRec. 24. Crown Reserve, Letter 117.

(16) Diary, 7th July, and 23rd July, 1857.

of temporary huts was insufficient to satisfy the requirements of Article 16 of the "Conditions", and that a permanent house had to be built by each and every settler. ⁽¹⁷⁾ No objection was raised to collaboration; the men were free to do as they pleased, provided only that every settler owned a house.

In order to expedite matters, General von Stutterheim officially and privately begged Grey to order the payment of the first third of the building money, especially to the officers. They most of all required the ready cash, as their positions debarred them from doing the work personally. ⁽¹⁸⁾ Apparently all this was of little avail, as it was only some months later that the houses rose in the villages. The only official step taken as early as this, as far as the documents show, was the creation of a Building Board, consisting of officers under the control of General von Stutterheim. ⁽¹⁹⁾ The first instalment of the building money, it appears, was to be made in advance, but before the subsequent instalments could be paid, the Board had to be satisfied that sufficient progress had been made to warrant a further payment. Matters were largely left to the discretion of the Board, which was to be guided only by two factors, fairness to the settlers and fairness to the interest of the public. One more task allotted to the Board was the furnishing of returns, showing the state of advancement building had reached at every station inspected.

In the meanwhile, the Government delayed in the paying of the advance, and our diarist ascribed this to the prevalence of desertion which was so rampant at the time that fears for the continued existence of the settlement were justifiably entertained. ⁽²⁰⁾ The inevitable delay occasioned by the nature of circumstances is probably a better explanation. Although the staff of the High Commissioner for British Kaffraria had been increased slightly, it was not able to cope with all the work in time. "We are up to our eyes in work" one of them wrote in a private letter. ⁽²¹⁾ Whatever

(17) *Germania*, 22nd April, 1857.

(18) CA. GHRec. 39/1, MSO. BGL., p.163.

(19) *Ibid.*, p.99

(20) *Diary*, 23rd July, 1857.

(21) CA. BKRec. 40, GMS.

the explanation, the Germans took a long time in building their houses. Their attitude towards this work and their partial accomplishment of it is sufficiently interesting for a fuller description of the process. Paradoxically enough, those Legionaries who had neglected to build substantial huts were earnestly contemplating building their houses, while those who had devoted time and energy to building habitable huts, made no efforts to commence with the building of their houses.

To facilitate matters, the Board handed over a certain sum to the officers in charge of stations with the instruction that it should be paid to the Legionaries as soon as they considered the buildings sufficiently advanced to warrant the payment of advances. Because of this, our diarist naively adds "I too am contemplating the idea of beginning soon with the building of my house!" ^a ₍₂₂₎ -/year after he had landed.

A few days later there is another statement. "One man of the Company has already begun building his permanent house, and has already brought it under roof" ⁽²³⁾. But this was unusual; the majority had not yet begun, though some commenced collecting building material and with some preliminary work, namely preparing part of their ground for the house, and part as a garden, and building a fence around it. At some stations this caused but little difficulty, as wood was plentiful, but where it was scarce, they were obliged to fetch it from a distance. Sometimes they formed working parties and spent days in the forest cutting down the trees and preparing the necessary timber. After this, it had to be transported, which in the one case quoted, cost the settler 15/, a fairly large sum when the circumstances are taken into consideration. Then a fence of poles and stakes was erected around the building lots, usually by two or three of the settlers working together. ⁽²⁴⁾

The next step was still preparatory; again expeditions

(22) Diary, 12th January, 1858.

(23) Diary, 16th January, 1858.

(24) Details from Diary, January to June, 1858, passim.

were made to the forest, but this time the timber obtained was to be used for the house. Besides timber, they also had to procure thatch and hence they again undertook an expedition. Rain and mist and the need of searching for suitable grass prevented immediate success, and miles of tramping proved abortive. A second journey proved a little more fruitful and half a load of suitable grass could be cut, but again the settlers were handicapped by rain. Eventually after four weeks' work during which the weather caused frequent delays, a sufficient quantity of grass for thatching had been cut. As it was miles away from the station, it still had to be transported, and as there was only one wagon, which everyone wanted, this could not be accomplished with ease. Moreover a danger threatened; because of the continuous rain the grass could not dry properly and might even have rotted. In order to prevent this, the settlers went frequently to turn it; this meant a long walk each time, and great difficulty in crossing streams, swollen by heavy rains.

Eventually after a month had gone by, our diarist managed to procure a wagon and transport the grass to the station where the house was to be built, but this meant another comparatively large outlay - £1.

In the meanwhile more timber had been obtained; the forest had again been visited, and beams suitable for building were cut and prepared for transport. This meant hard work but apparently they enjoyed it and managed to accomplish a great deal in a short time. Finally when the necessary timber had been cut, the Captain's wagon was again hired and used to transport the timber to Ohlsen.

X In the meanwhile, too, our diarist had a thousand pieces of turf cut and prepared for his house - for which he paid 15/-. Then, too, the plans for the house were prepared. "I have made the plan for my house, and according to it the building is to be 28 ft. long and 18 ft. wide. The thatched roof is to be a French one, and a 6 ft. wide verandah is to be along the whole front of the

house. Three symmetrically placed windows will admit light and air into the interior which is to be divided into two rooms. In the inside a door is to connect the two rooms, of which the smaller one lying on the left hand side is to serve as bed-room and kitchen. The house door is in front under the verandah and leads directly in to the large room. The outside walls are made of sods and rest on a foundation of stones. The inside wall is to be made of air dried bricks. In this way I hope to make it possible to defray all the expenses with the £20 at my disposal, that is, without taking into account the value of my own labour. (25)

All the preparations were now completed; turf had been cut, also timber and grass for thatching, and the plans had been made. Building could now commence. Eventually then on the 18th May, 1858, well over a year after landing at the Cape, our diarist, assisted by four men whom he paid each 5/- a day, set to work. They commenced by carrying the sods to the building site, a task which took actually more time than the erection of the walls. Then while the Legionaries put up the walls, two Kaffirs were employed preparing the mortar, for which each was paid 1/- a day. Every row of sods was succeeded by a layer of saplings, bound together by mortar on which another row of sods was placed, and in this way they proceeded until the walls reached the requisite height. After six days work, the walls were three ft. high, when the windows were put in. Our builder now considered that one assistant was sufficient to enable him to complete the building of the walls, but he thought it advisable to retain the two Natives. They tried to expedite the work, as the Building Board was expected at Ohlsen within a few days, and our Legionary wanted to have his building sufficiently advanced to be able to claim the second instalment of the building money.

At this stage the work came to a temporary standstill, as all the sods had already been used; and because of the drought the soil was so hard that cutting more sods was almost

an impossibility. He hoped to obtain sods from one of the other Legionaries, who was not immediately in need of them. Though possible, this was by no means easy, as building was then general, and at Ohlsen six sod-houses, four of air-dried bricks and one of stone, were being erected. It seems, however, that the lack of sods was overcome, for by the 9th June, our diarist was able to report that the walls were more or less complete. He expected another delay, as the few carpenters of the station were too much in demand, and he had to await his turn before they could put on his roof, a piece of work, which he felt, needed an expert.

While our builder was waiting, the building commission, consisting of the commander of the Regiment, the Captain of the Station and an officer of the Royal Engineers, again visited the station and, where the roof was already up, they paid out the last third of the building money, as they did in four cases; he received only his second third as his house was still without a roof. Eventually on the 27th June, the roof was at last on the house. (26)

His troubles were not over, however. Heavy rains set in and did considerable damage to the still incomplete house; the chimneys fell in, one gable collapsed and the plaster of whole walls came off. This meant actual monetary loss - he estimated the damage at about £3, but what was more important is that the enthusiasm for building waned considerably, while the coldness of the wind sweeping through the village (there was snow on the mountains) did not encourage work out of doors.

By the 1st August, 1858, the house was nearly, though not quite, complete - and this is the last reference we have, probably (though this is a mere assumption) because our diarist volunteered for service in India, since he discusses this subject together with the question of desertion very fully in the last entry in his diary. (27)

(26) Diary, 27th June, 1858.

(27) Diary, 1st August, 1858.

No full and final returns of houses built by the German Legionaries have been found; the extent to which building had progressed can, however, be gauged from several statements. The first was made in the Deutscher Beobachter, 19th June, 1858, and says that according to figures obtained from an authoritative source (possibly Captain Mills), 392 houses had been completed and 877 were under construction at the time. A few months later, 30th September, 1858, the number of houses completed had risen to 623, according to Captain Mills' returns. These figures may at first sight seem satisfactory, but prove rather disappointing when it is remembered that altogether 2362 officers and men were each required to build a house. It means, in fact, that only 21.3% had completed their houses, when many of them left for India. More information is obtained from the returns furnished for the Governor in December, 1858. Through the volunteering of the German Military Settlers for India, through death and desertion 557 houses had lapsed to the crown. Of these 40% were finished or practically so, 32% needed a small amount of material and labour, while the remainder (28%) were merely in frame, where the material was wattle and daub, and where of stone, only the walls were up. When these returns were made there were only 981 men left, which means - since 2362 officers and men had come out to the Cape, that the causes enumerated above, were responsible for the loss of 1381 men of whom only 557 had commenced building houses, and of whom only about 29% had finished their houses or left them nearly so. When, therefore, it is remembered that the German Military Settlers had been nearly two years in South Africa, these figures are disappointing.

On the other hand, it should be pointed out that when sites for the locations were selected, the primary consideration was military expediency; suitability as settlements was only of secondary importance. As Sir George Cory rightly states, "In the selection of strategical places entirely new, little con-

(28) Deutscher Beobachter, 19th June, 1858.
 (29) CA. GRRec. 40/1 MSO. Monthly State of Troops.
 (30) For Statistics, see p. 183 infra. Breaking up of Settlement.
 (31) CA. BKRec. 2 High Commissioner, 1857-58. Grant to Grey, 9th December, 1858.
 (32) See Appendix. VII. Statistical record.

sideration seems to have been had to their isolation and the difficulties of obtaining the materials for forming dwellings. In some places there was no wood nearer than eight or fifteen miles and then its transport was costly. Even water was scarce⁽³³⁾. It is not surprising, therefore, that in these circumstances progress was slow and that the erections were of an inferior kind.

Another unsatisfactory feature is that little attempt was made to build substantial houses. Some of the men put up expensive houses at double or treble the allowance granted to them by the Government, but in most cases, they had brought some capital with them and meant to start trading, etc. Others did so on the account of officers from whom they received financial aid. But the majority were content with very inferior structures of wattle and daub, which they thought would just entitle them to their allowance.⁽³⁴⁾

Agriculture. The process of beginning with agricultural work was equally slow. The first reference to this is on 27th July, 1857, when a few of the Legionaries had begun to dig up their building lots with a view to making small vegetable gardens, but unaccustomed as they were to anything but military life, they found it exceedingly difficult to accomplish much.⁽³⁵⁾ The majority could not complain of the quality of the land; they thought it to be rich and fertile, but a few were worried by stony soil, though more frequently by antheaps.

Next an Agricultural Society was founded at Hanover, the object being largely co-operation in finding out what was most profitable for men whose lot it was to make their living on the land. The president of the society was Klee (initials not given), the secretary Theod. Wolff; Vogt was the 'Controller', while Lehmann and Donian were the other members of the Committee.⁽³⁶⁾ Unfortunately no more is heard of the activities of the Society!

(33) Cory, *op. cit.* VI, 48.

(34) CA. BKRec. 40. GMS., 1856-61; Confidential Reports to Maclean.

(35) Diary, 27th July, 1857.

(36) Germania, 25th November, 1857.

Nothing further is said that year (1857). Our diarist commenced work in his garden only in the beginning of 1858. After reserving sites for his house and a yard (his hut had already been built) he procured someone to dig up the rest of a plot measuring 96 ft. by 64 ft., and paid £1 for the work. At the same time he mentioned that he had exchanged half of his land for a piece a little further away, but having better soil. (37)

In the meanwhile they were not only encouraged but helped by the Government, largely through the Governor's personal interest in them. One of the first things he did was to order an irrigation furrow to be built at state expense at Ohlsen. This was to cost £50, and the work was to be done by the settlers in small work parties, consisting of the officer in charge of the station, an N.C.O. and twenty men who were paid between 4/- and 1/- a day. (38)

As no further references are found in the diary to agricultural activities, it must be concluded that at least at this station very little was done before the Legionaries left for India. This is confirmed by figures given in the monthly returns furnished by Captain Mills. At the end of May, 1858, only 884 acres were under cultivation, though the number rose to 1016 before the end of September of that year, when more than half of the G.M.S. left for India. Curiously enough, their departure does not seem to have retarded agricultural progress, for by the end of that year the number of acres had risen to 1083. This seems to indicate that agriculture was carried on chiefly by those who remained, and further that those who remained were more useful as settlers than their comrades who had left. (39)

These figures may seem to indicate a fair amount of agricultural activity, but at the time there were about 33 officers and 2000 men who collectively had been granted or had bought on Remission Certificates at least 20,000 acres of arable

(37) Diary, 24th January, 1858.

(38) Diary, 11th April, 1858.

(39) CA. GRRec. 39/6, Miscell., 1859-1860.

land, this excluding their building lots. It will be seen, therefore, how little had been accomplished during the eighteen months they had spent at their settlements. According to the September figures, that is, the last returns before the departure to India, only 5.08% of the land granted to them had been brought under cultivation. Coupled with these facts and figures is the statement made to the writer by surviving Immigrants that they sold a large part of their garden produce to the Legionaries!

Next to the activities of the G.M.S. as settlers the most important were, of course, their duties as soldiers - but these will be discussed in a later chapter.

Social inter-course was by no means neglected and it seems that something or other was organised whenever possible. Naturally circumstances at the out-stations made much social activity impossible. Usually the Legionaries had to be satisfied with the companionship of their comrades and they congregated at each others homes or the local canteen for friendly conversation. Only occasionally did anything out of the ordinary happen to relieve the monotony. Thus the 18th February, 1858, was a great day. "On the afternoon of the 18th of this month, the Company was on parade in order to receive the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, Sir George Grey. He came from Kingwilliamstown and returned to it via Statterheim and Keiskama Koek. He was accompanied by the Commander of the Forces, Sir James Jackson, Colonel Maclean and several other officers and a small troupe of the Cape Mounted Rifles. After reviewing the detachment here at Ohlsen, he dismounted from his horse and rested for a while in the dwelling of the Captain and of Lieutenant von Tempaki." A little later, through one of his officers, he issued a proclamation in which he declared himself fully satisfied, not only with the military smartness of the German Military Settlers, but also with the progress they had made as settlers, and he exhorted them to persevere until they had made their station an important town. In general his visit seems to have exercised a

(40) Diary, passim.

wholesome influence and engendered renewed hope and activity.

A little more than a month later a play was staged at Stutterheim. The caste was composed of settlers and though their performance was by no means brilliant, the evening was highly appreciated. A few weeks later another play was staged to be followed by a dance, again a welcome diversion. At the same time our diarist stated that he was reading modern classics, but complained of the difficulty of procuring books.

The Queen's Birthday was the occasion for a parade and a salute of 21 rounds in her honour. After this the officer in command made a little speech in which he said that they should be grateful for all that had been done for them and that they should constantly endeavour to make progress as settlers. In the evening there was a play and a dance. Little else could be reported from the smaller stations, though it may be taken for granted that at the larger urban centres there was more entertainment. In any case, there was little enough, and what there was, had to be of their own making.

The life of the German legionaries as settlers has now been surveyed for a period of more than eighteen months. What had they achieved? Little, it must be confessed. Only about 5% of the land granted to them was under cultivation at the end of that period (September, 1858) nor could this be ascribed to drought or bad seasons. Only about 21.8% had completed their houses, while a large proportion of the men had not even begun building; many had deserted or left the Legion to take up some other form of employment, and as will be seen subsequently, they created the impression that though useful as soldiers, they gave little promise of being successful settlers.



MILITARY MATTERS.

So far attention has been given almost exclusively to the activities of the Germans as settlers; but it must not be forgotten that they were under military control and indeed for practically two years on the full footing of regular soldiers.

Military duties were specified for the Germans in the "Conditions"; they were to serve as military settlers for seven years divided into two periods. During the first three years, they were to receive half-pay, and during the second period of four years, no pay was to accrue to them. Whenever they were on active service, either against an enemy or in aid of the civil power, they were to receive full pay. Further, to ensure that they should remain an efficient fighting force, they should attend for exercises on such days as the Government might appoint; during the first period, this was not to be more than 30 days a year and during the second not more than twelve.⁽¹⁾

These were the preliminary arrangements, but events and circumstances beyond the control of either the Imperial Parliament or the Governor of the Cape ordained otherwise. When the Germans landed here, it was found that only 361 of them were accompanied by wives,⁽²⁾ a state of affairs manifestly impossible, as it had already become an axiom of colonisation that in order to be an effective settler a man must be married and have the steadying influence of a family. Unlike ordinary soldiers, the Germans were not to be quartered in barracks and kept under continual control, but each man was to have his own cottage. To keep such

(1) See Appendix II.

(2) See Appendix IV.

a force of over 2000 men together at a rate of pay which hardly sufficed for their support, was impossible, since the Germans could easily have obtained excellent wages by dispersing. Grey, as soon as he became aware of the facts, expected trouble. "The results of this will be disastrous to the whole community;" he wrote; "it has created considerable alarm in the minds of the native population; great immorality will result from it, and great expense; for it would be impossible under such circumstances to detain the G.M.S. in their villages as ordinary settlers".⁽³⁾ He anticipated that if they were not under the strictest military control, they would roam all over the country, a danger to themselves and to the inhabitants and quite useless for the defence of the colony. He therefore thought that, until females who could become their wives had been imported, the only possible course was to keep the settlers under arms as soldiers.

As subsequent events proved, Grey was justified in adopting the measures he did, for in spite of this more or less effective control, a number of unpleasant incidents occurred,⁽⁴⁾ and presumably matters would have been far worse, if there had been no such control. Nevertheless, this was and could be only a temporary expedient, incapable of giving a permanent solution to the problem. The obvious remedy, and the one tried by Grey, was to create such a state of affairs that it would be possible for the Legionaries to find wives. As will be seen subsequently, Sir George Grey intended to effect this by introducing into the Cape a large number of German families, many of whom would have adult daughters.

However, other circumstances, not directly connected with the Legion, soon arose and made the disbanding of the Germans both unwise and impracticable.

As is well known, the Cape passed through a severe crisis on its eastern frontier early in 1857. Probably instigated by their chiefs and by Moshesh,⁽⁵⁾ Krel and his friends planned another move

(3) Imp. Pap. 389, p. 11. Grey to Lab., 25th March, 1857.

(4) See Chapter XI

(5) Walker, History of South Africa, p. 293. Cory, op cit., VI. 26-27.

against the British. Nongquause and her uncle Umhlakaza declared that she had seen visions of the dead chiefs who demanded the slaughter of the cattle and the destruction of the grain, both of which were to be replaced by supernatural means. On an appointed day in February, 1857, a great wind was to rise, drive the English into the sea and in its train bring back the great chiefs of the past. The scheme was well-planned. It would be autumn, the grain destroyed, the Kaffirs starving, and the prophecies would remain unfulfilled. Naturally the chiefs concluded that, driven by necessity, the Kaffirs would be compelled to invade the colony. At the time of the arrival of the Germans, this "infatuation", as Grey called it, was at its height, and war was momentarily expected. Grey was however in readiness. Troops and supplies of food were hastened to the Frontier, and a strong front was maintained in order to prevent the Kaffirs from attempting an attack on the Colony. At the time, ~~unfortunately~~, the forces at the Governor's disposal were very small; although nominally consisting of ten regiments, they numbered no more than 3266 - an inadequate number when the magnitude of the task is considered. ⁽⁶⁾ Hence he had no hesitation in keeping the Germans in readiness, fully armed and under full military control. Of course, there is no evidence to show to what extent the presence of the Germans prevented the outbreak of open hostilities, but considering that they numbered about two-thirds of the English troops then on the Border, and that the number was probably much exaggerated by rumour, it can be safely assumed that their presence may have been one of the factors which prevented the outbreak of the war.

There was, however, still another reason for keeping the Germans on full pay. They landed in South Africa a few months before the Indian Mutiny when England needed every man who could be spared for quelling the rising there. Grey, too, on being asked to send six ⁽⁷⁾ of his ten regiments, dispatched them and subsequently almost every soldier he could spare, so that between the 12th August, 1857,

(6) Imp. Pap. 389, p. 30. Grey to Lab., 30th October, 1857.

(7) Imp. Pap. 389, p. 39. Lab. to Grey, 26th August, 1857.

and the 12th October, 1853, he actually sent from the Cape to India a total of 266 officers and 6760 men. (8)

He could do this only because he knew that in case of difficulty it was possible for him to fall back on the Germans, who in the meanwhile had been broken into small detachments which were protecting the Frontier and preserving some of the main lines of communication; in other words, the Germans, settled in their villages, performed the function, though not actually the duties which until then had been undertaken by regular troops.

Sir George Grey's action in maintaining the G.M.S. on full pay had, of course, not been sanctioned, and this led to protracted correspondence between him and Her Majesty's Government. It was probably one of the reasons for his first recall, which was however cancelled later.

It was pointed out to him that according to the "Conditions" the Germans were to be maintained on full pay only when called out against an enemy or to aid the civil power. Now his first reason, namely keeping them under arms for disciplinary reasons, did not fall under either of these headings; it was merely a question of internal policy, and hence his action was highly irregular. The step of keeping them under arms may have been justified for other reasons, but he should, so to speak, have asked for permission first. (9)

As regards his second reason, Her Majesty's Government objected, because he had reported that matters were tranquil again in British Kaffraria and that the power of the Kaffir chiefs had been broken - and yet the G.M.S. were retained for service in the field "as against an enemy". This, too, they could not understand, as he had reported that the Germans were in peaceable occupation of their allotments - which seemed to them directly contrary to the former statement.

This matter was not stressed, as the third factor, the

(8) G4 -- '59 (Cape), Trans. Troops to India, p.39.

(9) Imp.Pap. 389, p.40. Lab. to Grey, 14th September, 1857.

necessity of sending troops to India now intervened. To quote, the Colonial Secretary, the Hon. H. Labouchere "But I must instruct you, that so long as they are kept on full pay, they must be kept embodied and doing duty as regular troops, and in this manner supply the place of the soldiers required for the public service in India".⁽¹⁰⁾

Lord Panmure, the Minister for War, felt that the responsibility of sanctioning the retention of the Germans on full pay indefinitely was too great, and therefore, through the Governor sent a memorandum to General Sir James Jackson, the commander of the forces. He consented to their retention on full pay until 31st March, 1858, but forbade, after that day, any extra pay beyond that to which they were entitled, unless of course the Colony was again threatened with hostile aggression and it was found necessary to call out the G.M.S. for "military duty in the field".⁽¹¹⁾

This letter was written on the 4th February, 1858, and received by Grey only a few days before it was to take effect. He immediately protested, drawing attention to the little time left for carrying out these orders, and reiterated that in keeping the G.M.S. on full pay during the absence of the regular troops in England, he was only carrying out previous instructions; and he repeated his arguments for the retention of the G.M.S. on full pay. Until the arrival of the German Immigrants, he averred, the difficulties of keeping the German Legionaries as settlers at their stations remained the same; he was still at a loss as to what other measures he was to adopt to keep the Germans under control. To prove the necessity for the measures he had taken, he again pointed to the necessity of defending the Frontier, for which purpose he had little besides the G.M.S. He had sent the majority of his regular troops, until then located in the military posts protecting the frontier, to India. "These military posts" he said, "have now, in a great measure, been withdrawn, and the

(10) *Ibid.*, p. 41

(11) *Imp. Pap.* 389, p. 43.

duties they performed have been taken up by the German military settlers. Their posts, in a military point of view, are ^{their} locations; when these become permanent villages, as they are becoming, no military force will be required there; but if they are abandoned now, all that has been done will be lost, and the country must be reconquered". In spite of the presence of the German force, circumstances in British Kaffraria were becoming dangerous, so much so that he thought it foolhardy to dispense with the service of the G.M.S. at that time. ⁽¹²⁾ At the same time, Grey intimated that he would endeavour to persuade General Jackson to desist from putting this order into effect, pending a reply to his despatch. In addition, in a subsequent despatch, he referred to a number of crimes alleged to have been committed by deserters from the G.M.S. To prevent the recurrence of such crimes and to keep their number as small as possible, he had acted as he had done and felt that it would be ⁽¹⁵⁾ disastrous to put them on half pay at this juncture.

Lord Stanley who replaced the Hon. H. Labouchere as Secretary for the Colonies in February, 1858, expressed himself satisfied that Grey had acted for the best in keeping the German Military Settlers under arms, and that he had been actuated by a real sense of duty; furthermore he expressed his regret that he had been allowed so little time in which to make preparations for placing the ⁽¹⁴⁾ Germans on half-pay, but he pointed out that the matter could be sanctioned only by the Minister for War, i. e. Major-General Peel who had replaced Lord Panmure.

Major-General Peel felt, however, that the instructions issued by Lord Panmure to General Jackson had to be strictly adhered to, as it was evident that the retention of the G.M.S. on full pay was contrary to the "Conditions". Hence, he felt that no discretion was left to him in the matter and that pay had to cease according to previous instructions on 31st March, 1858. ⁽¹⁵⁾ While the Governor

(12) CA. GHRec. 23/27, p. 280 ff.; Imp. Pap. 389, p. 37 ff; Grey to Lab., 22nd March, 1858.

(13) GA - '59, (Cape), p. 30 ff, Grey to Stanley, 12th June, 1858; CA. GHRec. 23/27, p. 336.

(14) Imp. Pap. 389, p. 50. Stanley to Grey, 1st June, 1858.

(15) Imp. Pap. 389, p. 50. Hawes to Merivale, 14th May, 1858.

was corresponding with the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Minister for War, Major-General Peel, who anticipated Grey's reluctance to carry out his commands, wrote directly to General Sir James Jackson, insisting on the placing of the Germans on half-pay. Jackson, in turn, submitted this letter to Grey, who wrote the short marginal note. "I cannot for the present concur in the proposed arrangements of immediately placing the German Legion upon half pay"⁽¹⁶⁾, which means, we take it, that the Germans continued receiving full pay, but presumably from Colonial, not Imperial funds. Nevertheless, disobedience was of little avail, for in a further dispatch, the Minister for War again insisted on the immediate cessation of full pay and on compliance with his previous orders.⁽¹⁷⁾ This settled the matter.

This is only a brief summary of a voluminous correspondence, but it served to show what measures impelled the Governor to retain the Germans as soldiers instead of placing them on the footing of settlers, immediately after their arrival at the Cape. Moreover, it also indicates that though all except about 800 eventually failed as settlers, the Germans did accomplish a useful purpose in providing an extra force, when the Colony was passing through an anxious and critical time and that their presence enabled nearly all the regular troops to be sent to India, where they were urgently needed.

Let us now return to the settlers and look at the various experiences which they underwent in their capacity of soldiers. Although nominally under the Commander of the Forces, the G.M.S. were actually under General von Stutterheim, who was for them the most important, though not the final authority.

His sojourn at the Cape, however, was short; when he had hardly done more than see his men settled at their stations, he was obliged to write to Sir George Grey on the 13th October, 1857, asking leave to retire from his

(16) GA. GHRec. 36/2, M30., Military, 1857-8, p. 930.

(17) Ibid., p. 1047.

position, as family news, which he had received from Germany made his presence at home imperative. He drew attention to the work accomplished since his arrival and trusted that the progress of the settlement would continue. (18)

In accepting the resignation provisionally, until Her Majesty's pleasure was known, Sir George Grey paid a tribute to Stutterheim's zeal and ability in conducting the plan of military colonisation and asked him to hand over the command to Col. Wooldridge for the time being. (19)

The settlers were informed of these matters in the Regimental Orders published in the Germania on the 10th November, 1857, when it was officially stated that Col. Wooldridge was provisionally appointed to the command of the G.M.S. and that Major Crompton was to assume the duties hitherto performed by Col. Wooldridge.

Before leaving, General Stutterheim did two things: he declared a general amnesty for all Germans punished by Court Martial, though those imprisoned for dishonourable crimes were to be excepted. Then, too, he published a manifesto in which he bade farewell to the officers and men of the German Legion and thanked them for their confidence and attachment to him. He said that much had been accomplished, and he trusted that the energy which had accomplished so much would successfully complete the work so auspiciously begun. "With the best wishes", he concluded, "for the welfare of all those from whose fellowship I now depart, I add only the wish that they may retain a friendly remembrance of me". (20)

To Sir George Grey, this resignation came as a shock and he feared that the retirement of the one man who, possessing the full confidence of his soldier-settlers, could combine military control with colonising activities, would prove unfortunate for the success of the scheme which had until then ^{had} progressed so favourably. When

(18) Imp. Pap. 389, p. 28. Stutt. to Grey, 13th October, 1857.
 (19) Imp. Pap. 389, p. 29. Grey to Stutt., 23th October, 1857.
 (20) Germania, 10th November, 1857. (Translated)

Stutterheim passed through Cape Town on his way to Europe, he had long conversations with the Governor, who was given to understand that there was a possibility of his being induced to resume his position, after his affairs had been settled. "I should feel very glad," Grey wrote, "if Her Majesty's Government would sanction this arrangement, as the Baron's assistance is almost indispensable to me, and I am satisfied that his presence here would be a great advantage to the service in many ways."⁽²¹⁾ This was subsequently approved of by the English Government,⁽²²⁾ but unfortunately matters were so serious, and his health so poor that Baron von Stutterheim⁽²³⁾ committed suicide at Wiesbaden in Germany.

At first Wooldridge was appointed provisionally to the command of the Legion; a few days later, however, this was cancelled, and the G.M.S. like all other regiments were placed directly under His Excellency the Lieutenant-General commanding Her Majesty's Forces in Cape Colony, at the time Sir James Jackson. Whatever the explanation may have been, Wooldridge was left in the dark, nor have any documents been found elucidating the matter. The explanation may be that the Germans were virtually regular soldiers at the time, and that they were largely fulfilling the functions until then performed by troops which had been or were departing to India. Another possible explanation is that Grey may have felt that the number of unpleasant occurrences could be lessened by placing the Germans under the very effective control of Sir James Jackson. Probably Grey regarded this as a temporary measure, hoping that by the time General Stutterheim returned, the G.M.S. would have been put on half pay, when of course their functions as settlers would take precedence.

Naturally Col. Wooldridge protested against this, stating that when he had accepted the appointment of Assistant-Commissioner and the position of Second-in-Command, it was with the express understanding that in the event of any occurrence causing the loss

(21) Imp. Pap. 339, p. 37. Grey to Lab., 27th November, 1857.

(22) Imp. Pap. 339, p. 43. Lab. to Grey, 5th February, 1858, and Enclosure.

(23) UHF. II, p. 236.

of the services of Stutterheim, he should immediately assume the command and direction of the settlement. ⁽²⁴⁾ His protest was, however, without avail, and General Jackson became the commander of the G.M.S. Naturally other changes followed this reorganisation. Major George Follenius had been the military secretary for the G.M.S., but he was replaced by Captain Mills, to whom all reports, ⁽²⁵⁾ returns and other matters affecting the G.M.S. were to be sent. Capt. Mills, it will be understood, was Sir James Jackson's military secretary and directly responsible to him. As will also be understood, Major Follenius was none too pleased with this ⁽²⁶⁾ change.

The Legionaries felt the change. According to their opinion, he demanded more complete compliance with all military regulations and a fuller obedience to military orders than his predecessor. Whereas Stutterheim had regarded them primarily as settlers, and treated them as such, it seemed to the G.M.S. that Jackson regarded them only as soldiers, receiving full pay who should be well drilled, so that, when called up for active service, they ⁽²⁷⁾ should be fully prepared. About their duties as colonists he did not seem to be concerned; but as they were still on full pay, the settlers felt that they could not complain, especially as he seemed to them to be an efficient and energetic man who saw to it that there was no slackness among them. This changed attitude was probably due to the expressed wish of the Imperial Government, ⁽²⁸⁾ as has been noted, and to the unusual conditions on the Border.

At first, parades were regular, but after a while they became rarer and rarer. A fresh start seems to have been made in February, 1858, when the Captain at Ohlsen, for instance, (probably carrying out instructions from head-quarters) ordered parades every Monday and Sunday. They seem mostly to have done their own drills, though at the same time they were trained to do the English drill too. The resumption of parades meant increased

(24) CA. GRRec. 39/1, MSO. DGL. p. 357.

(25) Ibid. p. 403

(26) Ibid. p. 404.

(27) Diary, 8th April, 1858.

(28) Imp. Pap. 389, p. 40, Lab. to Grey, 14th September, 1857.

efficiency so that, after inspecting them, Sir George Grey was able to compliment the German Military Settlers at Stutterheim and Ohlsen on their smartness; he was satisfied that they had lost none of their military efficiency and that they were fully capable of meeting any emergency. (29)

The attitude of the settlers to military matters is well shown by the opinion of our diarist.

"Der Entwicklung der deutschen Militair Colonie steht ein hemmendes Hindernis bevor, welches durch die Dauer der ost-indischen Unruhen bevoorgerufen wird. Der Commandeur sämmtlicher Truppen der Cap Colonie soll nämlich, nun nachdem fast alle englischen Regimenter das Land verlassen haben, um sich dem Kriege in Ostindien zu betheiligen, mit der Absicht umgehen, die von englischer Besetzung entblöesten Forts, mit den Mannschaften der Legion zu besetzen, und sollen zu diesem Zwecke sich Tausend Mann - also ziemlich die Hälfte der Militair Colonisten, bereit halten. Unsere Ausrüstungsgegenstände, die sich in ziemlich schlechten Zustände befinden, werden auch wirklich ergänzt und lässt unter unsere Verhältnissen eine solche Lieferung die Sache ziemlich glaubwürdig erscheinen. Diese voraussichtliche Entfernung aus den Stationen - vielleicht auf längere Zeit, - auf die sich ein jeder demnach gefasst machen muss, ist wohl den Meisten verdräselich, und es schleicht sich selbst in den Unverdrossensten Gemüthern ein Unmuth ein, der der Colonisation zum Nachtheil gereicht. Ob an der Sache etwas Wahres ist wird die Zukunft enthüllen, doch wenn dem der Fall wäre, so ist der allgemeine Wunsch, dass man uns nicht nur müssig in der Forts liegen lassen möge, sondern zum Gefecht den rebellischen Kaffern, die solch eine Maasregel notwendig machen, ohne Zögern entgegenführe!" (30)

The purpose of this passage is clear enough - either one thing or the other; if they were to be colonists, let them be left undisturbed at their stations; if on the other hand they were to be soldiers, they wanted active service. What they dreaded was comparatively idle garrison duty.

Shortly after this statement was made, the Legionaries were supplied with new boots (for which Sir George Grey, was severely censured), an indication that their immediate commander-in-chief, General Jackson, was keeping them fully equipped. In addition, he saw to it that they were regularly drilled, and equally important, regularly inspected, ordering officers in command of regiments to visit their locations once a month, inspect the men, arms,

(29) Diary, 20th February, 1858. (Regimental Order quoted in full)
 (30) Diary, 20th March, 1858.
 (31) Diary, 8th April, 1858.
 (32) Imp. Pap. 389, p.47 ff. Correspondence re issue of boots.

accoutrements and ammunition, and inquire into the state of discipline and efficiency. ⁽³³⁾ In order to ensure effective control, officers were prohibited from being absent from their stations without leave; at any time at least one officer had to be present at every settlement to exercise control. ⁽³⁴⁾

The result of these measures was that when Col. Kent Murray held his monthly inspection, he could declare himself satisfied with the general state of things, and especially with the military efficiency of the particular station about which there is a report. ⁽³⁵⁾ After this, military training was carried on more energetically than ever before, though contrary to expectation, when Col. Kent Murray again inspected this station (Ohlsen), he paid special attention to the fire-arms and bayonets, and for the first time found it necessary to say that he was not yet satisfied with their state. ⁽³⁶⁾ This indicates, not deterioration among the Germans, who were now drilled more than ever, but a greater anxiety that they should be kept ready for active service. Care was also taken that the men should be physically fit and in good training, for which purpose route marches were undertaken to neighbouring places.

Sir George Grey himself was most anxious that the Cavalry detachment of the G.M.S. should be kept efficient. He therefore wrote to General Jackson in March, 1858, requesting him to see to it that this force was put into as thoroughly efficient a state as possible, so that both men and horses should be fit for actual fieldwork. He was particularly anxious that they should be equipped with firearms adapted to their purpose, and gave orders that they should be supplied accordingly, if necessary. ⁽³⁷⁾

The cavalry detachments were hereupon inspected by Commandant Currie of the Frontier Armed Mounted Police who was most pleased with the appearance of both the men and the horses.

(33) Diary, 31st May, 1858; CA. GRRec. Vol. 36/2, MSO., p. 967.

(34) CA. GRRec. 39/1, MSO. BGL., Regt. order 279, 8th March, 1858.

(35) Diary, 16th April, 1858.

(36) Diary, 13th May, 1858.

(37) CA. BRRec. 2. High Commissioner.

After a little training, especially in fieldwork, he was sure, that they would do good service, if led by someone experienced in cavalry work on the border. (38)

All these measures indicate that the Government was depending on the German forces in case of trouble on the Frontier, and that, though allowed to remain at their stations, the Germans had virtually replaced the regular troops drafted to India. The truth of this is well proved by figures, namely the positions on the 1st August, 1857 and on the 1st September, 1858, the numbers being taken from the last returns furnished before the Mutiny began to effect the Cape, and those furnished before the Germans were also drafted to India. (39) Thus the sum total of troops in South Africa sank from 9680 to 4926; at Kingwilliamstown the number was reduced from 1405 to 933, at Keiskama Hoek from 512 to 130, while three months later the number fell to 72. Important, too, is that the troops were entirely removed from some of the posts, such as Fort Pato, Fort Grey, Kabusie, Dohne, Baillie's Grave and Izeli at which or near which there were fairly strong detachments of the German Military Settlers.

It is significant too that the number of troops stationed at Grahamstown and in Natal remained approximately the same, and certainly indicate no reduction similar to that which took place in the districts where the Legion had been settled. This proves conclusively that the Government regarded the Germans as being the bulwark of defence against the Natives.

At about this time another change was made. A number of Germans had commenced trading as proprietors of shops and canteens - and they engaged in this activity although they were at the time on full pay. General Jackson considered this an unsatisfactory arrangement and ordered them to be placed on the half-pay conditions of the G.M.S. and to be suspended from the exercise of nearly all military functions for the time during which they held

(38) CA. GHRec. 39/5, MSO., Miscel. Letters. p. 650.

(39) CA. GHRec. 40/1, MSO., Monthly State. of Troops, 1855-58.

their licences. In order to obtain the benefits accruing to them under the "Conditions", however, these men, though ceasing to hold military rank, were still strictly subject to the orders of the military authorities; they were obliged to attend the weekly church parades, and forfeited their half-pay when absent. Moreover, the commander of the forces was empowered to deprive them of their licences and order them back into the ranks, if in any way they misconducted themselves. Non-commissioned officers and privates trading at the time were given no choice in the matter - they were simply put on half-pay, but Gentlemen Cadets were given the privilege of choosing whether they would give up their business and return to the ranks, or whether they would accept the terms and conditions offered to N.C.O's. who were in trade. ⁽⁴⁰⁾ The result was that two cadets, thirteen sergeants, one lance-corporal and eleven privates were put on half-pay, ⁽⁴¹⁾ one from nearly every settlement, although at Panama (East London) there were four. At the same time an order was issued by which officers were forbidden to trade in any form whatsoever. ⁽⁴²⁾

The position of the Germans was rather peculiar; as soldiers they were under military authority, and as settlers, civilians. This state of affairs naturally led to anomalies, some of which began to show their heads only when a number of the Germans were engaged in trade. As will be remembered, the legal status of the G.M.S. had been settled by Act No. 5 of 1857 (Appendix III), by which they were under military control, subject to the fact that the Governor was able to modify the application of the law to them. The practical issue to be decided was whether the Germans were subject to civil law as well as to military?

The position was this. In so far as they were subject to the Mutiny Act, the Germans had the right to claim the privileges and protection of the Act. One of the clauses of this prohibited arrest for debts under £30; nor could the Commander of the Forces admit the right to have German Military Settlers

{40} CA. GHRec. 39/1, MSO. GMS. p.433 ff.

{41} CA. GHRec. 36/2, MSO. Military. 1857-58. p.975.

{42} G.H.36/2, p.969.

(4) CA., GHRec., 39/1, p. 494.

arrested on civil warrant, as this would mean that the Government would lose the service of these men and could not stop their pay for the breach of the civil law. Moreover, their property was mostly Government property, at least until the expiration of the term of service, and thus, when the civil authorities attached any property, as they did for instance at Stutterheim, a very peculiar position arose; the state attached state property for debt incurred by soldiers. In fact, many of the soldiers had got into debt; in one case credit up to £1000 had actually been given to a private soldier, a foolish proceeding, for as Gen. Jackson said, "I can hardly see how the mercantile community can have regarded the German Military Settlers otherwise than as soldiers; it must have been plain that they had no capital and credit would be attended with risk, and probably with hopes of equivalent profit"⁽⁴³⁾. Thus he came to the conclusion, "I therefore hardly think it possible to withdraw the protection of the Mutiny Act from these men so long as they continue on full pay. Their offences are tried by Courts Martial and their punishments carried into effect under the Articles of War". The Governor, Sir George Grey, fully agreed with this ruling, which was hereafter put into practice.

Treated largely as soldiers, the Germans, at least the majority of them, never ceased to be soldiers at heart. One example will suffice to illustrate the truth of this. When the difficulties in India lasted longer than had originally been anticipated, the Commander of the Forces, ordered the officers in charge of the settlements to enquire from their men how many were prepared to volunteer for services in India. Although no particulars, conditions or details were announced to them, more than half of the men at every station signified their intention of volunteering, if given the opportunity. "If the intention of sending a regiment of Germans to India is carried out", our diarist says, "it means that the German Military settlement in South Africa is as good as dissolved"⁽⁴⁴⁾. As will be seen in a subsequent chapter,

(43) CA. GHRec. 36/2, MSG. Military, 1857-58, p.1288-89.

(44) Diary, 1st August, 1858.

1058 men volunteered which indicates not only that the life of colonists had little attraction for them, but also that the majority remained soldiers at heart and embraced the first opportunity of taking up again a life which appealed to them more strongly than that of settling down as farmers in South Africa.

66.

XI

CHARACTER AND BEHAVIOUR.

During their short stay at their settlements, the Legionaries had achieved so much notoriety that a careful examination of their character and behaviour cannot be avoided. True, on 23th September, 1861, the Acting Governor, Lieut.-Gen. R. H. Wynyard, could write emphatically to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, "The conduct of the men since the cessation of pay has been strikingly good, and hardly any instances are recorded of their having seriously committed themselves, while on the other hand, their privations and hardships have no doubt been very trying to them, especially as foreigners suddenly thrown upon their own resources for subsistence"⁽¹⁾. This statement was not made lightly; it was based on careful investigation and a full report by Captain Mills⁽²⁾ to Col. Maclean, then Lieut.-Governor of British Kaffraria, so that its validity is indisputable. But it is contrastingly at variance with earlier pronouncements. For this the obvious reason is that when this report was made, many of them had left South Africa never to return. This tribute refers, therefore, only to those who remained in British Kaffraria, or had returned there. Of the whole body of men, before any "weeding out" had taken place, the verdicts were less complimentary.

In November, 1857, Sir George Grey, a man not prone to judge harshly, felt himself obliged to write to the Colonial Secretary. "Although the German Legion contained many excellent men, it contained also many desperate characters, collected from several nations, and from some of the worst Continental towns. Even subject to the strict control and discipline under which I have kept them, they have committed three or four desperate murders in

{1} Ca., GHRec. 23/23. No. 19 of 23th September, 1861. (p347)
{2} Ca., GHRec. 23/77, ., Enclosure to No. 19 of 23th September, 1861.

less than a year ... and other offences of very grave character". (3)

Another statement to which weight must be attached is that made by Dr. Wangemann in his account of the work of the Berlin Mission Society in Kaffirland. He had visited British Kaffraria (4) in 1867 and wrote his book in 1873, and as the Director of the Berlin Missions, had at his disposal the reports of the missionaries. In this case it was Dr. Kropf of Bethel (Stutterheim) who, as a temporary chaplain to them, got to know the Legionaries intimately. After referring to the many who rejoiced at the presence of a German missionary in their neighbourhood and who confided unreservedly in him, he has to continue in less satisfactory terms:-

"Daneben was aber auch viel loses Gesindel unter der Masse, welches aller Zucht und Ehrbarkeit bar, nur seinen Lüsten in der Fremde unbeobachtet und ungezügelt nachging, und für Gottes Wort weder Verständniss noch Begehr, nicht selten Spott and Feindschaft im Herzen trug."- (5)

These two statements form a serious indictment, which makes an examination of such evidence as can be marshalled necessary, so that some definite conclusion regarding the character, behaviour and attitude of the G.M.S. can be arrived at.

Fortunately a long search has brought to light a number of interesting documents, of which probably the most important are the confidential reports made towards the end of 1867 by the civil commissioners of British Kaffraria to Lieut-Col. Murray, then the chief Commissioner. The examination of the criminal records has also revealed much of value, while the Legionaries' opinions about themselves serve to prevent a one-sided judgment.

No doubt the British German Legion had its origin under peculiar circumstances, which made it difficult, if not impossible, for many of them to return to their homes, at least for some time. These circumstances, would obviously have attracted the

(3) Imp. Pap. 389, p.34.

(4) Wangemann, Berliner Mission in Kaffer-Lande, p.195.

(5) Ibid., op cit., p.192.

adventurer rather than the ordinary emigrant - men needing the restraint of discipline who, as one of their own officers said, "from the habit of their lives are incapable of settling down to steady labour, by which alone there is a chance of their succeeding here"⁽⁶⁾. Or, as another of their officers said, "They are with few exceptions adapted only to a military life"⁽⁷⁾. Hence there is some truth in the statement made by one of the commissioners who said, "The German Military Settlers consist principally, either of men who could not conveniently return to their country on account of desertion, etc. and came out here without any idea of settling, but rather expecting to find war, and employment for them as soldiers and to continue an unsettled, vagabond life, - or of men who were induced to come out by the reports of high wages labourers could obtain, the fertility and easy cultivation of the soil, and hoped to find employment, either as farm servants or in the towns, until such time as they could set up for themselves on the land they were to receive from the Government. A few came out with more definite ideas, and for the most part brought out small means of their own"⁽⁸⁾. The truth of this statement is fully proved by the account given of them as settlers.

Regarding the character of the men almost absolute agreement among the Commissioners exists. "Very many are of dissolute and abandoned character: the result is that the few who would perhaps labour and become really useful settlers are now led away and corrupted by their worthless comrades"⁽⁹⁾. This is a typical statement regarding the Legionaries, for the reports are unanimous that wilful idleness, indolence and a lack of the will to settle down to real hard work were but the causes of more serious evils.

Regarding the future they seem to have become utterly careless and supine. They soon became convinced that as settlers they were failures, and with a frivolity born of pessimism, they abandoned themselves to a life of merriment and pleasure, utterly

(6) CA. GHRec. 36/2, MSO. Military, p.1023. Report Major W. D. Scott, Berlin, 8th August, 1858.

(7) Ibid., p.949. Report by Col. E. Kent Murray, 16th July, 1858.

(8) CA. BKRec. 40, SMS., 1856-1861. Report, Commissioner, East London, 23rd November, 1857.

(9) Ibid.. Report, Commissioner, Izeli, 30th November, 1857.

regardless of their work, their prospects and their duty.

The Commissioners were convinced that the majority of them had no intention of earning their livelihood by farming on their own account. "A few make small gardens on their building lots, just enough to furnish vegetables for themselves, but in all our town (East London) I saw only one or two instances of the acre gardens being touched and none of the four acre farms, although the planting season is almost past"⁽¹⁰⁾. Another report says, "Their small gardens exhibit no appearance of honest labour"; this could not be ascribed to unfavourable circumstances for "the locality...is most healthy, in every respect well adapted for settlers, the land is rich, the pasturage excellent, and water in abundance, but the will to improve nature and draw forth the riches of the earth is wanting on the part of the Germans"⁽¹¹⁾..... Only in a few cases was there any honest attempt, and this usually where the settler was married; but, totally ignorant as they were of agriculture and unable to obtain any assistance and guidance, they usually failed.

Their officers whose duty it was to direct them and assist them with advice, were themselves inexperienced and hardly knew more than their men. Then, too, their military duties and their own work left them but little time for guiding others, and taking a sympathetic interest in them. This indubitably had a deleterious effect on the progress of the settlement and at least hastened the growth of the conviction that the settlement was a failure. The departure of General von Statterheim was a discouraging blow to them, but when others^{*} followed, our diarist wrote:- "In this way one after the other of the 'high gentlemen' leaves this land which they praised, when still in England! What must one think of it?"⁽¹²⁾

That the settlement would be a failure was obvious to all the

(10) Ibid., Report, Commissioner, East London, 23rd November, 1857.
 (11) Ibid., Report Commissioner, Crown Reserve, 13th December, 1857.
 (12) Diary, 14th March, 1858.

commissioners even before the Germans had been a year at their stations; progress, either in cultivation or in building, was not such as should have been made during the period they had been settled there, and with few exceptions, the Legionaries showed little or no desire to become permanent and active settlers - an opinion fully corroborated by the reports of their own officers. (13) Judging from personal observation, all the Commissioners thought that the large majority of the Germans would disperse; they would never become the active and indefatigable class of settlers necessary for populating a practically new country, where many difficulties had to be overcome and many hardships encountered. Many openly professed their intention of leaving as soon as the term of their full pay came to an end; they wanted employment and high wages, easily obtainable, as they understood, in other parts of the country, and impossible to obtain where they were stationed. That many might do quite well for themselves, if allowed to search for work, was not disputed; many of them appeared to be well adapted for light handicraft work, though they lacked the qualities essential for success as settlers.

Even some of their own officers realised the gravity of the position. Col. Wooldridge, for instance, was appalled by their indolence and lack of ambition which he attributed to the growing certainty that as settlers they were doomed to fail. At the same time, he was convinced that they were not devoid of the qualities which go to the making of good settlers and that, if immediate action were taken, failure could be averted. (14)

The expressions of the Legionaries themselves are perhaps not as severe, but equally illuminating, furnishing as they do, an insight into their attitude towards life and work. Naturally there is not much material which can be utilised, but a few isolated statements may be accepted without hesitation. One is appropriate here.

(13) CA. GHRec. 36/2, MSO., Military, pp. 949ff

(14) CA. GHRec. 39/1, p. 413. Wooldridge to Grey, 3rd February, 1856.

"Kann es wohl in irgend einem Lande lustigere Colonisten geben als wir es sind? Seit einiger Zeit folgen Vergnügungen auf Vergnügungen, trotzdem dass eine Periode eingetreten ist, in welcher viel und nicht ohne Grund über Geldmangel geklagt wird. Aber es mag wohl in der Natur des Deutschen liegen, dass er, in je beschränkter Lage er sich befindet, desto grössere Neigung fühlt sich zu zerstreuen. Doch kann man diese Sucht nach belaubender Sinneslust auch der unverzeihlicher Gleichgültigkeit zuschreiben mit welcher Viele ihre gedrückte Lage betrachten.... Doch man darf auch nicht zu streng über diejenigen urtheilen, welche die Rosen des Lebens pflücken, wo sie sich ihnen zeigen, denn das Leben hier ist ohnehin ernst und freudenleer." (15)

Another statement seems to ~~as~~ an characteristic as it is trite. "I have made no progress; nor have I gone backwards, and therefore I am satisfied," (16) a sentiment rather at variance with the well-known German proverb, supposed to have often been quoted by Mismarek, "Stillstand ist Zurückgang". Yet judging from circumstances, this attitude seems typical of the Legionaries and certainly helps to explain much that has been said about them.

So far attention has been given to the behaviour, character and attitude of the Legionaries with reference to their suitability as settlers, but this is not enough. Much has been made of their misdemeanours, and in order to be able to arrive at a fair judgment regarding them, the records of the Kaffrarian Criminal Court for that period have been carefully examined. It was found that the number of crimes of which German Military Settlers had been convicted during a period of twenty-two months - from the beginning of June, 1857, to the end of March, 1859, is sixteen. This number is composed of two cases of murder, two cases of culpable homicide, three cases of "wounding a Kaffir", two of assault, two of culpable insolvency, and one each of indecent assault, unnatural crime, theft and bigamy, - the last being committed by one of the women (English), who accompanied the Legion. (17)

In addition, of course, there are minor cases, not sufficiently important to engage the attention of the Criminal Court. To a

(15) Diary, 4th January, 1858.

(16) Diary, 1st January, 1858.

(17) CA. BKRec. 14, Pres. Crim. Court, 1856 - 1860.

certain extent these can be gauged from the number of cases of imprisonment noted in the Monthly Returns furnished by Captain Mills, the Military Secretary for the G.M.S. The numbers fluctuate greatly; in May, 1858 they were as high as eighty, six months later twenty-eight were in prison, after another three months there were thirty-two; in September, 1859, there were fifteen, while in March, 1860, there were only four, this being the last reference. Only a few cases of imprisonment, ranging between one and six months, were noted for the other months, though no details regarding the cause of imprisonment are available, save in one case when it is attempted desertion. (18)

Suggestive, too, is an isolated statement made by the Resident Magistrate of Kingwilliamstown, who supported by two special magistrates, brought to the notice of the Chief Commissioner the danger of allowing members of the German Legion to roam about the Country "with arms in their hands to the peril of the community at large". (19) This was merely intended as a warning, but coming from such a source, it carried weight, for after this Col. Maclean, with the approval of Sir George Grey, prohibited the Germans from carrying any arms except on parades. (20)

Another statement is made by Mrs. Brownlee, the wife of the Hon. Chas. Brownlee, at the time, Gaika Commissioner, in the introductory memoir to her husband's book, "Reminiscences of Kaffir Life and History". She says: "After a while, the natives who came to Mr. Brownlee with their cases, got to mix with the German soldiers, drinking with them, quarrelling and sometimes fighting." (21)

A third statement, though coming a little later, is a letter from East London to the "King William's Town Gazette", 15th January, 1859, and is valuable as showing the difference between the Legionaries and the Immigrants. "No one will deny that there are many respectable Germans at the Cape, but very few came

(18) CA. GHRec. 40/1, MSO., Monthly State. of Troops.

(CA. GHRec. 39/6, Miscellaneous, 1859 - 1860.

(19) CA. BKRec. 14, Pres. Crim. Court, 7th July, 1857.

(20) CA. BKRec. 2, High Commissioner, Travers to Maclean, 16th July, 1857.

(21) Brownlee, Reminiscences of Kaffir Life and History, p.8.

out with the Legion. No one in his senses would set down the recent importation of apparently honest and industrious Germans in the same list with the majority of the Legion... The recent deportation of a large portion is looked upon as a most providential occurrence by all good men".⁽²²⁾

They could not refrain from a parting shot in the nature of a farewell. The evening before a detachment left Kingwilliamstown en route for India, they fell upon the police who, at his request, had come to protect the German proprietor of one of the hotels, from a threatened attack by those who were leaving. The police unofficially enlisted the help of the English soldiers stationed at Kingwilliamstown; the Germans who had started the trouble, called to their friends for aid - and there was a regular merry to do, during which fists and belts were freely used, but no one seriously injured.⁽²³⁾ The matter was made much of at the time, but probably was not as serious as it appeared and due more to an exuberance of spirit than to anything else.

Reports of those who were discharged or deserted are also at first none too satisfactory. First there is the regrettable incident reported by Grey to Stanley that a number of Germans, attached to the Free State forces, had pillaged and set^{on} fire the French mission station at Morijah.⁽²⁴⁾ Then from Burghersdorp the Magistrate complained:- "A number of disbanded Germans are constantly arriving here and a nightly theft of horses is generally the result of their appearance, notwithstanding the exertions of the police".⁽²⁵⁾ The culprits were probably deserters who, having made their way as far north as Burghersdorp on foot, appropriated for themselves some of the numerous horses roaming about the veld - for Burghersdorp was then one of the leading horse-breeding districts of South Africa.

What, however, were the causes for this state of affairs?

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- {22} Kingwilliamstown Gazette, 15th January, 1859.
 {23} CA. BKRec. 65, Rec. Mag. KWT. 1855-58.
 {24} G. 4 - '59. (Cape), pp. 31-32.
 {25} CA. BKRec. 42, Capt. Mills. G.M.S.

A number were suggested and are found scattered in various documents. It will be remembered that Col. Wooldridge wrote to the Governor, deploring the indolence and apathy of the Germans. (26) At the same time he made several suggestions, which are of importance as indicating what he considered the causes of the failure of the Germans as settlers. He attributed much to the absence of some person high in authority whose duty it should be to visit all the locations frequently for the purpose of encouraging and aiding the settlers. Such a person, he felt convinced, would be able to do a great deal to lift them out of their sloth to a life of activity and usefulness. Admittedly General Jackson had been appointed Commander of the G.M.S., but his very position as Commander of the Forces precluded his taking an active interest in the Germans as Settlers. Hence Wooldridge felt there was need of someone who should have authority to act according to his discretion in all cases relative to the settlement as settlement. Wooldridge felt that his position as senior officer of the G.M.S. marked him out for the position, and although he recognised that it was no child's play, he felt that he could do nothing else than offer his services for this purpose. Another beneficial effect he anticipated was that such an officer would be able to exercise some control over the officers at the station and would ensure that they took at least some interest in their men.

His suggestion was never put into practice. The officers commanding each of the three regiments paid regular visits of inspection for military purposes, but after the departure of Stutterheim no one visited the stations to encourage the settlers, with the one exception when Grey toured the settlement. Whether this was one of the causes for the failure of the settlement it is difficult to say; certainly it is the one suggested by the senior officer of the G.M.S. It may have been a contributory cause, but more probably the real explanation has to be sought in factors

(26) CA. GHRsc. 59/1, MSO. GMS., p.418.

deeper and more fundamental.

Wooldridge was not alone in attributing the difficulties to the absence of a responsible leader. "There is no one here who cares whether these men settle and prosper or become a band of highway-men" is the strong statement made by one of the commissioners, while another suggested that the magistrates at the settlements should be appointed superintendents of the settlers ⁽²⁷⁾ qua settlers. This, though the remedy was slightly different, would point to the same defect as the one emphasised by Wooldridge.

Grey himself attributed their failure to the absence of wives and the character of the Legionaries. He was convinced that Germans as such were good settlers, for he was able to write:- "I can affirm from long personal observation that German families ⁽²⁸⁾ make excellent settlers", but he was equally convinced and reiterated his conviction time without number that it was impossible to retain the Germans as settlers at their settlements, unless they had the ties of wife and family. ⁽²⁹⁾ That he regarded their behaviour as justifying the strictest control has already been noted, which indicates only too clearly that he did not consider them to be the type of men who could be left at the villages in peaceable occupation of their allotments.

One of the reasons given by the commissioners is the liberality of the Government. "It is probable that their continued military organisation, their receiving the rate of pay given to the regular troops, militates in a certain degree against developing their real resources, and proving their adaptability to this particular province, in as much, as they receive rations and pay, sufficient for a good maintenance; consequently under these easy circumstances there is no necessity for their full exertions, and what work is performed may be considered as an amusement". ⁽³⁰⁾

At a later date, Col. Wooldridge suggested another reason for

(27) CA. BKRec. 40, GMS., 1856-61. Com. Reports.

(28) G.4 - '59 (Cape), p.30; CA. GHRec. 25/27, p.356 ff. Grey to Stanley, 18th June, 1858.

(29) Insp. Rep. 389, and G.4 - '69, passim.

(30) Loc. cit., Commissioners' Reports. (Comm., Crown Reserve.)

the failure of the Legionaries as settlers. He said that they had been given to understand that they would be free to devote themselves to the work of settling, but contrary to expectation, they were placed on full pay "and from that hour to this. their duties have been purely military, and officers and men have been unable, from the nature of their duties and profession, to seek any occupation from which they may have a hope of providing for themselves and families, when no longer receiving support from the Government." (31) Their value as soldiers had been sacrificed to their work and interests as settlers. It is difficult to say to what extent this is a valid explanation, but as it comes from the senior officer of the Legion, it cannot be dismissed lightly. Judging from what is known of the military activities, it must be assumed that this was certainly a contributory cause of their failure as settlers.

They themselves were not without their grievances, to which they attributed their failure. They complained in the first place that, when still in England, they had been promised that the German Military Settlements were to be established at thriving places, such as Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown, etc., where employment at remunerative rates could easily be obtained; this had not been carried out. Their interests, they alleged, had in a great measure been sacrificed to those of the public by their being put down on an exposed line of defence, even in advance of the regular troops. At their stations no employment could be found, nor a market for the produce they managed to raise on their lands. If they did risk a long journey in order to dispose of their produce, it meant absence from their villages and, on their return, they found that their houses and properties had been despoiled by thieves, against whom, at most settlements, they had no protection whatsoever. Moreover, they had been informed that land at the Cape was procurable at 2/- an acre, when actually it was between (32) five and ten times as much.

That there is some truth in these allegations, and that they at least partially explain the reason for the failure of the Germans as settlers is undoubted; if, as was stated, they had been

settled at the towns mentioned, many would have been able to procure work and might have made excellent workmen, whereas as independent farmers they were failures. Those who had stuck to the land would at least have found a better market for their produce.

But all this does not yet explain the fact that during the time of the settlement they attempted little and accomplished less. When about half of them left for India, as has been seen, only 1016 acres were under cultivation, which represented about 5% of the land allotted, and only 633, that is 21.8% houses had been completed. (33) As compared with the work of the German Immigrants it is, in fact, negligible. No, although all these - their being settled away from centres where a market and a sufficiency of work were at hand, their not having satisfactory leadership, the absence of wives, and the liberality of Government help, are contributory causes, it seems that the real explanation for their failure as settlers lies in the unsuitability of the majority, though not of all, for the work to which destiny had assigned them. As a body they were potentially excellent soldiers but almost useless farmers.

The picture of the Legionaries at the time is indeed a gloomy one, nor, as is only too evident, is it founded on mere impression. The facts, as recorded here, are only too convincing and are more than sufficient to show that many of them could not make use of the opportunities offered to them. Fortunately, it is a comfort to many who now trace their descent with pride to the German Legionaries, to know, as has been implied throughout this chapter, that it was the men, not the officers who proved unsatisfactory. The officers were of a different class and type, were more sensible to their responsibilities and, with but one or two exceptions, were the object of no criticism. Some of them rose to eminence in commerce, agriculture and politics, not only in the

(31) CA. GHRec. 36/2. MGO. Military. pp.1031 ff.

(32) CA. GHRec. 28/77: Enclosures to Despatches. Enclosure to No. 19 of 1861.

(33) For reference, see SUPRA p. 140

old Cape Colony, but also in the Orange Free State and the
 Transvaal. ⁽³⁴⁾

It is also a comfort to know that some of the worst crimes were not committed by Germans of the G.M.C., but by non-Germans who had drifted into that body. ⁽³⁵⁾ Then, too, as will be shown later, those least fitted to the life of founders and builders left the Cape never to return. Many of those who remained settled down, worked with a will, made good and became an asset to South Africa.

Finally, any severe condemnation of the Legionaries as settlers should be tempered by the consideration that though they had failed in this respect, they had remained efficient soldiers. "They are at this moment, both in drill and military habits, thoroughly efficient" one of their officers (an Englishman) wrote in July, 1858, while another said, "As a body of regularly enrolled troops, stationed along the frontier, under efficient officers, I have no doubt that these men would prove very serviceable ---" ⁽³⁶⁾ Both these statements show that, primarily soldiers, the Legionaries remained soldiers, and given the opportunity, were capable of accomplishing much in a sphere more suited to their character and training. ⁽³⁷⁾

That who was in the position to judge both from personal experience and from official records is undoubtedly correct when he says, "It had become evident that these men would never make good settlers. They were already beginning to disperse, and were therefore of little service as a protective guard to Kaffraria. A weeding out, similar to that which took place in the early days of the Cape Colony, was thus put into operation with them. The steady and industrious among them - and there were many such, though they excelled rather as mechanics and in commercial pursuits than in agriculture, - remained in South Africa, where they were of

(34) Grahamstown Journal, 24th December, 1859; Trümpelmann, Deutsches Schaffen im Orange-Freistaat, passim.

(35) CA. EKRec. 14, President Criminal Court, 1855-60.

(36) CA. GHRec. 36/2, M30. p. 949.

(37) Ibid., pp. 1026-27.

much service, while the idle and the dissipated returned to the occupation in which they could be useful without being dangerous to society", and it may be added, left South Africa never to return.

(38) Theal, op. cit., Since 1795 III, 211 (1908 edition).
219 (1916 edition).

XII

THE BREAKING UP OF THE SETTLEMENT.

To-day, in the districts originally settled by the Germans, the descendants of the Legionaries are few in number, This needs explanation, nor is it impossible to trace the process of the dispersion of the German Military Settlers.

Figures substantiate this generalisation. Originally 2362 officers and men were settled in British Kaffraria. The number gradually dwindled until only 2108 were left in May, 1858 (See Appendix VII). In September and November of that year, 1058 officers and men volunteered for service in India, so that at the end of the year only 981 were left. This number too dwindled; on the 31st March, 1860, there were still 912 men on the roll; but by the 30th June of that year, most had been discharged, leaving only 276 men, and finally on the 31st March, 1861, the remnant was disbanded, though of course not discharged from obligation to the Government for another three years.

Various processes explain this diminution of the number of the G.M.S., the most important being:-

1. Desertion;
2. The volunteering for India;
3. Transference to other military bodies, deaths etc.;
4. Discharge and disbanding.

Desertion.

Attempts at desertion became so frequent after July, 1857, that there were justifiable misgivings as to the future of the Legion, and yet the majority of attempts were futile. The following seems to have been a typical case. About the middle

of January, 1858, a party of thirteen men deserted from the station at Kingwilliamstown. At length, driven to return by ignorance of the way and by lack of food, they sent four of their number forward as an advance guard, though with what object it is impossible to say. These arrived at Ohlsen, were surprised and escaped, with the exception of one man, who after some hesitation, offered to indicate the hiding place of the remaining nine. These were apprehended and returned to their regimental headquarters, Berlin, being escorted from station to station by a guard furnished by each post.

In the meanwhile, search parties were sent out to find the remaining three, but whether or not they were found and arrested is not reported. ⁽¹⁾

The prevalence of attempted desertion can be seen from the figures given regarding Ohlsen. Out of 100 men stationed there, twenty-eight had already attempted to decamp and of these very few had succeeded. ⁽²⁾ Sometimes these desertions proved serious for those who remained. Thus, on the 2nd February, 1858, our diarist reported that six men had deserted from Ohlsen - and these the most capable carpenters and builders. ⁽³⁾ Within three weeks, however, all except one were re-apprehended, by which time/ten men were "absent without leave". ⁽⁴⁾

Matters grew so serious that General Jackson issued the following memorandum, which was to be read to all the German military settlers at two subsequent parades:- "His Excellency the Commander of the Forces regrets to notice the numerous cases of desertion from the corps of the G.M.S. It is especially regrettable that a time such as the present in which the Government requires the service of every soldier in pay, so many men of a corps, for which so much has been done by the British Government, forget their duty towards Her Majesty and themselves so far as to commit the odious crime of desertion.

(1) Diary, 24th January, 1858.
 (2) Diary, 24th January, 1858.
 (3) Diary, 2nd February, 1858.
 (4) Diary, 20th February, 1858.

This lessens the respect not only for them, but also the corps to which they belong, in the eyes of the inhabitants and their friends and relatives at home.

His Excellency the Commander of the Troops wishes the commanding officers to portray to their men the regrettable consequences of such behaviour. Not only severe punishment and deprivation of all advantages as military settlers, but also loss of character are the fate of deserters; they retain nothing but the unconsoling prospect of being thrown about helplessly for the rest of their lives in a foreign land, the last tie between them and their homes torn for ever.

The Commander of the Forces appeals once again, in the words of Major-General Baron von Stutterheim, to the better sense and feeling of the men of the corps and points to the foolishness of exposing themselves to sure punishment and inevitable ruination⁽⁵⁾.

This proclamation, together with the news that the German Immigrants were to be sent out and could shortly be expected, seems to have had a beneficial effect. Our diarist reported that a new spirit had arisen among the men who had come to the conclusion that they would do well to give up all idea of desertion and devote themselves whole-heartedly to their work; they could then receive their countrymen and relatives as respectable, hard-working men.⁽⁶⁾ Equally potent, however, was the fact that many of the deserters either returned voluntarily or were apprehended.

For a time desertion seems to have fallen off, but in the second half of 1858, it seems to have become rife again. At Ohlsen only one man attempted to desert at about this time, but was caught and punished with six months imprisonment. At Stutterheim there were frequent cases. In July, seven men

(5) Diary, 20th February, 1858. (Translated)

(6) Diary, 1st August, 1858.

deserted, but were arrested. Then, too, a party of five men under the leadership of a sergeant had "cleared out",* but driven back by hunger, returned a few days afterwards. The leader was condemned to eighteen months imprisonment, the others to twenty-one or forty-two days arrest.

The deserters spread in all directions; usually they attempted to make their way to the Orange Free State, but some tried to efface their identity in the Colony. An amusing story of how a magistrate was imposed upon by two deserters is recorded. When he was severely rapped over the knuckles by the Lieutenant-Governor, his explanation of what happened, was as follows:-(7)

"Two men of the German Legion brought before me on the 17th of last month stated that they were on leave of absence for five days to visit the brother of one of them stationed at Fort Peddie. They were dressed in plain clothes, very clean, and made altogether such a respectable appearance and told such a plausible story; moreover being the first soldiers of the Legion that had appeared before me under similar circumstances, I believed what they said was true. Having always been given to understand that the men of the Legion are allowed a great deal more latitude than soldiers of the regular Army, I thought it probable that these men had left their camp, after obtaining the consent of their officer without deeming it necessary to have a pass, as they were only going, as they alleged, to another station of the same Corps, but I suspect, through leniency, I have allowed myself to be deceived. I gave them a document containing the gist of their statement and directed them to report themselves to the Resident Magistrate at Fort Peddie, believing that if they diverged from the route indicated, they could not evade the vigilance of the Police, and whether they produced the paper I gave them or not, they would be apprehended". An inspector of police, writing about the same case remarked scornfully "(He gave) them a written pass for four days on which

* (German - Ausreisen).

(7) CA. Lieut-Gov. Rec. 39, Chief Com., 1856 - 8.

they proceeded with impunity into the colony and have not since rejoined the Legion".⁽⁸⁾

However, cases like this were rare, for most of them realised that, even if they got into the Colony, there could be no rest for them. Hence the majority tried to reach the Orange Free State, but even if they achieved their object, they in no way bettered their position. After a terrible journey northwards, the deserters perhaps arrived at Bloemfontein, where frequently they were only put into another uniform and sent against the Basutos; they received neither payment, nor shelter - only rations, stated to have been two pounds of meat and one pound of bread daily.⁽⁹⁾

For the first time any explanation for the prevalence of desertion is given. Partly it was ascribed by the Legionaries themselves to the lack of money and the high price of food, etc., but more to the carelessness and negligence of the English military authorities. The G.M.S. complained that the majority of them were entirely without foot-wear and clothing, and that, although they were fully entitled to renewals, there were no prospects that these would be issued soon.⁽¹⁰⁾ Whether or not they were entitled to renewal of clothing is a nice point. Certainly nothing was promised them, but they were kept on full pay, and could thus be regarded as full-time soldiers entitled to proper equipment. Whatever the position may have been, the G.M.S. certainly considered that they had reason for complaint and made this one of the excuses for desertion.

Another reason given was the autocratic, indeed arbitrary, behaviour of some of the German officers. The extent to which these curtailed the liberties of their men, as well as the severe treatment to which they subjected them, were such that the majority of men under such officers lost whatever enthusiasm they may have had and many tried to find relief by

(8) Ibid.

(9) Deutscher Beobachter, 7th August, 1858.

(10) Diary, 1st August, 1858.

deserting. These allegations are true only of some officers. The officer in charge at Frankfort for instance, it was reported to the Military Secretary of the Governor by Col. Smyth, the Quartermaster General, carried matters so far that the military authorities were obliged to dismiss him because of his malpractices - a statement for which there is corroborative evidence. ⁽¹¹⁾ The captain in command at Ohlsen, on the other hand, was never accused of any of these things; on the contrary his greatest care was the comfort and contentedness of his men.

All these reasons, however, do not strike at the root cause for desertion; they may explain isolated cases, but they are not valid enough to explain the almost wholesale nature of attempted desertion. Taking all things into consideration - the little agricultural work done, the slowness with which they built their houses, and above all the example of the German Immigrants, who arrived later, it seems that the root cause for the frequency of desertion lay in the unsuitability of the German Legionaries as founders and builders. Mostly soldiers and adventurers, the majority unmarried, they had little or nothing to keep them either at their work or at their stations - hence desertion. *opened an easy way out.*

In conclusion, a few figures are given to show the prevalence of desertion. These figures refer to actual successful desertions and not to attempts which failed. By the end of January, 1858, eighty-eight deserters were declared still absent; from the 1st January, 1858, to the 30th April, 1858, fifty-one men were declared deserters, the total up to that date being 120 men. ⁽¹²⁾ Until the end of the year another thirty-nine men had deserted, though five thought better of it and returned, or were apprehended and brought back. ⁽¹³⁾ During 1859, thirty-three cases of desertion are noted and six cases of deserters returning, and in 1860, fourteen cases of desertion. ⁽¹⁴⁾

(11) CA. GHRec. Vol. 36/2, MSO. Military, p.961-1016.

(12) CA. GHRec. Vol. 39/1, MSO. BGL., pp.400, 507.

(13) CA. GHRec. 40/1, MSO., Monthly State of Troops, 1858.

(14) CA. GHRec. 39/6, MSO., Miscell., 1859-1860.

If these figures are complete, this means that 195 men were successful in desertion, while of course an unspecified number of men who returned within a month, must be added.

These figures show that although the percentage is comparatively small, it was sufficiently high to justify, not only anxiety, but harsh measures, and certainly compares very unfavourably with any other regiment stationed at the Cape.

There is one extenuating circumstance, namely that many of the Germans regarded themselves primarily as colonists and argued that if other colonists had the privilege of trekking, they had the same right. They forgot that they were actually soldiers on full pay, and that they were under contract, and obliged to adhere to the terms and conditions under which they had come to South Africa.

The Indian Mutiny also had its repercussions on the Cape and affected the destiny of the Legion in South Africa. On the outbreak of the Mutiny, Grey was requested to send six regiments to India as soon as possible which would leave him four others, together with the G.M.S. and the Cape Mounted Rifles. (15) He sent these six regiments as well as the detachment of the Royal Artillery stationed at the Cape and three additional regiments. (16)

This meant that the garrisons and forts on the Frontier were practically emptied, and for a time the Germans, though eager enough to engage in active warfare, were afraid that they would be taken from their settlements and kept idle, doing only garrison duty. (17) As has been noted, however, they were allowed to remain at their stations, but were kept fully prepared and on full pay.

As the suppression of the Mutiny took more time than was

(15) Imp. Pap., 589, p. 39. Lab. to Grey, 26th August, 1857.
 (16) G4 - '59 (Cape), p. 39 and CA. GHRec. Vol. 39/5, p. 973.
 (17) CA. GHRec. 39/1, M90. BGL., p. 329.

originally anticipated, the decision was taken to send a Regiment of Germans to India. Possibly the suggestion emanated from their own officers, who, after referring to their failure as settlers, emphasised that as soldiers they were thoroughly efficient. "It would be unwise and regrettable", one of them, Col. Kent Murray, wrote, "to throw away the materials for good serviceable soldiers, in order to preserve worthless settlers". Three of them suggested that they should be re-enrolled as regular soldiers, two actually suggesting that they should be utilised for service for India. ⁽¹⁸⁾ On inquiries being made, it was found that more than half of the number of the G.M.S. was anxious to go, notwithstanding some hesitation occasioned by a rumour that only English officers would be placed in charge of the Germans, a rumour eventually proved untrue. ⁽¹⁹⁾

The conditions under which the Germans were enlisted were similar to those in force for English soldiers as regards pay, clothing, pension for wounds, etc., though the German soldiers were allowed the special privilege by being absolved from the repayment of the £5 advance made to them by the Imperial Government. On being finally accepted, they were paid a bounty of £1 and, in addition, were promised a free passage back to the Cape at the expiration of their engagement; this was in the first instance for ten years, though presumably it could be terminated sooner by mutual agreement, as was actually done. ⁽²⁰⁾ One officer was to be accepted for every 100 men, upon condition that, if not required in India, he would be granted a passage back to the Cape and would be able to revert to his original position; if accepted, he would receive the same rates of pay and allowances as other officers of Her Majesty's service. ⁽²¹⁾ Besides this statement, no mention is made of what would happen to them on their return from India, but judging from the fact that no differentiation was eventually made

(18) CA. GHRec. 56/2, MSO. Military, pp. 947, 1022 ff. and 1031 ff

(19) Deutscher Beobachter, 4th September, 1858.

(20) CA. GHRec. 59/1, MSO. BGL., p. 605.

(21) CA. BKRec. 42, Captain Mills, GMS.

between men who had, and men who had not been to India, it may be assumed that service there was accepted in lieu of service at the Cape. This would mean that they were regarded as being employed under Articles 3 and 10 of the "Conditions", which would mean that, when and if they returned, they would continue with their work as settlers, as if there had been no break.

Between 24th September and 20th October, 1858, thirty officers and 1028 men, under the command of Col. Wooldridge embarked at East London in four ships, the "Prince Arthur", "Estafette", "Ariel" and "Edward Oliver". ⁽²²⁾ ~~This was during September and October, 1858.~~ ⁽²³⁾ To counteract previous statements about the German Legionaries, it is necessary to quote the following report made by Col. Pinckney on the 22nd October, 1858. "I have received very favourable accounts of the soldierlike appearance and general good conduct of this regiment since its organisation. Their behaviour in camp was excellent and their embarkation conducted with uniformity and order". ⁽²⁴⁾ This is a valuable testimony to the Germans, showing once again that, whatever may be said of them as settlers, they left nothing to be desired as soldiers.

Of their activities in India practically no records are available, at least here in South Africa, but judging from dates and the little that is known, it is to be assumed that, as in the case of the Crimean War, they were again too late to take a very active part in the fighting.

Two items of news corroborate this view. The first is an extract from the "Poona Observer", taken over by a local paper. "Sir Hugh Rose inspected the detachment of the German Legion stationed here... We understand that Sir Hugh Rose expressed himself as very much pleased with the German Legion; they are a fine body of young men,—well drilled, and move on the parade ground with the precision and soldierly bearing of a veteran corps". ⁽²⁵⁾

(22) CA. GHRec. 36/2, MSO. Military. p.1129.

(23) G4 - '59. p.39 and CA. GHRec. — 39/1, MSO. BGL., p.616 and 36/2 MSO. Military. pp.1127-8 and 1196.

(24) Ibid. . p.1194.

(25) King William's Town Gazette, 5th March, 1859.

The second, a free translation from a letter, is given in the same paper. "We like the country very much - it is a glorious place... We all get double pay - captains, £50 a month. You should see out Gentlemen Cadets - they look splendid, but I am forced to acknowledge that they would be none the worse for a little more drill. The privates do literally nothing, except eat and drink, and pipe-clay their accoutrements - everything else, from washing clothes down to cooking meat, is done by the blacks. The flank of my Regiment is going to Satara, where we expect to have a brush and earn a little glory".

A year later the regiment, then known as the "Jager Corps (German)" was disbanded, the men being given the option of being transferred to the Artillery of the III European Infantry Regiment, or of returning to the Cape. Here at the discretion of the Governor, they could either continue serving in one of Her Majesty's Regiments or could revert to their former position as military settlers.

(26)

Before they left India, it was anticipated that about 600 men with a proportionate number of officers would avail themselves of the permission to return to the Cape, but eventually only 386 N.C.O's and men returned of whom 343 were discharged on disembarkation, leaving only forty-three who reverted to their original position as military settlers. What became of those who were discharged is not known, though it is probable that they scattered in search of employment. Of the officers and cadets only Lieut. F. Herbing and Cadets Paul Jacquet, Heinrich von Böhmer and Fr. Löffler returned to their locations.

(27)

(28).

Col. Wooldridge intimated his intention of returning, but though there is some correspondence about his title deeds, it was carried on by his wife and no further reference to his being at the Cape can be found.

(26) CA. BKRec. 5, High Com. 1859. Wooldridge to Sec. of State for Colonies. 23rd September, 1859.

(27) CA. GHRec. 23/77., Enclosure to Despatch 19 of 1861.

(28) CA. BKRec. 42, Capt. Mills, GMS.

What happened to those remaining in India nothing is known. Regarding them there is one solitary, not too reliable, statement. "The German Regiment was stationed in 1866 in Poura, India, and there were at that time about 400 men of the German Legion in it".⁽²⁹⁾ Even if this statement is not authentic, something like it was probably true, as over 600 men of the G.M.S. had remained in India.

On the whole, the volunteering for India was probably a salutary measure, giving the dissatisfied the opportunity of "seeking pastures new", allowing those who were convinced that they were no colonists to revert to their vocation of arms, and giving the soldiers of fortune among them a chance of finding new adventures. Those who did return, it can be assumed, were convinced that South Africa offered better prospects than India and were determined to settle down to make the most of them.

Transference to other Regiments. Partly because circumstances required it and partly to help as many of the Legionaries as possible, opportunities were occasionally given them to join other forces serving in the Colony. Thus one cadet and twenty-eight men were enlisted as a police force for the protection of Kingwilliamstown, three cadets and 110 N.C.O's and men were given leave of absence to join the Frontier Armed Mounted Police,⁽³⁰⁾ and thirty-five men, mostly from the Cavalry Squadron, joined the Cape Mounted Riflemen.⁽³¹⁾ This is a total of 177 Cadets, N.C.O's and men drafted into other forces. There is reason to believe, too, that, when put on half-pay in 1861, a number of others joined one or other of these bodies.

Of each of these something can be said. It appears that those who joined the Kingwilliamstown Police were discharged from the G.M.S. definitely for this purpose; for no further reference to them is made in Military Returns, though regular

(29) DRP. II., p. 231

(30) CA. GHRec. — 39/1. M30. BGL., p. 400.

(31) CA. GHRec. — 40/1 M30. Monthly State. of Troops.

mention is made of the Germans serving with the F.A.M.P. According to the following, they seem to have done excellent service, "They (the German Police) have now, for some months past, been actively engaged in preserving peace and order in King-Williams Town. It is quite unnecessary to inform those who can recall to mind the state of the town eight or ten months since; the losses and annoyance to which the inhabitants were subjected, by the nightly theft of cattle, horses, and "winkel" goods, and the awkward crowding of the causeways by the Kaffirs during the day, that their efforts have been successful in an eminent degree. The Police is formed of the most respectable men (mostly sergeants) connected with the Legion, and with its experienced superintendent, is certainly entitled to the thanks of the entire community".⁽³²⁾

This force had by the time this was written been in existence for about seven months, having originally been established in March, 1857. The Superintendent, Cadet,⁽³³⁾ (originally Captain) Novet, recommended by General von Stutterheim, was paid a salary of £100 per annum, while sergeants were paid at the rate of 5/6 per day, corporals 5/-, first class privates 4/6 and second class privates 4/3 per day. Out of this pay the men were required to provide their own equipment and find themselves in everything, including horse and forage, though ammunition and stationery were provided for them. To help them equip themselves, the Government advanced a sum of £500, which was to be recovered by stoppage from their pay.⁽³⁴⁾

Of the men who joined the Mounted Police less can be said, for though a wide search has been made, the conditions under which they were enrolled cannot be traced. That they in no way severed their connection with the G.M.S. is certain, for they were regularly included in the returns and were eventually granted title-deeds to their property, though by that time they were dispersed all over the frontier. The members of the G.M.S.

{ 32 } Imp. Pap., 389, p. 36. Grey to Lab. 26th November, 1857. Enclosure

{ 33 } CA. GHRec. --- 39/1, M30. BGL., p. 353.

{ 34 } CA. BKRec. --- 65, Res. Mag., KWT., 1853 - 59.

were eager to join this force; for instance, thirty men applied at Ohlsen for admission to its ranks, but only five were accepted. (35) When a body of them subsequently passed through this station, their former comrades were quite envious and commented on their smart appearance. (36)

For some unaccountable reason the number of the G.M.S. with the F.A.M.P. dwindled. Originally the number given in the "Returns" was three cadets and 110 men; the last reference states that there were just under ninety men (including cadets) serving with this force, but possibly some of the men took their discharge from the G.M.S. in order to be able to serve permanently with the Police. (37)

A few details regarding condition of enlistment are available regarding those who joined the Cape Mounted Riflemen. Members of the Legion who volunteered had to forego all advantages to which they were entitled as German Military Settlers, and might lose any money they had invested in their houses; they were paid a bounty of £4 on enlistment and were enrolled in the first instance for a period of ten years; during that time they were under the Mutiny Act and the Articles of War. In addition, they were entitled to all the advantages given to members of C.M.R., such as pay, clothing, pension and gratuity on discharge. (38)

In order to facilitate enlistment, the organisation then existing was utilised. The military secretary of the G.M.S., Major Follenius, was requested to visit the stations at which the cavalry was located; he should parade the men, of course in conjunction with the officer commanding, and laying the conditions before them, find out who of the men were prepared to join the C.M.R. Having done this, he was to forward to General Jackson a descriptive return of such men, showing their name, age,

(35) Diary, 24th January, 1858.

(36) Diary, 9th February, 1858.

(37) CA.GHRec. 40/1. MSO., Monthly State. of Troops and Ibid. 39/6, Miscellaneous, 1859-60.

(38) CA.GHRec. 39/1. MSO. BGL. p. 383.

height and character, and was to include a medical certificate regarding their fitness. These returns were then to be utilised in making appointments to the C.M.R. ⁽³⁹⁾ The result was, that thirty-five men were drafted from the G.M.S. into the C.M.R.

The first attempt on the part of General Jackson to enlist men from the G.M.S. caused a storm in a tea-cup. Major Follenius, to whom the task of making enquiries was entrusted, simply refused to carry out the instructions given to him, ⁽⁴⁰⁾ stating that they were at variance with his sense of duty. Protesting not only to General Jackson, but also to Sir George Grey himself, he stated that anything which would tend to withdraw the Germans from their settlements was directly contrary to the "Conditions" under which they had come out to the Cape. As he understood it, they had been brought out "to contribute to the colonisation of the country by building houses and making gardens in order to get settled and found new homes", a purpose differing widely from those which underlay the attempt to enlist them in the C.M.R. He feared that any attempt to place the G.M.S., or even some of them, on a different footing, would result in a widespread distrust in a Government which, he himself admitted, had treated the members of the late British German Legion liberally. His arguments, though sounding plausible enough, seem to lack substance; the whole tenor of his letter suggests that the motive underlying his refusal to comply with the instructions given him, was opposition to General Jackson. Possibly, too, though there is no proof of this, he was peeved that he had been debarred from further promotion, to which he would have been entitled, if Col. Wooldridge had succeeded General Stutterheim as head of the military settlement.

The result was disastrous for Major Follenius; for in reply, he was informed, in the first place, that this measure was undertaken by General Jackson at the request of Her Majesty's

(39) Ibid., p. 385.

(40) Ibid., pp. 390 and 383.

Minister for War; moreover, he was briefly informed that his opinion on the subject was neither invited nor required; he had merely been instructed to carry out certain orders, duly considered and thought advisable by his superiors. Nothing was gained, for an officer of rank would be sent to perform the duty, which he had hesitated to perform. In addition, Major Follenius received the further rebuff of not being required to perform staff duties, ⁽⁴¹⁾ which in future would be undertaken by Captain Charles Mills, at the time General Jackson's Military Secretary for the G.M.S., upon whom the care of managing the Germans now largely devolved.

Other causes, too, were responsible for the decrease in the number of the G.M.S. During the period from their embarkation in England till the end of 1859, 102 officers and men had died. ⁽⁴²⁾ Of these a number were, as has already been noted, victims to dysentery, five had committed suicide, one is noted as having been murdered, and five were drowned. Before the 30th April, 1858, sixteen are noted as having been handed over to the civil power, two of whom were hanged. After this a number are noted as being in prison, but at the same time, they were not struck off the roll of the G.M.S. During the whole period, fourteen were dismissed and seventeen, mostly officers, retired from the service - which means that all these causes accounted for 149 officers, N.C.O's and men. These figures are probably correct, but may be only approximately so, as they had to be collected from a large number of sources, of which unfortunately some are incomplete. The least reliable figures are those regarding men who were discharged, for when all factors, - volunteering for India, desertion, transference to other regiments, deaths, etc., are taken into consideration, about 120 men remain unaccounted for. Basing our conclusions on isolated and unsubstantiated references, we think that these probably severed their connection with the G.M.S.

(41) GA. GHRec. 39/1, MSO. BGL., p.415.

(42) For details and references, see Appendix VII.

in order to be able to join the F.A.M.P. or the G.M.R.

Discharging and Disbandment. When the first period of four years (as laid down in the "Conditions") was nearing its end, steps were taken to disband the remainder of the German Military Settlers. At the order of the Commander of the Forces, the number of the G.M.S. receiving pay and allowances was to be reduced by the end of May, 1860, to one commanding officer, four captains, four subalterns, two paymasters, staff-officers and a number of privates and N.C.O's not exceeding 500 altogether. Those who so wished, were to be discharged from all further obligation to the Government on relinquishing their houses and lands, others were placed on the civil conditions of settlement and were allowed to go where they pleased in search of employment, but remained under obligation to serve the Government, if required. Those remaining at their stations on half-pay were to continue performing military duties until the 31st March, 1861, when they too were to be placed on the civil conditions of settlement.

Before the order for reduction, the number remaining on the roll of the G.M.S. was 41 officers, 13 cadets, 860 N.C.O's and men. During April, 1860, the process of disbanding began, for at the end of the month only 676 N.C.O's and men remained, being distributed at Stutterheim (139 men), Panmure (97 men), at Berlin, Kingwilliamstown and Greytown, with each about fifty men, and at ten other stations, usually with fewer than thirty
(43)
men.

At the beginning of May, ninety-five men were discharged, a week later another thirty-six, and before the end of the month another thirty-seven, which brought the total number of discharged men up to 168 men, and left 692 on the roll. Of these eighty-seven men were serving with the F.A.M.P. and, in addition, another four cadets, and 351 N.C.O's and men were given leave of absence in order to seek employment, though

(43) GA. OHRcc. 40/1, MSO. Monthly State of Troops, GMS. 1858;
Ibid., 39/6, MSO. Miscel., 1859-1860.

remaining under obligation to return, when and if required by the Government. As these reductions brought about a redundancy of officers, seven captains and one lieutenant were discharged and placed on the civil conditions of settlement. Another twenty-five officers were given leave of absence, so that, according to the returns, only sixteen remained, though the Military Secretary's list gives only twelve names. These were stationed as follows. Major Kessler at Panmure (East London), Lieut. Renow at Cambridge, Captain von Lillienstein at Berlin, Captain von Linsingen at Wiesbaden, Captain de Fin at Kingwilliamstown, Captain Mehlis at Hanover, Major von Classen at Greytown, Captain Schultz at Stutterheim, Captain Schneider at Ohlsen, Major Crompton at Wooldridge, Lieut. Herbing at Bodiam, Lieut. Skopniok at Hamburg.

For a few months longer these officers, as well as six cadets and 254 men, were kept at their stations doing a certain amount of military duty, but in February, 1861, those at Greytown, Stutterheim, Ohlsen, Keiskama Hoek, Frankfort, Wiesbaden, Marienthal, Hanover and Kingwilliamstown were paid up to 31st March, 1861, and placed on the civil conditions of settlement. A few days later, those at Bredibach, Berlin, Potsdam, Cambridge and Panmure were also paid off. As the military settlers remaining on half-pay had been concentrated at these stations, this step meant that the existence of the G.M.S. as a military force, except when called up for active service, came to an end. All who had originally come out to South Africa were now free to continue their work at their respective stations, or to disperse in search of employment; and this is what the majority did.

The Government did not consider that its duty to the German military settlers had come to an end, when they had been discharged. In March, 1860, the Colonial Secretary circularised

(44) CA. BKRec. 42, Capt. Mills, GMS; and GHRec. Vol. 39/6, MSO. Miscel., 1859-1860.

(45) CA. GHRec. 28/77. Enclosure to Despatch 19 of 28th September, 1861. (Capt. Mill's Report).

the civil commissioners of the eastern and midland districts, informing them that a large number of G.M.S. were to be disbanded at the end of that month; he requested them to do all in their power to place these men in useful occupations, so that they could establish themselves as useful members of society. Where there were any public works in progress, the commissioners were requested to give the Germans an opportunity of finding employment. (46) Whether the Germans were helped by this request is not known; its importance is that it indicated the interest still being taken in the German military settlers by the Government.

At this stage an important modification was made in the terms. According to the original "Conditions", it will be remembered, the seven years were divided into two periods; during the first three years, the settlers were to attend for exercise for not more than thirty days each year; during the second period of four years, they were to attend for exercises on twelve days each year. During the whole period, they had to attend at church parade every Sunday. Actually however, the seven years were divided into periods of four years and three years. During the first four years the "Conditions" had presumably been adhered to, although, for some time at least, the settlers had been given more military service than had originally been contemplated. During the last three years, however, the "Conditions" appeared to have become a dead letter; no reference whatsoever to military activities during this period can be found, nor would the enforcement of this proviso have been possible, as the Government had allowed the men to scatter in search of employment. This permission to disperse was the greatest modification of all, being entirely contrary to the "Conditions". Whether it was effected on the Governor's own authority or allowed by the Imperial Government cannot be said. Nevertheless, during the last three years only a very small percentage of the German military settlers remained at the stations in actual occupation of their allotments

and cottages.

(47)
A valuable report regarding these settlers is extant and serves to cast a more favourable light on those who remained. From this report it can be learned that the majority had scattered in search of employment and many had emigrated to the Free State, but there remained some six or seven hundred who could have been required to serve under the provisions of Articles 3, 4 and 5 of the "Conditions".

Unfortunately ^{for them} the progress of the settlers who continued with their agricultural work was seriously impeded by the severe droughts prevalent during the years 1859 to 1861, which made it very difficult for them to establish themselves on their farms. Under these circumstances they were naturally very poor, but no case of crime arising from destitution, or even absolute want, could be reported, except where sickness drove them to despair.

The majority of the settlers had managed to obtain employment, either in towns or on farms, but they returned periodically to their original locations in order to cultivate their lands and to invest their earnings in the improvement of their properties, or to hand them to their families for subsistence.

The officers seem to have suffered most. Unlike the men, they could not engage in manual labour; and found it difficult to obtain employment suited to their rank, so that many of them suffered great distress. Their properties had often been sold and the money used to keep body and soul together - and thus without any income or any prospects, their plight was deplorable. In their distress, they cast about for anything which might be due to them. Thus towards the end of 1862, a number of officers appealed for what were known as the "Colonial" and "Barrel and Bulk" allowances. They averred that, having been on full pay performing military duties, they had held the status of regular soldiers; the special privileges accorded to the G.M.S. had not helped them, as their duties had precluded them from improving

their lands and establishing themselves. Their grievance now was that they had not been given the usual allowance normally granted to other officers in the colonial service, and lastly they complained that they had not been appointed to magistracies, as they had been led to expect. Hence this appeal. In a covering letter, Captain Mills commented that legally the officers of the G.M.S. had received all and everything to which they could possibly lay claim, but he submitted that otherwise (48) their complaints were well founded and correct.

No additional help could however be given them; the Secretary of State, the Duke of Newcastle, after a very careful consideration, declined to authorise the payment of these special allowances; all he did was to ask the Cape authorities to consider these officers sympathetically when and if suitable vacancies occurred in the colonial service. (49) Altogether sixty-one officers were concerned in this application, among them Col. Wooldridge, Captains von Lillienstein and von Brandis, and Drs. Ahrenhold and Dankwerts.

Many would have been only too glad to return to Europe, but could not obtain the means to do so. Eventually they, too, scattered, and in the majority of cases disappeared, although there are some who eventually became well-to-do.

As has already been noted, Colonel Maclean and the Acting Governor Wynyard were able to report that the conduct of the men since the cessation of pay had been strikingly good and that (50) hardly any instances of crime had been recorded. This tribute, following upon what is known of the behaviour of the Legionaries at first, says much and indicates that individuals and circumstances, rather than the whole body of the G.M.S. were to be blamed, and that those who remained and persevered were in no way unworthy compatriots of the Immigrants.

(48) CA. GHRec. 23/73, Enclosure 93/62.

(49) CA. GHRec. 1/53, Despatches from S. of S. for Colonies, 1863, Sec. of S. to Gov., 24th December, 1862.

(50) CA. GHRec. 23/28, Wynyard to Sec. of State, 23th September, 1861.

Although no titles to property should have been issued until the full period of seven years had come to an end, the Governor authorised the issue of titles to their houses and lands during 1861. Titles were thereupon issued to two colonels (including Col. Wooldridge who was not then in the Cape), two majors, seventeen captains, nine lieutenants, six surgeons, two dispensers and thirteen cadets. (51)

Unfortunately the issue of titles caused a certain amount of misapprehension among the officers; many of them believing themselves free from all further obligations to the Government, disposed of their properties and prepared to return to Europe. (52) Whether any actually left could not be discovered, but judging from this correspondence, it seems likely that they were obliged to remain in South Africa.

Eventually the second period of three years was also approaching its end, and with a view to winding up the affairs of the G.M.S., a notice was published in the Government Gazette, calling upon all who claimed any property to submit their claims to Captain Mills, the Military Secretary for the G.M.S. He then verified the various claims, compared them with the records in his possession and in practically every case approved of them; (53) he thereupon forwarded them to the Survey Office which prepared and issued the titles. (54) The claims approved by Captain Mills are extant in the Archives, and as a number of details had to be given, are highly instructive, furnishing, as they do, much information about what had become of the members of the G.M.S.

(55)

Altogether 649 claims were approved of by Captain Mills. Of these about 12% stated that they were serving with the F.A.M.P. 25% gave as their addresses the names of their original stations, 23% had migrated to other stations and about 40% were scattered. At the risk of proving tedious, a list of some places from which they sent in their claims is given; nothing indicates better the

(51) CA. BKRec. 42, Capt. Mills, GMS.

(52) CA. GHRec. 39/3, MGO., 1861.

(53) CA. BKRec. Vol 42, Capt. Mills, GMS.

(54) CA. DSG. BK. 11

(55) CA. BKRec. Vol. 43. GMS, Claims for Titles.

extent to which the Germans had dispersed. These are the Transkei, Queenstown, Grahamstown, Salem and Port Elizabeth, Adelaide, Bedford and Cradock, Prince Albert and Graff-Reinet; in the Cape as far afield as Cape Town, Wellington, and Gordonia. Some went north to Dordrecht, Aliwal North, Burgersdorp and Colesburg; others were in the Orange Free State at Philippolis, Bethulie, Smithfield and Winburg. These were some of the places in which the Germans eventually settled. Few returned permanently to British Kaffraria. The majority found employment and a place to settle away from their countrymen - and as a result, almost certainly intermarried either with the Dutch or the English among whom they lived. Thus while they retained themselves, their nationality, their children merged into what had already become a South African Nation.

XIII

FINANCIAL.

Though a final audited account of the cost of settling the German Military Settlers in South Africa has not been found, such records as are available, allow a computation of total expenditure and how it was made up.

(a) First there are the following published figures; the first column is stated to have been the Total expenditure from Imperial and Colonial Funds, but as will be shown subsequently, this amount does not include cost of land, building advances, and some other local expenditure.

Date	Total Expendit.	Pay to G.M.S.	Transport & Miscell.
1856-57	£15438 14 5	£14307 14 5	£ 1131 - -
1857-58	74350 14 6	64641 14 6	10709 - -
1858-59	40384 4 3	39638 4 3	746 - -
1859-60	28185 5 10	28110 5 10	75 - -
1860	19201 17 7	(Not stated)	- - -
Total	£177560 16 7	£146697 19 0	£12661 - - (1)

Judging from the diminution of transport and miscellaneous expenditure during 1857-1860, it can safely be concluded that the greater part of the amount specified for 1860, namely £19,201 - 17 - 7, took the form of pay to the German Military Settlers. This means that out of a total expenditure of £177,560 - 16 - 7, a little less than £164,899 - 16 - 7 was incurred in paying the G.M.S., this amount being arrived at by adding the expenditure for 1860 (£19,201-17-7) to the total of £146697-19-0, stated to have been the pay of the G.M.S.

This was the expenditure until the end of 1860. To this must be added a further sum of £29,378-13-4, being estimated additional expenditure of which details and period are not stated. If this sum is correct, the total amount spent according to these figures in settling the German Military Settlers in South Africa was £206,939 - 9 - 11. This estimated additional expenditure was

1. Imp. Pap. No.117, 1861, German Legion, and Imp. Pap., 403, 1862.

was probably excessive, as two-thirds of the G.M.S. was disbanded before its due time, namely 31st May, 1860, instead of March, 1861, while for other reasons the number dwindled more rapidly than was originally anticipated. Allowing for this, it would still mean that pay, transport etc. would account for about £200,000, this excluding the cost of building land, etc.

(b) Total expenditure is, however, not covered by the published figures. To these must be added the unpublished figures found in the records of the Military Secretary of the Governor and the Military Secretary of the Chief Commissioner (later Lieutenant-Governor) of British Kaffraria. From this source it appears that local expenses in connection with transport were £1243-8-4. The greater part of this was spent early in 1857 and probably refers to the cost of moving the G.M.S. to their settlements. Local miscellaneous expenditure until the end of January, 1859, totalled £10,464-9-9 and covered such items as survey expenses, building roads to locations, etc. These two items account for another £11,707-18⁽²⁾-1. These two items were probably charged to local funds and are not included in the Imperial figures given above. It should be noted that these figures refer only to the period till the end of January, 1859; as miscellaneous expenditure will not have ceased then, it is necessary to estimate a further amount, say approximately £3292, which will make the expenditure under these heads £15,000. Money spent on building and the cost of land granted to the settlers formed separate accounts. These are unfortunately not available, as extensive search has failed to bring them to light. Yet if an idea of the sum total spent on the Legion is to be gained, these amounts ought to be included.

(c) The first instalment of one-third of the building money for the III Regiment of the G.M.S., consisting of twenty officers, fourteen cadets, sixty-three N.G.O's and 724 privates

(2)

CA. G1Rec. 39/3, MSO, 1861.

(3)
 who were entitled to this, was £5940-13-4. With no more data than this, it is quite impossible to estimate how much was paid in building advances, as many had left before their buildings had been completed and would therefore have received only part of the advances to which they were entitled. Then, too, part of the building money was recovered by the sale of the buildings which reverted to the Crown. Many of the officers resigned, some left for India and a few were dismissed; their buildings also reverted to the Government which sold them to
 (4)
 the highest bidder.

Nevertheless, using the figures available, the minimum spent on building can be estimated. Eventually two colonels, two majors, seventeen captains and nine lieutenants
 (5)
 were granted titles, which meant (according to the amounts promised by the "Conditions") an expense of £4250. In addition, as has been noted, 649 men (of whom a number were sergeants)
 (6)
 received titles; for their houses they would have received advances of £18 or £20 each. This meant an additional expenditure of £11,750 (approximately). These amounts together give a total of £16,000 spent on building, which was however the minimum and does not indicate the sums drawn by cadets, etc. and lost through desertion, deaths, etc. If an additional sum of £4000 is allowed for this, the erection of the buildings cost the Government about £20,000.

(d) Land was also granted to the German Military Settlers; as it would otherwise have been sold, the state was depriving itself of revenue. This too, therefore, must be set down to the account of settling the Legionaries. Using the same data as above, it will be seen that a minimum of £5950 was granted to officers in the form of Remission Certificates. The 649 N. C.O's and privates were entitled to at least 3245
 (7)
 acres which at an average price of 15/- per acre would be

(3) Imp. Pap. 389, p.44. Stanley to Grey. Enclosure.
 (4) CA. BRRec. 42. Capt. Mills, GMS.
 (5) See Appendix II and Appendix VIII.
 (6) CA. BRRec. 42. Capt. Mills. G.M.S.
 (7) CA. GHRec. 39/1. MSO.GMS.p.143.

worth £2433-15-0. The total value of land for officers and men would therefore be £8383-15-0. Land granted to deceased officers, privates, etc. or their heirs would easily bring this up to £10,000, which can be accepted as the estimated minimum of which the state deprived itself in settling the G.M.S.

(e) The total amount paid in the form of advances to 830 gentlemen cadets, non-commissioned officers and men of the III Regiment G.M.S. to enable them to buy tools, cooking utensils etc. was £4150. For the three regiments it was, of course, much more. This advance was recoverable from pay, but as a number of these men deserted and as others left for India and were not required to repay the advance, a considerable proportion was never recovered. Deaths, desertions and volunteering for India were responsible for the loss of 1355⁽⁹⁾ officers, cadets, N.C.O's and men, of whom approximately twenty-five were officers. Thus since 1330 men had each received an advance of £5 which was not paid back, the Government lost about £6650.

(f) The G.M.S. were promised rations for one year after their arrival at the Cape, but it is likely that they received rations during the whole of the period of full pay, i.e. until 31st March, 1858. No separate figures are available, and as it is unlikely that a major item such as this will have been overlooked, it is probable that rations were included in their pay. (Column 2, supra) No separate allowance is therefore made under this head.

Let us sum up then and endeavour to reach some idea of the approximate sum spent in settling the German Legion. The figures available, whether actual or estimated, are as follows:-

(a) Pay & Misc. (Imperial Funds)	£200,000
(b) Misc. expenses (Cape Funds)	15,000
(c) Building advances	20,000
(d) Land	10,000
(e) Advances	6,600
Total	<u>£251,600</u>

Therefore the total cost of settling the G.M.S. must have been £251,600 and may even have been as much as £260,000.

(8) Imp. Pap. 389. p. 45

(9) See Appendix VII.

Mention has already been made of the sources from which Sir George Grey hoped to obtain sufficient revenue to cover the cost incurred in settling the German Legionaries at the Cape. These may be recapitulated here and it should be remembered that at that time it was anticipated that 8000 men, mostly married, would be sent. (a) A sum of £40,000, to be drawn over a number of years from an annual amount of £14,000 which had been set aside in 1853 for special expenses in the Border department; (b) A sum of £40,000 voted for this purpose by the Cape Parliament; (c) Money realised by the sale of land in the vicinity of the military settlements; this Grey hoped would eventually reach (10) £100,000.

Together these amounts total £180,000, but Grey hoped (11) that altogether the Colony would be able to raise £200,000, though where the additional £20,000 was to come from he did not state. How much actually was obtained is not known, though it is certain that the settlement of the Germans in British Kaffraria opened up the district more rapidly than would have been the case under normal circumstances. It can therefore be assumed that probably the amount spent on the German Legionaries was recovered eventually, though of course indirectly.

That this scheme of military colonisation was expensive cannot reasonably be doubted, especially in view of the fact that the cost of settling the German Immigrants in the same locality was practically negligible. Nevertheless there are grounds for believing that this expenditure was justifiable.

In the first place the British Government discharged its obligations to the Legionaries in an honourable manner.

(10) Sir Philip Wodehouse was left with the legacy of clearing up the financial mess of the German Military Settlers inherited from Sir George Grey. In despatches of 13th September, 25th November and 11th December, 1862, he appealed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies to remit debt still due on account of the German Military Settlers. He referred to Sir George Grey's plans for raising the additional funds by the sale of crown land in the vicinity of the settlements, but had to report that nothing had been done to implement this suggestion; all sums raised by such sales had been paid into general revenue. (CA. GR. Rec. 23/29, pp. 174, 196, 207, 235.)

(11) Major Grant's Schedules, Ref. cit. supra. Grey to Lab. No 3 Military, 11th July, 1856.

It will be remembered that when the British Foreign Legion was raised, N.C.O's and men were promised a gratuity of a year's pay and a passage to their homes, or to North America, should they wish to emigrate. (12) Such a stipulation was necessary, because many of them dared not return to their fatherland. The cost of a passage to the Cape was only a little more than to North America, the year's pay was the same in either case. Much of this expense was therefore unavoidable, but more important is that the British Government redeemed its promise to the full, in no niggardly manner.

The second consideration becomes clear after a view of the overall population picture of British Kaffraria. The Crown Reserve was vacant, except for a few friendly Fingoes. Tribes were settled in various locations, with, inter alia, the Gaikas in the north, Khama's people along the Keiskama, and Pato and the further south or south-east. There were of course a few Non-Germans, but as the appended population returns (13) indicate only too clearly, they were few in number and were concentrated in the "towns", or within the rayons of the forts, under the constant protection of the military. As was noted (14) in a previous chapter, the policy was not to maintain segregation but to intersperse settlements of Europeans in among the Native locations. Hence there would no longer be a clear line of demarcation between natives and immigrants; a recognised frontier and a line of forts would no longer separate Black and White; at every point new settlers in British Kaffraria would be exposed to the Khossas, mostly hostile and by no means subdued. Conditions were therefore unique and novel; any extensive system of colonisation could therefore hardly have been contemplated without a proportionately effective scheme of military protection. Had only civilians, incapable of

(12) See Chapter V.

(13) Populations returns, 1st January, 1858, British Kaffraria.

Locality	Men	Women	Children	Total
East London	182	63	70	315
King Ums Town	370	254	460	1084
Crown Reserve	81	37	110	228
Scattered	38	21	35	94
Total	671	375	675	1721

(Ref. CA. Lieut.-Gov. Rec. 39. Chief Com. of Brit. Kaff. 1856-58)

(14) See Chapter III.

protecting themselves been settled here, the Government would have found it necessary to maintain a stronger military force, probably as expensive as settling a body of men at the same time settlers and soldiers. Hence it must be maintained that the settlement of the German Legion, capable of protecting itself, fulfilled the need; such a scheme of military colonisation was probably the only safe measure for colonising a region partially inhabited by the natives.

The third reason justifying this expenditure arises directly out of the second, undoubtedly the settlement of the German Legionaries was a failure; nevertheless it served a purpose in that it prepared the way for the German immigrants about whose success there can be no doubt. Whether the colonisation of British Kaffraria by immigrants in the first instance would have been equally successful is, to say the least, doubtful. Incapable of protecting themselves, as they were, any civilians immigrants would have formed a ready object of despoilation for the Kaffirs, especially when they awoke from their great delusion. The German Military Settlers, armed and concentrated in strategically placed settlements and in military preparedness, on the contrary, must necessarily have inspired respect and caution.

The two other grounds for justifying such expenditure are military and have already been dealt with; nevertheless they may be recapitulated briefly.

At least partially, the presence of the German Military Settlers prevented a Kaffir War breaking out. Grey thought so, nor do facts contradict him. "The day" for the great emancipation of the Xhosas had been fixed for the 18th February, 1857. The German Legionaries arrived at ⁽¹⁵⁾ London during January and at the beginning of February, 1857, only General von Stutterheim and the cavalry arriving, as far as is known, after that date. Although there are no statement from the Xhosas themselves, this coincidence justifies the

(15) See Appendix V.

assumption that the arrival of these troops, upon whom the Xhosas could hardly have reckoned, helped to prevent a Kaffir War. The devastation alone wrought by such a war would have exceeded by far the amount spent in settling the Legionaries.

Lastly, the presence of the German Military Settlers set free a large number of troops for India, and maintained peace at a time when the Colony was otherwise inadequately protected. The weakness of the military forces could not have remained hidden from the Xhosas; they would hardly have failed to utilise this opportunity for a fresh outbreak, had there not been an effective, though somewhat irregular force on the frontiers of the Colony to support the few, and weakened, regular regiments.

PART III.

THE GERMAN IMMIGRANTS
OF

1859 - 1869 and 1869 - 1862.

XIV

THE GENESIS OF THE SCHEME.

The idea of following up the transmission of the Legion to the Cape seems to have originated with Rev. F. Demmler, a German professor at the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, who writing to Lord Panmure in November, 1856, suggested that ordinary immigrants from Germany should be sent to the Cape. ⁽¹⁾ The importance of this letter can hardly be exaggerated, for it shows a thorough knowledge of the then prevailing conditions and a clear perception of what would happen at the Cape, and it contained the first definite suggestion of German civil migration to the Cape.

He urged the necessity of sending immigrants in the following words:-

"Your Lordship will, perhaps, concur in the opinion that the Military Colonisation would be more efficient and complete, if backed and supported by a large body of free settlers. May I mention further to express my firm conviction, that, without such a support being provided from the very first, the settlement of that portion of the German Legion which left England a few days ago, must necessarily end in signal failure. Most of the men ^{who} are going are without any trade, and without any means besides the daily 6d. for three years; any sort of remunerative traffic is

(1) Imp. Pap. 389, pp. 2-3

is therefore altogether out of the question, as far as it is to be carried on between themselves; and yet, as by their conditions they are confined to certain localities, no other way of earning their livelihood is open to them. Add to this, that there are very many among them who, having never handled a spade in their life, would have everything to learn before their land can be of any use to them; and who is to teach them in a community composed of such promiscuous elements as the German Legion at the Cape is made of? The consequence of such a state of things, if not remedied in time, could not but be very sad, and even dangerous; the idlers and scamps will soon flock together; and who can then answer for it, that the colony shall not have to defend itself against men who were to have been its defenders". How correct were his forecasts!

Hence he advised immediate action, and as an effective remedy, suggested that a body of German emigrants, drawn from every class and representative of every occupation, should be sent out to the Cape.

He considered that no difficulty would be experienced in effecting this. Every year 150,000⁽²⁾ emigrants left Germany - 80,000, he said, from Bremen, 30,000 from Hamburg, and rest from Rotterdam, Amsterdam and the Havre. The only problem, therefore, was how to divert a portion of this continuous stream to the Cape.

At the time, war clouds were already gathering in the United States; though still desirous of emigrating, large number of emigrants were somewhat afraid and would be only too ready to go elsewhere, if they could obtain passage at a reasonable rate. To effect this, he suggested that the Government should charter transports for them, as had been done in the case of the troops. But there would be these important differences: (1) the emigrant would pay for his own passage,

(2) J. H. Clapham, Economic Development of France and Germany, p. 208, gives an estimated number of 250,000 emigrants for 1854.

(2) the emigrant would have to provide for his own implements for washing, eating and drinking and also for his own bedding. In this way, he thought, the price of the passage to the Cape should be nearly the same as that charged for transporting Emigrants to America, namely £6-7/-, that is, exclusive of the cost of agency. This price was remunerative to the German shipowner.

In addition, he suggested, that Capt. Baron von Gerber who had had some experience as an emigration agent should be retained in England to aid him in putting his suggestions into practice. Von Gerber could proceed to Germany to make the necessary arrangements, so that as soon as the views of the Colony were known, they could proceed with the scheme. An agency could be opened in London to collect the emigrants, who would, of course, have to pay their passage money before going on board; in this way he thought that the scheme could be carried out without entailing any expense, either to the Imperial or Colonial Governments.

The Minister for War sent this letter to Mr. Labouchere, the Secretary of State for Colonies, with a request for his opinion, and though not definitely stating himself in favour of the plan, at least he did not convey the idea that he was against it; in fact, he was prepared to set aside Captain von Gerber for this work, and made the suggestion that he might proceed to the Cape to consult the Governor on the proposed scheme.⁽³⁾

Labouchere, however, was not so optimistic, and before commenting on the scheme, took the precaution of laying it before the Emigration Commissioners. These, accustomed to dealing with such matters, immediately spotted the weaknesses of Denzler's scheme, and first of all pointed out that the whole plan rested on the assumption that the emigrants would

(3) Imp. Pap. 389, p.1. Mundy to Lab., 15th November, 1856.

have some capital. But information showed, they said, "that the great bulk of Immigrants was dependent on daily toil - and these were just the men who would go to the Cape - which would merely enhance the financial difficulties of the Government. Moreover, it was extremely unlikely that men with capital would be prepared to settle on the border of Cape Colony, where they were continually exposed to the incursions of the Kaffirs, and stood in danger of losing all they had.

Another difficulty was that the British Victualling Regulations, presumably stricter than the Continental, would raise the price of the passage to between £9 and £10, thus appreciably more than the price of the passage to North America. These factors induced Labouchere to think that there would be serious difficulties in the way and, in any case, he thought "It would be premature to take any steps for the purpose until there shall have been time to receive some account of the welfare of the military settlers who are now proceeding to the colony."⁽⁴⁾

In the meanwhile, Sir George Grey, to whom these papers had been submitted, left no stone unturned in his endeavour to procure more Immigrants; on the 23rd March, 1857, he reported that a sum of £1,831 had been realised by the sale of Crown lands in British Kaffraria and that another sale would probably bring in another amount of £3,000. Money obtained in this way, he suggested, should be utilised to introduce immigrants into British Kaffraria, as in this way alone the Kaffir question could be satisfactorily settled.⁽⁵⁾

Two days later, Sir George Grey wrote again, - this time answering the dispatch which submitted Professor Demmler's scheme for his consideration. He commenced by complaining of the paucity of females for the German Military Settlers, and pointed out that the absence of wives would have a disastrous effect on the whole community, as it would be impossible to detain them at

(4) Imp. Pap., 389, p.4. Merivale to Mundy, 13th December, 1856.

(5) Imp. Pap., 389, p.10, No. 35 of 23rd March, 1857.

the villages as ordinary settlers. The only temporary expedient was to retain the G.M.S. as soldiers under arms on full pay, but, as this was too expensive a measure, no better plan could be adopted than sending out to the Cape from Germany a thousand heads of families with their wives and children. They would be granted building lots in villages and an acre of land in the vicinity thereof; this might be done anywhere in South Africa, but would probably be at the villages already settled by the G.M.S. Every requisite for the reception of the Germans already existed; the German villages were for the most part settled and the plan of military colonisation was so far working out satisfactorily, and would continue to do so, if these German Immigrants were sent out. "If not," he said, "great additional expense must be incurred, and it is very doubtful whether the whole plan may not ultimately fail in attaining many of the objects it was hoped would be gained from it".⁽⁶⁾

General von Stutterheim, too, was very keen on this scheme and thought that it would be beneficial to the Colony and to Great Britain; it would give an additional impulse to the progress of civilisation of the former and enrich and increase the commerce of both. "The German emigrants", he continued, "being generally of steady and industrious habits, will be found peculiarly fitted to develop⁽⁷⁾ by perseverance, the various profitable agricultural resources of which the country is capable". Finally, Stutterheim recommended as suitable agents for carrying out the work Messrs. Godeffroy & Son of Hamburg and Albert Varrentrapp of Frankfurt-on-the-Main.⁽⁷⁾

Shortly after this, Sir George Grey was approached by Mr. William Berg of Cape Town with a definite and concrete plan for introducing German immigrants to the Cape. He stated that the desire of the Governor and Parliament of the Cape to introduce immigrants into the Colony on a large and comprehensive scale had

(6) Imp. Pap. 339, p.10:—No. 38 of 25th March, 1857.

(7) Imp. Pap. 339, p.12, Stutt. to Grey, 21st March, 1857.

attracted the attention of Messrs. J. G. Godeffroy of Hamburg and that he had been requested by them to lay before him a definite proposal. This need not be set out in full as in effect it formed the basis for the contract eventually drawn up between the Governor and Messrs. Godeffroy & Son. All that need be noted at this stage is that Messrs. Godeffroy & Son, were prepared to advance the necessary funds and agreed to re-imbusement by Colonial Government debentures bearing interest at the rate of 6%, redeemable within ten years. ⁽⁸⁾

While Grey was considering Berg's proposal, he received his first rebuff, namely a letter from the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Labouchere, who, though agreeing with him that it was necessary to maintain a due proportion of the females in every community, feared that the object could not be attained through the means contemplated at the time.

He reckoned out the approximate cost of settling 1000 German families at the Cape. On the assumption that five constituted a family, it would mean at least £50,000 spent on the sea passage. Agency fees and land transport might mean anything between £10 and £20,000 and dwellings for them at least £30,000, which made the total cost about £100,000. He felt assured that the Government would not feel justified in submitting to Parliament a proposal for the execution of such a scheme by means of so large an expenditure.

On the other hand, he thought it almost foolish to launch a scheme for attracting settlers to the Cape if the state was not prepared to assist intending immigrants. "Probably no emigrants would come if they really understood that they were to receive no public assistance".

Moreover, he could hardly see how this scheme would help matters; females would be of no use unless they were adults and single - and if such were to be introduced in addition to the

(8) A3 - '57 (Cape) and Imp. Pap. 389, Germ. Em., pp.16-17. Berg to Grey, 16th April, 1857.

(9)

children, it would only cause fraud and trouble; it was more practicable to send single females from the British Isles. As it was difficult to procure suitable girls in England and Scotland, he had issued instructions to the Emigration Commissioners to collect a body of healthy, young, strong Irish women and send them to the Cape. (10) As Grey had suggested, the cost of introducing these girls could be defrayed by the money realised from the sale of Crown Lands.

For some months nothing is heard of the proposed schemes, save that the Irish girls were landed at East London, ex the "Lady Kennoway" and that attempts were made to place them in service, the majority in the eastern province. (11) Nevertheless, Grey had not been idle and evidently took time to consider very seriously the scheme proposed by Berg, and to draw up conditions and regulations under which immigrants were to be introduced.

(12)

Eventually, on the 19th August, 1857, William Berg was informed that the Governor was prepared to enter into an agreement for the immediate introduction of German Immigrants into British Kaffraria. A draft of the proposed regulations and conditions, substantially the same as the final conditions, was submitted to Berg and arrangements were made for the cancellation of the debt to be incurred. Before this draft was finally signed, it was submitted to the Attorney-General Porter for his comments. He suggested inter alia that the contract between the immigrants and Messrs. Godeffroy & Son should be made in the German Language and should conform to the local law of Hamburg; printed forms should be used, "head of family" and "age of adult" should be defined and, as it was to be expressly stipulated that parents were bound to pay or repay for their

(9) Imp. Pap. 389, p.5. Lab. to Grey, 5th June, 1857.
 (10) Imp. Pap. 389, p.6. Lab. to Grey, 5th June, 1857.
 (11) Imp. Pap. 389, p.13. Maclean to Grey, 26th November, 1857. There is no evidence to show that more than a few odd ones married Legionaries. The cost of introducing these women was refunded to the Imperial Govt. in instalments of £500, the last payment being made in 1873. See note 28 p. 273.
 (12) Imp. Pap. 389, p.15. Rawson to Berg, 19th August, 1857.

(15)

children, their names were to be specified.

The final regulations were hereupon drafted and signed on the 24th August, 1857, by the Colonial Secretary Rawson W. Rawson on behalf of the Governor of British Kaffraria and High Commissioner.

These two documents, then, the letter to William Berg and the "Regulations for the Introduction of German Immigrants to British Kaffraria" (See Appendix XI) formed the Contract between Messrs. Godeffroy & Son and the Government of British Kaffraria. For purposes of study and description it may be divided into three sections:-

1. The obligations of the Government.
2. The obligations of Messrs. Godeffroy & Son.
3. The obligations of the Immigrants.

1. The Government undertook to pay £12/10/- for every adult landed at East London, provided that he was approved of by Immigration Commissioners to be appointed by the Governor. When the immigrants introduced were members of families of the Legion, the bounty would be reduced to £12. For children under ten years, the Government would pay half the bounty; for infants nothing would be paid. Payment was to take the form of debentures of the Government of British Kaffraria, such debentures, of not less than £50 each, to bear interest, payable in London half yearly or quarterly, if so required, at 6% per annum. These were to be redeemable in ten years at the latest, though the Government retained the right of reducing them earlier. The total cost of transport to which the Government limited itself was £50,000. The Government would give to each head of a family a free grant of a building lot in a village and would assign to him agricultural lands, at the rate of £1 per acre, to be paid subsequently. Married couples were to receive twenty acres of "good country land",

single men ten acres, and two acres were to be granted for every child above one year of age. Should any immigrant be dissatisfied with the land assigned to him, he would be free to decline it and could, within one year after his arrival, buy crown land at public auction, in which case, credit would be given him to the extent of the privileges promised him. Furthermore, the Government undertook to convey the immigrants, their baggage and effects, from the ship to their localities; custom duties for any personal baggage and effects, not intended for merchandise, would not be charged.

2. Messrs. Godeffroy & Sons undertook to send out at least 2000 persons during the shipping season of 1858 - if possible some even during 1857, and were to spread the shipments equally over the season. In the first instance, the undertaking had to be financed by them, they being repaid by government debentures; they were to be the only agents in Germany for the Government, as long as the conditions were adhered to.

They were to transport the Immigrants from Hamburg and were to send with each ship a clergyman or teacher, whose passage would be paid by the Government. They were to victual the immigrants, if required, for eight days after the ship had arrived at the Buffalo Mouth. Though it is not expressly stated in the Regulations, it may be assumed that Messrs. Godeffroy & Son were responsible for collecting the immigrants and that they were to see to it, on their side, that the emigrants they accepted complied with the conditions laid down.

3. Lastly, there were a number of conditions and obligations which had to be fulfilled by the emigrants. All emigrants were "to be of respectable character and shall chiefly be persons who have been engaged in agricultural pursuits. They must be in good health and free from all bodily or mental defects at the time of embarkation." Several additional

stipulations were made. The age of immigrants was not to exceed forty-five years; widows, widowers, single women with illegitimate children, persons who had been inmates of any penal, reformatory, or pauper institutions, or who had not been vaccinated or had not had small pox, were to be rigidly excluded, nor were husbands allowed to immigrate, if unaccompanied by wives, or wives, if unaccompanied by husbands, unless the husband was already in British Kaffraria. Single women, half of whose passage was to be borne by the Government, had to be under the guardianship of relatives, mistresses or some other proper protection.

One concession was made, however. Relatives or friends of soldiers of the G.M.S., who were otherwise excluded by the regulations, would be granted the bounty and other privileges, provided the sanction of the Governor was obtained, though it was stipulated that the Immigration Board should be satisfied of the fitness of these people as regards their character.

To prevent misunderstanding on the point that the passage money was no more than an advance, it was required that every head of a family, or adult immigrant, should sign a contract before embarkation, by which he bound himself to repay such passage money. A concession was made only in the case of unmarried female members of families between the ages of twelve and twenty-five.

The immigrants were required to repay the first fifth of passage money and land bought, after the fourth year, and thereafter every year a fifth until the whole debt had been cancelled - though, of course, the immigrants were at liberty to repay sooner, if they wished to do so. Survey expenses and cost of titles were not to be charged for by the Government. ⁽¹⁴⁾

William Berg, the local agent for Messrs. Godeffroy & Son ⁽¹⁵⁾ accepted the conditions on the 25th August, 1857, and promised

{14} Imp. Pap. 389, pp. 20-21.

{15} Imp. Pap. 389, p. 17. Berg to Rawson, 25th August, 1857.

to take the necessary steps for carrying out the contract without delay. Presumably he put the whole case before Messrs. Godeffroy & Son, for we have the reply of the head of the firm, Johann Caesar Godeffroy. His letter is interesting as well as important. (16)

In the first place, he pointed out that it would be impossible to do anything that year (1857). The season was too advanced; winter was approaching and they required more time to make the necessary preparations. Most important, however, was another aspect. "We cannot send the sweeping of the streets, but only good people of the labouring class in the interior, and these have their home to leave and to sell before they can go, and also to procure the necessary permission to emigrate from the respective governments, which is never granted with a great pleasure and in a hurry to emigrants of a respectable character." However, Godeffroy assured Berg that no time would be lost.

One of his suggestions is rather to the point. The age of parents was limited to those under forty-five; he thought that it should be extended to fifty, since parents of fifty were much more likely to have grown-up daughters than those of forty-five, "and for women we must look principally to the daughters of families, as it will be difficult to find near female relations in conformity with His Excellency's instructions."

Furthermore, he asked that if one of the parents died during the voyage, the bounty should be paid for the remaining members of the family, as, of course, it would be impossible to take them back to Europe. He again emphasised that every precaution would be taken to secure the right sort of people. "We will always furnish testimonials of the good conduct and behaviour of the emigrants from some local authority, which we suppose will answer the instructions of His Excellency.

Generally speaking, the labouring class from the interior is a

(16) Imp. Pap. 389, p. 22. Godeff. to Berg, 6th November, 1857.

decent, quiet, sober and laborious set of people."

As regards the position of teachers and preachers, he wanted additional information. These were generally married, and mostly poor, and he asked whether the Government would advance the bounty for them and require them to repay it, and whether they would enjoy the same privileges as regards land as other immigrants.

Then too, he pointed out that the land to parents for their children was, in his opinion, not enough and he suggested that five acres should be granted for children over fourteen and three acres for children over ten.

(17)

He enclosed an advertisement from which it transpires that emigrants were required to pay ten thalers, that is about 30/-, which were not agency fees, but used to defray the expenses of sub-agents in the interior of Germany, printing, advertisements, doctors' certificates, fees for certificates granting permission to emigrate, and for paying the cost of advertising in official papers the intention to emigrate - apparently a Government regulation to prevent absconding from debt.

Lastly Godeffroy enclosed a letter from one of his sub-agents, Dieseldorff, who had drawn his attention to certain accounts of South Africa published in newspapers. This could not be found, but it appears that four matters were being brought to the notice of intending emigrants:-

1. That they would be located in the vicinity of the Kaffirs;
2. That there was undue delay in surveying the grounds to be allocated to immigrants;
3. That they were obliged to build their houses according to a definite plan;
4. and that the climate was unsuitable.

(18)

(17) Adv. by Dieseldorff & Co. Copy in Grey Collection. S.A.P. Library.

(18) Imp. Pap. 389, p.25. Diesel. to Godef., 9th November, 1857.

It seems correspondence from the Legionaries can here be perceived. These were, as has been seen, deliberately placed close to the Kaffirs in order to be an effective barrier against them. The immigrants were to be located in the same districts, but, it was forgotten, that they would have the protection of the Legion and, as these agents pointed out, "the wild Kaffirs will of course become less molesting in the degree as emigration proceeds."

The second point is more serious, especially as it was based on the fact that the Legionaries had experienced some delay before their lands were finally assigned to them. Naturally this was a matter of supreme importance for the immigrants, as they would be dependent on their agricultural work from the time of their arrival.

The third point can probably be explained by the order given by General von Statterheim that the temporary huts built by the G.M.S. should be uniform. No restrictions whatsoever were placed on the design, etc., of the Immigrants' houses, and it was certainly not the intention of the Government to curtail and restrict their activities.

The fourth allegation is nonsense; no part of South Africa is more suitable for immigrants than British Kaffraria, both as regards salubrity and suitability of climate for farming. Probably the impression that climatic conditions were unsuitable was caused by some inveterate "groucer" of the Legion.

Nevertheless Messrs. Dieseldorff & Co. took upon themselves to advise the following:-

- a. Adequate temporary accommodation on landing, since to transport all of them inland immediately was manifestly impossible;
 - b. Provisional title-deeds to guard against possible
-

injustice;

g. Facilities for procuring corn and implements;

d. That it was preferable to take single respectable females than insist on relatives.

Sir George Grey proved ready to meet the requests of Messrs. Godeffroy & Son, though he was silent about the suggestions made by Messrs. Diezendorff & Co. Bounty would be paid for widows or widowers, if the death occurred on voyage or before embarkation in which case Messrs. Godeffroy & Son were requested to require and supply due proof of the circumstances. The ordinary conditions applied to the families of teachers and preachers to whom the privileges granted to other immigrants were also extended. The Governor sanctioned the increased allowance of land to children and again stated that it was not the intention to charge interest on the debts contracted by the immigrants. In addition, he sanctioned the raising of the age limit from forty-five to fifty⁽¹⁹⁾. Subsequently he even permitted the introduction of parents over fifty years of age, provided that they brought out with them at least three unmarried daughters between the ages of thirteen and twenty-five.⁽²⁰⁾

This correspondence concluded the arrangements and Messrs. Godeffroy & Son set about procuring suitable immigrants and making arrangements for transmitting them to South Africa.

(19) CA. BKRec. 2, High Com., Rawson to Berg, 16th December, 1857.

(20) CA. BKRec. 2, High Com., Travers to Berg, 7th June, 1858..

XVSIR GEORGE GREY AND DOWNING STREET.

The contract with William Berg, the agent for Messrs. Godeffroy & Son had been signed four months. Godeffroy's reply had also been received, but Grey had not yet informed the Imperial Government of the steps he had taken. All he had done was to express himself in favour of Denmler's plan, against which Labouchere had shown himself to be. The matter could be delayed no longer, and eventually on the 26th December, 1857, he wrote to the Secretary of State for the Colonies to inform him of the scheme he had set afoot. First of all, he dilated on the state of the German Military Settlers and emphasised how difficult it was to keep them under effective control; then he gradually worked up to what he probably felt would be a bombshell - the news that he had concluded a contract to introduce a large number of German immigrants. He put the matter very tactfully. The G.M.S., he said, had been located in villages whose sites were deliberately chosen with a view to the future defence of the country, but could hardly prove permanent settlements, unless strengthened by a suitable civil population. It was therefore highly desirable, if not absolutely necessary, to embark on a course which would ensure that they became permanent and productive.

He pointed out that the Secretary for War evidently felt this too, felt that a free emigration from Germany should follow the settlement of the B.G.L. and had actually directed that a German officer should be retained in England for this purpose.

When the Imperial Government had referred the matter to his (Grey's) consideration, he had reported so strongly in favour of the scheme that he never doubted but that it would be carried out. ("I) made all my arrangements accordingly, and it was not until I had the honour of receiving your despatch that I was undeceived in this respect."

To introduce a large British population into these German locations was, he felt convinced, a very questionable policy, since for several years at least there could hardly be any real sympathy between two races differing widely in language, customs and habits. It was never his intention to exclude British settlers from British Kaffraria - he would introduce considerable numbers. Far more advisable would be to settle, at the military villages, a number of German agriculturalists who ~~together~~ with the soldiers "would ^{together} constitute a society of harmonious elements, which might readily attain to a great degree of prosperity."⁽¹⁾

In such a society no necessary element was absent - there was a landed gentry consisting of the officers; trade and industry would be in the hands of the military settlers; clergymen would attend to the spiritual needs of the people, and the whole structure would rest upon the firm foundation of an agricultural community.

The difficulty which faced him, however, was the procuring of the necessary funds, nor did he until recently see any possibility of surmounting such a difficulty. Fortunately at this juncture, he had had received a letter from Messrs. Godeffroy & Son of Hamburg, in which a practicable scheme for carrying out such a measure, without expense to the Government, was propounded. Hereupon he explained the scheme, the details of which are already familiar to us. The Government would be no loser; admittedly it had to pay interest to the amount of

(1) Imp. Pap. 339, Germ. Em., p.13-5. Grey to Lab., 26th December, 1857.

£3,000 annually, but he was confident that this would be met by the increased revenue and the general improvement of the economic life of British Kaffraria and the Colony.

Finally he concluded, "It is only necessary for me to add, that the rapid augmentation which will take place in the European population under the proposed system will in a few years put British Kaffraria in such a condition, that it will cease to be a cause of anxiety and expense to Great Britain"....

By this time Lord Stanley had replaced Labouchere as the Secretary for Colonies. After recapitulating the previous correspondence on the subject of German immigration, he first of all disposed of Grey's contention that he had made his arrangements before he was undeceived by Labouchere's despatch on the subject. He pointed out that this letter, acknowledged by Grey on the 22nd August had reached the Cape on the 27th July, 1857, - that is, approximately a month before he had concluded the arrangement for introducing German immigrants. Hence, it could hardly be said that he had embarked upon the scheme, before he became aware of the views of the Secretary of State; on the contrary, after he had been apprised that Labouchere considered the scheme impracticable, without authority, he had concluded the agreement for carrying it into effect, nor was it before four months had elapsed that he had written to inform him of what had been done.

But there were other points equally important. Admittedly, the Minister for War had shown himself in favour of the plan proposed by Demmler - namely a plan for attempting to divert some portion of the annual, unassisted German immigration to the Cape, a plan which entailed no public expenditure, and hence very different from the scheme now adopted by Grey. If Grey thought that the Government would be put to no additional expenditure, when the passages and land had been paid for, he was under a misapprehension. Transport for the immigrants, their families and their baggage from East London to the place of settlement, the cost of the building-lots in the village, survey expenses, the

passages of clergymen and teachers, and the aid given by the state to single females would total to a considerable sum of money, which could hardly be borne by the Government of British Kaffraria; even then this had an annual deficit of £40,000 borne by the yearly grant of the Imperial Parliament. Thus, in so far as the scheme involved the Imperial Parliament, nothing could be done without its authority.⁽²⁾

Then, too, Lord Stanley thought that the scheme was hardly likely to fulfil its primary purpose, namely provide wives for the Legionaries, "for", as he said, "the scarcity of wives for the German Legion is hardly to be cured by sending out a number of married couples from Germany, accompanied by (young) children"....

Because of all these considerations, then, the English Government felt that it could not act otherwise than adhere to the ruling of the former Secretary for Colonies, Mr. Labouchere. Hence, stated Lord Stanley, he had apprised Messrs. Godeffroy of Hamburg that the immigration had to be discontinued.

Grey was not the man to take such a rebuff lying down and without delay defended the course he had taken. He commenced his reply by stating that he had never pleaded as an excuse that he had made all his arrangements for introducing the German immigrants to the Cape before he had been informed by Labouchere on the 5th June, 1857, that the Queen's Government was against the measure; he admitted having concluded the contract after receiving that despatch.

To justify his procedure, he reviewed the position. He emphasised that, in the first instance, he had believed the German Legion would be accompanied by a due proportion of females and had made all his arrangements upon this supposition. When he found that he was mistaken in this belief, he still thought that upon his recommending Demmler's suggestion, it

(2) Imp. Pap., 369, Germ. Em. p.7-8 Stanley to Grey, 4th May, 1858.

would be accepted, and that a number of young women would be sent out with an immigration of German families supplementary to that of the Legion. In this belief, he had carried on with his arrangements. The benefits of settling the Legion, he was convinced, would be lost unless females were introduced to the Cape.

Continuing, he denied having acted against the decision of the Imperial Government. This had expressed its decision to be that it would not bear the cost of a German migration to the Colony. To this decision he had adhered. The immigrants themselves were to pay the cost of the plan he was carrying out. In fact, he thought that he was aiding Her Majesty's Government over a serious difficulty: this had promised the Colony that the German Legion would be accompanied by a large body of females. This pledge had never been fulfilled, and, in consequence, serious evils had threatened the Colony. He had seen a chance of retrieving this misfortune at no expense to Great Britain - and hence he had acted as he had done.

"It was a question", he said, "of providing with wives about 1800 male settlers....I can affirm from long personal observation that German families make excellent settlers". Their introduction had become necessary, and certainly less objectionable than to have taken a large number of British girls and thrown them into the country in such a manner that they must have married foreigners, differing in every way from them. (3)

In the meanwhile, Lord Stanley had carried out his intention and had informed Messrs. Godeffroy & Son that the English Government was disallowing the scheme sanctioned by Grey, and that no immigrants were to be sent to the Cape.

This intelligence sent Godeffroy to England, where he interviewed Lord Stanley and pointed out that matters had advanced to such an extent that the complete cancellation was

(3) G4 - '59 (Cape), p. 30 ff. Grey to Stanley, 12th June, 1858.

quite impossible. In full reliance on the agreement concluded with Sir George Grey as High Commissioner of British Kaffraria, Messrs. Godeffroy & Son had signed contracts for procuring and transmitting to the Cape 4000 adults; some had actually been despatched, ships had been retained for others, contracts had been made for provisions, advertisements had been broad-cast all over Germany and agents had been appointed everywhere. He pointed out that his firm was legally liable for any damage proved to have been suffered by any individual, and that unless they could satisfy all equitable claims, the good name and prestige of the firm would suffer considerably.

After enquiry and discussion, Stanley eventually yielded, though only partially; moved by the desire to minimise the loss which would have to be incurred, he allowed such transactions as were too advanced to be cancelled to be completed; but he ruled that no more than 1600 statute adults should be sent to the Cape. In addition, Messrs. Godeffroy & Son were paid an indemnity of £5000 to cover all expenses and to indemnify them for the loss incurred by the abandonment of the remainder of the contract.

This amount was agreed to only after prolonged discussion; it was only with the greatest reluctance that Lord Stanley assented to its payment, but he felt that it would be preferable to the continuing with a scheme which was bound to involve a large and indefinite expenditure; such expenditure would be proportionate to the number of immigrants introduced to the Cape and would prove a severe drain on the future revenue of the Colony.

The Lords Commissioners of the Treasury concurred in this scheme; hence it was finally decided that only 1600 adults were to be transmitted to the Cape during the course of 1853 and that Messrs. Godeffroy & Son would bear, without further claim on the Government, all charges and losses which arose out of the

(4)
reduction of the number of immigrants.

With this, the arrangements for the immigration had been completed, nor were any subsequent modifications of importance made. Nevertheless the correspondence did not come to an immediate close. Grey had, as has been noted, already written explaining his actions and giving the reasons for the course he had adopted. By this time Lord Stanley had had to make way for Lord Lytton, who succeeded him as Secretary of State for Colonies. Lord Lytton was prepared to accept Grey's explanation and said "There can, of course, be no doubt that the meaning of the passage was such as you have now explained." But, on the other hand, he pointed out that it was after having received a disallowance of the project of civil immigration from Germany, that he (the Governor) had embarked on the present scheme on his own authority. Beyond saying this, he was not prepared to reopen the argument, as everything had been finally settled and no advantage could be gained by continuing with the discussion. (5)

Still, Grey was not yet quite satisfied, and in his last despatch on the matter said, "Had the systematic plan of British immigration to Kaffraria, which was recommended, been adopted... our difficulties with regard to Kaffraria would by this time have disappeared." A constantly increasing population and production, he pointed out, would rapidly put it into a position to defray its own expenses, and even to contribute towards its own defences. (6) Admittedly, Grey spoke here of immigration generally, but the whole tenor of the despatch, in which he recapitulates the previous correspondence on German immigration, indicates only too well that he included German immigration, and that he still regretted that the scheme for populating British Kaffraria should have been disallowed by the Imperial Government, and that the Germans who had come out should ever after bear the stigma of being unwanted.

(4) Imp. Pap. 389, p. 9. Stanley to Grey, 20th May, 1858.

(5) GA - '59 (Cape), p. 32. Lytton to Grey, 1st October, 1858.

(6) Ibid. Grey to Lytton, 27th November, 1858, p. 33.

XVI

DEPARTURE AND ARRIVAL.

When the German Immigrants bade farewell to their Fatherland, "Germany" as such had not yet come into being. Politically, economically and socially, it was a period of flux and change. The attempt to establish a United Germany in 1849 on a liberal basis had failed, but the ideal remained, and was to be brought to fruition by Bismarck, albeit in another form, less than a generation later.

It was a time when nationalism was gaining strength and when military power was being re-established as a cardinal feature of Prussian policy; but at the same time, the promise of constitutional government remained unfulfilled; political power, at which the people had grasped in 1848 slipped from their hands and remained the prerogative of the Fürsten and Junkers. A proposal in 1850 to abolish manorial autonomy in Prussia was defeated and the squires continued to exercise their powers, perhaps paternally, but still in the interests of the old order. Thus, while the movement towards German unity was growing, there was no extension of democratic rights; while there was law and order, there was no liberal spirit.

Nevertheless, there were movements which inevitably changed the lot of the average rural German. The Zollverein, inaugurated after the Napoleonic Wars, grew to embrace all states in the middle of the century. Together with the extensive railway construction which linked 'Germany' from end to end and with potential customers throughout Europe, this laid the foundation for the future industrial strength of the German people.

These movements - liberalism, development of transport,

and economic growth, could not but affect the lives of German agriculturalists. Many migrated to the new industrial centres, many emigrated to countries overseas, and those left behind looked wistfully forwards to an easier life for themselves and their children. .

In the meanwhile, the rural reforms inaugurated as a result and after the Napoleonic and French Revolutionary Wars were only slowly and spasmodically taking effect. Throughout 'Germany' serfdom had been abolished; in some states, notably in the west, much had been accomplished; agriculture was being reformed and peasants had not infrequently become owners of the land they were cultivating, or were in the process of becoming independent farmers. East of the Elbe, however, the process was slower. Here the free peasant and farm labourers were still largely subject to their masters and were obliged to render respect and service to them. ⁽¹⁾

It was from these regions, the Prussian provinces of the Uckermark and Pomerania, that most of the German Immigrants, brought out in 1858, hailed. Mostly agriculturalists and general labourers, many still had to render "respect and service" to the squires on whose estates they were. According to the accounts of their life in Germany given by original immigrants, or rather their older children who had come out with them, hardly any of them owned any land or property, and even when fortunate enough to be under a good squire, they found life hard. Living on the land of the squire, they were obliged, perhaps more by need than by any manorial obligation, to toil from day to day for a miserable wage. The average wage or daily pay of a man was about eight Groschen (about 7d) and of a woman, four Groschen. Naturally this allowed of no saving and they lived from hand to mouth.

(1) For a full account of rural economic conditions in Germany during the XIX Century, see J.H. Clapham, Economic Development of France and Germany. Chapters II, IV, IX.

Only the Sundays were their own, and then they usually worked a small plot of ground, about half an acre in extent, which they were allowed to cultivate for themselves. They were poor, but by no means destitute. They had practically no property and little furniture and could pack all their belongings on a "horse-waggon"⁽²⁾.

The lot of the women was probably the hardest. They had, of course, to attend to their own households and their children, but, in addition, they were obliged to work at the manor. At harvest time, everybody was enlisted, even the children, though as a rule these attended school and received a tolerable education, as Prussia at that time had already adopted the system of compulsory school attendance.

In winter there was not much work on the land, and as many of the men were free to seek some other occupation. Sometimes they were successful, sometimes not, and as a rule, considered themselves fortunate if they found employment. Many of them were eager to emigrate, but could not obtain sufficient cash to pay the passage money, and were thus bound to stay where they were, continuing with their daily toil as they had always done. They were not serfs, though poverty often kept them in the position of serfs.

When advertisements for immigrants to South Africa penetrated to the villages in which they lived, those interested often congregated at the house of one of their number to discuss the pros and cons of the scheme. Occasionally one man constituted himself a leader and persuaded them to go, but this was rare as few dared take such a responsibility on themselves. Sometimes the women were more eager to venture forth than the more cautious men, and used all their influence to urge the men-folk to make up their minds; they themselves were

(2) Statements of Immigrants (See Bibliography) furnished the material for this and the following passages.

were satisfied with their lot, but they were eager that their children should have a better chance in life than they had had; they could see no prospects for them as long as they remained where they were.

They had to procure permission to leave the state and had to inform their employers. Generally, neither placed any obstacle in their way, though sometimes a squire, eager to retain the services of a good man, endeavoured to persuade him to remain, though usually in vain; when they had once made up their minds to go, they allowed nothing to stop them. Sometimes, too, the authorities seemed to have stepped in and prevented a young man, just due for military service, from emigrating, but in no case did they raise any serious objection to the departure of older men who had already served their time with the colours. The following letter, published in a Cape paper, certainly seems to be an exaggeration, at least in so far as it is supposed to be referring to the states from which immigrants to the Cape were departing.

"This panic has now reached the Bavarian Government, that of Hanover, the two Mecklenburgs, and even Prussia. A cordon is to be drawn round the Fatherland, and none suffered to jump out of the net, but such as can be spared. Anyone who sells property is to be watchedGermany wants to convert its inhabitants into adscripti glebae and deprive them of the right of locomotion inherent in all mankind". (3)

According to all the information obtained, this was not the case, and any who were not debarred by debt or particular obligation and who wished to migrate, were allowed to do so.

Of course, there were formalities with which they had to comply. They had to obtain written permission from the authorities and to advertise in the daily papers that they intended to emigrate, though the probably reason for this was to prevent absconding from debt. This formality being complied with, the necessary certificate was issued from Potsdam (See Appendix X) wherein release from Prussian citizenship was granted.

(3) Cape Mercantile Advertiser, 12th June, 1858.

As they were not allowed to take any furniture with them, and the quantity of their baggage was severely limited (20 cu. ft. Hamburg measure), the intending emigrants next proceeded to dispose of the little they owned. As one venerable settler said, "Well, as all the others had done, we advertised in our village, as well as in the neighbouring ones, that we would have an auction sale, and on the appointed day, - it was a Sunday, our things were sold; although we were among the last to leave, we managed to get quite good prices".

As soon as the intending emigrants had notified the agents of their decision to go to the Cape, they had to pay a small deposit of about 30/-. There was great uncertainty among them as to what would happen to this money. Some thought that they would get it back again, others that it would be deducted from their debts and others again that the agents would put the money in their own pockets. Actually the money was used for a number of purposes: the advertisements alluded to above were paid with this money, the certificate granting permission to depart, the medical certificate and a host of other minor matters were all covered by this sum.

Amid the good wishes of less adventurous friends, the emigrants then set out on their journey to Hamburg. At first they travelled by horse-waggon to the nearest station, sometimes actually being lent their former masters' waggons for this trip. Here they entrained for Hamburg, where they were met at the station and conducted to one of the lodging houses in which accommodation had been reserved for them by the agents. Some preferred staying elsewhere, but though this might have been a little more economical, it was considered unwise; they were too exposed to the devices of unscrupulous persons.

Arrived at Hamburg, they naturally interviewed the agents or sub-agents, Messrs Dieseldorf & Co., who supplied them with regulations for the voyage and promised to render

(4) Regulations for the voyage, Dieseldorff & Co. - formerly in the possession of the late Rev. H. Gutsché.

numerous services, if required. Thus, for instance, they warned the immigrants to beware of tricksters who seem to have constituted a real danger and would have robbed them of the little cash they did have. They also offered to change their German into English money and to transmit their capital to the Cape.

Special care was taken that the emigrants should comply with the regulations. No household goods or furniture could be taken on board. Only a quarter of the luggage was to be kept with them, the rest was stored and unavailable during the voyage. Every passenger was required to supply himself with bed-linen and eating and washing utensils.

Perhaps the most important matter was the signing of the Contract, as laid down in the regulations. A few of these were still extant in 1925. Several were then in the possession of some of the original immigrants who valued them exceedingly and were very chary about letting them go out of their hands. In effect this Contract (Appendix IX) bound the immigrant to migrate to British Kaffraria and to accept the obligations imposed on him by the Regulations, of which the more important clauses affecting the immigrant were appended to the Contract. He accepted liability for the passage money and together with his heirs, he promised to repay what he owed according to the terms laid down. The contract was signed in duplicate; the immigrant retained one copy and the firm, Messrs Godeffroy & Son the other. (5)

In Hamburg, the immigrants underwent a careful examination, nor were any and all accepted. General von Stutterheim had, for instance, recommended for acceptance several inhabitants

(5) With these documents and facts available, it is rather peculiar and strange to read the following account of the German Immigrants - supposed to be a letter from Hamburg published in an English paper. It is quoted, since it is rather amusing. "The first batch of German emigrants for the Cape of Good Hope, all Prussians, and numbering 215 souls arrived here yesterday by the Berlin railroad from Stargard in Pommerania. They do not appear to have very clear notions of their title to the land on which they are to be located at the Cape. Their notion is that it belongs to Prince Frederick William of Prussia, who received it from the Queen as part of his wife's dowry, and they say that all their equipment and passage money are paid by His Royal Highness. (Cape Mercantile Advertiser, 14th June, 1852)

of Braunschweig, who were rejected by Messrs Godeffroy, as being unsuitable. Some of these were dismissed footmen, glove-makers and others of similar trades; such men were not wanted. Messrs Godeffroy wanted only farmers and agricultural labourers; as far as possible they chose all of them from the country and avoided taking town residents. (6)

All the preliminaries had now been arranged; the emigrant personally saw to it that his goods and chattels were loaded on board ship, and then together with his family and a large number of fellow adventurers, he embarked. The ships in which they sailed, were the Caesar Godeffroy, la Rochelle, Wandrahm, Wilhelmsburg, Peter Godeffroy and Johann Caesar (or Cesar) (Appendix XIII) All were sailing vessels, the largest of 1000 tons, the smallest of 364 tons. Besides the Immigrants, they carried a few other passengers, who paid their passages. Every ship carried a doctor; one is mentioned as having a school-master. Though the other ships may have carried them too, their names are not recorded as they were cabin passengers.

Careful arrangements had been made for the control of the passengers during the voyage. They were, of course, under the control of the captain, but an enlightened policy was adopted. The passengers were represented by a Vorstand, a sort of representative council, which acted as an intermediary between the Captain and the passengers; under the general direction of the Captain, this was generally responsible for good behaviour and orderliness en voyage.

Every morning the lower decks had to be cleaned by the men in turn, though before this was done, the passengers had to make their beds and tidy up everything. For meals, the immigrants were organised into companies of ten or twelve (approximately three families); one of the men was 'cook orderly' and his duties lasted for a week; he had to draw the

the rations for the company and hand them to the cook, from whom he received them again. Rations of bread and butter for each company were issued for a week and were distributed to the immigrants, each one being responsible for his own share, though presumably it was the head of the family who kept them for his wife and children. Each company was to keep together, using boxes for tables and chairs, and was under the control of the orderly for the week. Lastly, for every company there was one coffee or tea pot. The passengers were themselves responsible for cleaning the utensils, which were their own property and mostly enamel-ware.⁽⁷⁾

The voyages were marked by an exceptional number of deaths, mostly of children. On the Caesar Godeffroy an epidemic of scarlet fever broke out causing the death of eighteen children. On the Wilhelmsburg sixty-four children died and one woman; on the Wandrahm ten children and one woman,⁽⁸⁾ and on the la Rochelle twenty-three died.

Generally, however, the accounts given of the voyage are very favourable and indicate that these deaths were expected or regarded as inevitable, rather than as being due to negligence on the part of the authorities. To show their appreciation of their treatment, the passengers of the Caesar Godeffroy presented an address to their captain, Nicolaus Stortenbecker, expressing their thanks for the interest he himself, and the firm of Messrs Godeffroy and Son, had taken in them, and showing their gratitude for his interest in their welfare and safety, which, under God, they attributed to him.⁽⁹⁾

At last, after a voyage lasting two to three months, the Cape was sighted. Here some of the immigrants were left. The reason was this. When the British Government reduced the number of immigrants to 1600 statute adults, about 200

(7) Regulations for the Voyage, Diesseldorff & Co.

(8) See Appendix VIII.

(9) Deutscher Beobachter, 10th July, 1858.

additional families had already been engaged. These were also shipped, Messrs Godeffroy trusting them to pay their own passage money. When they reached Cape Town, William Berg succeeded in placing about 150 families; the remainder
(10)
proceeded to British Kaffraria.

The stay at Cape Town, or Simonstown, where some of the ships called, was brief, and they hurried on to East London, thus reaching the end of a long voyage and being eager to land and see the new homes to which they had come.

When the ships arrived at East London, little time was lost in landing the immigrants. Surf-boats drawn by ropes were again used for this purpose. First a lot of baggage was put in them, then the immigrants, and then the boat was slowly drawn to the shore. Just before it reached the breakers, a covering was put over it to protect the passengers from the flying spray. Inside it was terribly close, and some of them suffered agonies before again being able to breathe the fresh air. Soon the shore was reached, and they were landed on what is now known as the West Bank beach. Of the majority of the ships little more than this is known, but it is reported that the landing of the immigrants from the Caesar Godeffroy took place successfully in fine, clear weather, so that within twenty-four hours the immigrants and their baggage were got to land.
(11)

At East London or Panmure the Germans were housed in tents or wooden buildings close to the shore and kept there preparatory to being moved inland. They were met by interpreters who instructed them about the interior and who brought them before the Immigration Board. This Board, consisting of the Magistrate, (Matthew Jennings), Mr W. Pagan, and Major Scott (later Capt. Mischke who replaced Mr Jennings)

(10) C. 4 - '60, Immigration, p. 18.

(11) Deutscher Beobachter, 10th July, 1853.

examined and verified the original contracts and satisfied itself that all the conditions had been fulfilled before it passed the immigrants. It appointed interpreters (usually Legionaries), made arrangements for their conveyance to their stations, for tents and wagons and for the issue of rations to them. In addition, it consulted the immigrants regarding where they wished to be located and, having heard their wishes, distributed them. Of course, they were completely ignorant of the merits or demerits of the various places; often it was but a small thing which made them decide on a particular place. Usually the reason given was that someone else was going there, but why this 'someone else' had elected to go there, was not known. Some stayed at East London or Pannara. While they were here waiting to be moved inland, rations were issued to them, at the expense of the Government⁽¹²⁾, though they themselves were not sure at whose cost. They were not entitled to rations according to the regulations⁽¹³⁾, though how they could be expected to provide for themselves, when they were but newly arrived and not yet permanently settled and without means is a mystery⁽¹⁴⁾.

The immigrants had been promised free transport for themselves and their baggage from East London to their respective locations, and as soon as they had decided where to go and waggons were available, they proceeded inland. The journey was done in stages, until eventually they found themselves at the places where they were to make their new homes for themselves. Here they were hospitably received by their fellow countrymen, the Legionaries and the missionaries. Here is a description of the arrival of the first two families at a German mission station.

Es war am 15. Juli 1858, als in Greytown die beiden ersten eingewanderten Familien in ihrem

- (12) CA? BKrec. 2. High Comm. Minutes of Imm. Board, 9/7/58
 (14) The question of rations is dealt with fully in the next chapter.
 (13) CA. BKrec. 2. High Comm. Minutes of Imm. Bd., 8th July, 1858

ponnerechen Sonntags-staate beim Gottesdienste sich dem Bruder Kropf präsentirten - die Männer in langen blauen Rock mit der Pelzmütze auf dem Kopf, die Frauen im schmucken reinlichen Kleide, ein jeder Erwachsene oder Kind mit der Bibel und dem Stargardter Gesangbuch unter dem Arm. Das war ein ganz anderer Anblick, als der der heimatlosen Legionäre.

Nach der Predigt hiesse Kropf sie herzlich im Namen des Herrn willkommen. Die Frauen weinten bitterlich und konnten sich in ihre neue Lage nicht finden. Die Männer waren zufrieden und voll Zuversicht..... (15)

They had now arrived and were preparing to settle and develop a practically new country.

The Legionaries keenly anticipated the arrival of the immigrants and eagerly absorbed any news regarding their arrival. (16) They speculated about where the immigrants would be located and wondered how many they would get in their own villages; they were pleased that an "Immigration Commission", on which there were two of their own officers, had been appointed to make arrangements for them.

When the news of the arrival of the first ship of the immigrants at Table Bay reached Kingwilliamstown, a special edition of the German paper Deutscher Beobachter was published; it welcomed them hoping that they would not despair. At the same time, it called upon the German already settled in British Kaffraria, that is, the Legionaries, to help the newcomers and pointed out that it was their 'holy duty' to assist them as much as they could.

At the same time, a committee was formed to receive the German immigrants and aid them in every possible way; with this object an appeal was issued for money, clothes, beds, etc. The committee consisted of Mr F. Schernbrücker, who donated £3, Serg.-Major Hundertmark, Serg.-Major George, Serg. Maas, who each donated £1 and Lieut. Julius. Other subscriptions came in so that a total of £13/7/6 was collected by that date. (17)

(15) Wangemann, Berliner Mission im Kaffer-Lande, p. 205

(16) Diary, 16th and 18th May, 1858.

(17) Deutscher Beobachter, 5th July, 1858.

Schernbrücker (later Colonel, M.L.A.) seems to have been the originator of these activities; in a letter he bade the newcomers welcome and offered to help in every possible way, especially those who were prepared to settle in the neighbourhood of his farm.

When the German immigrants arrived at King Williamstown, they were received with the utmost kindness, especially by Schernbrucker and Maas, who provided several with shelter and food. (18) At some of the other stations, too, committees had been formed for the reception of the Immigrants; as a rule (19) it was the N.C.O's, rather than the officers who took the lead.

On their arrival at the villages, the Immigrants were usually given shelter, and in many cases food also, by the Legionaries - acts of real sacrifice, as their houses were hardly commodious, and thus ill-adapted for sheltering a family. Normally, no rent was charged. One individual at Brunschweig, appearing to be hospitable, took in two families, and on the second day announced that each had to pay 6/- rent. As they were almost entirely without money, they were excluded and put out into the street. Fortunately others took pity on them and gave them shelter. The incident caused much ill-feeling and so much indignation that the men of the Company stationed there, got together and thoroughly thrashed their inhospitable comrade. (20)

The Legionaries were not the only ones to come to the assistance of the Germans. The other colonists also did their share and, whether English or Dutch, housed numbers of the Immigrants. Some of them were left in the tents used for transporting them, until they could erect huts for themselves; others were put into the barracks left empty by the departure of the regular troops for India. Others again made use of the houses left vacant by the Legionaries who had left for India; though this could only be those of the later ships. How many of them lived in these cottages cannot be (18) Deutscher Beobachter, 17th July, 1858. (19) Ibid., 24th July, 1858. (20) Ibidem.

said, though it is known that 109 families did so in November, 1858, namely five at Kingwilliamstown, thirteen at Breidbach, fifteen at Berlin, twelve at Stutterheim, eleven at Braunschweig ten at Hanover and a few at the other settlements. In a few cases, the number of individuals is mentioned; thus, for instance, thirteen families comprised seventy-one souls, (21) ten families forty-nine, and twelve families seventy-one souls.

These were, however, all temporary measures, and realising this, the Immigrants built huts for themselves, or even small houses, as soon as they possibly could. Others bought the houses left vacant by the Legionaries. Colonel Wooldridge reported that on the Keiskama line, 150 men had volunteered for India, leaving accommodation for at least thirty families; some of the houses were excellent, and several had gardens in good cultivation, which needed nothing but attention to ensure good crops. He was particularly keen to have immigrants there; it was a chance for them, and at the same time, their presence would be highly beneficial for the district. (22)

A little later, the Government allowed the Immigrants to take over these houses on condition that they signed a bond for the price of the house. In fixing the value of the house, the Government took into account only the amount actually disbursed for the particular house. Purchase price was to be paid in five annual instalments, commencing in the sixth year. (23)

Many of the Immigrants took over these houses, at Stutterheim sixteen, at Ohlsen four, at Frankfort also four and later three others, and at Marienthal two. The prices varied and ranged between £6 and £20, though the usual amounts were £6, £12, £18 or £20. £18 was the amount advanced to privates and £20 to N.C.O's, and as has been noted, the money had been paid to the Legionaries in three instalments. (24)

(21) CA. BKrec. 2, High Comm., Grant to Grey, 9th Dec., 1858

(22) CA. BKRec. 40, Colonel Wooldridge, 7th Oct., 1858.

(23) CA. BKrec. 2, Travers to Maclean, 14th Dec., 1858

(24) CA. BKRec. 41, Germ. Imm. Fielding's Report, 18th Jan., 1859.

XVIIDISTRESS AND RATIONS.

Once the Germans had been settled at their locations, the Government regarded its duties as having come to an end. No steps were taken to tide them over the first few months or to ensure that the Germans could begin some productive form of work without delay. Some received their land early enough to be able to commence with their gardening or farming, but the majority had to wait several months, even those who did have their land, were severely handicapped by the lack of utensils and implements.

Thus an undated petition from immigrants settled at King-williamstown and Braunschweig asked that their land be granted to them. They had by then (probably middle of October, 1853), been in the country several months, having come by the first two boats. They had no land, were unable to do anything, but wait, and were worse off than in Germany, where, at least, they could procure work. In October, 1853, Maclean referred the matter to the Surveyor-General, who reported on the 7th December, 1853, that these men had now received their land.

Several other petitions are extant - inter alia one from immigrants at Hanover and Potsdam, asking for the issue of seed, ploughs, etc., for which they would pay, or for an advance of money to procure these. Their argument was that they wished to prepare themselves for the time when the issue of rations would cease. (1) Those few who had a little money, invested it wisely, as a report says. "We were particularly pleased to observe that,

(1) CA. BKRec. 41, Germ. Imm.

instead of visiting and lolling about the canteens, the new Colonists made their way at once to the ironmongers, where they purchased hoes, and spades, and pots and pans,—comporting themselves as honest and industrious people ought to do."⁽²⁾

But this could have applied to comparatively few, as but a small minority of them had brought any money with them; the little they had realised by the sale of their belongings in Germany had been used for the trip to Hamburg and for equipment for the voyage. Hence in the absence of assistance by the Government, there remained but one alternative — to find employment; and as the centres at which they were stationed offered but little, they soon scattered in all directions, leaving their wives and families at home on the lands allotted to them. East London offered a little more work than the other stations, as the harbour works were in progress at the time, but the wage paid to them was small. One man said that his father worked there for four years, beginning with a half-a-crown a day, but as he knew something of masonry, he later got 7/6. At Adelaide the Dutch Reformed Church was built by them; at Peddie, too, a number obtained employment at building. Some of them found work on the farms in the Colony, some as regular labourers, others to do special work, such as building dams. Many of the girls entered service,⁽³⁾ and the boys too.

When the men had collected a little money, they returned, mostly temporarily, to their farms, invested a little in tools, seed, etc., and gave the rest to their families for their subsistence. Then they went back again, scouring the country for employment.

At first, it appears, the Government objected to the Germans leaving their locations and scattering in search of employment and entering the colony,⁽⁴⁾ and frantic letters were written by officials to head-quarters reporting that so-and-so

(2) King Williams Town Gazette, 17th July, 1858.

(3) King Williams Town Gazette, 11th December, 1858.

(4) Ibid., 24th July, 1858; CA. BKRec. 41. Ger. Imm.

and so-and-so had left their locations, though mostly adding that they had left their families behind them. After a while however, the Government, realising firstly that no other course was possible, if it did not wish to ration the Germans indefinitely, and secondly that very few of the Germans intended relinquishing their lands, raised no further objection, where-⁽⁵⁾ upon the immigrants scattered all the more.⁽⁶⁾

The local paper, the King William's Town Gazette tried to aid them, and while praising the Germans as industrious and honest people, appealed that labour should be given to them - if for no other reason, then for the sake of charity. It pointed out that there was no doubt that the benefits would be mutual and that the Germans were well worth their pay,⁽⁷⁾ as those who were employed by Kaffrarian farmers, were spoken of in the highest terms of praise.

Not all, however, could find work. Many were forced to remain at the settlements and their first experiences at their new homes were inauspicious. Originally it was certainly not the intention of the Government to issue any rations to the Immigrants. Misled largely by Prof. Demmler's letter that the majority of the Immigrants would have a small capital, it probably thought that there was really no need to make provisions for rationing them until they could reap their first crops, and hence any reference to rations seems to have been studiously avoided in the "Regulations".

As should have been expected, this opportunity to migrate attracted just those who, though keen to do so, had hitherto been prevented from leaving Germany by their inability to acquire the necessary funds for the passage. "They have brought out no capital, however small - and have neither seeds nor tools wherewith to cultivate their land,"⁽⁸⁾ a special magistrate reported to Maclean, and hence very few, if any, were able to

(5) King William's Town Gazette, 30th October, 1858.

(6) King William's Town Gazette, 4th December, 1858.

(7) King William's Town Gazette, 11th December, 1858 and 5th March, 1859.

(8) CA. BKRec. 41 Germ. Imm., Brownlow to Maclean, 20th December, 1858.

support themselves.

The Immigration Board at East London seems to have anticipated this, and even before the arrival of the first immigrants asked for permission to issue rations. The Chief Commissioner, Col. Maclean, refused to sanction this and declined, on the part of the Government, to be in any way responsible for rations or provisions that might be issued to the immigrants.

Against this the Board protested and even threatened to resign. The Immigrants, they said, were to be collected at Pampore for distribution. "Some 250 families are to be suddenly put down in a small military village—without a market, or shop, where they could purchase the common necessaries of life, and it is more than to be expected from any contractor to give credit to people who in a few days will be so drafted away that he may never ^{again} see or hear of them". Hence the Board recommended that the Government sanction the expense of victualling the immigrants, and that certain powers of control be granted to them. Unless something of the kind was done, they pointed out, the Germans must starve, while without any controlling authority, great confusion must arise. (9)

Though not prepared to ration the immigrants, who as settlers were expected to provide for themselves, the Government was not ignorant of the fact that some arrangements had to be made. Hence the Government Contractor was instructed to have a sufficient supply of bread and meat in readiness at East London, when the Germans arrived and to sell to them such quantities as they required at contract price. Only in case of urgent necessity were the Germans to be helped; if really unable to supply themselves with food, they were to be advanced rations, on the express understanding that the amount would subsequently be repaid by them. (10)

(9) CA. BKRec. Vol. 41. Germ. Imm., Minutes of Imm. Bd. 19th June, 1858.

(10) CA. Ibid., Maclean to Scott, 21st June, 1858.

By the time the first batch of immigrants had arrived; the Government had however modified its orders and had sanctioned the issue of free rations for ten days, after which they were definitely stopped. This immediately brought untold hardships on the immigrants, and elicited a strong protest. We think that we can do no better than quote this. "A curious, and it may prove serious, instance of official bungling has lately occurred in Kaffraria in connection with the newly arrived German immigrants It has been ascertained that their rations were actually stopped on the 16th^{of} July, and that it is not, as yet, the intention of the Government again to afford them the means of subsistence. The very natural consequence is that several of these poor fellows have been wandering up and down King William's Town during the week, expressing in some instances a willingness to work even for bread alone. On Monday last, we observed two strong and healthy-looking men waiting in Smith-street for employment during the whole of the day; and in other parts of the town similar scenes were witnessed. At the Izeli, twenty-six families have been deposited, without any food beyond what they have saved from their ships' stores. Three only of these men were enabled to get work, while the rest are either living upon the ship-biscuit, charity dispensed by the legion, or the little money brought out by them for other purposes. . . . Several of these immigrants offered to work at 1/6 per diem, without rations, but were unable to obtain employment even at this low figure."⁽¹²⁾

A little later, the same paper had another paragraph worth quoting. "The distress some are undergoing at present is very great and will, we trust, engage the speedy attention of the authorities. On Tuesday last a young girl was observed walking about the streets of King William's Town in a terrible state of emaciation; this was solely caused, we are informed, by the want of food, as she was stout and healthy when she arrived in

(11) CA. BK Rec. 2, Minutes of Imm. Bd. 8th July, 1858; *ibid.*, 41
Germ. Imm. Travers to Berg. 7th June, 1858.

(12) King William's Town Gazette, 24th July, 1858.

(13)
the country a few weeks ago." Here is another account.

"Die Freude war von kurzer Dauer. Nach wenigen Wochen war die grenzenloseste Noth mit hohlhängigen Hunger und Entbehrung^{en} aller Art unter den Armen eingerissen. Die Angekommenen waren 15 Tage lang von der Regierung verpflegt und dann sich selbst überlassen worden. Was sollte diese grosse Masse anfangen in dem unwirthlichen Lande? Theures Land, guter deutscher Appetit, leerer Beutel, theures Brod, was sollte das geben?" (14)

Definite action was called for. The new-comers petitioned Col. Maclean for help and drew attention to the fact that it was impossible for them to exist without help. (15) A public meeting was called at Kingwilliamstown, and the account of what was said there only served to prove how great was the need. One speaker stated that a German family had visited his shop and shown him a piece of bread which was the only description of food they could afford; another that several families were supported by Legionaries, themselves in poor circumstances, and all agreed that there was real need for active measures here. Accordingly it was decided that the Chief Commissioner be approached officially and that money be raised immediately to alleviate the distress. A sum of £105 was obtained and, no doubt, spent judiciously in helping the immigrants. (16)

These steps, probably together with the need itself, proved effective. On the 11th August, 1853, Col. Maclean circularised the Magistrates that rations were to be issued to the Immigrants for three months on the following terms. Each head of a family was to receive one full ration and every member of the family a half ration daily, upon the head of the family signing a bond to the effect that he would repay the Government the cost of the rations issued to him and his family at the contract price within one year from the expiry of the three months. (17) No doubt the Government would have been only too glad to issue these rations gratis, but after the severe rebuff administered to Sir George Grey from Downing Street, it

(13) Ibid. 30th October, 1853.

(14) Ref. Wangemann, op. cit. p. 205.

(15) Deut. Beob. 7th August, 1853.

(16) Kingwilliamstown Gazette, 24th July, 1853.

(17) CA. BKRec. 41. Germ. Imm. Circular, No. 11.

could hardly do otherwise. Even this action meant the risk of still greater displeasure, as this measure, no doubt, was sanctioned by the Governor himself; the Chief Commissioner would hardly have had the power to do so.

In fact, even if Grey had wanted to aid them, he could hardly have done so. Just prior to the arrival of the Germans, the Imperial Government had reduced the Kaffrarian Grant by half to £20,000, which in many ways left Grey in a great predicament and certainly put assistance to the immigrants quite out of the question.
(18)

The issue of rations proved a great boon and tided the Immigrants over the critical few months, but, on the other hand, it increased their indebtedness. Though there is no correspondence to this effect, apparently rations were issued on these terms for longer than three months. Judging by a number of reports at the end of the year to Col. Maclean, it seems that he had issued instructions to the Magistrates to investigate and report on the necessity of continuing to issue rations - and by this time, more than four months had elapsed since rations had first been issued.

The magistrates' reports are not only interesting in themselves, but valuable as they give a glimpse into the position of the Germans at the end of 1853.

At East London they were brighter than elsewhere. Only five of the twenty families were drawing rations; the remainder had attained to positions which enabled them to provide for themselves. The most satisfactory feature was that the Immigrants helped by the state were those who had come by the later boats; the only exception was a widow, still largely dependent on help given her, though supported partly by her children. East London, it seems, offered more and better opportunities than the villages of the hinterland. "Several immigrants", Matthew Jennings, the magistrate, reported, "are in

(18) CA. BKRec. 2 High Com., Grey to Chief Comm. 29th June, 1853.

business for themselves and are doing well, others have obtained good employment in this Town". And this, in spite of the fact that, as he said, the immigrants had arrived at the time of a great mercantile depression, when money and employment were scarce. He himself struck a most optimistic note and anticipated that before long, everything would be brisk and active again. "The immigrants may safely indulge in every reasonable hope for the future," he said, - planted on soil which is capable of producing almost anything".⁽¹⁹⁾

The reports from the other magistrates were less favourable. At Breidbach, seventeen of the twenty-four families continued to receive rations. Of the remaining seven, six had obtained employment in the vicinity of the village, the wife of the seventh had died and he, left alone without children, had disappeared, and, according to reports, had joined the Legion and gone to India. None of the families then receiving rations, were able to support themselves, nor could they find employment. In addition, they found their debts a heavy burden. Brownlow, the Magistrate, doubted very much whether they would be on their feet before a considerable time had elapsed - work was scarce,⁽²⁰⁾ labour cheap and prices high.

The correctness of his view is proved by a petition from these people, dated 3rd March, 1859. Appealing for the continuance of the issue of rations, they stated that they had had to wait till the fifth month before their lands were assigned to them, and that, therefore, ^{they} were not in the position to produce anything. Their petition was drawn up by the Germans themselves, probably because they were too poor to pay for the services of a qualified person to do so for them. It is given in full as an appendix to show their attitude of mind and to indicate the extent to which they had learnt English in the short time they had been here.

At Izeli, the immigrants with the exception of about four

{19} GA. BKRec. 41, Germ. Imm. Jennings' Report, 3rd January, 1859.
{20} GA. BKRec. 41, Germ. Imm. Brownlow's Report, 20th December, 1858.

families were in a bad plight because permanent employment could hardly be obtained there. Many had in consequence entered the Colony - and even these obtained so little in wages that it was almost impossible for them to maintain their families left in Kaffraria. However, many had begun cultivating their land and there was every indication that within a few months, (before the winter of 1859) they would be in a position to provide for their families. (21)

The only other report is a little later (5th March, 1859) and was the result of a petition from six immigrants at Hanover. In their petition, they pointed out that though they had arrived in July and September, 1858, they had by then not yet received any land besides their building lots. Being unable to devote themselves to making a livelihood from their farms, they found themselves in "distressful circumstances". Hence they requested "That your Excellency may be graciously pleased to take our pitiful situation into your noble consideration and give us employment, if possible, at public works in order that we may be enabled to maintain ours and the lives of our families". Failing this, they asked for a further supply of rations and the immediate assignment of their lands. (22)

Before acceding to the requests, Col. Maclean ordered Maximilian Kayser, a clerk and interpreter in Government service, to investigate and report on the various cases. Assisted by Captain von Brandis of the G.M.S., who interpreted for him, he conducted his investigations at Hanover in April, 1859, and felt that he could not do better than report individually on each case.

W. W. had neither means nor money and no employment. He had received an offer of work at 1/6 a day and rations, but refused it as it was insufficient. Since his rations had been stopped on the 8th March, he had lived on 10/- wages earned by

(21) Ibid., Fielding's Report, 19th January, 1859.

(22) CA. BKRec. 41. Germ. Imm.

his daughter in service at Kingwilliamstown.

H. B. had nothing, not even the offer of work. In his land he had a crop of potatoes, which did not promise to turn out well. "I have lived since the 8th March, he said, on vegetables out of my garden, which are all done now".

Ch. H. was in a particularly desperate position. The vegetables he had had, were done and his potatoes were not yet sufficiently advanced to be eaten. "Last Saturday night I killed my dog and have lived on its meat since then".

A. S. had made baskets and sold a few, but could then find no sale for them. He, too, had nothing besides 10/- a month received from his daughter. They had no oxen or ploughs, and hence he suggested that if the Government could have a few acres ploughed up for them, they would all the sooner be in the position to repay.

Ch. M. had lived on wild tea leaves and cabbage leaves given to him by other parties; otherwise he had nothing, though his crop of potatoes was coming on.

With these statements before him, Kayser stated that the applicants and their families were badly off, but pointed out that if rations were again issued to them, there would be a rush of applications for rations from all quarters; numbers of others were only waiting for the result of the application. (23)

The case of these petitioners, and the case of others in similar circumstances, was advocated by Col. Maclean himself, who wrote: "Applications for a continue of rations are daily received. Immigrants come to me from all parts of the province and state that they can get no work, have had no means of cultivating their lands, and that without relief from the Government, they and their families must starve. Their distress will probably increase during the winter months, and I therefore request you Excellency's instruction on this subject." (24). Grey

(23) CA. BKRec. 41, Kayser's Report, 6th April, 1859.

(24) CA. BKRec. 3, High Com., 1859. Quoted by Travers to Maclean 4th June, 1859.

fortunately, ^{for them} was prepared to meet the immigrants and authorised Maclean to issue three months additional rations in all cases where it was really necessary, being careful, of course, to take the usual bond for their repayment. (25)

Before proceeding, attention should be drawn to one or two facts discoverable in Kayser's report. The first is that there was real distress, possibly unavoidable, but more important is that the immigrants had not remained idle. Where there was a chance of procuring a reasonable wage, the men took employment, and in other cases, they worked their land. They had been but a short time in the country, and had already laid out gardens, and actually lived from the produce thereof. The majority had planted potatoes, which entailed a great amount of work, as the lack of oxen or plough made it necessary for them to do all the work with a spade or hoe. The Germans had been selected for agricultural work, and even in the first few months indicated their readiness to do what they could.

A few weeks after this (29th June, 1859), another petition was presented to the Governor by six immigrants living at Hanover. Pointing out that no preparations had been made for an immediate assignment of the lands, they stated that they had spent the narrow means which they had brought with them before they received their lands; ^{this was} some four months after their arrival, and almost at the same time, their rations had been withdrawn. "So," they said, "the petitioners are in the position that they had at first the means for the cultivation of the lands given to them without any land, whilst they have now the land assigned to them, but the means for the cultivation are withdrawn".

Under these circumstances, with no prospect of obtaining employment, especially for married men, they asked for a further issue of rations for a period of two months, for they

hoped that by the end of that time they would "be able to subsist on the product of their industry".⁽²⁶⁾

Maclean evidently investigated these cases himself or deputed some one to investigate, for he reported that he could find only three cases of real distress to whom he had ordered rations to be issued for another month. One of the petitioners, he considered needed no help, and two of them had left to take up employment.

What these rations cost the Immigrants individually it is difficult to say. It depended, of course, on the duration of the period. A few accounts give an idea of the debts incurred by the immigrants for rations issued for three months. The average is about £3, the lowest being £4/12/5½, the highest £15/8/2½.⁽²⁷⁾ The total value of the rations issued by the Government was £6463/6/2.⁽²⁸⁾

At first the Government had no intention of not charging for the rations. Apparently early in 1862 Immigrants were sent notices calling on them to pay this debt. As they were not yet in the position to do so, Immigrants at Keiskama Hoek and at Pannure submitted petitions, asking that this debt should be remitted, or alternatively, that they should be given more time to pay it. They pointed out that they had received their land only after a long delay (at Keiskama Hoek a year), that they had received practically nothing - no more than £2/-/- for 2000 lbs. potatoes; their distress was such that with the best intentions, they did not have the means for discharging this obligation.⁽²⁹⁾

In a covering letter to the Governor, Sir Philip Wodehouse, Colonel Maclean stated that only £23/6/4d. had been repaid by them. "The badness of the season has been one main ground for their failing to pay ... I do not consider that any blame attaches to the immigrants." He therefore recommended that the Immigrants should not be called upon to pay for the rations

(26) CA. BKRec. 3, High Com., 1859, Petition 29th June, 1859, and *Ibid.* Maclean's Report, 2nd July, 1859.

(27) CA. BKRec. 41, Richard Taylor's Report.

(28) ~~30th~~ ^{23/78} September, 1862, Enclosures to Despatch 154 of 13th

(30)
issued to them.

This appeal was successful, for on the 8th November, 1862, ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{Duke of} Newcastle writing to the Governor said, "I have to convey to you my sanction for authorizing the Lieutenant Governor to remit altogether, as he suggests, the claim on those immigrants for the rations supplied to them"⁽³¹⁾. This was a gracious act, but one cannot but feel that it was only just; if better provision had been made for the care of the new-comers after their arrival and if their land could have been assigned to them immediately, there is no doubt that the Government would have saved a large part of this expenditure, and what is more, saved the Immigrants untold distress. However, they were not unappreciative; of the nine that were healed, at least one returned to give thanks.

Breidbach, 15th June, 1865

"We the undersigned German Emigrants most sincerely beg to thank the Government for the gracious act bestowed upon us in remitting the amounts due to them to the Government for rations received after their arrival"⁽³²⁾....

(28) CA. GHRec. 23/73, Enclosures to Despatch 154 of 13th September, 1862.

(29) Ibid., Petition dated 1st March, 1862.

(30) Ibid., Maclean to Wodehouse, 8th September, 1862.

(31) CA. GHRec. 1/59, Newcastle to Governor, 8th November, 1862.

(32) CA. BKRec. 41, Germ. Imm.

XVIII

LAND.

By the Regulations, the immigrants were allowed land at the rate of £1 per acre at the following scale; every married couple 20 acres for themselves, two acres for every child between ten and fourteen years, and ten acres for every child over fourteen years of age. Single men were to receive ten acres, though whether for themselves or for their parents is not stated.

Fortunately, the land in British Kaffraria is generally very rich, and if all is put under the plough, this extent of land, together with the commonage rights granted to them, would suffice to keep them, but hardly more.

Unfortunately, ^{for them,} however, needless hardships were inflicted on the immigrants in two ways, the first being that there was undue delay in the allocation of the land to them. The evidence is fairly unanimous in this respect.

Thus, the immigrants at Kingwilliamstown were informed on the 24th August, 1858, that they could receive their lands wherever they chose, though not near to the town; this was about a month and a half after their landing. ⁽¹⁾

Several immigrants, settled at Breidbach, stated that they received their land only in the fifth month after their arrival; ⁽²⁾ others located at Hanover complained that no preparation had been made for the immediate occupation of the land and that they had been obliged to wait four months for it. ⁽³⁾ One man whose father had remained at Fennure, said that they had to wait

(1) Dent. Beob., 28th August, 1858.

(2) CA. BKRec. 41, Germ. Imm., See Appendix XII.

(3) CA. BKRec. 3, High Comm., 1859.

six months, and then only received ten acres instead of the full extent promised to them, while another whose parents had settled at Keiskama Hoek, said that a full year elapsed before their land was assigned to them. (4)

Another fact is gleaned from the reports of the Surveyor-General's office. 334 German Immigrants claimed 10604 acres of land, but by 3rd April, 1860, (N.B. 1860) only 3244 acres were held by them, the rest not yet having been surveyed. (5) Even if the other statements are exaggerated, this admits of no question and indicates only too fully how slowly the authorities worked.

The King William's Town Gazette was also outspoken on the subject of delay, and regretted that more perfect arrangements had not been made for the reception of the immigrants. It pointed out that the ground was not surveyed, that nothing had been done, except ^{the} issue ^{of} rations, and it ascribed all this to the "Crabbed prejudice of Downing Street". The High Commissioner was blameless, but it added, the Germans had just cause of complaint. (6) These statements are sufficient to indicate that considerable time elapsed before the Immigrants received their land - which meant prolonged drawing of rations, increased debt, and thus greater hardships.

Another point which merits attention is that the price of land (£1 per acre) to be paid by the Germans was as a rule excessive. As has been noted, the price at which land was to be bought on Remission Certificates by officers of the G.M.S. had been fixed by the Land Board. Thus, at Keiskama Hoek and Izeli the land was valued at 17/6 per acre, at Stutterheim 16/-, at Bredbach and Frankfurt 15/-, at Wiesbaden and Marienthal 12/6, at Ohlsen 10/- and at Greytown and Berlin as low as 5/- an acre. (7) Hence the price charged from the Immigrants was distinctly excessive.

(4) Statements of Immigrants.

(5) CA. BKRec. 19, Surv-Gen. 1860.

(6) King William's Town Gazette, 11th December, 1858; 19th February, 1859; 5th March, 1859.

(7) CA. BKRec. 40, GMS. 1856-61.

Of course, according to the Regulations, any immigrant was free to refuse land assigned to him, if he was not satisfied with it, and he could buy land at any auction sale of crown land within a year and would be allowed credit to the extent of his privileges, but their newness to the country, their absence from home and the delay in the assigning of the land all tended to prevent much use being made of the privileges granted by this clause. There is no evidence of any case where an immigrant refused his land and bought other ground to its value. Ignorance and circumstances probably forced them to keep the land assigned to them, even at the price charged. But the suspicion that an injustice was done to the Immigrants remains; if purchase at the lower price was allowed to the officers of the Legion, the same should have been permitted to the Immigrants.

Against this, it must be noted, that no interest was to be charged for the first ten years, after which the immigrants had to pay 6% interest. Then, too, every head of a family was granted free of charge a building lot in the village at which he settled. Possibly, therefore, ^{with regard to the fact} there was some justification for fixing the price of the land so high.

Changes ~~we think~~ were not unusual. In the first few years there was continual trekking from one village to the other and, as a rule, the Government placed no obstacle in the way to their doing so. Only when a period of a few years had elapsed, if they complained, were they informed that objections should have been made earlier, and then to the officials concerned, that is, the surveyors. ⁽⁸⁾ Fortunately, ^{for the newcomers,} however, the land in British Kaffraria is more even in quality than almost anywhere else in the Cape, so that complaints were few.

Some trouble was experienced by the German immigrants settled at Panmure and Cambridge, who complained that they had received only about half the land due to them by Paragraph 14 of

(8) CA. BKReg. 41, Germ. Imm., Hunt to Brownlow, 14th May, 1864.

the Regulations, and who asked that the additional ground should be assigned to them. The local magistrate had told them that the reason for this departure from the Conditions was that the land here was more valuable than elsewhere. They appealed in turn to the Magistrate at East London, the Surveyor-General and the High Commissioner (17th November, 1860) but in vain. They were all adamant.

Having failed to obtain sufficient land at the places where they were located, they asked to be able to utilise the privileges conferred on them by Paragraph 15 of the Regulations and buy Crown Land on credit at Frankfurt, but as the time allowed by the Regulations (one year after arrival) had long since expired, this application was also refused (3rd December, 1860).⁽⁹⁾

However, they were not content to accept this rebuff, and in 1863 and again in 1864, they placed their position before the Governor, now Sir Philip Wodehouse; they showed what was the actual position and what was legally due to them. Thus they pointed out that twenty-seven immigrants together had received a total of 296 acres instead of 796, and they affirmed that, in simple justice, the additional land promised them, should be granted to them. At first their appeals were in vain. The Governor was not prepared to alter arrangements made by Sir George Grey, and ordered that the Germans be instructed accordingly.⁽¹⁰⁾

In 1863 they appealed again, this time to the House of Assembly, when they at least had the support of Col. Schermbrucker. More information was asked, the necessary papers were printed, but nothing more was done at the time.⁽¹¹⁾ This was not yet the end of the matter. Under Responsible Government, they thought that there was a better chance of their grievances being remedied, and with Mr. Gordon Sprigg (later

(9) GA. BKRec. 41, Germ. Imm., Memorials of E.L. Immigrants.

(10) GA. BKRec. 5, High Comm. 1861-63, Travers to Brownlow, 8th October, 1863.

(11) A.11 - '68 (Cape) Petition of Germ. Imm. at Pannure and Cambridge; A.55 - '68, (Cape) Memorial from Germ. Imm at Pannure and Cambridge.

Sir Gordon) as their sponsor, they presented a petition again in 1873, when the House ordered the petition to be printed. ⁽¹²⁾

With this, the matter became a hardy annual. The following year it came up for discussion again, and again without any result. In 1875 Sprigg introduced a Motion of Censure on the Commissioner for Crown Lands for refusing to satisfy the claims of the Germans, but withdrew the motion, because the Commissioner ⁽¹³⁾ was able to give a satisfactory answer. The Surveyor-General, he said, "stated that the validity of twenty-eight claims had been allowed". As regards fourteen of them, arrangements had already been made to put them in the legal possession of the land they claimed, by utilising crown land in the neighbourhood, resumed by the Government. "The remaining fourteen cases would have been disposed of long ago, but for the difficulty experienced in getting a surveyor." ⁽¹⁴⁾

This then ended, in favour of the Germans, a struggle lasting seventeen years. Gordon Sprigg, needless to say, became justly popular with the Germans and could always depend on their unfailing loyalty and support.

The grievance of the immigrants at Panmure was not the only one. In 1868 the Government defined the commonage of all the villages located in British Kaffraria, inter alia at Braunschweig, and appointed a commission, consisting of John C. Hunt, John Webb and A. E. Murray, a surveyor. The occasion was made use of by the Germans to submit a memorial to the Government. They complained that the most valuable and useful part of the commonage used by them ever since their arrival, had been sold, the greater part to Maj.-Gen. Bisset. Hence, if they wished to graze their stock, they had either to pay Gen. Bisset for the right to do so, or drive it along the main road, which was tantamount to a prohibition against the keeping of any stock. ⁽¹⁵⁾

(12) A. 3 - '73 (Cape), Petition of German Immigrants at Panmure.
 (13) Votes and Proc. of Parl. 1875, Assembly, p. 6.
 (14) Cape Argus, 22nd May, 1875.
 (15) A. 57 - '68 (Cape), Report of Commonage. Comm. etc. p. 10.

They understood, they said, that General Bisset was willing to exchange his farm for land elsewhere, and consequently they prayed for relief.

This commission reported most favourably on their case and said. "We, having seen this land and considering the situation of these immigrants, can conscientiously support their urgent request, and would humbly suggest, that in the event of General Bisset accepting other land or remuneration, we should strongly recommend this boundary (here defined) being adopted, by which about 400 acres would be added to the commonage." ⁽¹⁶⁾

The Government was not prepared to accede to their request, and the Germans were briefly informed that "His Excellency (the Governor) sees no prospect of being able to procure the land from General Bisset ⁽¹⁷⁾ for your use."

Two years later, the Civil Commissioner for King William's Town brought up the matter again and reported that as there was then an opportunity of purchasing the farm granted to General Bisset, it ought to be done, and the land thus obtained should be added to the commonage. ⁽¹⁸⁾

At the same time, he submitted a memorandum, dated 22nd January, 1870, ⁽¹⁹⁾ to the same effect, from these immigrants, but again their grievance was not remedied, the reply, submitted after a delay of nearly five months, being to the effect that the Governor could not see how these people could obtain relief in the manner proposed.

For the time being the Germans had to content themselves ^{with this} but in 1872 they once again petitioned the Government and asked that General Bisset's farm be bought for them and given them as a commonage. ⁽²⁰⁾ Their petition was printed and apparently attracted the attention of Messrs. P. Gould and Gordon Sprigg,

(16) *Ibid.*, p. 7
 (17) A. 15 - '72 (Cape), p. 11, Adamson to Col. Sec., 23th May, 1868.
 (18) A. 15 - '72 (Cape), p. 4.
 (19) *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.
 (20) A. 9 - '72 (Cape).

who took it upon themselves to see that Parliament interested itself in their case. A Select Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Goold was appointed to inquire into the matter. Their (21) report was printed in June, 1872, and was to the effect that the Committee was unanimously of the opinion that the hardships of which the Germans complained, existed. "The German Immigrants," the report continued, "having proved themselves to be steady and industrious colonists, who have materially added to the wealth of the country by developing its resources, are deserving of every encouragement that can be possibly extended to them." Hence the Committee recommended the case of the petitioners to the favourable consideration of the House.

Eventually, after the usual procedure, the matter reached finality, for the House of Assembly passed a Resolution on the 25th July, 1872, that the Governor should be requested to purchase General Bisset's farm, provided that the amount/paid did not exceed £500, and that the land should be granted to the inhabitants (22) of Braunschweig for the purpose of commonage.

As the farm in question had been granted to General Bisset in 1862, the struggle had lasted about ten years, but eventually these immigrants obtained what they wanted - sufficient commonage.

Thus after having been in the country since 1858, all the Germans had managed to obtain what they needed, not only enough land to put under the plough, but also enough for them to be able to graze their stock. It had in two cases at least been a very long struggle, but in the end justice had been done to them.

(21) A. 15 - '72 (Cape).

(22) Votes and Proc. of Parl. 1872, Assembly, p. 585.

The following figures, which show the population of British Kaffraria a few years after the settlement of the Germans, are not without interest.

(23)

These are the figures for 31st December, 1862:

Class	Men	Women	Children	Total
German Immigrants	322	320	1025	1667
German Milit. Settlers	204	163	345	712
Other Europeans	1126	741	1427	3294

Two years later (31st December, 1864) the following were published as the official returns:

Class	Men	Women	Children	Total
German Immigrants	371	364	1237	1972
German Milit. Settlers	142	113	200	455
Other Europeans	1025	772	1583	3380

At this time the Immigrants held 9409 acres of which 9339 were surveyed; while the Legionaries (including those due to return from India) held 3244 acres.

In the meanwhile the Germans had struggled on. As they had received their allotments and as the men had returned, they had brought more and more land under cultivation.

(23) CA. BKRec. 109, Govt. Notices. 1847-66.

"As they prospered, acre was added to acre, a cow, a horse, a few sheep were bought and diligently looked after. Rough carts were made to convey the garden and other produce to market. And thus the homestead grew. Many of them, being handy and patient, they commenced to manufacture such utensils as were in common use, and supplied the market of King Williamstown with churns, tubs, barrels, water fiksies, and baskets. ... Of course, all have not prospered alike; but they all live; there is no outcry of distress from their villages and farms; they seem to have made good their footing on the land, and have laid the foundations of what promises to be at least a moderately thriving community". (24)

The majority of the Immigrants stuck to the land, though some who had originally intended engaging in other forms of work only until they were on their feet, found it more remunerative to continue with it. Of these there were comparatively few, so that at least one of the objects - to procure agricultural settlers, was fulfilled. British Kaffraria was peopled with sons of the soil, who through hard work and perseverance, made the district in which they had settled, one of the more important agricultural regions of the Cape; they demonstrated that, given the right class of settler and regular rainfall, intensive farming was possible in South Africa, outside of the winter rainfall area.

"We have long considered that one of the most important questions for the Cape is being worked out by the German Immigrants over the Keiskamma. These people are proving that an industrial white population can live and prosper on the soil of South Africa, by the means of personal labour bestowed on comparatively small allotments, aided by the patient practice of such small handicrafts as may find material in the bush of the colony, and encouraged by such markets as King Williamstown and East London. There is a notion abroad that the colony is not adapted to carry any number of small white proprietors, - that it is useless to think of families settling down on a few acres, and trusting to the results of their labour.... Such objections..... are at once demolished by facts; and this is what the Germans in British Kaffraria are apparently doing. They are proving that that can be done which is commonly said cannot be done." (25)

This was the considered opinion of the Grahamstown Journal in 1867, eight or nine years after the German Immigrants had landed in South Africa; and the editor at the time was no less

(24) Grahamstown Journal, 1st March, 1867, Leading article.

(25) Ibidem.

a person than Mr. Robert Goddinton, a member of the Legislative Council.

XIX

CHARACTER AND PROGRESS.

Almost any German living in the Eastern Province to-day will, if given the opportunity, give a panegyric description of the German Immigrants and launch forth in encomiums on their industry, thrift, and honesty. Probably he is correct, but a fair judgment can be founded only on evidence which is more trustworthy - it must be external and contemporaneous.

Such evidence is rare and difficult to obtain, but some which satisfied these conditions has been found. The first report is that of the Immigration Board at East London before whom the Germans had to appear. "The Immigrants," it reported, "appear to be a quiet, orderly and respectable class of people and are likely to turn out good settlers"⁽¹⁾.

An old English gentleman who had spent all his life with the Germans - being eight years old, when they arrived, kindly allowed the writer to question him about them. He died at the beginning of 1928. He commenced by commenting on the peculiarity of their dress - bluish smock coats and wooden clogs, - without socks. They began at once to cultivate their gardens with spade and hoe, and as soon as they got their land, worked from daylight to dark - father, mother, boys and girls. "I myself", he said "have seen a woman holding a plough and a girl leading the oxen or driving the horse". And again, "Through sheer hard work and industry, they became prosperous

(1) CA. BKRec. 2. High Comm., Minutes of Im. Bd., 10th July, 1858.

small farmers". Of course, there were exceptions, but as a general rule, their character was excellent. He said much else, but it only corroborates what has already been said.

The other source is somewhat different, namely the account given of the Immigrants by the Kaffrarian newspaper - the King Williamstown Gazette. Reporting the arrival of the first batch of Immigrants, this paper says. "There is nothing of the sharper-look about them; but, in their frock coats, cloth caps, and top boots, they appear to be every inch an honest and a plodding set of men. The women, too, in their apparent fitness for the rough Colonial life, are not a whit behind the men.... The general impression is that they are made of the right material, and with fair and liberal treatment, will soon take a solid stand and increase the solidity of the Province at the same time." (2) A little later, this paper again commented on their suitability for British Kaffraria and added that they were honest and sober people. "We have not seen one of them in an intoxicated state.... The few who have found employment are said to be willing and 'very fond' of work; while the women flourish a pickaxe with more grace and good-will than they would a needle". (3)

Several months later, the verdict was equally favourable. "The Germans have become inured to industrious habits, while their honesty has been impeached in no quarter. To our own knowledge, several families that have been employed by Kaffrarian farmers are spoken of in the highest terms of praise. Their intelligence and quick perception of what is (4) required of them are not among the least of their advantages".

Colonel Maclean who was certainly in the position to judge, was also able to report favourably on the Immigrants. This is what he says:-

* Statement by Mr. G. H. Nettleton, of Keiskama Hoek.

(2) King Williamstown Gazette, 17th July, 1858.

(3) King Williamstown Gazette, 7th August, 1858.

(4) King Williamstown Gazette, 5th March, 1859, and 11th Dec., 1858.

".... They are honest and most industrious, but they are not the class of settlers which that country required." (The context makes it clear that he here means financially) "They are good labourers, and were anxious from their first arrival to work, but the great majority of them could not get employment here. The male immigrants generally sought employment in the Cape Colony leaving their wives and families to support themselves as they could on their lands... Some of them, indeed many, are now doing very well and will no doubt be able eventually to pay their debts".⁽⁵⁾

Sir George Grey, writing to the Secretary of State, and basing his statements on reports received from Col. Maclean, was able to write:-

"Your Grace will be gratified to learn that the settlers thus introduced into British Kaffraria have proved a most valuable addition to the European population of this country, that they are most industrious and self-dependent, that they have striven manfully to earn their livelihood under circumstances which would have discouraged most immigrants, that their prospects are improving steadily, and that, with ^{the exception of} one or two cases of common assault, there have been no charges of crime recorded against them.....The Queen has no better or more grateful subjects than these Germans (have) become. No antipathy exists between them ^{selves} and the British race".⁽⁶⁾

All these contemporary statements combine to give a most favourable impression of the German immigrants. They have always been known for their honesty and thrift - and to-day their descendants still speak in awe of the almost legendary energy and capability of their grand-parents and great-grandparents.

Judging after a number of years, and basing his statements on personal knowledge as well as (presumably) documentary

(5) CA. GHRec. 23/73. Enclosure to Despatch 154 of 15th September, 1862. (Maclean to Wodehouse, 8th September, 1862).

(6) CA. GHRec. 23/28. Grey to Newcastle, 22nd March, 1861.

evidence, Dr. Theal described them in these words:-

"No settlers in any new country could have been better adapted to meet its needs than those sent from Northern Germany by Messrs. Godeffroy & Son. Frugal temperate, orderly, and industrious in the very highest degree, they set themselves to work with the utmost diligence on their little holdings. After a few months they consumed nothing they did not produce".⁽⁷⁾

No greater tribute has ever been paid to the Germans than was contained in the message sent by the late Mr. J. X. Merriman in his capacity as Prime Minister on the occasion of the German Jubilee, 1908. "I am deeply sensible," he said, "of the great part played by the German Immigrants in the development of the country. They have been the most industrious and enterprising colonists and the best of citizens".⁽⁸⁾ These words are a fitting conclusion to this section.

At first progress was slow. The little money some had brought with them from Germany, and intended for the purchase of agricultural implements, was mostly spent in keeping body and soul together. Many of the men were still away, and even when their lands had been assigned to them, for a time, they continued working elsewhere, some for cattle, the majority for money with which to buy what was needed for their farms. In the meanwhile, mostly with spade or hoe, the women and children, occasionally aided by the men, turned up the soil and planted potatoes, the famous "German Blues". As the years passed by and the men returned, they managed to buy a plough, perhaps a new one costing £7/10/-, or more frequently an old one at a sale. Next they bought an old horse for anything between £2/10/- and £7/10/-,⁽⁹⁾ and having these, brought all their ground under the plough.

In the first few years, the seasons were favourable and before long good crops were reaped, but then there came a slump. When

(7) Theal, *op cit.*, since 1795, III, 220. (1916 edition); 212 (1908 edition).
 (8) *Cape Mercury*, 8th July, 1908.
 (9) Statements of Immigrants.

they landed, potatoes were being sold at 12/- to 18/- per 100
(10) lbs., but with the big supply brought to the market by the
Germans and with the absence of any economical means of export
to other parts of South Africa, the price gradually dropped,
until it was as low as 18d. per bag. Often there was no sale
and the story has been told that the immigrants, rather than
carry the potatoes home again, emptied the bags on the Market
Square at Kingwilliamstown, only to be stopped by the Police.
Next time, they waited till they reached the Buffalo River on
the outskirts of the town and in it they deposited the fruit
(11) of their hard work and toil.

Though food was plentiful, money was scarce, and not
having the means to purchase what they required, they set to to
make it. Out of skins they made the harnesses for their horses,
out of the trees growing in the forests their wagons - the wheels
being nothing more than sections of a big tree bound with old
hoop iron. These block wagons were used for everything, for
carrying the produce to market, from trekking from their farms to
Church on Sundays, for carrying blushing brides, and for bearing
the remains of one of their own to his last resting place.

Thus they managed to exist - with food enough to live on,
but unable to make much progress and even less to repay the
debt to the Government. It was only with the opening up of the
diamond fields and the generally improved economic life of that
time, that they managed to obtain prices which made farming
remunerative to them and ^{that they} could get on their feet. Of those who
stuck to farming, a few became comparatively wealthy, but many who
did make money, did so by trading, mostly with the Native. The
majority became well-to-do on a limited scale, without growing
rich, with food in plenty, clothing in sufficiency, but with
little over for many of the things which the average South
African to-day regards as a necessity.

(10) Kingwilliamstown Gazette, 30th October, 1858, 19th February,
1859.

(11) Statements of Immigrants.

None of the Germans, who could still be interviewed expressed any regrets about having left Germany and migrated to South Africa. "Not 5% were worse off here in South Africa. All who wanted work were better off and I believe that no one would have gone back" is a statement of one of them. "I am not sorry that we came to South Africa", said another, "for after all, we are much freer here". In Germany, we were practically serfs - the subjects of our masters. It was always "Your most gracious lord, to command". The people had to stand with their hats in their hands in the hot sun, whenever their master spoke to them, and although it was hard for us during the first few years, I think that the majority found life easier here than in Germany"⁽¹²⁾.

Their life had been a hard one, but in spite of it all, ^{had} they found contentment here, and in many cases happiness. Many of them wished to be able to revisit the scenes of their childhood, but none, or very few, seriously contemplated leaving the land of their adoption, which they had made, and which had become home for them. For their children, Germany is but a name, for though proud of their origin, they cannot conceive that they are anything but South Africans, whose interests and hopes lie here in South Africa.

Many of the Germans were under the impression that they would have full civil rights and privileges here in South Africa without taking any further steps in the matter, though some took

(12) Statements of immigrants.

the precaution of having themselves naturalised.

Probably because of this impression, apparently prevalent among them, the Government thought it advisable to take steps to dispel them of any illusions they might foster, and accordingly published the "Germans Naturalisation Ordinance," No. 2 of 1865, ⁽¹³⁾ (British Kaffraria)." This ordinance laid down that any German Immigrants or members of the late British German Legion, upon making application, should be enabled to naturalise themselves without payment of the fee required by law. The conditions necessary were that they should have attained twenty-one years of age, should be of good character and should have lived in South Africa for five years before making the application. Insolvents, convicts and insanes were excluded. An oath of loyalty to Her Majesty the Queen was a necessary formality and the names had to be published in the Government Gazette. The last clause stipulated that the privileges granted by this ordinance would come to an end on the 31st March, 1866, though the Governor could extend the period.

A number of Germans took advantage of this ordinance, among them, it is interesting to note, (Colonel) Schernbrücker and Captain Wilhelm Carl von Linsingen.

It has always been the proud boast of the Germans that all the money owing to the Government had been repaid in full. Whether this is actually so could not be established, nor do the few statements which have been found allow a definite conclusion in this matter.

The audited account on 18th November, 1869, was as follows:-

108 (New Number)
 (13) GA. BKRec. 432 (Old Number). The British Kaffrarian
Gazette, 27th June, 1865 (English) and 4th July, 1865
 (German)

Contracts	£20,200	Debentures issued	£20,400
Passage of doctor	180	Amount paid to	
Teacher	30	Wm. Berg	85
Teacher's family	75		
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	£20,485		£20,485 (14)
	<hr/>		<hr/>

The debentures were due to be repaid to Messrs. Godeffroy & Son of Hamburg between 8th July, 1868 and 1st July, 1869, in amounts ranging between £1400 and £5400, (15)

In addition, by September, 1862, 10,655 acres of land had been allotted to the Immigrants at £1 per acre, making another £10,655. (16) The total debt of the German Immigrants was therefore a little over £31,000.

Owing to the reasons already discussed, the Germans, or most of them, found it impossible to pay within the stipulated time and had to ask for an extension of time. (17) Authority for this had already been granted in November, 1862, when the Duke of Newcastle wrote; "I leave to the discretion of the local authorities the question of the time and manner of applying for any repayment from the Immigrants of their passage money, and the price of their land; but I entirely concur in the Lieutenant-Governor's suggestion that no harsh measures should be resorted to against them, under any circumstances". (18) Armed with this authority, the British Kaffrarian Government, and later the Cape Colonial Government, did not press the Germans for repayment.

(19) Until the end of 1863 nothing had been repaid. From 1864 until 1891 the annual statements of Revenue and Expenditure (Cape Colony) contain an item, Reimbursements - Contribution of Immigrants towards Passage Money. In two or three cases, the word German precedes Immigrants and in one case Kaffrarian.

(14) CA. BKRec. 400, Auditor's Letter Book, p. 163 and ibid., 399 Auditor, 1855-65.
 (15) G. 25 - '65 (Cape), Return of Public Debt of Brit. Kaffraria.
 (16) CA. BKRec. 19, Surv.-Gen., 1860; CA. GHRec. 23/78. Enclosure to Despatch 154 of 13th September, 1862.
 (17) CA. BKRec. 41, Germ. Imm., 1858-65, Petitions of Germans, 1865.
 (18) CA. GHRec. 1/53, Newcastle to Governor, 8th November, 1862.
 (19) G. 59 - '64, p. 15. Note by Brownlow, Sec. and Auditor, 13th March, 1864.

In later years the reference to this item is merely Immigration. There is not much doubt that all these amounts refer to the GermanImmigrants of 1858. The amount of the reimbursements varied between £33/15/10 in 1864 and £2545/10/9 in 1872; the total for the whole period is £13,816/15/-⁽²⁰⁾.

Some of these amounts, it will be noted, refer to repayments to the Cape Colonial Government before the incorporation of British Kaffraria, though the debt as a whole was contracted by the Kaffrarian Government alone, and, of course, became the responsibility of the Cape Government after the Annexation. Possibly the amounts paid before and in 1866 refer to repayments by Germans who had settled in or had drifted into the Colony. This seems likely, as by the end of 1864, the financial statements of the Treasurer of British Kaffraria show that the bonds then totalled £20,337/10/-, which presumably means that £162/10/-⁽²¹⁾ had been paid by them; of this amount the £35/15/- (supra 1864) was apparently a part. It is therefore probable that this source does not yield a complete account of repayments, even for this period, and that the data from this source are also incomplete. It does, however, indicate that the debt was gradually being paid, although slowly, and that at least 60% of the passage money had been repaid.

After 1868, it appears, interest at the rate of 6% was charged. In many cases, new bonds were drawn up by which Immigrants acknowledged their indebtedness to the Government. Seventeen of these bonds, dated 1871-73, by which Immigrants promised to pay for their passage, land, house and the interest, have been found and have "Paid in full" written across them.⁽²²⁾

(20) Collated from the following Cape Blue Books:- G.21 - '65, G.9 - '66, G.20 - '67, G.22 - '68, G.20 - '69, G.22 - '70, G.17 - '71, G.19 - '72, G.19 - '73, G.24 - '74, G.36 - '75 and G.59 - '76; the Cape "Blue Books" 1876-1886; the Statistical Registers, 1887-1892, and 1893-1897.

(21) CA. BKRec. 398, Treasurer, 1855-66, Financial Statement, 1864.

(22) CA. E.L. Magistrate's Rec., Immigrants Agreements, 1877.

Then too, the Deputy Surveyor-General's records show that titles were eventually issued, some as late as 1833. Such titles could not have been obtained by the Germans unless all financial obligations had been discharged. (23)

One attempt was made in Parliament to find out how much the Germans had been repaid. In October, 1869, Messrs. T. Moodie and J. Moltenc asked that the papers showing how much the Germans Immigrants owed for their passage and their lands, how much had been repaid, and what it cost the Government to settle them in British Kaffraria be laid on the table. (24) These papers, it is significant, were never laid on the table, presumably because the Government found it impossible to furnish the facts. (25)

This suspicion is corroborated by a letter from the Magistrate of Kingwilliamstown, who on 19th June, 1863, replied to the Secretary of the Government (Kaffrarian); "There is no record in this office of the amount due by the Immigrants referred to in your letter, for land, neither is there any record here of the amounts due by them for their passage". (26) This is a surprising letter, as there is evidence sufficient to show that the contracts of the Germans had been duly audited and handed to the Chief Commissioner. (27).

The explanation that no statement could be made in 1869, and presumably thereafter, is not hard to find. Until 1866, British Kaffraria was administered separately; then it was annexed to the Colony and everything had to be re-organised and placed under different controlling bodies. Probably, if not

(23) CA. D.S.-G., BK. 49, German Immigrants, Register of Titles issued.

(24) Votes and Proceedings, 1869, House of Assembly, p.433.

(25) In the Index to Annexures, etc., 1854-97, no mention is made of these papers in the sessions, 1869, 1870, or 1871. One possible reference (to Crown Lands in 1869, Annexure 139) was looked up at the Houses of Parliament by kind permission of the Assistant Clerk of Parliamentary Records, but this does not refer to German Immigrants. Every possible avenue has been explored, but without success. Hence this assertion.

(26) CA. BKRec. 67, Res. Magistrate, K.W.T., 1862-64.

(27) See Reference (14) supra.

inevitably, some confusion resulted, so that a balance sheet showing how much of their debt the Germans had paid was possibly never made out. This is all the more likely, as, even before the incorporation of British Kaffraria, the one official who should have known the whereabouts of the contracts, etc., had to make inquiries about them.

(23)

More than this we have not been able to find out - the papers referring to the repayments have not yet been located in the Archives, nor a final balance sheet, that is, if there was such a document at all. All we have, then, is that at least £15,800 had been paid by 1892, that such bonds as have been located have paid in full written across them, that titles were eventually issued, and the popularly held belief and boast of the Germans that all their debts had been paid. *That this was the* *Altogether this would mean* If this is so, it means that the cost of settling the Immigrants was no more than the rations and the surveying of the lands, together with incidental administrative expenses - compared with other immigration schemes, infinitesimal!

(23) Note. As late as 1873 there was still correspondence between the Cape Governor and the Colonial Secretary of State for the Colonies about an unpaid debt. In 1871, after paying a further instalment of £500, the Cape still owed £331 on account of "emigration to British Kaffraria in 1857". No explanation is given in the later despatches as to whether this refers to the German Legion, or the German Immigrants, or the "Lady Kennaway" Irish girls. There is only this bare fact that the amount was still due. It is almost certain, however, that it refers to the "Lady Kennaway" scheme. To total amount due was £2831, payable in annual instalments of £500. In the estimates for 1865, e.g. there is mention of an amount of £500 to be paid to the Imperial Government on account of the "Lady Kennaway" scheme. Finally a balance of £331 was left, which was paid in 1873. It is surely reasonable to conclude that this was the final instalment, as £2500 + 331 = £2831 - the exact amount of this debt. (References: CA. GHRec. 23/31, p.169, Barkly to Sec. of State, 15th May, 1871; CA. GHRec. 1/65, No. 28; Ibid., 1/69, No. 57. Also the following Cape Blue Books:- G.5 - '65, p.20; G.25 - '65, and G.24 - '74, p.31.).

XX

SUBSIDIARY IMMIGRATION.

The beginning of general immigration to the Western Province of Cape Colony was an epilogue, though an important one, to the movement just studied. When the Imperial Government reduced the number of immigrants to 1600 statute adults, about 200 additional families had already been engaged. As it was impossible to leave these in Germany and send them back to their homes again, Messrs. Godeffroy & Son sent them out to South Africa on their own responsibility. When the ships arrived at Table Bay, merchants and farmers who required labourers, went on board ship and selected suitable people to work for them. Hence many, especially from the "Wandrahm" and the "Wilhelmsburg" stayed at the Cape, some in the employ of the big businesses, others as labourers and shepherds for the big farmers of the interior, and others again to work in the vine-yards, especially in Constantia Valley and at Worcester. A full list of these people is not extant, though mentioned among them were Henning from Sachs-Coburg-Gotha, Setzkorn, Hartung, Langmann from the Uckermark, Schroeder, and Elders from Hannover, and F. Rix, G. Rix and Trautmann.

Altogether some 150 families were placed in this way, while those not placed, forty-six statute adults, were sent to British Kaffraria, being bound to pay their passage money, etc. to William Berg.

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- (1) C.A.4- '60 (Cape), Immigration p.18.
 (2) Ludwig, Geschichte der St. Johannis-Gemeinde zu Wynberg bei Kapstadt, p.16.
 (3) C.A.4-'60 (Cape), Imm., p.18.

The next batch of Immigrants was apparently the direct result of this move. As will be remembered, at this time (1858-62) the Government was aiding persons to emigrate from the British Isles. ⁽⁴⁾ As could be expected, not in every case did the immigrants meet the requirements of their employers. The farmers of the Worcester district, for instance, complained that they were not getting the type they needed, and therefore submitted a petition stating their grievances. They said that they had expected that immigrants would be introduced also from Germany, Switzerland and France. They particularly wanted experts in viticulture and asked for state-aid in introducing such immigrants. Several farmers had already obtained German immigrants through the agency of William Berg, acting for Messrs. Godefrroy & Son of Hamburg; these were almost certainly those mentioned above. According to the Worcester farmers, these Germans gave full satisfaction. "(They) have proved to be a very contented, obedient and industrious class of people, and in every respect the very best immigrants for agricultural and stock-breeding purposes ever introduced into this colony; in fact the farmers cannot speak too highly of their good conduct, usefulness and desire to promote the interests of their employers". ⁽⁵⁾ As a result, Professor Demmler, who was in contact with the British Colonial Office, was instructed to pick a number of these ⁽⁶⁾ and send them to London. This he did, and they were transported to the Cape by the "Aurifera", which arrived here on the 19th May, 1859. ⁽⁷⁾ Altogether seventy-four souls were sent out, - ~~two~~ twenty-seven men, twenty-three women and twenty-four children. A little before their arrival, an advertisement appeared in the Government Gazette (8th April, 1859) stating that a number of carefully selected German vine-dressers would soon arrive and that any person wishing to engage them should make early application at the Immigration Office.

(4) Chapter IV.

(5) C.20 - '60 (Cape) and A.67 - '60 (Cape). (Not dated but printed 7th July, 1860)

(6) G.29 - '59 (Cape), Emigration from Europe, pp. 3-5.

(7) Government Gazette; first issue after 19th May, 1859.

These Germans came mostly from Württemberg, and apparently their only care was to see that they got to Hamburg. From there, without further expense, they were brought to the Cape. Once arrived here, they were under no obligation whatsoever, but on the other hand received no help, either in money or in land. They therefore had to find immediate employment, which they did easily and quickly. ⁽⁸⁾ Among them were such names as Müller, Klein, Doberer, Hauber and Frank. ⁽⁹⁾

However, the more the Germans came out, the greater was the demand for them, so that for some time there was still unofficial, though sanctioned, immigration from Germany to the Cape. It appears that a number of farmers came to William Berg with the request that he should bring out labourers for them. ⁽¹⁰⁾ They told him exactly what they wanted, whether vine-dressers, or farm-labourers, or tradesmen trained to a particular kind of work, and in addition, they specified whether ⁽¹¹⁾ they wanted single men or families.

Having informed the Governor of his plans, and having submitted the conditions under which he was introducing the ⁽¹²⁾ immigrants, William Berg communicated with Messrs. Godeffroy & Son who procured the type of men desired and sent them out to the Cape. Before their departure, each immigrant was required to sign a contract made on behalf of the farmer, whom he was to serve; by this he bound himself to migrate to the Cape Colony, and in addition, "The said Carl S. binds himself together with his wife W., aged 28, and his children B., aged four years, and W., aged one year, to take service after his arrival at Cape Town with the said D. Sm. as shepherd, and to render himself helpful with every other kind of work, for a period of two years, reckoned from the date following the day of arrival at ⁽¹³⁾ Cape Town."

(8) C.4 - '60 (Cape), p.36. Capt. Sampson's evidence before Select Committee.

(9) Ludwig *op cit.*, pp.16-17.

(10) A.17 - '59 (Cape) Communication from Wm. Berg.

(11) C.4 - '60 (Cape), Imm. p.10.

(12) A.17 - '59 (Cape). Com. from Wm. Berg.

(13) Ludwig, *op cit.*, p.18 (Translated).

In return, the immigrant was promised an annual wage of £24 for himself and his wife, and an allowance of 15/- a month for each child over 14 years, and ten shillings a month for each child between ten and fourteen years, and free board and lodging for himself and his family.

When these people arrived here, the farmer who had indentured them, had to pay their passage money at the rate of £12/10/- each, and half that for every child under ten years of age. This the immigrant promised to repay out of the pittance he earned. The wages were to be paid half-yearly, and a quarter of the passage money was to be retained by the farmer. If the immigrant found it impossible to repay within the stated time, he was to serve an additional period until the debt had been liquidated.

One other clause of the contract deserves comment. If for any reason the farmer who had indentured an immigrant, could not take him, he (the immigrant) was bound to accept service under another master assigned to him by William Berg.

Every precaution was taken to procure the right type. Before they were shipped, they had to produce certificates from a clergyman, a magistrate, and a doctor as to their character, nor were any accepted unless the certificates were approved of by Messrs. Godeffroy. ⁽¹⁴⁾ Most of those who came out were Lutherans, though a few were Catholics.

Details of the number who were brought out in this way are very scanty - the immigration was entirely private and thus only a few facts have come down to us.

Berg stated that by July, 1860, between 300 and 350 had been brought out. The first batch came out in the "Alfred" a small barge of 362 tons, which left Hamburg on the 6th May,

(14) C.4 - '60 (Cape), Immigration pp.12-13.

1859, and arrived at the Cape on the 2nd July. The majority of the passengers were to proceed to Australia, but sixteen were destined for the Cape. After this, a few immigrants were sent out to the Cape at regular intervals, at least till October, 1862. ⁽¹⁵⁾ Altogether, excluding those who came by the "Aurifera", thirteen batches, totalling 1262 souls, were sent out in nine different ships. In every case, again excepting the "Aurifera", William Berg was the agent, and it can safely be assumed that the majority of these immigrants came to South Africa under the contract described, though it is not at all improbable that some paid their own passages. Unfortunately very little, if anything at all, is known of these immigrants, as the arrangements were in the hands of a private individual whose papers are not available.

It appears that after being landed at Cape Town, the Germans were fetched by their masters and taken to their different destinations. Here for the period of two years they worked, bound by contract to their masters, but once their passage had been paid, they were free to do as they pleased. ⁽¹⁶⁾ As a rule, the Germans gave great satisfaction; farmers often got out additional families, often the relatives of those who were in their employ, or when the contract of the first had expired, others to take their places. Berg reported that there was dissatisfaction only in two cases, and in one case it was removed when the German was transferred to another master. ⁽¹⁷⁾ Sometimes it happened that the farmer ill-treated the Germans, but that was rare - more often he treated his Germans as members of his family, and in many cases strong family friendships date back to the time when German served Boer. ⁽¹⁸⁾

But if the Dutch farmers thought that they would be able to retain the Germans as servants for any length of time, they were

(15) See Appendix XIV.

(16) Ludewig, *op cit.*, pp.20-21.

(17) C.A - '60, Immigration, p.12.

(18) Ludewig, p.21.

mistaken. "One may be inclined to think them ungrateful" Pastor Ludewig says, "but the majority of the Germans were intent on procuring their freedom and independence" and underwent untold hardships and privations to procure it. ⁽¹⁹⁾ The result was that after two years service, nearly all became their own masters, and, held neither by good wages or good prospects, left the farms and trekked nearer to the Cape, or congregated at Worcester and Paarl. Even at Malmesbury a small German colony was formed, but did not retain its identity for long, as there were no Germanising influences, such as church and school. By 1911 nearly all had merged into the Afrikaans-speaking population.

When these Germans launched forth on their own, their hardships and trials only began. They were prepared to do anything as long as they could remain independent, and many stories were told of how they managed to make a living for themselves. The more fortunate hired small farms in the Constantia Valley or on the edge of the Cape Flats. Here they started growing vegetables which they sold on the market at Cape Town. Others did what their hand found to do - eager to work hard, but craving for independence, and loth to remain what they had been in Germany - servants. Such a spirit could not but meet with success!

*George's independence
referred to lines*

(19) Ludewig, p. 21.

PART IV.

SINGH 1862.

XXI

GERMAN IMMIGRANTS.

1877-78 and 1883

(1)

A number of years elapsed before the Government again embarked on an extensive scheme of immigration. The Surveyor-General's Report issued in 1876⁽¹⁾ showed that there was still a "considerable extent of unalienated Government land in various parts of the Colony, specially adapted for agricultural purposes and valuable as a means of attracting Immigration". Hence on 28th June, 1876, the House of Assembly adopted a motion⁽²⁾ expressing its opinion that such land should be surveyed, and that arrangements should be made to secure suitable immigrants from North Europe. In addition, the House defined generally what type of settler should be introduced. The Commissioner for Crown lands, Mr. John X. Merriman, thereupon entered into an agreement with William Berg to introduce a number of immigrants from Germany and Scandinavia, the contract being signed on the 17th August, 1876.⁽³⁾

As on former occasions, William Berg was to co-operate with Messrs. J. C. Godeffroy & Son of Hamburg, and was to conclude arrangements for introducing 1500 statute adults (two children under twelve to count as one individual). The Immigrants were to consist of Norwegian, Swedish and German peasants who had been employed in agricultural pursuits and were of respectable character. As a rule, only married couples with their

(1) G.30 - '76 Report of Surveyor-General for 1875.

(2) Votes and Proc. of Assembly, 1876, p.217.

(3) G.47 - '77 (Cape), pp.17 and 18.

children were to be accepted; young women could come out if under the care of the guardians, and a certain proportion of "single" men was allowed, though married couples were preferred. The age limit was fixed at fifty years. A doctor was to be carried on every ship having more than a hundred immigrants; if necessary, the immigrants were to be kept on board ship for a period of eight days after the arrival at the port of destination. In return, the contractor was to be paid £15 for every immigrant introduced to the Cape and approved of by the Immigration Board; for the passage of the doctor the sum of £30 was to be paid.

The immigrants were not required to refund the passage money, and on landing were free to accept engagements as they chose. If they wished, they were at liberty to take up Crown land (at least twenty acres for each adult) at the rate of ten shillings per acre, which was to be paid for in ten yearly instalments of one shilling per acre.

The Government was prepared to convey immigrants from the port of arrival to their locations; it would advance money for the purchase of seeds and agricultural implements and would charge no custom duties on personal luggage, and, in addition, it was prepared to issue rations. (4)

As soon as the contract had been drawn up, William Berg communicated with Messrs. Godeffroy & Son who, as on the former occasion, appointed sub-agents to collect the immigrants and forward them to Hamburg.

Altogether ten ships were chartered - the "La Rochelle", "Pedraza", "Wandrahm", "Godeffroy", "Caroline Behn", "Sophie", "Adele", "Papa", "Saturnas" and "Uranus", and they brought out about 1900 souls, as well as another thirty-five who paid their own passage. (5) A number of these were, of course, Scandinavians but undoubtedly the great majority were Germans. Unfortunately the

(4) M. Mag. Rec., Imm. Agreements, 1877.

(5) For details and references, see Appendix XV.

place of origin is not always stated, so that it is impossible to determine the exact proportion of Germans.

In practically every case, the arrival of a shipload of immigrants was advertised in the Government Gazette and persons wishing to secure the services of immigrants were asked to communicate directly with them or with the Immigration Board at Cape Town.

As it was found necessary to define the conditions under which immigrants could obtain land more precisely, the "Agricultural Immigrants Land Act", No. 10 of 1877, was passed and published just prior to the arrival of the first shipload of immigrants. The Act laid down that Agricultural Immigrants could obtain land on the following conditions. In the first instance, the land was to be leased for ten years during which an annual rent of 1/- per acre was to be paid; when however the tenth annual payment had been paid, the lessee "shall on payment of the survey expenses and other expenses of title, receive a grant of the land at a perpetual quitrent of one percent per annum upon ten years value thereof" provided that the minimum quitrent was 10/- per annum. (It must be noted that nothing was said in the contract between Merriman and Berg about the payment of quitrent; this, as will be seen subsequently, caused difficulties).

Another clause stipulated that the lessee should erect a dwelling house of the value of at least £20 on his land, and that after the expiration of the two first years, he should cultivate at least one acre of every ten acres leased.

The terms granted to these immigrants were extraordinarily favourable; the passage was paid for; they were free to accept whatever work they wished; they were granted every possible assistance, if they decided to go farming - and most important of

(6) Government Gazette, e.g. 10th May, 1878.

(7) Government Gazette, 10th August, 1877.

all, the price of the land was much lower than that paid by the immigrants of 1858.

From now on the history of these immigrants falls into two classes, the first being composed of those who proceeded to East London, the second of those who remained at the Cape.

(11)

The Settlers on the Border.

Of the ten vessels which brought out the immigrants, only three proceeded directly to East London, the "Caroline Behn", the "Sophie" and the "Adele", while the majority of the passengers of the "Papa", after being transhipped to the "Asiatic", were also sent to East London. In addition, sixteen immigrants of the "Wandrahm", elected to go to East London and were sent there. Altogether about 700 individuals proceeded to the Eastern Province. (8)

At East London, the immigrants were interviewed by an Immigration Board, consisting of the Magistrate, A. Orpen, Capt. E. Brabant and A. E. Murray, the Government-Surveyor. With the Contract before it, this Board examined the newcomers and determined whether the Conditions had been complied with or not. When there was an evident breach of the contract, the immigrants were rejected, as was done on the 27th August, 1877, when four of them, one a painter, another a carpenter, and two locksmiths were not accepted, as the contract stipulated that the immigrants should be agriculturalists. Occasionally the Board found it rather difficult to come to decisions, for sometimes men appeared before them, who though not actually agriculturalists, had been employed on farms and knew something about the work. As a rule, these were passed. (9)

(8) CA. EL. Mag. Rec., Imm. Bd., Minute Book, and Nominal List of Emig. 1877.

(9) CA. EL. Mag. Rec., Imm. Min. Bk., 27th August, 1877.

Another matter which the Board found necessary to report was that the proportion of single men introduced by the "Sophie" was too high, i.e. more than 10%, eighty-nine instead of sixty-seven. Hence it recommended that only the passages of the lower number should be paid. (10)

When the immigrants had been accepted, their names were entered into the "Nominal Roll of Immigrants". The Immigration Board seems to have been generally responsible for the reception of the immigrants, and as a preliminary measure, housed them, either in tents on the eastern side of the Pier, or when there were not enough tents, in ware-houses at the railway jetty. (11) (12) (13)

From the time of their arrival, the immigrants were supplied with rations for which, however, they had to pay, if not immediately, at least subsequently. The amount issued is illustrated by the following specimen of rations drawn by a family consisting of three statute adults, that is, probably the father, the mother and two children:

Meal	2 $\frac{3}{4}$ lbs. per day	Vegetables	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. per day.
Meat	2 $\frac{3}{4}$ lbs. per day	Coffee	3 oz. per day
Tea	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. per day	Sugar	6 oz. per day.
Salt	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. per day	Rice	$\frac{3}{4}$ lb. per day.

In addition, tins of milk were issued to them, apparently on no fixed scale, but as required.

When the immigrants did not procure work locally, but elected to take up land, rations were issued to them for a month at the following scale:

Meat	85 $\frac{1}{4}$ lb., none, if impracticable.		
Meal	85 $\frac{1}{4}$ lb.	Vegetables	8 lb. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ oz.
Coffee	5 lb. 13 oz.	Sugar	11 lb. 10 oz.
Tea	2 lb. 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ oz.		(14)

Although the Immigration Board was responsible for receiving and settling the immigrants, the greater part of the work was

(10) *Ibid.*, 7th November, 1877.

(11) This is fortunately in the Cape Archives. CA. EL. Mag. Rec., Nominal Lists of Emigrants, 1877.

(12) *Ibid.*, 22nd August, 1877.

(13) *Ibid.*, 27th June, 1878.

(14) CA. EL. Mag. Rec., Imm. Agreements, January, 1879.

*Either copy of
1877-1881 p. 284, 285 + 286*

done by Capt. von Linsingen, an ex-Legionary, then in the Railway Department, and his subordinates. He received the immigrants, supervised their encampment at East London, made himself responsible for seeing that they were rationed, and in every way did what he could to help his compatriots. His help was highly appreciated by the Immigration Board, especially as no member of the Board could speak German sufficiently well to do the work accomplished by him.

(15)

When the Germans arrived at East London, the last of the Kaffir Wars was in progress and made it difficult, if not impossible, to settle them at the locations intended for them. As some action had to be taken in the meanwhile, the men, or rather some of them, were approached and asked whether they had been soldiers in Germany. On their replying in the affirmative, they were promised 6/- a day as pay, if they enlisted. Numbers accepted and saw service against the Natives, while their families remained at the Immigration Depot at East London.

(16)

When the country was more settled, such Germans as applied for land, were settled, the majority at Kwelegha, Lilyfontein and Paardekraal, though a few went to Keiskama Hoek, Modderfontein, Komgha, Nahoon Mouth, Kei Road, Fort Murray, Amalinda, Cambridge, and Kingwilliamstown.

(17)

(15) CA. EL. Mag. Rec., Imm. Bd., Min. Book, 26th September, 1877.

(16) A.3 - '85 (Cape), E.L. Germ. Imm. p.10.

(17) CA. EL. Mag. Rec., Imm. Bd. Min. Book, 16th May, 21st July, 1879.

(18) CA. EL. Mag. Rec., Nominal List of Immigrants, 1877. The Surveyor-General's Reports for 1880, 1882, (G.53 - '81, G.65 - '83), give a great deal of information, such as lists of German Immigrants, ship, date of arrival, when and where located and details of land taken up.

The others preferred seeking work for themselves, many being successful in finding suitable employment. In accordance with its promise, the Government transported them and their families by oxwagon to the locations chosen by them. ⁽¹⁹⁾ Those who needed assistance, on signing a promissory note, were helped to procure seed and agricultural implements. Apparently the accounts were sent to the Magistrate at East London, for a large number, varying in amount between £3 and £9, and bearing dates between September, 1877, and January, 1879, are extant. ⁽²⁰⁾ The following is a typical example:

Colonial Government,

Dr. to Hry. Smith.

1 No. 75 Plough	£ 3	10	0
100 lb. Mealies		16	0
100 lb. Seed Potatoes		10	0
50 lb. Beans		8	0
1 spade		7	0
1 hatchet		5	0
	£ 5	16	0

21
 Though helped to this extent, the immigrants were ^{usually} not supplied with a plough and oxen, but as these were indispensable, they appealed to the Magistrate at East London to let them have one plough for every three or four families and two oxen for each family to enable them to plough their lands. The reason they assigned for this request was that they found it quite impossible to pay the price asked by the farmers already established in the neighbourhood of their locations, who charged 10/- (later 20/-) for ploughing a small plot of ground, ⁽²¹⁾ usually about one-third of an acre.

The result was that the Immigration Board allowed each immigrant to purchase two oxen, provided that Mr. Krohn, who had

(19) A.3 - 185 (Cape), E.L.Germ. Immigrants, p.10.

(20) CA. EL. Mag. Rec., Imm. Agreements, 1877.

(21) Ibid., 7th October, 1878.

(22)
 been appointed Superintendent of Immigrants approved. In addition, he was to find out how many ploughs were required and was to make arrangements for supplying the Immigrants with these.
 (23)

Altogether seventy-eight immigrants procured oxen and ploughs in this way; the initial outlay varied between £17 and £24 for which they signed promissory notes.
 (24)

The immigrants now had all that they required. "In a most praise-worthy way" they set to work, their land was brought under cultivation and everything seemed auspicious for the future.
 (25) Unfortunately, ^{for them} drought set in; their crops failed and the hard work done by them had been in vain. Many were in danger of actual starvation; the money advanced to them had all been spent on seed, ploughs, etc. and for food, and they had to appeal for help. In forwarding their request, Hughes, the Government official to whom they had turned in the first place, said, "The results of their labours, as shown by the present state of their gardens, is conclusive as to their having worked hard during the short time that they have been out".
 (26)

27
 Much more deplorable was the account given by the District surgeon, Dr. Hewitt Fayley. "I have within the last few days visited the German Immigrants in this district. The greater number of them appear to be in a very destitute condition. Their crops are not coming up owing to the long drought, and many of them have barely sufficient to keep body and soul together. Hard working, scantily clothed and half starved, they have been reduced to a worse condition than any I have ever seen, even in pauper practice in London..... Diseases brought on by want and exposure are rife among them, and unless immediate steps are taken for their relief, many will certainly succumb to their

(22) CA. EL. Mag. Rec., Imm. Bd. Min. Bk., 9th October, 1878.

(23) Ibid., 12th October, 1878.

(24) CA. EL. Mag. Rec., Imm. Agreements, *passim*.

(25) G.5 - '79 (Cape), Immigration; Ayliff's Report, p.4.

(26) CA. EL. Mag. Rec., Imm. Agreements, 26th September, 1878.

hard life". Consequently he recommended that rations be issued to them and, in some cases, even wine and condensed milk.
(27)

As these reports show, the position was such that the Government could do no other than help. The superintendent procured the necessary supplies and issued them in bulk to the immigrants, who in return gave promissory notes for them. Meat, meal, coffee and salt were the usual items issued, though in many cases compressed vegetables and lime juice had also to be served out to them, as scurvy had made its appearance.
(28)

This helped them for a time, but as there was little prospect that the Germans would be firmly established for some time to come, James Ayliff, the Magistrate at East London, considered it advisable for the able-bodied men to obtain temporary employment upon public works; their families could, if they wished, remain on their allotments, or could be brought to Fannure.

Fortunately at the time a considerable amount of railway construction work was in progress, and on this a number were employed at 4/6 a day. Apparently they were not satisfied with their pay and struck, but as the kind of work they were doing, could have been done more cheaply by Native labour, they were given little sympathy and were curtly informed that as they had refused work "at a very fair and reasonable rate, they could not expect any assistance from the Government". This warning proved effective and a number returned to their work. In the meanwhile, rain had fallen so that their prospects were brighter.
(29)

Though droughts were mainly responsible for retarding the progress of the settlers, another factor to which their difficulties can be attributed was the unsuitability of the land allotted to some of them. Practical experience soon demonstrated that some of the land was useless, with the result

(27) CA. M. Mag. Rec., Imm. Agreements, 5th November, 1876.

(28) Ibid., and G.5 - '79, p.4, Ayliff's Report.

(29) Ibid., pp.4-5, Ayliff's Report.

that exchanging of land was permitted at the recommendation of Surveyor Murray, who was a member of the Immigration Board. A number of such changes were made at Lillyfontein, Paardekraal and Kwelegha. (30)

The next report is dated 21st March, 1881, when the Superintendent of Immigrants in the East London District, now J. N. Hellier, reported that though the immigrants had been brought into ^{dire straits} great straits, owing to drought, matters had improved greatly since rain had fallen. "They are," he said, "in every way settlers, and the major part are very respectable, hard working and thrifty". (31)

For several years nothing is heard of the immigrants. In 1884, however, a number of them interviewed H. H. Mc Naughton, an Assistant Commissioner of Crown Lands and Public Works, and stated that they objected to having to pay survey expenses and quitrent on their lands. They pointed out that there was nothing in the conditions laid before them, when they emigrated, to warrant their being under any obligation to pay; consequently they refused to sign their leases and receive the title deeds to their lands. (32)

The interview proved fruitless, as McNaughton had to explain that the fault did not lie with the Government, which had not authorised the circulars laid before them, but with the immigration agents who had failed to acquaint them with the laws of South Africa referring to land ownership.

Their next step was to obtain legal advice and they consulted Mr. Thomas Upington (16th January, 1884). He made it

(30) CA. EL. Mag. Rec., Imm. Bd. Min. Bk., 16th May, 21st July, 1879.

(31) G.56 - '81 (Cape), p.8, Reports of Supt. of Imm. for 1880.

(32) A.12 - '84 (Cape) Report on Petition of Komgha and EL. Imm., App. C.

clear that under Act No. 10 of 1877, an annual quitrent had to be paid after the title had been granted, but he also pointed out that according to the conditions under which the Germans had come, they had been given to understand that, when once they had paid for the land, it was theirs without further obligation. (33)
The only remedy he could recommend was an appeal to Parliament.

This the Germans did; they explained the position and humbly asked that they should not be required to pay either quitrent or survey expenses, as they had taken up land under the full belief that neither would be required from them.

A select committee was appointed to inquire into the matter. It found that the conditions laid before the immigrants contained nothing to the effect that quitrent would be charged, but held that the Clause of the Resolution of Parliament giving immigrants the option of purchasing lands under the Agricultural Lands Act, made quitrent an obligation. The fault had been committed by the agents, and Parliament was not bound by this. (34)

A year later the matter was brought up again, probably on the advice of Captain Brabant, M.L.A. (a member of the Immigration Board, East London) who was appointed Chairman of a second Select Committee deputed to examine and report on the question.

After hearing the evidence, the Committee considered that though Mr. C. Godeffroy had failed in his duty in not having seen to it that the Germans were fully informed regarding the provisions of the Act, the Government was responsible for his failure "in equity, if not in law". Hence the Committee recommended that the Government should forego its claim to quitrent on these lands, provided that the purchase price was paid within twelve months of that date. (35)

(33) A.3 - '85, H.L. Germ. Imm., App. A.

(34) A.12 - '84, Report of Select Com. on Petition of Komgha, and East London Immigrants, p.iii.

(35) A.3 - '85, H.L. Germ. Imm. p.iii.

Parliament acted on the advice of the Committee, and settled the matter finally by the "Agricultural Immigrants Relief Act", No. 37 of 1885. ⁽³⁶⁾ By this Act, any immigrant who had made the contract with William Berg, or his agents, and had immigrated to Cape Colony, was not required to pay the quitrent and could receive his title deeds as soon as he had paid for the land.

This was the final act of the drama as far as the Government was concerned. The German immigrants of 1877-78 had been brought out to the Cape, and as many as had elected to do so, were settled on Crown Lands in the East London and Komgha districts. After their initial hardships, they prospered and established themselves as successful farmers.

(111)

The 1877-8 Immigrants in the Western Province.

As the continuance of the Kaffir War made it inadvisable for the Government to send any more Germans to the Eastern Cape, it was decided to settle those who were still to come in the Western Province.

Hence the "La Rochelle", "Pedraza", "Wandrahm", "Godeffroy", "Saturnas" and "Uranus", with a total of about 1040 passengers, did not proceed to East London, but landed them at Cape Town. A few of these subsequently proceeded eastward to join their compatriots at East London, Kingwilliamstown and Keiskama Hoek, but the majority remained in the vicinity of Cape Town.

In addition to those who were obliged to remain at the Cape, there were a number of others who preferred seeking

(36) Government Gazette, 11th August, 1885.

their fortunes there, as is shown by the difference between
 the ships lists and the names recorded by the East London
 Immigration Board. Well over a thousand individuals must
 therefore have disembarked at Cape Town - that is, including
 those who made the Cape but a stepping stone to trekking into
 the Interior and those, who it was alleged, subsequently pro-
 ceeded to Australia, and elsewhere.

Immigrants to the Western Province fall naturally into
 three groups:-

1. Those who obtained employment;
2. Those who settled on or near the Cape Flats;
3. Those who were settled a little further inland.

1. Of the immigrants who obtained employment in or near
 Cape Town little is known. That many did so is beyond doubt,
 All the immigrants who arrived by the "La Rochelle", altogether
 about 240 souls, found remunerative employment while still on
 board - it was not even necessary to provide lodgings for them.
 That many of them were more suited for trades than for agricul-
 ture has also been shown. No less an authority than the Rev.
 Dr. Hahn, the minister of the German Lutheran church at Cape
 Town, said that he did not think that one-tenth of those who
 came out before the 19th June, 1878, were agriculturalists.
 "The bulk of the immigrants who arrived for this port are either
 artisans, of whom some are making a fair living, or mercantile
 clerks or labourers in manufactories, and some are without any
 calling whatever". In fact, he found it necessary to use even
 stronger terms of condemnation than these. Any person, he
 maintained, was capable of seeing that a very large proportion
 of the immigrants were not such as the Resolution of Parliament
 required should be brought to South Africa. "It appears from
 all one sees and hears about it", he concluded "that the Hamburg
 agents and their friends looked upon this immigration only in the

(37) CA. Crown Lands, 1130.

(38) G.5 - '79, p.5. Report on Immigration; Risler's Report.

(39) G.1 - '78. Germ. Imm. p.1 and p.xxix.

light of a money-making affair, a kind of coolie importation job in which the only object was quantity, and not quality". (sic.)

Dr. Hahn seems to have thought that this non-agricultural element drifted away from the Cape. Many went to the diamond fields, some took part in the Kaffir Wars and others proceeded to Natal, Australia, and even China. Those who remained evidently found it worth their while to do so.

II. The most important section of the Immigrants was that which settled on the Cape Flats. Before 1879, twenty families had been settled on the Wynberg Flats and twenty-one families at Zwartdam, Claremont, also on the Flats. (40) In addition, there is every justification for the assumption that many others settled there subsequently, after first earning a little money to enable them to start with at least some capital in hand.

The majority of these were farmers or agricultural labourers from the Luneburg Heath and the Bokermarek, though a few had come from Saxony, the Rhinlands, etc. Hardly any had done well in Germany, which made them all the more eager to establish themselves as successful farmers here in South Africa. The Cape Flats, where they settled, had till then been considered practically useless, being little more than a wide, bare, sandy desert with nothing but coarse shrubs, reeds and a little grass.

Only a few Dutch farmers were living there then and they looked upon the immigrants as intruders, because they used to lease the ground for grazing cattle and cutting reeds for (41) thatch. Of agriculture as such there was no sign, while the roads were mere sand-tracks through the shrubs.

This, then, was the land pointed out to the Germans; there they could choose a place to settle and commence farming. The

(40) G.5 - '79 pp.9-11.

(41) G.5 - '79 (Cape), p.10. Report on Immigration. T. Riegler's Report.

prospects of making a living were hardly bright. The few farmers established there either pitied or ridiculed them. "In winter you'll drown", they said, "in summer die of thirst".⁽⁴²⁾ Nevertheless the immigrants were prepared to try. The Government aided them liberally, supplied them with tents and implements and appointed a capable man, Captain T. Risler, to assist them as much as was in his power.

Thus the immigrants set to work. They examined the ground more carefully than had ever been done before. When the hot dry period came and they found themselves in want of water, they began to search for it. They dug wells - and often only a few feet beneath the surface, nearly everywhere, they found pure water, wholesome for man and beast. Then they began to build houses. With mortar and stone, boards and poles, they knocked up simple structures which they covered with thatch. Then they commenced laying out gardens. They cleared the ground and planted their vegetables. At first the work was difficult and disappointing; their initial attempts failed lamentably. All their experience in Germany availed them nothing; here they had to begin learning afresh. Seasons, crops, conditions, soil, methods, - all were different. If they planted too soon, everything was swamped or washed away; if they planted too late, the ^{South-Easters} buried everything in drift-sand, or the hot sun scorched the on-coming crops.

Like most South African farmers, they had to contend with pests - insects, moles, even wild cats and snakes, and in addition, they had to put up with the hostility of the farmers already settled around them. These objected to the ground, which they had used for years, being given to the Germans, and continued grazing their cattle there. Sometimes they drove their stock into the gardens, which the Germans had as yet not been able to enclose. The men were often absent at work in town and

(42) Ludwig, op. cit., pp. 26-30.

when the women remonstrated, they were laughed at. If the Germans did succeed in taking the cattle to drive them to the pound, they were forcibly taken from them. (43)

However, they persevered and, as experience taught them how to set about their task, they gradually managed to establish themselves; they got to know what to plant; they learnt to gauge times and seasons; in winter they planted on the higher ground where there was no danger of their crops being swamped; then as summer approached, they went lower and lower until finally in mid-summer, they planted in the vleis themselves. Their labour, so long in vain, was now crowned with success; they raised crops of fruit and vegetables, which they had no difficulty in selling on the Cape Town market.

Not content with having got thus far, they looked round for a protection against the dreaded South Easters. They found an Australian tree, the Port Jackson, planted there a little previously to fix the sand, admirably adapted for their purposes. (44) They applied to the Government and were given seed. This they planted; the shrub grew rapidly and, after little more than a year, was high enough to serve as a screen to protect their crops against the ravages of the wind. (45)

Thus in a few years the Germans had changed everything; they had made a fruitful garden out of a wilderness - and in the meanwhile were well on the way to prosperity themselves.

The official report about them, when they had been less than two years on their allotments, proves the statements made above. Captain Risler, in writing to the Commissioner of Crown Lands (Mr. Merriman), said the following. "All of them have either built or are building substantial houses and have cultivated a considerable area..... I am confident that under the protection of the Government, these hard-working, sober and

(43) G.5 - '79 (Cape), p.10, Risler's Report.

(44) Theal, History, 1873-84. I, 25.

(45) Ludwig, op cit., pp.29-30.

industrious people would soon bring the Flats into a state of cultivation and productiveness of which hitherto it was believed not to be capable".⁽⁴⁶⁾

A few years later (1884), he was able to depict an equally satisfactory state of affairs. The Germans were continuing to do well for themselves. One man who had started with nothing six years before, was offered \$800 for his property, but refused to sell. All seemed contented and happy. "Before I left for Europe last year, I saw them all and asked whether they wished to go back to their own country", he said. "They laughed and said 'No, under no circumstances whatever'".⁽⁴⁷⁾

Thus while rendering a great service to their adopted country by utilising what had until then been practically waste land, and by demonstrating the possibility of close settlement, even under unfavourable circumstances, these German immigrants of 1877-78 had found happiness for themselves.

III. But not all the immigrants were settled on the Cape Flats. In the search for vacant and suitable land in the western Province (the war still made it inadvisable to settle the Germans on the Border), the Government hit upon large tracts of land in the Worcester district, which had once been outspans, but since the construction of the railway line, were no longer required for their original purpose. The result was that seven families were settled at De Doorns, eight at Jan du Toit's River (a tributary of the Hex River), and five on the Brede River.⁽⁴⁸⁾

These immediately set to work. With one exception, they all built substantial houses, laid out large gardens and a few even planted vineyards. Many of them were fortunate enough to reap remarkably good crops in their first year so that everything seemed auspicious for the future.⁽⁴⁹⁾

(46) G.5 - '79 (Cape), pp.10-11.

(47) A.12 - '84 (Cape), p.6.

(48) G.5 - '79, p.6.

(49) Ibid., Risler's Report.

Unfortunately, ^{for the Germans,} the farmers in the neighbourhood did not look upon their success with favour. They regarded them as interlopers, but this was a minor matter. Much more important were the practical considerations. Until the Germans were settled in these localities, the farmers had used the outspans for grazing their cattle. Now they were no longer able to do so. In addition there was a still more serious matter. Both at Hex River and at Jan du Toit's River, the Germans came into serious conflict over the question of water for irrigation purposes. An attempt to arrive at a compromise failed, and the farmers, deprived of their water, had recourse to law. The Supreme Court decided that the water should be divided into two equal shares. (50)

The farmers were not yet prepared to let matters rest there and petitioned the Legislative Council, where the matter was referred to a Select Committee for report. The Committee, after inspecting the sites personally, urged the removal of the immigrants as the only way to settle the question, and recommended that the land be sold in the open market and the proceeds used to compensate the Germans. (51)

In the course of the investigations undertaken by the Committee, much transpired regarding the progress of the Germans. They were certainly making progress, but not as rapidly as their initial success had augured. Often they were obliged to engage in some other form of labour to make ends meet. Nevertheless, the Germans "deserve credit for the way in which they have striven to meet difficulties, but, here too, we think it was a mistake to have located them at all". (52)

The Commissioner for Crown Lands, Mr. John X. Merriman, acted upon this resolution and in November, 1881, gave orders that Captain T. Risler should visit the Germans settled at these

(50) G.2 - '81, German Immigrant Locations, p.3; Das Capland, 2nd June, 1883, 16th June, 1883.

(51) G.2. - '81, Appendix A.

(52) Ibid., Appendix E.

two places, value their property, and persuade them to agree to their removal. This naturally took some time; Risler's valuation was considered too high and a re-valuation was asked for, which meant a still further delay.

In the meanwhile, the farmers were growing impatient and, unaware of the fact that the Government had already moved in the matter, again sent a memorial, objecting to many of the actions of the Germans and threatening to resort to the law courts, if the Germans were not removed. But the Germans petitioned against this; they stated that though they had gone through great hardships, they had overcome these, and perfectly happy and contented where they were, they were not prepared to sacrifice the result of several years of hard work and start afresh elsewhere.

Hence Merriman was obliged to inform the farmers that, with every wish to arrange matters, he was powerless to deprive these immigrants of the legal rights, which they were not prepared to relinquish.

One more attempt was made to meet the wishes of the disaffected farmers. The matter was again referred to a Committee of the Legislative Council, which, in May, 1882, recommended that another attempt should be made to move the German settlers at Jan du Toit's River and at the Hex River; they should be compensated from general revenue and the lands again become outspans. To facilitate matters, the Rev. Mr. Esselen was asked to act as mediator between the Government and the Germans. If any Germans then did leave, it was voluntarily.

(53) C.1 - '82. Correspondence re Settlement of German Immigrants in Division of Worcester, p.3.

(54) *Ibid.*, p.18.

(55) A.31 - '82. Petition of German Immigrants (Undated, Printed 1882).

(56) C.1 - '82, pp.18-19. // (This has the same number as

(57) C.1 - '82. (Correspondence re Settlement of German Immigrants in Division of Worcester,) p.3. Report of Select Committee on Location of German Immigrants in Division of Worcester.

(58) There are no further Cape Parliamentary papers on this subject. The Surveyor-General's reports for 1882 and 1883 (G.65 - '83, G.32 - '84) make no mention of this matter either.

(iv)

The 1883 Immigrants.

Like the Immigration of 1858, the Immigration of 1877-8 had its epilogue. Many families came out subsequently to join friends and relatives already established here, but most important of all was the coming of sixty-seven families, consisting of 317 individuals, who were personally chosen by Captain Aisler, when he visited Europe for that purpose. ⁽⁵⁹⁾ These came between 7th May, 1883, and 1st August, 1883, in the "Durban", "German", "Arab" and "Nubian" ⁽⁶⁰⁾ and were thus the first German immigrants brought out by the Government in steamers. The place of origin is nowhere stated, nor is the place of location given with the first batch (ex "Durban"); of all the others it is noted that they were settled on the Wynberg Flats, Durban Road, Manenberg and on the Eerste River. It seems therefore that the success of the first Germans settled on the Flats was so marked that the Government was induced to bring out an additional number of families on the same terms and under similar conditions, and insisted that these too should be Germans.

In settling them, the Government seems to have followed the same principles as five years before; only in one respect did the procedure differ. Whereas the earlier immigrants had been allowed to choose their land, the latter had to draw lots for ground at the location they had chosen.

One other point is worth while noting. This was the first big German immigration scheme (the Legion excepted) not con-

(59) CA. Public Works (unsorted documents). An undated prospectus in German gives the conditions, etc. They were given a free passage, had to be passed by the Emigration Commissioner and were generally subject to the provisions of Act 37 of 1882.

(60) CA. Crown Lands, 1139.

2
 ducted by the Gerg - Godeffroy partnership! The way in which these firms had conducted the first immigration of 1858 had aroused no criticism; everybody was satisfied that the immigrants had been judiciously and well chosen. The second immigration of 1877-78 conducted by the Berg - Godeffroy partnership, however, left much to be desired, and merited strong censure by a Select Committee of the Legislative Council; a large proportion of the immigrants were not agriculturalists, as had been stipulated, and many of the sites on which the Germans had been located were unsuitable. (61) Hence the Government made the change and entrusted the matter to one of its own agents, Captain Risler, himself a German.

The immigrants joined their fellow countrymen on the Flats - and along with them struggled to convert that territory into a productive part of South Africa; in fact, what has been said about the immigrants already settled there, applies with equal force to those who came out four or five years later.

(17)

Later Immigrants.

This was, however, not yet the end. Since then there has been a steady flow of Germans to South Africa, interrupted only by the two Great Wars. According to the 1926 Census, there were no fewer than 42,694 people who gave their parentage as German; in 1941, there were 18,792 who were born in Germany, while in 1946 there were 14,976 who gave German as their home language. (62) These figures, for the Union, not South-West Africa, be it noted, are remarkable, and serve only to prove that the Germans who came out with Jan van Riebeeck were but the forerunners, and that the 1857-58 immigrations gave an impetus which has not yet lost its force.

(61) G.L. - '78, p. v. Report of Select Committee on Settlement of German Immigrants.

(62) See Appendix XVI, B.

XXII

CHURCHES AND SCHOOLS.

Practically all the Germans who came out, either with the Legion or the Immigrants, were Lutherans, though among them there were a few Baptists and Roman Catholics, as well as a few (1) Jews. The two latter joined their confreres and thus have no history of their own. The establishment and growth of the Lutherans and Baptists, however, is sufficiently important to warrant a brief survey.

Lutherans.

As has already been seen, Lutheran activity in British Kaffraria commenced long before the arrival of the Legion. As early as 1837, a mission station was built by the Rev. L. Döhne (2) at Bethel, near what is now Stutterheim. In the next few years he was joined by the Revs. C. W. Posselt and L. Liefeldt, as well as by Robert Lange and Johann Schmidt, and in 1845 by Rev. (later Dr.) A. Kropf. After the War of the Axe Döhne left for Natal, Liefeldt founded a new station Petersburg, also in British Kaffraria, and a new arrival, the Rev. W. Rein worked at a third station, Wartburg. These were the only men working in British Kaffraria when the Legion arrived.

In the Legion there were two chaplains, the Revs. H. Oppermann and A. Wilmans*, who attended to the spiritual wants of the soldiers. As the stations which they had to serve were too scattered, the Government approached Kropf and asked him to serve those of the Legion ~~station~~ in the vicinity of his station. This he did with success until 31st March, 1860. (3)

(1) SA. GR. Rec., SBC. BOL., 39/1, p. 271.

(2) Wagemann, Berliner Mission in Kafferlande, pp. 15 et passim.

(3) Wagemann, op. cit., p. 193; Fehsenfeld, op. cit., Gemeindeblatt, 5th April, 1910, p. 64.

* Oppermann returned to Germany after the breaking up of the settlement and Wilmans became a teacher at Graaff-Reinet. (Fehsenfeld, op. cit., Gemeindeblatt, 8th March, 1910, p. 38.)

These three chaplains seem to have visited all the stations of the Legion, usually holding their services in tents or in private houses, though at East London the Legionaries had built a small church of wattle and daub. ⁽⁴⁾ At Stutterheim services were held at the church of the mission station.

With the arrival of the Immigrants, the need for more men to attend to the spiritual welfare of the Germans became acute. According to the Regulations, Messrs. Godeffroy were to bring out a teacher or clergyman with every ship, but as far as can be discovered, they brought out only one teacher and his family. In the meanwhile, the chaplains and the missionaries served the Germans as best they could, but undoubtedly there was more work than they could cope with, so that some of the places suffered. At Keiskama Hoek the need seems to have been felt the earliest, for in 1861 a request was made for money to help them import a clergyman. ⁽⁵⁾ Apparently this petition was fruitless, and they had to be content with the occasional visits of the chaplains and missionaries.

However the Germans were not content to sit still, and although they had no ministers as yet and little prospect of getting any, they began to build churches at practically each of the locations. The first church was built at Stutterheim, 1861-2, another at Kingwilliamstown in 1862, and consecrated by the Missionary Kropf in 1864. Other places at which churches were built were Keiskama Hoek, Potsdam (1865), Braunschweig (1866-7), Berlin (1869), Frankfurt (1870), Bodiam (1872) and East London. ⁽⁶⁾ Two of these churches had been consecrated by the Bishop of Grahamstown. One of these was at Keiskama Hoek, where the Germans were attended ^{to} by an ex-Legionary, Spring, who had been ordained lay-reader by the Bishop. Subsequently it was found that the documents vested

(4) Festschrift, p.19.

(5) CA. BRRec. 41, Germ. Imm., Petition, 11th September, 1861.

(6) Festschrift, pp.17-20.

the property in the Anglican Church, even though the church had been built by the Germans for themselves and under the impression that it would be their property when they could have their own minister. All efforts to obtain possession, however, failed, and thus the Germans were perforce obliged to build another church. This they did in 1879. The second church was at Stutterheim where the church built in 1861-2 reverted to the Anglican Church; here another church was erected in 1865 and rebuilt in 1892-3.

In the meantime, more men had come out, though the missionaries continued to bear the double burden of pastoral and missionary work. The first permanent man was the Rev. D. H. C. Clüver who had come to South Africa in June, 1859, as organist and teacher in Cape Town. (7) He was inducted into the ministry of the Lutheran church at Kingwilliamstown in 1864. Pastor von der Huwe, who had come from Natal, remained at East London only for a few years before returning to Germany. Subsequently a number of other men came out, several at first as missionaries, to devote themselves to the work of preaching to the Germans. Here is a list of the earlier men with the date of arrival and the place at which each first settled.

1837 L. Böhne	Bethel
1840 L. Liefeldt	Bethel, later Petersburg.
1845 A. Kropf	Bethel, later Stutterheim.
1855 W. Rein	Wartburg.
1860 von der Huwe	East London
1864 D. H. C. Clüver	Kingwilliamstown.
1864 Nauhaus	Petersburg (Bodian and Bell).
1864 H. Anders	Wartburg.
1865 W. Boste	Stutterheim.
1867 A. Johl	Wartburg.
1872 H. Müller	East London.
1873 Krause	Etembeni.
1879 H. Baumgarten	East London (later Berlin).
1879 F. C. Böhme	Frankfort.
1880 P. Anders	Braunschweig.
1883 M. Zahn	Kingwilliamstown (2nd Church).
1883 P. Fuchs	Keiskama Hoek.
1883 E. Königk	Etembeni, (later Macleantown).
1893 Müller	Kingwilliamstown.
1900 P. G. Wagener	Kingwilliamstown.
1903 J. Spanuth	Berlin.
1908 J. Fehsenfeld	Stutterheim.

(7) Hoge. Gesk. van die Luth. Kerk., p.192.

Others followed, but these may be regarded as the pioneers. Subsequently, in 1895, the German Lutheran Synod of South Africa was constituted and comprised the Kaffrarian and the Western Province churches, as well as those at Bloemfontein and Port Elizabeth, but did not include the churches of the Orange Free State, Natal and the Transvaal, which remained under the control of their respective missionary societies.

Baptists.

The only other community of note among the Germans is the Baptist, a few of whom came out with the immigrants. Their natural leader was Carsten Langheim, an able layman, who commenced preaching in 1861, perhaps even earlier. He was ordained by the Rev. Alexander Hay, of Grahamstown, in August, 1861, and served a small Baptist Church, which had been founded at Frankfort a few months before. (8)

For several years the Baptists struggled on, until in 1867, they were in a position to ask Pastor Oncken of Hamburg, one of the founders of the Baptist movement in Germany, to send a minister out to South Africa. He chose the Rev. Hugo Gutsche, who with his wife arrived in December, 1861, and became one of the most notable men of British Kaffraria and was a familiar figure wherever he went. At first he served the whole of the district in which the Germans were located and trekked from place to place on horse-back; his wife, an equally notable figure, devoted herself whole-heartedly to raising the people socially as well as spiritually. Pastor Gutsche lived to a ripe old age and died in 1927, mourned alike by Germans and English.

By 1874 the membership had grown sufficiently to warrant an additional minister. The Rev. F. Riener, coming from America, settled at Berlin, from where he served a large area.

(8) Festschrift, p.21; Batts, Hist. of Baptists in S.A. Chap. III

Subsequently he moved to East London, but returned to America in 1901, though he left his children behind him in South Africa. After his retirement, he returned to South Africa.

Under these two men the work spread rapidly; stations were established in all the settlements and churches built, and it became necessary to procure more men. One of the earliest was the Rev. Martin Schmidt who was the first to settle as a permanent minister at Stutterheim and who for a time took charge of the work at Keiskama Hoek. He returned to Germany but his widow and family came back to South Africa. J. Niebuhr served the Baptists many years at Kingwilliamstown, Stutterheim and in Rhodesia. The Rev. P. Schnell was the first Baptist minister to settle at Keiskama Hoek, where an independent church was constituted in 1903. At East London, the Rev. Dr. Hugo Gutsche, Jun. took charge of one of the two German Baptist churches, but subsequently devoted himself exclusively to educational work and later became a prominent Inspector of Schools in the Transvaal and co-editor of the well-known "F.A.K-Sangbundel" of Afrikaans songs. The Rev. P. Rode carried on the work at East London for more than twenty-five years.

Educational Activities.

The first reference to education is found as early as September, 1859, when it was noted that voluntary monthly contributions for education were being received at eight settlements, inter alia, at Keiskama Hoek, Frankfurt, Stutterheim, and Peddie; the amounts varied between 4/8d. and £1/14/6. To further this work, General Jackson authorised officers in command of stations to set free soldiers for this work and to allow them to use suitable government buildings as schoolrooms; the soldiers would receive full pay and rations, as well as the fees collected, and were to be assisted by the chaplains in drawing up rules and regulations. It is likely

(9) CA. BRrec. 42, Mills to Kent Murray, 30th September, 1859.

that some of the early schools mentioned below were commenced in this way.

According to the Regulations, Messrs. Godeffroy & Son were to bring out a number of preachers and teachers. Only one man, however, was recorded as being a teacher, namely August Eduard Chomse, who came out in the "Wilhelmsburg", but nowhere is his name recorded as having continued with educational work.

Nevertheless, as soon as the Germans were fairly settled, efforts were made to provide education for the children, usually under the auspices of the Lutheran Church, though the State seems to have aided them financially. Thus in April, 1866, there were German schools at Stutterheim, (25), Izeli (26), Frankfort (17), Kingwilliamstown (40), Potsdam (24), and Berlin (11), the figures denoting the number of children at each. ⁽¹⁰⁾

A few more details can be given. At Potsdam a German school was commenced in 1860 by Julius von Kürsinger, a Cadet of the Legion. In 1865 it was taken over by the state, but von Kürsinger was retained. ⁽¹¹⁾

At Braunschweig, Korte was the teacher in the early years, and at Bodiam, W. Appel, both of them Germans working under the auspices of the Lutheran Church. At Frankfort the work of teaching was for some time in the hands of a Legionary, named Wiegel; but in 1879, Pastor Böhnke took charge of the school and continued to take an active interest until 1903.

At Berlin there had been a German School in the early days, but it evidently died a natural death to be resuscitated in 1886 by the Rev. P. Baumgarten, under whom it grew rapidly. It remained independent until the year 1904 when it was amalgamated with the state school. At Keiskama Hoek a school was commenced by the wife of the Legionary Spring; later it passed to the

(10) CA. BKRec. 109, Govt. Notices. Return furnished by Clüver.

(11) Festschrift, p.17 et seq.

control of the Lutheran church. In 1903 a new building was erected, but a few years later the German school merged into the public school. At Kingwilliamstown a Lutheran church school was founded by Pastor Clüver in 1864, and in 1878 a Baptist school was also founded; this existed only until 1884. In the following year a bigger, ^{school} apparently state-aided school was opened, the "Queen Street School." Here the teaching was done by the clergymen for the first few years, until a well-known German school-master, W. Jäger took charge. In 1888 the Government assumed responsibility for the school, but retained the teachers then on the staff. The Lutheran school seems to have existed along with this school until 1902, when the two institutions were amalgamated. (12)

No references to early schools at East London has been found, though eventually a strong German school flourished here to be closed only during the Great War, 1914-18. This began with a Kindergarten class in 1900 and grew so rapidly that in 1903 a school could be built, and in 1904 the Rev. Dr. Hugo Gutsche could be appointed Director. In 1908 there were five teachers on the staff of this school. (13)

(12) Ibid., p.23.

(13) Ibid., p.23.

XXIIICONCLUSION AND CONCLUSIONS.

It will be remembered that when Sir George Grey assumed the Governorship of Cape Colony, British rule had, for the first time, been effectively established over the 'hostile' Xhosas in contra-distinction to the 'friendly' Fingoes. Two possible courses then presented themselves to the Government; it could act in accordance with Cathcart's earlier views and limit itself to military control and allow no 'colonisation', or it could apply Earl Grey's policy and establish White settlements in among the Natives. The former was an earlier version of S e g r e g a t i o n or 'A p a r t h e i d', and at that time meant excluding European settlers from Native territories and retaining all land for the Natives, except the limited extent required for military and official purposes; the latter meant a policy of intermixing Europeans and Natives territorially and the introduction of European farmers, as well as soldiers, traders and officials.

For several reasons, chiefly the economical pacification of the frontier and the gradual civilisation of the 'Kaffirs', Grey decided on the latter alternative. For the purpose of this study, it is significant that it was the Germans who were used to implement the policy and initiate the experiment. It was the German Legion which for the first time formed a series of strategically placed agricultural settlements i n a m o n g Native locations, and by coincidence, at the time of the crisis of 1857. Whether the failure of the military settlement would have led to a revision of policy cannot be known; the success of the settlement of the Immigrants of 1858 who followed and largely replaced them,

made reconsideration of policy unnecessary. At least in accordance with the views of those responsible for British Kaffraria, large scale settlements in among the Natives had been established, and the new policy had been launched successfully. Thus, like pieces in the hands of a master player, the Germans unwittingly, but satisfactorily carried out a policy anticipated by Sir Benjamin D'Urban, advocated by Earl Grey, at first opposed and then tentatively suggested by Sir George Cathcart, and finally, boldly adopted by Sir George Grey.

Thus British Kaffraria in fact became, to use Professor Walker's phrase, "a chequer board of black and white". Irrevocably the Cape, if not South Africa as a whole, was committed, by the very success of this experiment, to a policy of interspersing Black and White and of no fixed territorial line of demarcation between them.

That this policy tended to promote peace on the 'frontier' seems likely, though to what extent the settlement of the Germans, and with them other Europeans, in British Kaffraria, effected this cannot be gauged. For a period of about 25 years the eastern Cape enjoyed peace and tranquillity. It was not until 1877 that there was again war, but in the meanwhile, the National Suicide of 1857 had weakened the Xhosas so effectively that concerted action against the Europeans was impossible. But whether it was this tragedy, or whether it was the new policy, or both working together, cannot be known; it is merely a matter for interesting speculation.

Grey's second main motive was the civilisation of the Xhosas. When he supplemented his more direct methods of civilising the Natives, such as the erection of schools and hospitals for them, with the move to establish European settlements in among them, he initiated, or better stimulated and accelerated, a process which led to developments which

even he could hardly have foreseen. Inevitably, the area of land available for the Natives was limited, and this in consequence, led to their impoverishment, their employment in industries, their partial urbanisation and the weakening of their tribal sanctions and organisation. Of course, it seems most unlikely that this process would not have taken place, if the Fish or the Keiskama River had remained the permanent boundary between Black and White. Recurring drought, soil erosion, cattle diseases, as well as the lure of the cities and the attractiveness of European goods, would have changed the way of life of the Bantu in any case. This has taken place in the more or less reserved Transkei no less than in the 'checker board' of the Ciskei, and is inevitable where there is contact, however limited, between a primitive and an industrialised people. Nevertheless, in the Ciskei the German settlers again were unwittingly the agents who initiated a process whose repercussions are major political and economic issues today.

During the course of this survey, five different methods adopted in settling Germans in South Africa have been described and analysed. These are:-

- a. Private immigration (including missionaries);
- b. Military settlement;
- c. Immigration organised by the State with a minimum of assistance;
- d. Introduction of immigrants as a commercial venture;
- e. State-aided immigration.

a. Private immigration was perhaps that which has given South Africa its best citizens of German origin. The immigrants were mostly men who brought out some special asset in the way of capital or brains, and on the whole, they were of a better class than those who came out in large numbers. The success of these men was due to their individual qualities; few seem to have failed in the sphere of labour chosen by them.

b. As a system, military settlement can hardly be said to have been successful. The purpose for which the British German Legion was introduced was certainly not fulfilled in so far as it was the intention to establish a strong semi-agricultural community in British Kaffraria, though probably their introduction expedited the solution of the Border problem. Indubitably, this was the most expensive of all schemes, and probably the most disappointing. Certainly a number of excellent men were brought out - the subsequent career of many proves this, but on the whole, it must be conceded that, as a class, the Legionaries were not the type needed for the specific purpose of pioneer agricultural settlements.

c. Next there is an immigration scheme organised by the state, but with the minimum assistance to immigrants. In this the financial help afforded them was negligible, when compared with some of the other great immigration schemes, notably the introduction of the 1820 Settlers and the settlement of the British German Legion. The only expenditure for which the state made itself liable was the cost of surveying the land, transport from the port of landing to the locations and administration. Rations were an afterthought, the intention being that the immigrants should themselves defray the cost of these. Nevertheless, the part played by the state may neither be ignored or belittled. It organised the scheme, it accepted the entire responsibility, it advanced the passage money in debentures which were redeemed largely, if not entirely, by the repayments made by the immigrants. In addition, the Government also gave credit for the land, but at an excessively high price! Of all schemes, this was the most economical, and at the same time, the most successful. More than any other, it fulfilled its purpose, namely the settlement of a strong agricultural community composed of families. As a class, undoubtedly, these settlers were of the right stamp, not only in character, but also in ability, not in ability to take

the lead in political, intellectual, or social spheres, but to develop a hitherto undeveloped territory, and thus lay the foundation for the future prosperity of British Kaffraria.

d. Of the next scheme, undertaken by the Godeffroy-Berg partnership, little can be said. According to the available evidence, chiefly Berg's own statements, and thus inclined to be prejudiced, it seems to have been successful in accomplishing its primary purpose, namely the introduction of a number of capable labourers, mostly agricultural; but of the subsequent success or failure of these immigrants practically nothing is known. The little that is known, indicates that they managed to establish themselves as comparatively prosperous small agriculturalists in the Western Province.

In essence, this scheme is akin to that which preceded it; the immigrant was introduced on a system of deferred payment for his passage. There is, however, the difference that no facilities were granted him to acquire land, and that little inducement was held out ^{to him} to establish himself as an independent farmer. Such a scheme can be successful only at times when there is no unemployment. Today, except in cases, where the object is to obtain highly qualified men for a specific type of work, it can hardly be contemplated.

e. The scheme for the state-aided introduction of agriculturalists was only partially successful, two factors having militated against the absolute success of this undertaking. The first was the outbreak of hostilities in the eastern Cape. This made it necessary for the Government to locate immigrants on inferior soil, or to encourage them to seek some other form of employment. The first does not seem to have been very detrimental to their success; the second meant that numbers of men had to engage in a form of employment for which many had not been trained. Many of these may have accomplished useful work, but they did

not fulfil the original purpose for which they had been introduced, namely to utilise vacant crown lands.

The second factor which prevented the absolute success of this scheme was that the immigrants had not been selected as carefully as they should have been. The result was that a number of persons were introduced who were not trained for the occupation intended for them. Despite this, however, the scheme of aiding immigrants met with a large measure of success. The majority were what was needed, namely agriculturalists who eagerly grasped at the opportunities offered them and established themselves as thriving farmers and gardeners, who did what was required and anticipated of them.

In contrast to the earlier migration schemes, more liberal conditions were offered. The land was only half as expensive, and more important still, they were not required to repay the passage money. As a further encouragement, the Government aided them with advice and advances of seed, implements, etc. These were however but aids; the real cause of their success lay in their inherent ability to struggle with difficulties and in their previous training, which enabled them to find ways and means of surmounting all obstacles to progress.

Certain facts or principles regarding immigration therefore become obvious, so that it only remains to draw attention to these before concluding this section.

The first is that, if an immigration scheme is to be successful, it must be directed to a specific, well defined purpose and that the immigrant must be chosen accordingly. Each of the schemes studied proves this. The British German Legion was brought to this country for a double purpose. As soldiers the Legionaries were to form a barrier against the Natives; as settlers they were to develop the resources of British Kaffraria. As farmers

they were failures; as soldiers they fulfilled their function, even although they were not called upon to do any actual fighting.

The immigrants of 1858 and 1877 were brought out to be farmers; those who had been agriculturalists in Germany proved to be successful farmers in South Africa. The only section which did fail as farmers comprised individuals who had been badly selected, who were, in other words, not adapted for agriculture and hence never became farmers in South Africa.

The second principle demonstrated by this study is that the procuring of the correct type of settler is of greater importance than government aid. The comparison of the 1858 with the 1877 immigrants proves this contention. The earlier settlers received practically no assistance, the land was expensive, they were burdened with the debt of their passages, and the help extended to them after landing was negligible. Nevertheless, they were as successful as their countrymen who came out twenty years later, their passages paid, their interests consulted and help given them in every way. Of course, this does not imply that aid is useless and that the state should not help immigrants to establish themselves, but it shows that these are of secondary importance, if the type of settler is the correct one.

The third consideration is that it is not necessary for the immigrants to have first hand knowledge of the actual conditions under which they will have to work. All that seems to matter is that the settlers should be qualified for the work they will have to do, or, to express this in terms of psychology, that the type of work at the new settlements will be sufficiently akin to previous experience to make transfer of training possible.

As a positive example, reference can be made to the Germans who were settled on the Cape Flats. There they found everything different from what they had been accustomed to in Germany; the soil, the climate, the crops, the seasons - all were different, but because they had been brought up as farmers and trained to agricultural work, they quickly adapted themselves to changed conditions and prospered in the work they undertook.

As a negative example, the Legionaries also illustrate this principle. They were soldiers, but were sent to the Cape to be farmers, so that it is no surprise to find them unsuitable for agriculture. In so far as they were to perform duties for which they had been trained, they fulfilled their purpose; when called upon to perform functions unfamiliar and strange to them, they failed.

Lastly, the experiment of establishing the Legion at the Cape demonstrated once again that military settlement, unless specifically directed to purely military purposes, is not a satisfactory method of colonisation. At first, while the military functions predominate, it is apparently successful, but when the immediate need for such a settlement no longer exists, the scheme fails, as it did in New Zealand in the early 'Fifties ⁽¹⁾ and in South Africa a few years later. The only justification for the enormous expense of such schemes is that they make possible and facilitate the establishment of a civil population in the districts protected by the military settlers.

As was noted in the first chapter, during the rule of the Dutch East India Company and during the first half of the Nineteenth Century, the Germans who had migrated to this

(1) J.S. Marais, Colonisation of New Zealand, p.163

country merged into the South African people, the majority into the Dutch section, a few into the English section. Nor could it have been otherwise; there was no migration en masse, they came singly, usually without families, and except in Cape Town, were isolated strangers among a friendly, partly akin people. Hence they were easily absorbed, and with their absorption, the German language, German customs and German traditions disappeared; only the German names, with a significant proportion of German blood, remained.

The arrival of the German Legion promised to change this. They were settled in comparatively uninhabited territory in compact groups and in sufficient numbers to make possible the German way of life. But, as has been noted, many of the Legionaries came out to the Cape accompanied by English wives; the majority were unmarried and few only, very few, brought German wives to South Africa. The settlement as such failed and the Legionaries dispersed, to settle in almost every part of South Africa, most of them - and this is important, away from the strong German settlements in British Kaffraria. The majority, it is safe to assume, married eventually, their wives being taken from one of the three races. Some of those who did remain in British Kaffraria did marry the daughters of German Immigrants and brought up their children as Germans. Those who settled in English speaking centres, married English girls and became English speaking South Africans, while those who trekked to the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, almost without exception, became Afrikaans speaking South Africans.

Thus it was not before the advent of the Immigrants of 1858 themselves that Germanism was really given a chance of establishing itself. Then, for the first time, was there a migration of German families, as distinct from individuals. Then they settled together, so that German churches could be erected and German schools founded. The settlement was now sufficiently compact to make it possible for the children of the immigrants to find wives or husbands of their own

blood and tongue. The result of all this has been that the German population was able to retain its language, its identity and its churches for the greater part of a century. Even today, the language spoken by most of the older people is a form of German, the churches they attend are 'German' churches, while in race they are still largely pure German.

This is, however, not yet the end. The process of fusion begun in the days of van Riebeeck, continued throughout the XIX century, and only partially interrupted in two localities, is today as strong as ever. True, the majority of the Germans in what was British Kaffraria still marry Germans, but intermarriage is becoming more and more frequent. (2) Those who have migrated to other parts of South Africa almost invariably intermarry with Afrikaans or English, and merge into one or the other of these two major sections of the South African people. At the same time, those who are still German by blood, have lost or are gradually losing their exclusiveness as Germans and their German language; they regard themselves, not as English, not as Afrikaans, but simply as South Africans.

In the ordinary social or business life, this process of assimilation is marked enough, but not much commented upon; in the German churches it has become a serious problem, a problem which is engaging the earnest attention of clergy and laymen. The Baptists who are not exclusively a German church and have from the very beginning been associated with the Baptist Union of South Africa, have adapted

- (2) During the years 1946 - 1950, the number of marriages solemnised in sixteen 'German' churches in the former British Kaffraria is as follows:-

<u>German-German</u>	<u>German-English</u>	<u>German-Afrikaans</u>	<u>Total</u>
171	71	39	281
60.86%	25.26%	13.88%	100

German means of German origin, whether or not the partner was still able to speak German. These figures exclude Germans who married non-Germans in non-German churches, but they are sufficiently representative to be significant. The data were kindly supplied by the ministers of the German Lutheran and Baptist Churches.

themselves to the change. At East London and Kingwilliamstown all services in the 'German' Baptist Churches are now in English; in the rural areas, approximately half the services are in English. Their standpoint is that faithfulness to God and Church is of greater importance than loyalty to a language, and consequently, without undue difficulty, they are changing the medium of their services. They usually still call themselves 'German' Baptist Churches, they remain members of the Bund Deutscher Baptisten Gemeinden, their members are predominantly of German origin, but the language of the pulpit is now entirely or partly English.

The Lutherans are in a more difficult position. In South Africa, though not exclusively, the Lutheran is more peculiarly a German church than the Baptist. The official organisation is German with a German name - Deutsch Evangelisch-Lutherisch; it is the official policy to retain German as the official language of the church, which was confirmed by the Synod as recently as January, 1951; though only because a two-thirds majority was required. Its ministers are German and German trained. Nevertheless, it is only too obvious that many of the 'Germans' in South Africa are no longer 'German'.

*
Meiner Meinung nach haben die deutschen Siedler von 1858/59 und 1877/83 bereits ihre Exklusivität als Deutsche verloren und sind voll dem südafrikanischen Volkskörper eingefügt. Denn ihre Lebensgewohnheiten sind ganz die der übrigen Bürger unseres Landes geworden, ihre Geselligkeit vollzieht sich in den hier üblichen Formen, ebenso Sport und Spiel, Beruf und Arbeit. Abgesehen von ihren Familiennamen und z.T. auch Vornamen kennzeichnet sie allein die lutherische Kirche noch als Menschen deutscher Herkunft durch die bis heute festgehaltene Gottesdienstsprache. (3)

The church has, however, not lost sight of its high calling and is gradually bowing to the inevitable.

Die Aufgabe der Kirche besteht nicht darin, die deutsche Sprache in erster Linie zu erhalten, sondern das Evangelium zu verkündigen, und zwar so, dass es verstanden wird. Erhaltung der deutschen Sprache darf nie Hauptzweck der Kirche sein, sondern Mittel.....
..... Auch in der lutherischen Kirche müssen wir uns einer der landessprachen bedienen, wollen wir über kurz oder lang nicht die Jugend verlieren und dadurch zu Totengräbern der deutschen Sprache u n d der

(3) Extract from private letter from Rev. H. Plüddemann, East London. Quoted with the writer's permission.

* Both quotations amended at the request of the writer of the volume had been bound.

Lutherische Kirche hier werden. Verlust der Sprache vollzieht sich dauernd, Verlust der Jugend kann verhindert werden, wenn innerhalb der deutschen Gemeinden der Nachdruck auf "lutherische" gelegt wird. (4)

Hence the Church is bowing to the inevitable. Individual churches have already adopted English as a second language, and in one case in the Eastern Province, also Afrikaans. More frequently, particularly at marriage and funeral services and in home visitation, English is used as a subsidiary language. Possibly future development will show the establishment of twin congregations with German and non-German sections; in such case, the non-German section would be in a position to develop outwards beyond the circle of members of German descent.

The position of the churches has been treated fully, because it illustrates in an acute form a definite movement - the loss of the German language and the German way of life, either with or without the loss of German race purity. In the eastern Cape and the larger cities it is strongest of all. There the tendency is to merge with the English, or to retain purity of blood and adopt the English language together with English South African culture, and all that this means. In the Western Cape, outside of Cape Town, the tendency is rather to merge with the Dutch, either again with or without intermarriage, and to adopt Afrikaans as a language, and the outlook of the Afrikaans-speaking South African.

The reasons for this process are many and easy to find, the first being h i s t o r i c a l. The survey already given demonstrates that the fusion of the German with the other races is nothing new; the process has now gone on from the time of van Riebeeck, and today is

(4) Extract from private letter from Rev. F. Serapins, Berlin, Cape Province; quoted with the writer's permission.

being facilitated by the fact that the German in South Africa, from the very beginning, has found it impossible to retain his identity as a German; fusion with the other races has come to ^{be} accepted as a matter of course.

Perhaps one of the most important reasons for the loss of their Germanism by the Germans is a double language problem, the first element intrinsic, the second extrinsic. The language spoken by the original immigrants in the eastern Cape was a mixture of the dialects of Low German prevalent in the various provinces from which they originated, Pommerania and the Uckermark, and is more akin to Afrikaans than High German. (5) The language of the settlers in the western Cape is similar, but tinged with dialects of those immigrants who have come from Southern Germany. On the other hand, the language of the church and books has been High German, which hence has always been regarded as being the only 'respectable' language; the language they spoke was regarded very much as Afrikaans was some years ago - sufficiently good for the home and among one's friends, but beyond that hardly suitable! Add to all this that the language actually spoken by the people contained little or no literature of its own, and could hardly have been adopted as the language of church and school, and it will be realised how easily the third language, mostly English, was adopted as the alternative. The process is in fact identical with that which made so many of the Afrikaans people in urban areas English-speaking. It has happened to the writer over and over again that he commenced talking German, i.e. High German, with some of the people, and that ashamed of replying in their form of German, they have gone over to English, which they felt was more respectable than their "Platdeutch".

(5) A specimen of the Low German spoken in the Border area is given in Appendix XVII. This was transcribed by Dr C.J. Meyer, of Rhodes University, from a record made by Mrs Minna Kietzmann, of Grahamstown, formerly of Keiskama Hoek. This record will be found in the Cory Library, Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

If economic and social circumstances had made possible the concentration of the Germans in one area, and if other factors had not accelerated the process of dispersion, the language of these people might have become their official language, and the history of Afrikaans would have repeated itself. But too many factors counteracted the concentration of the Germans in one locality and their development along purely racial lines, so that the German peculiar to South Africa is fast dying a natural death, and with its death, consciousness of German race is receding into the background.

The other element is to be found in the language problem of South Africa. Like his fellow citizens, the German must learn English as well as Afrikaans, while the majority of them, especially the farmers and traders, also have to have a good working knowledge of Xhosa. Add to these three, High and Low German, and it will be seen that one or more must suffer; as they dare not neglect the languages of the land, they perforce must let the mother tongue or tongues take a secondary place. Sporadically attempts are made to secure a place for German in the primary schools. The Education Department is sympathetic, but when face to face with the practical problem of introducing a third language

into the curriculum of the primary school, it can do very little. At a few schools, e.g. Potsdam, Berlin, and Frankfort, up to two hours a week is devoted to the teaching of German in the upper primary classes. This is helpful for those who still know some German, but obviously inadequate for those who have lost their German.⁽⁶⁾

Educational circumstances, too, are accelerating the annihilation of a German consciousness in many other ways. A few German schools existed, and still exist, but relatively poor, except in a few centres, they are unable to compete with the more efficient, or at least equally efficient, state schools; nor is every locality strong enough to support a German as well as a public school. The result

(6) Information supplied by Rev. F. Serapins, Berlin, G.P. and Mr R. Hewitt, Inspector of Schools, East London.

is that their efforts are but as a drop of water in a bucket, and that the majority of the children attend the government schools. Here the children mix day after day with English or Afrikaans speaking fellow pupils, and adopt their language on the playground, as they are obliged to do in the classroom. In the school the medium is necessarily one of the official languages. English and Afrikaans are taught as subjects, German only in the secondary school or departments, and then only as an optional subject. Nothing in the curriculum is designed to promote the consciousness of German race or origin, everything to inculcate consciousness of South African citizenship. The child hence not only learns to think in English or Afrikaans, but also to think as a South African, whether English or Afrikaans-speaking, thus he leaves school nurtured in English or Afrikaans culture, with practically no knowledge of German literature, German history, or the German language. Of those who can proceed to the university the same is true, only much more so, unless, as happens in rare cases, they are sufficiently interested in languages as such to make German the major subject of study for the degree. In these circumstances, it is not surprising to find that consciousness of German origin and race has been overshadowed by consciousness of South African citizenship.

S o c i a l and c o m m e r c i a l activities only serve to complete the process already begun. His friends are often English or Afrikaans speaking, and unable to converse in German; hence the German speaks their language. His business activities are carried on in the language of the land, his newspapers and the books he can procure readily and cheaply are usually English, sometimes Afrikaans; recreation and entertainment are English or Afrikaans, so that these languages enter more and more into his life and exclude, sometimes, the last traces of German.

Nor are there n a t i o n a l ties which remind him of his Germanic origin. Germany has become merely a name. A few who have become sufficiently wealthy, visit the

fatherland, but these are very few. The great majority sees nothing and knows nothing of German, while on the other hand, South Africa becomes more and more of a reality to them; it is their home, the South African people are their people, its interests are their interests, and hence they are content to pride themselves on being South Africans of German origin.

The development of a strong dominion nationalism has also had its influence on South African Germans, and if nothing else, it has accelerated their "South Africanisation", whether they have intermarried with other races or have retained their racial purity. The Germans do not regard themselves as interlopers or strangers here, for they feel that though they give up their Germanism, they have as much right to calling themselves South Africans as their English or Dutch brothers.

Germans and their descendants have not been unimportant in South Africa. Those South Africans who trace their Germanic origin back for centuries must, of course, be excluded, for it is impossible to calculate to what extent men like General Botha, or General Hertzog, both originally of German origin, were German. However, there is no need to go so far back; it is easy enough to find prominent Germans, or children of the first or second generation, who have contributed greatly to South African life and thought.

Of the missionaries, the outstanding men were Döhne, H. Hahn, Kropf and Wuras; the studies of the first of these in the Native languages are invaluable. Their work may not be generally known, but undoubtedly it places them among the great men of South Africa. W.P. Schreiner, the son of a German Missionary, reached the highest position a citizen of the old Cape Colony could attain; his sister, Olive Schreiner, was in her time, regarded by many as the greatest novelist South Africa had till then produced. Judges Gregorowski, Watermeyer, and Krause are or were the descendants of Germans; Dr Marloth, the father of South

African Botanic studies was a German; Dr Leipoldt, the great Afrikaans writer and poet was the grandson of a German missionary; Dr Merensky, whose father was likewise a missionary, is the discoverer of artesian wells and diamonds in Namaqualand. Colonel Schermbrücker and Captain von Brandis were ex-Legionaries. These are just a few picked at random. Any person who reads the newspapers can supplement the list - and will mention high officials, professional men, writers, and well-known business men.

One fact must be noted. None of these men are the descendants of the Immigrants. They, it must be remembered, were of simple agricultural stock, sound, healthy, hard-working and enterprising, but mostly with little education, or without the means of giving their children an education. The value of these immigrants lies not in their contribution to scholarship, art, or science, but in their agricultural work. They made no claim to "book learning"; they never aspired to reaching the high places of this world; they were content to trudge along the hard road of fortune had pointed out to them, and in doing so, they have, as a class rather than as individuals, made a name for themselves. They have indicated that, given the right stamp of men and women, given regular rainfall, close settlement and intensive agriculture are possible in South Africa. The 1858 Immigrants demonstrated the truth of this in the eastern Cape; the 1878 Immigrants showed the possibility of making a living on small allotments of such unfavourable soil as the Cape Flats. They could not, perhaps, have rendered a greater service to South Africa.

Their descendants living today are no longer a distinctive element of the South African people. Many have done well and are using the wealth they have acquired to educate their children, at high schools and universities; it is to their children that South Africa can look for men and women who will be among its leaders in thought, while their brothers demonstrate that a sound stock does not deteriorate, if transplanted to a different country.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

Extract from:

ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION
for the
FORMATION OF A FOREIGN LEGION.
for the
SERVICE OF HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY,

Article 1. Each recruit is to be enlisted for the duration of the present War and until one year after the ratification of a Definite Treaty of Peace.

No man otherwise engaged will be passed at the depot at Heligoland or at that at Shorncliffe.

Article 3. Normatives of countries now actually engaged in the War with Russia are to be enlisted; but the persons authorised by letters of service are at liberty to engage abroad men of all nations of Europe, and also to engage in the United Kingdom Poles, Hungarians, Swiss, Danes and Germans, being in this country, but none of Her Majesty's natural-born subjects.

Article 4. "The bounty of £6 shall be payable by Her Majesty's Government in cash and necessaries to each recruit finally approved.

Article 7. The men shall, during the whole period of their service, enjoy all such advantages as are or may be granted or allowed to British soldiers whilst on service, wherever they may happen to serve, and shall be subject to all diminution of pay and allowance, which Her Majesty may think proper to order for the British troops.

Article 8. The officers and men will be required to take the oath of allegiance to Her Majesty, and will be liable to serve wheresoever Her Majesty may think fit to employ them. Each recruit is to sign an engagement accordingly, and (is) to be subject to the same Regulations and Articles of War as Her Majesty's British troops.

Article 9. All non-commissioned officers, drummers and private soldiers shall receive, after their service has expired, a gratuity of one year's pay, and be allowed a passage at the cost of the Government, either to their home or the continent, or to North America, should it be their wish to emigrate.

Article 10. (Pension if wounded, etc.)

Article 11. The pay of the officers will be allowed at the same rate as for British officers. They will be allowed travelling expenses to England or Heligoland. and also three months' pay to provide their equipments.

Article 12. Officers who take service in the British Foreign Legion shall be allowed on disbandment three months' pay, to carry them home; and if such officers be rendered incapable of military service by wounds or infirmities contracted in

discharge of their military duty, they shall be allowed such provision as Her Majesty shall think proper and necessary under the circumstances of the case.

Article 14. In the first instance a corps of five thousand men shall be raised, and distributed as shown in the following statement:

4	battalions of Infantry, each	1000	...	4000
1	"	" Rifles	" 1000	...
				1000

		Total	...	5000

Article 15. Her Majesty, whenever She may think fit, may discontinue the Legion or any part thereof, in the establishment of the army and discharge the officers and men from their service, although the war with Russia shall not have ceased.

APPENDIX II.

CONDITIONS FOR THE FORMATION OF A MILITARY SETTLEMENT
IN BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA.

War Department,

24th September, 1856.

1. The officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers of the "British German Legion" may claim the fulfilment of the Articles of Capitulation under which they entered Her Majesty's service; or,
2. They may be sent out as military settlers to the Cape of Good Hope and British Kaffraria on the following terms:-

1. DUTIES

3. They will be liable to serve as military settlers from the date of their landing in South Africa, and for seven years after their location, as follows:-
 - First. - They are to resist the attacks of an enemy, or to aid the civil power.
 4. Second. - They are to attend for exercise on such days as the Governor may appoint during the first three years (not exceeding 30 days in any one year), and to muster every Sunday for Church parade.
 5. Third. - For the last four years they are to attend for exercise on such twelve days in each year as the Governor may appoint, and for muster every Sunday for Church parade.

II. IMPERIAL AND COLONIAL ENGAGEMENTS
WITH THE
MILITARY SETTLERS.

6. For the above-mentioned services the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates who may volunteer and be approved, will be conveyed to South Africa free of expense, the officers being furnished with a mess, and the soldiers with provisions during the voyage. They will take with them their arms, accoutrements, uniforms, and camp equipage, and will be provided with a canvas frock and trousers for the voyage.
7. They will receive free rations from the day of their landing, and for one year after their location, or a commuted money allowance of equal value.
- 8* They will receive full pay up to the day of landing and from this will be deducted the following advances to be made previous to embarkation, viz. To Sergeants £5, to Corporals £3, (under certain circumstances) to Privates £2/15/-.
 9. From the day of landing in South Africa, and for three

years from the date of their location, they will receive the following rates of pay:-

					s.	d.	
Pay of Colour Serjeant	...	...	...	...	1	2	per day.
Serjeant	...	...	...	...	11	"	"
Corporal	...	...	...	...	8	"	"
Private	...	...	...	...	6	"	"

(Trumpeters and Buglers the same as privates.)

10. When called out for service in the field against the enemy, or in aid of the civil power, the pay of all ranks will be made up to the same rate as that of Her Majesty's troops. This expense will be borne by Colonial funds, in the case of their services being required in aid of the civil power, and by imperial funds when they are employed against an enemy.

PENSIONS.

11. Every military settler, whether officer, non-commissioned officer, or private, wounded or disabled in defence of the Colony, will be granted the allowance for wounds received in action which may be sanctioned by the regulations in force in the Colony for the time being.
12. An advance of £5 will be made to each man to provide himself with cooking utensils and tools, to be repaid during the second and third years of service.
13. Each non-commissioned officer and private, if located in a town already inhabited by a European population, will be allowed a building lot on which to erect his house. If located in a village or new settlement, he will be allowed an acre of garden ground in addition to a building lot.
14. They will have the same rights regarding depasturing stock on the common lands as the other inhabitants of the place where they may be located.
15. The details of the location of the force will be carried out by their own officers, from amongst whom a system of local magistracy may be provided.
16. Each non-commissioned officer and private will be required to build a cottage on the land allotted to him. For this purpose an allowance will be made, -

For a non-commissioned officer	...	...	...	...	£20
A private	...	...	...	...	£18

 to be expended under the superintendence of the officers of the force appointed for that object.
17. The cottage and land will be held rent free for the seven years of his military service, provided he conforms to the rules and regulations laid down for his guidance, and subject to the provision of Article 23.
18. The house, when built, must be kept in good repair without expense to the public.
19. Until the cottage be built the men will have the use of their tents, or of such temporary huts as they may erect from materials at hand.
20. At the end of the seven years from the date of location, the land, buildings, and improvements thereon will become the absolute property of the military settler, if he has

fulfilled the conditions of his agreement, and he will then be subject to no further military duty than that exacted from other settlers in defence of the country.

21. If an unmarried military settler should die before he shall have acquired a proprietary right to his house and land and improvements, they shall revert to the Crown.
22. The funeral expenses of a member of the force who may die during the term of his military service will be borne by the Imperial Government, such charge in no case to exceed one guinea.
23. During the seven years of military service, the settlers will be liable to such rules as may be laid down by the Governor for their control. For minor offences, fines may be inflicted under the same authority; for more serious offences, any officer or man may be expelled (from) the force by order of the Governor, and such expulsion will involve the deprivation of house and land, and of any other privileges which he may enjoy as a military settler.

MARRIED MEN.

24. The wives and families of non-commissioned officers and privates will be conveyed to South Africa free of expense for passage or provisions, and they may be provided with rations during the first year or any part of it, in locations in which the Governor of the Colony may consider it necessary.
25. At every location, accommodation of a temporary nature is or will be provided for the families of the men, and for the safe custody of ^{the} arms and stores.
26. If a married settler die and leave a widow or a family, his lands, buildings and improvements, thereon shall become their property, according to the Colonial law of inheritance, even if the deceased should not have fulfilled the full period of his military service.
27. The wives and children of non-commissioned officers or privates who may be now in Germany may be brought from Hamburg, Bremen, Rotterdam, or Ostend at the public expense, and may accompany their husbands and parents to South Africa, if they arrive in time, or they will be sent after them as opportunities occur.
28. The same indulgence will be extended to the affianced brides of unmarried non-commissioned officers and privates who can satisfy their commanding officer of the reality of the engagement of marriage.

OFFICERS.

29. A reduced number of officers will be selected to accompany and form part of the force, viz.:—

1 Field officer	...	...	...	per 1000 men
15 Company officers	...	...	...	" " "
3 Medical officers	...	...	...	" " "
1 Staff officer (as pay master and quartermaster)				
30. The regimental officer will receive from the day of their

landing in South Africa, and for three years after their location, the half of their present rate of pay, except when called out for active service in the field, when this will be made up to the full pay and allowance of their rank, as per Article 10. * The medical officers and Regimental Staff officers will receive the full pay of their ranks so long as their services are required. (The latter giving security for half the amount required for Pay-Masters in the line). The whole of the officers will, in addition to the advantages formerly offered, receive a gratuity of three months pay as if they had been discharged in England.

31. Each officer will receive an allotment of land for building and garden purposes of at least double the extent of that of a non-commissioned officer or private.
32. In lieu of barracks or house rent, each officer will receive an allowance for the purpose of building on his land on the following scale:

Field Officer	...	...	...	£200
Captain	...	...	...	£150
Subaltern	...	...	...	£100

To be paid in instalments ^{regulated.} by the progress of the building.

33. The public lands in the colony are disposed of only by sale, but officers who go out under the present conditions will be allowed in the purchase of such lands a remission of the purchase money according to the following scale:-

Field Officers	...	...	...	£300
Captains	...	...	...	£200
Subalterns...	...	...	...	£150.

34. Any officer who shall, at the end of the first three years of service or sooner, signify his intention not to prolong his service beyond the said period of three years, shall forfeit his house and such portion of his land, with the improvements thereon, as shall have been derived from the Government free grant, or was granted as the equivalent of the remission money referred to in the last paragraph, all of which shall revert to the Crown.
35. Every officer who continues to serve for the remaining four years of this engagement, shall be liable to the same conditions as to service and pay as are already provided for non-commissioned officers and privates, in consideration of which, every such officer shall, at the expiration of the full term of seven years, be entitled to a free grant as his absolute property of the house and building lots, and also of such land as he may have acquired by virtue of Article 33.

MARRIED OFFICERS.

36. Married officers will be allowed to take their wives and families to South Africa free of expense for passage or provisions, and a passage will be given to one unmarried female servant in addition to each family, if required.
37. The widows and children of officers will succeed to the lands and property of their husbands and parents, as in the

case of non-commissioned officers and privates (See Article 26).

38. During the period of their service the officers will be required to discharge their military duties, and also to carry out the details of the location of their men.
- 39.* (As some of the officers state that they gave up Commissions in foreign armies to enter the Legion and others state that for political reasons, they cannot return home, therefore, in consequence of the severe disappointment and distress, which would be occasioned by strictly limiting the number of officers to the proportion specified), free passage will be afforded to twenty supernumeraries, who are promised the same remission money as the regular settlers.
- 40.* About the same number also of junior officers will be permitted to proceed with the settlers under the designation of Gentleman Cadets with the promise of the same advantages in respect to land and houses as are afforded to N.C.O's.

(Signed) PANMURE.

R. VON STUTTERHEIM.

Ref. CA. BKRec. 40, GNS., 1856-1861; Imp. Pap., March, 1857, pp.91-93.

* Subsequent amendments only in the BKRec. 40 version, and not in the version printed in the Imp. Papers of March, 1857.

APPENDIX III.ACT NO. 5 OF 1857.CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.An Act for establishing more effectually the Settlement
in this Colony of certain Military Settlers.

Whereas a number of officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers of the British German Legion have recently immigrated to this colony in order to become military settlers therein; and whereas it is expedient that due provision should be made for the preservation of discipline and good order among the said settlers, so long as they may remain bound to do military service; be it enacted, by the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and House of Assembly thereof, as follows:

- I. The military settlers aforesaid, as well as officers and men, shall during their term of their engagement to do military service as military settlers, be subject to the Articles of War, and to the Act for punishing mutiny and desertion, and all other laws for the time being applicable to Her Majesty's troops in this colony: provided, however, that the Governor of the Colony for the time being may, by proclamation, to be published in the "Government Gazette," direct that all or any of the provisions of the said laws shall not apply to the said military settlers, or to such of them as shall be specified and described in any such proclamation: provided also, that the said Governor may, by proclamation, revoke or alter any former proclamation, as circumstances may seem to require.
- II. It shall be lawful for the Governor for the time being, by any proclamation to be published in the "Government Gazette," to lay down such rules as he may deem necessary for the conduct and control of the said military settlers, or any of them, who may be specified ^{and described} in such proclamation, during their term of military service, and to define what shall be offences punishable by such rules, and in what manner, whether by fine or by expulsion from the force, such offences shall be punished, and by what courts or persons offenders against any such rules shall be tried: provided that no fine exceeding £10 shall be imposed by any such rule; and provided also, that no act or omission constituting an offence under or against any such rule, which act or omission would also be a violation of the Articles of War, or any other of the military laws in the first section of this Act mentioned, shall be prosecuted under the Articles of War or other military law, in case such offence shall, by the rules aforesaid, be punishable only by a fine: and provided that the Governor aforesaid may, from time to time, by proclamation,

revoke or alter the rules in force for the time being, or any of them.

Given at Government House, this 29th day of June, 1857.
By command of His Excellency the Governor.

(Signed) Rawson W. Rawson,

COLONIAL SECRETARY.

APPENDIX IV.NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE GERMAN MILITARY SETTLERS.

Return of Military Settlers embarked for the Cape of Good Hope.

Officers	59
Non-Commissioned Officers and Rank and File (including 42 Cadets)	2303
Total	<u>2362</u>

Recapitulation of Officers.

Staff	2
Field Officers	5
Captains	25
Subalterns	15
Medical Officers	9
Paymasters	3
Chaplains	2
Dispensers	<u>2</u>
Total	<u>59</u>

Officers' Wives	30	
N.C.O's and Privates' wives	331	361
Officers' Children	56	
N.C.Os' & Privates' children	139	<u>195</u>
Total - Women and children		<u>556</u>

Grand total.

Officers, N.C.Os, Cadets and Rank and File	2 362
Women and children	<u>556</u>
	<u>2918</u>

(Signed)

John Kinloch,

Inspector General.

Source. CA. GHRec. 39/1, MSO. BSL. p.960; Ibid. p.499

APPENDIX V.

SHIPS WHICH BROUGHT THE GERMAN MILITARY SETTLERS
TO SOUTH AFRICA.

Ship	Tons	Departure	Arrival at E.L.	Numbers.
		1856	1857	
Sultana	1316	November, 10 ⁵	January 15 ³	536 ^{1,3} 573 ²
Gulloden	1370	November 10 ⁵ November 11 ²	January 12 ³	590 ¹ 535 ² 576 ³
Abyssinian	1 140	November 27 ²	February 6 ⁶	124 ²
Covenanter	1 270	November 19 ² November 17 ³	January 9 ² at Cape Town	242 ² 433 ¹
Stamboul	1370	November 17 ³ November 18 ²	January 31 ⁶	446 ²
Mersey	823	November 19 ²	February 28 ⁸	224 ²
H.M.S. Vulcan	1747	November 17 ⁵ November 18 ³	February 23 ⁶	Staff & Cavalry ⁷

Sources.

1. Imp. Papers, March, 1857, p. 62. Mundy to Lab., 3rd Nov., 1856.
2. Government Gazette, January and February, 1857.
3. Grahamstown Journal, January and February, 1857.
4. Panama Papers, II, 319
5. Imp. Papers, March, 1857, p. 72. Mundy to Lab., 12th Nov., 1856.
6. King William's Town Gazette, Jan. and February, 1857.
7. Kelvin Press Christmas Annual, 1912, p. 71.
8. Diary, 28th Feb., 1857.
9. Imp. Papers, 339, p. 25. Grey to Lab. No. 14 of 29th Jan., 1857.

APPENDIX VI.DISTRIBUTION OF THE GERMAN MILITARY SETTLERS. 31st May, 1858.

	Offic.	Cadets	NCO's	Men.	Women	Children
<u>I. Regiment.</u>						
Wooldrige	9	1	16	106	23	15
Peddle	1	1	4	38	5	2
Bell	1	1	5	45	26	15
Bodiam	1	1	8	73	22	12
Hamburg	2	1	6	58	14	3
East London	5	7	19	189	31	15
Cambridge	1	1	8	87	15	10
<u>II. Regiment.</u>						
Berlin	7	1	21	129	26	14
Potsdam	1	2	3	80	18	9
Marienthal	1	1	4	38	6	1
Briedbach	2	1	8	57	6	3
Wiesbaden	2	1	7	79	4	3
Kingwilliamstown	3	1	11	57	8	7
Hanover	1	0	9	74	6	4
<u>III. Regiment.</u>						
Statterheim	12	3	38	269	53	32
Ohlsen	2	0	8	71	16	14
Frankfurt	1	1	6	65	7	1
Braunschweig	2	1	6	77	8	3
Greytown	4	2	21	138	22	9
Keiskama Hoek	1	2	4	43	8	5
Totals	59	29	217	1803	321	177

These figures are not taken from the earliest list, but are probably the first officially authenticated and hence more correct than earlier lists; are, certain measure of redistribution took place before the Germans were finally settled. Source: CA. (Grec. 40/1. Monthly State of Troops. (31st May, 1858).

APPENDIX VII.

STATISTICAL RECORD.I. TOTALS

Original		2562 Officers, Cadets, N.C.O's and Men.
1st July, 1857	2302	
31st May, 1858	2108	
31st Dec., 1858	981	
30th April, 1859	985	
31st March, 1860	912	
30th June, 1860	216	
31st March, 1861	Nil	

II. DECREASE (1)

Volunteered for India (Sept., Nov., 1858)		1058
(Of these 45 rejoined the G.M.S. though 386 returned to South Africa).		
Volunteered for the C.M.R. (Nov., 1858)		35
Discharged, May, 1860	168	} 658
Absent with leave to seek employment	380	
Absent with the F.A.M.P., May, 1860	90	
Discharged before 31st March, 1861		The remainder

III. DECREASE (2)

	From Embarkation to 30th April, 1858	To the end of 1859
Deaths	75	22
Suicide	-	5
Deserted	120	75
Dismissed	6	8
Retired	3	9
Handed to Civil Power	16	-

Sources; These facts and figures are very scattered. They have been collated from the following:-

- CA. GHRec. 59/1, MSO, BGL. passim.
- CA. GHRec. 40/1, MSO, Monthly State of Troops, 1858
- CA. GHRec. 39/6, MSO, Miscellaneous, 1859 - 1860
- CA. BKRec. 42, Capt. Mills, GMS.
- CA. GHRec. Enclosures to Despatches, 1861, Encl. 7 Germania and Deutscher Beobachter.

APPENDIX VIII.

OFFICERS TO WHOM TITLES WERE GRANTED FOR LANDS AND HOUSE.

Col.	Wooldridge, J.W.	Wooldridge
	Kent Murray, E.	Stutterheim
Major	Kessler, Julius	East London
	Scott, William	Potsdam
Capt.	Bauer, Adolf	East London
	de Fin, Baron J.	Izeli (Braunschweig)
	di Fenzi, D.	Stutterheim
	Lentz, Louis	Keiskama Hoek
	Mehlis, Otto	Marienthal
	Mills, Charles	Stutterheim
	Mischke, F.	East London
	Münter, Carl	Braunschweig
	Reuter, Hermann	Frankfurt
	Schneider, D.	Ohlsen
	Schultz, Hugo	Stutterheim
	von Brandis, G.	Hanover
	von Clasen, Rudolf	Greytown
	von Gonner, Wilhelm	Breidbach
	von Gontard, Alfons	Stutterheim
	von Lillienstein, Count Arthur	Berlin
	von Linsingen, Wilhelm	Wiesbaden
Lieut.	de Packh, J.B.	Stutterheim
	Doesel, Friederich	East London
	Gropp, Alexander	Breidbach
	Herbing, Friederich	Braunschweig
	Johannsen, Christian	Stutterheim
	Lentz, Rudolf	Stutterheim
	von Skopnick, E.	Wooldridge
	von Ronow, Count Rudolf	Berlin
	von Tempky, Carl	Ohlsen
Surg.	Arenhold, A.	Wiesbaden
	Dankwerts, Adolf	Stutterheim
	Lüntzel, A.	Berlin
	Vix, Charles	East London
	Wilmans, A.	Kingwilliamstown
	Winsell, Ch.	Greytown
Bisp.	Brauns, David	Berlin
	Müller, Heinrich	Stutterheim
Cadet	Bachmann, Charles	--
	Bramley, William	Frankfurt
	Büttner, Albert	Stutterheim
	Jacquet, Jean Paul	Stutterheim
	Lipinsky, von Rosenberg	East London
	Patouschka, August	Bell
	Stohr, Anton	Keiskama Hoek
	von Buddenbrock, H.	East London
	von Hirschberg, Count Franz	Berlin
	von Kürsinger, Julius	Kingwilliamstown
	von Langen, Friederich	East London
	von Weddell, George	Stutterheim
	von Wissel, Burghardt	Potsdam

APPENDIX IX.CONTRACT BETWEEN GERMAN IMMIGRANTS AND
Messrs. GUSTAV GODEFFROY & SONS.CONTRACT.

Zwischen dem Herrn Gustav Godeffroy, Senator der freien Hansestadt Hamburg, als Bevollmächtigter Sr Exzellenz Sir George Grey, K.C.B., Ihrer Majestät der Königin von Grossbritannien, High Commissioner und Gouverneur von Britisch-Kaffraria, nach Massgabe einer von demselben am 25. August 1857 im Regierungsgebäude zu Kapstadt ausgestellten Vollmacht einerseits und J.S., bisher wohnhaft zu Alexanderhoff im eigenen Namen, sowie im Namen seiner Ehefrau und in seiner Eigenschaft als väterlicher Vormund für seine Kinder, nämlich

Zwei	Kinder	über	10	Jahre	alt,
-	"	von	1	bis	10 " "
-	"	unter	1	"	"

andererseits ist am heiligen untenstehenden Tage folgender Kontrakt in gehöriger Form Rechtens abgeschlossen worden:

J.S. erklärt sich hiermit bereit, sowohl in Person, als auch in Begleitung seiner Familie, bestehend aus den im Eingange dieses Kontrakts erwähnten Personen auf Grundlage der Bedingungen, welche in den darauf bezüglichen, nebenstehend abgedruckten Paragraphen des Regulativs der Regierung von Britisch-Kaffraria enthalten sind, nach Britisch-Kaffraria auszuwandern; er gelobt und verspricht für sich persönlich und seine Erben, sowie auch im Namen der obenerwähnten zu seiner Familie gehörenden Personen und deren Erben alle aus dem von der Regierung von Britisch-Kaffraria erlassenen Regulativ entspringenden Verpflichtungen getreulich zu erfüllen.

Er bekennt, dass er der Regierung von Britisch-Kaffraria durch die, auf Kosten und für Rechnung derselben von den Herren J.C. Godeffroy & Sohn übernommene Beförderung

seiner Person und Familie den Betrag von fünfzig Pfund ... Schill. Sterl. schuldig ist.

Er verpflichtet sich, für sich und seine Erben, sowie auch im Namen seiner sämtlichen erwähnten Familienmitglieder und deren Erben, dass dieser schuldige Betrag von ihm und den übrigen dazu mitverpflichteten Personen, als deren solidarische Schuld an die Regierung von Britisch-Kaffraria, in den Terminen und der Weise, wie solches in dem gedachten Regulativ vorgeschrieben ist, prompt und rüstig zurückbezahlt werden soll und unterwirft sich im Fall der Nichtzahlung der gerichtlichen Exekution.-

Unter Verzichtleistung auf alle Einreden ist vorstehender Kontrakt in zwei gleichlautenden Exemplaren ausgefertigt und von beiden Kontrahenten unterzeichnet worden.

So geschehen zu Hamburg den 13. Oktober 1858.

(Unterschriften) J.S.

Gustav Godeffroy.

2 Auszug zu dem Regulativ.

(In this section the following clauses of the Regulations for the Introduction of German Immigrants into British Kaffraria are quoted in German, namely Clauses 2, 3, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20.) See Appendix XI.

APPENDIX X.DEED OF DISCHARGE.ENTLASSUNGSRURKUNDE.

Die unterzeichnete Königliche Regierung bescheinigt hierdurch, dass den am 5 September 1826 zu Blumberg gebornen Arbeitsmann A. P. aus Passhow auf sein Ansuchen und behufs seiner Auswanderung nach Afrika, nebst seiner am 6 August 1820 zu Lützlow geboren Ehefrau M. D., geb. S. und folgenden minderjährigen unter väterlicher Gewalt stehenden Kindern

1. Auguste Marie Charlotte Wilhelmine, am 6 Juli zu Blumberg

2. August Johann Karl, am 15 Januar 1853 zu Janichow und zu Passhow

3. Karl Friedrich Wilhelm am 6 März 1856, geboren

die Entlassung aus dem preussischen Untertanen-Verbande bewilligt worden ist.

Diese Entlassungsurkunde bewirkt, jedoch nur für die darin ausdrücklich genannten Personen, mit dem Zeitpunkt der Aushändigung den Verlust der Eigenschaft als preussischer Untertan.

Potsdam, den 7 ten Oktober 1858.

(Seal)

Königliche Preussische Regierung.

(Gezeichnet)

Ref. Original in possession of late Rev. H. Gutschke, formerly of King Williamstown.

APPENDIX XI.

REGULATIONS FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF GERMAN

IMMIGRANTS INTO BRITISH KAFFRARIA.

1. Messrs. J. C. Godeffroy & Son, of Hamburg, have by their agent in Cape Town, Wm. Berg, Esq., agreed with his Excellency the High Commissioner to introduce German Immigrants into British Kaffraria upon the following conditions.
2. A bounty of £12/10/- will be paid, in the manner hereinafter provided, for every adult landed at East London, who shall have been there approved by a Board of Immigration Commissioners to be appointed by his Excellency. In the case of persons embarking under an order furnished by the Government to members of families of the Anglo-German Legion, the amount of bounty will be reduced to £12.
3. In computing the number of adults for which the said bounty is payable, two children of the ages of one year and under 10 shall be deemed equal to one adult. No bounty will be paid for children under one year.
4. The immigrants shall be brought from Hamburg, and shall be of respectable character, and shall chiefly be composed of persons who have been engaged in agricultural pursuits. They must be in good health, and free from all bodily or mental defects at the time of embarkation.
5. The age of married couples must not, in the case of either husband or wife, exceed, on embarkation, 45 years.
6. Bounty will not be paid for husbands who embark without being accompanied by their wives, nor for wives who embark without being accompanied by their husbands, unless, in the latter case, the husband may happen to be already resident in British Kaffraria.
7. Single women under eighteen, without their parents, are not admissible unless they are emigrating under the immediate care of some married relations, or are under engagement as domestic servants to ladies going out as cabin passengers in the same ship, or under some other proper protection. They cannot be accepted for the bounty if above 30. Single women with illegitimate children will in no case be taken.
8. Bounty will not be payable for single men; but if any should form part of a family emigrating, they will be allowed the privilege of obtaining land under the present regulations.

9. No bounty will be payable for widowers or widows with young children; nor for persons who have been inmates of any penal, reformatory, or pauper institution, or who have not been vaccinated, or not had the smallpox.
10. Bounty will be payable for the wives, families, relatives, or friends of soldiers of the German Legion serving in British Kaffraria, who in point of age, sex, or otherwise, do not fall within the preceding conditions, provided that the previous sanction of his Excellency be obtained upon special application in each case.
11. Should his Excellency see fit to allow the bounty for the persons mentioned in the preceding paragraph, it will be subject to the condition that the Immigration Board shall be satisfied of the fitness of the intended immigrant in point of character; otherwise the bounty will be charged against the pay of the applicant.
12. The immigrants of each immigrant ship shall be accompanied by a surgeon, and may also be accompanied by a clergyman or teacher, for whom a cabin passage shall be provided, and for which his Excellency will allow £30 each. Such persons will be entitled to the same conditions with regard to land as other immigrants, they paying for such land like other immigrants, but they will not be required to repay any part of the said loan of £30.
13. Messrs. Godeffroy engage to victual the immigrants, if required, for eight days after the ship's arrival at the Buffalo Mouth, but if detained on board beyond eight days, the Government will pay 2/- per day for such further time, for every adult, to cover demurrage.
14. Parties immigrating under the above regulations will receive from the Government of British Kaffraria the following land grants and privileges, viz.:

Each head of a family will receive a free grant of one building lot in a village, in that part of South Africa in which the Anglo-German Legion is located; and will have assigned to him country lands to the following extent, at the rate of £1 per acre purchase money, to be paid as hereinafter mentioned; viz., 20 acres of good country land to every married couple, 10 acres to every single man, and two acres for each child above one year of age.
15. If the immigrant should dislike the land assigned to him, and decline to take it, he may at any time within one year after his arrival, buy country land at public auction at any Government sale of land in British Kaffraria, in payment of which an allowance will be made to the extent of his privilege under the preceding regulation; and further, instead of paying ready money for such land, he need only pay the price of it in the proportionate instalments hereinafter mentioned.
16. The bounty money paid to Messrs. Godeffroy & Co. is upon the principle of an advance made by the Government to provide a passage for the immigrant, but which the immigrant is to be bound to repay to the Government, as hereinafter mentioned. In order that the immigrant should perfectly understand this condition upon embarkation, Messrs. Godeffroy agree to require each head of a family, or adult immigrant, to duly sign and execute such legal instrument as shall be furnished to them by the Government for that purpose, prior to the departure of the emigrant ship from Hamburg, binding him to reimburse the

Government of British Kaffraria in the amount of bounty money paid for his passage. The Government will, however, remit one-half the bounty or passage money in respect of the female members of families, being unmarried, and between the ages of 12 and 25.

17. The mode of such repayment, as well as of the payment in respect of land grants and purchases, shall be as follows: One-fifth after the fourth year, one-fifth after the fifth year, one-fifth after the sixth year, one-fifth after the seventh year, and one-fifth after the eighth year after arrival at East London.
18. The immigrants have the right of paying off the whole, or any part of the debt, at an earlier period. The full title to the land not to be given until both purchase-money and passage-money shall have been paid off. No charges to be made for survey of land or delivery of title.
19. The Government will at its own cost provide conveyance for the immigrants and their baggage and effects from the ship, at the port of disembarkation, to the respective locations of the immigrants.
20. No customs duty will be charged on personal baggage and effects of the immigrants, not intended for trade or merchandize.

(signed) Rawson W. Rawson.

On behalf of H. E. the High Commissioner
and Governor of British Kaffraria.

Colonial Office,
Cape Town,
Cape of Good Hope,
24th August 1857.

- N.B. 1. Clause 5 was subsequently altered to permit the introduction of parents over the age of 45 years under certain conditions, stated above.
2. Clause 14 was likewise altered; five acres were granted for children over fourteen years and three for children over ten years of age.

APPENDIX XII.PETITION FROM GERMAN IMMIGRANTS.

Note. This petition was obviously drawn up by the Germans themselves - less than a year after their arrival in British Kaffraria. In addition to giving an account of their hardships, it serves well to illustrate their attempt to master the official language.

Breidbach, the 3 of March
1859.

J. Maclean C.B.
Rsq

Fort Murray.

Sir!

You will excuse, if we the herewith undersigneds Emigrants at Breidbach allow us, to trouble you, with the following petition

"to be so good to give order that we
"can have for a other short time
"Rations for us and our familys.

To the founding of the aboven petition we allow's to remarks , that the land, for which we are entitled is received first the ending of last Month; the time of working to the next crop is over, we cannot put same in the ground which give is the needful sustenance; nearly six months we life's at Breidbach and first the 5th Month we received our land. Us was told from Mr Godeffroy & Son at Hamburg to Germania before we was going on Bord the Ship, that we most received our land in one of the next days as we coming to a Location where we like to stay. If that was the case then we was going by receiving of Rations to bring same of the land under Cultivation and every men stand allright.

We know very well, that we be receiving of more Rations com's in a larch debts but we promise you Sir, that we will loke out for, to pay to the right time our debts to the Government.

Sir! we shall be much obliged to you, if you dont refuse our aboven requesting.

We have the Honor to be
Yours

Sir

most obedient humble Servants
Zuhlsdorf.
Birkholz.
Adam Scherer.
Tell.
Frobese.
Johann Schult.

etc.

APPENDIX XIII.IMMIGRANT SHIPS 1858 - 1859.

Ships	Tons	Immig- rants	Left Hamburg	Arrived E. London	Notes
Caesar Godeffroy	622	298	15/4/58	7/7/58	18 children died of scarlet fever
la Rochelle	1000	463	31/5/58	23/8/58	23 died
Wandrahm	564	344	31/8/58	6/12/58	10 children one woman died
Wilhelmsburg	1000	563	19/10/58	13/1/59	64 children one woman died
Peter Godeffroy	350	275	30/9/58	19/1/59	5 children died.
Johann Caesar	364	202	1/11/58	30/1/59 or 1/2/59	5 children died.
		<u>2145</u>			

Sources.

King William's Town Gazette
Government Gazette, 1858-1859
 G.A., East London Mag. Records, German Immigrant
 Register.
 Brit. Kaff. Records, 41, German Immigrants.

APPENDIX XIVTHE SUBSIDIARY IMMIGRATION OF 1859 - 1862.

Ships	Tons	Left Hamburg.	Arrived Table Bay	Number of Immigrants.
Aurifera	-	-	19/5/59	74
Alfred	362	6/5/59	2/7/59	16
Victoria	306	5/10/59	23/12/59	171
Peter Godeffroy	350	25/11/59	14/2/60	54
Caesar Godeffroy	622	7/5/60	31/7/60	41
Wandrahm	564	26/6/60	9/9/60	112
Alfred	360	17/8/60	27/10/60	60
Johann Caesar	364	7/10/60	5/1/61	222
San Francisco	422	18/5/61	23/7/61	295
Peter Godeffroy	350	20/7/61	15/10/61	95
Wandrahm	562	9/11/61	19/1/62	20
San Francisco	422	14/5/62	28/7/62	69
Grasbrook	200	5/7/62	2/10/62	19
Iserbrook	160	26/7/62	15/10/62	14
Total				<u>1262</u>

Sources: Government Gazette. In each case first issue after date of arrival of the ships mentioned above. Tonnage not always accurate; e.g. 20th May, 1859, 5th July, 1859, 27th Dec., 1859.

APPENDIX XV.IMMIGRANT SHIPS 1877 - 1878.

Ship.	Arrived at Table Bay.	Arrived at East London.	Total No. Immigrants	Passen- to E.L.	gers.
Wandrahm	16/3/1877	-	773	16	-
Pedraza	19/7/1877	-	329	-	-
Adele		22/8/1877	343	226	13
Sophie		4/11/77	214	214	2
Uranus	6/12/1877	-	242	-	7
Godeffroy	Feb., 1878	-	184	-	3
Saturnas	Feb., 1878	-	76	-	3
Papa (transhipped to Asiatic)		27/6/78	272	225	-
Caroline Behn	-	11/9/78	150	33	-
la Rochelle	-	Sept., 78	234	-	7
Total			1908	714	35

IMMIGRANT SHIPS OF 1883.

Ship	Arrived	Immigrants	
Durban	7 May, 1883	121	All ships were of the Union S.S. Line.
German	7 June, 1883	85	
Arab	4 July, 1883	76	
Nubian	1 Aug., 1883	37	
Total		319	

Sources.

- C.A., Crown Lands 1130, Immigration, 1877 - 1882
 C.A., Crown Lands 1139, Immigration, 1883
 C.A., East London Mag. Records, Nominal List of Immigrants, 1877.
 C.A., East London Mag. Records, German Immigrant Agreements,
 1877.
 G.40 - '78, Report on Immigration.
 Cape Government Gazettes, 1877-78 and 1883.

APPENDIX XVI.A. STATISTICAL RECAPITULATION

Legionaries	1856-1857	2246
Immigrants	1858-1859	2145
Immigrants	1859-1862	1262
Immigrants	1877-1878	1908
Immigrants	1883	317
Total		<u>7878</u>

Note. (1) The Legionaries who did not return from India have been excluded; wives and children, whether German or not, have been included;

(2) Scandinavians of the 1877-78 Immigration are also included, as it is not always possible to discriminate between them and the Germans.

B. GERMANS IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

The following statistics give an indication of the number of Germans in the Union of South Africa, 1911 - 1946.

NUMBER BORN IN GERMANY.

Census	Cape	Natal	Transvl	O.F.S.	Union
1911	-	-	-	-	8,560
1921	-	-	-	-	12,798
1936	4796	1807	6338	499	13,440
1941	5595	1898	11052	447	18,792
1946	4916	1748	9112	415	16,191

GERMAN NATIONALS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Census	Cape	Natal	Transvl	O.F.S.	Union
1936	2895	968	3902	235	7998
1941	3667	1250	8413	217	13,547
1946	2395	1086	6142	249	10,372

HOME LANGUAGE GERMAN.

Census	Cape	Natal	Transvl	O.F.S.	Union	Percent.
1936	6048	4792	6470	500	17,810	•89%
1941	5649	4295	8203	361	16,506	•75%
1946	3532	4483	6752	359	14,976	•63%

OF GERMAN PARENTAGE - 1926 Census.

Males 21,701; Females 20,993; Total 42,694.

Sources. Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa, Vol. I, 172, IX, 384-386, XVI, 399, XXII, 997-999, XXIV, 1026-1037.

APPENDIX XVII.SPECIMEN OF LOW GERMAN.

This specimen is given to illustrate the Low German spoken by the Immigrants in the former British Kaffraria. This was kindly transcribed into phonetic script by Dr C.J. Meyer of Rhodes University, Grahamstown, from a recording made by Mrs Minna Kietzmann, of Grahamstown, formerly of Keiskama Hoek. The record will be found in the Cory Library, Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

e:n kle:n gəfiet

as də dytʃ imigrantən dat rə:ðən wil ik in plat dytʃ
fərtelən. dat is nu o:k al n laʒ ti:t he:r, dɔ:r ik
mit mi:n ɔlərn in 1882 ut zintslo:v in pəmərn
dytʃlant nɔ Afrika utvanərtə ik vas dɔ:r to mɔ:l fif
jɔ:r o:lt. ik ka mi: nɔ ɛrinərən as vi: in i:stlɔndɔ:n
anlantən. mi:n fɔ:tər si:n brɔ:dər vas dɔ:r um u:s
aftoholən un də frɔit vas grɔ:t un dat ve:rərze:n.
jɔ: blɔ:t is dikər as vɔ:t r un dat is o:k vɔ:r.
nu: mit izənbo:n zin vi: dən fa i:stlɔndɔ:n nɔ:
kinviljəmstaun. fa dɔ:r mit n ɔsənvɔ:ɡən nɔ:
kaiska:mshuk. dɔ:t ha:t mi:n ɔnkel al n hu:s fe u:s
bəzɔrʒt, dat vas grɔ:t ɔivər bi: də lu:te:riʃ kirʒ, dat
hu:s un də kirʒ ʃtɔ:n hytə dɔ:xs nɔ dɔ:r, mi:n fɔ:tər
si:n bəro:p vas ʃɔ:stər un zo: hət he: mit də
ʃɔ:stəri: de: ɛrst ti:t si:n le:bən moikt.
mit kirʒ un skɔ:l vas dat o:k ʃve:r də ti:t. də kirʒ
de: pastər bəstər ut ʃtətərhaim fərzɔrɡən, e:n un tve:
mɔ:l in mo:nat, un misəs ʃpriŋ de: də kinər in skɔ:l
fərzɔrɡən. de: baptistən ɡəmain hət pastər ri:mər ut
i:stlɔndɔ:n fərzɔrʒt. he: vas o:k n ze:r ɡɔ:dən pastər
un je:dər ha:r əm le:f. dat vas o:k ɔft umʃtənliʒ fə
əm ɔivər he: he:l dapər ut.

as ik nu: zo:n zəs jɔ:r ɔlt vɔ:r, dɔ: ʃikt de:
berlinər misio:n pastər fuks nɔ: kaiska:mshuk, dat vas

oik {ve:r fə əm, dɔ:r he: də lands prɔ:k ənlɪʃ ne:
 fərʃtyn. dɔ:r hət əm dən misəs {prɪŋ in ənlɪʃ
 unərɪʃ je:ft. ik ka mi: nɔ ɛrɪnərn, əs he: to: mi: zɛgt :
 ʃɔ: : klainə minə ; vi hɛbən dat bait {ve:r. nu
 mɔ:tən vi: baɪd ənlɪʃ le:rən, dat hət do: oik ne:
 ləŋ dy:rt, du:n kun hē dē {prɔ:k un do: jʊŋ dē
 sko:l fərvɛ:rts in ənlɪʃ untʃ dyʃ, he: vas o:k
 je:dən man sɪ:n fry:nt. dat kun man zundaxs se:n,
 vən də lantsly:t mit pe:rt un vɔ:ɡən un oik to: fo:t
 to:m ɡɔtsde:nt zɪʃ ɪnʃtɛlən un dē: kɪrç vas ɪmər
 ful. ɔrgəl vas dɔ:r to:mɔ:l nɔ ne: in dē kɪrç.
 de ɔlə mitərs {tɪntən un mit ɡesəŋ un he:lən dən takt
 mit fo:t un nɪktən mit kɔp dɔr to:, zɛ: ha:rən
 ɡrɔ:t ɡɔt fərtru:n un zɛ:r {tɔlts up ɛ:rən ɡlɔʊbən.
 ɪn le:f un to:frɪ:dənhe:t jʊŋ dē: ərbəɪt fərvɛ:rts.
 bi: ɛ: ə:l. nu le:f fry:n vi: vɪln ɛ: ne:
 fərje:tən un ɛ: ɪnʃɛ:rən ho:lən un mit {tɔlts un le:f
 ə ɛ: dɛnkən.

fɔn

Minna Kietzmann

geborene Kurtz.

APPENDIX XVIII

The following list of Immigrants is appended as a specimen. If financially feasible, similar lists will be published of all Immigrants who arrived in 1858 and perhaps too, in 1877-85.

- Note. (1) Where not otherwise stated, the Immigrant was married and brought his wife with him.
- (2) The German Umlaut has been changed; thus ö becomes oe, ü becomes ue, and ð becomes pe. This has been done because their descendants spell their names today with oe, ue, or pe.
- (3) The location stated is the first at which the Immigrant settled. Changes were frequent.

SHIP - GARRAE GODEFFROY.

Left Hamburg 15th April, 1858.
Arrived at East London 7th July, 1858.

Name	Children	Birth Place	Location
Bartelt, Michael	1	Sallenthin	Braunschweig
Bohnhorst, Heinrich	2	Osterode	Berlin
Boje, Carl	1	Göttingen	Kingwilliamtown
Boje, Heinrich	-	Göttingen	Kingwilliamtown
Boje, Herman	1	Göttingen	Kingwilliamtown
Born, Christian	2	Sallenthin	Braunschweig
Brietzke, Johann	3	Dobberphul	Braunschweig
Brueske, Johann	3	Trampke	Keiskama Hoek
Busse, Wilhelm	1	Augusthof	Braunschweig
Felka, Peter	-	Schweidnitz	Kingwilliamtown
Flügel, Gottfried	3	Augusthof	Braunschweig
Gebhardt, Hermann	2	Arnswalde	Braunschweig
Gurr, Friederich	1	Sabes	Braunschweig
Hees, Johann	6	Rieth	Braunschweig
Heidtke, Christian	1	Dobberphul	Braunschweig
Henning, Christian	3	Vaihingen	Braunschweig
Hermann, Gottlieb	1	Enzweihingen	Braunschweig
Heyn, Michael	3	Lübtheen	Braunschweig
Howe, Christian	2	Gollin	Braunschweig
Hueber, Philip	4	Enzweihingen	Braunschweig
Jacobi, Friederich	-	Pumptow	Braunschweig
Karshagen, Friederich	1	Schönberg	Keiskama Hoek
Karshagen, Michael	1	Succow	Keiskama Hoek
Klemp, Friederich	5	Arnswalde	Stutterheim
Koch, Heinrich	-	Osterode	Braunschweig
Koch, Johann	2	Erdhausen	Wiesbaden
Koebke, Michael	7	Schönberg	Keiskama Hoek
Koethe, Theodor	2	Osterode	Berlin
Kranse, David	3	Dobberphul	Braunschweig
Krause, Karl	3	Neu Schönfeld	Keiskama Hoek
Krause, Peter	4	Denkhaus	Braunschweig
Krueger, Michael	-	Suggow	Keiskama Hoek
Kuehn, Carl	2	Schöneberg	Keiskama Hoek
Ladewig, Carl	3	Neuwedel	Braunschweig
Lenz, Christian	3	Falkenberg	Braunschweig
Loeffler, Johann	5	Vaihingen	Braunschweig

Name	Children	Birth Place	Location
Loeffler, Johann	5	Vaihingen	Braunschweig
Luech, Michael	4	Collin	Braunschweig
Lueck, Friederich	3	Blumberg	Braunschweig
Mauer, Conrad	7	Frettenheim	Braunschweig
Milz, Friederich	6	Denkhaus	Kingwilliamstown
Nesmann, Wilhelm	2	Collin	Braunschweig
Pagel, Johann	8	Museherin	Braunschweig
Pfizer, Johann	4	Enzweihingen	Braunschweig
Quade, Wilhelm	2	Hölpe	Kingwilliamstown
Radne, Christian	3	Arnswalde	Braunschweig
Rehnisch, Friederich	-	Soran	Kingwilliamstown
Remas, Wilhelm	1	Prillwitz	Braunschweig
Revitsky, Edward	2	Collin	Greytown
Ristow, Michael	3	Collin	Braunschweig
Rothe, Johann	-	Soran	Kingwilliamstown
Salswedel, Julius	-	Denkhaus	Braunschweig
Schade, Johann	2	Neu Schulzendorf	Braunschweig
Schenk, Wilhelm	3	Billerbeck	Keiskama Hoek
Schmidt, Wilhelm	-	Succow	Keiskama Hoek
Schreiber, Wilhelm	2	Schönberg	Keiskama Hoek
Schroeder, Christian	4	Arnswalde	Keiskama Hoek
Schroeder, Johann	3	Billerbeck	Braunschweig
Schwahn, Christian	-	Schöneberg	Keiskama Hoek
Siegert, Franz	1	Brux	Kingwilliamstown
Staudi, Friederich	3	Klein Lindenbusch	Stutterheim
Sternberg, Wilhelm	4	Schönberg	Keiskama Hoek
Tesmer, Julius	2	Dobberphul	Keiskama Hoek
Tessendorf, Michael	2	Blumberg	Braunschweig
Völker, Ferdinand	3	Succow	Braunschweig
Vogt, J.H.	2	Neusalz O/Oder	Kingwilliamstown
Wegener, Gottlieb	6	Steinberg	Braunschweig
Wörpel, Michael	1	Billerbeck	Keiskama Hoek.

Totals. 151 males, 147 females, 298 persons.

Sources

G.A., East London Mag. Records, Nominal List of Immigrants, 1858.

British Kaffrarian Records, Vol 2, High Commissioner, 1857 - 1858.

British Kaffrarian Records, Vol.41, German Immigrants, 1858 - 1865.

*add. 10-12 folios
8 names*

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- II. Documents in the Houses of Parliament, Cape Town.
- III. Documents in the Cape Archives, Cape Town.
- IV. Imperial Parliamentary Papers.
- VI. Published Official Documents.
- VII. Newspapers.
- VIII. Other printed sources.

SECONDARY SOURCES.

- IX. Articles and Pamphlets.
- X. Books.

PRIMARY SOURCES.

- I. MANUSCRIPTS AND VERBAL STATEMENTS BY LEGIONARIES AND IMMIGRANTS.

Diary of Sergeant G. Steinbart, III Regiment, German Military Settlers, Ohlsen. (In possession of Pastor J. Fehsenfeld, formerly of Stutterheim, Cape Province).

This is a manuscript diary kept by one of the Legionaries, Sergeant G. Steinbart. Commencing with his landing at East London, he gives an almost daily sketch of his experiences and impressions until the departure of some of the Legionaries for India. There is but one short break, but on resuming his diary, he implies that nothing of great importance happened in the interval. The work is not only informative, but interesting and written in a most fascinating manner and lucid style. Many of his statements are corroborated by other authorities; his quotations are correct, and when he does err, it is obvious that he has been misinformed; on such occasions he takes care to point out that his authority is perhaps unreliable. (See Briefe aus Helgoland, etc. by the same writer, infra).

Unfortunately I could not retain this diary, either for myself or for the Cape Archives, as Pastor Fehsenfeld was anxious to keep it and take it with him to Germany, but he kindly allowed me to make full use of it. My notes and extracts will be found in the Cory Library.

Verbal statements of two former Legionaries, H. Weineck and Oelschlig. (1921-22)

Verbal statements of Immigrants, M.F. Peinke, A.F. Gernetsky C.F.W. Krousch and others. (1921 -23)

Verbal statement of Mr A.M. Laatz, formerly of Dalton, Natal. (1922)

When I started collecting material for this work in 1921, two ex-Legionaries were still alive, but unfortunately did not prove very reliable as regards details. On the other hand, the interviews with several of the old men who had come out with their parents in 1858, then aged between eight and fourteen years, proved more fruitful. Such information, unobtainable in official correspondence, was elicited from them; the greater part of what was said by one of them was corroborated by another or the others.

II. DOCUMENTS IN THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, CAPE TOWN.

House of Assembly, 1859, Annexures 160 and 172.

1869, Annexure 139. (All unfoliated)

III. DOCUMENTS IN THE CAPE ARCHIVES, CAPE TOWN.

The greater part of the field on which I worked was at that time not indexed, while one section had hardly been catalogued. In the meanwhile much of the material has been re-arranged and re-catalogued with new serial numbers, and some of it has been indexed.

I have transposed my references to the new numbers; where I have given no page reference, the particular volume is unfoliated or was unfoliated when I made use of it.

A. COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS.

3976	Memorials, Volume I	1835
6055	Permission to Remain	1806 - 1838
6133	Deeds of Burghership	1807 - 1861

B. GOVERNMENT HOUSE RECORDS.

1/58 - 1/69	Despatches from Secretary of State for the Colonies.	1862 -1873
23/26 -23/31	(Duplicate) Despatches from Governor to Secretary Of State for Colonies.	1856 -1871
28/73 -28/78	Enclosures to Depatches to Secretary of State for the Colonies.	1858 -1862
36/2	Military Secretary's Office, Military	1857 -1858
39/1	Military Secretary's Office, British German Legion.	1856 -1858
39/2	" " " German Military Settlers	1859 -1860
39/3	" " " Volunteers	1860 -1861
39/5	" " " Miscell. Letters	1855 -1858
39/6	" " and Returns of Troops for India	Miscell. Letters 1859 -1860
40/1	" " " Monthly State of Troops	1855 -1858

C. LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR'S RECORDS.

36	Letters from Colonial Secretary	1863
37	Circulars	1853 - 1862
39	Chief Commissioner of British Kaffraria	1856 - 1858

D. BRITISH KAFFRARIAN RECORDS.

2	High Commissioner	1857 - 1858
3	High Commissioner	1859
5	High Commissioner	1861 - 1863
14	President Criminal Court Commission	1856 - 1860
17	Surveyor-General, King William's Town	1853 - 1858
19	Surveyor-General, King William's Town	1860
24	Crown Reserve	1855 - 1858
40	German Military Settlers	1856 - 1861
41	German Immigrants	1858 - 1865
42	Captain Mills, German Military Settlers	1858 - 1865
43	German Military Settlers, Claims for Titles	1863 - 1864
65	Resident Magistrate, King William's Town	1853 - 1858
66	Resident Magistrate, King William's Town	1859 - 1861
67	Resident Magistrate, King William's Town	1862 - 1864
98	Military Headquarters	1854 - 1864
109	British Kaffrarian Government Notices	1847 - 1866
114	Circulars and Replies	1853 - 1865
398	Treasurer, Letter Book	1855 - 1866
399	Auditor	1855 - 1865
400	Auditor's Letter Book	1859

E. DEPUTY SURVEYOR-GENERAL, BRITISH KAFFRARIA.

11	British German Legion, Letters, Authorities, etc.	1856 - 1864
48	British German Legion, Assignment of Lands	-
49	German Immigrants, Register of Titles issued	(1871 - 1883)

F. CROWN LANDS

1130	Abstract, etc. of German, Swiss and Scottish Emigrants	1877 - 1882
1138	Immigration	1882
1139	Immigration	1883

G. EAST LONDON MAGISTRATE'S RECORDS
(Unnumbered)

Immigrant Agreements	1877
Immigrant Agreements	1879
Immigration Board, Minute Book	1877
Nominal List of Immigrants	1858 & 1877

H. PUBLIC WORKS

Papers are not numbered and ^{are} unsorted.

- G.29 - '61. Report of Immigration Board, Cape Town.
- G.35 - '61. Statements exhibiting number of Emigrants arrived in the Colony during 1860, etc.
- G.37 - '61. Report of Immigration Board, Port Elizabeth.
- G.12 - '62. Report of Immigration Board, Cape Town.
- G.28 - '62. Statements exhibiting number of Immigrants arrived in the Colony during 1861, etc.
- G.35 - '62. Report of Immigration Board, Port Elizabeth for 1861.
- G.41 - '62. Report of Albany Immigration Board.
- G.39 - '63. Statement exhibiting the number of Immigrants arrived in the Colony 1857 - 1860 and expenditure, etc.
- G.39 - '64. Comparative Statement of actual and estimated Expenditure of British Kaffraria, 1863.
- G.25 - '65. Return of Public Debt of British Kaffraria.
- G.21 - '65. Statement of Revenue and Expenditure (1864)
- Also for 1865 - 1876 the following: G.21 - '65, G.9 - '66, G.20 - '67, G.22 - '68, G.20 - '69, G.22 - '70, G.17 - '71, G.19 - '72, G.19 - '73, G.24 - '74, G.36 - '75, G.59 - '76.
- A.11 - '68. Petition of German Immigrants near to Fannure and Cambridge.
- A.55 - '68. Memorial of German Immigrants at Fannure.
- A.57 - '68. Report of Commission on Commonages; Conditions and Regulations under which German Immigrants were introduced, etc.
- A.9 - '72. Petition of German Immigrants of Braunschweig.
- A.15 - '72. Report of Select Committee on Petition of G. Fleugel and others.
- A.3 - '73. Petition of German Immigrants at Fannure.
- A.5 - '76. Report of Select Committee on Immigration.
- G.30 - '76. Report of Surveyor-General for 1875.
- G.47 - '77. Report on Cape Immigration, 1876.
- C.1 - '78. Report of Select Committee of Legislative Council on Settlement of German Immigrants.
- G.40 - '78. Immigration - Reports and Tables for 1877
- G.5 - '79. Report on Cape Immigration for 1878.
- G.2 - '81. Report of Select Committee on German Immigrant Locations.
- G.56 - '81. Reports of Superintendents of Immigrants for 1880.

- A.31 - '82. Petition of German Immigrants (Division of Worcester) (Not dated but printed 1882)
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- G.65 - '83. Report of Surveyor-General for 1882.
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- A.3 - '85. Report of Select Committee on East London German Immigrants.

1869, 1872-1876. Votes and Proceedings of Parliament: House of Assembly.

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Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette, 1844-45, 1857 - 1860, 1877 - 1878, 1885.

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Douglas, G. D. & Ramsay, G.A.
The Panmure Papers, from the Correspondence of Fox Maule, 2nd Baron Panmure, afterwards 11th Earl of Dalhousie. London, 1908.

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Select Constitutional Documents illustrating South African History, 1795 - 1910. London, 1918.

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(i) van Riebeeck's Journal, Vol. I. Cape Town, 1897.
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Theal, G. McC.
Records of the Cape Colony, 1806-1818, Volumes VI - XI. London, 1900-1902.
Documents of the Kaffir War, 1835. London, 1912.

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<u>Cape Town.</u>	Cape Argus	1875
	Cape Mercantile Advertiser	1858
	Das Kapland	1833
<u>Grahamstown.</u>	Grahamstown Journal	1857- 1858 1867& 1869
	Cape Frontier Times	1857- 1859
<u>Kingwilliamstown.</u>		
	King William's Town Gazette	1857- 1859
	Cape Mercury	1908
	Germania; Wochenblatt für die Militär- colonisten der Britisch Deutschen Legion in Süd Afrika.	1857
	Deutscher Beobachter in Süd Afrika.	1858

The Germania was established by Sergeant George on 1st April, 1857 and lasted until March, 1858; it was a weekly paper specially written for the Legionaries, or more correctly, the German Military Settlers. In June, 1858, it was succeeded by the Deutscher Beobachter in Süd Afrika, which lived only until September, 1858.

These two papers, written specially for the Legionaries, contain much valuable material, notably communications from the various settlements; together they give a good general idea of the progress of events.

VIII. OTHER PRINTED SOURCES.

Prospectus über die Auswanderung nach der deutschen Colonie am Cap der Guten Hoffnung. (Issued by Siesseldorf & Co.)
(Grey Collection, South African Public Library).

Regulations for the Voyage (Issued by Dieseldorff & Co.)

Contract between Joh. Sternhagen and Gustav Godeffroy & Son,
Hamburg, 3rd October, 1858.

Entlassungs Urkunde (7th October, 1858)

These three documents were formerly in the possession of the late Rev. H. Gutsche, Kingwilliamstown.)

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IX. ARTICLES AND PAMPHLETS.

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Oor die Afkoms van die Boere. (Tydskrif vir Wetenskap en Kuns, Bd I.
- Henkel, G.C. Emigration, the Missions and Colonisation in General. (Kelvin Press Christmas Annual, Tokstad, 1912).
- Ludewig, H. Geschichte der deutschen evangelisch-lutherischen St. Johannis-Gemeinde zu Wynberg bei Kapstadt, Braunschweig (Deutschland), 1911.
- Spanuth, Joh. Festschrift zum fünfzigjährigen Siedlungsjubiläum der Deutschen in Kaffraria, 7 Juli, 1908. Berlin, (Cape Colony), 1908.

At the request of the Executive Committee of the 1908 Jubilee Celebrations, Pastor Spanuth compiled the facts published in this pamphlet. He made no attempt to give a comprehensive history of the Legionaries or Immigrants and apparently used no primary sources except documents in the possession of Immigrants and church records. It is not clear where he obtained the lists of Immigrants, which are not very accurate. The most valuable section of this work is the information about the Lutheran Churches in British Kaffraria.

(See Spanuth, Johannes - British Kaffraria und seine deutschen Siedlungen, infra).

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Deutsches Schaffen im Orange Freistaat. (Die Eiche, Beilage 8, 1950, Hermannsburg, Natal).
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Lüneburg in Natal. (Die Eiche, Beilage 6, 1949, Hermannsburg, Natal.)
- Wagener, G.W. Fünfzigjährige Jubelfeier der deutschen ev. lutherischen St. Martini-Gemeinde in Kapstadt am 24 September 1911. Capetown, 1911.
- (Anonymous) George Schmidt en sy Opvolgers, 200 Jaar Evangeliese Broederkerk (Moravian Church) in Suid-Afrika. (Sonder datum en plek aanwysing behalwe die datums 1737-1937).
- (Anonymous) Souvenir - German Settlers' Jubilee, 7th July, 1908. Kingwilliamstown, 1908.

Fehsenfeld, J. Zur Geschichte der englisch-deutschen Legion in Südafrika, besonders im Distrikte Stutterheim, 1857-1860. (Südafrikanisches Gemeindeblatt, No. 268-272, 22. Feb. - 19. April, 1910). Cape Town.

In addition to the diary of G. Steinbart, Pastor Fehsenfeld was able to make use of oral accounts of former Legionaries and of Dr Kropf.

Schwär, J.F. Die englisch-deutsche Legion in Kaffraria. Vortrag gehalten zu East London am 21 Oktober, 1925. Printed in Der Deutsch Afrikaner, No. 18-20, 14th-23rd Nov., 1925.

This constitutes a very useful discussion of the non-official sources.

X. BOOKS.

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London, 1892.
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Aufbau des Burenvolkes. Hannover, 1938.
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Siedlungen. München & Leipzig, 1914.

This work of only 82 pages is by the same writer as the Festschrift zum fünfzig-jährigen Siedlungsjubiläum, supra, but is not as useful. It is intended for readers in Germany and deals more with the geography and general history of British Kaffraria than with the Legionaries and Immigrants.

- Speckmann, F. Die Hermannsburger Mission in Afrika.
Hermannsburg (Germany), 1875.

- Steinbart, G. Briefe aus Helgoland, England und Süd-Afrika.
Zwickau, 1859. Carbon typed copy in the South African Public Library; reprinted serially in Der Deutsch Afrikaner, Pretoria, 1933.

These are letters by the same writer as the Diary (see supra). The letters begin earlier than the Diary and give a full account of many of the writer's experiences before his arrival at the Cape, not contained in the Diary. When describing his experiences in British Kaffraria he occasionally transcribes his diary; more often the letters give a summarised account of what he has described more fully in the diary. Generally the Diary is fuller and gives more exact dates and details not found in the Briefe.

It should be noted that the typed copy in the S.A. Public Library is in two sections, each with its own foliation. In my notes A refers to the first section and B to the second section.

- Taylor, J. Dexter, (Editor). Christianity and the Natives of South Africa - A Year-Book of South African Missions. Lovedale, (1926).
- Theal, G. McC. 1884. History and Ethnography of Africa South of the Zambesi. / Volume III. London, 1910
History of South Africa since 1795.
Five Volumes. London, 1904 - 1908 + 1916.
- History of South Africa, 1873 - 1884.
Two Volumes. London, 1919.
- Vedder, Heinrich. South-West Africa in early times. Translated by G.G. Hall. London, 1938.

von Oswiecinski, Th.R. Unter Englands Fahnen zur Zeit des Krim-Krieges, Volume II. Hanover, 1875.

Only the second volume could be consulted, but it is the one that matters for the purposes of this work, as it contains the account of the formation of the German Military Settlers. The author was a member of the General Staff, but did not himself proceed to the Cape. This work is important for its quotations from letters and newspapers, which are of more value than the personal views of the author; these are sometimes biased.

This book was formerly in the possession of the late Rev. H. Gutsche of King Williamstown and in my possession in 1921. Recent efforts to trace it have not been successful. Pastor Spanuth, in his Featschrift (see supra) quotes from this work.

Walker, Eric A.

A History of South Africa. London, 1928.

W.P. Schreiner - A South African.

London, 1937.

Wangemann, Dr.

Geschichte der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft und ihre Arbeiten in Südafrika. Zweiter Band. Erste Abtheilung: Die Berliner Mission in Koranna-Lande. Zweite Abtheilung: Die Berliner Mission in Kaffer-Lande. Berlin, 1873.

This is a most valuable work. The author was the Director of the Berlin Mission and visited South Africa in 1867. When writing this book, he had at his disposal the letters and annual reports of the missionaries in South Africa.

Westphal, Wm.

Ten Years in South Africa. Only complete and authentic history of the British German Legion in South Africa and the East Indies. Chicago, 1892.

In spite of the claims made in the sub-title, this work contains so many inaccuracies as to be of little value. Dates and distances are wrong and his attitude to the British authorities so biased as to make most of what he says about South Africa useless. In addition, he accuses General von Stutterheim of dishonesty and defalcations, of which there is no vestige of truth. He claims to have been to India, but his account is such as to make it doubtful whether he ever went there. He was stationed at Wiesbaden, but his name is not given in the list of those whose right to building lots lapsed by volunteering for service in India. (GHRec.39/1, pp.727-28). No use has been made of this work.

(Christian Council of South Africa). The Christian Handbook of South Africa. Lovedale, (1938).

BOOKSADDENDUM.

Bonn, Alfred.

Ein Jahrhundert Rheinische Mission.
Barmen, 1928.

Besides a special article of about seven pages on Paulus Daniel Lückhoff, only about ten pages are devoted to South Africa. The treatment is general with little biographical detail.

(This book, though ordered early enough, was received only after the completion of this work. Nothing new was learnt from it. For publication, this work will be listed in its correct alphabetical position).

NOTE ON INDEX.

An index will be prepared when this manuscript
is published.





THE FIRST WAGON WITH THE PARTY

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M A P
of
BRITISH KAFFRARIA
to illustrate
German SETTLEMENT
1857 - 1883

